<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Proceeding and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference Madras 22nd to 24th 1924</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Aiyangar, S.Krishnaswami and Sastri, P.P.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Madras : Law Printing House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Year</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>833 Pgs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Proceedings and Transactions

OF THE

Third Oriental Conference

MADRAS

December 22nd to 24th, 1924

MADRAS

PRINTED AT THE LAW PRINTING HOUSE, MOUNT ROAD

1925
FOREWORD.

In issuing the Report and Proceedings of the Third All-India Oriental Conference, the Secretaries acknowledge, with great pleasure the assistance rendered by all the Committees and Sub-Committees of the Conference, and wish specially to place on record the work of Mr. T. R. Chintamani, University Research Student, who was mainly responsible for seeing the work through the press, and to Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar, who kindly permitted him to do this without prejudice to his research work.

The Secretaries are also obliged to the Law Printing House for the neat execution, and the expeditious publication of the Report and Proceedings.

Madras, 30th October, 1925.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
P. P. S. SASTRI,

Secretaries.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. List of Officers</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Members of the Reception Committee</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Local Governments and Indian States which were invited to send Delegates</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Institutions invited to send Delegates</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Programme</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. List of Delegates</td>
<td>xxxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. List of subscriptions to the Reception Committee Fund</td>
<td>xxxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. List of Pandits and Moulvis honoured with Shawls</td>
<td>xxxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. H. E. Viscount Goschen’s Opening Address</td>
<td>xli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail’s Address of Welcome</td>
<td>xlvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Presidential Address of Dr. Ganganatha Jha</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Papers presented and published:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Sanskrit Language and Literature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Avesta in relation to Sanskrit</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Pali, Prakrits and Hindi</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Philology—Sanskritic and Dravidian</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Dravidian Languages and their Literature</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Music and Indian Art</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. History, Geography and Chronology</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Oriental Philosophy</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Oriental Science</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Sociology, Ethnology and Folklore</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Persian, Arabic and Urdu</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. General</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Index</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Third Oriental Conference, 1924

Patron.
His Excellency Viscount Goschen, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., Governor of Madras.

List of Officers.
Chairman of the Reception Committee.
The Rev. Dr. E. Monteith Macphail, C.I.E., C.B.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University.

Joint Honorary Secretaries.
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D., (Hony).
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, M.A. (Madras), B.A. (Oxon), M.R.A.S.

Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

Sub-Committees.
I.—Accommodation and Hospitality.
Dr. Muhammad Oosman.
Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
,, P. Somasundaram Pantulu.
,, S. Muthia Mudaliar.
,, G. Venkataranga Rao.
,, Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, B. Satyanarayana.
,, Naimur Rahman Sahib.
,, Muhammad Sahib.
Shamshul-Ulema Md. Abdul Rahman Sahib.
Secretaries (Ex-Officio).

II.—Meetings.
Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
Secretaries (Ex-Officio).
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

III — Entertainments and Music.

Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, A. Bangaswami Aiyangar.
,, S. Satyamurti.
,, Salla Guruswami Chetti.
,, C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
Dr. K. N. Sitaraman.

IV.—Literary Committee.

Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
Mr. G. Venkataranga Rao.
,, R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle.
Secretaries (Ex-Officio).

V.—Volunteers.

Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar-Captain.
,, P. P. S. Sastri-Captain.

VI.—Transport.

Mr. P. N. Appuswami Aiyar.
Secretaries (Ex-Officio).

Executive Committee.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar.
,, B. Satyanarayana.
,, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.
Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
,, M. A. Candeth.
,, M. Ratnaswami.
,, C. S. Srinivasachariar.
Mr. V. Ramadas.
,, H. M. Ibrahim Sait.
Dr. Muhammad Oosman Sahib.
Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar (Rao Sahib).
,, P. Somasundaram.
,, Muthia Mudaliar.
,, G. Venkatataranga Rao (Rai Sahib).
,, B. Rama Rao.
Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar.
Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar.
Dr. P. Subbarayan.
Mr. Mir Zyn-ud-din Sahib.
  " Paul Appasami.
Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu (Dewan Bahadur).
Sir K. V. Reddi.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Rao Bahadur).
  " T. Rajagopal Rao.
  " A. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
  " C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
  " Salla Guruswami Chetti (Dewan Bahadur).
Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail.
Dr. S. Krishnasawmi Aiyangar  }  *Secretaries.*
Mr. P. P. S. Sastri.

2.—Members of the Reception Committee.

Abdul Rahiman Khan, Md., Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Adiga, K. Y., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Alasingarachariar, M. D., Pandit, Presidency College, Tank Square,
        Trichinopoly.
Anantalakshmi, O. K., B.A. (Hons.), Karaneswarar Coil Street, Mylapore.
Annamalai Chettiar, Dewan Bahadur Sir, Kt., ‘Natana Vilas’, Vepery.
Anantarama Aiyar, E. V., Pandit, Presidency College, Madras.
Appu Sastrigal, S., Rao Bahadur, Native High School, Kumbakonam.
Aravamudhan, T. G., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Kilpauk, Madras.

Besant, Dr. A., Theosophical Buildings, Adyar.
Bhashyam, K., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Bhavanandam Pillai, S., Dewan Bahadur, ‘Newton House’, Church Road,
        Vepery.

Candeth, M. A., M.A., Bar-at-law.
Chakrapani Aiyangar, T. R., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Cuddalore, N.T.
Chakravarti, A., M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.
Chandrasekaran, C. V., M.A., Maharaja’s College, Trivandrum.
Chattopadhyaya, Miss, Editor, ‘The Shama’, Mount Road, Madras.
Chidambaram Pillai, E. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Egmore.
Chintamani, T. R., B.A. (Hons.), Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.
Corley, F. E., Madras.
Cotililangam, J. P., Bellary.

Desikachariar, K. C., B.A., B.L., Police Raghavachar Street, Park Town,
        Madras.
Desikachariar, Sir T., Dewan Bahadur, Reynold’s Road, Trichinopoly.
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Devadass, Hon'ble Justice M. D., 'Sylvan Lodge', Luz, Mylapore.
Dutt, P. C., I.C.S., Collector, Cuddalore, South Arcot.

Gopalaswami Aiyangar, N., Rao Bahadur, Registrar-General of
Panchayats, Mowbray's Road, Teynampet.
Govindadass, Lodd, Madras.
Govindachariar, V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Govindaraja Aiyangar, N., Executive Engineer, Madras.
Guruswami Chetti, Salla, Dewan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil,
George Town, Madras.
Guruswami Mudaliar, Dr., 'Sladen's Gardens', Kilpauk.

Habibullah, Sir Md., Kt., 'Cathedral House', Teynampet.
Heiberg, Rev. K., 14, Kundall's Road, Vepery.

Ibrahim Sait, H. M., Madras.

Jayarama Aiyar, K. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Kalyana Sundra Sastri.
Krishnan, Hon'ble Justice C., Bar-at-law, 'Shenstone Park', Chetpet.
Krishnamachariar, V. T., Rao Bahadur, Secretary to Government,
Elliot's Road, Mylapore.
Krishnamachariar, K., Rao Bahadur, Pitchu Pillai Street, Mylapore.
Krishna Sastri, H., Rao Bahadur, Epigraphist to Govt. of India, Nilgiris.
Krishnaiyiah, C. V.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, N., Rao Bahadur, Kumbakonam.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr. S., M.A., Ph.D., University, Madras.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, Dr. C. V., 142, Big Street, Triplicane.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, K. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Krishnaswami Aiyar, Alladi B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Kuppuswami Sastri, S., M.A., 36, Nadu Street, Mylapore.
Kumaraswami Rajah, P. S.

Lakshminarayana, G., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Brindavan Street,
Mylapore.
Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Dr. A., B.A., M.D., Egmore.
Lakshmivaraha Aiyangar, C. R., Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L., Kumbakonam.
Littlehailes, R., M.A., Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

Macphail, Rev. Dr. E. M., M.A., College Road, Nungambakkam, Madras.
Madaviah, A., Edward Elliot's Road, Mylapore.
Madhavan Nair, Hon'ble Justice, Bar-at-law, Poonamallee High Road,
Vepery.
Marthandam Pillai, P. N., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, 6, Egmore High Road, Madras.
Masilamani Pillai, V., Dewan Babadur, B.A., B.L., Madras.
Mathew, Dr. K. T., Church Road, Vepery.
Muthia Mudaliar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, North Mada Street, Mylapore.
Muttukumara Chettiar, M. C. N., Kumbakonam.

Namasiyava Mudaliar, C. R., Lecturer in Tamil, Queen Mary’s College, Madras.
Narayanan Chettiar, T., Harrington Road, Chetpet.
Narayana, A. L., Dr., M.A., Maharaja’s College, Vizianagaram.
Natesan, G. A., B.A., Hon’ble, 60 Thambu Chetty Street, George Town.
Nilakantha Sastriar, K. A., Principal, Sri Minakshi College, Chidambaram.

Panchapagesa Sastrir, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.
Panini Rao, P., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Eldan’s Road, Teynampet.
Patanjali Sastrir, M., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, East Mada Street, Mylapore.
Parkhurst, C. A., Indian Bank Buildings, 1st Line Beach, Park Town.
Paul Arthur, Lecturer, A.E.L.M. College, Guntur.

Ragunatha Rao, K. R., Kumbakonam.
Rai, Col., D. G., I.M.S., Madras.
Rajagopalachariar, C. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.
Rajagopala Aiyar, V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, North Mada Street, Mylapore.
Raja Aiyar, K., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, East Mada Street, Mylapore.
Raja of Panagal, Hon’ble, Minister, Madras.
Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R., M.A., Madras.
Ramachandra Aiyar, K. V.
Ramadas, V., B.A., B.L., Hon’ble Mr., High Court Vakil, Cutcheri Road, Mylapore.
Ramalinga Chettiar, T. A., Race Course Road, Coimbatore.
Ramamurthi, S. V., I.C.S., Collector of Ramnad, Madura.
Ramanatha Aiyar, K. B., M.A., B.L., L.T., Triplicane.
Ramanatha Aiyar, T. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Luz, Mylapore.
Ramanujachariar, M. V., Editor, ‘Mahabharata’, Manalur, Narasingarpettai Post Office.
Ramanujachariar, K., Dewan Bahadur, M.A., Principal Maharaja’s Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.
Rama Rao, B., M.A., LL.B., 31, Gangadhareswarar Coil Street, Purasawakkam.
Ramaswami Aiyar, T. S., B.A., B.L., ‘Ranganadha Vilas’, Cutcheri Road, Mylapore.
Ramaswami Aiyar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sundaresvarar Street, Mylapore.
Ramaswami Mudaliar, A., B.A., B.L., Lauder’s Gate Road, Vepery.
Ramunni Menon, K., M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.
Ranganadham Chetti, V., South Mada Street, Triplicane.
Ranganadhan, S. E., M.A., L.T., Professor, Presidency College, Madras.
Ranganayakulu, P., Under Secretary, P. W. D., Chepauk, Madras.
Ranganayakulu, C.
Rangachari, K., M.A., Professor, Maharaja’s Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.
Rangacharya, M. K.
Rangaswami Sarasvati, Tank Square, Triplicane.
Ratnaswami, M.A., Principal, Pachaiyappa’s College, Madras.

Sambamurti Rao, T., Cadell’s Road, Tanjore.
Sambanda Mudaliar, P., Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L., Judge, Court of Small Causes, Madras.
Sankaran, K. A., B.A. (Honours), Pycroft’s Road, Triplicane.
Sankararama Sastri, C., M.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
Satyanurti, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Vellala Street, Purasawakkam.
Satyanarayana, B., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Peter’s Road, Royapettah.
Seshacharlu, D., Adyar, Madras.
Sesha Aiyar, K. G., Trivandrum.
Sesha Aiyangar, K. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Nadu Street, Mylapore.
MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.


Seshachariar, V. C., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.


Seshagiri Sastri, C. A., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Brodie’s Road, Mylapore.


Sitarama Rao, B., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sullivan’s Garden Street, Mylapore.

Sivagnanam Pillai, T. N., Hon., Minister, Fort St. George, Madras.

Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir P. S., B.A., B.L., Edward Elliot’s Road, Mylapore.

Somasundaran, P., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, South Mada Street, Mylapore.

Srinivasacharya, N., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Purasawakkam.

Srinivasachariar, C. S., M.A., Professor, Pachaiyappa’s College, Madras.

Srinivasachariar, P. N., M.A., Professor, Pachaiyappa’s College, Madras.

Srinivasa Aiyangar, T. V., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Kumbakonam.

Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, R., Museum, Madras.

Srinivasa Aiyar, N. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.

Subbarayan, Dr., P. Madras.

Subramania Aiyar, N., Dewan Peshakar (Retired), Trivandrum.

Subramania Aiyar, W. S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.


Subramania Aiyah, P., Pachaiyappa’s College.

Subrahmanir Aiyar, K. S., Lloyd’s Road, Mylapore.

Subrahmanyam, K. G., Lloyd’s Road, Mylapore.

Subramaniam, M. V., High Court Vakil, Madras.

Subramania Sastri, S.

Sundararaja Aiyangar, S., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Chitrakulam Street, Mylapore.

Sundararama Aiyar, Prof. K., Kumbakonam.

Sundaresa Sastrigal, P. G., Rameswaram Devasthanam Patasala, Madura.

Swamikannu Pillai, L. D., Hon., President, Legislative Council, Madras.


Swaminatha Aiyar, R., B.A., Deputy Collector (Retired) Mylapore.


Tiruvengadatta Aiyangar, K. R., Kumbakonam.

Venkatasubba Rao, Hon’ble Justice, B.A., B.L., College Road, Nungambakkam, Madras.
Venkataramana Rao, P., High Court Vakil, Madras.
Venkataratnam, L., Asst. Professor, Presidency College, Madras.”
Venkatasubrahmanya Aiyar, C., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Mylapore.
Venkatarama Aiyar, T. L., B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Sannidhi Street, Mylapore.

Yagnanarayana Aiyar, S. K., M.A., Pachaiyappa’s College, Madras.

A Friend.

3.—Local Governments and Indian States which were invited to send Delegates.

Governments.

Government of India.
Government of Madras.
Government of Bombay.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Burma.
Government of the Punjab.
Government of the United Provinces.
Government of Bihar and Orissa.
Government of the Central Provinces.
Government of Assam.

States.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.
His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda.
His Highness the Holkar of Indore.
His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.
His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bhanagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.
4.—Institutions invited to send Delegates.

The Sankaracharya Mutt, Kumbakonam.
The Sankaracharya Mutt, Sringeri.
Andhra Research University, Vizianagram.
The Telugu Academy, Madras.
Sarasvati Mahal Library, The Palace, Tanjore.
Madura Tamil Sangam, Madura.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch.
The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Karnataka Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore.
Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Bharata Itihasa Samshodak Mandal, Poona.
Anthropological Institute, Bombay.
Bharata Dharma Mahamandal, Benares.
Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.
Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.
United Provinces Historical Society, Allahabad.
University Union, Calcutta.
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
Sanskrit College, Benares.
Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
Dayaram College, Lahore.
Oriental College, Lahore.
H. H. the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Mysore.
Central Library, Baroda.
Karnatak Itihasa Mandal, Dharwar.
K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
The Zarhosti Din-ni-Khol Karnari, Mandli, Bombay.
Raja's Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi.
Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram.
Andhra Girvana Vidyalaya, Kovvur.
Narasimha Sanskrit College, Masulipatam.
Sanskrit College, Tenali.
Venkateswara Sanskrit College, Tirupati.
Ubbaya Vedanta Sanskrit College, Sriperumbudur.
Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore.
Vasishtadvaita Sabha, Madras.
Madhva Siddhanta Sabha, Madras.
Advaita Sabha, Chidambaram.
Sri Minakshi Sanskrit College, Chidambaram.
Sri Minakashi Tamil College, Chidambaram.
Sri Minakshi Oriental Training College, Chidambaram.
Navalar Tamil College, Chidambaram.
Board Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore.
Raja's College of Oriental Studies, Pudukottah.
Rameswaram Devasthanam Patasala, Madura.
V. D. S. Sanskrit College, Kallidaikurichi.
HariharSanskrit College, Puthcode.
Veda Sastra Patasala, Chittur, Cochin.
Central Sanskrit College, Pattambi.
Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdai.
V. D. A. Sanskrit College, Karkal.
S. M. S. P. Sanskrit College, Udiapi.

5.—Programme.

THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MADRAS SESSION.

22nd to 24th December, 1924.

Opening Session—Monday 22nd December, 1924
Commences at 11-30 a.m.

1. Prayer in Sanskrit, Tamil and Arabic.
2. Welcome Address by Chairman, Reception Committee.
3. His Excellency’s Opening Address.
4. Election of the President.
5. Presidential Address.
6. Vote of thanks to His Excellency.
7. Group Photograph.

The Conference closes for the day.

Afternoon.

The President and Committee of the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, invite the members of the Conference to a Vidvat Parishad in their premises at 2-30 p.m.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aivar, Member of the Madras Sanskrit College Committee “At Home” to the members of the Conference at the premises of the Sanskrit College, at 5-30 p.m.

After dark, a lantern lecture at the same premises on “Indian Architecture” under the auspices of the Conference, by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman.
PROGRAMME.

2nd Day—(Tuesday, 23-12-24).

FIRST SESSION AT THE SENATE HOUSE.

READING OF PAPERS.

11 A.M. TO 1-30 P.M.

A. Room
Sections I, II, III, VII.

B. Room
Sections VI, VII, IX, X.

2 P.M. TO 4 P.M.

A. Room.
Sections I, II, III, VIII.

B. Room
Sections VI, VII, IX, X.

C. Room
Sections IV, V, XI, XII.

4-30 P.M. TO 5-30 P.M.

Tea: Manuscript’s Exhibition by Andhra Sahitya Parisad.

5-30 P.M. Drama by the
Presidency College Sanskrit Association:

3rd Day—(Wednesday, 24-12-24).

8 A.M. TO 11 A.M.

A. Room
Sections I, II, III, VIII.

B. Room
Sections VI, VII, IX, X.

C. Room
Sections IV, V, XI, XII.

1-30 P.M. TO 2-30 P.M., Business Meeting.

3 P.M. to 7 P.M., Music.

The Session of the Conference at Madras closes.

1.—Sanskrit Language and Literature.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Madras.
A study of Kālidāsa in relation to Political Science.

Mr. S. P. Bhattacharya, Bengal ...
The Stotra Literature of Ancient India.

Prof. U. C. Bhattacharya, Dacca ...
The Teachers of Upaniṣads.

Prof. A. Chakravarti, Madras ...
The Vṛātyas.

Dr. S. K. De, Dacca University ...
A note on the Sanskrit monologue play with special reference to the Caturbhāṇi.

Prof. U. N. Ghoshal, Calcutta ...
Hindu laws relating to offences against the King.

Mr. P. K. Godse, Poona ...
The Historico-literary importance of Mallinātha’s commentaries.
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Mr. P. V. Kane, Bombay ... Predecessors of Vijnāneśvara.
Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar, 
Kumbakonam. 
Pandit V. A. Krishna Sarma, Tri- 
punithura.
Principal Krishna Sastri, Chittoor... 
Mr. S. S. Mehta, Bombay ... On the Sanskrit Language. 

(i) Scriptural Authority to prove 
the answer of Sir J. C. Bose’s 
regarding Plant life.

(ii) Agharni Sīmantonnayana.

Mr. S. Parthasarathi Misra, Madras. 
Mr. S. Pattabhiraman, Madras ... Thesaurus of Sanskrit roots. 
Mr. N. B. Pavgee ... Ācārya Daṇḍin.

Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, Tiruppa- 
nithura.
Pandit V. K. Rajvade, Surat ... Reflections on the Amara Kośa. 
Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Raj- 
mundry.
Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Kovvur. 
Mr. V. Ramanujaswami, Viziana- 
garam.

Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, Cochin... The Bhāsa Problem—a criticism.
Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Baroda 

and 
Mr. K. A. Sankaran, Madras ... Kumārila and the Bṛhaṭṭikā.

Mr. K. A. Sankaran, Madras ... 

Mr. C. Sankararama Sastrī, Madras. 

Pandit A. T. Sarma, Paralakimidi ... The Dhvanikārikās.
Mr. H. A. Shah, Bombay ... Mimāṃsā in its relation to Modern 
Hindu Law and Jurisprudence.

Mr. R. Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar, 
Madras. 
Pandit Srinivasaraghavacharya, 
Madras. 
Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, Luck- 
now University.
Mr. K. G. Subramanian, Madras ... Style (in Sanskrit)

Astronomical Data in the Dramas 
of Kālidāsa.

Sanskrit was a spoken language and 
is still a living one (in Sanskrit): 
Sanskrit language and its immortal 
aspect.

(i) Patañjali and Kāvya literature 
assumed by him.

(ii) A note on Kātyāyana.
PROGRAMME.

Pandit D. T. Tatacharya, Tiruvadi. First Stanzas of Raghuvamśa.
Rao Babadur C. V. Vaidya, Bombay. Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, Mysore University. Traces of the stone age in the Vedic Texts.

II.—Avesta in relation to Sanskrit.
Dr. P. N. Darcovala, Bombay ... Artakshir Bapsk.
Shamsululema Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay. The Iranian name of the Hunnic King Toramana.
Prof. A. A. Shustry, Mysore ... Rustum—the Indra of Iran.
Dr. R. Zimmermann, Bombay ... Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda.

III.—Pāli Jain and other Prākrts, Hindi.
Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona ... The different strata in the literary material of the Dīghanikāya.
Mr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda ... Glimpses of Vajrayāna.
Mr. Dharmaditya Dharmacharya, Nepal. Discovery of the Dharma Sāmuccaya.
Mr. K. L. Guru, Sangor, U. P. The need for simplicity in the future writings of India, particularly of Hindi.
Mr. Md. Shahidullah, Dacca ... Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit learning.

IV.—Philology, Sanskrit and Dravidian.
Mr. C. Narayana Rao, Rajahmundry. Sanskrit and Prākrṛt influences on Telugu.
Mr. K. Ramakrishna Aiya, Vizianagaram. Inflexion in Dravidian Languages.
Vidvan G. Somanna, Vizianagaram. Words and their ways in Telugu.
Mr. P. S. Subramania Sastri, Trichinopoly. Tamil Phonology.
Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, Madras. The Āryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns.

V.—Dravidian Languages and their Literature.
Pandit N. Chengalvarayan, Bangalore. The contribution of Tamil to the civilisation and literature of South India (in Tamil).
Mr. T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, Madras. The Sanskrit Element in Tamil.
Pandit D. Ramamurti Sastri, Vizianagaram.

Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, Pitlapur.

Vidvan A. M. Satagopa Ramanujacharya.

Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar, Madras.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore ...

Mr. C. K. Subramaniam, Coimbatore.

Pandit E. M. Subramaniam, Chidambaram.

Mr. K. R. Subramaniam, Vizianagaram.

Prof. M. Venkataramangayya, Vizianagaram.

Pandit A. Venkata Sastri, Vizianagram.

Pänduraṅga Māhātmya (in Telugu).

Dravidian Lexicography.

Early Ceras from Tamil works.

Dravidian Languages and their religious development.

(i) The Age of the Tamil Śaṅg, (ii) The Epoch of Kūṇa Pāṇḍya.

The spoken languages of South India.

The date of Śilappadikāram.

The age of the Nāyanārs.

The Āndhras and Telugus.

The poet Śrīnātha (Telugu).

VI.—Archaeology, including Epigraphy, Numismatics and Indian Art.

Mr. G. V. Acharya, Bombay ... Memorial stones in the Bombay Presidency.

Dr. P. K. Acharya, Allahabad ... Styles of Indian Architecture.

Dr. G. Banerji, Calcutta ... Buddhist art in China.

Bhairavamurti Pantulu, Madras ...

"Music".

Mr. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda ... The Identification of an Indian Museum Statuette.

Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad.

Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Madras ...

Mr. Hirananda Sastri, Nilgiris ...

(i) Wooden pillar with Brāhmī inscriptions.

(ii) Worship of images in India.

Mr. Ch. Mahomed Ismail, Bombay.

Mr. C. Krishnaswami Rao, Mysore.

Mr. S. C. Mitra, Daulatpur ...

Mr. M. K. Ponnuswami, Madura ...

Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Rajahmundry.

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer, Coimbatore.

Laris.

Nātya Śāstra.

Bengal School of Art.

Svaras-sixteen or twelve.

King Nānyadeva of Mithilā on Music.

Kālakṣetram in Hinduisim.
Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Nagapattam. Concept of Rasa in Indian Aesthetics and Metaphysics.

Mr. P. Sambamurti, Madras ... Flute.

Dr. K. N. Sitaraman, Madras ... The place of Chidambaram in the evolution of Indian dance.

Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, Madras. Abhinayam.

Mr. R. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, Madras. Some South Indian Gold Coins.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar, Trivandrum. The Earliest Monuments of the Pāṇḍya country and their inscriptions.

P. Sundaram Iyer, Madras ... Some Reforms in South Indian Music.

Prof. S. V. Venkateswarar Aiyar, Mysore. Origin of Hindu Iconism.

VII.—History, Geography and Chronology.

Mr. M. Bhattacharya, Calcutta ... Historical value of the Indian four ages.

Mr. K. N. Daniel, Trivandrum ... (i) The grave of St. Thomas. (ii) South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas.

Prof. N. K. Datta, Chinsurah ... Tribes and Kingdoms in Ancient India.

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Rajkot ... New light on the early Paramāra rulers of Malwa.

Mr. R. Gopalan, Madras ... The Governance of South India in the age of the Pallavas.

Mr. M. Habib, Aligarh ... The Empire of Delhi in the early Middle ages and the organisation of the Central Government.

Rev. H. Heras, Bombay ... Three Contemporary letters on King Veṅkaṭa II.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Jubbulpore ... The capitals of Jijhauti.

Sirdar M. Kibe, Indore ... The location of Rāvanā's capital in Central India.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca ... (i) Indian Colonisation in the East. (ii) Pulukesin and Khusru II.

Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee, Lucknow. Later Gupta History, and Chronology.

Pandit M. Raghava Iyengar, Madras. Ancient Pāṇḍya capitals.
Mr. C. M. Ramachandra Chetty, Coimbatore.
A chapter in the History of Koṅgu Nādu.

Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, Trivandrum.
(i) Karuṇākara Tondaman.

(ii) The three Kerala Kulaśekharas.
(iii) Popular Government in Mediaeval Travancore.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, Madras.
Vikramādiya the founder of the Samvat Era.

Dr. R. N. Ranina, Bombay ... Expulsion of Buddhism from Saurāṣṭra.

Mr. O. K. Rao, Bangalore ... Śripāda Rāja and Vyāsa Rāja.
Mr. R. Sathianathaiyer, Trichinopoly.
Śrī Raṅga III of Vijayanagar.

Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Vizianagaram. The Gupta Hegemony.
Mr. H. A. Shah, Bombay ... (i) The date of Mahāvīra.

(ii) Puṣyamitra—who is he?
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Madras
Influence of South Indian Imperialism on Mediaeval Hindustan.

Pandit E. M. Subramaniam Pillai, Chidambaram.
The date of Buddha Nirvāṇa.

Mr. Surandranath Sen, Calcutta ... Hinduism and Mahomedan Heretics during the Pathan period.
Mr. A. Umakanta Vidyā Sekhar, Madras. Foreign connection of Buddha.

Mr. V. Venkatarao, Vizianagaram. Nannaya Coda Deva and his times (in Telugu).

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, Madras.
(i) New light on Kulottuṅga.

(ii) Kalingattupparani.
Prof. S. V. Venkateswarai Aiyar, Mysore.
(i) India in the 2nd century, B. C.

(ii) Sea power in South Indian History.

VIII.—Oriental Philosophy.

Pandit V. Anantachariar, Madras. (i) Ālavandar’s contribution to Viśiṣṭādvaīta.

Mr. M. Bhattacharya, Calcutta ... Mystery of Indian Religion.
Mr. T. R. Chintamani, Madras ... The commentator on the Māndūkya Kārikās.

Mr. S. N. Das Gupta, Calcutta ... Yoga Psychology.
PROGRAMME.

Prof. A. B. Dhruma, Benares University.
Mr. K. Gopala Krishnamma, Madras.
Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Mysore University.
Pandit Jagannatha Misra, Cuttack.
Mr. B. R. Jatar, Bombay.
Prof. Jwala Prasad, Jullundur.

Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Madras.

Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, Poona.
Mr. P. Lakshminarayana, Coconada.
Prof. B. C. Law, Calcutta.
Pandit S. K. Padmanabha Sastri, Madras.

Rev. J. F. Pessin, Nilgiris.
Pandit. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshit, Madras.
Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, I.C.S., Ramnad.
Mr. V. R. Ranganathan, Madras.
Pandit P. Sarma, Poona.

Mr. K. G. Sinha, Srinagar.
Pandit Sridhar Sastri Pathak, Poona.

Prof. Siva Prasad Bhatta Charya, Calcutta.
Mr. N. Srinivasacharyar, Madras.
Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharya, Madras.

Mr. T. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, Kumbakonam.

Prof. K. Subramaniam, Madras.

The Nyāya Praveśa.
Nyāya conception of Valid Thinking.
Bhartṛprapañca.
Darśanañvaita Darpana (in Sanskrit).
The call to duty.
Some reflections on Śaṅkara's Philosophy.

(i) Further light on the Prabhākara problem.
(ii) Bodhāyana and Daramāśārya two Vedāntins pre-supposed by Rāmānuja.

Devayāna and Pitṛyāna.
Religion and Ethics.
The Buddhist conception of Māra.
The relation between the system of Śaṅkara and other systems of Philosophy (in Sanskrit).

Māyā the greatest riddle of Advaita.
Pūrva Mīmāṃsā in the light of Uḍāra Mīmāṃsā (in Sanskrit).
Indian Philosophy as a live proposition.
The origin of Tamil Siddhāntam.
An Outline of the History and Teachings of Nāthapanthiya Siddhas.

Is Dhāmat religion Buddhism?

Śuddādvaita.
The date and inception of the Yoga Vasiṣṭha Rāmāynyā.
Veṅkaṭanātha the Vedāntist.
Rāmānuja's conception of Jīva as a Prakāra of a Īṣvara.
The Āryan Religion.
The metaphysics of the Śaiva Siddhānta System.
Pandit G. Surunarayana Sastri, Puruṣārthas.
Vizianagaram.
Rao Bahadur V. P. Vaidya, Bhāsarvajña, a logician and theologian.
Bombay.
Swami Vedachalam, Pallavaram ... The conception of God as Rudra.
Prof. T. A. Venkateswaras Diksitar, An answer to Dr. Thibaut.
Tirupathi.

IX.—Oriental Science.¹
Rao Saheb Krishna Rao Bhonsle, Electricity and Magnetism in ancient India.
Madras.
Prof. J. P. Majumdar, Calcutta ... The genesis and development of medicine in Ancient India.
Mr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpore ... Manusmṛti and the Ārtha Sāstra of Kauṭilya.
Mr. C. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, Ancient Indian Chemistry and Alchemy.
Madras.
Mr. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Is Ārtha Sāstra a secular text?
Madras.
Prof. S. V. Viswanathan, Trichinopoly. The sphere of the state in Ancient Indian Polity.

X.—Ethnology and Folklore.
Dr. U. N. Ghosal, Calcutta ... Slavery in Ancient India.
Mr. L. A. Krishnaiyar, Trivandrum ... Hill Pāndārāms of Travancore.
Mr. S. S. Mhetra, Bombay ... Śākambhari of the Saptaśati.
Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay ... Prophylactic disguise for averting evil.
Mr. G. Ramadas, Jeypore ... Aboriginal tribes in the Rāmāyāna.
Prof. K. Rangacharya, Vizianagaram ... Marriage.
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Some Aspects of Totemism in Ranchi.
Chota Nagpur.
Mr. J. A. Saldhana, Madras ... Some peculiar features of a Koṅkani- or Gauḍ Sārasvat Brāhmans and language.
Mr. R. M. Shastri, Kolhapore ... New light on some foreign element in Hindu population.
Mr. R. Subba Rao, Rajahmundry ... Anthropological research in the agency division.

XI.—Persian, Arabic and Urdu.
Mr. Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay ... The Huns and their religion.
Mr. Mahammad Shafi, Lahore ... The Nurbakshia.
Mr. Md. Shahidullah, Dacca ... Pre-Islamic Poetry in the Koran.
Dr. A. Siddiqui, Dacca ... Loan words in Arabia.
Dr. A. S. Tritton, Aligarh ... Assurances and oaths in Arabic.

XII.—General.

Mr. J. F. Bulsara ... A Lingua Franca for India.
Mr. P. Jhawala Prasad ... Present condition of the old Traditional Learning.
S. Parthasarathi Misra, Madras ... (i) Oriental Culture in our Universities.

(ii) A Thesaurus of Sanskrit roots.

Pandit P. I. Raman, Palghat ... Present Position of the Study of Indian Languages (Malayalam).

Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, Villupuram ... The Foreign Elements in Indian culture.

Mr. P. P. S. Sastry, Madras ... Maharajah Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore.

Dr. N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A., Trivandrum. The Position of Indian Languages: Its Cause and Cure.


At the second Session of the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta early in 1922, the invitation sent by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Madras University that the Conference assemble for the next Session in Madras, was accepted unanimously. In pursuance thereof, the Conference appointed Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as a Joint-Secretary for purposes of organising the third Session at Madras.

By a resolution adopted by the Conference during the Poona Session that the Conference should assemble every alternate year, the Conference was expected to assemble in Madras early in 1924. But the Madras University Act of 1923, having been just put in force, the University was in a transitional condition, the Vice-Chancellor carrying on the administration of the University with an Advisory Committee. When the question of holding the Conference was put before him about the end of 1923, he gave it as his opinion that time might be taken for the assembly of the Conference till the reconstituted University should begin to function. It was accordingly decided, with the consent of the Organisers of the Calcutta Conference, to hold over the Madras Session to the end of the
year 1924. As soon as the Syndicate under the new Act was constituted, a Syndicate Committee of five with Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar as Secretary was appointed in May, 1924, with power to add to their number, to organise the Conference. The various Governments, Universities and Indian States and learned societies were addressed for help and co-operation and were requested to send their delegations. Scholars and Savants were also invited to take part in the Conference by contribution of papers and otherwise. The response was very encouraging.

The Executive Committee of the Third All-India Oriental Conference, Madras Session, issued the following report, giving a succinct account of the preliminary work of the Conference and the proceedings of the Session, on the 17th January, 1925:—

"The second All-India Oriental Conference held at Calcutta in 1922 having accepted the invitation of the Madras University to hold its third Session at Madras, the Syndicate of the University appointed an Organising Committee of five amongst themselves, with power to co-opt, to organise and make all the necessary arrangements for holding the Session. An Executive Committee was then formed with Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor, and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools, as Secretaries and Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, Vakil, High Court, Madras, as Treasurer. Reception Committee was also formed with the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, D.D., C.B.E., Vice-Chancellor, as Chairman.

Invitations soliciting co-operation were addressed to various Pro vincial Governments, Indian States, the Universities and other Literary bodies, Scholars and the General Public; and they met with a hearty response. About 200 papers were submitted and the amount of donations and other contributions exceeded Rs. 10,000, the Local Government and the Madras University each contributing a thousand rupees. The Committee beg to convey their thanks to the various donors and patrons for their generous contributions.

The Committee of the Conference approached His Excellency Viscount Goschen with a request to open the Conference and His Excellency was graciously pleased to accept the invitation.

Opening-day Addresses.

The Conference was held at the Senate House, Madras, on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of December, 1924. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Chancellor of the University, with
befitting Oriental Music, and Vedic, Tamil and Arabic chants. His Excellency delivered a learned and sympathetic address of welcome to the scholars assembled, briefly recapitulating the substantial work already achieved by eminent Orientalists and indicating the immense possibilities for further research work with special reference to the interconnection of the Semitic and Aryan cultures.

The Rev. Dr. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, then welcomed the Members of the All India Oriental Conference to Madras in a short speech on behalf of the University and the Public of Madras.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University was then proposed to the Presidential chair by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar of Madras, Shamsul-Ulema Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, Principal Shafi of Lahore and Rao Sahib R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle of Madras. The President then delivered an instructive address exhorting the authorities concerned to conserve and encourage the ancient learning in all its manifold aspects in a manner worthy of its past.

The Conference then adjourned to the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, at 2 p.m., in response to an invitation from the College Committee. After the address of welcome in Sanskrit and Vedic chanting in all its specialised forms appertaining to the three Vedas, a Vakyarthana Parishad was held when discussions in the traditional style were conducted in all the Sastras, His Highness the Ex-Raja of Cochin being also present. In the evening Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, a member of the College Committee, was ‘At Home’ to the members of the Conference. This was followed by a lantern lecture by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman on Indian Architecture.

*Reading of papers.*

The reading of papers submitted to the Conference began on the 23rd morning in three sections, Sanskrit Language, Literature and Philosophy going into one, History, Geography and Anthropology going into another and the Dravidian and other languages constituting the third. The sections were presided over by Drs. Jha, R. C. Majumdar and S. K. Aiyangar. These sections worked over three Sessions on the 23rd and the 24th. Seventy-five, Sixty and Thirty-five papers were read and discussed in the respective sections. This arrangement proved satisfactory and was much appreciated. Every Session was largely attended by scholars and the public.
Oriental Parishad.

The most noteworthy feature of the Conference was the assembling of about 75 eminent Pandits and Maulvis. These scholars, well-versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, and the Dravidian Languages and Literature though scattered all over the Presidency, readily responded to the invitation of the Conference. In the true spirit of ancient Indian tradition, the Conference honoured, on the 23rd evening, the Mahamahopadhyayas, Shamsul-Ulemas, Principals of Oriental Colleges, representatives of learned Sabhas and other Pandits of eminence, with presentation of Shawls.

Entertainments.

This was followed by an entertainment given by the Andhra Sahitya Parishad to the members of the Conference at 5 P.M. An exhibition of ancient Sanskrit and Telugu manuscripts of rare value was also arranged.

At the invitation of the Conference Committee, the Presidency College Sanskrit Association put on boards Sudraka's Mricchakatika at 6 P.M. There was a large and learned audience and the performance was regarded as a brilliant exhibition of the literary and histrionic talents of the young student-actors, in appreciation of which, the Conference presented the Association with a silver Toy-cart as a significant souvenir. His Highness the Ex-Raja of Cochin presented a gold medal to the youngest actor of the evening, Rohasena. The Hon'ble the Raja of Panagal presented a gold medal to the Association. A Patron of Learning and Art, also offered each and every actor of the evening a medal.

Business meeting.

On the 24th, after the Literary Sessions had come to a close, a business meeting was held between 1-30 and 2-30 P.M., when the report of the Calcutta Session presented by the Secretary was considered and adopted. The proposal of a draft constitution was referred to an All-India Committee (for list see next page) which was also empowered to consider the proposal to start a Journal for the Conference and other questions. At the close of the meeting, the Conference duly honoured in Oriental style, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, the President, with the presentation of a costly shawl with fruits and pansupari.

Musical exposition.

Another noteworthy feature of this Conference was the exposition of Oriental culture on the side of Art with special reference to South Indian
Music. In the forenoon 6 papers were read dealing with important aspects of the Science and Art of Music.

During the rest of the afternoon, more than thirty musicians, expert in all forms of Indian Music, gave an exhibition of their proficiency in their respective arts. As many as sixteen batches of them played upon a dozen varieties of musical instruments. Curtailed as the programme was, it was appreciated by a discerning audience almost as large as the Senate House could hold. Thanks to Mr. C. R. Srinivasa Aiyengar, this section was an unprecedented success. In token of the appreciation of the Conference, gold medals were presented to these exponents of art who responded at great sacrifice of time and money.

Thanks to Volunteers and other Workers.

The boarding and lodging of the delegates who attended the Conference was satisfactorily arranged in the spacious buildings of the Hindu High School and the Victoria Hostel kindly lent to us by the respective authorities. About forty to sixty young men from the Presidency, Pachaiyappa’s and other Colleges in Madras enrolled themselves as volunteers with Mr. P. P. S. Sastri and Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar as Captains. The success of the Conference was largely due to the earnest work of the assiduous band of volunteers who were each presented with a copy of the Group photo of the Workers by Rao Sahib R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle. Special thanks are due to Messrs. P. N. Appuswami, P. V. Krishnaswami and Abdul Qadir, and the literary assistants, Messrs. A. V. Venkatarama Iyer, L. Venkataratnam, K. R. Appalachariar, T. V. Narasinga Rao, K. A. Sankara Aiyar, R. Gopalan, T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri and T. R. Chintamani, who worked actively for the success of the Conference. A special meed of thanks is due to Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Vakil, High Court, Madras, for the keen interest he took and the valuable services he rendered to make the Conference a success.

The third Session of the Conference came to a close and the Madras Session showed itself worthy of the reputation of South India, one of the Delegates from North India having put it that, in much that was done in the Session, they had been transported across two milleniums of years backwards to Ancient India itself.

The Secretaries and the Treasurer have by their untiring zeal and work placed the Organisers of the Conference under deep obligation. The Conference itself was an exhibition of the amount of co-operation
that was possible and the success that such a co-operation could achieve. The Executive Committee wish to place on record their high appreciation of the sympathy with which His Excellency the Governor responded to the invitation, the active support of the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the untiring efforts of the office-bearers."

MADRAS, 28th October, 1925.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,

P. P. S. SASTRI,

SECRETARIES.

All India Committee elected by the Conference on 24-12-1924.

1. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Allahabad.
2. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.
3. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, Madras.
4. Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Madras.
5. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar, Dacca.
6. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona.
7. Dr. J. J. Moodi, Bombay.
8. Prof. S. V. Venkateswara, Mysore.
9. Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, Madras.
10. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.
11. Dr. Zimmermann, Bombay.
12. Mr. C. K. Rao, Bangalore.
13. Dr. S. K. De, Dacca.
15. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, Cochin.
16. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore.
17. Mr. K. Rangachari, Vizianagaram.
18. Mr. P. V. Kane, Bombay.
20. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bombay.
LIST OF DELEGATES.

7.—List of Delegates.

Mr. K. V. Abhayankar ... Guzarat College ... Ahmedabad.
Dr. A. S. Tritton ... Muslim University ... Aligarh.
Mr. V. R. Ranganadhan ... Government College ... Anantapur.

Mr. N. Chengalvarayan ... Government High School ... Bangalore.
„ C. Krishnaswami Rao ... ... Bangalore.
„ B. R. Arte ... Baroda College ... Baroda.
„ B. Bhattacharya ... Manuscripts Library ... Baroda.
„ B. R. Mheta ... Manuscripts Library ... Belgaum.
„ V. H. Vader ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ......
Mr. Abdul Rahiman Khan ... ... Hyderabad
" R. Subba Rao ' ... ... Hyderabad

Mr. G. Ramadas ... ... Jaipur.
" Hiralal ... ... Jabalpur

Mr. V. K. Ramchandu ... ... Kampte.
" D. Lakshminarayan ... ... Kampte.
Mrs. D. Lakshminarayan ... ... Kampte.
" V. R. Saptarishi ... ... Kampte.

Dr. L. Sarup ... University ... Lahore
Mr. Md. Shafi ... ... Lahore.
" Prayag Dayal ... Museum ... Lucknow.
" K. A. Subramania Aiyar ... University ... Lucknow.

Mr. A. Chakravarti ... Presidency College ... Madras.
" T. R. Chintamani ... University ... Madras.
" V. R. R. Dikshitari ... University ... Madras.
Rao Sahib R. Krishna Rao ... Madras.
Bhonsle ... Madras.

Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastrl ... Presidency College ... Madras.
" P. S. Murugesam Pillai ... Madras.
" T. R. Ramakrishna Sastrl ... Madras.
" S. Rangaswami Sarasvati ... Madras.
" C. Sankararama Sastrl ... Madras.
" K. A Sankaran ... University ... Madras.
" P. P. S. Sastrl ... Madras.
" R. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar ... Museum ... Madras.

Aiyangar
" T. R. Sesha Aiyangar ... Pachaiyappa's College Madras.
" C. S. Srinivasachari ... Pachaiyappa's College Madras.
" P. N Srinivasachari ... Pachaiyappa's College Madras.
" T. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar ... Madras.
" K. G. Subrahmaniam ... University ... Madras.
" K. Subramania Pillai ... Madras.
" R. Swaminatha Aiyar ... Madras.
" A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar Presidency College ... Madras.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hiriyananna</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. R. Shama Sastry</td>
<td>Chamaraja Sanskrit College</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Shustery</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. N. B. Utgikar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nasik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiramanda Sastry</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nilgiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. V. Subramania Aiyar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nilgiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paranavitana</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nilgiris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. I. Raman</td>
<td>Victoria College</td>
<td>Palghat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Ramiah Pantulu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pithapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. S. K. Belvalkar</td>
<td>Deccan College</td>
<td>Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. D. Karmakar</td>
<td>New Poona College</td>
<td>Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. G. Paran</td>
<td>Bhandarkar Institute</td>
<td>Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. G. Sardesi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. Narayana Rao</td>
<td>Government College</td>
<td>Rajahmundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Ramakrishna Kavi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rajahmundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Subba Rao</td>
<td>Andhra Historical Society</td>
<td>Rajahmundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. V. Ramamurti I.C.S.</td>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>Ramnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarat Chandra Rai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. B. V. Bapat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. G. Sinha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar</td>
<td>St. Joseph's College</td>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. S. Subrahmanina Sastry</td>
<td>National College</td>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. V. Visvanatha Iyer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. N. Daniel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao</td>
<td>Maharaja's Sanskrit College</td>
<td>Vijianagaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Somnana</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vijianagaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Rangachari</td>
<td>Maharajah's College</td>
<td>Vijianagaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Venkatarangiah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vijianagaram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. R. R. Sastry</td>
<td></td>
<td>Villupuram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.—List of Subscriptions to the Reception Committee Fund.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscriptions</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government of Madras</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Bombay</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of the United Provinces</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Bengal</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Mysore</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Baroda</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of the Central Provinces</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Travancore</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government of Cochin</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Kumbakonam</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Raja of Bobbili</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Annamala Chettiar</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Raja of Venkatagiri</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharajah of Bobbili</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Zamindar of Pithapur</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. A. Shah</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir M. C. T. Muthia Chettiar</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Zamindar Doddappanayikanur</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. Ramadas</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. N. Ibrahim Sait</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Raja of Bhadrachalam</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. E. Macphail</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Justice Krishnan</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir M. Habibullah</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. P. Vaidya</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Rao</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Justice Madhavan Nair</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. Littlehails</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. F. E. Corley</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Justice Devados</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. Krishna Rao Bonsle</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. A. Candeth</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. M. Usman Sahib</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raja of Panagal</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Besant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. C. Dutt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. B. Satyanarayana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Ramanujachariar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Somasundaram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. Krishna Sastrigal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. G. Lakshminarayangaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Subrahmanya Iyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir T. Desikachari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodd. Govindadass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. Ranganadham Chetti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Iyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Iyengar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. D. G. Rai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. N. Raghavachariar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. K. Acharya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Chakravarti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Heigberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. A. Parkhurst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. V. Rajagopalachariar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon. T. N. Sivajnanam Pillai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. G. Sessa Iyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. V. Ramamurti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Sambamurti Rao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. N. Krishnaswami Iyengar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. C. N. Muthukumara Chettiar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. V. Seshu Iyer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. N. Srinivasachari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Namberumal Chetty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. G. Narayanaswami Chetty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. G. A. Natesan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chetty</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. A. Saidhana</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Satyamurthi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Sundararama Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. R. Namasivaya Mudaliar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. B. Ramanatha Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. Venkateswaralu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. D. Seshacharlu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. V. Ramanujachari</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. P. S. Sastri</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. R. Lakshmivaraha Iyengar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. L. Venkataratnam</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. Narayana Rao</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Ranganayakulu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Raja Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. Rajagopala Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. A. Seshagiri Sastri</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Sundararaja Aiyangar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. V. Chandrasekaran</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. E. Ranganathan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Md. Abdul Rahiman Khan Saheb</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Madhaviah</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. L. Narayan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Arthur Paul</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. G. Sundaresa Sastrigal</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. S. Kalyanasundara Sastri</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Appu Sastrigal, Rao Bahadur</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. G. Aravamudhan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. Chatopadhayaya</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. V. Krishniah</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Bhashyam</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. S. Jayarama Aiyar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messrs. Kothari &amp; Sons</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Krishnamachari</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Venkataramana Rao</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. Venkatasubarama Iyer</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Ramunni Menon</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Mathew</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. R. Tiruvnkatatchariar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. B. Rama Rao</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. R. Chakrapani Iyengar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. G. Venkatarama Rao</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. P. Cotilingam</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Iyer</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. A. Subrahmaniya Iyer</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Muthiya Mudaliar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. C. Desikachari</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Panchapegesa Sastriar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. C. Seshachari</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. S. Ramaswami</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. N. Marthandam Pillai</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. E. S. Chidambaram Pillai</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. V. Sesha Aiyangar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. Govindarajachari</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. N. S. Srinivasa Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. Y. Adiga</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Ramaswami Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. A. Sankaran</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. G. Subramanian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. R. Chintamani</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandit Alasingarachari</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. Ranganayakulu Chetti</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. R. Raghunatha Rao</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. R. Tiruvenkadatha Aiyangar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. V. R. R. Diksitar...</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss O. K. Anantalakshmi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Panini Rao</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. V. Ramanatha Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. K. V. Ramachandra Aiyar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. B. Sitarama Rao</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S. Subrahmanya Iyer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bhavanandam Pillai</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. P. Subrahmanya Iyah</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.—List of Pandits and Maulvis honoured with Shawls.

Mahamahopadhyayas.

S. Panchapagesa Sastrigal, Mysore.
Kapisthalam Desikachariar, Tirupati.
Tata Subbraya Sastrri, Vizianagaram.
Dandapaniswami Diksitar, Chidambaram.
Swaminatha Iyer, Chidambaram.
T. Lakshmana Suri, Madras.

Principals of Sanskrit Colleges.

T. Venkatasubba Sastrigal, Mylapore.
K. Krishna Sastrigal, Chittore.
P. Nilakantha Sarma, Pattambi.
A. Sankara Sastrri, Kallidaikuricchi.
P. Venkatachala Sastrri, Pudukkode.

Representatives of Vidvat Sabhas.

Sankara Mutt, Kumbhakonam.
Madhva Sabha, Tirupati.
Advaita Sabha, Chidambaram.
Telugu Academy, Madras.
Visistadvaita Sabha, Madras.

Sanskrit.

S. K. Ramanatha Sastrri, Kovvur.
S. K. Padmanabha Sastrri, Madras.
N. S. Anantakrishna Sastrri, Calcutta.
T. N. Narasishmacharya, Madras.
T. Anantachariar, Madras.
T. V. Ramachandra Diksitar, Madras.
S. Narayana Yajva, Madras.
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

VIDVAT PARISAD.
LIST OF PANDITS AND MAULVIS HONOURED WITH SHAWALS.

D. T. Tatachari, Tiruvadi.
Subrahmanya Sastri, Tanjore.
T. K. Raghavendrachariar, Tinnevelly.
R. V. Krishnamachariar, Kumbakonam.
G. V. Padmanabha Sastri, Trichinopoly.
Lakshmipuram Srinivasachari.

Telugu.
Puranam Panda Mallaya Sastri.
Malladi Ramakrishna Sastri, Bezwada.
Nori Subrahmanya Sastri, Cocanada.
Chadalaval Sundararama Sastri, Madras.
Umnia Lisha.
Umakantam Akkiraj, Madras.
S. V. Srirama Sastri, Bezwada.
J. Seshadri Sarma, Cuddapah.
Kampati Markandeya Sarma.
Gullapudi Lakshmana Sastri.
Puranam Suryanarayana Sastri, Madras.
Pokkuler Lakshminarayana Sastri.
Ganti Suryanarayana Sastri, Vijianagaram.

Tamil.
M. V. Ramanujachari, Manalur.
E. V. Anantarama Iyer, Madras.
M. Raghava Iyengar, Madras.
M. C. Subrahmanya Kavirayar, Tinnevelly.
C. R. Namasiyava Mudaliar, Madras.
D. Satagopachari.
Ulaganatha Pillai, Palace Library, Tanjore.
A. Satagoparamanujachariar, Kumbakonam.

Kanarese.
M. D. Alasingarachariar, Madras.

Malayalam.
A. Krishna Pisharoti, Trivandrum.
Vasudevan Musad, Trichur.
P. I Raman, Palghat.

Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
V. Krishnamachari, Sanskrit.
T. Rangachari, Sanskrit.
V. Prabhakara Sastri, Telugu.
P. Sundara Sastri, Kanarese.
Rangachariar, Tamil.

Arabic.

Shamsul-ulema Abdur Rahman Shatir, Madras.
Moulvi Munshi-e-Fazil Syed Ali Muhammad Zakir Sahib
Madani, Madras.
Moulvi Abdul Qadir Ahmed Sahib.
HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT GOSCHEN.
10.—Opening Address.

BY H. E. VISCONT GOSCHEN,
Governor of Madras.

It is a very great pleasure to me to welcome you all here to-day and to see so many representatives of this Association assembled for this Conference.

We in Madras are glad to think that you have chosen our city on this occasion as your place of meeting and I hope that you will enjoy yourselves in our surroundings and be interested in some of the ancient places we are anxious to show you.

I am sure that our first feeling to-day is one of sadness for the loss of one who took so prominent a part in the proceedings of this Conference last time and to whom it owes so much for his inspiration, his enthusiasm and his constant support. India has by his death lost a great supporter of Arts and Science; but this Conference realises not only the public loss but that of a friend who had won the respect of all his colleagues; with them his memory will be kept green.

To-day you are entering on a Conference which will, I am sure be deeply interesting to you all if I may judge by the programme before you. In these modern days of hurry and bustle, of modern improvements which, however necessary, are not conducive to a quiet life, of practical-mindedness, if I may coin a word which usurps the place of quiet thought and contemplation, it is pleasant to turn from the present-day world, and in imagination to throw our minds back to a world of generations ago and to cogitate on ancient writings and ancient inscriptions, ancient architecture and ancient schools of thought. It cultivates our imagination, using the word in its highest sense, which needs such tending under modern conditions. One of the most interesting forms of speculation especially to one who travels much is the extent of the knowledge which one country has of another, whether it is on the surface, or deep down into the wells of history, and, if deep down, of the connection in the past between the two countries, or even between continents. May I this morning for a few moments dive into those works of history and look into the connection of India with other countries?

It was about the end of the 18th century that Europe became acquainted with Eastern literatures. It is unnecessary to deal with, and indeed, there are very few materials for dealing adequately with, the
vexed question as to the antiquity of Indian literature or with the
difficult topic of the extent of indebtedness, if any, of India to Babylonia
and Assyria. It is, however, noteworthy that Professor Bühler develop-
ed a theory that the Asoka inscriptions were closely akin to the Aramaic
type of writing. Another variant of the Indian alphabet is also supposed
to be connected with the Phoenician style of writing represented on
Assyrian weights. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro made within the
last few months, have opened up a new vista and have pointed to the
possibility of a close contact in civilisation and culture between the
primeval civilisations of the world. It is difficult to believe, though it
is now proved beyond all doubt, that somewhere about 3000 B. C. the
people of Sumeria, Accadia, Babylon, and Sindh had lively commercial
and cultural intercourse with each other.

It is also suggested that the old Ophir was somewhere on the
South Indian coast, that the temple of Solomon was built with materials
that came from South India and it is a commonplace that the Hebrew
names for ivory, peacocks and sandal were all of Indian origin. The
famous story of Solomon and the child competed for by two contending
mothers is a variant of a Buddhistic Jataka.

That very discerning scholar, Professor E. B. Havell, has advanced
a theory that in the second millennium before Christ an Aryan people
worshipping the same deities as are referred to in the Vedas had founded
a powerful kingdom between the Tigris and the Euphrates and he speaks
of the Vedic tradition of the fight between the Devas and the Asuras as
referable to the struggle between the Aryan worshippers of Surya or the
Sun and the Semites of Assyria. He further urges that the masters of
Babylon were also Aryans and they assisted in the colonisation of the
Punjab. It is also a moot point which further researches may resolve,
whether the ancient Dravidian inhabitants of the South Indian coast
were not akin to the Sumerians. In any case, it is a most remarkable
circumstance that the old King Dasaratha is claimed by the Indian and
the Assyrian alike; for the old Semite chronicles demonstrate that about
the year 1350 B.C. anarchy arose amongst the Mitanni after the death
of King Dasaratha (Dushrata as he is called in those writings), and
that as a result of the anarchy a great migration towards the East
took place and scientists have seen the connection between this migra-
tion and the great advance of Rama down the Gangetic valley to Ceylon.
Further excavations and researches and a re-reading of the Hindu
Epic and the Vedas in the light of modern research may open up
enchanting vistas of fascinating history and disentangle from the legends
of old the truth which is often more marvellous than many legends and
epics. Among such researches will undoubtedly be the elucidation of
the meaning and significance of that conflict between the newer with the matriarchal theory of society and of the state which now persists only in Malabar but which seems originally to have been very widely spread not only in India but throughout the world. The clash of the ideal with the patriarchal, the significance of the help afforded by the aboriginal monkey-tribes to the advancing Aryan and the imposition of the Aryan culture in Dravida are matters now enveloped in speculation and controversy, but which demand careful and scientific treatment and elucidation. Such a study may reveal that, as has happened in other countries, it was not always the conqueror that won; for, if anything is made manifest by the study of ancient documents, it is that the advancing hosts of Aryans were a warlike, meat-eating and soma-drinking clan who descended upon an agricultural population and who, though they imposed some of their ideas on the aborigines, were yet profoundly modified by their impact with them. The intertwining of cults and of beliefs involves problems which have to be investigated not solely from the point of view of the religious man and the philosopher but from that of the student of archaeology and of institutions. Thus viewed, the Upanishads and the Vedas may, over and above their religious value, afford help to us in the solution of modern political problems, and in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe presenting the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, we may discern that the root idea of the village system was to be found in the Vedic religion which, in his own language was, the moving spirit of the organisation of the Aryan village community and which contributed, more than any other cause, to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes they have suffered and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.

Scholars have also shown that the rigidity of the caste system was not wholly imposed by craft or subtlety but was largely the product of later and medieval conditions. The study of Indian archaeology and history may do a great deal in many directions for solving not only the problems of old but the questions of to-day. It is a great pity that an intercourse which was so lively and continuous in the dawn of history became more and more intermittent, and finally came to an end. In any event between 2000 B.C. and till the invasion of Alexander, Europe knew very little of the East, and the East was oblivious of the secular changes in the West though Persian inscriptions disclose and Herodotus makes it clear that Persian monarchs ruled over Northern India. The sole materials we have up to the date of Alexander the Great are contained in the narrative of the voyage of Skylax and the chronicle of the physician Ktesias who dwelt in the court of Artaxerxes
After the Alexandrian conquest, for a long time there was a very close intermingling of Greek and Indian learning and culture, and throughout the reigns of Candragupta and Asoka, we have many records, literary and historical, attesting to this intermixture.

After the Gupta dynasty broke down, the darkness which afterwards became dense, commenced its sway and but for the chronicles of the Chinese pilgrims and later on of the Mussalmans' historian Alberuni, we have a complete isolation for centuries. But Indian culture and literature travelled West in the intervening period in a remarkable way. The collection of folklore translated into Persian and thence translated from Persian into Arabic, spread all over Europe by means of Italian and French translations under the name of the fables of Pilpai. Thus India has its share in the mediaeval literature of fairy tale and fable, and it is also advanced that the philosophical speculations of the Greeks and the Pythagoreans were influenced by the Yoga Philosophy. In the matter of science the introduction of the decimal system and early geometrical ideas and even in the matter of games, such as chess, India influenced Europe as the Greeks on the other hand undoubtedly influenced Indian Drama and Indian Astronomy. It is noteworthy that the debt was frankly and openly acknowledged on both sides, and, indeed an Indian astronomical treatise calls itself the Romaka Siddhanta—the Roman Science. Indian medical treatises were translated by the Califs of Bagdad and the works of Caraka and Susruta translated by an Arab physician were a part of the equipment of mediaeval medicine in Europe. But about the time that the great streams of European invasion of India began, India was split up into separate and quarrelling States and the pursuit of learning was so neglected that there was considerable ignorance on both sides of each other's indebtedness, and Indians had become more and more isolated and self-centred, and in the troubled days of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries India had forgotten the extent and variety of its heritage. Largely, owing to this reason and because of the lack of historical material in India, we have not yet secured a connected narrative of the rise and growth not only of dynasties but of ideas. The materials for a reconstruction of the past, which is and must be the foundation for guidance for the future, therefore depend upon a study of such things as inscriptions and coins and upon archaeological evidence. The excavations in Taxila, for instance, have done much to clear up outstanding questions of Indo-Sythian chronology. The history of Indian art or Indian religion cannot be understood by students who confine their attention to literary evidence.

Much has been said of the absence of Hindu historical literature but a great field for activity still exists in the study of the records of the
various old Indian Courts in the North and in the South. A great deal remains to be done in this direction especially in the South of India where the history of the ancient South Indian Kings has to be pieced out and the work of scholars like Srinivasa Iyengar, the author of Tamil Studies and of our University Professor, the enthusiastic Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, have to be supplemented by the labours of other historians and students of Art who must follow in their footsteps. Till recently the reproach was levelled, somewhat justly, that Indians owed their knowledge of ancient Indian history and institutions to the labours of Western scholars. Colebrooke and Sir W. Jones and Elphinstone, not to speak of Fa-hien and Hieun-Tsang, Megasthenes and Alberuni and Ferista, were our chief sources. Mention must also be made of Whitney and other great Americans who have made Harvard one of the centres of Sanskrit research, of the stream of French and German writers such as Burnouf, Bopp, Weber and others who established centres of Indian study in Paris and Berlin, Leipzig and Bonn, and of the labours of Mr. Sewell, the Historian of Vijayanagar, and of the chroniclers of the Moghal period. But thanks to the impulse originally given by Dr. Bhandarkar, the great Bombay Orientalist, and men like Justices Ranade and Telang and later on by Justices Woodroffe and Pargiter and encouraged by the Nationalistic Movement and the labours of the band of scholars whom Sir Asutosh Mukerji gathered around him in Calcutta including such scholars as Dr. Jha, the President of the Conference, and Jadunath Sarkar, the reproach can no longer be levelled at Indians. The field of activity is immense and the result is bound to be full of significance.

In most curious and unexpected ways can light be thrown on these subjects by ardent research. For instance, by means of an inscription on a rock near Pudukottai, we are able to discover the way in which the ancient Indian musical score was developed. The study of excavated pottery in Tinnevelly and in Cochin has enabled scholars like Ananta-krishna Aiyar to reconstruct certain aspects of Dravidian civilisation. This is a field of activity in which official and non-official, Indian and European, can collaborate. In 1825, Lieut.-Col. John Walker, by laborious research, began the reconstruction of Indian chronology and it is a matter for satisfaction that his work received the encouragement and support of the Hon'ble Company's Board of Revenue. That work owed a great deal to the labours of men like Father Beschi who Indianised themselves for the sake of religion and of science as indeed did Dr. Pope who is popularly known as Pope Aiyar.

Lord Curzon's Ancient Monument's Act and the re-organisation of the Archaeological Department were powerful factors in the matter of
the stimulation of research; and Sir John Marshall, the Director-General, has laboured hard to organise systematic work in Archaeology. Excavations have been carried on in Taxila and Nalanda, sites of ancient Universities, Patna, Benares and Chitor in Rajputana. The recent excavations in the Montgomery District in Sindh (Mohenjo Daro) have unearthed unexpected and epoch-making material. Sir Austosh Mukerji and the band of scholars that gathered round him have stimulated interest in the ancient Buddhistic literature of India some of which is available only in Chinese and Tibetan translations: and in this task the French Savants have distinguished themselves specially and their work with reference to the culture of the far East, i.e., Assam and Cambodia and Burma, has been of the highest value.

The scope and extent of Indian culture is now seen to be practically co-terminous with the Southern Asian continent. Research work has also taken place with reference to the Hittite monuments and the discoveries at Boghaz-keui are also very important.

The discovery of Pristine pottery has linked up regions so far apart as Pataliputra (Patna) where Terra-Cota figures have been discovered, Hyderabad and Adichanallur in Tinnevelly. A visit to the Madras Museum will elucidate the value of these discoveries. In addition, the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein and the French Missions have enabled scholars to discover the affiliation of the ancient culture in Turkistan and Central Asia with the pre-historic Aryan and has further reinforced the position that at the dawn of time the Semite and the Aryan cultures were closely inter-connected. It is now proved that about 3000 B.C. there was a vigorous Aryan civilization in Armenia and Asia-Minor.

Gentlemen, one could roam at length down these fascinating by-paths, each leading on into another and affording glimpses of romantic historical views which urge one on, but you are all far better acquainted than I am with the journey, and I must ask your indulgence for having, as an amateur, though may I say an enthusiastic amateur, attached myself to so distinguished a band of travellers. May the result of your labours be an addition to that sum of knowledge to which your distinguished predecessors to whom I have alluded to-day, have so greatly contributed.
11.—Welcome Address.

BY THE REV. DR. E. M. MACPHAIL, D.D., C.I.E., C.B.E.,
Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras;
Chairman of the Reception Committee.

It is my pleasant duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee to welcome the members of the All-India Oriental Conference to Madras, on the occasion of this, its Third Meeting. In the ordinary course, this Conference should have been held in Madras last December. As, however the University of Madras, on whose invitation the Conference is meeting here, was at that time undergoing reconstruction and the new authorities were only in process of formation, the University was not in a position to arrange for the Conference and it was decided to postpone the Third Meeting for a year. I trust that the members of the Conference will feel that our welcome to them, though later in time than it was originally intended to be, is no less warm on that account.

It is, I think, a fitting thing that one of the early meetings of this Conference should be held in Madras. Apart from Western influences there are three great elements in Indian culture which have been reacting upon one another during the past centuries. These are the Aryan, the Muhammadan, and the Dravidian, and here in Madras we are in the centre of the sphere of influence of the last of these three. Southern India is a veritable store-house of material worthy of investigation and discussion by Indian scholars, and it may be hoped that this gathering of scholars in Madras may lead to a deeper interest being taken by Northern scholars in the culture of South India. It may be of interest to you if I mention that it is proposed that Dravidian culture should be one of the subjects to receive primary consideration when the development of research and higher teaching is taken in hand by our reconstructed University.

Sir Asutosh Mukerji, whose untimely death we all deplore, in his Address of Welcome at Calcutta to the members of the Second Conference, gave a full and interesting review of the work that had been done in the past in connexion with the subjects for the discussion of which you are now met. It would be unnecessary for me, even if I possessed the knowledge of that great oriental scholar, which I do not, to attempt to repeat what he said so well on that occasion. I shall content myself with a few remarks on what appears to me to be the value of a Conference like this, and of the studies it represents.
The ideal Conference possibly would be one where there was abundance of time—say a month—for the full discussion of all the papers placed before it and for the summing up of results. As things are, however, in this busy world, where time is limited, it seems to me that the chief value of a Conference is the opportunity that it affords for the meeting with one another of men who are engaged in the same or in kindred lines of work. Papers can be printed and circulated, but it is the discussion, formal or informal, the interchange of thought and the comparison of experiences that I personally have found to be the most helpful thing in connexion with such gatherings. Meeting with a distinguished man known hitherto only by name or from his books is often an inspiration, and the talk in gatherings outside the meeting-hall often makes more impression on one and exercises more lasting influence than a paper however learned. In spite of the power of the press and the potency of the printed page it is still found in all departments of life that the spoken word and personal intercourse are the most effective channels of influence.

But a Conference has no right to meet unless the subjects which it is to consider are worthy of the labour which it entails. Now I venture to assert that no one who takes the trouble to see what the subjects are that are dealt with by the different Sections—I need not enumerate them—can deny that they are subjects worthy of a Conference. They are subjects which will be recognised as important by all who believe that "the proper study of mankind is man." This is sometimes described as a utilitarian age, and it is true that the predominance of literary subjects in the education of the West has led to a reaction which is sometimes carried so far as to make men fail to recognise the importance of the study of the humanities. The marvellous advances of Science during the past hundred years, the increase in our knowledge of the laws of nature and in our power to apply them for the comfort and convenience of men, tend to lead to the disparagement of inquiries into the past and into many subjects which always have been, and I believe always will be, of supreme interest to mankind. It is true that men may be so wrapped up in the past that they lose their sense of proportion and fail to realise the importance of the present, but yet I cannot help feeling that in the search for truth men may have often to engage in researches which may seem to practical men of little value because that value cannot be expressed in terms of the current coin of the realm. Life is many-sided and man does not live by bread alone, and the human desire for knowledge fitly leads to the study not only of nature, but of the works of the highest product of nature, to the study of man with all his achievements in language, in literature, in art, in history,
philosophy,—in a word in all the subjects an interest in which has brought you here.

It is natural that at this time which may fitly be called an Indian Renaissance increased attention should be paid to the study of the past. In the European Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was an awakened interest in the sources from which the civilisation of Western Europe was derived—in the art, the thought, the language, and the literature of Greece and Rome, and in the early Christian Church. This interest did not imply a return to the conditions of antiquity, for the Renaissance was in fact the beginning of the modern period in European History. But the revival of interest in the past led to a quickening of intellectual life, and to a general enrichment of the life of the time. Those of you who have read Browning’s Grammarian’s Funeral may have felt that the study of Greek Grammar was rather a poor subject on which a man should spend his life; but after all he had been hammering out one of the keys which were to unlock the treasures of Greek thought, and the man who does something to add to our real knowledge of the past is making a real addition to the possessions of humanity. India during past years may, owing to contact with modern influences, have been inclined at times to neglect its own culture, its languages, its literatures, its art, but the movement of which you are the representatives is a proof that that neglect is ended, and you bring to the study of the past an equipment such as the pioneers of the European Renaissance did not possess. Not only have large accumulations of knowledge been made since then, but, thanks to the development of the scientific spirit, workers of to-day are furnished with those great instruments of scientific method and historical criticism without which much investigation of the past becomes profitless theorising and empty word-spinning.

But it is not only with the past that your Conference deals, for your records and your programme show that you are interested in the present and in the development of modern Indian culture. I have been speaking of the European Renaissance. It is noteworthy that it is during that period that we see the development of the national spirit in the countries that made up the European commonwealth, and the growth of national literatures. Historical analogies are apt to be treacherous, but it seems to me that there is in India at present a somewhat parallel phenomenon. Alongside of the enthusiasm for the motherland there has grown up an intensification of local patriotism and a desire for the development of the different vernaculars. You will find, I think, that this is specially true of Southern India where, as you are aware, there are about sixty million people speaking Dravidian languages. You will find that Tamil and
Telugu, to mention only two of them, are being regarded with a new enthusiasm, and that men here not only are seeking to encourage the study of their classics but are anxious to discover the best means for making the mother-tongue an effective vehicle for modern thought. Here as elsewhere in India the need is felt for the development of a simple vernacular prose style which can be understood by the masses of the people.

The European Renaissance in its enthusiasm for the classics inflicted an injury on European education by the undue prominence that it gave in its system to the study of Latin and Greek. The evil has been exaggerated and has led to an excessive reaction, but it was an evil none-the-less. It is satisfactory, as I have said, to see that this Conference does not neglect the languages of the present. May I remind you of the plea put forward by Dr. Taraporewala in his Presidential Address to the Philology Section of the Calcutta Conference, when among other things he urged the scientific study of the modern vernaculars of India? He suggested the division of the whole country into "linguistic provinces" each to work out the details of its own language and dialects, and hoped that it might be possible at the Madras Conference to institute a Linguistic Society of India with this end in view.

In conclusion I would express the hope that you may find your stay in Madras both pleasant and profitable, and that by your meetings and proceedings fresh contributions may be made to the important subjects which you are met to consider and to which some of you have devoted your lives. It is well that in this busy complex modern life of ours a place should be found for men who will devote themselves to learning, and once again I offer you a most cordial welcome on behalf not only of the University but of the people of Madras.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. GANANATH JHA.
12.—Presidential Address.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. GANGANATH JHA,
M.A., D.LITT., VIDYASAGAR.
Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University.

I am unable to express my gratitude to you for this honour which is the highest that can be attained by an Oriental scholar. The distinction is all the greater on account of this chair having been occupied in the past by two of our revered Acaryas, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Professor Sylvain Levi. The contrast indeed is so great that I feel a certain amount of diffidence in occupying the same chair; and yet I do so because it is in the course of nature that the pupil should take the place of the Guru in the same way as the son succeeds the father.

It is my duty to deliver the presidential address. Here also I am in a quandary, being unable to say anything that would be considered even a poor successor to the last two magnificent addresses that we had the honour of listening to. I feel this so strongly that if I were free to exercise the prerogative of the chair, I would have no hesitation in ruling that the item of the presidential address should be removed from the programme. Unfortunately, however, my great respect for the President and members of our Reception Committee does not allow me this freedom. I have therefore no other option left than to follow, however inadequately, in the path of my predecessors.

नेनास्य पितरे याता नेन याता: पितामहः ।
तेन यावास्तां मारम् .................||

Unable to produce anything worthy of a presidential address I shall, under cover of that title, attempt to lay before you one or two subjects of practical importance that have been exercising my mind for the last few years.

The first point is that Oriental research as such has not as yet received that attention in this country which is its birthright. With a solitary exception perhaps there is no organisation for this research. Not that work is not being carried on. Much solid work is being done, we know, in various parts of the country. But in almost every case it is the product of the chance proclivities of individual scholars. It is sad indeed that neither the various Provincial Governments nor learned public bodies pay any heed to this very important branch of educational
activity; and yet it is in the field of Oriental research that this country should and can take the lead. In fact, what we have been doing during the last 50 years has demonstrated that we would, if we could, give the lead in this field; and the simple reason for this lies in the fact that even in our present unorganised, or even disorganised state, we have within our reach materials that are not available to students of other countries. What we need most badly however is organisation and a little public sympathy, and also some degree of what I may call 'University patriotism.' For some unaccountable reason the feeling has taken root in our hearts that research in any field of knowledge is impossible within the four corners of this land. This may have been true to a certain extent in regard to the physical sciences, research wherein requires facilities and equipment which may be beyond the resources of some of our Universities, which have nowhere received that support which is their due. But so far as Oriental research is concerned, in the first place, we have any amount of material at hand in the domain of archaeology and history, relating to ancient India; herein at any rate, all the material is available to us and to us alone; and in regard to other branches of literature also it is not very difficult to obtain materials for research.

Nor is it true that we Indians are wanting in what has been called the 'critical faculty.' It is strange indeed that people who stand up for scientific accuracy should have made and accepted the sweeping assertion that Indians by their very nature are lacking in the critical faculty. Any one who has read the works of our much-maligned Pandits would readily concede that our literature from the time of Patanjali downwards bears evidence of a very high degree of critical acumen. In fact we find literature of criticism even so early as the Upanisads. Has not every syllable of the sutras of Panini been dissected and analysed by Patanjali and his successors? Have not our modern Vaiyakaranakah carried this to such an extent as to declare that "ardhamatralaghavena Vaiyakaranakah putrotsavam manyante?" Do we not again find even the modern Naiyayika hyper-critical in the examination of definitions and inferences? Is there any work in any literature which affords instances of such intensely critical acumen as we find in the Khandakhandakhadya? I am inclined to think that this work has reached the acme of critical inspection. It may be true that the critical faculty displayed by our writers is somewhat different from that faculty as understood by the modern scholar. For one thing, the critical faculty of Patanjali and his successors is more logical than that of the modern Orientalist. But that cannot justify the assertion that we are absolutely lacking in that faculty. Even that element which may have been lacking in our indigenous scholarship has, it seems to me, been supplied by
the leavening of modern methods of research that have been brought to us by western Orientalists working in this country; so that I feel that it is high time now that our Universities and institutes shook themselves free from the notion that they could not carry on Oriental research.

It is more than twelve years since an earnest attempt was made by the Government of India to establish a Central Research Institute in this country. For some reason or other that scheme has fallen through. Since then however we have had a Research institute established at Poona, which even during its brief existence has given ample earnest of what we may expect from it. But so far as I know that institute is not sufficiently endowed; and even if it were sufficiently endowed, it could not serve the needs of the whole country. The Oriental scholar is proverbially poor; and a scholar from the northern limits of the country would find it very difficult to spend even a couple of years at Poona. It is incumbent therefore on our Universities, of which we have now more than ten, to awake to this duty. The needs of this research are such that they can be supplied even by such impecunious Universities as we have in India. It is the will that is wanted. This opinion of mine is borne out by what has happened in Calcutta. Thanks to the efforts of the late veteran Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, we have under that University a highly-organised Post-graduate Department where Oriental research is being carried on in the right spirit and on the right lines, and it is a great satisfaction to us to have found that the work turned out by the researchers at Calcutta is most valuable and of a high order; and yet—notwithstanding all that has been said against the institution—the cost involved has been very moderate, specially when compared with the results achieved. Unfortunately this example set by Calcutta several years ago has not yet been followed by any other University; and the reason for this is not far to seek. The public as such has not given evidence of much sympathy for what has been and is being done at Calcutta. In fact the public has been voicing a sense of apathetic indifference which would have killed the institution had it not been for the resourceful personality of Sir Asutosh. The question of funds need not discourage any University in the field of Oriental research. We do not want any expensive apparatus. We only want brains, a quiet place to work in and a few books and manuscripts within our reach. All this means very little cost; but it does mean some organisation. This country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could never be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees; and the callousness that the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country. But for purposes of research we have still got
in various places quite decent collections of manuscripts; for instance, at Calcutta and Benares in Northern India, in Baroda, Poona, Mysore Madras and Travancore in the West and in the South. So that what we need is only the organising of research and the providing of facilities for students who are eager to carry on research, in the way of proximity to one or the other of these collections. Perhaps we shall need a few decent scholarships; but even these scholarships need not be half so extravagant as those that are given annually as scholarships for study abroad.

Reverting to the question of manuscripts, it is nothing short of criminal to neglect them any longer. Hitherto only sporadic attempts have been made to explore this treasure. Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a systematic search for manuscripts was made during the last century; the same was done also to a limited extent in certain other provinces. But for some unaccountable reason this work was not continued. Till recently, we had a very well-organised Department of Manuscripts-search in this Presidency of Madras, and all this search has brought to our knowledge the existence of manuscript-material which should have proved enough to encourage us in carrying on more detailed and more strenuous search for this treasure. But here again evil fate seems to have overtaken us—even in Madras where excellent work was done under the guidance of my esteemed friends Professors Rangacharya and Kuppuswami Sastri, something seems to have happened to the grant, which consisted, I believe, of the paltry sum of Rs. 17,000; at least such is the idea brought to our minds by the fact that we have, of late, not been receiving the red books that we used to receive from the Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library. I hope the discontinuance of the issue of those welcome red volumes has been due to causes other than the stopping of the grant. We have to bear in mind that every day thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are being lost past recovery. Bihar has come into the field recently; but there also the work is being carried on very half-heartedly. When Madras was doing such splendid work for the sum of Rs. 17,000, I think, if all the Provincial Governments could make up their minds to spend among them a lakh of rupees for this work, incalculable good would result to Oriental scholarship. Is a lakh of rupees too much for this purpose? These manuscripts may be nothing more than rubbish in the eyes of our modernists; but even the most rabid modernist will not deny that if the ancient history of India, political, religious and literary, can be reconstructed on more logical lines than hitherto has been the case, it can be only be by the judicious use of these manuscripts.

Each scholar that we are sending out to Europe for the higher study of the Oriental languages is costing the country about Rs. 4,000 a year and
yet we are throwing away the very material upon which the talents of
these scholars could be utilised and the expenditure justified. A jakh of
rupees a year cannot be regarded as too much even by the most rigid
economist, when it is distributed over all our ten Universities; it works
out at the rate of Rs. 10,000 a University, which is less than what it
pays for one Professor; and yet what is it that is at stake? We are
thankful to the Madras Government for the action they have recently
taken in this matter;—in the shape of appointing a Committee for the
purpose of framing rules for the working of the Oriental Manuscripts
Library, "with a view to providing facilities for the utilisation of the
manuscripts," as also "for the acquisition, preservation, restoration and
publication of manuscripts." If this newspaper announcement is correct,
it seems Heaven has already responded to my prayer, and before long
we shall hear of work being carried on in Madras in right earnest. Is it
too much to expect that other provinces will follow the lead of Madras?
At least Bengal and Bihar and Orissa should not lag behind, having as
they have rich stores of manuscripts within easy reach.

I feel sure that there can be no two opinions regarding the neces-
sity of organising the work of manuscript-search. But unfortunately
the tendency of modern public life is such that nothing is done unless it
is vociferously demanded. I hope our younger scholars will come
to our rescue and supply this vocal deficiency in our demand for
search.

Now that the matter is going to be considered by a duly-constituted
Committee, I should like to put forward a few suggestions. Hitherto our
efforts have tended towards preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts found.
Not much serious attempt seems to have been made towards acquiring the
manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript. Catalogues of manus-
scripts are very valuable so far as they go; but they do not stop the real
danger. They inform us merely of the existence of certain manuscripts
at certain places. This information is absolutely essential. But circum-
stances as the household of the owners of the manuscripts
is, there is no knowing that the manuscripts could be available in the
place where they were catalogued. Two instances come to my mind in
this connection. In the catalogue of manuscripts published by the late
Rajendra Lal Mittra we find the notice of a manuscript of Brahmatattva-
samiksa of the great Vacaspati. It is a work in the absence of which
the author's Bhamati is in places insipid, as my revered teacher,
the late Gangadhara Sastri, once remarked. The place where this
manuscript was found is within thirty miles of my village home in
Bihar; and yet when I made enquiries, all my search for the valuable
manuscript proved futile, though it was made within twenty years of
the cataloguing. Similarly, in Oppert's catalogue (Vol. II) I found the mention of a commentary on the Nyayabhasya, with Sami Dikshit, in a village in the Tanjore district. I requested my friend Prof. Kuppuswami Sastrl to find out for me this manuscript; but I am sorry to say that his efforts proved no more successful than mine, and I am afraid that both these manuscripts have been irretrievably lost. It is absolutely essential therefore that we should have two branches in the department of manuscripts-search—one for making lists and another for acquiring manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript—the latter in my humble opinion being much the more important of the two.

While on this subject of manuscript-preservation, I would impress upon the scholars interested in this work the necessity of having new transcripts made of old manuscripts. I have come across several manuscripts which in the mere handling crumble to pieces, so that no use could be made of them. Those manuscripts which bear signs of such crumbling should without any loss of time be transcribed on new paper, so that they may not be destroyed.

What I have said applies not only to Sanskrit manuscripts, but also to Arabic and Persian manuscripts; to these latter perhaps with greater force; as in this field, so far as my information goes, practically nothing has been done. Similarly in the domain of vernacular literature, the only serious effort of which I have knowledge is that being made by the Government of the United Provinces, through the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. I hope however that something on the same lines is being done in the South also.

There is an impression abroad that so much has already been done by scholars during the last fifty years or more in the domain of Oriental research that there is not much work left to be done. This is an entirely wrong idea. My friends in the Archæological Department know full well that there are endless inviting sites lying still unexplored. The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the merest digging of a site in Sindh provided information which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, Meteorology has not been attempted; Astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, Medicine and Chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In Law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and Poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In Philosophy much has indeed been done. But very much more remains. In Nyaya-Vaisesika and in Purvamimamsa all that we have done has been pure spade-work. In the
domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade-work has not been done. On the inter-relation of the several philosophical systems, there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact, the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work.

In the field of Arabic and Persian studies also, I feel sure, there must be many problems waiting for solution at the hands of indigenous scholars.

Next to the preservation of manuscripts comes the question of their publication. Much is being done already in this field. All honour to the Bibliotheca Indica, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilasa and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. All that is needed in this department of our activity is a little more co-ordination and advertisement; this alone could save us from duplication and waste of labour and money. In this connection I would suggest that this Conference may publish under its auspices a "book bulletin"—once a year, which should mention the names, prices and publishers of every printed book in and relating to the subjects within its purview. This can be done easily enough with the help of the several local Government gazettes, which publish complete list of all the books printed in the respective provinces. The first issue of the bulletin will involve more labour; as old files of the provincial gazettes will have to be ransacked. But after the first issue, it would be comparatively easy. For the first issue it will be necessary to enlist the services of men at every provincial capital where the files of the gazettes would be easily available. For subsequent issues, if application were made to the provincial governments to send to the Conference Office a copy of the gazettes, I hope the request would not be refused; and the list could be compiled in our central office.

At present we do not know what works have been printed; much less do we know what works are in course of publication; and we are seriously handicapped for want of this information. Authors could also publish in this bulletin previous announcements of the work on which they are engaged.

The above plan will do for books published in India. As regards those published outside India, I think a fairly complete list could be compiled with the help of the volumes of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, the Z. D. M. G., and other representative journals.

While laying stress upon research and modern methods of study let us not neglect the indigenous Pandits and Maulvis. People of
the cataloguing. Similarly, in Oppert's catalogue (Vol. II) I found the mention of a commentary on the Nyayabhasya, with Sami Dikshit, in a village in the Tanjore district. I requested my friend Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri to find out for me this manuscript; but I am sorry to say that his efforts proved no more successful than mine, and I am afraid that both these manuscripts have been irretrievably lost. It is absolutely essential therefore that we should have two branches in the department of manuscripts-search—one for making lists and another for acquiring manuscripts either by purchase or by transcript—the latter in my humble opinion being much the more important of the two.

While on this subject of manuscript-preservation, I would impress upon the scholars interested in this work the necessity of having new transcripts made of old manuscripts. I have come across several manuscripts which in the mere handling crumble to pieces, so that no use could be made of them. Those manuscripts which bear signs of such crumbling should without any loss of time be transcribed on new paper, so that they may not be destroyed.

What I have said applies not only to Sanskrit manuscripts, but also to Arabic and Persian manuscripts; to these latter perhaps with greater force; as in this field, so far as my information goes, practically nothing has been done. Similarly in the domain of vernacular literature, the only serious effort of which I have knowledge is that being made by the Government of the United Provinces, through the Nagari Pracarini Sabha. I hope however that something on the same lines is being done in the South also.

There is an impression abroad that so much has already been done by scholars during the last fifty years or more in the domain of Oriental research that there is not much work left to be done. This is an entirely wrong idea. My friends in the Archaeological Department know full well that there are endless inviting sites lying still unexplored. The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the merest digging of a site in Sindh provided information which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, Meteorology has not been attempted; Astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, Medicine and Chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In Law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and Poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In Philosophy much has indeed been done. But very much more remains. In Nyaya-Vaisesika and in Purva-mimamsa all that we have done has been pure spade-work. In the
domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade-work has not been done. On the inter-relation of the several philosophical systems, there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact, the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work.

In the field of Arabic and Persian studies also, I feel sure, there must be many problems waiting for solution at the hands of indigenous scholars.

Next to the preservation of manuscripts comes the question of their publication. Much is being done already in this field. All honour to the Bibliotheca Indica, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilasa and Chankhamba series for their admirable work. All that is needed in this department of our activity is a little more co-ordination and advertisement; this alone could save us from duplication and waste of labour and money. In this connection I would suggest that this Conference may publish under its auspices a "book bulletin"—once a year, which should mention the names, prices and publishers of every printed book in and relating to the subjects within its purview. This can be done easily enough with the help of the several local Government gazettes, which publish complete list of all the books printed in the respective provinces. The first issue of the bulletin will involve more labour; as old files of the provincial gazettes will have to be ransacked. But after the first issue, it would be comparatively easy. For the first issue it will be necessary to enlist the services of men at every provincial capital where the files of the gazettes would be easily available. For subsequent issues, if application were made to the provincial governments to send to the Conference Office a copy of the gazettes, I hope the request would not be refused; and the list could be compiled in our central office.

At present we do not know what works have been printed; much less do we know what works are in course of publication; and we are seriously handicapped for want of this information. Authors could also publish in this bulletin previous announcements of the work on which they are engaged.

The above plan will do for books published in India. As regards those published outside India, I think a fairly complete list could be compiled with the help of the volumes of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, the Z. D. M. G., and other representative journals.

While laying stress upon research and modern methods of study let us not neglect the indigenous Pandits and Maulvis. People of
Madras do not need to be told how valuable our Sastris of the old school are. Having myself been brought up under that school, I know the value of their discipline. But I daresay even people who have been more fortunate than myself in their sources of inspiration will not be loath to admit that the Sastri and the Maulvi occupy a very important place in the scheme of Oriental study. However much we may advance in the field of modern research, the Sastri and the Maulvi must continue to be indispensable. Without these store-houses of learning in our midst, we would be nowhere in the field of even purely modern studies. If outsiders still look up to this country with deep respect it is by virtue of our Sastris and Maulvis. Let us cherish them in their purity. I am referring to this subject on the present occasion not because people do not realize the value of the old type of scholars, but because there is a danger of their best qualities disappearing under the reforms through which they are being forced. I am referring to the introduction of examinations for Pandits and Maulvis. Examinations are all right in their way; they are very good stimulants; but like all stimulants they are radically deleterious and harmful. We, modern scholars, have suffered in the past from examinations which have arrogated to themselves the position of masters, though they ought to have remained as slaves. We read and work for passing examinations, and the passing of examinations has become our parama-purusarththa. We know full well that for passing an examination no depth of scholarship is necessary. In fact, it would not be far from the truth to assert that for this purpose, according to the modern system, it is not necessary to know the subject of examination at all. I know from my experience at Benares that the depth of scholarship for which the older Pandits were famous has all but disappeared during the last 20 or 25 years under the stress of the examination system. Like our University Graduates, the indigenous Pandit or Maulvi also has come to look upon the obtaining of a degree as the be-all and end-all of life, and once he has obtained a degree he feels that he need not do any more; and yet the indigenous system was that the man continued his studies as long as he found anyone able to teach him. Pandits like Gangadhara Sastri and Sivakumara Misra, I know, used to read with their Guru Bala Shastri even after they had obtained professorships at the best Pathasalas in Benares, so long as that Guru was alive. And what was it that gave depth to the scholarship of these Pandits? I have seen them working at a single sentence of an important text-book for hours together, examining and discussing and dissecting it ad infinitum. It was in this way that they worked through all the important text-books. You may say this was waste of time. True, if the acquiring of some smattering is the aim of
our life, such thorough study would be a waste of time. But what was it that was gained by this thorough study? No modern scholar can claim to have that knowledge of his subject which these Pandits had and that was due to the thorough specialisation to which I have referred. Even the modern scholar will admit that real scholarship begins to be acquired only after one has passed his examinations,—when alone he is able to put forth that concentrated effort which is essential for specialisation.

I would beseech you, gentlemen—at least those of you who are in power in this department—not to try to modernise the Pandit or the Maulvi. If you modernise him, he will disappear. He does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar; but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning. His outlook you cannot enlarge, at least to the extent of benefiting him. Why then make an attempt to deprive him of his distinguishing characteristics,—characteristics by which alone he has in the past commanded respect and whereby he can command respect in the future?

There is one more point to which I would invite your attention. On this subject I speak with diffidence, as I have not been a properly trained researcher myself. In the course of my studies I have found that the time has now arrived for a revision of what one may call the ‘canons of research.’ What is in my mind will be made clear by means of an example. It has been found that Vatsyayana in his Nyayabhasya criticises the nihilistic doctrine. From this learned scholars have deduced the conclusion that this writer lived after Nagarjuna whose work happens to be the oldest exponent of that doctrine that we can find at present. Is this a valid deduction? Is it not possible that other writers might have dealt with the subject before Nagarjuna? Are not traces of the doctrine found in the teachings of the great Buddha himself? At best the said inference could be regarded as mere presumption;—and a very doubtful presumption at that. Similarly, if the Brahmasutra happens to contain a refutation of the atomic theory, it is concluded that it must have been written after Kanada the expounder of that theory. Similar instances may be multiplied. In fact in a general way it seems to have been accepted almost as an axiom that a work which either criticises or refers to Buddhistic doctrines must be relegated to the post-Buddhistic age: and yet we have the authority of the great Buddha himself to the effect that he never propounded any new philosophical doctrines; he simply put the doctrines already in the air during his time in a new setting.

Another example: the Vedic texts that speak of castes are relegated to a period when the Aryans are believed to have come to the Punjab from the North-West; and it is said that when they came to the Punjab
there arose the need for the division of functions on which the caste-
system is said to be primarily based. One feels justified in putting the
question: Could not the need for this division of functions arise before
the Aryans entered India? Was there anything in the atmosphere of
this country which created the need for this division?

This leads me on to the question of the interpretation of ancient
documents. It will not be new to any scholar here present that from
the most ancient times there has been very little unbiased study of our
older texts. From the oldest Bhasyakaras, up to our own day, we find that
a writer, before he takes up a text for study or annotation, has made
up his mind as to what the text contains; and it is only after this that
he begins to study it. This procedure has led to the inevitable result
that every interpreter has distorted and twisted the ancient texts into
which he had to read a meaning which perhaps they were never meant
to convey. This may have been excusable in the case of the old writers
like the great Sankaracarya, who were avowed propagandists; but there
can be no justification for such a thing in the case of the present gene-
ration of writers, specially those who set themselves up as unbiased
researchers after truth. This is the danger against which I would warn
our younger scholars. Whenever they take up any ancient document for
examination, they should remove from their minds the impressions that
they may have derived from other sources on that subject. The Brahma-
sutras, in fact all the more important philosophical Sutras, have still got
to be studied in this spirit, and I feel sure that a researcher who carries
on this study will be amply rewarded for his troubles by the results he
will achieve, which will be striking in more than one respect.

There is an impression abroad that this Conference is intended for
only antiquated fossils, who spend their time in lifeless, dry and dull
subjects, which have, and should have, no interest for the modern
Indian. It is true that the classical languages occupy the major part of
our attention; it is also true that there is much scope for research in the
ancient language and literature of the East. But I feel sure I am voicing
your sentiments when I say that it is equally our aim to endeavour to
promote and encourage higher work in the modern languages of India.
The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few; the people
at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of
literature and learning, only through the vernaculars. There is no truth
in the belief entertained by some people that vernacular researches are
on a lower level, that they demand inferior attainments and weaker
equipment, that they are for the ignorant many and not for the erudite
scholar. The history of many of these literatures has yet to be written;
the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced.
There is a rich harvest for the earnest reaper, and the man who sets his hand to this task will be engaging in work that will call forth much industry, patient study, careful sifting of details, and considerable literary judgment. The exact relation between Urdu and Brajabhasa, for example, has still to be settled; the connection between Maithili and Bengali is another subject of study; the mutual interaction of Aryan and Dravidian languages, a critical and philological examination of the numerous dialects of the South, the influence of the time-spirit on the literature of these languages, the importance of vernacular bardic literature in historical investigations—all this is still awaiting attention. On your behalf I extend to all workers in this field a warm welcome and assure them that their labours are being watched with sympathy by those who spend their time poring over old, forgotten, far-off things.

To the present audience, consisting as it does mainly of the residents of the Madras Presidency, all this may sound superfluous, because every one knows that in this Presidency, the languages of the people have received attention, at any rate they have not been relegated by earnest scholars to a lower level; some of our best Madrasi scholars have devoted their serious attention to the study of these languages. My remarks are intended for North India where we are still labouring under the misconception that there is no scope for higher research in the Indian Vernaculars. It is to remove this misconception that I have had to make the above remarks.

This, gentlemen, is all that I had to say; and it is my fervent hope that before we disperse we shall have taken practical steps towards the meeting of the needs that I have set forth above. I shall regard myself as amply rewarded if my appeal helps to bring to light, or to preserve, manuscript treasures, to rally together bands of earnest scholars devoted to Oriental research at various centres of culture in the country.
THE THIRD ALL INDIA
Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the

**Receipts.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fees from Reception Committee Members..</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees from Delegates</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan from Mr. Wilkinson</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest from Bank</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>77 12 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of books</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of lights</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of sovereigns</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>27 14 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel charges recovered</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>58 13 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11,357 8 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Audited and found correct.

(Sd.) G. NARASIMHAM,

*Auditor.*

MADRAS, 5th January, 1926.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR,

*Hon. Treasurer.*
BALANCE SHEET.

ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS.

*period of 1st May 1924 to 4th November 1925.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disbursements</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>A. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travelling allowances and conveyance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,431 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presents and Shawls</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,177 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medals and sovereigns</td>
<td></td>
<td>733 13 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and Stationery</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,189 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage and Telegrams</td>
<td></td>
<td>234 11 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
<td>114 13 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,052 8 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photos</td>
<td></td>
<td>142 2 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td></td>
<td>385 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td></td>
<td>149 10 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation to Sanskrit Association</td>
<td></td>
<td>150 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Miscellaneous:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disbursements</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>A. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bank Charges</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Charges</td>
<td></td>
<td>83 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandal Charges</td>
<td></td>
<td>117 10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td></td>
<td>99 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td></td>
<td>120 14 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 419 2 10

Closing Balance 2,176 14 10

Total Rs. 11,357 8 5

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
P. P. S. SASTRI,

Hon. Secretaries.
The System of transliteration adopted in the following pages is the same as followed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland except in cases where the individual authors insisted on their own methods of transliteration.

The papers are presented in the language of the authors themselves.

THE EDITORS.
CONTENTS.

SECTION I.
SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A study of Kālidāsa in relation to political science by K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Four unpublished Upaniṣadic Texts, tentatively edited and translated for the first time by Prof. S. K. Belvarkar, M.A., Ph. D.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Paryaśka Vidyā (Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇopaniṣad Ch. I—an attempt to settle and interpret the Text, by Prof. S. K. Belvarkar, M.A., Ph. D.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Teachers of the Upaniṣads by U. C. Bhattacharya</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. A note on the Historico-literary importance of Malli-nātha’s commentaries by P. K. Goda, M.A.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vāmana Bhāṭṭa Bāṇa by Pandit R. V. Krishnamacharya.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Soma Juice is not Liquor by N. B. Pavjee</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Two more dramas of Bhāsa by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. A few observations on the Trimestre verses of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata by Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer, M.A.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Patañjali and Kāvyā literature presumed by him by K. G. Subrahmanyam, B.A. (Hons.)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION II.

AVESTA IN RELATION TO SANSKRIT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Artakshir Bapak, founder of the Sasanian Zoroastrian Empire of Iran by Dr. P. N. Daruwalla, LL.D. (Lond.) B.A., LL.B. (Bom), Bar-at-Law</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rustam, the Indra of Iran by Prof. M.A. Shustry</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda by Dr. R. Zimmermann, M.A. Ph. D.</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION III.

PĀLĪ, JAIN AND OTHER PRAKRĪTS, HINDI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Glimpses of Vajrayāna by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Discovery of the Dharmaśamuccaya by Dharmadīṭya Dharmācārya</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## SECTION IV.
**PHILOLOGY, SANSKRITIC AND DRAVIDIAN.**

| 1. The Ṭr̥ṣṇa affinities of Dravidian Pronouns by R. Swaminatha Iyer, B.A. | ... | ... | ... | 153 |

## SECTION V.
**DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR LITERATURE.**

| 1. The Sanskritic element in Tamil Literature by T. R. Ramakrishna Sastrī, B.A. (Hons.) B.L. | ... | ... | ... | 205 |
| 2. Dravidian Lexicography by J. Ramaiyah Pantulu | ... | ... | ... | 212 |
| 3. The Epoch of Kuṇa Pāṇḍya, Tirujñāna Sambandhar and Tirumāṅghai Āḷvar by Dr. R. Shama Sastrī, B.A., Ph. D. | ... | ... | ... | 223 |
| 4. The date of Śilappadikāram by Pandit E. M. Subrahmanya Pillai ... | ... | ... | ... | 229 |

## SECTION VI.
**ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, MUSIC AND INDIAN ART.**

| 1. Memorial Stones in the Bombay Presidency by G. V. Acharya ... | ... | ... | ... | 237 |
| 2. The Styles of Indian Architecture by Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt. | ... | ... | ... | 243 |
| 3. Message from the Barhut-Votive Lables by Dr. B.M. Baruva, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond) ... | ... | ... | ... | 251 |
| 4. Identification of an Indian Museum Statuette by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A. ... | ... | ... | ... | 257 |
| 5. Dionysius in Magasthenes—Who was he? by Kṣetrascriminal Chattopadhyaya, M.A. ... | ... | ... | ... | 261 |
| 6. Some South Indian Gold Coins by R. Srinivasaraghava Iyengar ... | ... | ... | ... | 269 |
| 7. The Earliest Monuments of the Pāṇḍya Country and their inscriptions by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, B.A. M.R.A.S. ... | ... | ... | ... | 275 |

## SECTION VII.
**HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY.**

| 1. New Light on the Early History of the Paramāra Rulers of Malwa by D. B. Diaskalkar, M.A. ... | ... | ... | ... | 303 |
| 2. Empire of Delhi in Early Middle Ages: Organisation of Central Government by Prof. M. Habib, B.A. (Oxon), M.R.A.S. ... | ... | ... | ... | 309 |
| 3. Three Contemporary Letters on the Vijayanagara King Veṅkaṭa II of the Āravīdu dynasty by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A. ... | ... | ... | ... | 329 |
CONTENTS.

4. Indian Colonization of the Far-East by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, M.A. ... ... 337
5. Popular Government in Mediaeval Travancore by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, B.A., M.R.A.S. ... ... 349
6. Śrīpāda Rāja and Vyāsārāja by C. K. Rao ... ... 359
7. Śrī Raṅga III of Vijayanagar by R. Satyanatha Iyer, * M.A., L.T. ... ... 365
8. Puṣyamitra—Who is he? by H. A. Shah ... ... 377
9. Influence of South Indian Imperialism on Mediaeval Hindustan by Prof. C. S. Srinivasacharya, M.A. ... 391
10. Hinduism and Muhammadan Heresies during the Pathan period by Dr. Surendranath Sen ... ... 401
11. India in the 2nd Century B.C. by Prof. S. V. Venkateswar, M.A. ... ... 407

SECTION VIII.

ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. Śaṅkara, the Commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikas by T. R. Chintamani, B.A. (Hons.) ... ... 419
2. Yoga Psychology by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph. D. ... 427
3. Fragments of Bhātya-Prapāña by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A. ... 439
4. Devayāna and Pitṛyāna by Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A. ... 451
5. Bodhāyana and Drameśārya, two old Vedāntins presupposed by Rāmānuja by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A. ... ... 465
6. Further light on the Prābhākara problem by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A. ... ... 474
7. The Buddhist conception of Māra by Dr. Bimalacharan Law, M.A., B.L., Ph. D. ... 483
8. An outline of the History and Teaching of the Nātha Panthiya Siddhas by Pandit Panduranga Sarma ... 495
9. Pūrva Mīmāṃsā in the Light of Uttera Mīmāṃsā by Pandit T. V. Ramachandra Dīksitar ... 503
10. Indian Philosophy as a live proposition by S. V. Ramamurti, M.A., I.C.S. ... ... 517
11. Kumārila and the Brāhattikā by Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and K. A. Saṅkarān, B.A. (Hons.) ... ... 523
12. On the origin of Tamil Siddhanta by V. R. Ranganadhan, M.A., B. Litt. (Oxon) ... ... 531
13. Is Dhāmat Religion Buddhism? by Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. ... ... 537
14. The Yogavāśīṭha Rāmāyaṇa—its probable date and place of inception by Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, M.A.... 545
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rāmānuja’s conception of Jiva as a Prakāra of Īśvara</td>
<td>Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharya, M.A.</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Metaphysics of the Śaiva Siddhānta System</td>
<td>K. Subrahmanyan, M.A., M.L.</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bhāsarvajña</td>
<td>V. P. Vaidya, B.A., LL.B. Bar-at-Law</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION IX.**  
Oriental Science

3. Is Artha Śastra Secular? by V.R. Ramachandra Dikṣitar, M.A., Dip. (Econ.)

**SECTION X.**  
Sociology, Ethnology and Folklore

1. Gotra and Pravara by Prof. K. Rangachariar, M.A., B.L. Vijayanagaram

**SECTION XI.**  
Persian, Arabic and Urdu

1. The Huns who Invaded India, what was their religion, by Shamsul-ulema, Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph. D., C.I.E.
2. The Nurbhakshis by Prof. Mahomed Shafi, Lahore
3. Asseverations and Oaths in Arabic by Dr. A. S. Tritton, M.A. Ph. D., Aligarh

**SECTION XII.**  
Miscellaneous

1. Maharāja Sarfoji’s Sarasvatī Mahāl Palace Library, Tanjore by P. P. S. Sastrī, M.A. (Madras) B.A. (Oxon)
I.—Sanskrit Language and Literature.
A STUDY OF KĀLIDĀSA IN RELATION TO
POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY
K. BALABHUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

Truly can it be said that the study of Kālidāsa is the consummation of scholarship. But tradition, popular impression, and orthodox criticism, though granting to the Poet intuition and mother-wit, deny to him versatile learning and profundity of śāstraic lore. The oft-repeated story of the transmutation of the cow-herd into the poet by the grace of Kālī, the trite saying of ‘Kāvyesu Māghalya,’ the common criticism about the Śrīgāra-rasa-prādhānya of Kālidāsa, and the not altogether prominent place given to him in the orthodox Nāṭakānta curriculum of studies, all these, indicate the existence of an opinion which will grudge to the Poet the equipment of ‘Śrutam ca bahu nirmalam.’ The reason for this is not far to seek. The decadence of ancient Indian culture, the loss of many ancient treatises on the different śāstras, and the total desuetude of several ancient arts have thinned the vast expanse of oriental learning into the narrow grooves of the specific sciences of Tarka, Vyākarana Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta, and their stereotyped methods of study. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that the Kula-Vidyas were eighteen in number, while the Śukra-Nīti-Śāra would mention thirty-two Vidyās. The arts were classified as sixty-four by both Śukra-Nīti and the Prasthāna Bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. But alas, many of these are quite unknown to us. The Poet, however, lived and moved and had his being in the palmy days of Indian political and cultural sovereignty. It is not surprising therefore that works written with the full sense of the spirit of the times and possibly having a specific meaning and purpose for the peoples of that period are only unmoving and spiritless literature to us. The established principles of the various Vidyās, the proved facts of the material sciences, and the critical observation of a genius on contemporary history and art have all been so interwoven into the fine texture of exquisite poetry with the innate ability of the true artist concealing all art, that to a generation so far removed from the Poet’s, and so ignorant of the many branches of ancient Indian learning and art, and so devoid of political and cultural sovereignty, and so much saturated with the crude imitations of the West, the Poet’s works may appear to be mere blatant poetry, depicting the pleasures of sensual enjoyment in the usual conventional forms of expression, occasionally rising to the level of the epigrammatic expression of ethical truths.

So far as the Artha-Śāstra is concerned, we stand in a more fortunate position. The Artha-Śāstra was not the least among the sciences
developed by our forefathers, nor is it completely extinct. Though many works have been lost, some still remain. And, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Shama Sastri of Mysore, the publication of Kautilya's Artha-Sastra, a standard treatise on that subject, has thrown a flood of light into the obscure corners of this branch of learning. A study of Kautilya also reveals some of the hidden meanings and allusions in Kalidasa's poems. Though the commentators, Mallinatha, Hemadri, and Caitra-Vardhana have occasionally quoted from Kautilya in the elucidation of the meanings of particular slokas, still they have not brought out in detail the scientifically close connection and inter-relation of Kalidasa's works with the Artha-Sastra. In fact, some of the slokas are unmeaning unless we have the light thrown by the Artha-Sastra. To take an example, there is the following sloka in the Kumara-Sambhava,

स द्वितीयं हरेश्शुः सहस्रनन्दनाधिकाः ।
वाचस्पतिविवचारेऽ प्राचार्यिजितजातानन्दम् || (II, 30-)

We cannot understand what the Poet really meant to convey unless we bring to our aid the words of Kautilya, explaining the Sahasranayana of Indra, thus:

इत्रस ग्रथ्यं प्रविष्टं ऋषीणां सहस्रं || तत्राशुः ।
तस्मात् अक्षरमिय सहस्रानामः || (Adhi. 1, Adhyā. 15.)

The Poet says "Bhaspati was his chief minister, greater than all the thousand ministers of his deliberative council." Similarly one may find on a close study many instances in Kalidasa's poems and dramas which will be illumined by the light of the Artha-Sastra. To take an instance in his dramas, the Parivrajika of the Malavikagnimitra has been a fruitful source of confusion to critics. Her exact nature has been misunderstood and she has been confounded with the Buddha Bhiksukia. Mr. Kale, in his introduction to the Malavikagnimitra refers to the Parivrajika as a female wandering mendicant of the Buddhist faith; and concludes therefrom that the play was composed at a time when Buddhism was looked upon with reverence. That the Parivrajika is quite different from the Buddhistic mendicant is clear from the definition of a Parivrajika spy by Kautilya.

परिव्रजिका श्रद्धिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रागल्ला महापापान् सत्त्वसिद्धिः। (Adhi. 1, Adhyā. 12.)

This definition accurately fits in with the character of the Parivrajika in the play. She is frequently referred to in the play as Pandita-Kautiki, and she says about herself in the fifth act thus:

पुनर्मचीत्वेत्वप्यतुः लयमया त्वदिवम् देशभितीच्छ ब्राह्मणे गृहिते।
The word Artha-Śāstra is rendered by Monier Williams in his dictionary as "the science of polity," and Vincent Smith, in his Early History of India, translates it as the "art of government." From the first, the Hindus, though known to history as metaphysical people, have paid, great attention to the art of government, and the Artha-Śāstra has been developed with scientific precision and wealth of detail. The history of the science has been traced to hoary antiquity and its origin has been ascribed to Brāhma himself. (Viśe the 58th Adhyāya of the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata.) But we find three original Śrī-authors mentioned, Brhaspati, Bāhudanti, and Uśanas. Manu and Yājñavalkya have, also, in their Smṛtis devoted certain chapters to Rāja-Dharma, and from later writers, one gathers that there was also a school of Mānavas in the Artha-Śāstra as in the Dharma Śāstras. The sages, Brhaspati and Uśanas, are also referred to as Ācāryas by later Artha-Śāstra writers. We find mention in Kauṭilya of many other schools of thought in the Artha-Śāstra, such as those of Bharadvāja and Piśuma. But the first great writer after the age of the Śrīs, who reformed the whole Artha-Śāstra and wrote an authoritative treatise with a mastery of the subject and ripe experience of actual administration, was Viṣṇugupta, otherwise known as Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya. The other important treatise is that of his disciple, Kāmanda. And, coming to recent times, we have the Nītī-vākyāmāta of Somadeva.

The Artha-Śāstra has been reckoned as an important science among the eighteen Vidyās to be studied and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa makes specific mention of it. It was an important item in the curricula of studies prescribed for the education of a Prince before he takes upon himself the responsible position of the ruler of a State. Kauṭilya enjoins that Princes should undergo complete training in the four branches of knowledge, namely, Anvikṣikī, Trayī, Vārtā, and Daṇḍa-Niti. That the Artha-Śāstra was developed from a study of the existing governments of kings and by the results of experience, and that the precepts of the Artha-Śāstra were followed in practice by kings, ministers and other officers of State, is clearly established from the internal evidence of the works themselves, and by Kālidāsa's writings. Among the works on Artha Śāstra, that of Kauṭilya acquired the greatest reputation and authority on account of the author's great ability and practical knowledge as a minister of Candragupta Maurya. His marvellous achievement in crushing the powerful Nanda Mahāpadma, and in establishing Candragupta as Emperor, created a fascination in the minds of the people of his generation. In terms of great reverence Kāmanda in his Nītī-Śāra refers to him—

एकाशी मञ्जरस्वय यः शक्या शक्तिवरोपमः ।
भाजहार नृचन्द्रय चन्द्रयुसाय भेदिनिः ॥
He seems to have acquired the title of Ācārya. Daṇḍin, in the Daśakumāraśarita, has the following: "ददाया आचार्यविष्णुगुप्तम " And Varāha Mihira refers to Kauṭilya thus: "Uktam ca Ācārya-Viṣṇu-guptena." It is a little curious, however, that in the following centuries his name and work fell into disrepute and he earned the notoriety of a Machiavelli. Witness Bāṇa saying in his Kādambari, अतिरिक्तप्रायोपदेशानिवृत्तं कौटिल्याश्रं II and the Mudrārākṣasa describes Kauṭilya as Kūṭila-matiḥ.

But during Kālidāsa’s time his work had retained its respect as a work of considerable authority and his tenets were greatly in vogue, and we find Kālidāsa making great use of Kauṭilya in his poems and dramas.

The writers on Artha-Śāstra approached the subject in the true spirit of scientific analysis, and just like the Austrian conception of sovereignty as based upon "sanction," the Artha-Śāstra writer based the theory of government on Daṇḍa, or Punishment and called it Daṇḍa-Niti, the Vyuptatti of the word being, Daṇḍena ni yat ca idam Daṇḍam nayati tiva. (Vide 58th adhikāya of the Sānti Parva of the Mahābhārata.) The fundamental fact of Ancient India was that it was split up into a number of States, geographically and climatically different from one another, many of them warring with each other, though there was the fundamental unity of religion and civilisation. They were all city-states, and their number could be counted by that of the cities. Therefore the Artha-Śāstra writers defined the State as composed of seven constituent limbs, or as they called it, Saptāṅgum. The seven were, the king, the minister, the city, the Rāṣṭra, the treasury, the army and the ally. That the city-state conception was a fairly rooted idea is clear not only from the works on Artha-Śāstra, but from the following stanza of the Poet in the Raghuvamśa, I, 13: Ananyaśāsanām urvim śāṣaśa śka purim iva. The rest of the Artha-Śāstra mainly deals with every one of the seven separately, and their inter-relation and their proper conduct towards the achievement of the prosperity of the whole. Many chapters are also devoted to the establishment of the principles of foreign relations, of peace and war with other States, and protection against aggression by other States, and the actual conduct of campaigns and military expeditions.

In the language of modern politics, the government may be said to be a bureaucratic one without the power of making laws, which was vested in the lawgivers of the Brāhmaṇ community. The king shared the executive power with the ministers, the deliberative council and the eighteen permanent departments of the State, and the
trade-guilds, or the śrenis. None of these had the authority of legislating but only of administering the Dharma Śāstras. According to the Artha-Śāstra the king is a constitutional sovereign, and he must please his subjects and never estrange them. The minister occupied the most important place in the State. It is the ministers that had the power to decide upon and choose the successor to the king who died without having appointed the Yava-Rāja. They wielded the sceptre whenever the king was absent on military expedition or pilgrimage or went out hunting, or ceased to take any interest in governmental affairs. The deliberative council had the supreme voice in the State, and no administrative act according to the Artha-Śāstra can be begun without its sanction. The administration of justice, was carried on according to the code of Dharma Śāstras, which was from time to time developed by the Brāhman lawgivers, and the king actually, dispensed justice with three Dharmasthāpas. The Artha-Śāstra writers have also fixed the amount of the fines that can be imposed for the various criminal offences. Then, the sources of revenue and the ways of replenishing the treasury and the principles of taxation are all described. The last but not the least important feature of ancient Hindu administration was the elaborately developed system of espionage both within and without the State, a system not quite unknown to British India of the present day. The fame of Cānakya was that he overthrew the Nandas by his powerful system of spying, known as the Tikṣṇas.

Having dealt with the main outline of the Artha-Śāstra, it will be interesting to see how the Poet has dealt with these aspects, what his views are on the controversial questions, and what the Poet’s own ideals were, and what is the general spirit of his advice on the principles of government. Lastly the question may arise, has the Poet any message to his own generation?

That the Poet was himself in intimate touch with life in the Court and with the problems of government and contemporary politics will be clear from his works. And though not himself an ostensible writer on Artha-Śāstra his works bristle with allusions to the science and a proper reading will also reveal the Poet’s own point of view on vexed questions. As a profound thinker the Poet has also indicated his message to the dynasties of kings of his time.

Before embarking upon this discussion, two questions fall to be considered, namely, the age of the Poet and his own equipment in politics. As regards the first question I shall take for the purpose of this article as settled that the Poet lived in the fifth century A. D., which was the Augustan age of Hindu literature under the Gupta emperors of Hindustan. Vincent Smith, in his Early History of India, says at page 304: “In my judgment it is now established that Kālidāsa lived and wrote in the fifth century, his literary activity extending over a long
period probably not less than thirty years.’’ ‘‘Although it is difficult to
fix the date of the Poet’s career, with great precision, it appears to be
probable that he began to write in the reign of Candragupta II, or
early in the reign of Kumaragupta I, who ascended the throne in A. D.
413.’’—This view is confirmed by internal evidence of the Poet’s works
and by the testimony of tradition. That solution is the best which
tradition and sober criticism alike establish.

As regards the next question, an interesting piece of information
throws a flood of light on the incidents of the Poet’s life. Kṣemendra, in
the Aucitya.Vīcāra Cāreśa, refers to Kālidāsa’s Kunteśvara-Dautya,
and quotes a śloka from that work. (Vide page 139 of Kṣemendra’s work,
Kāvyamālā Series.)

इह निवसति मेखः शेखर: क्ष्माघराणां
इह विनिधित्वभारः सागरः सत चानये ।
इदमहितमोगस्तम्भ विभ्राजमानं
धरणेनलिङ्गेव स्थानमस्तिधिवानात् ॥

And the author explaining it adds, ""महाराजदूतोऽपि...सामन्तावधाने
भूमायते..परिशो...॥३४३ residences."
From the name of the work itself one can guess it refers to a dautya to the Kunteśvara king by the Poet. It does not
rest merely with this. Bhoja, in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśikā, mentions that
Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramāditya. It
is a fact of history that Candragupta II assumed the title of Vikramāditya.
And it will be a legitimate inference to draw that the great emperor chose
the Poet to go on a political embassy to the Kuntala king. That the
Poet was so chosen to be an ambassador bespeaks the wisdom and the
practical knowledge of the Poet in politics and in diplomacy. It is no
wonder that the Poet was so well acquainted with the actual administra-
tion seeing that he was the renowned court-Poet of a king who ruled, for
a pretty long time, a prosperous and peaceful empire. And the Poet’s
intimate geographical knowledge of the whole country is easily accounted
for if we imagine him to have travelled with the king and followed with
interest his brilliant conquests of Malwa and Guzerat.

In his three dramas we find that the Poet has adopted the timings of
the plays in such a way as not to contravene the directions given by the
Artha-Śāstra which has prescribed a time-table during both the day and
the night for kings to adopt in the discharge of their kingly functions. In
Chapter XIX of Kauṭilya’s Artha-Śāstra, the learned author has divided
the day and the night into eight parts and has allotted specific duties to
be performed during each part. Therefore, in the plays, the time of action
is generally during that part allotted for Svairavikāra or for Snāna and
Bhojana. The Poet makes specific reference to the time-table of the-
Artha-Sāstra in the second act of Vikramorvaśiya. Kauṭilya says: And the Vīdūṣaka says, "See the king coming, risen from the Kāryāśana," and so the further action, we must take it, is in the period allotted for Snāna and Bhojana, in the time-table of the Artha-Sāstra. In the fifth act of the Sākuntala the action is laid only in the period allotted for Snāna and Bhojana as the Kancuķi says thus: "यम्मोऽऽनादृश्चिताय पुनःस्परोक्षकारं कृष्णश्वेतस्यागमनमस्य नोत्तरं निवेदयति " and, then, the Vaitālika refers to the midday "गतमयं दिवसस्य". In the sixth act, the scene is laid in the morning, after the king has arisen from bed. According to the Artha-Sāstra he must then look after the administration of justice. That morning owing to the long wakefulness in the night, the king is unable to perform that function, and he therefore appoints his minister, Ārya Piśuna, to be his representative.

"चिर्मवोऽच्छ संभावितस्माभिर्य धर्मसनमक्षासिद्म्।
यत्रल्लेखितायमेण पौर्वकारं तपज्ञमारोप्य दीपताम्।।
(Sāk. Act. 6.)

And the king asks the minister to commit the whole of his work into writing and return the paper to him.

In the Mālavikāagnimitra in the first act the king is seen holding counsel with his minister in a secret place as to the doings of his enemy, Vaidarba. तत: प्रविष्कर्षकृत्यमयित्यारुपनो मैँत्रिणा श्वेतस्यागमनमानो राजा।

As I have already mentioned, the Artha-Sāstra insists upon the careful and thorough education of the Prince in Daṇḍa-Niti and the other three branches of knowledge. It is on account of this that we find Ancient Indian History records of many learned kings who were also great patrons of learning, beginning from King Janaka, Āśvapati and KāŚi-Rāja down to Bhoja, Pravarasena, Aēoka, Samudragupta and Harṣavardhana. And Hindu culture and art owes not a little to the taste and munificence of kings. The Poet, therefore, speaking of the boyhood of his hero, Raghu, says—

अभोपनीतं विविधविन्यायितो विनिन्दुरें गुरुवे गुडनिर्मम्।
अवन्यकर्मः वमुद्रकारः ते किया हि वस्तुपहिता प्रतीदिति।।
विलेखस्मैस्थ गुणविन्दुराचिः कमाष्टकः चतुर्वेधोपमः।।
तततार विचा: पवनातिपातिभिः दिशो हसिमहिरताम्बिविघरः।।(III.29-30.)

and Raghu was made to lead the strict life of a Brāhmaṇcārin and then to learn the Dhanur-Veda.

"त्वं स मेध्यां परिधाय रौर्विम्योष्कताभं पितुरेष मस्यवत्।।(III.31.)"
The principle of the Arthā-Śāstra was that it is only the Prince well educated in this manner, obedient by nature and amenable to discipline that is fit to be chosen as the Yuva-Rāja. It is not mere heredity or the fact of his being the eldest son that entitles a Prince to become the Yuva-Rāja. So the Kāmandaka-Niti-Sāra says—

"'विनयोपमहन्नूत्ते कुर्वित नृपतिसः क्रियान।
आभिनीतकुमारं हि कुर्वास्मा विशेष्यते॥
विनयमौर्येऽपि पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचते॥'" (Sarga VII Slo. 5, 6.)

The Poet has beautifully expressed this idea in the following Śloka.

तत: प्रजानं विषमात्मना बृह्तं नितान्तगुरुं भविष्यता धर्मः।
निसर्गसंस्कारविनीत इस्ली, तृप्तेन च युवराजश्वादमाहे॥" (Rag. III, 35.)

Note also the passive voice.

Even in the case of Raghu, the only son of Dilipa, he was chosen heir-apparent, only as he was Nisarga-samskāra-viniita. The Saptāṅgas of the Artha-Śāstra are referred to in I, 60 and the idea of Kāmandaka that the loss of a single one of the aṅgas renders the whole imperfect has been artistically conveyed by the Poet in the reply of the king to Vasishtha.

उपपाणं ननु किंच सत्संगेषु यथा मे।
देवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहतो त्वमाधित्॥ (Rag. I. 60)

In the above śloka the Poet also gives an idea of the important place occupied by the Purohita in the scheme of Ancient Hindu Polity. He it was that averted providential calamities to the State, by the rules prescribed in the Atharva Veda. The qualifications of a Purohita are described by Kāmandaka thus:

ब्रह्मा च देवदीप्याः च कुशलः स्वात्प्रारोहितः।
अयोध्यरीतं कुर्याच्यातितं पौर्णिकं तथा॥ (Sarga IV. Slo. 31.)

The Daivi calamities are according to the Artha-Śāstra, fire, water, epidemic, famine, and death-rate, and the Mānusī calamities are those from officers, thieves, friends of kings, enemies, and the king’s covetousness. The Purohita is said to prevent all these calamities by the power of the Atharva Mantra. The Poet here preaches the glorious union of the temporal and spiritual power for the commonweal. In the following śloka he loudly and confidently proclaims—

स ब्रम्ह दुरास्सदः परिवृत्तान्तार्थवैविद्या क्रतकियः।
पवनात्मिकामामेऽधर्म सहितं जन्य यद्भन्तेतसा॥ (Rag. VIII. 4.)
The great law-giver, Manu, confirms this opinion thus:

श्य क्रान्ति च संयुक्तमिहानुि च बर्धते ॥ (IX.322.)

It was one of the fundamental principles of the Artha-Shāstra that the Government of a people must neither be oppressive nor weak. Thus Kauṭilya says:

तीक्षणदद्धो हि भूतानामुख्तेजनीयः पूः दद्धो: परिभूयते । यथाहृदद्धो: नूः ॥

(Adhi. I, Adhyā. 3.)

This conclusion he came to after discussing a different note struck by previous writers who were in favour of Udyata Danḍa. The Poet has thrown the weight of his opinion on the side of Kauṭilya and enunciates this principle in a beautiful sloka, in the Raghuvarama:

स हि सवर्ण लोकस्य युक्तदद्धतया मनः ।

आदेव नातिशान्तिर्तेषो नमस्वानिन्दः ॥ (Rag. IV, 8.)

"The king won the affection of the whole world by being Yuktadanḍa just like the southern breeze of equable nature." The kingly ideal and functions have not been expressed anywhere more forcibly and beautifully than in the following lines of the Śakuntala:

स्वस्यलिनराशिदाः स्वमयित सर्वकोषः

प्रतिद्विनिमशत्रा ते शासितवंश्वीम्।

अनुभवति हि मूः नातिशान्तिर्तेषो नमस्वानिन्दः ॥

शमयति परिताय धारया संप्राणाम् ॥

निवयमयिः विवाहशृद्धिस्तानाचारवः

प्रसामयिः विवाहः कलपेस रक्षणाय ॥

अत्तुपु विवेकेश्व नातिशान्ति नाम

नायि तु परिसमां बन्धुकृत्य प्रजानाम् ॥ (Śak. Act. 5. Slo. 7-8.)

The ideal set up for kings by the Artha Shāstra was that they should be free from the vices technically called Vyasanā, of gambling, sensual enjoyment, hunting and drinking, that they should conquer the ari-sād-varga, namely, Kūma, Krōdha, Māna, Mada, Mātsarya and Lohā, that they should be like a parent to their subjects and win their loyalty and affection and that he should maintain the Tri-Vargas alike so that one may not infringe upon the others. If we turn to the Poet we find him holding up to the admiring gaze of his readers the same glorious ideal in the following slokas:

न पूर्वायामिरितते दुरोदरं, न च शाश्वप्रतिमामाध्रं मधु ।

ब्रम्हायान न च नवयौवना प्रियतमा यथाममपार्तु ॥ (Rag. IX, 7.)
Touching the subject of Vyāsanas, there was a controversy among the various schools of Artha-Sāstra as to whether the pastime of hunting can at all be allowed for kings or whether kings can moderately resort to that kind of pleasure. Kāutilya was of opinion that hunting was not without its advantages and he therefore allowed a moderate use of that pleasure to kings. He says thus:

The poet, too, has touched upon this question and he evidently approved the opinion of Kāutilya. He makes the Senāpati in the Śākuntala express the same ideas in slightly different but more forcible language defending the pastime of hunting, against the attacks of the Vidūṣaka, and in the Rāghuvamśa, speaking of King Daśāratha who loved hunting, the poet says, that the king resorted to the pastime because he saw some advantages to be derived from the exercise of hunting. (Vide. Rag. IX, 40).
and in the same śloka the poet adds that the ministers of the king approved of his resolve.

As I have already pointed out, the place of the ministers in the constitution was a very important one according to the Artha-Sāstra and no administrative measure can be begun or carried out without their permission. Therefore the writers of Artha-Sāstra say "Mantrapūrvah saurvārambhah" and Kautūlya, quoting the opinion of an earlier writer, Viśālakṣa, says, "Mantrasādhyaṃmetat." This principle the poet has illustrated by a little episode in the Mālavikāgūmitra. The king intends to bestow two portions of his kingdom upon his own near and dear relations, Yaññasena and Mādhavasena, as a mark of his favour. For that purpose he seeks the consent of his councillors and asks the Kanouki to inform the deliberative council of his intention. The Kanouki returns and communicates to the king the decision of the council of the ministers separately arrived at.

Dev, amālo viśaṃpyata | bhūte kalyanī dvemśy buḍhi: | mānprī- 

When the king is unable to perform the duty of administering justice he sends his representative, the minister, Āryapiśuna, in the Śākuntala. Manu says:—

amāsmaudyaṃ dharmaṃ prāṇaṃ danaṃ kutoṣṭhitaṃ II

But the poet makes the king take the further precaution of seeing that the minister commits to writing whatever work he has accomplished as the king's representative.

Yatraśvabhikṣatāṃ praṣādyā, tattvamārovyā dhīyataṃMIT
g | (Śāk. Ast. VI.)

In the Chapter on Maṅtrāddhikāra Kautūlya has prescribed how the deliberative council should act and the poet has given the ideas contained in that chapter in a nutshell in the following śloka of the Raguhvamsa:—

tasya sārūtmatrasthy gūḍhakāraśeṣītasya c

Writing on the subject of the consolidation of the State the Artha-
Sāstra writers dwell upon three kinds of sāktas to be possessed by the
king which are necessary for the prosperity of the State. They are Prabhu Śakti, Utsāha Śakti and Mantra Śakti, the power of resources, the power of enthusiasm and organisation, the power of diplomacy and intrigue. Kautūlya’s opinion is that of the three, Mantra Śakti is the best and most effective; next comes Utsāha Śakti and last Prabhu Śakti Vide page 338, Book VIII, S. 5, Artha-Śāstra.

But the poet differs from him in this opinion and holds, that even the other two Śaktis, if properly used, will be able to produce the desired good. He indicates his opinion in the following sentence in the Kumāra-sambhava सम्बन्धात्मकाधिकारिकृतायाः, नैतात्विकोत्साहणेन सम्पत्ति and the following śloka of the Raghuvamśa.

अनयत्रभुक्तिसम्पदा बश्मेको नुपस्थितनन्तरान्
अपर: प्रणिधानयोगया महत: पवब शरीरगोचराय || (VIII, 19.)

Whenever the king went on an expedition or started on a pilgrimage or was unable to attend to his Governmental duties it was the minister that wielded the sceptre. In the Raghuvamśa it is said that when Dilipa started on a pilgrimage he placed the government in the hands of his ministers तेन भूयागतो गुर्वां सत्यवेषु निर्दिष्टे || (Rag. I, 34.) and Aṅgiravarna does the same thing as he ceased to take interest in the affairs of his kingdom, being addicted, to excessive sensual enjoyment.

संवेद्यां सचिवेष्ट्त: परं स्वविषयनवीनोभवत् || (Rag. XIX, 4.)

When the king dies the successor is chosen by the ministers and placed on the throne. The minister is asked to conceal the impending death of the king by various artifices, one of which was, the pretence that the king is engaged in the performance of austerities for the birth of a son. (Vide Kautūlya, the 5th Adhikaraṇa Prakaraṇa 14, Rājayapratisandhāna) पुत्राः वा कर्म साधयति; तद्यत्ता जन्मर्थानि भवेत्. Therefore we see in the Raghuvamśa the poet narrates that the ministers chose the pregnant Queen as the successor after the death of the King Aṅgiravarna afflicted by the dire disease, consumption.

वाहसेनु दिवससेनु पार्थिवः, कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्ममेने
इवदर्शितहोत्स्व भनिन्ना, शाशुदृचरपशकन्निनि: प्रजा: || (Rag. XIX, 52.)

For some time the ministers, it is said, concealed the rapid decay of the king by the pretence that he was engaged in austerities for the birth of a son.

That the king was entitled to one-sixth share of the produce, from the people as tax was the fixed rule of the Artha Śāstra and the writers of that science justified the taking of this one-sixth as a compensation to the king for the protection afforded by him to his people. This was
called *Bali* or *Āra* and by this fixed taxation it was not made the subject of the whims and caprices of sovereigns. The poet enunciates these principles of the *Arthā-Sāstra* in the following stanza of the *Raghuvaṃśa*:

```
तपो रक्षन्स विनिभ्यः, तस्त्रेष्यश्च सम्भवः।
यथासमाध्यमेशकः, वेणरि पदंश्मात्। || (XVII, 65.)
```

Though according to *Kautūlya* and other writers the wealth of *Srotaria* was exempt from taxation, in the above śloka the poet speaks of the king being entitled to the one-sixth share even from *Tapasvis*, though, in the *Śakuntala*, he makes King *Duṣyanta* say that the one-sixth share in the *Tapas* of *Āraṅyakas* is preferable to the one-sixth share in the material objects of the world.

```
यदुसिच्चिति वर्णेणो नुपाणं क्षणि तस्फलयः।
तपश्चमागसमश्रयं वद्वारायणका धि न: || (Śak. Act. II, 13.)
```

As regards increasing of the treasury the *Arthā-Sāstra* in giving advice to kings holds that they should not be avaricious and should not pollute the treasury by indiscriminately taking hold of properties to which they are not legitimately entitled according to the law of the *Dharma-Sāstra*. This ideal the poet illustrates in the character of King *Duṣyanta* depicted by him in the *Śakuntala*. When the minister decided that the properties of a rich merchant who died on a voyage in the sea without leaving any issue, escheated to the crown the king disapproves of his decision and instituted enquiries to be made as to which of his wives was pregnant. For, the king holds नन्दु गमि: *विष्णु रिक्षयविहिति* and the king acts according to the advice of the Law-giver, *Manu*, अनादेयं नादेयत परिष्कृष्णयो पार्थ्यां:। When the king asked to be proclaimed throughout his realm अनेन अम विवेकने प्रजा: विने अवेन वनहुना। स स पापाते तास्कुष्ठतम इति लुध्यताम। he was only strictly giving effect to the great Law-giver's injunction in the 8th *Adhyāya*:

```
बालदायविक रिक्षय तावद्राजासनुपालयेत्।
वाचस्य वासस्मात्वो वाबबातातिदैववः। ||
तथासुनाबु चैव स्वाध्वरण निष्कृतस्वः च।
पतितासविपि च श्रीमु विचवास्वायुरस्वः च। || (27 & 28.)
```

In the Chapters on *Diplomacy* and *Foreign Policy* Kauṭilya dwells on the fourfold policy of *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bhedā* and *Danda* and the *Śādguṇyas* of *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Āsana*, *Samēraya*, *Yātrā* and *Dvādhihīkā*. If these are used properly by a government it is bound to have according to the *Arthā-Sahāstra* writers very good and successful
foreign relations and is bound to rise in prosperity and glory. The poet has given a conspectus of the literature on the subject in the few following stanzas of the Raghuvamśa:

\[ \text{पणवन्धमुखान्याकन्तः, वषुपायुक्त समविश्व तत्कलम्} \ (\text{VIII, 21.}) \\
\text{तुरगज इव द्वितीयाँधर्मिन्याधिपिः।} \\
\text{नय इव पणवन्धव्यवस्थायोग्यहृद्धिः।} \\
\text{हरिश्च युगाधिकः देशमिराधोद्विधिः।} \\
\text{पतितविविषमात्रा तौष्टकायो चतुर्भिः।} \ (\text{X, 86.}) \\
\text{पणवन्धः सन्तिरिति कौटिल्यः।} \]

One of the gunas is Vigraha and the principle of the Artha-Śāstra was, according to Kauṭilya, हानेव विपुलोत्साहः।

This principle the poet has illustrated by a little incident in the Mālavikāgniṇītra. When Agnimitra decides to fight the Vaidarbya king he discusses the position of that king and comes to the conclusion that he was āhina. The king refers to the "Tanurokāra Vacanam" as being "Avitatham" and the minister compliments the king on his decision to fight as being "Śāstradrśta". The other guna of Yātrā is also referred to by the poet in:

\[ \text{शच्चयैष्वेदभाषाम्ब्राह्मान्तः, तत्वः शक्कितलसतः।} \\
\text{समीरणसहायोद्विष्नु नाम्भ:प्राची देवाशः।} \ (\text{XVII, 56.}) \\
\]

The poet has also made reference to the six kinds of armies of those days, viz., Maula or hereditary troops, Bhṛta or mercenary troops, Subṛt or volunteers, Śreni or troops, Dviṣat or enemies and wild tribes.

\[ \text{स गुणानो बलानां च पण्णां पण्वन्धविक्रमः।} \\
\text{बभुव विनियोगः साधनीयेषु वसुधु।} \ (\text{Rāg. XVII, 67.}) \\
\]

and what should be done when marching an expedition is also described in the following śloka of Raghuvamśa:

\[ \text{स गुणसूत्रप्रत्येकः शुद्धपालिष्ठयाधिक्षितः।} \\
\text{पशुवधयं वरमाद्य त्रस्तेषु विनिजीश्वया।} \ (\text{IV, 26.}) \\
\]

As regards Pañcabandha the poet again would rather approve the opinion of Kauṭilya than that of some of the earlier writers on the subject. Discussing the comparative merits of treaties depending upon the honour of the contracting parties and those depending upon the binding force of hostages or money considerations, both the poet and Kauṭilya are of opinion that treaties depending upon honour are much more durable.
Kautūlya says this:—सांहिता: स्म इति सारसन्नथा: पुरौं राजान: सखेन सद्विधिरे II (Kautūlya, Adhi. 7. Adhyā. 17). And the poet mentions a king whose name itself was Duruvasandhi in the list of the kings of the Solar race and speaks of him thus in the following stanza of the Rāghuvamśa.

वर्षीयामूल्य ज्ञायति सत्यसत्ये, सक्षर्तक्षरसंनयसंमतारमाराणाम II XVIII, 34.

As regards conquests and the relations of the conquered with the conqueror, the poet has struck an independent line of his own and has emphasised aspects which have not been given prominence to by the later writers on Artha-Śāstra viz., Kautūlya and Kāmandaka. The poet is strongly of opinion that conquests must be made only for the purpose of earning fame and that the hand of the conqueror should not be stained by needless annexation and aggrandisement. Therefore, the poet says in the following śloka:—

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नूपः।
श्रीयं महेन्द्रानाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् II (Rag. IV, 43)
सोड्युध्धनमुच्छतस्तन्तरदृष्ट्य प्रतिरोपयन् II (Rag. XVII, 42.)
पराभिस्वाभावं ज्ञाप्यस्य विचेष्टितम्।
जिगीर्षेप्रक्षेपवाय सर्वेष्मेव बभुव ततः II (Rag. XVII, 74.)
न खरो न च भूसा भृगु: पवयत्: गुप्तवीर्वाहिनिव।
स पुरस्तवमध्यमध्रेऽमो, नम्र्यामास नुपातनुढरन् II (Rag. VIII, 9.)

While the poet was certainly for conquest wide as the earth and for the exhibition of scintillating bravery, he was not for the destruction of the conquered king or the annihilation of his kingdom. The poet was a determined enemy to the ‘doctrine of lapse.’ In this he has shown individuality as a profound thinker on Artha-Śāstra. Nor was the poet in favour of unscrupulous methods of warfare. On the other hand he fondly turned back to the days of the Mahābhārata when Dharma Yuddha prevailed and he strongly condemned the method of Kūṭa Yuddha or war by secret methods and contrivances which has been much expatiated on by Kautūlya. Thus he says of a king in the Rāghuvamśa that though he knew the art of Kūṭa Yuddha he was always scrupulous in his methods of warfare and fought with the principle of Dharma Yuddha. Vide

इतिकृतमुखविचित्रि तत्समस्थार्यादिनि।
मेनेर्विसतारकाति जयश्रीवर्गामिनि II XVII, 69.

The poet has also made reference to the eighteen departments of the State or Aṣṭādaśa Tīrthas of Kautūlya in the following stanza of the Rāghuvamśa.
Lastly, the poet wished for a centralised administration of all the Hindu States with one powerful overlord instead of an India split up into a number of warring independent principalities. That is why the poet loves to speak of the Solar race which stands till to-day as the ideal for all Kṣatriya kings as "Asamudra Kṣitiśa" and that is why he named his favourite hero among the kings of the Solar race, Raghu and called his work Raghu Varśa as he it was that brought the whole country by his Digvijaya under his suzerainty. The poet says of him thus:

श्रुतस्य यात्राद्यमन्त्रमभेदकस्तथा परेऽऽूधि केषति पार्थिवः।
अन्विक्ष्य धातोगमनाऽथसृश्विष्कार नाम्ना रघुमातसम्भवम्॥ (Rag. III, 21.)

Again in the Sākuntala the poet speaks of the king's son and prophesies him as Cakravarti तथा साधनां च कक्षतं पुनःवधवल्ल। (Sāk. Act. VII.) and says thus:

रघुनाथमुदातिसतिमितगतिना तीर्णजयके:
पुरासतद्रिपं जयति बसुधामप्रतिरथः।
इहाय सर्वानां प्रसेधमालसृश्वेदमानः
पुनर्वर्ष्यन्वायं भरत इति बोक्ष्य भरणात्॥ (Sāk. VII, 33.)

The ideal state, according to the poet's fancy, was one where the king conquering all the senses and himself highly learned in the Vedas and Śāstras, maintained the Trivargas and pleased his subjects like a parent protecting the Varnāśramas according to the Vedio Dharmas and the Tapasvis from all obstacles from their Tapas, where spiritual power and temporal supremacy worked together for the commonweal, where trade was carried on briskly without any let or hindrance and the king maintained law and order equably and had righteous foreign relations and maintained the utmost scrupulous restitution in his dealings with foreign states and made conquests only for the purpose of fame and not for the destruction of the enemy. Such was the glorious ideal preached by the poet in his works to the people of his generation.

Let me conclude with the poet's Bharata Āyaka.

प्रव्रेतात् प्रकटित्रित्या पार्थिवः
सर्वादि श्रुतस्य महायताम्।
ममापि च क्षुधपुत्व नौछोदितः
पुनर्वें परिलालसकिर्मस्य॥
I

FOUR UNPUBLISHED UPANIŚADIC TEXTS, TENTATIVELY EDITED AND TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME

BY

PROFESSOR S. K. BELVALKAR, POONA.

Dr. F. Otto Schrader, the former Director of the Adyar Library, announced in 1908 the discovery of four old Upaniṣadic texts till then entirely unknown. One of them which he regarded as the "precursor of all known Upaniṣadic literature" he forthwith edited as an Appendix to the first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library. The others have so far remained unknown to the world of scholars. The names of the other three works are; Chāgaleya, Ārṣeya, and Śaunaka. They are extant in only one Ms. now in the Adyar Library, and through the kindness of the present Director of that Library I was provided with a copy of these texts, which are none of them very large in extent. The texts are however quite interesting, especially the Chāgaleya, and they had the honour of being included in the famous collection made for Dārā Shukoh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and so included in the Perso-Latin translation of Anquetil Duperron.

On the basis of the solitary Ms. which is a paper transcript in Devanāgarī characters of the Kāśmirian type, and withal not very accurate, it is not possible to give definitive editions of these important texts; but it were a pity to keep the world quite in the dark about them. Dr. Schrader, I had expected, would give some information about them; but if he has, I have nowhere seen it. I therefore offer here a tentative text in which I introduce certain unavoidable conjectural restorations, and an equally tentative translation. The Bāskalamantrapaniṣad has a modern commentary written upon it: the Upaniṣadic text in fact exists only as preserved in that commentary. I give the text alone, permitting myself a few minor changes in Schrader's text.

* A few words as to the subject of these texts and their position in the general Upaniṣadic literature may perhaps be necessary for a proper appreciation of them. The Bāskalamantrapaniṣad consists of 25 stanzas in the Tristubh metre and, like the Iṣávasyopaniṣad, it might have formed part of the Bāskala Samhitā of the Ṛgveda. Some lines from the Upaniṣad are actually found in the current Ṛgveda text. The topic is the story of Medhātithi and Indra, alluded to in Ṛgveda VIII. 2. 40 but nowhere fully set forth. It is however presupposed in the so-called
"Subrahmanya" formula where Indra is invoked as the "Ram of Medhātithi". The Upaniṣad gives a poetico-philosophic dialogue between the Sage and the God, there being an enumeration of the well-known exploits of Indra, followed by his henotheistic exaltation, and concluding with the identification of Indra with the One in the manner of the Indra-Pratardana story in the Kauśitaki Upaniṣad.

The Chāgaleya Upaniṣad begins in the right Brāhmaṇic style with the sages practising penance on the banks of the Sarasvati. It launches into a discussion as to what makes a Brāhmaṇ a Brāhmaṇ and mocks at the exaggerated claims of the priesthood. Its main purpose however is to bring out the relation of the Soul to the Body by the "Metaphor of the Cart." Chāgaleya is probably earlier than the Kaṭha, and like the Milindapañho where the same theme is discussed with the help of the same metaphor (251, See Warren, pp. 129-135), it concludes with a couple of Gāthās or stanzas summarising the theme.

The Ārṣeya Upaniṣad records a conversation between the sages Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhrḍvāja, Gautama, and Vāsiṣṭha, the theme being the most adequate definition of the "Brahman." The best definition offered is that of Vāsiṣṭha who identifies Brahman with Ātman. Herein is found a reproduction of the negative language of Yājñavalkya just as we found a reproduction of Chāndogya I. vi. 6 in the definition given by Gautama. Like the Chāgaleya the Ārṣeya also concludes with a Gāthā.

The Śaunaka Upaniṣad, is the least interesting of these texts. It glorifies the Upāsanā of the Om as the Udgitha, and by introducing the usual Deva-Asura motif seeks to explain why certain metres and certain gods are restricted to the successive Savanas. Towards the end it offers an explanation of the famous "Catvāri śṛṅgā" stanza, Ṛgveda IV. 58. 3.

It may be added that for the Bāṣkalamantrupaniṣad I do not give the actual ms. readings, as they have been already faithfully reported by Dr. Sohrader. The Chāgaleya Upaniṣad I had the opportunity of personally comparing with the original ms. in the Adyar library, and the readings of that ms. I give in the foot-notes in those cases where I have to venture upon conjectural emendations. I have to thank the authorities of the Adyar library for affording me this opportunity, which (owing to my too brief a stay in Madras) I could not obtain in the case of the last two-texts, for which my sole basis has been the copies that I had procured. I have not therefore thought it necessary, for the purpose of the present tentative attempt, to report the readings from my copies where I had to alter them. Mere scribal errors I have in all cases passed over in silence.
BĀŠKALAMANTROPANIŚAD.

TRANSLATION.

1. Assuming the form of a goat the wise Indra carried away to Heavens Medhātithi, son of Kaṇva.
   The latter questions the peaceful [Indra] so that he might discourse with him upon the Highest goal.

2. Who now art thou so different from things of ordinary knowledge: I have absolutely no knowledge of thee.
   Thou dost bounce in a graceful fashion: seeing thee in this wise none would call thee a goat.

3. In thy bouncings thou dost not at all touch this earth: Who indeed could mount up to this [world]?
   So teach me who thou art, the most wise of all: May not the effulgent Brāhmaṇ-lustre overtake thee in wrath.

4. For, it is Indra the guardian of men, the bull who quickly overwhelsms and subdues, who in his might cares for me.
   He the one God of terrific exploits, may he not through his fervour smite down thee thus transgressing Law.

5. Whereto art thou carrying me the helpless from here? Where is thy abode, thou most strange being?
   And where indeed might God our Father be sleeping, inasmuch as he knows not me thus being led away nor him who is leading me away.

6. Behind nor below nor in front nor at the two sides are they [the gods]; I certainly have not not-worshipped them.
   Me certainly they have not known in this plight, since they, false of appearance, do not come this way.

7. The other one, smiling, dispelled his doubt [saying], Whom art thou deeming as thy shelter?
   I certainly will not release thee, thus threatening me, before I reach my own residence.

8. I am the Giver [of gifts] unto the singers; I am the one who consumes this libation, the Soma portion:
   I supervise all these worlds: I give nourishment into the mouth of the gods.

9. The World's Egg-shells are my residence: I the loud roaring one move away from, and come into contact with, it.
   'Twas I who smote the Dragon sheltering on the mountain: I who am fierce with my might, and withal minded to protect.
10. I smote down the sides of the mountains, what indeed Indra did [have to] accomplish with his troops:
Who indeed is there who knows or would proclaim this? Who would encompass the onslaughts of the smiting one?

11. Who in all these worlds has seen all these my acts of gift and protection of the worshipper everywhere?
For I often and often assume birth in different forms with my miraculous powers, the One shining God that I am.

12. I look upon the world closely controlling it: None other can claim to my greatness.
I, spreading through Heaven and Earth, sustain the Gharma for the protection of men.

13. I do know this sacrificial High-road, and I know the navel of the world;
I am in every way the friend, the father, and the mother of this [world]: I carried the divine drops and those in the mid-region.

14. I have knowledge of the Vedas, of the sacrifices, of the metres, of the riches;
I develop that which is beyond this Lake—what springs as it were in the midst of the Waters.

15. I alone am the highest Jātavedas whom the Adhvaryu kindles upon the Lokamṛṣaṇa bricks;
What time [the singer] chants in tune with him, like unto a bird of Heaven, bursting the bounds this way and that with his chants.

16. I am the one who, with the never-falling chariot with a felly of twice two spokes, am called the One-wheeled one;
I am he who shining forth day by day sustain my body and hold the nectar.

17. I do purify on all sides the quarters and the intermediate quarters and the sub-intermediate quarters and so encompass the world.
I deposit in the seed all the herbs wherewith all the pious sacrificers would satisfy the world.

18. I wander in the midst of the world and anon take to the upward and the downward path;
He who knows me as placed in the Cave, he alone may repeatedly succeed to obtain repose,[therein].
19. I remain in the word five-fold, ten-fold, one-fold, thousand-fold, and not-even-one-fold;
Whoso knows that I have pervaded this, he attains it; were they to know it otherwise they would become otherwise.

20. No singer is able to encompass me: he encompasses me not by all these words (gobhih);
Neither the non-giver nor the giver is able to comprehend me:
they all approach me from all sides.

21. Where's the beast of prey, where the deer and where a mere goat! All this I do severally (tvat-tvat) sustain;
That for which they are afraid of me that is my single [uniform nature]; they devour (?) me not—I devour them in succession,

22. In that thou hast formerly in many wise practised penance for me, so have I for your good luck become a goat.
Thou hast alighted upon the path of Law for thy welfare. So approach thou my one real [form].

23. I am light and immortality, I am the bond [of the world];
what has been, is being, and will be born [that I am].
I am thyself and I am alone myself and thyself, but understand
that thou art my own self: Do you not doubt through simplicity.

24. Ruler of all, Sustainer of all, having universal form; in leadership
Rudra and Peaceful Prajapati.
The Swan, free from sorrow, ageless, ancient, and straight-
forward-going am I in sooth.

25. I am the singer all-faced, all-pervading, all-highest, and observer of men;
I am everywhere, I am full of propitiousness; I alone am all
that all this whatsoever is.

|| अथ भागलेयोपानिषद् ||

ऋषयों के सरस्वतेः सत्त्रमासत। तेस्य कविमेलपुप्रान्य दास्यः।
पुन इति दीक्षापायापिछिन्दन्। ते होनुरुप वा पतेश्वरपायापि सातार ॥

इति || स होषाच। भगवन्तो यदिं सत्त्रमाध्ये यहोऽस्वागच्छे यजामिषि
वत् तामानि कस्यां महिमेति। ते होनुरुग्रान्ध्रणव बाव स्ततेषामेवभिति ||
स होवळे। यवदिमिथ्य माणिक्य चरिक्षेथे के तथाने श्राण्णा इति।

६ ते होजुर्थिविद्वारसुरसुधिरोपवतवं (३) नो जुजुर्थिविद्वारसुधिरोपवतवं सत्तद्राणां इति।

स ह अबिंदु एव शब्दशिष्यमात्रवमच्चावदोपदशीष्यबाच।

९ यवदिमिथ्यजुलैक्षेतां जुहो[वतो]पािशासीदषोपानेष नैत्रक्षगाविद्विच। कि
तविद्वि होजुः। स होवळे। नैमिषिस्मी। जुक्काः। सत्तमासत।
तेयामास्योपज्ञाताः सर्वाण्यवार्तं यवास्य यदुपनः यत् प्रारः
१२ जुक्काः यत् प्रुः। कथं यवास्य चन्महत्तवायस्यमय्य चन्महावीरसंभर्णानि
यददेर्लामिभव्याणि यदर्जाभिमुद्याणि यदर्माणित्वाणि। यदेवयामानि यदुपनां
पािशासी। यत् विद्वि प्रदश्वः सत्तद संक्रिस्त इति कायस्य
२५ तदगाविद्वि। ते हामुखः। अथैते सर्व एवः अवस्य प्रचुरुप नो नयक्षे
यवव ते इति। स ह समयमान बाच। संपर्यधाया एव मा प्रमदत। न
होतमानयन उपनेतवि। ते होजुर्थि स्मोऽपना गातिस्तु लाभिद्वि।

१८ स होवळे। कृञ्जेव्य एवः अवस्य ये बालिहास्तानुपाध्य। ते
व इव प्रवक्षणीति। ते ह तत एवः अवस्य युक्त्रेषानुमुग्धः। ते ह
बालिहास्तानोपासवन। तात्त्विक उपसवन एव विद्वद्वकीरितिवालुकाः इति।
२१ ते होजुर्थिकिंविव बालिहास्तानुसवन तद्वाचालाः। ते महाश्रीमाणिया वर्षाणायां;
[सन्तः]। चन्महाश्रीमाणिया वर्षाणायां। कृञ्जेव्यमथ्यात इति।
ते हामुक्यानुमाणितसिष्ठामाणुः। ते हामुक्तः हामुमाणिद्विदेवसावाबः
वोच्छालिवाने। चातुर्विव विवक्षणेव। ते होजुर्मानस्यानीव वर्षामु
नवय वध्यमनस्यायं। यथेव तु स्मोऽपस्या
बालिहास्तानो यथोपरांत्विन्त इति।

२७ ते होजुः। कि वा अस्मत प्रतीष्णूवेशित विद्वि। ते होजुः। नैमिषिस्की
जुक्काः। सत्तमासत। तेयामास्योपज्ञाताः सर्वाण्यवार्तं यवास्या।

1. यदेवयामानित्रिनीकेश्वे
2. वैरेसुपञ्चस्थलाहु
3. v. 1. अभिस्थापिताणि
4. यदेवयामानाणि
5. यदुपमानाणित्रिनी
6. विचक्षीमेति
यदुनाथक्या यत् प्राताळवाकी यत् प्रवर्गं यदाच्च यत्मकत्वतीयमिन्थं
यनमहानिश्चरसर्गरानाति यद्वारार्थिवैतनाति यदाजाविचक्कणाति
यदविषाधिमाणि यद्वैपयामानि यदयुपमानायण्यं यत् त्रिवटं पञ्चवसंः सत्तवश
प्राक्रिय(विरः)श इति। कार्य तदगादवर्य शिवशयितमशायितषे। ते
होजुरशानवस्तसरावसिनामनुस्मृयाविदिति भजु न। पूर्वेनन्नविशिष्टं। यत्
संवसमय वस्तस्य अथ वैविष्पिति। ते इ संवससायुष।

ततो ह भाविष्या ऊजुरवाच वा संवसंसरिमनुभावणा। हन्ते-

d. पामुन्नवामेति। ते ह गृहलिङ्वेनाम् पत्यप्रभासितमिषु। ते ह संक्रितत
एव कृपरीण रच्यरायात्मिन्नन। ते होजु। संपर्वपचिति। किं हीति।
कृपरितमेव सौम्य इति। तयेति। कथिते। तथेति। यथेोपस्तत्तरो

bh. स्थियुयुगदेवी'मिरिव व्यवितं। शक्तिमं। रेवोपपक्तस्वनुजुवेन्
हैवेशीयाभित्वामायामेव भूर्यां च चक्षुमयादिरिणा। भुतस्ततवति।
यथेवातौ प्रतिमालि सम। समेत कीदिदेवं हैषं संक्रितदीति। यथेवाता-

र. विद्यातेोपमुक्तासुसज्ज्ज चं संप्रदन्तत् इवोपप(?)स्त्य इवोपपन्द्रमभि-
गृहीताभिपत्तेवें हैषं इवैत्वान्तायुम्भज्ज चं संप्रदन्तत् इवीपप(?)स्त्य इवे।-
पश्चन्द्रभुगदेवाभिपत्तेति। यथेवातौ राजान्ति वा राजपुरहव्य वा

s. निजयं प्राप्योदेवें हैवेष यन्त्रा॥[र]निजयं प्राप्यति॥ ते होजुरपींदं
सार्वीया इति। सार्वीय इति होजु। ते ह तस्यं पन्थामुप्रातिश्रोणं
ह सायाह्ययेोपसंवस्यायामायुष॥

8. तं यद्रवसायांस्वथान्त्यापायागाथं व्यञ्जित। अब्हीक्रितं
कथिते। ते होजुरथेन कात्यमानिन्द्रमुपपयायात्मैववायो भूष्टं
स्पंदते॥ नेष्टे न विवर्ति न च बीत इति॥ ते ह भाविष्या ऊजुर्य-

5. दयम्मेवगृहृत क्रिमयापायागादिति। तथामति। तथेवेतत् सौम्य इति।
भाना वा अस्य प्रचोदिता कराणायि। शिरा न्यायोपस्तीव्रिंयुप्रहा
असूक्तमेव कर्म द्रोहोदी वा वृक्षम कारणं लखुपनाध इति। त यथा प्रचोद-

154. तित्तपोशितो नेत्रे महालेववें हैषा प्राक्षेांताम[ना]पोशितो॥ बृत्ते न।
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

CHĀGALAYOPANIṢAD.

TRANSLATION.

The sages once held a sacrificial session on the bank of the Sarasvatī. And they debarred from the Initiation Kavaśa Aḷīśa as being the son of a maid-servant. Said they: this is counter to Rk and Yajus, counter to Sāman. He said: Revered Sirs! That you come to the session, recite the Rks, the Yajus, and the Sāmans—through the greatness of what is all this? They replied: We are Brāhmīns, and that is [permitted] to us. Said he: Inasmuch as you are thus going through the Initiation and debarring me from it, what is it by which you are Brāhmīns? They answered: the fact that they performed our birth-rites by Rk and Yajus formulas and kissed this head and performed the Upanayana—because of that, we are Brāhmīns.

Thereupon he pointed to them Ātreya the Acchāvāka whose corpse was lying hard by, and said: that performance of birth-rites by Rk and Yajus formulas and the kissing of the head and the Upanayana—was it wanting to this [corpse]? What is that, they asked. He replied: In the Naimiśa forest these Śunakas held a session. They had this Ātreya as their Acchāvāka who recited everything: be it Yājvāḷ or Anuvākyā or Prātiḥvratuvalka or Praiṣka or Aṭīya or Marutvatiya; be it also the mantras to accompany the decorating of the Mahāvira pot or those by which the Fire's circumambulated or King Soma is purchased or the juice pressed from it or the second pressing is made the next day or the juice is dedicated; whether it be the Trīvṛt Chant or Pañcadaśa or Saptadaśa or Ekatrimśa. Where has all that departed from him? And they were at
a loss to know. And so they all together came up to him and said: Do you teach (upsāntaya) us. Here we are thine pupils. And he smiling said: Look well and do not make a mistake. Surely a lowborn one cannot be a teacher to the highest persons! But they said: Do not formally teach us, but you it is that must show us the way.

He said: Do you all go together to Kurukṣetra and wait upon those there who are leading the life of children. They would explain this to you. At that they all in a body repaired to Kurukṣetra. They approached the Child-sages. These knew as the sages were approaching them that they wanted such and such a thing. They said: Why do you approach Child-sages being as you are great house-holders and great experts in the Scriptures? For there are surely great house-holders and great experts in the Scriptures in the Kurukṣetra. At that the sages looked at each other's face. And they found: it was not in vain that he told us Seek you these very Child-sages. And they said: You make your words transcend [those of] the most revered in that [you have done] as if some one here were to win by a dice-throw what is in our mind. And accordingly here are we approaching you, being further more free from malice and full of credence in whatever is taught.

They asked: What is it that you seek from us? They replied: In the Naimiṣa forest these Śunakas held a session. They had Ātreya as their Acchāvāka who recited everything: be it Yājyaś or Anuvākyas or Prātaranuvāka or Praūga or Ājya or Marutvatiya; be it also the mantras to accompany the decorating of the Mahāvīra pot or those by which the Fire is circumambulated or King Soma is purchased or the juice pressed from it or the second pressing is made the next day or the juice is dedicated; whether it be the Trivist Chant or Pañcadasā or Saptadasā or Ekavi (?[tri]mśa). Where has all that departed from him in that he is lying down the way a corpse lies down? The [Child-sages] replied: The Ancients have indeed enjoined upon us not to teach those that have not been in residence [as pupils] for a year. Reside therefore for a year and you will know. And they stayed one year.

Then the Child-sages said: These Brāhmīnas have resided for a year: well, let us instruct them. So they just took them out with them and went along the high-ways. Anon they came upon a chariot undergoing driving exercise for pleasure. And the Child-sages inquired: Do you notice this? What is it? 'Tis but a chariot, Gentle Sirs! Quite so. What manner of a thing is it? Just as an advancing ocean with its transverse up-tossing waves would bounce forward bearing aloft the glittering fish, even so does it bound forward following the movement of the galloping horses and revolving spokes (?); just as one who is a match would run the race with the rival-runner, even so is this [chariot] racing in sport. Just as this [horse] is galloping hither and thither
and from this side to that, is roaring, is taking a bounce and would anon drop himself down, even so does the [chariot] gallop hither and thither and from this side to that, roars, takes a bound and anon drops itself down. And just as a [horse] would carry the King or may-be a royal-officer to the resting place even so would this [chariot] carry the chariot-teen to the resting place. Asked the Child-sages: And you are sure of this? Quite sure, they replied. And they kept on along the track of the same [chariot] and they came to the end [of the journey] at evening time.

And when the driver unyoked the horses and went away leaving [the chariot] behind, it tumbled down. Did you mark how it fared with it now? They replied, Just as we see a bundle of fuel tied up even so we see it lying outstretched on the ground powerless. It neither moves, nor turns, nor goes away. At that the Child-sages asked: If it has become like that, what is it that has departed from it? The driver of course. Quite so, my Gentle Sirs! The soul is the impeller of this [body], the senses the horses, the veins the straps, the bones the reins, blood the lubricant, volition the whip, speech the creaking, and skin the outer top. And just as [the chariot] abandoned by the driver would not move nor creak, even so [this body] abandoned by the intelligent Atman neither speaks nor goes nor even breathes; it just putrifies; and dogs may run at it and crows alight upon it and vultures tear it and jackals devour it. Thereat the sages at once knew and they touched the feet of the Child-sages and said: We have not the wherewith to repay this; but here is this: and they folded their hands in reverence.

Thus has the revered Chāgaleya declared. And here are the verses:

Just as the chariot-frame abandoned by the driver moves not a whit,

Even so does this our body deprived of the intelligent Atman appear:

What is to it [chariot] the fellies and the wheels and poles and yoke and covering,

And whip and thong and yokepin: [so has this human frame its manifold parts.

And when the body collapses and the organs cease to function,

The lamentations and wailings of friends and relations avail nought to the corpse.]*

* Completed with the help of the Perse-Latin version.
अथ आर्येयोपाणिषद्

अथ रश्ये वै ब्रह्मोध्माहिष्यितव ऊऽ: परस्यास्बानुभवाणि।
तेषां विभावितो विजितीयमिव मन्यमान उवाच। यदेवदन्ते स्वाभावृपथिवै अन[च]मूर्तिविव सर्वसंवयादिवकाशमासिद्धेनकेतुतथा स्तनयति
वियोगात्माना इव, अवस्थूर्जयमाना इव तद्भवति। तस्योपवाह्यानम्।
यदिदमसम्भसितव्यति भूरंहृदयादिविवशील्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यानि ब[व]धिमित्वेन
प्रस्तुति वर्तान्तिडिभिन्यायोपाविवशील्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यानि शक्लकुमेरुस्मेतुन्दिनि
पन्थीकेनाभिनिज्जिटिम्यानि सृजामिचिवनयन्ति शास्त्रवाच तस्युवाच वास्तवः
किर्मानि फलितमेव हैव शकुनित्याति नास्तेऽथ महिम नैनमस्तियोमहिः।

तदृ ह जनमदन्नोन्मेने। आत्मिकी वा पुष तमेने यदिदमस्वरूपेन दुपितं नृपस स्वाधीन्यवृद्धिमित्। स हैवाच। अनुसंधानवा
एतत्त्वदिभ्योपाविवशील्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यानि इति। महिमान्य लसुतेपेह शस्यावतः
यदिदमसमज्ञातचित्रमिति। स यदिदमेत्तमज्ञान्यान्याचेतिवाच तथोपास्ते
न्यायतृती हैवास्मिन् भवति। तदेवदवीर्यमेवासासम्पूर्णात् बीव
पद्यादिरित्वकृष्टेषै। तस्मादेवमेवोपासित॥

तामिनः प्राप्तकृत। कतम[व्य]मणातृ मन्यस इति। तं हैवाच।
यदिदमसित्वात् भावायुप्चित्वोन्नरमस्यविव नाप्यातिः नामित्वकः नास्तुवाति
तस्योपवाह्यानम्। यदिदमस्तिडिभिन्याण्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यानि नाप्यात इति,
न विश्वस्ततृत्विव, न सङ्कृतविव, न पर्यावर्तम्यात। न ह ता एतान्
केचिदुपाधवत्ता किंन्त्र नामित्वकः इति। यदिदमेत्ततम एवाहुस्तम
एव को व्युतिरेक्षादिवकामके परस्म व्योमेक आत्मामेकः इति॥

तदृ ह भर्गासो नात्मेने। यदिद संवेदियेव्येव [समू] इती
नास्तु तदृप न्यायविवित। स हैवाच। आत्मियेश्वरे वै विज्ञानमपित्वनः
व्रूपायोपाविवशील्यान्यान्यान्यानि यदिदमस्येवविवशील्यान्यायम्। इति

महामान्य लेखास्योपास्ते यदिदमन्याय्यान्याचित्रमिति। स यदिदमन्याय्यान्याचेतिवाच
बीव तथोपास्तेज्ञान्यायतृती मर्यादृ। स य हृदान्याचन्द्रियविभ्रा-
नेवेलपास्ते पापीयानू मभ्यालर्मायाय संरूपते। स यदयेवमेतद्वायुः पुपास्ते सर्वभवुरेति वसीयाणू भवति स य एतर्नु पुपास्ते॥

तमिलः प्रभु त करतमः लभनार्त मन्यति इति। स होवः काकस्यानासिव।

यदेवदसिन्मा मण्डलेदवृद्धिये बभ्याम्याणाशिव,्।

जाज्यानामिव देवीमानान्मिव लेखिहान तदेव में श्री। तत्त्योप- व्यास्याणम। यदिदम्बे परा: परावलोकितस्ते संपवमे चेतना संबिद- सेर यथोपयातमार्तवाभिचक्षु इति। स एतदमिस्ते व्यास्याणाय दयायो।

विष्णुस्तीव घाण्यात्योल्यार्यः(?)वोपविर्याल्ळर्वतृ न एवविभुळ्ळने।

तदिदम्बि के द्विथि नेदव इव दूरतो न व अस्य महिमान निभार्तु।

तदु ह न मेने गौतमवृयदिर्मार्मिव सत्तिमिव पर्याप्त्राशन पश्यनतीमेव मोचं संविदाना इति य इमे पुष्पाः सुभाः ऊऽुम्मा(?) दर्दा बर्बरा इति। न ह व असंविदा एव द्राम्येव तदु पश्यनत इति।

महीमान लेवासयोपाते य एतदस्त्रिता हिर्यमयाय: पुरुषो हिर्यवर्णो हिर्यमयामुऽन नाशाकाभ्यो दीप्यमान इव। स य एववेनमुऽपातेव सर्वो भूतानि तिष्ठति सर्वभवुरेति वसीयानू भवति। न ह व एव परमात्माधेति। यस्वेन्द्र मर्मांसदवान पश्युऽपाते पापीयानू भवति वीव पवत आर्तित्रुऽच्चति। यस्वेन्द्र परमात्मान्त वेदाथ तथोऽपाते परं ज्योतिर्नस्तं पत्रेषुते सर्वभवुरेति वसीयानू भवति स य एववेनमुऽपाते॥

तमिलः प्रभु त करतमः लभनार्त मन्यस इति। तं होवः विष्णुस्तीर्वेमा देशायात्तोर्व संजिहाना इव नेदियासितमा इव द्वियासितमा एव द्वियासितमा इव नेदियासितमा प्रेते। यदिपि बहु भाषीर्भ धिँच प्रतिपद्य इति तस्मे ब्रह्मोति॥

तदु ह वास्तो नाशुएः। यदिमा विष्णुयात एवभिपथाते वीव यन्ति मिशु चेति विचक्षेतकाण्ड इऽम्रेमा न ह वै परसिद्धा। कक्षास्येवसम्बन्धान ीव। अप व षोऽस्त्रेते वददतद्विव्यक्तत्त्य इति।

महिष्कः पापेमाणि(?)हितः। तस एवमेका महिष्कः एवाय पश्युऽपाते महिष्कः एवभोति सर्वभवुरेति वसीयानू भवति। यस्वभमा अवयती(?) रेवोऽपाते न परा संपदामाना नो एव परेति पापीयानू भवति वीव
The sages maintained a challenging discourse with each other setting riddles. Amongst them Viśvāmitra deeming himself pre-eminent said: That which is between the Heaven and the Earth, which pervades everything and passes the ken of our vision, that which—like the Ākāsa—is this way and that and where they thunder and glitter and throb, that is Brahman. This is its further description—Were they to burn it with the fires, drown it into the waters, tie it up with fetters, secure it with leather straps, strike it with iron hammers, pierce it with needles, infix it with pegs, torment it with leg-fasteners, plaster it up with clay, chisel it with axes, or plough it with plough-shares: they would not be able to do so. We have no power over it, we cannot transcend it.

To that would Jamadagni not assent. He considered it as deficient in that it was possible to flit through it, it being just the circum-edge of the Heaven and the Earth. Said he: It is merely the mid-region that thou hast ascertained as being thus and thus; but in it I see only the power of That which interpenetrates it. He then who knows this as being interpenetrated by That and accordingly worships it, he becomes in-close-bonds with this [world]; but he who worships it not knowing that it is interpenetrated by That, he would come by grief and suffer calamity. Therefore one should worship it thus only.
And to him the former asked: What then in your view is non-deficient? To him the latter replied: That which cannot be so to say engulphed as 'this' or 'that' within the Heaven and the Earth, and which they can neither approach nor see nor pervade. This is its further description—That wherein from one side to the other, from the Egg-shell, [the luminaries] rise up and fall not and do not drop down or falter or turn round as it were: that in no wise can beings attain by running up, or can see. That which some designate as Waters, others as Darkness, others as Light, others as Vacuum, others as the Highest Heaven, and others as Atman.

To that would Bharadvāja not assent, thinking that what all have described as thus or thus, that form of it is not adequate of That. Said he: Deficient is this your view; whatever we can describe in this and that manner, that we can attain even as another form of the Two Worlds. Thou art worshipping what is merely the power of That which interpenetrates this. He therefore who knows this as being interpenetrated by That and so worships it, he becomes in-close-bonds with this. But he who worships this, not knowing that it is interpenetrated by That, he becomes more miserable, meets calamity and dies. He, however, who worships this as being in this manner interpenetrated by That, he lives a full length of life and becomes more prosperous—he who worships this as That.

And to him the former asked: What then in your view is non-deficient? He replied: That Light which shines in this orb, incessantly throbbing, glittering, flaring, throwing brilliant shimmer, and suffusing everything—that is my Brahman. This is its further description—Even though indeed they were to attain beyond what is most high, still would they observe it in its fullness, uniform, as it really exists (atman) on a nearer view. But if one were to snatch at it by pouncing, at once there are throbbing-lights running forward, roaring, as though devouring: they cannot reach it. When near it looks far away; when far away it looks near: None can transcend its greatness.

To that would Gautama not assent, urging that it was deficient, was inert, in that it remains in turn open to the view of those who have false knowledge, e.g., these Pudras, and Submas, and Ulumbhas (?), and Daradas, and Barbaras. But surely the ignorant ones could not all at once attain to it. You are then merely worshipping what is only the greatness of That who is within this as Golden Man, golden-hued, golden-bearded, resplendent unto the nail-ends. He who worships Him thus, he stands forth pre-eminent beyond all beings, lives a full length of life, becomes more prosperous. This [sun] here does not rise without the behest of Him who is the Most High. Whoso thinks that he rises without the behest of the Most High and so worships him, he becomes more miserable, comes by grief, meets calamity. He on the other hand who knows him as rising after the behest of the Most High and as such worships him, he
उद्दीयो वसवः प्रातः सत्यसमिति। तत्वः। सर्वं वा एतदिन्द्रोऽऽ

30 यज्ञजातेवैि।

ततो हासुराः पुनरस्योद्यः। ते ह माध्यमिनस्यव सत्यस्य नेत्र यज्ञशालेः मृययः। तेषाम् जातिरः विभयतएवै वसत्तीवरी-नेतृ ते ह तापिनिव जिष्यासु। तेषामिन्द्रो हुष्णानेव सदावस्थाः।

33 त- ह वैमेव प्रति विद्वैपुरुषः। सार्वभौतिः। विशेष-स्वजने यथाविरमां स्वेतं पराभवशाश्च। स ह प्रणवेशावशण

36 पुण्यमाणमेवमाणस्यवः। स मेडः स्यादिति। यदां स वल मेव पृथिवीं न्यूनक्षिमण्यभावः। स ह दाहस्यः। सवेव न्यूनहिण्यों माममित्रश्रीशाश्च। स ह सत्यस्यवतात्मायूयं स्वभु एवाग्रहकट्टः। स

39 ह विक्रमवः। विक्रमवः। तस्मादिदेववः। न्यूनक्षिमण्यभावः। ततो हासुराः पराभवण्। तसमादुरां माध्यमिन्य सवं बै fiyat चेति।

ते हासुराः। पुनरेवोद्यः। ते ह।

42 पवामेव यज्ञशालवभाद्यः। तेषामिन्येव विभयतएवांशुपकल्पवन्। ते ह। तस्मादिदेववेववः। तेषामिन्द्रो धर्ममेव प्रति विद्वै विद्वैपुरुषः। सार्वभौतिः। विशेष-स्वजने यथाविरमां स्वेतं पराभवशाश्च। स होशि। किं मेवः। स होशि। मेवः। लघुविष्णुपुपा सन्तोषवचानस्यष्टैः सेनाजी जातिरूपमिति।

45 ह सार्वभौतिः। स होशिवरोष्ट यतू लघुविष्णुपुपा सन्तोषवचानस्यष्टैः सेनाजी जातिरूपमिति। स ह लघुविष्णुपुपा सन्तोषवचानस्यष्टैः सेनाजी जातिरूपमिति।

48 स सहास्यवादियो वा उद्दीयोक्षै खल्लैदियो ब्रह्म। न ह वा एवं भिष्मचिदेशमिति। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः।

49 हुणेवादियों वा उद्दीयोक्षै खल्लैदियों ब्रह्म। न ह वा एवं भिष्मचिदेशमिति। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः।

51 ह ह वा एवं भिष्मचिदेशमिति। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः।

52 ह ह वा एवं भिष्मचिदेशमिति। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः। स ह सेनाजी लघुविष्णुपुपा गच्छः। तस्मादिदेववेव तस्मादिदेववेव तस्मादिदेववेव तस्मादिदेववेव तस्मादिदेववेव

चलावी श्रीश त्रयो अस्य पावः। देव श्रीवास्तव अस्य पावः। देव श्रीवास्तव अस्य पावः। देव श्रीवास्तव अस्य पावः।

55 विष्णु ब्रह्मो वेदस्य रूपविन्दी।

महो देवो मलिन्यं ब्रह्मविवेशं॥ श्रीं॥
The Gods and the Asuras were locked in combat. Indra did not join the combat. The Gods wished to conquer having placed the Vasus at the head in the morning libations. As soon as the Nārāśāmśa chants were started the [Asuras] approached the sacrificial house of the sages saying: We would destroy this your [rite] if you would not cause the Gods to be defeated. The [sages] in fear assigned them [a few] drops saying: Do you conquer after them. The [Asuras] at that came immediately by grief but subsequently defeated the others: Then did Indra reflect. He set Gāyatrī herself against them. She said: I am just afraid of them lest they should come back bither. Indra placed the syllable "Om" at her head saying, May he protect thee. She said: if he is to be at the head he would claim a portion [of my glory]. [Indra replied,] He would not at all claim thy share; for, great is his greatness. The great do not aspire for a division in the gains. Do you therefore take hold of the whole universe. And you are to infused vigour into those in the fore amongst the leaders of the army. "Om—Yes" said she. If you were not to pronounce me at the outset by taking my name (Om) I would not stay here. Hence it is that they assent to everything by taking the name (Om). It is everything, and attains to everything. It is the Aksara [imperishable]. Therefore they permit by saying "Om" and they receive by "Om" and they accept a thing by "Om" and they place a thing at the head by "Om." This is that syllable which brings victory and suffers no routing, and interpenetrates all beings, and being one as well as manifold it assumes many colours and many forms and many sounds and many smells and many
juices and many touches. And they even say that Indra himself uttered this syllable. All these beings are dependent upon this syllable as also all the Vedas and all the sacrifices; while it is itself dependent upon Indra.

Now the [syllable] flared forth to the accompaniment of a low tune with a view straightway to smite down the rivals. Hence it is that the morning libation was in a low tone; and because Gayatri was used, it became the practice to use it always, and because the Vasus were invoked that practice also continued. And the Pranava (Om) asked. If I become everything while Gayatri is at the head, what would I gain thereby? They would in the course of the Gayatra chanting and after the Gayatri make thee have all accordant forms and utter the syllable "Hin". He thought: this is not right that they should thus view all my forms. He therefore contracted himself unto the extremities and caused only that much of himself to be apprehended. And he became hornless. Hence it is that they chase after what is hornless. And so it is said: that which is its vigour, its strength, its brilliance, its immortality, its agelessness, that is the reverberation (?); and it is through that that they attain to the light, the immortality, the agelessness. Thence the Asuras got defeated. All this is Indra—this Gayatri and Udgitha and the Vasus and the morning libation. So they say: All this that moves and howso it moves: all that is Indra.

Once again after that the Asuras rose up. They approached the sacrificial house while Soma was being strained for mid-day libations. The singers being again afraid assigned them the Vasativeri waters. They wanted to attack even with their help. And Indra made the Rudras the army-leaders. But they got worsted. He sent Trishtub against them. The latter said: I am now afraid of them seeing that these [Rudras], vigorous and powerful as they were, got worsted. [Indra] said unto Pranava: Continue to be at the beginning of the Chant. He asked: What would I gain by it? What I am that thou art: they would repeat you as my own form. He reflected: While thus reciting they would all obtain sight of me. He, withdrawing all his body, concealed just the horns. He again became hornless. Hence it is that they recite him thus only. Thereat the Asuras got defeated. Hence it is that they invoke Rudras alone and use the Trishtub for the mid-day libation.

Once more yet the Asuras rose up. They now came to the sacrificial house while the Soma was being strained for the third libation. The [sages] in fear again assigned them a few drops. And they essayed to strike at the Gods with the same [drops]. Indra set against them Jagati herself. She said: I am afraid inasmuch as these vigorous and powerful ones have been routed. Indra made Pranava go ahead of her. He said: What would be my gain from this? And Indra replied: With what
Udgitha they associate you, that they will assign unto you. And at that
time they appointed the Ādityas as the leaders of the host; and therefore
is the third libation given to the Ādityas with the Jagati metre. He per-
ceived that Āditya is the Udgitha and this Āditya above is the Brahman.
'I shall not go to him in false form.' So with his own real form he repaired
unto the Ādityas. And with that itself as the Bolt he caused the Asuras
to be defeated. So, in that by his own form he became most manifest,
they attained stability. And this Pranava in itself the stability [of this
world.] And all these beings have their stability in the Pranava. This is
its stability in view of which he protected himself by withdrawing his body
within himself. Therefore should one associate the Chant with that,
should one worship that. And this has been declared by the Rk stanza:

Four are his borns, three his feet;
Two heads, and seven hands has he:
Tied in three places the Bull incessantly roars,
And the Great God has entered the mortals.

As we have these three [metres] and himself [the fourth], therefore
"four". Since it is just these two syllables which they in chant associate
with three, therefore "three". The "two" are those which are actually
seen. Inasmuch as they recite the Udgitha with seven, therefore "seven".
And accordingly it has been said: They cause him to be put into tune
with the seven. Since he utters these three, therefore "in three places".
Since Indra himself is the Udgitha, therefore "the Bull". And this has
been declared by the Rk passage:

May we further [by worship] the Bull who has a troop
Of Marute, when they cause to downpour and to roar.

And since he has successively entered all beings, therefore "he has enter-
ed the mortals". Therefore "Om" should be worshipped as the one syllable
as the Udgitha—So said the revered Śaunaka, the revered Śaunaka.
II

THE PARYĀńKA-VIDYĀ
(KAUŚITAKI-BRĀHMAṆOPANIŚAD, CHAP. 1)

AN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE AND INTERPRET THE TEXT.

The Paryāńka-vidyā receives its name from the paryāńka or couch on which the text describes the Highest Brahma as seated. It is one of the most remarkable of Upaniśadic texts inasmuch as it describes the path and progress of the Spirit after death and introduces several interesting items of eschatology and beatific vision which are rarely to be met with in the pre-Purāṇa literature of India. Of older texts of this type we have the episode in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (XI. vi. 1) in which Varuṇa gives his proud son Bṛgaru the vision of a black man with yellow eyes and a staff in hand (typifying Wrath) and of two ladies (typifying Faith and Unfaith); Jaiminiyabrahmaṇa (I. 42—44), which is another form of the same Bṛgaru legend in which the visions are definitely said to be of the other world (sa ha param lokam ājaśaṁ) and where occurs a sixth vision of the Vārūṇa-worlds in which were "pañca nadiḥ puṣkariṇīḥ pañcariṇiḥ mahālakṣāḥ syandamānāḥ, tāsu nṛtagitām viñāghasam-pasarām gānas surabhir gandho mahān ghoṣo'bhūt"; Brhadāraṇyaka Up. (III. 3) with a divergent eschatological geography; and above all, the two texts from the Jaiminiyabrahmaṇa (I. 17—18 and I. 49—50), first brought to light by H. Oertel (JAOS, Vol. XIX), which are of great importance for the proper understanding of the text before us. Böhtlingk in BKSGW, 42, 198ff. explained, not very successfully, two sentences from the first section of the present Adhyāya. Windisch (BKSGW, 59, 111ff.) was the first to explain the two stanzas of reply in section 2 as the replies of two different souls. And Hertel (Die Weisheit der Upanisaden, 1921, pp. 156—164) has given the so far most successful translation of the whole Adhyāya. Other translators (not excluding Deussen) have misunderstood the text, and the Commentators offer absolutely no help.

The Kauśitaki Upaniśad has been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica (1861), in the Ānandārama (No. 29, 1895; No. 90, 1922), in the Minor Upaniśada Series of Adyar, vol. 3 (1921), and in several other (uncritical) Upaniśadic collections. It is a matter of great regret that none of these editions should have paid the slightest attention to the proper constituting of the text of the first and in several ways the most original Chapter of this Upaniśad; the latest editions have been the greatest sinners in this respect. It is true that the text had become very early unintelligible, and it is doubtful if in the absence of the light furnished by the recently discovered Jaiminiyabrahmaṇa anybody could have made much with the
corruptly preserved text. But in the light of that discovery and on the lines suggested by Hertel, it is now possible to attempt a fresh edition of the whole Chapter. This is what I have done below. I have noted all the published variants in the printed editions and reproduce the more important of them in the foot-notes. In a few cases I have ventured conjectural emendation indicating it as such. I give my own English translation of the Chapter at the end. After that it is perhaps unnecessary to explain and annotate the text or to defend my interpretation where it differs from my predecessors. One or two points, however, call for a special remark.

The text of the reply given by the Soul who is to mount up to the higher worlds, and which Hertel finds senseless and unmetrical, can be made to yield sense and form a tolerably metrical line if, like the alternative readings "Dhanur hastāř" and "Dandaṃ hastāř" cited by Windisch (Op. Cit. p. 12ff.) we understand here the alternative readings "dvādaśi-māsa dvādaśena pitrā" and "trayodaśa-māso trayodaśena pitrā." The point of comparison is not the mysterious or ayontija birth as of the thirteenth intercalary month from the twelve months of the year, as Hertel understands it in agreement with Windisch,—the upamā would hardly be possible or normal—but the plain fact of the twelfth or the thirteenth month of the year (as the case may be) being the very last of the year. The Soul in effect makes the reply: "I am he that is being born and reborn, and have now reached the last of my births on the earth below. Hence do ye lead me upwards to Immortality". The text as I have constituted and interpreted it has the merit of saving the author of the Upaniśad itself from the rather serious charge of having misunderstood the sense of these traditional replies, which were nearer to his times than they are to our oldest commentator.

Our text presents another example of such alternative readings in the sentence "Tam śtvā sampratīvīdaḥ mājjanti". It is not to be translated with Hertel as, "Kommen an ihn dagegen Leute, welche nur an die Gegenwart glauben, so gehen sie in ihm unter"—as though sampratī were one word; because, people who think only of the passing moment will not be in the first place permitted to reach the shore of this lake in question. I believe that sampratīvīdaḥ stands for samvīdaḥ plus prati-vīdaḥ or the accordant and discordant thoughts, the "dvandvas" of the Soul himself to be mentioned shortly below in this very text. These are drowned in the lake and he becomes dvandvātita. Compare also the third pāda of the second stanza of reply. How such alternative readings are written over the head of the other in Mss. and what fate such superscript words meet is no news to those that are accustomed to deal with Indian Mss.

For the rest, I allow the re-edited text and its translation to speak for themselves.
कौषीतकिकाः भागश्राणोपनिषद्

प्रथमोपप्रयायः

चिंत्रो हि गाज्ञानांतिके पूर्ववत्तामाण भासुणि बने। स हु पुनः श्रेरकेवु प्रजित्यय याज्येति। तं हायागते प्रच। गोतमस्य पुनःस्ते।

1. संहठुः दोके यस्मनु मा धार्मिक, अन्यतमो वभव्या तत्त्व, मालोके धार्मिकेद्व। स होवाच। नाहमेतद्व। हन्ताचारं पुराण्नीति। स ही पितरमालास्व प्रच। इति ति मात्राक्नृत कथं प्रतिप्रवाणीति। स होवाच। अहम्पवेतस्व वेदे। सदस्येव विष वात्वायस्मात्ती हराम्यं यथः। परे दद्वति। एववेदो गाज्ञानव इति। स ह समिपवाणिकत्र गाज्ञानविन प्रतिचक्र उपायानिति। तं होवाच। गाज्ञानस्ति। गाज्ञानयो न मान।

2. सुपाक। एवष्टवे श्या ओपायानिति। ॥ ॥

स होवाच। ये वे के चास्मादविकाट प्रयत्न चन्द्रमस्मेि ते सर्वेः गच्छति। तेषां प्राणः। पूर्वपक्ष आप्यायते। ताननंपक्षे। प्रजननयति।

3. एवतः स्वर्गस्य चोकस्य द्वारं यशम्।। ॥ तं यः प्रव्याह तमतिसूजः। यो न प्रव्याह तमिह। वृद्धिम्मृवा वर्षति। स इह कोंटे वा पत्तचो का मस्यो वा शकुनिवा शादल्रो वा सिहो वा [वराहो वा] परस्या वा पुरहो वा अन्यो वा तेदु तेषु स्थानेषु प्रताजायते यथाकर्म पथाविचारम्। तमागतं पुर्वति कोदस्तीति। तं प्रतिप्रवात

“विचक्षणाइतको रेत भासुः पश्वदशात् प्रसुतात प्रतिप्रवातः।

4. तं मा पुंसि कर्त्येकर्षभं पुंसता कर्मा मातरि मा निघ्न्नि।”

1. v. l. गाज्ञाणि:
2. v. l. हुस्तीनं
3. v. l. गुम्बसित, पुनःस्ते
4. v. l. वशस्येनि, वशस्यासित
5. v. l. यो मात्रापागाना:
6. v. l. पल्के न
7. v. l. यशस्माणि:
8. v. l. Om. वराहो वा; also the order varies.
9. v. l. निषिद्ध, निषिद्ध, सिषिद्ध, etc. The reading adopted is a conjecture.
"स जायमानं"10 उपजायमानोऽवादशमासि11 द्वादशेणः12 पिष्ठ।
द्रयोदशमासि: द्रयोदशेण पिष्ठ।
सं तत्सिद्रे प्रति तत्सिद्धेषां तन्नम अत्तवोऽस्त्र्यव आमरथम्॥

१२ तेन सत्तेन तेन तपस्य अहुरस्यात्तोष्टिमि"—"कोकसि"13,
"तमसि"—तमतिस्त्रृज्जेते॥२॥

स एतं देवयानं प्रत्याणपदा14ष्किकोमयांग्म्यति, स वायुरौकं,
स वहणोकं, [स भादियोकं]15 स इन्द्रोकं, स प्रजापतिलोकं, स
ब्रह्माकंकू। तस्य ह वा प्रत्य क्षेत्रायेक्यार्ह हसे, मुहूर्तं चेष्टिहास16,
विजया नवीयो व्रजस्: साहृजः17 संस्थानमरत्नसागरतत्वमित्त्राणपञ्चाती
द्वाराप्राप्त्वा, भिभु प्रस्वते, विभछ्वाणसद्धाभिजो: पर्वष्कः, प्रज्ञा च
मानसा, प्रतिरूपा च चाशुश्री पुष्पायांस्त्र्यायते18वैराजागामिः।
अम्ब्यायामवेद्विश्वसरसोऽस्त्र्यानंतर: ।
मानसा, प्रतिरूपा च चाशुश्री पुष्पायांस्त्र्यायते।19वैराजागामिः।
तम ब्रह्माह्माश्च विजया वा अय नदी नवप्रित्य वा अय
जरविविधातः॥३॥

तं प्रवश्यतान्तप्रससां प्रतियतिः32, शतं पुनःहसी:।
शतमास्वेन-
हस्सा: शतं मास्यहस्सा: शतं वासोहस्सा: शतं चूँहस्सा:।
तं
ब्रह्माङ्कारिणानंकुक्तिः। स ब्रह्माङ्कारिणानंकूक्तो ब्रह्म विवाहः ब्रह्मां-

10. व. । जाय; most mss. the word, which is restored as a conjecture.
11, 12. व. । द्वादशायोक्ति and द्वादशायोक्ति. Obviously they are two alternative readings. I restore the metre *ex. conj.*
13 v. । कोकसिः
14. व. । आसाय
15. व. । औष्टिमि: स आदियोकं
16. व. । विष्ठा, जनेष्ठिह। The reading adopted is to be explained as a double samādhi, वै इतिहा:
17. व. । साक्ष: साक्ष:।
18. व. । ऋषणामथमा
19. व. । आर्यंताः आविष्टि
20. व. । वै च गानि, वै च जगानि
21. व. । नव: changed to नव: *ex. conj.*
22. व. । विष्ठा वृद्धि
23. व. । प्रतिध्वाणम्
24. व. । अण, कणा, कणा:। The order also differs.
भिन्नतिः२५। स आग्न्यायां ह्रदम्। तं मनसायेतिः२६। तत्वत
सं-प्रति विद्वे मञ्जनि। स आग्न्यति मृदूकृत् येतिहाृ।२७। वेदशाद-
पदवनिः। स आग्न्यति विजयां नदीम्। तं मनसेवायेतिः२६। तस्सुक-दुष्कटे धूमुँने।२८। तस्य प्रिया ब्राह्यः मृदूकमुपयनिः अप्रिया दुष्कटम्।
तथा राजेन धावयन् रथचके प्रस्तवकर्तेवमहाराजे पर्ववक्तं एवं मृदू-
दुष्कटे सर्वानि च ह्रदानि। स एव विसुक्रतो बिदुष्कटो ब्रह्म विद्वान्
भरान्म्यातिः || ६ ||

स आग्न्यालयं दुष्कट्टं तं भ्रामाद्वः प्रविषाति। स आग्न्यति
सांज्जं संस्थानं तं भ्रासतः प्रविषाति। स आग्न्यपरार्जितायतं तं
भ्रासते।२९। प्रविषाति। स आग्न्यान्त्रप्रजापति झारोपी बारसाद-
पदवतः। स आग्न्यति विषु प्राविमं तं भ्रायणः।२९। प्रविषाति। स
आग्न्यति विचक्षणामासान्तृं, ब्रह्मदण्डनेर सामनी पूर्वों पारी, देवतनौचे
चापरी पारी वैहृवैरेरे अनूर्वे शाकारिती तिरथी। सा प्राण भ्राय
द्वे प्रिविषाति। स आग्न्यालयमितोजस्तं पर्वङ्गः। स प्राणः। तस्य भूतं
च मिश्यः पूर्वों पारी, श्रीवेरा चापरी, भ्रायणावा श्रीवेरे, श्रीये
ब्रह्मदण्डनेर अनूर्वे, अवचक्ष सामानि च प्राचीनालानानि३०, वजः
तिर्कीड़ानि, सोमानं उपस्तरण भूतियो उपश्रयः।३१, श्रीपवर्ध्यम्य
तस्यत् भ्रासते। तत्तस्यवितादेने आरोहिती। तं भ्राह्म३२ कोसीति।
१२। तं प्रतिभूयात् || ५ ||

“कन्दरस्मयांगेऽद्वस्त्याकाशाणि: संभूतो भार्यः रेतः। संव-
स्त्सर स्तों, भूतस्य भूतस्याम। भूतस्य भूतस्यामातिः। यस्तमाति
सोऽऽमस्मिः।।।।।” तमाह कोणसस्मिति। सत्मिति भ्रायात्। किं तथात
सत्मिति। यद्यद्येवे भ्राय भ्राय यथेष्ठ तत् सत्। अथ यदेवाध्य प्राणाध्य

25. v. l. विन्नीति
26. v. l. अस्थायित
27. To be explained as in note 16.
28. v. l. छुड़ाते, छुड़ाते, छुड़ाते
29. ते: ते: change
30. v. l. प्राचीनातानि
31. v. l. अपराध न:, उपरथी:। The reading adopted is ex.
32. v. l. भ्राय ह भ्रायिति
तत्त: व्यः, तवेकया शाचाभिव्याहितेः सत्यमित्येताविनिं सर्वेः। इदं 6
स्बेमसिवेयेवैन तदाह। 6 || [तवेत्तद्वस्यःकनामायुक्तम् ॥

यजूर्वेदः सामायिक्या असाहात्वूतिर्वियः ।
स श्रवणति विश्वेष अर्थित्याः भावतः। ॥ इति ॥ ]

तस्मात् केन मेष पौष्पलिङ्गा नामान्यां मोर्चिते, प्राणेनेति ब्रूयात् ।
केन न्युङ्ककानीति, मनसेनेति। केन खीनानानीति, वाचेनेति। केन
3 गन्धानिति, प्राणेनेति। केन शुपाणि, चढ़ुपेति। केन शम्भानिति,
श्रेखेणेति। केनार्जरसानिति, जिद्धेणेति। केन कर्मणि, हस्ताम्या-
मिति। केन सुखः चे इति, शरीरेणेति। केनानन्दः रतिः प्रजामिन्यु-
6 पर्यनेनेति। केनेत्या इति, पादाम्यामिति। केन धिनो विज्ञाततयं
कामानिति, प्राणवेषेति ब्रूयात् । तस्मात् ॥ 34 ॥ यो वै खद् मेष तोकोयं
तेनसाधिति। या ब्रह्मणो जितियं व्यक्तिस्तं जिति जयति तां व्यादि
9 व्यक्तुते य एवं वेदः । य एवं वेदः || 7 ||

|| इति शाङ्क्यनारायणेः कौशितकिष्क्राष्णोपानियं प्रथमोऽध्यायः || 1 ||

33. The portion in the brackets is omitted in some mss., and probably is an interpolation.
34. v. l. तमाहायो in most mss. The mislection is quite natural.
KAUŚĪTAKIBRĀHMANOPANIŚAD.

CHAPTER FIRST.

TRANSLATION.

Citra, the son of Gāṅga, about to offer a sacrifice, chose Ārunī [for his Hotṛ]. The latter sent his son Śvetaketu to officiate. As he arrived, [Citra] asked: "Son of Gautama, lest you might not put me into the wrong-world (aloke) 1, [I ask,] is it closed up (samuvrtam), the world into which you are going to put me, or is there some other egress from it?" He replied, "I know this not; well, let me ask the Teacher." So he went back to his father and asked, So-and-so he inquires of me; how shall I reply? He said, "I too do not know this. After having completed the [normal course of our] studies, it is in the [learned] assemblies that we receive whatever [instruction] they give us 2. Come let us both go." He went up to Citra, the son of Gāṅga, samīdhas in hand, saying, "I approach thee [as a pupil]." To him he replied, "Worthy of Brahma-knowledge are you, O Gautama, in that you did not affect pride. Come: I shall indeed make you know." 1

He said: Whoso depart from this world, they all go just to the Moon. With their life-breaths [the Moon] waxes in the earlier fortnight. In the latter fortnight he causes them to be born. It is the gateway of the World of Heaven, this Moon. Whoso gives [proper] reply to him, him he sets free [to go to the higher worlds]; but whoso does not give the reply, him he showers down here [upon the earth] after transforming himself into rain. This one is [then] born here, be it as a worm, as a moth, as a fish, as a bird, as a tiger, as a lion, [as a wild-boar], as a serpent (? paraśvā), as a man, or as anyone else, in all the various places in accordance with his Work or his Knowledge. As one arrives he asks him, Who are you? Him one 3, might reply:

"From the Illustrious-one (the Moon), the fifteenfold, the [new-] born Lord of the World of the Manes, O ye Seasons, the seed was gathered.

Do ye, then, send me on into a male progenitor, and with the help of the male agent deposit me into the mother."

1. Or, separating mā from loka, we can translate; now that you are going to put me into some world [by your officiating at this sacrifice].
2. I follow the interpretation suggested by Hertel. The distinction intended is between the upṣṭapūra and the anupṣṭapūra.
3. This soul is liable to rebirth.
[Or the reply might be:]

"I am he that is being born and reborn as the twelfth
from the twelfifold thirteenth Father [the Year]—

This I know well and am assured against the contrary: therefore, ye Seasons, hand me over to Deathlessness."

[To which may be added: ] "With that Truth, with that Fervour, I am myself the Season, the Child of the Seasons". "Who art thou?"—"I am thyself". He sets this one free.

He now gains this Devayāna-path and reaches the World of Agni, [thence] the World of Vāyu, the World of Varuṇa, [the World of Āditya,] the World of Indra, the World of Prajñāpati, [finally,] the World of Brahma. In this World of Brahma there is the lake Āra, the moments [spent on the borders of it] subduing all desires (iṣṭi-ha). There is also the river Vijārā (ageless), the tree Ilya, the spot Sāllaja (the source of the existence (sat), mergence (la), and emergence (ja) of everything), the residence Aparajita (unassailable), with Indra and Prajñāpati as the two door-keepers. Also the audience-chamber (pramita) called Vīghu, the throne Vīcaksana (reason), the couch Amītajā (endless splendour). Here also the beloved Mānasī (power of mind) with her counterpart the Cākṣusī (power of vision), weaving [garlands] after having collected flowers produced-by-the-Cosmic-Spirit (vairājagāṇi). There are besides Ambāḥ and Ambāvāhiḥ as nymphs and Ambayāḥ as the dancing-attendants (natyaḥ). To such a World one who knows thus [to make the proper reply] comes. Him the Brahmā quickly advances [to meet] thinking, 'It is on account of my own glory that he has attained the Vijārā river; may he never become aged'.

Five hundred nymphs approach him, one hundred with fruits in their hands, one hundred with ointments in their hands, one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with garments in their hands, one hundred with perfumes in their hands. Him they adorn with Brāhmic adornments. Adorned with Brāhmic adornments and knowing the Brahman he advances towards Brahma. He comes up to the Āra lake and crosses it beyond by the mind only. In crossing it (lit. having crossed it) all his accordant and discordant thoughts are drowned underneath. He approaches the Moments that subdue all desires; they fly away from him. He then gains the Vijārā river and crosses it also by the mind. And then he shakes off all good and bad actions. His dear relatives appropriate the good deeds, and the enmical ones the bad deeds. And like unto a man who, while driving in a chariot, would turn backwards to look upon the two chariot-wheels, even so he looks back [as things of the past] upon the day and the night, the good and the

4. He transcends, in other words, the limitations of Time.
bad actions, and all duals whatsoever. And so be, knowing the Brahman, and freed from the good deeds and freed from the bad deeds, advances towards Brahma. 4

He comes up to the tree Ilya and the fragrance of Brahman enters into him. He comes to the spot Sāllaja and the flavour of Brahman enters into him. He comes to the residence Aparājīta and the splendour of Brahman enters into him. He comes upon Indra and Prajāpati, the two door-keepers, and they ran away before him. He gains the audience-chamber Vibhu and the glory of Brahman enters into him. He advances to the throne Vivasvanā with the Brhad and the Rathantara Sāmans as its front legs and Svetā and Naubhasa [Sāmans] as its rear legs, with Vairūpa and Vairāja [Sāmans] as the length-wise joining-pieces and with Sākvara and Raivata [Sāmans] as the cross-wise joining-pieces. That is Reason, because it is with [the help of] Reason that one sees. He proceeds onwards to the couch Amitaujas. That is Life. Of it the Past and the Future are the front legs and Splendour and Sustenance the rear legs; the two head-pieces are the Bhadra and the Yajñāyajñīya [Sāmans] and the two lengthwise pieces the Brhad and the Rathantara [Sāmans] 5, while Reas and Sāmans [in general] form the warp and the Yajus formule the woof [of the webbing]. The Soma-stalks 6 constitute the mattress, the Udgitha the spreading-cloth, and Śri (glory) the cushion. Upon it is Brahma seated. One who knows all this touches it even with his feet and mounts it up. Him Brahma asks, who art thou? Unto him the reply should be: 5

"I am the Season, the Child of Seasons, sprung from the womb of infinite-space (Ākāśa) as the seed in the wife, the quintessence of the Year, and the Self in each and every being. Thou art also the Self in each and every being, so that what Thou art that I am." He asks him, Whc then am I; one should reply, Thou art Truth.—What is this so-called Truth?—"Whatever is other than the Gods and the Vital-breaths, that is Sat (existence), the Gods and the Vital-breaths make up the Tyat (the beyond): these two, when expressed in a single speech, form the Sat-tyam (Satyam), which is one with all this that exists." So he in effect replies 'Thou art all this.' 6 [This has been declared in the following Rik-stanza.

"With the Yajus for his belly, the Sāman for his head, and the Rik for his form: be the Immutable;

He is to be known as the Brahma, the Great Sage consisting of Brahma(Veda)."

5. These two Sāma-melodies have already figured under another role. We expect some new names here, but perhaps the repetition of an earlier clause may have ousted the real clause.

6. Or, we can translate, moon-beams.
He asks him: With what will you acquire my masculine names? With Prāṇa, he should reply. — With what the neuter ones? With the mind. — With what the female names? With speech. — With what the odours? With the Nose. — With what the colours? With the eye. — With what the sounds? With the ear. — With what the food-juices? With the tongue. — With what the actions? With the two hands. — With what the pleasure-pain? With the body. — With what the joy, the bliss, the progeny? With the generative-organ. — With what the walkings? With the feet. — With what the thoughts, the knowledge, the desires? With the intellect itself, he should reply. At that He tells him: What was indeed my world, this here is now thine. What constitutes the triumph of Brahma, what His omnipresence, that triumph He wins, that omnipresence He attains who knows thus—who knows thus.

In the Kauśitakibrāhmaṇopaniṣad
From the Śāṅkhāyanāranyaka,
Here ends the First Chapter.
THE TEACHERS OF THE UPANIŚADS

BY

MR. U. C. BHATTACHARYA.

A distinction can easily be drawn between an author and a teacher. In the history of ancient times, examples are not rare of a teacher being a different person from an author. The Bhagavadgītā is one such example. The author of the Gītā—i.e., the person who reduced it to writing and gave it the form it has, was, according to all traditions, Vyāsa, the author of the Mahābhārata: but the teachings, even the majority of the verses in the book, fell, we are told, from the lips of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Says Śrīdhara:

"Tatra ca praṇyaśaḥ Śrīkrṣṇamukhāḥ vinirvān eva ślokāṁ alikhat, kān cit tat-saṅgataye svayam ca vyaracayat."

which means, "He (Vyāsa) mainly wrote down the ślokas which came from the mouth of Śrīkrṣṇa; some, however, he himself also composed for supplying the links."

Similarly, Śaṅkara says on the same point:

"Tam dharmam bhagavatā yathopadītasya Veda-vyāśāḥ sarvajñāḥ bhagavān Gītākhyaiḥ saptabhiḥ śloka-satāḥ upaniba-bandha."

which means that the teaching belongs to Kṛṣṇa but the authorship of the ślokas belongs to Vyāsa.

One more example from the West would suffice to establish our position. We know that Socrates was a great teacher but not at all an author. Christ himself was a great teacher but his doctrines were reduced to writing later on by others.

It is, therefore, just possible that the teacher of a cult and the author of a book on the same, need not be an identical person.

The Upaniṣads speak of various teachers—Yājñavalkya, Janaka, Ajāta-Śātru, Satya-Kāma Jābāla, Satya-Kāma Śāibya, Pravāhana Jaibali, Śvetāśvatara, and a host of others; accounts are given of their teachings, of synods and symposia; of brisk and lively dialogues between rival teachers and between teachers and intending disciples. But who are the authors of these accounts? Are they the teachers themselves?

A writer referring to himself by name as a third person, is not altogether unknown in Ancient India. Rather it is the usual custom; perhaps it is a kind of modesty: the authors placing themselves on the same level as others whom they were criticising. Thus we find in the
Vedānta-Sūtra, Bādarāyana referring to himself as "so says Bādarāyana" just as he refers to Jaimini, Auḍulomi, Āśmarthya, Kāśakṛtsna and others. Can it be so with the authors of the Upaniṣads?

Again, the author very often keeps himself in the background. It is the principles that matter with them, and not the persons. Truth can tell its own tale: the person giving it out, is immaterial. Can it be the same with the authors of the Upaniṣads?

The question that faces us, therefore, is: Are the authors of the Upaniṣads the same persons as those whose names appear in the body of the texts, or are they different persons, who simply give an account of what they learnt from others and did not consider themselves of importance enough to deserve any further notice even from themselves?

The first hypothesis seems impossible in the present case.

For, when we find in the same book, e.g. the Brhadāraṇyaka or the Chāndogya, accounts of different conferences held at different places and diverse discourses given by diverse teachers, it would be preposterous to suppose that all these men put their heads together and wrote the book. The author of the book, therefore, is almost certainly, some other person. He may have been one of the persons mentioned in the book—perhaps the one whose doctrines the book prefers to all others; but it is more likely that he is not. It is more probable that the composition took place later on and is due to other hands.

The authors of the compositions that have come down to us, may, therefore, be reasonably separated from the teachers whose doctrines the books deal with. That done, we turn to the second question, viz., who were the teachers of the Upaniṣads? Who started the cult and propounded the doctrines of the Upaniṣads?

The question is not so much about individuals as about classes or castes.

Perhaps we shall never know the individual or individuals who started the cult, just as history will never know the man who discovered the use of fire. We do not even know who introduced the worship of the various gods and goddesses in ancient society—Eastern or Western. But something can certainly be known as to the sort of men who ushered the Upaniṣadic doctrines into existence.

Were they Brāhmīns or non-Brāhmīns?

A solution of this question may be attempted from two kinds of evidence:

(i) the internal evidence of the Upaniṣads themselves; and
(ii) external evidence gathered from elsewhere, such as the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, etc., we shall confine ourselves here to the first kind of evidence.

Scholars like Deussen, Garbe, etc., have started the theory that the Upaniṣadic cult is essentially of Kṣatriya origin and that the Brāhmans only adopted it later on. But Indian writers, e.g., Prof. Dās Gupta (History of Indian Philosophy), are inclined to take the traditional view that all learning in Hindu Society was primarily due to the Brāhmans and the other castes, especially the Kṣatriyas, only took an active and intelligent interest in it; and so, the Upaniṣads, too, owe their origin to the Brāhmans.

The reasons in favour of the first view, may be summed up as follows:—

(a) The Protestant character of the Upaniṣads. They imply a breach with the Vedic religion, more or less complete. The Vedic gods are depreciated or are shown to owe their origin and their power to the higher reality, viz., Brahma. The Vedic cult of karma is either regarded as useless, or, at least only a preliminary of doubtful utility to the attainment of true knowledge. It is Āvidyā—Apara Vidyā—leads to Preya but not to Śreyā (cf. Isa 10, 11; Kena I. 4; I. 5-9, 3 & 4; Kaṭha 2nd Vālī; Mundaka 1; etc. Compare also Gītā II. 46).

(b) The second and more important argument in support of the theory, is to be found in certain anecdotes contained in the Upaniṣads themselves. These give instances of a Brāhmin approaching a Kṣatriya, like a disciple approaching a preceptor, for instruction in Brahma-Vidyā. We propose to analyse this evidence here.

In the first place, we ought to remember that there is nothing improbable in the suggestions of Garbe. The Kṣatriyas were not Śūdras. They were entitled to read the Vedas; read them as a matter of fact; performed vedic ceremonies; and there were ceremonies which they alone could perform, e.g., Rājasūya; and they always took an active interest in intellectual speculation. They have supplied great teachers themselves e.g., Kṛṣṇa, the speaker of the Gītā was a Kṣatriya; Bhīṣma was an erudite man. The Courts of Kṣatriya Kings were seats of learning and they were great patrons of learned men (cf. Janaka, in Br. Up. and elsewhere; and also Mahābhārata. Sānti-Parva Ch. 218 "Tasya sma satam ācārya vasanti satatam gehe"):—The Mahābhārata itself was spoken at a ceremony performed by a Kṣatriya Brīhod and was only repeated at Naimiśāraṇya at the assembly of the Brāhmans. And lastly, important
reform-movements were inaugurated by the Kṣatriyas, the greatest of which was, of course, that of Buddha, who was a Kṣatriya Prince.

But this abstract possibility does not prove that the teachers of the Upaniṣads were Kṣatriyas. Nor are passages like Br. I. iv. 11—"Tasmāt Kṣatrāṇi param nāsti tasmāt brahmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam adhāsīt upāste," are of much importance; for they only repeat the simple fact that the rulers of the land were Kṣatriyas.

Even the exclamation of Ajātaśatru (Br. II. i, repeated in Kauśitaki IV. i) that 'people run to Janaka'—Janaka iti vai Janāḥ dhāvanti—in connection with Brahmadeśīya, does not prove more than the fact that the Court of Janaka was the resort of many men learned in Brahmadeśīya. This is confirmed by Br. 3rd and 4th Chaps. and Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, etc.

The Protestant character of the Upaniṣads does not necessarily prove that the teachers were Kṣatriyas: The revolt might have been started by one sector of Brahmāṇas against another. The phenomenon is not unknown in history. The story of Śaṅkarācārya and Maṇḍana Mīśra where Jñāna and Karma come to a sharp conflict, is one of the latest examples.

We require more positive evidence however for holding that the teachers of the Upaniṣads were Kṣatriyas. Let us now examine the anecdotes (Ākhyāyikās).

(i) The story of Balāki and Ajātaśatru (Br. II. i; Kauśitaki IV. i). This story certainly shows that a proud Brahmān had to confess that Brahma he had not known; and ultimately he actually did receive instruction from a Kṣatriya. That the Kṣatriya instructor protested against the Brāhmaṇa becoming a regular disciple and gave the instruction without the formality of initiation (Upanayana), perhaps only indicates that he was not devoid of the formal courtesy due to the superior castes. It is a case of the teacher being a Kṣatriya. The anecdote finds place in two Upaniṣads and cannot be lightly disposed of as a myth.

(ii) The story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (Br. VI. ii; Ch. V. iii; also Kauś. 1 (slightly varied). The story occurs in three Upaniṣads, and cannot be a mere myth. [The three accounts agree substantially; the only difference worth noticing is that in the Kauśitaki, it is Citra Gārgyāyaṇi instead of Pravāhaṇa Jaibali as in the other two Upaniṣads, to whose court (Samitī or partīṣad) Śvetaketu goes. In all these accounts, Śvetaketu, the son of Āruṇi, has to confess that he does not know the mysteries of Deva-yōna and Pitr-yōna; and he goes back to his father who has been his instructor, for the answer of the questions which his Kṣatriya friend [Rājanya-bandhū] asks him. The father too, frankly admits that he too never knew these things; and approaches the Kṣatriya friend and receives instruction from him.] Here too, we have the example of a Kṣatriya teacher. Not only that, but
the Kṣatriya makes a very significant remark while admitting the old Brāhmin to his discipleship. "This knowledge," says he, "never before was imparted to a Brāhmin; it has all along belonged to the Kṣatriyas; you are the first Brāhmin to receive it." —Ch. V.iii.7. ["Iyam na prāk tvatatkā purā vidyā Brāhmaṇān gacchati". —Ch. V.iii.7. Iyam vidyā itaḥ. purvam na kasmin cana brāhmaṇe uvāsa. —Br. VI. ii.8.]

What is this 'Vidyā' that the Kṣatriya King imparts to his Brāhmin disciple? Is it only that which is covered by the five questions that he put to his son, Śvetaketu or, does it cover the whole of Brahmacidyā? The answer is immaterial; we cannot really expect that one single teacher developed all the doctrines that are to be found in the Upaniṣads. But the outstanding fact is that an old Brāhmin whose son was old enough to preside over the performance of Vedic ceremonies, (cf. Kauś. I. 1.) — such a Brāhmin was ignorant of these truths; and had to learn from a Kṣatriya Prince.

Did the Brāhmin become an actual disciple formally initiated? The Kauśitaki says he did: —sa ha samit-pañih citram gārgyāṇim pracakrame upāyāniti; but the language of the Br. is somewhat uncertain: Upainmi ahom bhavantam iti vācā āha. . . . . upāyānkrtyā uvāsa" —which Śaṅkara explains to mean that it was only a verbal declaration and not an actual performance of the services of an ordinary disciple; for this was all that a pupil of a higher caste had to do in case he had to learn anything from a teacher of a lower caste; Śaṅkara further suggests that it was a kind of 'āpad-dharma'; he actually uses the word 'āpadt'.

Both the Br. and the Ch., however, emphasise the fact that the Brāhmin was very important: 'sa ha Krchri vabhūva' —says the Ch.

But does it really matter if the Brāhmin underwent all the formalities of ordinary initiation or not? He did become a pupil and learnt from a Kṣatriya.

(iii) The story of Uddālaka Āruṇi (Ch. 6th Chap.) Evidently, this is the same person as the father of Śvetaketu in the 5th Chap. It is he who received instruction in Brahmacidyā from Pravāhaṇa Jaibali; now that he is well up in the learning, he calls his son Śvetaketu to himself and instructs him; his teaching is summed up in the famous formula "Tattvamasi Śvetaketō;".

* Of course, here it is a Brāhmin giving instruction to a Brāhmin. But the most significant fact is that this great and successful teacher of Brahmacidyā, whose doctrine of identity (Tattvamasi) has become the by-word of Vedānta Philosophy, is said, in the preceding chapter of the Chāndogya, to have himself received instruction in Brahmacidyā from a Kṣatriya Prince.

Can there be any doubt about the identity of the man? There is no room for any. The son is Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, as before; and the father
is Ārunī; the appearance of the personal name Uddālaka, instead of the 'gotra' name 'gotama' makes no difference; for in Ch. V. xvii this Uddālaka is addressed by King Kakayā as 'Gotama'. (Note: this Uddālaka Ārunī is also said to be the teacher of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya Br. VI. iii. 7 and also of several others; Ch. V. xi.

(iv) The story of Pravāhāna Jaibali and two others (Ch. I. viii-ix).

The name is the same as that of the Kṣatriya instructor of Uddālaka Ārunī (Ch. V. iii) and there is no reason why he should not be the same person.

Here two Brāhmīns who pretended to be clever (Kusālān) in Udghita were shown to possess only a superficial knowledge and the true knowledge was imparted to them by the Kṣatriya Pravāhāna.

(v) The story of the King Kaikeya and several Brāhmīns (Ch. V. xi)

It is a very significant anecdote. Five well-to-do (Mahāśāla) Brāhmīns, well-versed in Vedic lore (Mahāśrotriya) had a discussion among themselves as to what is soul and what Brahma. Having failed to arrive at a conclusion, they approached Uddālaka Ārunī presumably the same as the father of Śvetaketu. He shifts them on to King Kaikeya Āśvapati by name, and himself accompanies them.

This Uddālaka on another occasion (Ch. V. iii) received instruction on Pitṛyāna &c., from Pravāhāna. Now he, along with several others, goes to a second Kṣatriya. All six wait upon the King in the manner of a disciple (Samit-pāṇayāḥ pūrvāne pratisakramare) and are instructed.

This is an indubitable case of a Kṣatriya owning elderly Brāhmīns as pupils, though the instruction was given without the formal ceremony of initiation (tān ha anupaniya eva uttāva).

(vi) The story of Budila and Janaka (Br. V. xiv-8.)

This Budila Āśvatasrāśvi was one of the five who went to Uddālaka Ārunī (See Ch. V. xi) and were taken to King Āśvapati Kakayā.

Here in the Br. he was asked a question by King Janaka, which he could not answer; and Janaka gave him the answer. The fellow seems to have been a vain pedant and was destined to meet with rebuffs everywhere. At least twice, his ignorance was removed by Kṣatriyas—one by King Kaikeya and again by King Janaka.

(vii) The story of Satyakāma Jābāli (Ch. IV. v-14).

This is a well-known story. Satyakāma's father is not known—he is the illegitimate son of his mother. He was admitted formally to Brahmavidyā by a Brāhmin of the Gautama clan, Hāridrumata by name. What is more significant, however, is that, later on, he himself became a great teacher, and taught, perhaps amongst others, Upakosala, the son of Kamalā.
THE TEACHERS OF THE UPAŅIṢĀDS.

It is the example of a teacher being one who could not be regarded as a regular Brāhmin.

If these stories had stood by themselves, a very strong case could be made out in favour of the theory of Kṣatriya origin of the Upaniṣads. With regard to the meaning of the two-fold path (Dve śrī) of pīṭha-yaṇa and Deva-yaṇa, the meaning of Gayatrī of Udgīthā, &c., Brāhmins go to Kṣatriyas, for instruction. To this may be added the suggestion that the Upaniṣads imply a breach with the Vedic religion of sacrifices, and the conclusion would be almost irresistible that these books arose among non-Brāhmin classes—almost certainly among Kṣatriyas.

But the protestant character is a very gradual development. In fact, the Upaniṣadic doctrines primarily develop round some vedic ceremony such as Asvamedha (Cf. Br. I. i), or some Vedic text such as the Gāyatrī (Cf. Br. V. xiv. 8); and very often it is at a Vedic sacrifice that learned men assemble and hold the discussion (Cf. Br. Ch. III). The fling at the Vedic Gods, as we find in the Kena and the contemptuous description of Vedic lore as Apara Vidyā, as we find in the Kathā, Mūndaka and also Ch. Chap. VII, may, therefore, be considered to be a later growth. Besides, as already suggested the protest in itself does not prove that those who revolted against the empty formalism of ritualistic religion, were necessarily non-Brāhmins.

Again, in addition to the anecdotes referred to above, there are still others which give other accounts of the origin of the Upaniṣadic Brahmavidyā.

In the first place, the doctrines of the Upaniṣads are attributed to superhuman sources also. In Ch. VIII. vii. 2, Indra among the Gods and Virocana among demons, go to Prajāpati for instruction. In Ch. VIII. xv. 1, we are told that this Vidyā was first imparted by Brāhma to Prajāpati and by the latter to Manu, and by Manu to men.

In the Kathā, Nāciketa learns Brahmavidyā from Yama, the god of the nether world.

In Br. V. ii, we are told that men, demons and gods, all children of Prajāpati, receive instruction from the father. [Cf. also the vamsās Br. I. vi and V. vi.]

In Mūndaka I. i, Brahmā the first among the gods, is the instructor and he imparted his knowledge to his eldest son, Atharva; and hence to others.

In Taittirīya III. i Brāgu goes to Varuṇa, his father, for Brahmavidyā.

In Śvetāśvatara VI.21, the Rṣi acquired a knowledge of Brahma by dint of penance and by the grace of the gods.
In Kaivalya I. 1, Āśvalāyana obtained the knowledge from Paramesṭhi.

In Kalisantaranā, Nārada goes Brahmā for instruction.

In the Hayagrīva, too, Nārada is instructed by Brahma.

The Muktika is a dialogue between Hanumat and Rāma, who, though a Kṣatriya, was deified.

These and similar accounts, though they do not establish any definite conclusion, certainly suggest that Brahmavāidyā was not the special property of any class or caste. Here we find the tendency which became more pronounced later on, to regard the Vedānta-Vidyā, as revealed in the same way as the Vedas proper were.

But revelation took place through human agencies, and it is not proved that the agency selected in this particular case, could not belong to the Kṣatriya class.

The anecdotes which support the Kṣatriya origin, are, however, more than matched by anecdotes of an opposite nature.

(i) The Jābāla begins with the name of Bṛhaspati—who spoke to Yājñavalkya. Then Yājñavalkya is the main teacher, who answered enquiries from Atri and Janaka and others.

(ii) In the Jābali Upaniṣad, Jābali is questioned by Paippalādi and gives an account of how he obtained the knowledge. He obtained it, he says, from Śadānana, who got it fromĪśāna and he obtained it by worship (upāsanā).

(iii) In the Bṛhajjābala Upaniṣad, the enquirer is one Bhūsunda by name and the teacher is Kālāgni-rudra (ii, iii, iv and vi Brahmāna).

In the seventh Brahmāṇa of the same book, the name of Janaka occurs as a learner, and the teacher is Yājñavalkya. Some information Janaka obtained from Viṣṇu himself, to whom he repaired with Paippalāda.

(iv) In the Rudrākṣa Jābāla, too, strangely enough the enquirer is Bhūsunda and the answers are given by Kālāgni rudra.

Presumably, the teachers mentioned in the above books, were Brāhmins. But it is possible to doubt this in some of the cases at least. Besides, the authenticity itself of some of these books, is open to doubt. So we turn to the more positive cases of Brāhmin teachers.

(a) In the Mundaka 1.3., the enquirer is Śaunaka and the teacher is Angirasa certainly not a Kṣatriya name. And the line of teachers, of whom Angirasa is last, is also significant. Angirasa learnt this Brahmavāidyā from Bharadvāja, who got it from Angirasa: he from Atharva and Atharva from Brahmā himself.
(b) In the Praśna, the teacher is Pippalāda—not a Kṣatriya, to be sure.

(c) A large part the Brhadāranyaka is filled with the teachings of Yājñavalkya. The third chapter gives an interesting account of a debate between Yājñavalkya on the one side and a host of others on the other, held at the Court of Janaka. "The persons taking part in it were all Brāhmans (III. i. 2); and Janaka was only an interested spectator.

In the 4th chapter, we are told that lots of teachers—presumably all Brāhmans as the names seem to suggest—had been to Janaka and given discourses on Brahmavidyā. Yājñavalkya goes last of all and shows that their teachings have been imperfect. So, ultimately Janaka receives fuller instruction from Yājñavalkya.

These are, doubtless, examples of teaching being in the hands of Brāhmans.

There is another significant thing in the Brhadāranyaka. At the end of the second chapter, it gives what is called a Vaṃśa: and the identical list is repeated at the end of the 4th chapter. It is the line of teachers of the Vidyā, and starts from Svayambhu Brahmā. The names are all Brāhminical in appearance.

(d) In the seventeenth Chapter of the Chāndogya, Nārada goes to Sanatkumāra for instruction in Brahmavidyā and receives it. Incidentally he says that he had heard before from men like Sanatkumāra that one who knows the soul, overcomes all pain ("Śrutam hyeva me bhagavad dṛṣebhyah tarati sokam ātmavid iti"—Chap. VII, i. 2.)

Now, the way in which Nārada addresses Sanatkumāra—he calls him 'Bhagavah'—leaves no room for doubt, if doubt were at all possible otherwise, that the teacher approached here was a Brāhmin.

In the cases where a Brāhmin goes to a Kṣatriya for instruction,—Ch. V, iii. Ch. V, xi. Br. II, i. Br. VI, ii., &c.—he receives the honour due to his caste and addresses the Kṣatriya usually as Rājan. In Ch. V, xii. the word 'bhagavah' is prefixed to 'rājan'; but in no case, is the Kṣatriya addressed as only "bhagavah". When we remember, how carefully the forms of address were regulated in ancient India * this will not appear as a mere accidental difference. So, even if the other reasons were wanting, from the form of address alone, we would be justified in

* Cf. Manu, Chap. 2, 192, et seq.
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

inferring that Nārada was applying to a Brāhmaṇ. But the name Sanatkumāra, as it appears elsewhere in literature, is the name of a Rṣi; and so it has been understood here, too, by commentators. (See Śaṅkara).

Then, again, in the fourth Chapter of the same book, when Satyakāma frankly confesses to Hāridruma Gautama that he does not know his father and cannot therefore tell his Gotra, the would-be teacher, struck with his simplicity and boldness, passes a significant remark. "Surely", says he, "none but a Brāhmaṇ could say so" (naitad abrāhmaṇaḥ vivaktum arhatti.)

Whether the qualities of simplicity and boldness, belonged only to a Brāhmaṇ or not, is not the point. The point rather is that the teacher felt the need of satisfying himself—though rather on precarious grounds—that he was not admitting a non-Brahmin to his discipleship. Of course, he was anxious to exclude a Śūdra. A Kṣatriya as one of the twice-borne was entitled to instruction.

The story of Jānaśruti and Raikva (Ch. IV, i. 2) also deserves notice in this connection. It has been the subject-matter of a separate sūtra in the Vedānta-Sūtras (Ch I, iii. 34. see also 35). There Raikva addresses Jānaśruti as Śūdra: And the author of the Sūtras considers it necessary to explain at length that the term 'Śūdra' was used here in its etymological sense and not in the technical meaning as applying to the fourth caste. This solicitude on his part is due to the then accepted creed that a Śūdra was not entitled to study Brahmavidyā, as he had no right to study the Vedas.

A Kṣatriya was not excluded from this study; he could not possibly be. He was a twice-born himself and in these matters, had almost equal rights with the Brāhmins.

But the rigour with which a Śūdra is excluded from this study, does not support the theory that the Upaniṣads were due to a Kṣatriya revolt against the Brāhmins. Had it been a revolt against the Brāhmins as such, very likely it would have been on grounds of caste and the lower castes would have been allowed to join it. Buddhism, for instance, did not close its doors to any of the lower castes.

Barring the case of Staya-kāma and this doubtful case of Jānaśruti, there is no other instance in the Upaniṣads of one, other than a twice-born, receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā.

As to the case of Satyakāma, it has been already pointed out that the teacher somehow made sure that he was not a non-Brahmin. Compare also Vedānta Sūtra I, iii. 37, where this very argument is used to show that he was, at least, not a Śūdra.
The Sūtras were of course a production of later times. Still, in the absence of strong proofs to the contrary, we have no reasons to disregard the interpretation they put upon the texts of the Upaniṣads.

So, even though the Upaniṣads entered a protest against the ritualism of the Vedas, they did not involve a revolt against the Brāhmans as such; and so far as this was only a protest against a particular form of religion Brāhmans themselves could very well lead it. Instances are not wanting in History of reform being introduced in a religion by the followers of that religion itself.

On the other hand, even when a Brāhmin approaches a Kṣatriya for knowledge, he is uniformly treated with the respect to which he was entitled as a member of the superior caste. (Cf Ch. V. xi. 5, Arhāni Karayāṇacakāra; Br. VI. ii 4, Arghyam Cakāra, &c). Even when the Kṣatriya declared categorically (Ch. V. iii.) that the knowledge in question had never before been imparted to a Brāhmin, he did not forget to do honour to his intending Brāhmin disciple (Arhām Cakāra).

Now, to sum up the evidence on both sides. Excepting in the case of Pravāhaṇa Jaibali of Pañcāla (Ch. V. iii.), we have no other categorical assertion that Brahmvidyā passed from Kṣatriyas to Brāhmans. Even there, it may be reasonably doubted whether the remark that never before had a Brāhmin known this Vidyā, applies to the whole of Brahmvidyā or only to the five questions that Pravāhaṇa proposed and answered.

Taking the other cases together, with these, the net result will be this: The teaching is more or less uniformly in the hands of the Brāhmans. But the Court of a Kṣatriya Prince was often the seat of this learning. Not only this, but the discussions on Upaniṣadic problems took place at Vedic ceremonies and sacrifices performed by Brāhmans on behalf of Kṣatriyas. Even Pravāhaṇa Jaibali of Pañcāla, was performing a sacrifice (see Kauśitaki) to preside over which he had invited Āruṇi, who sent his son Svetaketu, as a substitute.

So the influence of the Kṣatriyas on the development of the Upaniṣadic speculation, does not appear to be more than that of powerful patrons. This influence they had exercised even on the development of the Vedic sacrificial religion; for the bigger ceremonies like Aśvamedha could be performed only by them. They were the ruling class and it lay in their power either to encourage learning or to stifle it.

And as to the Brahmins, we think, it must be said that a true and a good Brāhmin always enjoyed honour and respect and maintained his

* Compare Manu X. 1.—“Adhigirat trayo varṇāh svakarmaśāh dveśādyah: Prabṛtyād Brāhmaṇaḥ tuṣām nitarā-vīti niscayah.”
rank and position in the social order of the Hindus. Even in Buddhist India, he did not completely lose it.* But there were of course good Brāhmīns as well as bad; men like Yājñavalkya as well as those like Budila, just as there were good Kṣatriyas as well as bad. But as a class, the Brāhmin hardly ever forfeited his position as the leader of thought in Indian Society; and in the development of the Upaniṣads, too, almost certainly, he did maintain it.

"All three twice-born castes should read (the Vedas), as part of their duties; of them, however; the Brāhmin (alone) should teach, not the other two; this is the decided practice."

---

Fick's Social Organisation, Chap. viii (O. U. publication).
A NOTE ON THE HISTORICO-LITERARY IMPORTANCE OF
MALLINĀTHA’S COMMENTARIES

BY

MR. P. K. GODE, M.A.,
Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

The name of Mallinātha is a house-hold word in India. He is regarded as a typical commentator. A marvellous capacity to enter into minute detail with extraordinary perspicuity of elucidation characterises all his commentaries. Whenever a person’s comment on any topic of conversation is full of details, we humorously call it Mallināthi. But apart from this analytical habit of Mallinātha and his wonderful appreciation and elucidation of a difficult and at times a dry text such as the Bhaṅgīkāvya, his commentaries are important to us from the historical point of view and it is proposed in this short note to illustrate this importance.

2. The modern scientific method of linguistic and historical research has utmost reverence for facts and the importance of Mallinātha’s commentaries consists in the fact that they are quite factual. The method of accurate quotation proposed by him comes up to the required standard of modern efficiency. He confidently announces at the beginning of his commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa:—

नामूले खिलाते फिरिचि नानपेशितमुख्यते।

This fidelity to facts and scrupulous avoidance of all irrelevant matters make him an ideal commentator as we shall see from the following brief analysis of the commentary Saṅjīvani on the Raghuvaṁśa.

3. The Saṅjīvani contains in all about 2158 quotations. Of this total number about 1151 quotations are definite, as the sources from which they have been taken are indicated in the commentary. The class of indefinite quotations needs separate treatment as they need identification before any conclusions therefrom become possible. Some times quotations from familiar works are ushered in with the words:—‘उक्तच’, ‘हथुकथा’, ‘इति आब्राम’ and the like. Some of these quotations will be found to be from the works, which are often quoted from, in the commentary, and mentioned by name.

4. The total number of authorities either quoted or referred to in the Saṅjīvani is more than 100. They comprise the names of authors
and works mentioned as such in the commentary. The following alphabetical list will speak for itself:—

1. अमरः 34. दशापक्षम् 66. याज्ञवल्क्यः
2. अर्धारः 35. तुर्गसिधः 67. याज्ञवल्क्यः
3. अध्वलयः 36. नारदः 68. वादवः
4. अध्वलयातैः सीमस्तमन्नः 37. नाराजेशः 69. रणिरहस्यम्
5. आमः 38. नैषधम् 70. रससङ्खारः
6. आचारः 39. न्यासकारः 71. राजपुत्रीयम्
7. आध्वः 40. न्यासोदेवः 72. राजसूयः
8. आइह्याः 41. परासः 73. रामायणम्
9. आइह्यात्वाथर्थः 42. पाणिनीः 74. कुदुजातकम्
10. आर्येभः 43. पारसीयः 75. वराहसंहिताः
11. उपादिरूपलाणि 44. पारस्करः 76. विनिषः
12. उपरत्रमाथः 45. पालकाथ (पालकः) 77. बागमः
13. कार्यायः 46. पुराणवचनमू 78. वास्तवायः
14. कार्यानः 47. पुजुचरितमू 79. बामः
15. कामनद्रः 48. बुद्धपति 80. बायुपुराणसीहिता
16. कुद्दस्थीयम् 49. बायुपुराणम् 81. वातितकारः
17. क्षेत्रः 50. मरतः 82. विषः
18. क्षेत्रः 51. भविष्योतर 83. विष्णुपुराणम्
19. जैत्यः 52. नस्थः 84. वृत्तिकारः
20. जैत्यः 53. जागुरिः 85. वैज्ञानिकः
21. श्रीर्वामी 54. भूगोलः 86. व्यासः
22. गणरूपमहोदभिः 55. भोजराजः 87. श्रकुनारणवः
23. गण्याह्यानामू 56. मुदः 88. शबः
24. गामः 57. महाभारतमू (भारतमू) 89. शब्दाणवः
25. गीता 58. महामाध्यम (भाष्यकारः) 90. शास्तः
26. गोनद्वीयम् 59. मात्रकावयमू (माशः) 91. शास्तः
27. गौतमः 60. मात्रः 92. शौनकः
28. घण्यापथः 61. मान्तिकः 93. प्रृवितः
29. घातुशः 62. माक्षेयः 94. संमहः
30. चाणक्यः 63. मिताकः 95. खनः
31. तारकाः 64. मीमांसकः 96. विद्योपसंभः
32. दण्डनीति 65. मृगचर्मीयम् 97. सूक्ष्मः
33. दण्डः 66. याज्ञवल्क्यः 98. स्कारः

and others.
The names in this list not only give us an idea of the literature known to Mallinātha and his versatility therein but they form a literary strata very useful for the history of Sanskrit literature.

An analysis of all the commentaries of Mallinātha may bring forth more data which would point to certain works, from which Mallinātha has quoted verbatim but which are lost to us. It may also happen that the manuscript of a particular work from which Mallinātha might be quoting in a particular context may be found to be different from the extant manuscripts of the same work. To test this probability, I have tried to identify all the quotations from the Vaijayantī lexicón given by Mallinātha in his commentary on the Meghadūta and find that the passages referred to by Mallinātha do not exactly tally with those in the printed edition of the lexicón edited by Gustav Oppert. There are good many variants.

5. Whatever the importance of these quotations from the point of view of textual criticism the fact remains that they show us clearly the literary predilections of Mallinātha. I admit that the mere frequency of quotation does not always prove that the writer has a special liking for a particular author; for instance, the Amara has been quoted 613 times in the Sañjivani while the Vaijayantī only 52 times. We might conclude from these figures that Mallinātha knew the Amara by heart while he had to refer to Vaijayantī in a few cases only, where probably the help of the Amara was not sufficient. To take another instance, the Sañdārṇava has been quoted 3 times in the whole of the Sañjivani, which comments all the 18 cantos of the Raguvaṃśa while in the commentary on the Meghadūta the same lexicón has been quoted 50 times. This is significant and proves to my mind that Mallinātha was not so very familiar with this lexicón, at the time, when he wrote his commentary on the Raguvaṃśa. The data from all the commentaries will enable us to institute more comparisons which are bound to throw much light on the career of Mallinātha as an ideal commentator. It is, therefore, desirable that the frequency of quotation of a particular work or author in a particular commentary should be recorded in the first instance and then a comparative table of frequencies of quotation of the same work should be prepared to give more accurate and comprehensive results. As I have restricted myself to the analysis of the commentary on the Raguvaṃśa I note below the works or authors mentioned by Mallinātha in the order of the frequency of quotation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Frequency of quotation</th>
<th>Work or author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>आमर:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>बिख़ि:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>यादव: — (see बेज़बन्ती in No. 20 below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>मुनि:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>हलालुष्ठ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>शृदित:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>केशव:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>शाक्त:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>कामन्दः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>हेम:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>कौटिल्य:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>रामायणम:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>वाहवल्क्यः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>तुसङ्कारः, दण्डः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>महाभारतम् (भारतम् 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>बामनः, रतिरस्थम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>सजनः, श्रीरस्वामी, पातकायः, वामस्तः, कौशः-प (पाठक 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>पराशः, शब्दारणवः, वास्त्यायनः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>गौतमः, महाभाष्यम् (भाष्यकारं 1), व्यासः, भविष्योतरः, आपसतः, आगमः, बिश्नुपुराणम्, सापकायः (साप: 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>बाल्यरुपरत्निविष्ठ, मीमांसकः, चारणकः, दप्रचितः, मानित्रः, मातुः, व्यासायोऽसः, हरिवंचः, अर्थात्वादनान्तरिक्ष्यतमसः, संग्रहः, पारसः, अथार्यायः, नारदः, चुपुज़कः, राजसुपालः, कूटस्थियः, शाक्तः, वराहसिद्धिः, आहवाणिः, राजसुपालः, सुभचत्स्यः, श्रवन्धम, मुनि: वराहसिद्धिः, वाश्वः, अलकः, कैयट विद्यापसः, रससुधाकः, मर्क्षेयः, धर्मश्रवः, कुमारसभवः, कालायनः, सुभकः, मिताद्वः, गौतः, शौकः, महामः, पुराणवनम, स्कन्दः, पाणिनियः, वार्तिकाः, आर्यभः, दुर्गचतिः, याज्ञवः, नार्थिः, मातुः, शाक्तायनः, गोजराजः, आहस्याचित्रः, तारिकः, हरितः, दुर्गासिः, बैज्ञानिः, गान्धः, बुद्धवति, स्मयते (स्तुति:), गोविन्दः.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IMPORTANCE OF MALLINĀTHA’S COMMENTARIES.

It will be seen from the foregoing names that they include varied works such as lexicons, works on rhetoric, law, politics, astrology, prosody, music, erotics, technical sciences (such as Gajaśāstra) Purāṇas and others.

6. Though it is not possible to establish the chronological order of Mallinātha’s commentaries on the basis of my analysis of the Sañjīvani on the Raghuvamśa I may state that it is possible to establish this order after exhausting all the commentaries. Mallinātha gives references to matters commented upon in other commentaries e.g. the Raghuvamśa-Sañjīvani on VI, 48 refers to Ghañṭāpatha (Mallinātha’s commentary on the Kirātārjuniya) while the Meghadūta-Sañjīvani quotes Raghuvamśa-Sañjīvani (vide commentary on verse 38 of the Pūrva-Megha). These references show that the Ghañṭāpatha was written first, Raghu-Sañjīvani next and Megha-Sañjīvani last. A reference to the list of authors given above will further show that the Raghu-Sañjīvani refers to Magha Kāyya, Naisadha, and Kumārasambhava. We need not necessarily infer from this that the commentaries on these works were written before the Raghu-Sañjīvani was written.

7. A further off-shoot of our inquiry would be to test the exactitude of Mallinātha’s quotations and trace them all to their original sources to see how far his sense of literary veracity has been sustained not only throughout the Raghu-Sañjīvani to which we have confined ourselves at present but throughout all his extant commentaries. This would enable us to see if Mallinātha ever ‘nod’d. It may come to light that he is quoting from memory at times or referring to manuscripts of works different from the extant manuscripts of those works which may explain the variance with the extant texts in certain cases.

The points which this brief analysis of one commentary of Mallinātha suggests and on which additional definite information from other commentaries will throw more light, are the following: —

(i) the characteristics of Mallinātha’s commentaries.
(ii) the literature known to Mallinātha and its importance to the History of Sanskrit Literature.
(iii) the importance of the commentaries from the view-point of textual criticism.

(iv) the literary biography of Mallinātha.
(v) the chronological order of the commentaries.
(vi) an evaluation of Mallinātha’s method in the light of the principles of modern literary criticism.
(vii) identification of the references given by Mallinātha with their original sources.
(viii) determination of works known to Mallinātha but lost to us.
YĀMANA BHATTA BĀṆA.

BY

PANDIT R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR.

पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकस्य कला कादम्बरीकवि: प्राचीनो भट्टाणी भविष्य
नाहिंति, यत पत्नातकमासाहित्यदर्पणमयेकरिम्भिय कुषकप्रकाशिकां समयते,
नायनेन वा केनापि प्राचीनेन नाटकदर्शकं पर्थि गच्छा वा समुद्रवस्त्र
प्रदर्शितम्। प्राचीनवाणृकृते च नैत्रिममं समयसम्भवम्। अर्थातः
चमकरकन्ध न्यूनः। कथा प्रवाहाद सर्वेतमना कुमारसममयेवावनिवर्तने। पार्वती-
वर्णनमापि नातीत साहित्यम्। अद्वैतमप्रक्षिपा चाचनानातः किंचिदासुष्ट्रिता।
आतथा कादम्बरीरचनानुथितेण जगदेव रससमयमाध्यमस्य, काव्याभाषानुपहर-
सतः, वर्णान्प्रक्षेत्रां कादम्ब्रप्रनृतीति ख्रिङ्गाणि सहद्वाराणां भावनाचक्रः
पुरस्तानाधृतमायतः, तत्र तत्र तानि तानि मतानि तत्तदन्यायविनुष्ठ: द्वारा-
प्रविष्टानां पद्धतातोपी कविक्रियेतृत्वां तदन्यायिन्यो वा तथा अनिर्दिष्टाः
प्राची वाणिज्य न कुलि: पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकाय निर्देशर्येण शास्त्रां ग्रन्थिनां
॥

२. अपि तु नाटकमेव किर्त्तियपदशस्त्राशङ्कामुक्ता वामनबन्ध-चारणेण निरूपितां युव्यं अध्वनसातम्। योः पिता वधुचन्द्रिकाया:
शब्दरकारसंय स निघमोः, वेमभूपालाचिरितगत्वकाव्यस्य, द्वुनाथचिरित-
नतावृद्धमन्त्रहावकाययोः, उद्भवप्रमुणकाल्य, उपार्षियनाटकस्य च
रचितेन निर्माणे ॥

३. अत्र तिष्ठे चत्वार: प्रलब्धितेन। सूर्यकथा केन्द्र: शुक्लयुक्ति-
वदेशितारता:। एषाष्टावत्ममोक्षुपि प्रमाणालोऽदेने वा प्रमाणाकेशार्मार्कोभ-
मने वा वामनयप्रत्यावर्तसंबंधितराक्षणे वा न खलु देशवाण्यादाने व्यव-
समयमाध्यमाति ॥

प्रथमस्तबतु—अन्यायक्षेत्रवकाव्ययोगमनः कर्तवतवलम्य
रसकल्पकारणानुपादिय परिहर्दानस्मापकपरिहर्दान, प्राचीनवाणृकृतिरोकेवर्मेव
नाटकमेव निरूपितां प्रतिपाद्ये ॥

द्वितीयस्तु—पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकाहृदयेऽस्ववं वेमभूपालाचिरितगत्वकाव्य-
रचितविधिवृत्तां च स्वतोपश्चात्तेत परिवर्त्य, तथा सर्वम् पार्वतीपरिणयस्य
वामनबाणकृतवं निरूपानुसरितते । आतिष्ठते क नेदं नाटक प्राचः वाणस्य कृतिरिति ॥

तृतीय श्लोकः—पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकमिदं प्राचः वाणमेवन अपरिणतप्रवेण बालेन सता विभिन्नितं स्वातः । अतः च वर्षीज्ञमाणाञ्चारादिविद्वारप्रथमप्रभावते । वस्तुतं भावायान्वितो वहने गुणा नाटकेन्द्रमप्रभुङ्क्तः ने महाविक्रयविद्वारमहत् । कुमारसंभवानुकरणमपि न दीपयः । यतो वाणस्य कालिदासेऽनिरूपिता प्रातिकितवत्मेऽवन्देऽनित्वम् । अतः कदाचिदद्वैप्रवेंद्रेऽवन्देऽनित्वमिव ददुकरणमेव वाणस्य समापेते स्वातः । तथा दि कालिदासकित्वमपि महाभारती गीतादिप्रयावपिताकृतित्वारा । सामान्यकोकितामिदं विशिष्टपञ् उभेदः ॥

चतुर्थ श्लोकः—तृतीयमेव सर्वधर्मान किंचिद्बन्धव । पार्वतीवाणव एवास्मां केवलबाणवेदेन व्याधिविद्याति । नवायनस्तु वामनबाण इति अभिनववाण इति वा सोपपदेवै बाणपदेन व्याधिविद्यामानम् । वार्तीपारिष्ये च केवल बाणपदेश्व प्रयुक्तम् । किंच, पार्वतीवाण प्रथम नाटककरणीं निष्पादितेन तत्र प्रदृश्यते स्वातः । तत्र विकृतप्रयतने भगवनः नादोर्षेन तस्य निष्क्रियः स्वातः । अतः ततेऽव नाटकमाद्वेषिते स्वातः । अतः एवं पार्वतीवाण कथापि मद्यपरीणानां नाथविष्णुः स्वातः । अतः नाटकादेव प्राचः कृतिरेवमि निरूपिरिवित् प्रस्थाप्यति ॥

4. युक्तिमार्गितायान्त्यावरोध्ययते युक्तिमोक्षेत बलवतीमिरसमाभिः

पुरात्तातुरस्तात्त च प्रमाणेः प्रथुक्ताः ॥

5. वामनकितिरेवेत नाटकस्य सदायानुसूचिततथा पूर्वीमेव पार्वती—

परिणयनाटकमूमूकियाये केलायमापण्डितरामपारस्वायायः अन्तःकृतेऽनतः—

रुपुक्तम् अनन्तस्यस्वकृतिमाघाराणाकस्य विमार्थस्यस्य महामार्थस्य ऋग्बुध्यायस्य विप्रवाहस्य अभिप्रायोद्वांपि कृतिवा त्यः पुनः द्व्यावलय्यं उदितस्य नलायुद्यङ्कायस्य नवेनानायां परितृप्ते । तथा विद्वानपत्तनप्रचारितम्याप्रवृद्धिमुक्तियुक्तास्यत्र भूमिकायं तत्राकाशकन चिराद्वाहे: समामंत्रितोद्वारप्रमाय: सम्प्रत्युपन्वय: प्रकृतिः ॥

6. वामनमार्गावताराणि सूचिमूलकयाः पराक्षे ते: सहाय्यानाटकस्य

पद्तो वाक्यतत् वर्णनात्तक विचारानाम स्वादाननेकप्रश्नस्य, इदं नाटकम् वामन—

अहंवागवेत्तै कृत्तिबिन्धीमिदृश्ये एव स्त्राल्य: पुनर्प्रस्माभिताभिमानः ॥

रा. च. वि. कृष्णमाचार्यः ।
SOMA- JUICE IS NOT LIQUOR

BY

MR. N. B. PAVGEE; POONA.

(a) शरि: पावक उच्चे सोम: | —कृ. वं ६.२४.७.

Soma-juice is pure and purifying.

(b) दिव: पीयुपूवूष्यम् | —कृ. वं ६.११०.८.

It is the most ancient heavenly nectar.

(c) सम्मर्यादा: कवयिततशुस्तासामेरासुरापापामलम् | —कृ. वं १०.९.६; म. स्म. ११.९.२.

But, Liquor is one of the seven heinous sins, forbidden by Vedic Scriptures.

Soma-Juice has often been wrongly supposed to be liquor, and the fact of its having been erroneously accepted as such, even by Oriental (1) and Occidental (2) scholars of note, has only lent colour to the view.

But the evident mistake seems to have been caused by colossal ignorance of facts, and deep misapprehension of things as they really stand. The more so especially, as the ingredients of Soma-beverage are altogether different from those of liquor, which, by the by, has been altogether forbidden by Vedic Scriptures. These facts, therefore, I venture to place, in the sequel, before Sanskrit scholars, for thoughtful consideration and careful attention.

(1) Rajendralal Mitra suggested that Soma-juice was a kind of beer, that Soma plant was a species of hop, and that its juice was beer.

(2) Zemalaide A. Ragzin calls Soma-juice liquor. (Vedic India, p. 175. Ed. 1895). While, Julius Eggeling deems it to be sacred liquor (Vide Sata Patha Brāhmaṇa, translated by him, in the Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXVI. Introduction. p. XXIV). Watt was of opinion that the Afghan grapes-juice was the real Soma. But, Hillebrandt thought that neither hops nor the Afghan grapes could explain the peculiarities of Soma, its significance, and high qualities.

* The reference pages quoted in this article allude to those in the demi 12 page Monograph.
SOMA JUICE IS NOT LIQUOR.

WHAT IS SOMA?

Soma, now extinct, (1) is a plant, and belongs to the vegetable kingdom; a fact, known even to our Rg-Vedic ancestors of hoary antiquity, as will be seen from the following verses:—

(a) लब्ध सोम नो वशो जीवायु न मरामहे ॥
प्रियस्तोत्रो वनस्पति: ॥ —ऋ०. वे. १.९१.६.

(b) निःस्तोत्रो वनस्पति: ॥ —ऋ०. वे. १.९१.७.

(c) यो ज्ञेः वीरुधांपति:....॥ —ऋ०. वे. ९. ११४.२.

WHERE DID SOMA GROW?

Soma plant was indigenous in India, and not at all exotic, as supposed by some, (2) under a mistaken notion. Nay, the very fact that

1. (a) In respect of the sudden disappearance of plants and animals, Professor John Judd says, “The species of animals and plants die out or disappear, one by one, in consequence of the conditions for their existence becoming unfavourable, or from their failure to maintain a competition with other forms”.

(Vide The Student’s Lyell. By John W. Judd. Professor of Geology, p. 448, Ed. 1896).

(b) “No species survived through all times”. (Dr. James D. Dana’s Manual of Geology, p. 601, Ed. 1863).

2. (a) For instance, see Mr. E. B. Havell’s Article in the July Quarterly of 1930 of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 349-351, in which he argued, rather dogmatically, that the Soma plant which, perhaps through oversight, he identified with Ragi (रागी) was brought to India by the early Aryan immigrants, at a time when it constituted the principal food and drink of the Brahmanas (p. 351 of the Journal). He further maintained that Soma plant had “fat ripened ears, heavy with grain”, and that the original Soma was “no rare or obscure thing, but the common familiar Ragi” (p. 350).

(b) I beg respectfully to state here, pace Mr. Havell, that Soma plant had never ears, or for the matter of that, any grain at all; and it was only from the stalks or अङ्कुश of the plant that the juice was extracted, after pounding, crushing, and squeezing them, and at no time from its ears or grains, as it had none whatever. (Vide R. V. I 125, 3; IV. 26. 6; IX. 62. 4; IX 67. 28; IX 68. 4; IX 95. 4. &c.

(c) Moreover, I found my view corroborated by the great Oriental and Indian exegetist Sayana (R. V. I 48. 2), and also by Occidental scholars like Professors Julius Eggeling (Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. XXVI, Introduction, p. XXVII, शास्तर: प्रार्थना), Macdonell (Vedic Mythology, pp 104. 114). Dr. Hug (Parsi Religion, pp 236, 239), and others.

(d) In the circumstances, I had the painful necessity of refuting the unwarranted assertions of Mr. Havell, under date the 1st June of 1921, in a printed Pamphlet, entitled, The Indigenous Far Famed Soma, and the Aryan Autochthons in India, which having been sent to the Royal Asiatic Society and also to Mr. Havell, its receipt was kindly acknowledged.
it never grew beyond Āryāvarta, known to all as the Land of the Seven Rivers, of world-wide fame called सतसिन्धुः, tells its own tale, and distinctly indicates that any other climate was not at all conducive to its growth, as will be presently seen.

GENUINE SOMA GREW IN ĀRYĀVARTA ONLY.

In Āryāvarta, Soma (सोम) grew in abundance, on (a) the Cis Himalayan slopes (R. V. III. 48. 2; X. 34. 1; A. V. XIX. 39. 1; 39. 8), on (b) the banks of the river Susomā and the Ārjikīya (R. V. VIII. 64. II), or of the Indus (R. V. IX. 14. 1; 39. 4: 61. 7), and even in (c) the beds of the Śaryanāvat Lake (R. V. VIII. 64. 11: IX. 113. 1), situate on the plains of the Kuru-Kṣtra, near Delhi, of great renown.

Soma (सोम) has also been known by its geographical appellation, viz., Maujavata (मौजवत), which alone decides the native soil of the plant, and leaves no doubt in respect of its having been indigenous in Āryāvarta. For, the Mount Muṇjavān is a part of the great Himalayan chain, and the Mahā-Bhārata explicitly gives its whereabouts, by saying that Muṇjavān lies on the slopes of the Himalaya mountain:—

गिरिहिंसत: पुष्पे शुंजवाञ्जानम पर्वतः |

(M. Bh. XIV. 8. 1; South Indian Texts Edition).

The Atharva vedas also says that Soma grows along with Kuṣṭa (कुष्ठ herb), on the Himālayas:—

एतदेवक्षायमाण: कुडोहिंसतसपरिः | सकुडोविश्वभेषज: | साकं सोमेन
विद्वति || अ. के. XIX. 39. 1; 39. 8.

Now, as regards the fact of the Soma-plant having been indigenous in India, Dr. Muir has observed that the plant was produced on Mount Mujaavat, "from which he (Soma) takes his name." (R. V. X. 34. 1; Original Sanskrit Texts. Vol V. 261. Ed. 1870.) Zenaidé A. Ragozin also says, "The Soma used in India certainly grew on mountains, probably in the Himalayan high lands of Kashmir." He further adds, "this was the earliest seat of the Soma worship known to the Āryan Hindus, whence it may have spread geographically with the race itself". Vedic India. pp. 170, 171, Ed. 1895). Later on, Professor Macdonell also admits the fact of the Mujaavat having been "referred to as the Home of Soma". (History of Sanskrit Literature. p. 144, Ed. 1900).

SOMA ALSO MEANS THE JUICE OF THE STALKS OF THE PLANT.

This is obvious, and will be at once perceived from such expressions as सोमःपवति (पात्रेण धरति i) that is, the Soma drops flow in the vats or Droṣas and also others of the kind.
SOMA JUICE IS NOT LIQUOR.

IRANIAN SOMA SPURIOUS.

Here, it would not, in the least, be out of place to state, that the Soma plant, used as such in Iran, was not genuine but spurious and fortunately, we have got testimony to confirm this view. For, after leaving Aryavarta, owing to schism, the Dissenters, better known as Perso-Aryans, could procure genuine Soma in Iran, the land of their adoption. They were, therefore, compelled to use the spurious Soma, or some plant substituted in place of the genuine one. In support of my statement, I beg to quote Dr. Martin Haug, who says: "The intoxicating Soma-beverage was replaced by a more wholesome and invigorating drink, prepared from another plant than the original Soma plant, together with the branches of the pomegranate tree. But, the name, in the Iranian form "Homa", remained, and some of the ceremonies also." (Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees, p. 220, Ed. 1862). Dr. Windischmann also writes thus: "The Soma plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the Homa of the Persians; at least, the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India." (Dissertation on the Soma Worship). All this eloquently proves that the genuine Soma grew in Aryavarta only, and nowhere else.

THE WORD SOMA NOT FOUND IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

Moreover, apart from the aforesaid fact, which by the bye is a direct proof of the origin of Soma in Aryavarta or India, there is another aspect of the matter, which, though it falls within the category of implied and indirect evidence, is nevertheless of vital importance in many respects. As such, therefore, we cannot afford to lose sight thereof, or ignore it in the least. We find that the word Soma, or for the matter of that even any of its derivatives, appears nowhere in any of the languages of Europe, nor in Asia, except in the Parent (1) Aryan Vedic language of Aryavarta, from which sprang the Zendic branch in Iran or Persia, the first Colony from Aryavarta, consequent upon a schism. (Vide The Aryavartic Home and Its Arctic Colonies, N. B. Pavjee, pp. 238-256, Ed. 1915).

Besides, Mr. Bāl Gangādhār Tilak, a widely known Sanskrit scholar and a staunch advocate of the Arctic Home theory, had also made searching enquiries in respect of Soma, for fortifying his conclusions. Nay, he had ransacked the archives of Oriental literature, and had left no stone unturned to find out the trace of the word Soma. But, all this notwithstanding, he had to admit that, "the word (Soma) is not found in the European languages." (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 205, Ed. 1903). All

this means and proves that Soma plant was indigenous (1) in India, and not at all exotic, as some would have us believe (vide supra, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).

1 (a) The undisputed habitat of Soma in Āryavarta (supra, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) naturally suggests a very interesting and even a fundamental question, which, owing to its supreme importance, I cannot resist the temptation to state here in brief, especially as it will repay perusal.

(b) Soma sacrifice, during Vedic times, was, as admitted by all, the very essence of Vedic ritual. Nay, the Soma sacrifice was the most ancient, the first and the earliest (पृथ्वीः) R. V. IX. 96. 10). It was, moreover, deemed to be the very soul of sacrifice (आया यस्यः R. V. IX. 2.10 ; 6.8). And even Mr. Tilak had to admit this, by declaring thus:—“Of this sacrificial system, the Soma sacrifice may, at any rate, be safely taken as the oldest representative, since it forms the main feature of the ritual of the Rṣi Veda.” (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 205, Ed. 1903.)

(c) He then further argued that amongst the Dāvas, Indra alone was found ready and willing to enter into darkness and turn the Asuras out of the first, middle, and the last part of the Arctic night, by means of Soma libations. and added that “Soma juice was extracted and purified at night during the Ātri-Ratra sacrifice, and Indra was the only deity to whom the libations were offered in order to help him in his fight with the Asuras, who had taken shelter with the darkness of the night.” (Arctic Home in the Vedas, pp. 213, 214.)

(d) Mr. Tilak then had gone into captures over his Arctic Home theory and said, “by the Arctic theory we can explain the fact (of the Śata-ratra or a hundred night-sacrifice) satisfactorily, by supposing that the duration of the long night in the ancient home, varied from one night (of 24 hours) to a hundred continuous nights (of 2400 hours), according to latitude.” These “marked the maximum duration of darkness, during which Indra fought with Bhai and was strengthened by the Soma libations offered to him in the sacrifice.” (Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 216.)

(e) But, pray, whence was the Soma plant procured, for extracting juice therefrom, and offering its libations to Indra in the Arctic, for driving out its continuous darkness of over three months?

(f) Evidently, the knowledge of the Soma plant and its juice presupposed long acquaintance with Āryavarta, and even prior residence in the region which produced the plant, and also familiarity with its surroundings and toponomy. For, as already shown (supra, pp. 3, 4), the Land of the renowned Seven Rivers was the only place where the plant grew at all and nowhere else. And yet, all this seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Tilak and others.

(g) These solid facts, therefore, I respectfully venture to state, altogether demolish the edifice of the Arctic Home Theory, the European Hypothesis, and even the Central Asian Question, propounded by various writers of note, and only confirm the theory of the origin of the Āryans in the Land of the Seven Rivers. Here, therefore, I would quote with advantage a few Orientalists for corroboration of my views. Dr. Muir plainly says “I must, however, begin with a candid admission that, so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians.” (Muir’s Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II, p. 393, Ed. 1871.) Moreover, M. Louis Jaccottet hails the Land of the Seven Rivers, by crying up “Soil of Ancient India, cradle of humanity, hail! Hail, venerable and efficient nurse......Hail, Fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry, and of science; May we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future,” p. 10.

“India will appeal to you the mother of the human race, the cradle of all our traditions,” p. 17.
INGREDIENTS OF SOMA BEVERAGE.

The most vital and conclusive proof of Soma-juice not being liquor, consists in the different constituents thereof, which, when known, at once enable all to distinguish the one from the other, the gold from the brass, the grain from the husk. In fact, the component parts which constitute the genuine Soma preparation, make a world of difference in taste and quality, delicious sweetness and moral elevation, inspiration and exhilaration, creative imagination and sundry other merits of the hieratic juice.

I give below the details of the Soma beverage for the benefit of the reader. The stalks of Soma plant were gathered and crushed between two stones, called Grávās, or Ulīkhala (i.e. Mortar) and Musala (i.e. pestle). In order that the stalks should yield copious juice, water was also sprinkled thereon (अधि: सोम पुष्पपतिः । क्र. वेः ṣ.74.9). Then, the crushed portion of stalks was squeezed or pressed between the palms and fingers of the two hands, and the pressed drops were poured upon and passed over the strainer of sheep’s wool, for removing the impurity of the juice. Subsequently, it trickled into a vase or a Drouz and then, in addition to water 1 which was sprinkled over the crushed stalks, before pressing them, Milk, 2 Curds, 3 ghee, 4 barley flour, 5 and honey 6 also, were mixed with the extracted Soma-juice. Obviously, it was only after this admixture, that the Soma beverage became fit for purposes of sacrificial offering.

"India is the world’s cradle; thence it is, that the common mother in sending forth her children to the utmost West, bequeathed us the legacy of her language, laws, morale, literature, and religion," p. vii.


Vide also Rz-Vedic India, Vol. I, pp 559, 560, Ed. 1921, By Abinas Chandra Das, M.A., B.L. Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

(h) And to crown the whole, and put to rest or silence all doubts in respect of our origin in Aryavarta or the region of the sacred river Sarasvati (पावक नः सरस्वती R. V. I. iii, 10), I cite the following verse from the Rg.-Vedaː— एका वेदात्यायि नादीमां जुविलिकिः विशिष्याय आसुद्रान (क्र. वेः ७.१५.२). This verse proves that our anta

1. क्र. वेः १.९९.१६,१८; ६.५४.५; ६.६६.३२; ८.१५.५.
2. क्र. वेः ८.२.२; २.६; ६.९.६; २२.४; ६७.३२.
3. क्र. वेः ८.२.६.
4. क्र. वेः ८.२.२; ६.६७.३२.
5. क्र. वेः २.४२.४; ६३.४; ४.२४.७; ८.२३.
6. क्र. वेः ६.६७.३२.
Thus, the process, peculiar to Soma-preparation, acquires a distinct and separate character, and makes it materially differ from Surā or liquor, which, however, is never so mixed; a fact admitted even by Professor Macdonell of Oxford University, as he says, "It seems doubtful if Surā was ever so mixed. (vide, Vedic Index, Vol. ii, p. 478).

Besides, Soma was a hieratic drink, and used to be pressed three times a day, viz., in the morning, at midday, and in the evening. But, nothing of the kind occurs or is done in the preparation of liquor.

Again, we have further fresh evidence of Soma juice not being liquor or गुर, and I think it worthwhile to state it here, especially, as it comes from an altogether reliable and doubtless much esteemed Western source. This is no other than the Honourable Mr. C. A. Kincaid, High Court Judge, Bombay, an erudite scholar, the author of the History of the Maratha People, and many other books. He has in a Pamphlet entitled The Hindu Gods, written that "Soma was the Vedic Bacchus," (p. 38, Ed. 1919). But, subsequently, after reconsideration, and looking through the whole evidence on the subject, he had to admit and say as under:—

"I gather that the statement in the Hindu Gods", that Soma was the Hindu (Vedic) Bacchus, is at any rate open to doubt." (Dated Malabar Hill, Bombay, 30th July, 1922). This admission, therefore, affords considerable weight to the thesis, advanced and maintained by me, under authorities quoted above.

Moreover, in the Rg-Veda (V. xxvii. 5), Soma is said to have had three kinds of admixture श्वादिष्टः. The one with milk was called गवाशिरः; that with curds was named द्वाशिरः; and the third with barley flour was styled गवाशिरः.

DELICIOUS TASTE AND HIGH QUALITIES OF SOMA.

The genuine Soma-juice, when mixed with water, milk, curds, ghee, barley-flour, and honey, as mentioned before (supra, pp. 10, 11), was sweet and delicious in taste, rather pungent but had much flavour and was exhilarating, yet slightly intoxicating, but had fragrant smell. The Rg-Veda itself contains a brief statement in this respect, which therefore I give below:—

1 स्वादिष्टकिष्ठायां मधुमालनतायं

2 द्वाशिरकिष्ठायं रसवानुताताय्यम्

Rg-Vedic ancestors had seen the river Sarasvati, leaving its source, the Himalaya mountain, and flowing into the sea. This sea according to geologists was the Rajputāna sea of the Tertiary period, or even of remoter palæozoic age; when, both the sea and the river flowing into it, were in existence, and had not disappeared owing to cataclysms, consequent upon the advent of the Great Ice Age, or the Pleistocene Era (Ency. Br. Vol. XXII, p. 866, 11th Ed. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 1, Ed. 1907).
3 अर्थः स्वादुर्दिथ बदिष्ठ आस... |—ऋ. वे. ६.४७.२.
4 सहस्राय: सुरारैः (सोमः १) |—ऋ. वे. ६.९३.१९.
सुरारैः... (अत्यन्त सुगांधि: सोमः १) |—ऋ. वे. ६.१०७.२.

Now, as regards the other qualities of Soma, which are admittedly of higher kind and lasting effect, I may state that the beverage of the genuine plant had an inherent quality of moral elevation. It inspired confidence and courage, faith and self-trust. It gave great powers of speech and bestowed eloquence. It endowed the man with intellect and deep thinking. It also granted strength, valour, &c. (Rg Veda. VI, xlvii.3; IX, xevi. 5; exiii.1).

Soma, moreover, cured diseases, and was a grand elixir. (Rg Veda. VIII. lxxix.2). It gave sight to the blind, power of hearing to the deaf, and made even the lame walk (R. V. VIII. lxxix.2; X. xxv. 11). It was also believed to bestow immortality (R. V. VIII. xlviii.3). For, the Rṣi says, "we drank Soma and became immortal." (R. V. VIII. xlviii.12).

DEMERITS OF LIQUOR.

But, liquor, on the contrary, could do nothing of the kind at all, nor give any such relief. Nor can it, even in the present state of progress and western civilization, achieve any such results and wonders.

Thus, it will be quite apparent that Soma-beverage was altogether different from liquor, excepting the fact, that it was a slight intoxicant. But, so is also Bhūngā (भूंगाः); and yet the latter's preparation is never called liquor.

Liquor again has its notorious after-effects, of which, therefore, I shall here give, in brief, some trustworthy account. Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, writing, in respect of Abstention from Alcohol, in response to a request from the Editor of the Westminster Gazette says:—"Shakespeare, who knew what he was talking about, said that the effect of drink on a man was to steal away his brains".

In like manner, Rev. Muir writes, "Alcohol and opium are co-related They are both dangerous intoxicants. They are good servants when used as medicines, but bad masters when taken to excess," (Drink and Drugs. By Rev. G. S. Muir, M.A. Honorary Secretary, Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee. In the Abkari Quarterly for April 1921, No. 124, p. 27.)

THE FARSIGHTEDNESS OF OUR ANCIENT ANCESTORS.

It seems obvious that the forethought of our ancestors had, even during those hoary times, anticipated innumerable disastrous effects that would spring from liquor or Sūra. As such, we perceive, that its use was
prohibited by commands of the Śrutiś and the Smṛtiś, that is, the Scriptures and the traditional body of law, civil and religious. Of these, therefore, it appears necessary to give the requisite details: सत मयादात्ता-लोका सुरा पापामलम्.

THE SEVEN FORBIDDEN SINS.

Now, there are Seven sins forbidden by Scriptures, of which liquor is one, and we find, even in the Rg Veda, a reference made to things, which have been altogether forbidden, and which therefore have been considered to be very heinous. The text of the Rg Veda is very important, and as such, I give it here below:

सतमयादा: कवयात्तत्त्तसामेकमेकमिष्णुरोगात्।—क्र. व. १०.५.५.

The forbidden sins are seven in number. But, their nature or the kind which each represents, is nowhere stated in the body of the Rg Veda. However, the details thereof have been very carefully mentioned and succinctly explained in Yāska’s Nirukta, which, therefore, I venture to give here for the benefit of the reader:

सतमयादा: कवयश्रक्तसामेकमप्यथिगङ्घर्षवाभवोत्त सेव तत्यारो-हः भन्यायो भूणहायो सुरापां दुष्क्तत्स्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातकः-उत्तोषित।—निर्लक्ष, ६.२७.

Thus, with the help of Yāska, we are able to understand that our Rg-Vedic ancestors had considered the following seven sins to be most heinous. 1 Theft, 2 Use of Preceptor’s bed, 3 Brāhmaṇicide, 4 Causing abortion, 5 Drinking liquor, 6 Repetition of crime or committing evil act over again, and 7 Attempt at perfidy. These, therefore, were solemnly condemned and forbidden.

If then, the Rg-Vedic Rṣis and sages, had, with the greatest solemnity and with all the force at their command, proclaimed to the world that drinking liquor was one of the seven heinous sins, and that therefore it was forbidden, would it not be ridiculous and even outrageous to think that they themselves enjoyed it under the name of Soma?

Besides, as we have already seen, the preparation of Soma-beverage differs widely from that of liquor, and the ingredients themselves reveal the truth. (vide supra pp. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.)

Here, by the bye, we shall refer for a while to the renowned स्त्रित्वा and the great Law-giver Manu, as he also has followed the traditions of श्रुति or the Vedas, and said that Surā or liquor is sin itself, and that
SOMA JUICE IS NOT LIQUOR.

therefore, neither the Brahman, nor Kṣatriya, nor for the matter of that even the Vaiśya, should drink liquor.

इरा वै मल्लमः नां पाप्मा च मल्लमुच्यते ।
तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यि वैश्यक्ष न मुरणां पिवेतु ॥—स. स्य. ११.९३.

In the circumstances, and with due regard to the aforesaid solid facts before the reader, he will, I think, be able to draw his own conclusions in the matter of the genuine Soma-juice, the hieratic draught of immortality, and the Amṛta itself (R.V. IX cx.4).
TWO MORE DRAMAS OF BHĀSA.

BY

MR. M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A. RAJAHMUNDRY.

Since the publication of thirteen dramas of Bhāsa by Mahāmahopādhyāya Brahma Śri Ganapati Sāstriyar of Trivandrum, the scholarly world is ever eager to know more of Bhāsa and of the poets of his age. Dandin says in his Avantisundari about Bhāsa.

and raises hopes in us of further discoveries as he must have written an astonishing number of dramas. There are other poets who have equally contributed to drama and the exigencies of Time have cruelly suppressed them. Candra, Śūdraka, Vararuci, Mahendragrāma and a host of others are equally fertile as Bhāsa. We frequently come across dramas with queer beginning or prologue without any mention of its author. In the prologue of the Nalābhyudaya the Śutradhāra expressly refuses to give the name of the author, for it is not a mantra to name its Rṣi, where it must be given.

The superscript on the Ms. of the Dāmaka reads it as the Dāmaka-prahasana. There is nothing in it which bears out the characteristics of that species of drama; hence we simply call it Dāmaka. It has a prologue and a Bharatavākyya and no mention is made of its author. The play consists of one act divided into two scenes. In the first, Dāmaka, a servant of Kṛṣṇa, sympathises with Kṛṣṇa and condemns him for his obstinacy and ambition when he was about to start for the abode of Paraśurāma. His advice or admonition was ineffective. Further on he describes the beautiful āśrama of the sage at length. He makes his exit. Paraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa enter and the latter requests him to teach him all astras. The sage refuses to teach anything to a Kṣatriya. Kṛṣṇa says he is a Brāhmin and not a Kṣatriya. The Bharatavākyya closes the play.
The description of Paraśurāma’s abode appears to be a patch-work of fine phrases culled from the dramas of Bhāsa and Mahendravikrama. The conversation between Paraśurāma and Karṇa was borrowed in fact from Karṇabhaṭṛa, where Karṇa relates to Śalya his ill-fated pupilship under Paraśurāma. In the prologue of our drama the Śūtradhāra says to Naṭī that they have to please the audience of the court of King Kāmpilya, the ruler of the city of Brahmadatta, where the humourous blundering of inversion, viz., the court of king Brahmadatta, the ruler of Kāmpilya, the city was, he says, caused by the charms of Naṭī’s face. Here both the idea and expression were taken from the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Avimāraka. One has to infer from this prologue that the drama was played before Brahmadatta, the ruler of the Kāmpilya. The mention of the story of Brahmadatta by the Vidūṣaka in the Svapnavāsavadatta also supports it. But Brahmadatta of Kāmpilya married the aunts of Viśvāmitra and he was older than Karṇa, the hero of the drama. If this anachronism does not stand in the way, we shall be happy to carry our playwright, Bhāsa even to a date anterior to the father of poetry, Vālmiki himself. Dāmaka’s uneasiness in spite of good royal attendance upon him was due to Karṇa’s indifferance to his valuable advice. The description of this mental attitude resembles both in thought and expression the speech of Vasan-taka in the Svapnavātaka and a remarkable passage is found in the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra.

एतो एतो दुष्कुलुरे यूक्तमंगमभं कपालं गहिः धावको। ताशीए पुच, कहिं गमिदशशिः। इमिणा पल्लेणा दुन्तापि से भाविर्तसं।।....दुष्कुलुरे धावको जो एतो बुको अ तु--अहिं भीमकर्णपत युक्तको विभ।

In spite of the large extraction of expression from several dramas the play as a whole preserves an individuality and it may be ascribed without hesitation to the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta, the Avimāraka, the Karṇabhaṭṛa and the Ćūraudatta. Regarding the portions borrowed from the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra one is non-plussed to venture an opinion. For Mahendra wrote a number of dramas as known from his inscription of Manaṇḍūr, only two of which, the Bhagavādajjuka and the Mattavilāsa are extant and they possess perfect individuality. We must hesitate to attribute plagiarism to Mahendra and we confess our inability to appreciate the editor of Bhāsa’s dramas in branding Kālidāsa and others who are considered by him as raiders on the beauties of Bhāsa. If the thirteen dramas already published could be the production of a single author—may be Bhāsa, Ćāndraka or Sudraka—the Dāmaka must also take a seat in the list.

The Traivikrama is a play of unique character. It is in fact only a prologue where the Śūtradhāra pointing to a picture of Bali and Vāmana as exhibited in the famous Trivikramāvatāra relates the
encounter of Vāmana and Bāli. She is eager to hear it. The story is narrated in noble sentiment and the Bharatavākyya closes the play. Now if this is the main plot then there is no prologue and the form is devoid of all action and is no better than mere narration. But the expression is powerful and resembles Bhāsa's at his best. This play has been mentioned in a work called Śākuntalaśaracānā where one more play of Bhāsa's type has been cited which is not yet available to us. Its name is Candalāramāyaṇa.

The assigning of the thirteen dramas by their editor to a single author is due to the common expressions, common form of prologue and the common ending in several dramas. They are ascribed to Bhāsa because the Svapnavāsavadatta goes in the name of Bhāsa according to Rājaśekhara. Three or four verses are found quoted by Vāmana and others. Kautiṭya gives a verse found in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. We shall examine these statements in the light of the new discoveries.

With regard to the beginning of the benediction after Nāudi, the same feature prevails in a host of dramas whose authorship is clearly known, viz., the Padmaprabhṛtaka of Śūdraka, the Udbhayābhīrīrīkā of Vararuci, the Dhūrtavīṭa of Īśvarasena, the Bhagavadajjuka of Mahendra, the Kaumudimahotsava of Vijjika, the Āścaryacūḍāmanī of Śaktibhadra, the Saugandhikāpaharana of Nilakantha, the Vināvāsavadatta of Śūdraka and the Nalābhhyudaya of an unknown author. The common Bharatavākyya which speaks of Rājasihma raises a presumption whether these dramas have anything to do with the Pallava kings Sihmaśīnu or his son Mahendra. Rājasihma was a common title of the Pallavas and the epithet is found in Daṇḍin’s Avantisundari where he mentions Sihmaśīnu. The verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from the Svapnavāsavadatta is not found in the available Svapna, and the scholars like Bhoja, Kuntala, and Abhinavagupta are very reliable when they mention any name. The verse from Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa given by Cāṇakya is said by its commentator, Miśra Madhavayajña as taken from Manuniti.

मनुनीतत्वपीति | मनुतत्तत्त्वाः पुराणेकचीत्थः |

Thus Kautiṭya himself gives the source. Manuniti may be caksusīya available in Malabar.

It means that both Kautiṭya and Bhāsa must have had recourse to the same original. This fact will debilitate the only argument for the priority of Bhāsa over Kautiṭya. The other arguments advanced by Bhāsa’s editor may be useful in seconding rather than in introducing a resolution. The term Svapnavāsavadatta has been defined by Bhoja in Śrūgāraprakāśa (Prakāśa—12.)
TWO MORE DARMAS OF BHÄSA.

स्वप्रवासवद्वे पद्मावतीस्वस्थः दशा राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः
तत्स्या एव शयनिथिः सुभवाप् वासवद्वारा च स्वप्रवासस्थे दृशीः
स्वप्रायमानस्थ वासवद्वारामानवभाषे | स्वप्रायमेन चेह स्वापो वा
स्वप्रदर्शनं वा स्वापाविलं वा विवशिष्टम् ||

This definition perfectly agrees with the plot of the printed drama. Sārdātanaya, a reputed author on Alāṅkāra, of 1150 A.D. says of
the Svapnavāsavadatta:

स्वप्रवासवद्वार्यस्मृदारङ्गमबन्तु ।
आच्छिन्द्यभूपांग्रायतनातेर्वी मागाधिकारे ॥

न्यस्ता यतलक्षणायासो मुखसान्विरियं भवेन ।
न्यासस्त्र च प्रतिमुखं समुद्रद्रोह उदाहरतः ॥

पद्मावत्या सुभव वीर्यं विशेषवकविभूषितम् ।
जीवन्त्वात्तिमेतत्र ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ॥

उत्क्रिघरेण संवेदिगं वीजोज्जितम भार्तिनम् ।
एधिवासस्वहे च कामसमार्थि दृशते ॥

सहायस्यितहेवेकर्प्राप्यायनस्त्र गवेषणम् ।
दृशेनस्वरूपानालायेरस्त्रान्तं स्वप्नविद्याधरस्त्रम् ॥

चिरप्रसुत: कामे ते वीणया प्रतिबाधित: ।
तां तु देवीं न पद्यामि यस्या चोष्टवती प्रिया ॥

कि ते भूय: प्रियं कुष्टिमिति वायवधतनोघ्यते ।
तमनुदिशिष्टास्थिरमित्याहुभर्तादयः ॥

Here five points of unity are given among which, the fourth, a verse,
is found verbatim and the first is in the plot itself. The last is a negative
feature. The second and the third, that is, that Udayana looked into the
face of Padmāvatī with the charming facial mark where the dexterity of
Vāsavadatta's hand was visible to him and he exclaims that she was not
dead and in the next he stops her from going out of the Samudragūha in
a pitiful tone. These are not found in the extant drama. This absence
lends colour to the theory of some Malabar scholars that Bhāsa's original
work was either condensed or refitted by the Śākyars, a sect of professional
players in Malabar. Our Dāmaka will support the same theory though I
cannot accept it without further evidence.

In the Vināvāsavadatta of Śūdraka the sixth act seems to contain
an under-plot or a sub-drama exhibited on the stage in the presence of
Udayana and Vāsavadatta. The verse of that sub-drama, that is, nūndī
bears strong resemblance with the *nūndī verse of Maithyamavyāyoga and
even the last verse exhibits Bhāsa's rare alliterative tendency. This
cannot be explained without assuming that Śūdraka has some hand in
their productions either as a patron or author. To ascribe the Vināvāsava-
datta to Bhāsa is a daring step, for in style and thought it differs from
the series of Bhāsa if not superior to any of them. The first verse of it
is found quoted under Śūdraka.

In conclusion we have to suspend our final opinion about the
authorship of all these dramas coming out of the perishing śrītāla leaves
of Malabar, which is still the best repository of the only Indian treasure
which makes Indiā, until more tangible evidences come forth.

*विश्वंशज्यङ्गतान्तः: स पादो: योऽप्राचितः सद्धितिक्रियंगत्रातुम्।
कापि प्रविष्टारात्राणिरालघासे वैत्यंक्रमम् इवास्मबसागरसः॥
चतुर्धिमञ्जलिमयम्बरांफलमभविष्यस्तातिशानिनिम्।
चिरसंतुनुषो हंताहितां हिमागिरिविनम्ययोगां धराम्॥
"THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DHVANIKĀRIKĀS"

BY

MR. A. SANKARAN, B.A., (HONS.), MADRAS

The Dhvanyāloka, printed in the Kāvyamalā, consists of some basic kārikās and prose comments thereon called Vṛtti. It is accepted that the author of the Vṛtti is the great Kāshmirian poet and critic Ānandavardhana, but the Kārikās have been of doubtful authorship. On the basis of the apparent distinction between Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra occasionally made by Abhinavagupta, the eminent commentator on the Dhvanyāloka, (See pp. 1, 12, 59, 60, 123, etc.) Dr. Buhler and the learned editors of the work, conjectured that the Kārikās should have been written by one different from Ānandavardhana, the author of the Vṛtti. Professors Jacobi and Keith and Dr. De support this contention, and the last of them further suggests that Abhinavagupta gives readings of some Kārikās different from those of the Vṛttikāra. (See Kāvyālokalocana IV, Dr. De, Calcutta University pp. 3, 23, f.n. 15 and 16.) It is attempted here to prove on the basis of very reliable evidences that the Kārikās also were written by none other than Ānandavardhana himself.

Here, two relevant texts from the Abhinava-bhāratī—an erudite Commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta—may be cited.


2) एतमेवार्थ सम्यगान्नीत्वर्धन्याचार्यर्गोत्तम (न्यूपकारसः) समीक्ष्य (विबृतकारसः) तिष्ठतान् क्रमेन इत्यादिना प्रन्यसन्नेत्यसं सोवाह्रणे तदब्रवर्गे विस्तरतो व्याख्यातमस् Vol. II, p. 385.

In the first text, Ānandavardhana is represented to have taken some suggestions from Bharata regarding the suggestiveness of words and their Components and put them down as सुमिष्टवचन etc. This सुमिष्टवचन etc. begins a kārikā of the Dhvanyāloka (III, 16 & Page 153) and nowhere in the Vṛtti of that work does this expression occur. Now, the same Abhinavagupta who is relied upon to establish the difference between Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra unmistakably assigns the authorship of the kārikā to Ānandavardhana. In the second text also, Abhinava refers to Ānandavardhana as discussing fully the place of alaṅkāras in poetry and expressing his well considered views on the subject in the two texts which
begin thus (i) समालयविनिवेचितः व्यक्तिकारकवर्गः II, 18. and विवेचात्यात्त्वने II, 19. These excerpts are from the Kārikās of the Dhvanyāloka p. 88; and as if to clear any doubt regarding their source, Abhinava distinctly expresses that to be the Sahādayāloka—another name of the Dhvanyāloka—and he incidently mentions his own Commentary thereon called the Lōcana where he too has fully expatiated on that subject.

In addition to this strong testimony of Abhinava to Ānandavardhana’s authorship of the Kārikās, there are many other evidences in the Dhvanyāloka itself which distinctly favour the above view. On pp. 130, and 220 of the Lōcana, Abhinava makes the following remarks ‘एवं कारिकां व्यस्याय...आह परिवर्तित’ (P. 130) एवं व्यस्यायम् निहृत्...आह प्रधानतिः (P. 219-20). In the Sanskrit language, the suffix क्वा or ल्यू is used in this manner (see Pāṇini III, 4. 21 and VII, 1-37). When two actions performed by a single agent are desired to be conveyed, the suffix क्वा or ल्यू is added to that root which refers to the prior action e.g. मुक्तच्या ब्रजति, व्यास्याय स्बपिति. Similarly, in the above extract, the agent of ‘व्यस्याय’ or ‘निहृत्’ should be the same as the agent of ‘आह’. Now the agent of ‘व्यस्याय’ expounds i.e. he is the Vṛttikāra that explains everything. The agent of आह says or states. What does he state? स्तुति etc. and प्रवर्तन etc. which are two Kārikās III.2, and III.42, that is, he is the Kārikākāra. Pāṇini’s rule quoted above requires these agents, Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra to be identical.

Further, Abhinava comments on आनन्द देवनाथनाथतां प्रतिप्रति (Dhvanyā- loka P. 11) thus: आनन्द देवनाथनाथतां नामाः तेन स एव आनन्दवर्धनायायाः एततःच्छाद्यागरां सहस्रसहस्यापि प्रतिप्रति देभावत्वनवजन्तया स्तुतिः सदां सदिदं गच्छवित भाव: Abhinava here interprets Ānandavardhana as having incidentally inscribed his own name so that he might be ensnared for ever in the hearts of all intelligent critics for expounding this Science to them. Such an act on the part of Ānandavardhana will be a vain arrogation if he has not been the first exponent of the theory of Dhvani. Again, Ānandavardhana expressly claims to have been the originator of this theory and that thereby he has laid all learned men under a deep debt of gratitude to him. P. 144.

इतिकार्यायिवेकवो यों चेतकाल्पकालितिविवाही।
सुरभिरुक्तत्सारसात्मदुप्रयो न विस्मये।]

--Note here अस्तुप्रयो न विस्मये: Moreover, in the opening kārikā a promise is held out that the writer would expound the nature of Dhvani.
for the pleasure of Sahdayas and this promise is not stated to have been fulfilled in the last kārikā as might naturally be expected, but it is done so only in the last verse of the Vṛtti. Ānanda who inscribes his name in the last verse further takes credit for having carried out the resolve made in the first kārikā, viz., the exposition of Dhvani—the most real and striking characteristic of poetry. He also states that there was but a sparkling of the theory of Dhvani in the minds of wise men before him. Had the author of the Kārikās been different from Ānanda, the above remarks, in the face of the numerous Kārikās, should certainly be a gross perversion of truth and an unwarranted arrogation of originality which the meanest of men would not be capable of. Far be it from Ānandavardhana, the great poet critic who is so very scrupulous and generous as to abstain from mentioning the faults of poets even where they actually exist.

Above all, the literary tradition is in complete accord with the view that Ānanda was the author of the Kārikās also. Kuntaka in his वक्तौस्वरूपकीवर्तित pp. 69, 70, quotes the verse ताला जा अस्ति etc. of Ānandavardhana (Dhvani p. 62) and says that Dhvanikāra has clearly explained the suggestiveness and the suggested sense therein. Kuntaka lived only a little more than a century after Ānanda and he was also a Kashmirian. He distinctly identifies the Dhvanikāra, that is, the author of the Kārikās with Ānanda. Mahimabhaṭṭa, a younger contemporary of Kuntaka and Abhinava, cites the Kārikās and the prose vṛttis under the name of Dhvanikāra (Vyaktiviveka, pp. 1, 11, etc.) thus identifying the author of both. Kśemendra a pupil of Abhinava and a great poet and critic quotes the Dhvanikārikā विरामालाविरामावं विरामावं etc., (III 24, p. 172) in his Aucityavicāracarā (p. 134) in the name of Ānandavardhana. Mammatā and all the writers on poeties that came after him do not at all discriminate between Dhvanikāra and Ānanda. He is indeed a bold man who, knowing this unbroken and unanimous tradition, would complacently brush it aside and remark that these writers completely confuse between the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Surely there is no confusion in them. It is only imposed from outside to suit an untenable theory.

Again, prepossessed with this distinction between Vṛttikāra and Kārikākara Dr. De has misunderstood a passage of Abhinava and he imagines that Abhinava reads the Kārikā differently from Ānanda—a procedure that would certainly favour the above distinction. (See S. K. De. Kāvyālokalocana. Chap.IV. Intro. P. 3. Text P. 23, F.n. 15 & 16.) Let me cite the two texts.

अवस्थादिविमिश्रणानां बाण्यानां विनिवेशनां ।

चतुर्दशिंच भाक्

भुतेजी पद्यते खलशे न तत्तत्त्वयमपौषिकतम् ॥
Abhinava comments on this thus:

अवस्थाधिविभिन्नां वाच्यानां विनिमित्तं।
सृजने द्यृष्टे लक्ष्ये ततुभावितसाध्यायत॥

इति कारिका। अन्यस्तु ग्रन्थः मध्योपस्कारः अत्र पादन्त्रयमनूस चतुर्थ-पादार्थः अपूर्वेतयादिभियते तबित्यादि । Locana IV, p. 23.

The term उपस्कार means that which supplies an ellipsis. Ānanda is in the habit of supplying these ellipses to many of the kārikās. Being a poet, his words occasionally come out in metrical form. One such upaskāra is न तच्छवसिक्तिपूर्णिस्व which, being written along with the Kārikās in the palm leaf manuscripts used by the editors, is evidently mistaken by them for a portion of the Kārikā and treated by them as such in the printed text. Probably had व्यवस्थिततां ब्राह्मण... been in the form of a quarter of a verse, they would have included that also in the kārikā. Abhinava, fully anticipating this probable error, clearly indicates here what the kārikā is and what the upaskāra is as he does elsewhere. But the learned editors of the work may be excused, for they had no access at that time to Abhinava’s commentary on this chapter, and where they had it, they were careful in reading the text correctly, e.g., See p. 118 Locana तासामेवालंकारित्वादिभिविकालिस्व परिवर्तीं-माणकारिकोपस्कारः. Here तासामेवालंकारित्वादिभिविकालिस्व is in the form of a quarter of a verse, but correctly understanding Abhinava, they have treated it as part of the vṛtti. Dr. Dā, imagining that what is printed in bold type is invariably the Kārikā as known to Ānanda-Vardhana, discovers a difference between the readings of Ānanda and Abhinava. Surely Ānanda did not prepare the Nirṇaya Sāgar Edition. The Kārikā text has to be determined with reference to Abhinava’s comments and it should be as given in the Locana IV, page 23. Dr. Dā misunderstood the Locana and found it convenient to use it in favour of his theory.

When there are so many evidences which clearly identify Ānanda with Dhvanikāra, the only evidence which apparently favours the opposite view—viz., the distinction occasionally made by Abhinava between Vṛtti-kāra and Kārikā-kāra—loses its force; and it has to be explained differently. Probably Abhinava desired, in order to facilitate his comments, to keep the Kārikās distinct from the Vṛtti, and he achieved it by referring to their author in his two capacities as Vṛtti-kāra and Kārikā-kāra. This procedure of first stating the fundamental principles in short Kārikās and then commenting elaborately on them is quite common among writers of that period. Kuntaka, Kṣemendra,
Mammaṭa, Udayanācārya and other writers adopt this method of exposition. And if they refer in the Vṛtti to additional facts not touched upon in the Kārikās, it would be far from truth to suggest on that basis any difference between the author of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti. Further the habit of splitting their own Kārikās and commenting on them in parts has also been in vogue among writers like Mammaṭa and Udayanācārya. It would on the other hand argue the identity of authorship as the writers themselves treat these portions of the Kārikās to be headlines of paragraphs or sections in the Vṛtti.

Thus it is shown that this distinction between Ānandavardhana and Dhvanikāra rests on slender grounds, and according to the express statements of Ānanda and Abhinava together with the practice of the innumerable writers on Sanskrit Poetics it is undoubtedly proved that the author of the Dhvanikārikās is none other than the great Kashmirian poet-akritic Ānandavardhanācārya.
A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRIMETER VERSES
OF THE RĀMĀYĀNA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY

PROF. K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., LUCKNOW.

Sanskrit literature, from the Vedas down to the works belonging to
the last stages in its history, presents a large variety of metres through
which widely different modes of thought and feeling have found expres-
sion. These metres have their own history and attempts have been
made to trace it. The whole body of Vedic literature is written in
dimeter or trimeter verses in which the number of syllables and not the
order in which they follow one another, that is to say, the rhythm is the
main consideration. Stanzas are composed chiefly of four verses; but
those having less or more are not rare. The chief characteristic of
Vedic metre, however, is the lack of fixity in the rhythm of each verse.
Ancient Sanskrit writers on prosody have also taken the number of syl-
lables in each verse as their basis for the classification of Vedic metres.
They have not attempted to detect any rhythm in Vedic poetry, while
they knew that rhythm was the characteristic of later Sanskrit poetry.
Where there is indefiniteness and lack of fixity in Vedic poetry, namely, in rhythm and in the number of verses composing each stanza
there is fixity and rigidity in classical poetry. Not merely is the number
of syllables in each verse quite unalterable, but the rhythm is also fixed.
Stanzas are always formed of four verses. The chief characteristic of
classical poetry, however, is that verses have gone beyond the dimeter
and trimeter systems. The number of syllables in each verse can be
anything between eight and thirty or even more, a striking fact as
compared with Vedic poetry.

To find out by what processes and under what influences such
remarkable changes were brought about is the task of the historian of
Sanskrit metres. As was remarked before, attempts have been made to
trace the development of Sanskrit prosody by more than one scholar, but,
so far, Vedic metre has been more carefully studied than the metres of later
times. Following upon the highly interesting articles of Oldenberg on Vedic
Metre in his "Die Hymnen des Ṛg-Veda" Vol. I, came Arnold's "Vedic
Metre" which is a very detailed study of the subject which the title
itself announces. Arnold's work has a double interest. Firstly, it is an
attempt to throw light on the rhythm of Vedic metres, an element not
recognised by ancient Sanskrit writers. Arnold believes to have discovered
both in the dimeter and trimeter verses of the Veda certain metrical
preferences and that these metrical preferences have their history within
the period covered by the Veda. Secondly, Arnold has attempted
chronologically to arrange the Vedic mantras on the basis of their
rhythm. He believes to have found out the history of the rhythm of the
mantras and asserts that it is possible to assign a particular mantra to an earlier or later stage of development according to its internal rhythm. No doubt the results achieved by Arnold have not met with a chorus of approval from scholars, chiefly because of their indefiniteness; but the fact remains that they are interesting and well worthy of our consideration.

Not unlike the Veda are the epics, chiefly the Mahābhārata, in that they are the creations of an age and not of a particular time and author. Students of Sanskrit literature know the difficulty of using the Mahābhārata as evidence in their researches into Indian antiquity. As the Mahābhārata is obviously the creation of a long period of time, extending probably over centuries, it is necessary, if possible, to arrange its different parts chronologically and if that is not now possible for the whole epic, to do so wherever it is possible. In this attempt at arranging the different parts chronologically or picking out the older portions from the later ones, it is possible to adopt many guides: language, style, subject-matter, ideas etc.; but we hold that metre also ought to tell us something about the age of a particular passage. It would be desirable to do for the Mahābhārata what Arnold has done for the Vedas, except that more definiteness in the results should be aimed at.

The task is an immense one and will necessarily carry one far beyond the epics into other fields of Sanskrit literature, nay, even to Pāli and Prākrit literature. The metres of the Mahābhārata have indeed been studied before, along with those of other works, by Dr. Kühnan in his "Die Tristub-Jagati-Familie. Ihre rhythmische Beschaffenheit und Entwicklung." The results achieved by Dr. Kühnan in connection with the history of Sanskrit metre are highly interesting and have been accepted by scholars. But in Dr. Kühnan's work, the study of the metres of the Mahābhārata, is only part of a much wider study, covering the trimeter verses of the whole period of Sanskrit literature, as well as of Pāli literature, no doubt a very ambitious work. The present paper has no such pretensions. It is only an attempt to record a few observations concerning the trimeter verses of the Mahābhārata, with the hope that they may form the starting point of a more detailed and thorough research in the future by scholars who have more leisure than the author of the present paper.

The epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are for the most part written in anustup, i.e., in dimeter verses, which are developments of the dimeter verses of the Vedas. No doubt these epic dimeter verses have their own peculiarity and if studied with patience and care, will yield results that will be of use in determining the chronology of the different parts of the epics, especially, of the Mahābhārata. But we have had, through lack of time and leisure, to exclude
them from our survey. All that we will do here is to present a few facts concerning the trimeter verses of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Though both the epics are composed chiefly in dimeter verses, there are a great number of trimeter verses in both. But whereas in the Rāmāyaṇa, they are all found at the end of sargas, thereby conforming to the general practice of changing the metre at the end of sargas, no such rule is observed in the bigger epic. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the rule is to have at the end of a sarga, composed mainly or entirely of dimeter verses, one trimeter stanza, usually Vamśasthabila or Indravajrā. Stanzas having more than one trimeter stanza at the end or having no such stanza at all are not however uncommon. Sargas composed entirely in trimeter verses are also found here and there in the Sundara and Yuddhakāndas, but they are very few in number, only about five in each. The following table will show at a glance the total number of sargas in each Kānda and the number of sargas having final trimeter stanzas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Kānda</th>
<th>Total number of sargas</th>
<th>Sargas having final trimeter stanzas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bālakānda</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayodhyākānda</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āranyakānda</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiṣkindhākānda</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundrakānda</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuddhakānda</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These trimeter verses are distinguished by their regularity and close adherence to the rules regulating classical prosody. There are four verses in each stanza and they are absolutely symmetrical in rhythm and in the number of syllables composing them. The result is that they can all be brought under the well-known metres of the classical period, as the following analysis of the trimeter verses of the Ayodhyākānda will show.

**TABLE II.**

**AYODHYĀKĀnda.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of metre</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vamśasthā</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upajāti</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upendravajrā</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indravajrā</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āryā</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRIMETER VERSES OF RĀMĀYĀNA AND MAHĀBHĀRATA.

As the only difference between Upajāti, Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā is that, in the first, all the verses do not begin with a long syllable, and in the second, all begin with a long syllable and in the third, all begin with a short syllable, they might, for all practical purposes, be considered as one. This would mean that there are only two groups of trimeter verses in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, the Indravajrā-Upendra-vajrā-Upajāti group and the Vamśaśāstra group. We have no doubt that an analysis of the final stanzas of the other Kāṇḍas will yield practically the same result.

From the above-mentioned facts, it appears that the stanzas of the Rāmāyāna partake of the regularity and symmetry of rhythm of the classical metres, while they preserve at the same time something of their ancient character in that they remain still within the dimer and trimeter systems.

If we now turn to the Mahābhārata, we find a different state of things. Here again, the main body of the epic is written in dimer verses, but in each one of the 18 parvans that go to make up the great epic, there are many groups of trimeter stanzas which form an interesting subject of study. Even a superficial glance at them is enough for one to notice that they have not been introduced in obedience to the tradition of changing the metre at the end of a sarga. They usually form whole adhyāyas by themselves, while there are a great many which come in the middle of adhyāyas. There is however one feature and that, an important one, in which these verses resemble those of Rāmāyāna, namely that they remain within the dimer-trimmer systems. Well, now, we consider this an important point, for according to us, this is a sign of antiquity in Sanskrit literature. A composition in which the verses invariably remain within this system must belong, if not to the Vedic period, at least to a period in which the distinct features of the classical period had not yet developed themselves. Such, for instance, is the Kathopanishad, in which out of a total of 118 stanzas, 55 are composed of dimer verses and 63 of trimeter verses. In the same way, in the Mundakopanishad, the verses are dimer or trimeter, and never contain more than twelve syllables each. To take an illustration from Pāli literature, 49 out of the 423 stanzas of the Dhammapada are composed of trimeter verses and the rest of dimer verses. This is enough to show that a composition, while not being Vedic, must be considered to be old, if all its poetry comes within the dimer-trimmer systems.

While they thus resemble the trimeter verses of the Rāmāyāna, they have their own distinct features. They are distributed throughout the epic in groups. These groups constitute one or more adhyāyas and are preceded and followed by the usual dimer verses. So placed, they become striking and one begins to wonder why it is that they all appear in groups. No doubt there are many such stanzas which do not
form separate adhāyāyas, but are inserted in the middle or at the end of the adhāyāyas composed mainly of dimeter verses.

Another interesting feature of these stanzas of the Mahābhārata is that they can be divided into two main classes. The first is composed of regular and symmetrical verses of the Rāmāyaṇa type and the other of irregular and unsymmetrical verses, akin to those found in some of the Upaniṣads and in Pāli literature. But it is very rarely, if ever, that these two kinds of verses are mixed in one and the same group. This naturally suggests their independent origin. The following table will show at a glance the symmetrical and unsymmetrical groups in each parvan of the great epic. But in preparing this table, we have included only those groups which constitute separate adhāyāyas and those others which, while not forming separate adhāyāyas, are sufficiently large to justify inclusion in this table.

### TABLE III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Parvan</th>
<th>Adhāyāyas which are composed of symmetrical stanzas or in which such stanzas are found in large members</th>
<th>Adhāyāyas composed of unsymmetrical stanzas or in which such stanzas are found in large numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ādiparvan</td>
<td>19, 23, 44, 202, 203, 204.</td>
<td>1, 55, 56, 70, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sābhāparvan</td>
<td>23, 24, 25, 99, 100.</td>
<td>82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virāṭaparvan</td>
<td>9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 58, 66, 67, 73, 77.</td>
<td>38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udyogaparvan</td>
<td>1, 2, 62.</td>
<td>16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 48, 56, 59, 66, 70, 181.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhīṣmaparvan</td>
<td>22, 59, 60, 80.</td>
<td>20, 35, 85.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dronaparvan</td>
<td>50, 118, 140, 164.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnaparvan</td>
<td>21, 31 (Half)</td>
<td>4, 31 (Half) 36, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śalyaparvan</td>
<td>16, 19.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauptikaparvan</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāntiparvan</td>
<td>177, 199, 200, 286.</td>
<td>62, 63, 73, 141, 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśvamedhikaparvan</td>
<td>16, 27.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mausalaparvan</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRIMETER VERSES OF RĀMĀYANA AND MAHĀBHĀRATA.

It will be noticed from the above table that sometimes successive adhyāyas are composed of the same kind of Stanzas and it is a characteristic both of the symmetrical and the unsymmetrical variety. Take, for instance, among the unsymmetrical ones, Ādiparvan, adhyāyas 55 and 56; adhyāyas 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87; Vanaparvan, adhyāyas 112, 113, 114; Udyogaparvan, adhyāyas 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30 and so on and among the unsymmetrical ones, Vanaparvan, adhyāyas 23, 24, 25; Virāṭaparvan, adhyāyas 9, 10; 11, 12, 13 and so on. On a closer examination, it is also found that these successive adhyāyas of the same kind of trimeter verse generally treat of the same topic and that as soon as the topic comes to an end, the usual dimeter verse is resumed, and the story continued. For instance, adhyāyas 81-87 of Ādiparvan tell the story of Yayāti and adhyāya 88 commences another topic, namely, the description of Puruvamśa. Again adhyāyas 112—114, deal with the story of Rṣyaśṛṅga but adhyāya 115, with another subject, the tīrthankāra of Yudhisthīra. This can be said also of many other groups of both varieties. The fact that they are composed in a metre different from the preceding and following passages and that each of these groups seems to be devoted to the treatment of one single topic gives them a detachable character and speaks for their independent origin. It would be hazardous to say more in the present state of our investigation of the subject and we must leave the rest for a future occasion.

Note.—References are to the Nīrṇaya-Sagara Press editions of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata.
PATAÑJALI & KÄVYA LITERATURE PRESUMED BY HIM

BY

MR. K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A. HONS., MADRAS.

The references that strike a reader of Patañjali’s work called the “Mahābhāṣya” most and often are those relating to the story of the Mahābhārata. It is a point worthy of note that Patañjali quotes not from the epic of the Mahābhārata but from works relating to the story of the Mahābhārata.

In commenting upon a Vārtika to Pāṇini’s Sūtra III.2.3 (Page 119 Vol. II Bom. S.S.) he gives this sentence in counter illustration:—

जयान कंस चित्र वायुदेवः।

Here a question may be raised as to whether it is a quotation at all. But the doubt may be cleared by a reference to an illustration in the same context:—अखिंचन्वनसाक्रेषितम् (Ibid) which could not be mistaken for a quotation at all. The sentence under discussion betrays a certain element of poetry in it and the word कंस चित्र would be meaningless without a previous narration. So not only is this a quotation but it must be a Pāda of a verse in the Upendra-vajra metro. We may even go to the length of inferring that such a verse should form part of a literary work similar to the Śiśupālavadha of Magha, based on the story of the Mahābhārata.

In another place while commenting upon a Vārtika to Pāṇini’s sūtra III.1-26, (Page 36 Vol. II Bom. S. S.) Patañjali says:—

इह तु कर्म वर्तमानकालता | कंसं धारणति बलि बन्ध्ययतीति चिरहि कंसे चित्रचंद्रे च बले। अत्रापि युक्त कथम्। ये ताबदेते शौभिका (another R शोभका) नामिते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं धारणति, प्रत्यक्षं बलि बन्ध्ययति इति। चित्रचंद्र कथम्। चित्रचंद्रपूर्णी निपतिताङ्ग प्रहारा दशयन्ते कंसस्य, च कृष्णस्य च (R. कंसकृष्णस्य) ||

Kaiyvya comments upon the above (Page 68, Vol. II Benares Edn.) thus:—

शौभिकाति | कंसाचारुकारिणां नटानां व्यास्यानोपाध्याया:। कंसाचु-कारी नट: सामाजिकः कंसचुच्चा गृह्व:। कंसो सापेचे विचक्षितः। ||
Here from the context one can easily infer—as has been done by scholars—that Patañjali refers to a dramatic performance based on the story of the Mahābhārata. In the same text it may be seen that Patañjali refers also to the paintings relating to the same story.

Incidentally a remark with reference to the exact significance of the above passage on the development of the Samskṛt drama made by A. B. Keith in his latest work on Samskṛt Drama deserves our consideration. Referring to Kaiyāṭa’s explanation of the word शैलिक: he says (P. 33.) that the comment is frankly obscure. But it seems to me that Kaiyāṭa tries to be very plain. He clearly differentiates the शैलिक: from the Naṭas or the actors. Even independently of Kaiyāṭa, we can boldly assert that the शैलिक: are different from the Naṭas by the fact of the use of the causative. Bhārṭhrāri clearly says in his Vākyapadāya that the actors are the agents of शैलिक:ā. We can go even further and say with Sylva: Levi that शैलिक: were those who taught the actors—probably the modern conductors and to say that शैलिक: performed is a clear misinterpretation of the passage under discussion, and one may even venture to differ from Keith with regard to his doubt whether the speech-element of the actors was present during Patañjali’s time. For the words शब्दमन्यासां वद्यते prove that with regard to शैलिक: speech and action were present while with regard to Gaṇthikas speech alone was present, and we may say that there is a clear indication by Patañjali of the fact that there were present the two elements—action and speech—in the drama of his time.

Coming to the subject a careful consideration of the above references together with those to the chief personages in the story of the Mahābhārata Pānini IV-3.98, 168, and VIII-3.95. will lead one to infer that the Mahābhārata was well known in the days of Pānini, and dramatic as well as Kāvyā works came to be written about it in the days of Patañjali. It may be remarked with regard to the latter aspect of the matter that paintings and dramatic representations of a story are not possible except on a thorough and accurate knowledge of the details of the same, and such dramatic representations necessarily presuppose a literature dealing with the story which those dramatic representations exhibit. This supposition is strengthened by Patañjali’s own words in the same context:—

प्रसिद्धकोषदः कथम्। यत्र शब्दमन्यासां वद्यते।।

This is the Reading accepted by नागिन।।

(शब्दकोषम) वेदपि प्रसिद्धावचाचन्त: कुस्वपालाचार्ये प्रमिका नाम तेवपि॥

Here Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣīta interprets Patañjali as evidently referring to the reading of a work relating to a Purāṇic story in a public place where
orthodox people have assembled and the theological aspect of such a reading as now popularly understood is to absolve the bearers of their sins. In this instance the story should be that of the Mahābhārata and the work must be the epic of the Mahābhārata in some shape or other.

Scholars like Hopkins take their stand on Pāṇini’s references to the personages in the Mahābhārata and arrive at the conclusion that the epic of the Mahābhārata should have had its nucleus before Pāṇini. Macdonell on the authority of a reference in the Āśvalāyana’s Gṛhya Sūtras to a Bharata and a Mahābhārata the exact significance of which is doubted by some scholars premises that the epic should have had its origin about the 5th Cent. B.C. But C.V. Vaidya in his criticism of the Mahābhārata asserts on the authority of some evidences relating to the history of Astronomy that the epic should have assumed its present shape between three to one hundred B.C., which is also not universally accepted. But we on the authority of Patañjali’s references—specially the one above quoted—together with Pāṇini’s references, can arrive at the conclusion that the epic of the Mahābhārata in some shape or other should have been at least three centuries old to have gained such a widespread popularity as to be considered sacred and as to be incorporated in dramatic works and paintings during Patañjali’s time. Taking into consideration the date of Patañjali and the accepted date for Pāṇini we fix the date of the nucleus of the epic of the Mahābhārata about 450 B.C.

Another historically noteworthy quotation by Patañjali is:—
“वर्तनु संप्रवद्वन्ति कूक्कुटा:” II (Vol. II, P. 165. N. S. Edn.)

This extract is identified by scholars as the last Pāda of the following verse quoted by Kṣemendra in his Āucityavicārācarcā and attributed to Kumāradāsa:—(Kāvyamālā I, P. 244.)

यथा कुमारदासस्य—
अथ विज्ञाहीति दृढोपगूढं यज्ञ नवसंगमभीष वद्भम्।
अरुणकरोऽभाष एष वर्तते वर्तनु संप्रवद्वन्ति कूक्कुटा:।।

This may lead to the inference that Patañjali should have been later than Kumāradāsa which is yet to be proved. We knew Kumāradāsa only as the author of Jānākikiharana which is only incompletely available in print and completely available only in manuscript form. In the Jānākikiharana as known to us the verse quoted above is not found and the author of the verse, like several other quotations by Patañjali is yet to be identified.

Another interesting quotation is:—(Vol. II, P. 167 Bom. S.S.)
“काठ: पचति भतानि काठ: संहरति प्रजा:” II
This extract can be identified as the one half of a verse quoted by the commentator to Vātsyāyana’s Kāma Sūtras in his commentary called the Jayamaṅgala:—Page 22 Chowk. S.S.)

यथा चाहु:—

काछ: पचाति भूतानि काछ: संहरति प्रजा: ॥

काछ: सुशेषु जागर्ति काछो हि दुर्गतिक्रमः ॥ इति ॥

Unfortunately for us the commentator does not tell us the work from which he quotes or whom he quotes.

There are many other quotations by Patañjali in his work which go to show that classical literature of the dramatic and other types should have reached a considerable stage of development in his time.
II.—Avesta in Relation to Sanskrit.
ARTAKHSIR BAPAK—FOUNDER OF THE
SASANIAN ZOROASTRIAN EMPIRE OF IRAN.

BY

DR. F. N. DABUWALLA, LL.D. (LONDON), B.A., LL.B. (BOMBAY),
Barrister-at-Law.

The following paper gives a critical account on the subject of political,
social and religious condition of Iran during the Sasanian Sovereignty of
its illustrious founder Artakhsir Bapak. This subject is of very great
interest to those who take interest in ancient history of Persia. The
recent discoveries of rock inscriptions made by recent travellers and
scholars have opened the eye of the world about the greatness and
eminence that prevailed during the beginning of the Sasanian Empire
after its downfall and it behoves us to critically examine the materials
from the writings, inscriptions, coins and old books that are existing.

Artakshir Bapak the subject of this paper flourished after the
Achemenian Kings of this name in Armenia. The shorter form is
Artaxias. He was among the dynasts of Persia who ruled independently
during the Parthian period. One of these became the founder of the new
Persian or Sasanian Empire in 226 A.D. The Greek and Roman writers
mention only his victory over the Parthians and his wars with Rome.
The trustworthy tradition of the origin of the power from Persian sources
is preserved by the Arabian Historian Tabari. According to him he was
the second son of Bapak, the offspring of Sasanian parents after whom
the dynasty is named. Bapak was the ruler of the district of Iapaker near
Persepolis which had fallen to ruins. Many legends have been told of
his early life, and the romantic account of his adventures has been given
by Chroniulers. He had suffered much owing to independent spirit and
daring nature. His great ambition was to restore Zoroastrian civilisation
and religion in Persia and in countries which he conquered. He waged
war against Idolatry by destroying the worship of Dragon. The records
give accounts of his military achievements and triumphs in battle
against the Kurds, Medians, Parthians and Armenians. The epic of Shah
Namah by Firdusi narrates the main events of the reign of this great
monarch Bundahishm, Alberuni, Masudi contain accounts of the greatness
and goodness of this great Monarch. A genealogy of Artakhsir is given in
Bundahishm as follows:—He belonged to a priestly family of kings. His
father Susan was descended from pure Zoroastrian line of Kayanian
Monarchs. His mother was a daughter of Bapak, the frontier ruler of
Fars. Firdusi refers to Susan the fourth as the father of this hero and
as a descendant of Bahmen, son of Asfendiar. Alberuni and Masudi give chronology of this hero with some variations. According to other accounts Artakhsir was an adopted son of Bapak and we find the inscription of Artakhis' son of Bapak on coins. The Sasanian coins in Pahlvi rock inscriptions contain reference to this hero. These coins indicate that Artakhsir had been a joint ruler of Fars with his father Bapak. He assumed the Royal authority in Iran and struck coins on which we find his image surrounded by words which mean Mazdayanian, Lord Artakhsir the King of Iran. These coins were struck before he assumed the title of the Emperor. The latest coins of his reign contain an impression as Mazdayanian, Lord Artakhsir, King of Kings of Iran of spiritual origin from the Deity and on the reverse we find a fire altar with the words meaning the light of Artakhsir. The inscription on relief of Nakshe Rustam and Naksh-Rajah contain references to the father and the son. The cave inscription at Hajibad near Perseopolis refer to the chief adventures of his hero and indicate that he was called king of kings of Iran of good principles. (See Sykes's History of Persia, Vol I pages 422-429; Browne's Literary History of Persia 127-152). The inscriptions also record his great deeds of an enthronement of the great Fire of Fires in different cities, and development of the recourses necessary for the growth of priest hood and Zoroastrian religion on the one hand and of the suppression of the cruelty of noble men. The Sasanian Pahlvi literature contains accounts on the coins, and inscriptions existing with reference to his heroic efforts in spreading Zoroastrian religion and civilisation, Dinkard, Bundashan, Zandi Vohaman Yast and Madigani Chachram contain an account of the deeds of this monarch in the religious renaissance that followed his advent to the throne. From the study of Dinkard we find that Artakhsir gave very strong impetus to the studies of Mazdayanian regulations under the guidance of his high priest Totar. The old Iran Indian Greek and Roman Works were consulted with a view to get the authentic accounts of Zoroastrian faith and culture. He also took great pains to spread knowledge of calendar of seasons of the year, Geography, Astronomy, Astrology, Hygiene, and Philosophy of original creation. The king ordered correct copies of religious and scientific works to be prepared not only for the use of the Royal libraries but also for the use of the youth of his vast Empire in different cities which he had conquered. There used to be open discussions in arguments before the Royal Princes in which learned men took part with a view to show the excellence of the Zoroastrian faith and culture. The Sudgar Nash is the first book of the Zoroastrian sacred literature in which greatness of this hero is prophesied. The Zoroastrian Sovereignty is divided into seven ages which are called (1) golden (2) silver (3) copper (4) brazen (5) tin (6) steel (7) iron periods and Ahura Muzda refers to the prophet about the events which are to happen in these seven periods. According to that account Artakshir and his son Bapak are placed in the fourth period or
brazen period and are entitled to be called the destroyer of idolatry from the world. We find references to games of Chatrang and Vize Artakhshir in these records. These records appear to have been compiled in the middle of the 6th century (A.D.) by the vazir of Sasanian king Kushru the first. The Shanama of Firdusi the poet who flourished in the 10th century confirms the earlier existence and composition of earlier text. Firdusi made use of Palavi Karnama Artakhshir along with the accounts given by Arabian and Persian writers and traditions. There are also Western, Armenian and Mahomedan historians who have written on this Sasanian Epoch and a critical study of this period enables us to get an insight into the advanced state of civilization at that time. (Jackson, Travels into Persia and Dhala, Zoroastrian civilization). Sasanian Kings were regarded as Divine kings. The doctrine of Divine Right of Kings in Persia was maintained by Artakhshir Banak. This doctrine has played a great important part in the history of Europe and Asia and was accepted by various nations of the world. Passion for philosophical speculation is a characteristic feature of Persian thought. Sir John Malcolm writes "the fame of this monarch Artakhshir had spread in every direction and different states willingly sought the protection of this monarch. The Rulers of the east and west vied with one another in sending their courtiers and ambassadors to the Court of the Persian Kings. He effected evolution in this country by great statesmanship." (History of Persia, Vol. I, page 72).

This monarch had four great qualities. They were 1. True and intimate magnanimity of soul, 2. Real goodness of disposition, 3. Firmness enough to repress all who went out of their proper ranks, 4. Principles of conduct which prevented those who obeyed him from ever entertaining any fears regarding their property, their honour or their lives.

POLITICAL REFORMS.

He introduced political and military reforms. He introduced militia or enforced military service to train the youths of his empire with a view to encourage riding and use of bow and arrow. The attention was directed towards formation of religious and moral character. Learned writers and speakers were given a prominent seat of honour in his Court. Malcolm says that Artakhshir was learned and wise and was the author of two works. The Karnamabe was written by him and contains the account of his travels and enterprises. The second work contains maxims drawn from his own experience and judgment. An unjust king according to him was like a lion in the field. The rulers were commanded to place their reliance upon the Deity because under the favour and protection of God the Crown of happiness had been secured by him. Religion cannot exist without a state and a state cannot exist without religion. The throne of a king is shaken when he is unjust, when he favours mean and unqualified persons and elevates them above those who are worthy and qualified.
His advice to his son was "never forget that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable. They must sustain each other. The sovereign without a religion is a tyrant. May your administration be such as to bring on a future day the blessing of those whom God has confided to our paternal care upon both your memory and mine."

STUDY OF JURISPRUDENCE.

Those that are interested in the study of jurisprudence will find many legal concepts relating to Civil and Criminal Law. The writer of this paper desires to place a critical survey of legal ideas which can be obtained from the study of this period. Law and Religion are regarded as one whole subject in Sasanian Iran. The Jurists of the new empire look to the Avestan books as the source of law. Codification was made of the Avestan works. The work of interpreting the legal texts was given to priests who were appointed Judges in different parts of the empire and the high priest was the highest judicial authority in the land (Dinkard Vol. II, page 69). The Judges were very learned and were above corruption. Justice was done evenly to the rich and poor. The highest ecclesiastical officer administered Justice. The king was the ultimate judicial authority on earth as he was representative of God, the Divine Law giver Hormazd.

PUNISHMENT.

The punishment of death or mutilation could not be inflicted without the approval of the Emperor. The Judge has to discriminate between true and false evidence. Any insincere person is not regarded as a reliable witness (Dinkard Vol. 15, Book 8, Page 15). The rules are laid down for the number of witnesses that were required to be trustworthy.

OATHS AND ORDEALS.

In this matter oath of the parties played valuable part in a trial. A very important part in the administration of justice was played by oaths and ordeals. Ordeals of various kinds such as by water, fire, lead, are also described to assist the judge in the administration of justice. Turning to the substantive law we find a very developed form of the law of contracts.

SUBSTANTIVE LAW.

(a) LAW OF CONTRACT.

The Persians attached great importance to the binding character of promises, and the Civil Law regarded a promise as sacred and was binding. Contracts were inviolable. Mithra an angel is regarded as the deity of truth and guardian of good faith among men. Mithra means contract.
Nikadun Mesk deals with the subject of contracts, and the results that follow from proper observance, or violation of contract (Dinkard Vol. 15 Book 8, 19, 116, page 82). Contracts hold good for all persons irrespective of faith. Contracts are of various kinds, viz., 1. Hand contract; this contract is entered into by the parties putting their hands together and agreeing to fulfill certain conditions. 2. Oral contract; by word of mouth. 3. Sheep contract; in this the parties agree to forfeit to the lender the value of a sheep. 4. Ox contract was similar to sheep contract. 5. Man contract stands security for a party. 6. Land contract in which the piece of land or its evidence in value is pawned by the debtor (Vandidad 4. 1-4).

The importance of a promise is based upon religious sanction enforced by Civil sanction as well and is based upon the ethical and moral teaching of Zoroastrianism which inculcates that good word, good thought and good deed should be the basic principle of life.

(b) Law of Property.

We find ideas on ownership of property fully formed. Property of seven kinds was not accepted as a security. We find ideas which relate to succession of Law. The person who made a will should be possessed of sound disposing mind. (Dardistani Dinni translated from E. V. Text in sacred books of these Vol. 13.) If a man died intestate leaving widow, sons and unmarried daughters, the widow, receives twice as much as the sons and daughters. If any of the sons or daughters was blind or crippled, he or she was entitled to get twice as much as one son or daughter that was of sound body.

Personal Law.

The law of guardianship. The widow was the guardian of the children and property and it was the duty of the mother to maintain them. (Dardistani Dinni.)

There was a system of adoption based on religious grounds with a view to secure happiness to the deceased in the next world and also to carry on the work of management of the property of the deceased after his death. The Palbvi word Sator means an adopted son and is used for religious and civil purposes. The mother was a natural guardian of the family and the property of the deceased. In the absence of a widow other members of the family of the deceased were eligible for guardianship. The high priest also appointed a guardian in certain cases.

The institution of marriage was held in very high esteem and women occupied a high place in society and held responsible offices in the state. Mixed marriages were not countenanced. The ceremony of a Ashirvad by two priests and the
consent of guardians if the parties were under 15 years of age were necessary. Marriage was arranged by the parents by means of those who knew the families of the parties through the agency of respectable parties. There are five kinds of marriage. 1. Padasha Zan, that is the privileged wife. 2. Evakzan one, wife who was the only child of her parents. The first born child belongs to her own father. 3. Satarzan i.e. adopted wife—half the number of children belonged to the dead husband and half to the present living husband. 4. Chaker Zan, serving wife " who was a childless widow who remarried, half the number of children belong to her husband. 5. Khad Serdizan, the wife who made her choice of her husband without consulting her parents. (Love marriage)

Marriage was dissolved on the part of man on the ground of unfaithfulness of the woman; on the part of the woman for desertion and ill-treatment by the husband. Adultery on the part of the wife was a ground for divorce. Barrenness was a ground for remarriage subject to maintaining the first wife. In the Sasanian period the standard of morality was very high. The Law of family was based on honour and respect and purity of life.

There was no distinction between the law, civil and criminal as it obtains in the modern times. All breaches of prescribed law were punished as crimes. Crimes were of three kinds. 1. Revolt against God, Heresy, blasphemy 2. Crimes of the people against their king, such as treason and revolt. 3. Crimes against his fellowmen (Journal Asiatic 1894 page 524) Moral grounds were treated as crimes. Adultery was treated with severe punishment and the faithless women had their ears and nose cut off. Idolatry was punished with imprisonment (Dinkard Vol. I, page 1450, Vol. 9, page, 631). Assaults were of different kinds and each was subject to different punishment, theft and highway robbery were punished with imprisonment.

It appears from the survey of Civil Law that civilization was highly advanced. Architecture was developed and fine art flourished. There was currency in gold and silver. The law of sanitation was much advanced. Pollution of any kind was severely punished. Calender of days and months and years was also modelled on the movement of the heavenly bodies.
RUSTAM THE INDRA OF IRAN.

BY

PROF. M. A. SHUSTER, MYSORE.

As pointed out in my history of Sufism, the history of the myths of Vedic Āryans begins with the Indo-Iranian period. Most of the myths of both the Āryans and the Iranians are related either to heavenly bodies such as the sun and the moon or to natural phenomena, such as the clouds, lightning, thunder, tempest, dawn, sunset, day and night and the like. These are all described as gods with appropriate names and epithets. Sometimes they are all identified as one and the same, as in Rg. I. clxiv, 46:

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni, and he is the heavenly nobly-winged Garutmān. That which exists is one; sages call it variously, as Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan".

Sometimes the same exploits are ascribed to several deities. Also we find in later literature the same exploits and feats ascribed to certain favourite heroes bearing the same names. In the Zend Avesta, for example, the glory for slaying Azi, Vedic Abi, a dragon or an evil spirit, so personified, is sometimes given Haoma, at other times to Thrīta, or Thrētāmao-Krishaspa or Tishthria. The Avestan Azi with three mouths, three heads and thousand limbs is represented by Ferdousi as a Semitic invader of the Iranland and as having killed the great Aryan King Jamshed who is identified with Avestan Yima or Vedic Yama. The one thousand limbs of Azi are taken to represent the one thousand year's rule of Zohhk. Likewise the Iranian Haoma identical with Vedic Soma, is taken to have been a hermit prince. Accordingly Ferdousi says is Shahnama:

"Now in those days there lived a holy man "
"One of the seed of Faridun, the teacher, "
"A devotee of Kaian Grace and men, "
"One who was girded with a royal girdle. "
"And used the mountain as his place of worship "
"As being far from pleasure and from men "
"The name of that illustrious one was Hum "
"A man of prayer who shunned Society."

It is really difficult to exactly ascertain the heroes who gradually rose in the estimation of their admirers to the elevated position of heavenly dignitaries; nor is it possible to say which of the heavenly bodies is regarded as having appeared in the form of a human being. A comparative study of the myths of different branches of the same race furnishes us with sufficient material to unveil the mystery. Let us take for example the Aēvins and Indra, the most prominent deity of the Vedic
period. According to the Vedas the Aśvins are the twin sons of Vivasvat. Hence they may be regarded as the brothers of Yama who is also described as the son of Vivasvat. They are also mentioned in the Vedas as two husbands of Sūryā. Their parallels in the Avesta are the two sisters called Erenevak and Svanghavak. They are twin sisters, daughters of Vivanhvant, same as the Vedic Vivasvat, and sisters of Yima, the Vedic Yama. They are also described as the two wives of Azi and later of Thrastamon also. The latter is identified with Feridun in Shahnama. It is not possible to say what these twin brothers or sisters represent. Some say they are day and night. According to others they are heaven and earth, or sun and moon or morning and evening stars, or the dark and light portions of the dawn. In the opinion of Dr. R. Shama Sastri they are the northern and southern solstices. Some others take them to be two Aryan chiefs who for their holy and benevolent acts were deified later. In the Avesta they are connected with Azi Dahaka and Thrastamon. When the latter was preparing to drive out Azi, he offered a sacrifice to the river Ardvi Sura Anahita. This is stated in the Avesta, as follows:

To her did Thrastamon the heir of the Valient Athwya clan, saying "Grant me this, O good most benefic Ardvı Sura Anahita that I may overcome Azi Dahaka, the three mouthed, the three headed, the six-eyed demon, that Angra Mainyu created against the material world to destroy the world of the good principle, and that I may deliver his two wives, Erenevak and Svanghvak who are the fairest ladies amongst women, and the most wondrous creatures in the world."

After the death of Azi Dahaka, they married Feridun and had three sons from him, who were the ancestors of Semitic, Turanian and Aryan as stated by Firdousi in Shahnama:

"He had three noble sons fit for the Crown,
"Of royal birth, as tall as cypresses,
"Two were the staid less sons of Shahranaz,
"The youngest fair cheeked
"Arnavaz had borne."

Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic Aryans, whose chief attribute is physical valour has for his counterpart Rustam in Persia. Their names are different and while Indra is god, Rustam is a hero in Persia. Yet in many respects there is a close resemblance between them. For instance according to the Vedas, Kavya Usana made Vajra and gave it to Indra (Rg. I xxi, 12): "Yam te Kayaya Uasanī Vṛtrāhaṇam pāryam tatākṣa Vajram". In another place we read that Indra with Ṣūrvas defeated twenty chiefs and their army of 60,099 warriors. Now Kavya Usana is the same as Kavi Usā of the Avesta or Kai Kāus of Shahnama and Ṣūrvas the same as Husrivas of the Avesta or Kai Khusro, who were admirers of Rustam, under whom he fought and crushed the foes of
Iranian Aryos. Like Indra Rustam is also stated to have been born in an unnatural way. Firdousi says in Shahnama as follows:—

"His birth will not be natural,"
"So willeth He who giveth good. Bring thou"
"A blue-steal dagger, seek a cunning man,"
"Remuse the body first with wine to ease"
"Her pain and fear, then let him ply his craft"
"And take the lion from its lair by piercing"
"Her waist while all unconscious thus imbruing"
"Her side in blood, and then stitch up the Gash"

Indra was a great drinker of Soma, and so Rustam of wine. Firdousi says:—

"They poured the wine and Rustam, spirit rose;"
"He took a bowl and toasted Kai Kaus."
"He kissed the ground, again he took the cup,"
"And cried; "This goblet do I drain to Tus."
"There at those Princes of the world lord rose"
"And prayed the paladin have them excused,"
"We can no more "they said"; Ithls himself"
"Could not drink fair with thee. Wine, one blow mace,
"And battle field are thine and thine alone.".

Indra comes in conflict with demons, such as Urana, who had 99 arms, and Viśvarūpa. Likewise Rustam slays Iranian Demons' Sapid Div and Akvau Div, whom professor Noldeke takes as Akem-menou or bad thought as opposed to Vahumanu or good thought. Both of them are known for their great strength, and for their connection with semi-historical rulers, and for using a similar weapon, such as Vajra or modern Persian gurz, arrows, and noose. Both were defenders and protectors of Aryan heroes of India and Iran, and conquerors of their enemies. Rustam lived in Zabul and extended his dominion as far as Punjab, where Indra also fought with Dasyues, and was praised by Āryan Ṛṣis. Indra killed his father. This is stated in (Rig. 1, xvii, 12). thus:—

"What God, when by the foot thy Sire thou tookest"
"And slewest, was at hand to give thee comfort".

The Persian poet has changed the father to son and in Shahnama Firdousi mentions that Rustam, the defender of Iran, killed his brave son Sohrab. There is one important point in connection with the legend of Rustam:

His name is ignored by the compilers of Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. Indra also is mentioned twice not as God but as demon (see Spiegel, Av. IV III, LXXXI). In Shahnama, Rustam, the great defender of the Iranians, for a period of four hundred years, does not take any part in the great religious struggle of Zoraster. We find him, even fighting against King Kushtasp and killing his son Isfandiyar the most devoted convert and champion of the new religion who had spread the new
faith in the East and West, by fire and sword. Such a great religious hero, instead of being helped, protected and respected by the old warrior, was killed by him and in turn after Rustam’s death, Rustam’s whole family was annihilated by Isfandiyar’s son known as Arta Kshathra Vahumanah (ardasher-Bahmam).

This event in the first instance reveals the mystery of Avesta's silence with regard to Rustam, and secretly suggests, that there was difference of opinion among the Iranians. It may be presumed that the Iranians were divided, the majority accepting the new religion, and naturally in conflict with those who kept their old faith, and in consequence of such division some old and favourite Gods, were connected into Demons, and when hatred subsided some of the rejected deities seem to have been revived with a new, and modified myth. Perhaps Rustam is one of them. He has no heavenly dignity and is only a hero. He is not however, the only hero whose deeds are similar to old Indo-Iranian deities. As I have already stated Haoma, or Soma, Yima or Yama, Aśvins or the twin sisters are other instances leading to the same conclusion. The student of Indo-Iranian myths, may by patient study find more.
THE IDENTITY BETWEEN VARUÑA AND AHURA MAZDA.
BY
DR. R. ZIMMERMANN, BOMBAY.

The identity between Varuña and Ahura Mazda has been asserted and propounded by Darmesteter 1 in his Ormazd et Ahriman as early as 1876. From the identity of the functions of the two, Darmesteter thinks their common origin may be presumed. The same scholar finds an identity also between the material attributes of both Ahura Mazda and Varuña: as nature-gods they are the same. The Ādityas, of whom Varuña is the first, have their replica in the Avestan Amesha Spentas. Both Varuña and Ahura Mazda are coupled with Mitra. Ahura Mazda and Varuña are the descendants of an Indo-Iranian god of the shining heaven, who was supreme lord. For, Varuña-Ahura joined together are identical with Zeus and Jupiter, Varuña-Ahura therefore is Indo-European, the Ādityas-Amesha Spentas are Indo-Iranian. The Indo-Iranian Asura is in no way to be taken in a monotheistic sense; Mazdaism, on the other hand, has a monotheistic tendency. So far Darmesteter. Oldenberg 2 in his Religion des Veda accepts the identity with some qualification when he says: "It is hardly too much to assume that the Vedic Varuña is a good deal nearer to the Avestan Ahura than to the Varuña of the later India; though for the difference between Varuña and Ahura there has to be taken into consideration not only the distance between the Indo-Iranian and the Vedic age, but the whole revolution of Zarathustra as well (l. c. p. 32 n.). The attitude of Pischel and Geldner 3 and their way of looking at the Veda is not without interest and importance in this connection. For them the Veda belongs to India and has to be explained by India; the Avesta belongs to Iran and has to be explained by Iran. Consistently with their views they say: "Indo-Germanic myths are not preserved in the Veda at all; all the myths which the Veda has to offer are purely Indian, and only to be understood and explained from a purely Indian point of view and (Indian) circumstances" (Vol. I, p. 81). They underline this assertion by stating (in the preface, l.c.p. XXVII): "we are forced to conclude that in the (Indian) mythology a great shift has taken place, that the Vedic legends and myths about the gods are representing a younger stratum, which indeed may contain reminiscences of the old Indo-Germanic myth, but

15
essentially is Indian, having its roots in the popular myths.' F. Spiegel 4 opposed the identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda from the Iranian point of view; later on, however, he modified his opinion. W. Geiger 5 is satisfied with a merely material correspondence between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, based expressly on the fact that Varuna is called the eye of the sun, which in its turn proves that both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa go back to the same deity of the Āryan period. Maconell 6 again declares: "The parallel in character; though not in name, of the god Varuṇa is the Ahura Mazda, the wise spirit". The Lehrbuch der Religions geschichte 7, edited by Chantepie de la Saussaye, to mention foremost authority on the study of the History of Religions, does not mention expressly along with Yama-Yima, Soma-Haoma, the pair Varuṇa-Ahura Mazda as a striking parallel; perhaps it is to be understood under "many other things" said to be the common property of Iranians and Indians.

The one extreme in this diversity of opinions is represented by Pischel and Geldner who seem to draw a clear line of separation between the Iranian Ahura Mazda and the Indian Varuṇa. The latter in their opinion is only in a vague sort connected with the Indo-Germanic past, being essentially Indian. This view seems countenanced by one of the greatest living authorities on Avesta. A. V. Williams-Jackson 8 states for Ahura Mazda that his relation to Varuṇa is a very loose one and should not be overrated. The other extreme view is that which declares Varuṇa to be a parallel of, or even identical with, Ahura Mazda, as Maconell does. It may then be not quite out of place to try and show the relation between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, two of the greatest figures of Indo-European mythology, and indicate, if possible, the degree of affinity, if there is no complete identity. The nature of the question demands that it should be approached both from the side of Philology and the History of Religion. With a wealth of erudition the problem has been discussed at length by L. von Schroeder, who 9 comes to a mainly

---


(5) W. Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur in Altertum, p. 306.


affirmative results. The writer of this paper finds that he has kept fairly close to von Schroeder's views, without being aware of it when the paper was being written.

In the first place it is clear that the names of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda are anything but identical, or even related to one another. This, though it might create a prejudice against the identity, does not establish a difference in nature. By weighty authorities on phonetics the name Varuṇa is taken to be etymologically related to Ouranos, the Greek god of heaven. Considering further that Varuṇa and Ouranos may be derived from the root य, (य) Varuṇa could mean the encompasser, container. Ahura Mazda represents an altogether different aspect of the deity. About Mazda there can be no doubt that its signification is wise, the phonetic and lexicographic equivalent of the Sanskrit मेधस्, medhas. Ahura in Avesta means the lord, the lord of judgment in particular Varuṇa brings out the greatness of the deity, which is not limited because everything else is contained in it. Ahura Mazda, on the other hand, emphasises the watchful ruler, discerning right and wrong. The former comes from a cosmic tendency, the latter from a moral and judicial bent of the mythology. These two aspects are not contradictory, but rather complementary. They bring out more the differences in the two religions than those of the two deities.

A closer relation than by the two names is shown by the physical foundation of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda. The Vedic text does not give direct and unmistakable data for the natural basis of Varuṇa. It is a curious whim of mythology that the two greatest figures in the Vedic pantheon have an origin far less clear and certain than many of the minor inhabitants of the Vedic Olympus. But R.V. I. 115. 1; VI. 51. 1; VII. 61. 1; 63. 1. 5; as well as X. 37. 1, describe the sun as the eye of Varuṇa. Varuṇa then is the face of the person in which the sun as the eye is set: he can therefore only be taken to be the sky. Passages where Varuna appears with rays, VIII. 101. 2; where his appearance is golden, I. 25. 13; in which he puts on the world and the clans like a garment, VIII. 41. 7, are to be explained either by the tendency to connect everything grand and beautiful with Varuna, the object of the Rṣi's enthusiasm, or by his close connection with Mitra, or finally by poetic licence. There is then in the R̄V, not more than a group of passages which prove the connection of Varuna with the sky, a connection however which is clearer and more intrinsic than that between the sky and any other deity. Needless to say that Varuṇa's connection with Mitra points to the same direction. Of special importance are the passages which show the sun as a swing in

(11) Op. R̄gveda, II-26, esp. mantra 8; VII. 87. 5.
the sky, fixed there by Varuna, R.V. VII. 88, 3, 4; 87. All the utterances mentioned above in the R.V., together with the etymology of the name Varuna, make him appear as the linage descendant of Dyauus Pitar and Divo Pitar of pre-Vedic and even pre-Indo-Iranian times, the (later) parallel to Jupiter and Zeus. That there is in the whole Vedic mythology no other heir of Dyauus Pitar and Divo Pitar, besides Varuna, is just as important as it is unlikely that such a natural phenomenon as the sky should have been allowed to disappear from the worshipping mind of the Aryan in India and his pantheon. Thus Varuna, the result of an evolution out of the primitive Dyauus Pitar of the Indo-Europeans on the Indian side, can find his parallel only in a similar parallel on the Iranian side. Who is this parallel?

The clue for the answer to this question lies in the word Asura, Avestan Ahura. In the Veda the divine Asura means the highest god. We may conclude from hints in the R.V. that this was the standing epithet of the old Indo-Germanic god of heaven, Dyauus Pitar, who was then Asura Dyauus Pitar. Out of this there arose the more abstract deity Divo Asura, or simply Asura. Asura later on came to signify any god and, finally, was used as a mere epithet. That the Iranians before Zarathustra worshipped Dyauus, the god of heaven, seems certain; that Ahura signifies the highest god of light is at least as certain: Zarathustra's reform then made out of the Asura Dyauus an Asura Medhas, Ahura Mazda. The substitution of Dyauus finds its complete and natural explanation in the tendency of Zarathustra's reform. Dyauus had to go because he was too much an object or at least a danger of nature worship, Mazda on the contrary brought out that side of Asura which Zarathustra wished to emphasise in the Lord of Judgment. Behind two entirely different names there are thus two deities whose origin is common and who have still so much of the same nature as internal evolution and external changes have left them.

These changes from without have affected the personality of Varuna and Ahura Mazda to a very great extent. It seems indeed that in this respect the identity is so vague, not to say negative, that those who either from the Iranian or Indian point of view deny it, may find here the best support for their opinion. It is true that both Ahura Mazda and Varuna

---


(14) How in the face of this change Darmesteter's view on the devas and daêras, expressed in Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 263, can hold good is difficult to conceive. "Dans cette prétendue révolution il n'y a qu'un accident de language, une curiosité de lexicologie." There seems to be a little more in it.
remained anthropomorphic. But whilst Varuṇa is a god in the shape of
a Superman of body and soul in the Vedic pantheon, endowed with all
the royal attributes and possessed of the paraphernalia of his office and
position, Ahura Mazda is a spiritual, certainly an abstract and
supersensual deity. There may be traces of his descent from an old
Indo-Iranian and even Indo-European deity, but these are spiri-
tualized. The anthropomorphism thus stops short at the con-
stitution of the personality of Ahura Mazda. That he dwells in the light
may be both a reminiscence of olden times and kept to put his pure
nature more into relief. His throne is in heaven just as that of Varuṇa:
this does no more prove anthropomorphism for Ahura Mazda than it does
for Jehovah. In fact, Ahura Mazda is—in keeping with the whole
in the Veda are least coming from mere flattery of the poet and material interest, not always absent from the abundant praise bestowed on other deities. Varuna’s rule is so irresistible that it appears as Māyā, an object of wonder. 

Here seems to be a point in which Varuna scores over Ahura Mazda. The latter is omniscient too, consequently can never be cheated. He is as provident and wise as Varuna and there is no higher power than that of Ahura Mazda. But there is one besides him, not for ever, it is true, but for the time of the struggle between good and bad, who opposes him and limits his jurisdiction. This is Ahriman, of whom the Veda knows no counterpart. The struggle with him and for what he stands will ultimately end in Ahura Mazda’s victory, yet the conquest is not obtained without a serious and sustained effort on the part of Ahura Mazda and his followers. Varuna’s rule is absolute, that of Ahura Mazda is limited. Here the hand of the reformer has been at work: the Zarathushtrian dualism has made a conquering but also a struggling god out of a supreme ruler, Ahura Mazda has lost in power what he gained in spirituality.

The same external influence has also circumscribed Ahura Mazda’s creative action. He is the creator only of the good things, Ahriman being responsible for the bad ones. Among the good things are especially the light and the cows. Varuna appears as creator of all the beings, all the existing things together, as well as certain provinces of the universe in particular. Nothing is excepted from his creation, though not everything is mentioned. As the cow is singled out by Zarathustra as a special product of Ahura Mazda’s creation, so are the things mentioned for Varuna which the Indo-Aryan had at heart more than others: courage in the horse, milk in the cow, strength in the heart, fire in the water, soma on the rock. It must be said, though, that compared with the rule of Varuna the creation of things by him looks like a second thought, a logical conclusion, derived from the daily exercise of that rule. Naturally the rule in its effects was before the eyes, the creation was a far off event, for which there was no analogy. Unless we misread the Vedic text, the creation is more an arrangement than a production. Ahura Mazda, on the other hand, is a creator in the strict sense. In any case, not too much stress should be laid on the creative action of Varuna for the purpose of the parallelism between him and Ahura Mazda. For Varuna shares this activity with other deities in the Veda, and the details given are such on both sides, as would strike first every observer as things his deity has to be credited with.


(16) As the fixing of the sun and the stars, and the like.
The domain of ethics in the Avesta has the boundary lines which are drawn by the limited creative action of Ahura Mazda. His law is valid and observed only in the realm of good. The resistance against Ahura Mazda and his law is organized in the kingdom and rule of Ahriman. The Good Law itself is clear and definite; religious and economic at the same time. All that is light, pure, good, has to be accomplished in thought, word and deed, the contrary is to be shunned. The support and propagation of Mazda’s reign is the primary duty of every Zoroastrian; life, therefore, health and strength have to be protected and fostered, the social and economic system so arranged that Zarathustra’s preaching is safeguarded and spread. Hence the ethical value of the rearing and the protection of the cow in the Avesta, as well as the vigorous denunciation of the unbeliever, the heretic and the apostate, Asha, the rta of the Veda, existing and governing side by side with Ahura Mazda. This seems to suggest that Ahura Mazda is primarily the administrator and guardian of the ethical order and has to revenge the infringement of its laws by the application of his wisdom and power. This fits in well enough with his name which in modern terminology might perhaps be rendered by Lord Chief Justice. For the administration is strictly juridical and judicial: good and bad actions are recorded accurately, they form the credit and debit of the Zarathustrian, and the balance is drawn with mathematical accuracy. The good will be rewarded and the wicked punished strictly in accordance with their deserts. The Zoroastrian faith collects its followers in a fold, nobody wholly outside may hope to be saved. The idea of half salvation has its beginning in the Gāthās, possibly as a compromise it was developed later on. The eschatology of the Veda does not know of any restrictions beyond good and bad, as far as the retributive action of Varuṇa is concerned.

It is easy to see that in the Avesta common ethical ideas have been pressed into the service of a particular purpose. It matters therefore little that the ethical ideas centering round Varuṇa are less defined and differ not a little from those of the Avesta. The great universal law—Thou shalt do good and avoid evil; evil done has to be atoned for; if it is not atoned it will be punished as well as virtue will be rewarded—is indeed the same whether issuing from Ahura Mazda or Varuṇa, and it is protected by either of the two alike. What exactly the contents of Varuṇa’s vṛata was, how it was promulgated, how the sinner got assured that the guilt and debt were remitted, of that we learn very little from the Veda. This however is clear that the process of forgiving started from a humble penitent petition to the irate god to relax the noose already thrown over the culprit. But there is this difference between the Veda and the Avesta in the rehabilitation of a sinner: in the Veda the sin is taken away by Varuṇa, in the Avesta it appears as balanced by good works. The big ethical outlines both in the Veda and the Avesta are given by the common
dictates of the natural law, but in the Veda these ideas are set working with a really human touch, in the Avesta they move in a more juridical, almost mathematical manner. The Varuna hymns are perhaps more remarkable for the behaviour of the sinner towards Varuna and vice versa than the ethical ideas they embody, though they are of the highest degree and value.

Outside the moral ideas the difference between Ahura Mazda and Varuna is still greater than inside. The relation of Varuna to his worshipper is more intense, immediate, practical and entering into detail than that between Ahura Mazda and the Mazdayasni. This is noticeable quite apart from the attributes given to Varuna, which single him out as essentially benevolent and kind 17. It is not only in distress brought about by the revenging anger of the god with the sin and the sinner, and removed by the appeased deity, that Varuna’s kindly nature is seen. His help is implored for safety of person and property, at home and abroad, on land and on water. He is both to protect the worshipper’s possession and also to increase it in the manner the Vedic Aryan’s heart desires. And that the wealth gained by Varuna’s grace may be of use, long life, freedom from disease, prosperity in body and mind, strong progeny, are expected from and given by him. There cannot easily be a happier being in the Aryan fold than he whom Varuna, or he and other Adityas, Mitra in particular, shield and favour. Though these statements are not substantiated by historical facts, still one or the other event alluded to in the Rigveda may refer to Varuna’s help. Ahura Mazda of the Zarathustrian reform is a kind and beneficent spirit, a watchful guardian and protector of those who observe his law, distributing rewards to them in his own good time. He will surely lead the faithful Mazdayasni to victory and glory. His care, however, is not so concrete as that of Varuna; it appears more restricted to the struggle between good and bad. The blessing granted for a good life is chiefly awarded in the next world; it looks like an after-thought when in the Gathas also temporal advantages are promised to the Zoroastrian, and asked for from Ahura Mazda. The relation between Ahura Mazda and the faithful is naturally regulated by the character of the Zarathustrian reform, which indeed raised the deity into a more sublime and purer atmosphere, but also removed it further away from man. The divine element was increased, the human aspect dimmed.

The parallel between Ahura Mazda and Varuna would not be complete without a comparative description of Mitra, the greatest and closest ally both of Varuna and Ahura Mazda. It is of importance to

(17) It is true that Indra is the Maghavān par excellence in the Veda. But Maghavān in connection with Indra refers more to the booty in war than the graces and boons bestowed in everyday life which the beneficence of Varuna grants.
remember that Mithra does not occur in the Gāthās, but very often in the younger Avesta. The Mitra of the Veda is a little better off, though he has only one hymn of the whole Saṃhitā exclusively in his honour. And in that hymn only one epithet, yātayajjana, is given to him to the exclusion of any other god alone, Mitra-Varuṇa, Mitra-Varuṇa-Aryaman together being honoured by the same attribute in other sūktas. There are however, hymns which are addressed to Mitra joined with another god, or in which he is mentioned; such hymns are of the same age as the Varuṇa hymns. There is then a prejudice in favour of the greater age of the Vedic Mitra, in case the two should show differences. As of Varuṇa so it is said of Mitra that he is a powerful but meek deity. He protects the pious and his kindness is praised often. He is nyāma, the greatest friend of man, or the friendliest of men. He is called in the Veda Ahimsāna, not injuring, remembering that he refused to strike Soma or even Vṛtra, just because he is Mitra, as the later Śruti puts it. True he is not entirely devoid of martial traits, and gets angry if his laws are violated. But it was only the deists of the modern times who expected the god to smile at the vilest outrage. The Vedic age was too robust and sane to spoil Mitra’s divine aspect by such an attribute of feebleness. Yet on the whole Mitra in the Veda is a god of peace. But he is not so in the Avesta. As the god of light and the day he is more than anyone else the implacable enemy of perjurers, of contract and trust breakers. For he is no less the god of truth and honesty. In power he appears to be almost equal to Ahura Mazda, and is his most formidable ally in the battle against evil. He is essentially good, for no mortal can think, say, and do such evil as Mithra can think, say, and do good. He is a mighty warrior, clad in a shining mail, armed with the thunderbolt, with which he smashes the skulls of the demons. Mithra’s very sight strikes terror into the heart of the enemy. His victorious exploits fill the Mihir Yasht. Thus the Avesta has made of the probably peaceful Mithra of the Indo-Iranian period a warlike god; the thunderbolt suggests that he felt not disinclined to run in the race for the inheritance which fell to Indra’s share. It may then be taken as established that the relation between Ahura Mazda and Mithra and that between Varuṇa and Mitra is the same as far as the alliance goes. Mithra in the Avesta is as much and as little a sun-god as the Mitra of the Veda. But the nature and character of the Mithra of the Avesta differ from those of the Vedic god, the discrepancy arising out of the difference of the duties allotted to them.

There are two groups of mythological figures which are often adduced in support of the identity between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda. They are the Amesha Spentas in the Avesta and the Ādityas in the Veda. “The doctrine of the Amesha Spentas or Archangels is a characteristic trait of the Zoroastrian faith. This doctrine may be an invention of the Prophet
himself; it cannot be of late origin in any case. There are undoubtedly points of contact between the Amesbaspands of Iran and the Ādityas of India; but they are too vague and not sufficient proof for an identification"¹⁸. This last sentence is directed against Darmesteter and Oldenberg ¹⁹. But in the face of all discrepancies between the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas, and the contradiction on the part of scholars, Oldenberg's view seems not only tenable but to represent the situation best. "The framework into which both the Amesha Spentas and the Ādityas are woven is old; it is proved to be Indo-Iranian by correspondences which cannot be said to be chance, unless we wish to go against all probability. But the contents of the various partitions have preserved the primitive character only partly; on the other hand both Zoroastrianism and the Veda have used the empty space offered to stow away their own world of abstractions ²⁰. This is the contention of Oldenberg, and it hits off the situation very well, if we consider the different names, numbers and offices, even the different motives for the origin of the two groups. For both are an extension or emanation of the one supreme Ahura Mazda and Varuna. The degree of dependence, and consequently, their rank will vary according to the spirit of the two mythologies. That the nature and number of the Amesha Spentas is settled, whilst the number of the Ādityas is not fixed and all their names are not given, is due to the reforming and legislating hand of Zarathustra, which did not reach the Veda. Whether the two groups are an importation from Semitic peoples or no is irrelevant for the question before us.

These are in outline the pictures of Varuna and Ahura Mazda drawn by the Rgveda and the Avesta. The results gained from the enquiry into the origin, the personality, the bodily and mental constitution, the office and entourage of two of the greatest, or better, of the two greatest if not the only real, deities of India and Iran may be summed up as follows:—The origin is common; the personality, constitution, office and the surroundings are not identical but only similar there where the external influence of the reformer's hand has been at work, and they are dissimilar to that extent to which they have been deliberately changed. Wherever the reform or any other external factor has not determined the evolution, Ahura Mazda and Varuna are parallel or even identical figures. The sweeping statement that Varuna is a parallel of the Ahura Mazda of the Gāthās ²¹, or even identical with him, is unacceptable. The similarity

¹⁹ Darmesteter, l. c, pp. 58 ff., 68.
²⁰ Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50. pp. 43 ff.
increases, the higher up we ascend, probably it was almost perfect before the Zarathustrian reform; it decreases in the later Avesta.

One point, and that perhaps the most important one, remains to be discussed. It is the question of rank of Varuna and Ahura Mazda in the Indian and Iranian mythologies. The identity between the two will be greatly strengthened or weakened if both are to be found to be of the same rank or otherwise. For, needless to say, great metaphysical and religious issues are bound up with this question, on which it depends whether the Avesta and the (earlier) Veda profess a monotheistic or polytheistic religion.

It may now be taken for granted that since A. Lang and W. Schmidt the best proved view on the origin of the idea of God is that which makes the same simple conclusion the guide for finding God that leads even in the twentieth century every level-minded head to God, viz., the idea of the Maker and the Creator outside and the conscience of the ethical law within. And it has been shown that the primitive man knows God better than gods, just as the unsophisticated mind of the present day in trouble does not turn to the gods but to God. If the Veda and the Avesta have any value as documents of religion, they must be owned to show a fairly primitive conception of religion, whatever may be said of other aspects of the Vedic civilization; for the Avesta it must be borne in mind that it represents the ideal of a high-souled genius rather than the actual state of affairs in matters religious. This does not mean that the Vedic Indians or their contemporary Iranians were savages just emerging from cannibalism—if the evolution of mankind went that way at all—but that, compared with the philosophical tendency, foreshadowed and hesitatingly expressed in the tenth mandala of the Rigveda, as well as with the downright polytheism of the Purāṇas, the main religious and moral notions were simple enough. If the evolution from the Vedic religion that took place later has anything to tell, then it may be assumed that the period preceding it would be simpler still. Because for the contrary view, that originally the religious and moral concepts of the Āryas had been more developed and complicated, there is no proof. Without fear of slandering the Indo-Iranian group, or the whole Indo-European family, it can be asserted that their views on such vital questions as must have occupied open minds like theirs, cannot have been but primitive. But these views were as sound as simple. It is gratifying to note that only two months ago such a veteran of Sanskrit learning as Sten Konow 22 expressed his belief that the ancient Āryas were neither idolaters, nor did they really worship the forces of nature, but the One behind, whoever and whatever that might be, by whatever name he or it might be signified, and in whatever superhuman power he or it might

(22) In a conversation at Poona, Nov. 4, 1924.
manifest himself or itself. It has then only to be shown that both Varuna and Ahura Mazda can be considered as monotheistic deities; there being no likelihood that they were monotheistic heirs of polytheistic predecessors, it would next follow as a matter of course that the Indo-Europeans were monotheists. What then is the testimony of the Rigveda and the Avesta?

In order to recognize and measure correctly the monotheism of Varuna and Ahura Mazda, the line of development has to be taken into consideration which they followed. Ahura Mazda’s evolution has not only been influenced by Zarathustra, but determined as to its course by his reform. Being a reform it kept what was good of the old mythological inheritance, cut off what seemed at variance with the new tenet, and added what appeared lacking. Though the Ahura Mazda of the Gathas seems to be in many ways different from the Varuna of the Rigveda, yet the fact that the pre-Zarathushtrian Ahura Mazda of all was chosen to remain or become the highest god of the Iranians is an indirect proof that he must have been monotheistic, or at least the nearest approach to a monotheistic god of all the Iranian deities. In the above remarks on the identity between the two, the finger could be laid more than once on the spot where the figure of Ahura had been changed by the reform, making it to suit the purpose of the reformer. Whether the counter-reformation within the Zoroastrian faith after Zarathustra restored the old picture or—what is more likely—whether it was a deliberate push towards polytheism, need not detain us here. Taking the reform of Zarathustra as our standpoint, we may rightly conclude that the pre-Zarathushtrian Ahura was a monotheistic deity, or at least a very close approach to it.

To gauge the nature of Varuna properly, it must be borne in mind that the Rigveda represents him as an already waning deity, whose rank before long will be taken by the more boisterous and material Indra. But granted that we have no direct report of the nature and position of the Varuna of the pre-Vedic times, the evolution within the Rigveda itself again shows what the Vedic Varuna is actually standing for. Not an equal was put side by side with him, but he lost his position to another. Besides, his nature as well as his entourage, not to mention his position, make him still a supreme lord, a monotheistic figure. For Varuna indeed it seemed to have been almost a question of, to be the supreme deity or not to be at all. For, the existence which Varuna was allowed to lead when Indra and his successors had got the ascendancy was not worthy of the descendant of Ausha Dyaus Pitar. Thus both Ahura Mazda and Varuna have a monotheistic character. It should not be expected that either will appear as a pure expression of the monotheistic ideal. But the elements in both the Avestan and Vedic mythology which seem to point to a polytheistic tendency are better explained as a delegation of
subordinate beings to perform functions of the supreme being, than as a splitting up of the one highest and absolute nature, and a division of his functions among equals. They both keep enough of the ruler and creator of the universe and the judge of man and his doings, to be called monotheistic deities. Even if we have to detract some of the grandeur in which Zarathustra has clothed Ahura Mazda, he remains the supreme and final lord. And though Varuṇa is in the Veda a sinking deity, yet he stands out among all the Vedic gods, Indra not or perhaps least excepted, like a god among men (Bloomfield). If anything has to be transformed in Varuṇa, the descendant of Asura Dyaus Pitar, he has to be raised and enlarged to reach his position and his size of the pre-Vedic, Indo-European times.

In conclusion and as a confirmation of the monotheistic character of both Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa it may be asked, how it came about that only Dyaus Pitar had such unmistakable successors as these two are; and why so few, if any, of the deities of the Vedic pantheon have got such definite and direct prototypes as Dyaus Pitar is. The simplest explanation will be found in the fact that both they and Asura Dyaus Pitar were monotheistic. Thus the findings of the History of Religions about the origin and nature of the idea of God are confirmed by the pre-historic evolution of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda and probably by the beginnings of the religious and moral ideas of the Indo-Europeans. In addition the identity between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa is greatly increased by the conclusion that both are essentially monotheistic figures.
III.—Pali, Jain and Other Prakrits, Hindi.
GLIMPSES OF VAJRAYĀNA.

BY

MR. BENOYTOSSH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., BARODA.

After the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha there arose a serious feud among his followers, between the Elders and the Youngers, which, in later times, during the reign of Kaniska and at the time of the Third Council, gave rise to two great divisions in Buddhism, the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. The Hinayānists generally followed the sayings of Buddha and adhered rigidly to the severe disciplinary rules laid down by him; on the other hand, the Mahāyānists drifted farther and farther away from the teachings of Buddha and developed an entirely different kind of religion and one which the founder of the faith would have failed to recognise. Mahāyāna began with Nāgārjuna, who entered a plea for his new doctrines and preachings and in order to add authority to them he fabricated a story that Buddha himself embodied these doctrines in the celebrated Prajñāpāramitā Scripture and as people were not in his time sufficiently elevated to accept them he deposited this great Book of Knowledge with the powerful Nāgas in the nether regions; Nāgārjuna himself was not the preacher of these new doctrines, but he was merely rescuing the Prajñāpāramitā from the nether regions and holding it before his followers for their benefit and salvation. The Mahāyānists after Nāgārjuna, though deviating in many respects from the old teachings of Buddha, brought nevertheless a new spirit and new vigour, into Buddhism, and made it extremely popular and attractive. They dispensed with what they thought to be the abominable militarist discipline of Buddha, wherever it came in their way, and as if by way of compensation, raised the Buddha into a divinity, the Eternal Being, manifested on earth for the salvation of the suffering humanity. They, therefore, preached the great altruistic doctrine of saving mankind even at the risk of individual salvation and made that duty imperative on all Bodhisattvas. Thus as early as the first Century A.D. (1) they set up the idea of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Compassionate Bodhisattva, who refused to accept the salvation which he had earned, until all the creatures of the Universe were in possession of Bodhi knowledge and until they all attained salvation. (2) According to a passage (3) in the Kāraṇḍavyūha he is still supposed to work vigorously and foster spiritual knowledge amongst men, animals and

2. Kāraṇḍa Vyūha; ed. Satyavrata Sāmāśrami; p. 21 et seq. See also Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 3 and footnote 2.
insects. The passage characterises Avalokiteśvara as taking all possible forms of godhead, nay, even the forms of father and mother, in order that he may, through these agencies, impart spiritual knowledge. The Mahāyānistas also attempted to define Nirvāṇa. They speculated infinitely on the condition of Bodhicitta after the attainment of Nirvāṇa and tried to postulate a definite spiritual prospect for the followers of Mahāyāna. Nāgārjuna was followed by Mātreyanātha, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and many others, who wrote numerous works and distinguished themselves by their vast learning, strong sense of reason, and above all, by their catholic sympathy for the suffering humanity. Each of these men promulgated his own peculiar theories and introduced his own doctrines. Asaṅga in the 5th century introduced the Tantras into Mahāyāna and according to Tārānātha it did not exercise much influence for about the first two hundred years it being entirely foreign to the then existing condition of Buddhism. Whatever may be the cause of the sudden growth of Tantric practices and doctrines amongst the followers of Buddhism, it cannot be denied that numerous works on Tantras were written by learned Buddhists even before Vajrayāna sprang up under the flourishing care of its founder, the great king Indrabhūti of Uddiyāna. Tantras, Mantras, Bijamantras, Dhāraṇīs, Mandalas and other paraphernalia of Tantric cult had already made their appearance in I-ting’s time and also, soon after, in the works of Śaṅtideva of the Nālandā monastery. Another thing which the Tantras brought with them is the Śakti worship and the unholy associations of men with women, which has survived even now amongst the Tantric Hindus as Bāḻāpūjana, Kumārīpūjana and other kinds of Vāmācāra. As Buddhism in later days was mostly concerned with the uneducated masses this new introduction considerably weakened the moral foundation of that faith.

It is about this time that a great individual arose in the person of the king Indrabhūti of Orissa, who for the first time promulgated the doctrine of Mahāsukhavāda and started a new faith called the Vajrayāna. The theory of Mahāsukhavāda gave a new vigour to the followers of Māhāyāna, and became extremely popular, appealing as it did, to every member of the faith, the Guru, the disciple and the laity. This Vajrayāna, on the one hand, preached the most sublime doctrines of Buddhism in a lofty and sublime manner, and on the other hand, gave a blank charter to every conceivable immoral practice. To the more spiritually minded worshipper the doctrine of Nirvāṇa appeared extremely logical, pure and lofty; while baser minds found therein sanction for hideous forms of immorality. The followers of Indrabhūti wrote in a kind of mystic language mostly with a double meaning or with a very hidden meaning. This was styled the Sandhyābhāṣā or the "twilight language" meaning thereby that it can be explained by the light of the day or by the darkness of the night.

The followers of Vajrayāna were vigorous writers; they wrote in Sanskrit, in the Indian Vernaculars and in Tibetan and developed a vast literature still preserved in Tibetan translations. Only a few in original Sanskrit, however, has been discovered in the library and monasteries of Nepal. In this paper I propose to deal with this particular form of Mahāyāna which covered a period from the early 8th century down to its destruction from Eastern India. A weak and very diluted form of this religion may even now be found in some of the monasteries in Nepal.

To understand the extent of the enormous bulk of literature which arose with the inception of Vajrayāna, we must take into account the numerous sub-divisions into which that sect was split. The works in the Tangyur collection of Tibet ending or beginning with Vajra are all Vajrayānic in character. The authors whose names end or begin with Vajra are all Vajrayānists. The followers of Vajrayāna according to Advayavajra, who flourished in the 11th century, were divided into two great sub-divisions, Śāṅkhas and Aśāṅkhas. Śāṅkhas were those who did or did not require training and guidance at the hands of their gurus. The Aśāṅkhas were in fact the Gurus themselves and the Śāṅkhas were the celas comprising Bhikṣus and laitys. For the emancipation of the Śāṅkhas numerous devices were made by the more elevated Vajrayānists called the Vajrācāryas or the Gurus. They held that for the Śāṅkhas of different classes, Mudrā, Mantra, Mandala, worship of deities, Dhāranis, Stotras, Stavas, sacrifices and such other things are necessary. And by following the doctrines of Gurus in these matters they may either obtain the supernatural powers or the Siddhis or else attain the Nirvāṇa. On each of these subjects thousands of works were composed by eminent and distinguished Vajrācāryas and by other great men called, in the mediaeval period, the Siddhas or Siddhācāryas, the traditional number of whom is recognised as 84. The strange ritualistic literature, which those Vajrayānists developed, is itself enormous. The celebrated Sādhanamalā, the only authentic material for the study of Buddhist Iconography in Sanskrit, alone contains more than three hundred small works. Thousands of works called the Sādhanas have come down to us in Tibetan translations. The Dhāranis also had a vast literature of which the Vṛddhārāṇī Saṅgraha 2 is the most important. It gives the texts of no less than 411 Dhāranis. From what little information we have about the Vajrayāna deities in Sanskrit Buddhist literature we have come to know that there were at least four to five

2. For a description of the MS see H. Śāstri's Nepal Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 244 and the list of the Dhāranis in appendix A of the same work. Appendix B, is a list of Sādhanas in the palm leaf MS of the Sādhanamālā which has been numbered in the Catalogue as III, 397.
hundred divinities in number with innumerable varieties of each to whom Śādhanas, Stavas and Stotras are ascribed. Besides these there is the literature for the Āṣaikṣas, on the higher philosophy, logic, metaphysics, History of Buddhism, initiation, deities, etc. The Tantras attached to such Vajrayāna deities as Heruka, Hevajra, Vajrayogini, Vajravarāhi, Vajrañāka, Mahākāla, also belong to this literature. There are works on Mandalas also. Pandit Abhayakara Gupta in his Niśpannakāmarāja Tantra gives descriptions of twenty-three most popular Mandalas, each containing innumerable descriptions of deities and their functions. The Kriyāsamuccaya, Vajrāvalināma Mandalopayikā are examples of this kind of literature.

It is impossible to enumerate all the works in, or the number of authors of, this literature in the limited space at my disposal, as even a mere nominal catalogue of the books would comprise at least two big volumes.

Now that we have dealt with the extent of the Vajrayāna literature we should turn our attention to the origin of this form of religion and try to find out its originator. The vast and rich literature, the Chinese travellers have left for us, does not contain any reference to Vajrayāna, though such words as Tantra, Mantra, Dhāraṇī, etc., and such Vajrayāna deities as Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya Tara, etc., are sometimes met with in the accounts of Fa-I-hion, Yuen Chwang and I-tsing also. But in their writings there is no mention of either the Mahāsukhavāla or Vajrayāna. Šāntideva whom I believe to be later than I-tsing, does not mention either the Mahāsukhavāla or Vajrayāna, though frequent reference to worshipping Buddha and important Bodhisattvas is found in his Bodhicaryāvatāra. In the Śākṣasamuccaya also we find some Dharani quoted and some deities named. The time I ascribe tc Šāntideva is subsequent to 695 A.D. after I-tsing had left India 1. After this we do not meet with any name or work which may serve as a landmark in the History of Buddhist literature. But a clue to trace a more definite history may be found from the Tibetan literature on this point.

Guru Padmasambhava, who introduced the esoteric Mantra doctrine along with the then form of Buddhism in Tibet, is known from various Tibetan sources to have arrived in Tibet in A.D. 747 2. Waddell records a story of his legendary origin 3, which, according to the author, had a widespread currency in Tibet. Therein it is said that in old days

1. On this point see Indian Buddhist Iconography, Introduction, p. XXV; Šāntideva was a resident of Nālanda and acquired a great fame there. I-tsing would not have failed to mention him in his Travels had he been known in his time. For Šāntideva's life, see H. Śastri's Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Gouv. Collection Vol. I, p. 59 et seq.

2. See the Chronological table given in Waddell: Lamaism, p. 575.

there was a blind king named Indrabhūti, in India, who had lost his son. The loss of his son was followed by a severe famine. Thereupon all prayed to Amitābha who sent a miraculous incarnation of himself as a boy. The next morning the king Indrabhūti miraculously regained his sight and saw in a lake nearby a lotus flower on whose petals there was a lovely boy who was brought to the palace. This boy afterwards known as guru Padmasambhava was prone to meditation and desired to be a recluse. His guardians persistently refused his desire whereupon the boy killed some subjects of the king who was then obliged to banish him. The boy began roaming here and there throughout upper India and thereafter visited Tibet and became famous. In the course of his travels he married one of the sisters of Śāntaraksitā at Zabar (modern Sābhār in Paraganja Vikrampur in the district of Dacca). 1

There is of course nothing strange in Indian or Tibetan tradition in ascribing a divine origin 2 to such saints. But this legend explains a great many things, and its importance can never be overstated. This little story establishes no doubt, a connection between Padmasambhava, 3 Indrabhūti and Śāntaraksitā 4 All these names are well known to all students of Buddhism. But in our opinion Waddell is not correct in transcribing or identifying the places connected with Padmasambhava in India. For instance, he takes it for certain that Indrabhūti was a king in Uddiyāna or Urgyen in the Swat valley. But from the Indian sources the name of the place is Uddiyāna or any of its phonetic substitutes which it has been proposed to identify with Orissa. While transcribing a manuscript of the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra I have come across the word "Odryāna" as a substitute of Uddiyāna, which occurs in many places in the same work, and this, I am sure, cannot be anything else than

1. Padmasambhava went to Tibet in A. D. 747. It follows therefore that Indrabhūti was an older contemporary of his; so also is Śāntaraksitā, who was already in Tibet when Padmasambhava reached there. It also fixes the date of Indrabhūti's daughter Laksminākara Devi mentioned as such in Tibetan Tangyur. Laksminākara is taken by some scholars to be the forerunner of Sahajayāna and her only extant work in Sanskrit, entitled Advayasiddhi makes us think so.

2. The birth of Padmasambhava from a lotus does not seem to be anything else than an example of popular etymology, as Padma means a lotus and Sambhava origin.

3. Padmasambhava is still worshipped as the founder of Lamaisism in Tibet. He is the forerunner of the Kalacakrāyana expounded by Atīka or Dipankarsārijñāna. Waddell; Lamaisim, p. 24, also Schlagintweit; Buddhism in Tibet, p. 69.

4. Śāntaraksitā got his education at Nalanda and he went to Tibet and wanted the help of Padmasambhava, his brother-in-law in his mission. He became the first Abbot of the monastery at Samyas founded by the Guru, Waddell, op. cit. p. 28 and Schlagintweit, op. cit. p. 67. Late in life Śāntaraksitā returned to Nalanda and worked as a professor there. His greatest literary work is the Tattvasaṅgraha the work logic which has been discovered by the Gaskwar Durbar, and it is now being printed for publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. S.O. Vidyabhūṣaṇa: Buddhist logic, p. 124 et seq.
Odra or Orissa. As I have already cited the pros and cons of the identification elsewhere, 1 I need not tax your patience in dwelling further on the matter. In another place Waddell identified Zahore the native place of Śāntarakṣita with Lahore but his query after the word makes us think that he is not certain as to the identification of Zahore with Lahore. Zahore has however been identified with Sāhār now a village in the Paraganā Vikrampūr in the district of Dacca. This Vikrampūr it may be pointed out was a centre of Vajrayānic culture in the Mediaeval period as is evident from the numerous Vajrayāna images discovered there.

Indrabhūti, the godfather of Padmasambhava, was a gifted man. He wrote a number of works, all on Vajrayāna, though probably many of his works are lost. All others except two exist in Tibetan translation. Among others he stands as author of the following works in Tangyur 2:—

1. Śricoakrasamvaratantrarājasamvarasamuccayanāmavṛtti.
2. Śricoakrasamvarastotra.
3. Cakrasamvarānubandhasamgraha.
4. Siśādhvajrayoginisādhana.
5. Vajrayoginimantaratattvasvādbhiśbāsanirdesa.
6. Śuklavajrayoginisādhana.
7. Dākinivajrapāñjaramahātantrarājasya Pañjikā Prathamapata-lasukhabandhanāma.
8. Kulikāmatatattvaniṁnaya.
9. Śrīsaṃputatilaka nāma yoginītantrarājasya ṭīkā Śrītisandar-śanāloka nāma.
10. Śrī Ānandapūṣpamālā.
11. Śrī Tattvāmaṭopadeśa.
12. Mahāmāyā Sādhana.
13. Śrī Sarvabuddhasamāyogā nāma Taṭtrapāñjikā.
14. Śrī Sarvabuddhasamāyogā Dākinijālasamvaratanārtha ṭīkā nāma.
15. Sarvabuddhasamāyogāgānavidhi nāma.
16. Vajrasattvopāyikā.
17. Śrī Sarvabuddhasamāyogādākinijālasamvara Mahātantrarāja nāma mandalopāyikā sarvasattvasukhodayā.
18. Jñānasiddhi nāma sādhanopāyikā.
20. Tattvāṣadakadṛṣṭi nāma.

1. Indian Buddhist Iconography, introduction, p. xxvii.
2. Haraprāśa Śaṣtri: Baudhā Gan O Doha, appendix. list of authors, p. xiv.
(21) Ratnaakrabbhekepadesaakrama.

(22) Aryanujusri-namasaangitti-vritti.

(23) Kurukulasadhanaam 1.

The inclusion of such works as the Sahajasidhi however shows that Sahajayana was a branch of Vajrayana; but it is always safe to postulate a double or treble Indrabhuti in such cases. Among the works mentioned in the Tibetan Tangyur we have discovered at least two works in Sanskrit belonging to Indrabhuti namely the Jnanasidhinama Sadhanopayika 2 and Kurukulla Sadhana. The first is an independent work and the second is to be found in the Sadhanamala, and the information about Vajrayana eloquently in Jnanasidhidi is gleaned here and presented to you. We should not doubt the authorship of this work, as it is clearly ascribed to Indrabhuti of Uddiyana in the Colophon. The Sadhana also in the Colophon characterizes it as Uddiyananinirgata leaving no room for doubting its authorship. The Sadhanamala has been taken up for publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

Before I deal with the contents of Jnanasidhidi, it would be advisable to discuss the philosophical groundwork on which the Vajrayana is constructed. Buddha preached Nirvana but when asked to define Nirvana he never replied. Five hundred years after, Asvaghosha also gave no other explanation of Nirvana except:—

Dipo yatha nirvritirabhyupeto
Naivanim gacchati nantariksan!
Diso na kañcit vidiśam na kañcit
Snehaksayat kevalameti sāntim.
Evam krito nivrithimabhyupeto
Naivanim gacchati nantariksam
Diso na kañcit vidiśam na kañcit
Klesaḥsayaḥ kevalameti sāntim 3.

But after Asvaghosa Nagarjuna boldly defined Nirvana by the word Śunya, which was characterised as Astināstitadubhayānubhayaca-

1. Taking for granted that Indrabhuti was an older contemporary of Padmasambhava we may take the date of the composition of his works as ranging between A.D. 725 to 750. In his Jnanasidhidi Indrabhuti mentions six different works as authorities, namely, Samvara Tantra, Śri-Vajramandalalakāra, Mayajala Tantra, Mahāsamayatantra, Tantra, Sangrahā and Śrisamajottara, and so all these seven works must belong to a period anterior to the time of the author, that is, before circa 700.

2. This Ms. was discovered by me from among a bundle of Newari Ms. in the collection of Mahāmohonradhyaya Hararasad Śastri. Two copies now exist, one in the Nepal Durbar Library and another in the Central Library Baroda.

tuṣkoṭi vinirmuktam Śūnyarūpam  i.e. a condition about which neither existence, nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the two can be predicated. This is a transcendental condition which of course cannot justify eternal striving for ages for Nirvāṇa. People were not satisfied with the idea. And it is for that reason his disciple, Maitreyanātha introduced the element of Vijñāna into the Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamikas and developed what is now known as the Yogācāra system. Gradually in course of time, Yogācāra also failed to satisfy the bankings of the followers of Buddhism, much less the laity and the mass, and hence it was necessary to introduce a new element known as Mahāsukha. This introduction of Mahāsukhavāda in the Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda gave rise to Vajrayāna, which held out a definite and attractive spiritual prospect for its followers and became extremely popular. It cared both for the Sāṅgīs, for the Āsāṅgias and for all the innumerable varieties of these two divisions of Vajrayāna. To those who wanted Yoga it gave yoga; for those who wanted to get salvation by muttered Mantras it held out a promise to them; those who wanted gods were given innumerable gods; those who wanted earthly siddhis or perfections, found directions for attaining these Siddhis. Above all, those who wanted unrestricted enjoyment of women were given all they wanted, and something more.

What was imperative on all Bodhisattvas is that they should apply themselves vigorously for the uplift of suffering humanity. They were nevertheless conscious that they sometimes go beyond the limits of law and morality, but it is, as Aryadeva points out, of very little consequence and does not deserve reproach as the Bodhisattva, who sacrifices everything, even his own emancipation for the sake of the suffering mankind, if he commits any wrong it should not be taken into account.

To understand the underlying significance of the Mahāsukhavāda a reference should be made to the construction of the Buddhist Universe which is represented by Caityas or Stūpas. The Universe of the Buddhists is divided into 26 Lokas or heavens and these are divided into three broad divisions Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpa. The names of these Lokas are enumerated in various books on Buddhism of modern times and in the Dharmasaṅgraha attributed to Nāgārjuna; it is therefore needless to enumerate them here.

The Bodhicitta ‘or the mind determined upon obtaining Bodhi’ or Nirvāṇa commences an upward march through these heavens. In the

1. Compare also Advayavijrajamgraha (Nepal Ms) Fol. 13.
   "Na san nassan na sadassan nacāpyanubhāpam
   Catuṣkoti vinirmuktam tatvam mādhyamikāvādah."

2. Compare Aryadeva.
   Bodhiicittem samupāya sambojho kṛtacetasā
   Tannādi yannā kṛtavyam jagaśuddhāranāsaya.
   JASS, LXVII (1698), p. 178.
Kāmāvacara heavens the element of Kāma is retained, in the Rūpa heavens the Rūpa or form of Bodhicitta is retained, and in the Arūpa heavens the Rūpa is lost also. The topmost of the Rūpa heavens is the Akanistha heaven where Amitābha Buddha of boundless light resides. Beyond that is the highest point which is known as the Sumeruśikhara, and from this point the Bodhicitta plunges himself in Śunya and merges into it. Nothing but Vijñāna remains in Bodhicitta with a feeling of eternal bliss and happiness. (Mahāsukha).

The Bodhicitta, they formulated, is nothing but a male divinity of the nature of Śunya and Śunya they made a goddess (Nairātma). As a man experiences delight in the embrace of a woman so the Bodhicitta experiences bliss and happiness in the embrace of Śunya or Nairātma Devī. 1 Though this analogy is immoral from the point of view of ethics, it was quite appropriate and satisfied all, cultured or uncultured, Śaikṣas or Aśaikṣas, educated and the illiterate mass. As a matter of fact a brighter spiritual prospect could never be held out to the mass. From this Mahāsukhavāda originated the host of Yab-yum deities in Vajrayāna, of which several illustrations have been given by me in my recent publication on Indian Buddhist Iconography.

The attitude of the Vajrayānists towards Hindu rituals was not at all of a friendly nature. Ganeśa, whom we worship in the very beginning in any Tāntric rite, is characterised by the epithet Vighna, and a Buddhist God was created in the shape of Vighnāntaka, the destroyer of Vighna. This god when represented in art is seen trampling Ganeśa under his feet. The position of Ganeśa in the Buddhist Pantheon is under the feet of various gods, such as Mahāpratisarā, Parnaśavari, Aparājīta, etc. The higher gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra and Śiva are also humiliated in a similar way. Their consorts also did not receive any better treatment. Śitalā, Hayagriva etc. are sometimes represented as flying away to escape the wrath of Buddhist gods. Poor Brahmā has been more severely handled. His severed head with four faces and grey beards is flourished mercilessly by a number of Buddhist gods.

The Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti, king of Uddiyāna, is divided into twenty chapters of unequal length, and the thesis of the work, as the title indicates, is that emancipation can only be obtained through the medium of knowledge. Among all systems the Vajrayāna is the best system and Vajrayāna is nothing but the Sarvatalahāgatajñāna or the knowledge of all the Tathāgatas or the five Dhūyāni Buddhas.

The first chapter is named Tattvaniirdeśa and opens with a salutation to the Lord of the world who is worshipped by the Jinas. It then goes

1. Nairātma is also known by the names of Śakti, Prajñā, Svabhā-prajñā, Prajñāparamita, Mudrā Ghaṇṭa etc., and Bodhicitta has the substitutes of Vajra and Uṣaya.
on to say that Vajrayāna is the essence of all Tantras and those who do not know it move about in the sea of Samsāra. Emancipation cannot be obtained by Mudrā or Mantra or Manḍala or by the learned or by the fools nor by anyone who is devoid of knowledge. Those who are conversant with the kind of knowledge preached here can attain Bodhi even if they indulge in animal food, strong drink and all kinds of debauchery and immoral and illegal practices. The keynote is sounded by the following most significant words:

"Karmañā yena vai sattvāḥ kalpakoti satānyapi!
"Pacyante naraṅe ghoṛe tenayogī vimucyaṭe!"

This knowledge can only be obtained through the good offices of the Guru whose characteristics are described. Then he defines the knowledge as the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, meaning the Dhyāni Buddhas, and calls it the Vajrajñāna or Samantabhadra or Mahāmudrā. The Vajrajñāna is divided into five different sub-divisions, such as Ādārṣājñāna, Samatājñāna, Prstyaṃvekṣājñāna, Kṛtyānuṣṭhāna jñāna and Suvīśudhajñāna. Armed with these five different kinds of knowledge the ascetic should think of himself as being god of the essence of Śunya and all else as Śunya, and with all paraphernalia of worship should worship none else but himself; he can partake of any food he fancies and enjoy any woman he desires. Women of the lowest classes such as Cāṇḍālas or Dombis are specially recommended for such purposes, though daughters of Brāhmins also are recommended with the remark:

"Yathā cintam na prāduṣyet tathā kūryam suśobhanam,"
because there is no better truth in this world than that which is experienced by himself.

"Svayamvedyavabhāvam yat tattvavatnam anuttaram."

In the second chapter the author establishes the uselessness of the worship of external forms of gods. Gods as such have no existence and cannot have any real existence; but when the ascetic thinks or realises himself as the god, that special power of thought materializes itself in the form of god. It is only the fools who worship gods, because there cannot be any separate existence of a god apart from the worshipper.

The third chapter establishes the uselessness of the worship of Śakāra or images of gods. The images are made by men and therefore destructible; how can gods who are essentially external can be destructible? They are not, and therefore image-worship is useless. The knowledge of the Tathāgatas has not got any form, then, how can it be expressed in form? Image worship therefore is not tenable.

The fourth chapter dispenses with the arguments that because the knowledge of the Tathāgatas is not Śakāra it must be Nirākāra, and as such it cannot be conceived. The author postulates a divine form for the knowledge which exists in the mind.
In the sixth chapter the author defines Mahāsukha as the knowledge of the Tathāgatas and "Svasamvedya" realized by self alone and "Svabhāvaj" natural. It is not Anitya but always Nitya. This pleasure which is not rūga or passion should be dedicated to the Jinas and all pleasures of the world should be enjoyed without compunction.

The eighth chapter is one of the most interesting chapters in Jñānasiddhi and gives the details as to how merits and knowledge can be obtained. In the beginning the author says that it is very difficult to realise the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, and it is specially difficult for those who are not very intelligent, have less merits and less stamina, and it is therefore that the following procedure is given for them to adopt if they seek their own good. He gives a somewhat elaborate procedure comprising the attitude of sitting, bowing to the Tathāgatas and offering other kinds of worship, Ātmabhāvanirgatānā, pāpādeśanā, punyānumodanā, etc. Then the author says that the Bodhicitta should be originated by means of Samavara or union with Śakti. This Bodhicitta brings forth all kinds of merit and knowledge.

In the ninth chapter the author dispenses with the distinction of Śuci and AŚuci (purity and impurity) as having no fundamental distinction. In the tenth chapter again he dispenses with the distinction between "Gamya" and "Agamya" Śaktis and says,—for the followers of Vajrayāna that no such distinction exists.

The thirteenth chapter deals with the qualities of a Guru or a Vajra-cārya and the fourteenth gives the characteristics of a disciple.

The fifteenth chapter gives the significance of the five different Dhyāni Buddhas, Amitābha, Aksobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Vairocana and Ratnasambhava, and their Śaktis, Locanā, Māmaki, Tārā, Pāndarā and Ārya Tārā. It gives also the significance of their different colours and their forms, and also the significance of three faces of the deities and six hands, and also that of the different weapons with which the various deities are represented. All these are nothing but the knowledge spoken of in the beginning and its various manifestations.

In the last three chapters he divides the ascetics in three classes Mṛdu, Madhyā and Uttama and separately defines the methods of worship.

The above is a short survey of the information obtained from Indrabhūti's work. I will now endeavour to give you an idea as to how this developed in later times, from a work of Aṇaṅgavajra who is identified with Gorakṣanātha. He flourished in the tenth century and renounced Buddhism in his later life and became one of the saints of the Nāthapanthas. His name, when a Buddhist, was Aṇaṅgavajra and we possess his only work in Sanskrit in the shape of Prajñopāyaviniśayasya-siddhi. Let us see in what respects Aṇaṅgavajra's Vajrayāna differs from that of Indrabhūti.
The Prajñopāyaviniśayāsiddhi consists of five chapters of almost-equal length and the subject dealt with here is how emancipation is obtained from a correct understanding of the doctrines of Prajñā and Upāya.

In the first chapter he mystically defines Prajñā and Upāya and says that emancipation cannot be obtained unless there is complete Advaya (or union) between these two elements.

In the second chapter he goes on to say that without the help of the Guru the knowledge of the Prajñā and Upāya cannot be obtained; so Prajñābhiṣṭka should always be taken from the Guru.

In the third chapter he gives the description of the Abhiṣṭka. The Mudrā or Prajñā should be blooming in youth, and beautiful in appearance and bedecked in garlands and sandal. Then the Bodhisattva should read out a hymn in praise of the Guru and request him to impart to him the knowledge of the combination of Prajñā with Upāya. Then the Guru should permit the disciple to enjoy the Prajñā, and Abhiṣṭka is then given accompanied by singing and sounding of bells.

In the fifth chapter is seen the complete metamorphosis of the lofty philosophy of Prajñāpāramitā. The author says, without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is impossible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman, and by enjoying any woman, whether of low origin or high, or whether mother, sister or other relatives, emancipation can be obtained. In such matters according to this author there is absolutely no restriction and without any fear women may be enjoyed provided he has been properly initiated by the Guru, for—

Sambhogārthamīdam Sarvam trairdhūtukamāśeṣataḥ
Nirmitam Vajraunāthena sādhakānām hitāya ca

Apply yourself in such a way that your mind is not troubled, for if it is once troubled emancipation cannot be obtained.

From the above two works it can be easily imagined to what a length these Vajrācāryas went to make their religion popular and attractive for the mass. Nowadays there is a tendency to explain things of this kind in a mystic manner, but this much can be said that their results would be absolutely unavailing, as in most cases the language is unequivocal though in some works the 'twilight language' has also been adopted. It is no wonder that by practising this kind of religion the whole of Eastern India lost all vigour and the whole population became corrupted, and it is fortunate that the Muhammadans came to rescue the people by destroying all the Vajrācāryas in three big monasteries, Nālanda, Odantapuri, Vikramāśīlā and probably in Jagaddala also.

The Buddhist priests never married, as attachment to any woman is detriment to obtaining Nirvāṇa. But they used to take Saktis for the sake of Yoga practice without having any attachment or aversion to them.
GLIMPSES OF VAJRAYĀNA.

Though "Samvara" or restraint is preached most laudably yet these Śaktis sometimes gave birth to children, who generally took to the profession of medicine, or specialised themselves in fine arts and skilled arts. Even now the progeny of such children form the powerful Banbra caste in Nepal and most of the modern Gurus of Vajrayāna generally remain steeped in the five makaras.

So much for the manuscripts which I have had the opportunity of studying. But there is a published work entitled Cittasodhanaprakarana, attributed to Āryadeva or Āyadeva a later Vajrayāna writer. It is a small but very interesting work. It gives in a nutshell the leading doctrines of Vajrayāna and praises the practice of Māhamudrā. It is written in a plain and unequivocal language though Sandhyāabāṣa is also used in explaining mystic doctrines. What is most interesting in this work is the direct and reasonable attack it had made on the Hindu pet theories and popular practices—

Pratarannapi Gangāyām naiva śvā sūddhirmahati
Tasmāt dharmanāyām punām tīrthasānam tu nisphalam
Dharmo yadi bhavet snānāt kauśārantām kṛtārthālā
Naktandvam praviṣṭānām matsyūdinām tu kā kathā
Pūpaksayopi snānena naiva syūddhi niścayaḥ
Yato rūgāribuddhistu dṛṣyate tīrthasevinām

1 A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fisher man must be meritorious, what to speak of the fish and other [aquatic animals] who are always in water day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of passion, hatred and other vices.

1. Members of the Banbra caste are held in high esteem in Nepal. Being the offspring of Vajracaryas they readily got entrance into the priesthood also. Formerly such priests used to remain in celibacy. The last celibate monk expired about a hundred years back.

2. Published by Harapradā Śastri in his article, entitled, Discovery of a work by Āryadeva in Sanskrit in JASP, 1898 p. 175 et seq. This Āryadeva was a thorough Vajrayānīst and should not be confounded with the more ancient Āryadeva, the disciple of Maitreyanātha.

DISCOVERY OF THE DHARMA SAMUCCAYA.

BY

MR. DHARMADITYA DHARMACHARYA, NEPAL.

Where (1) how and when the Manuscript was found.—After my visit to various parts of India to study the extension of Buddhist Religion and literature, I went back to Nepal in August 1921 to resume my theoretical and practical study of the sastras that had been apparently forgotten by my fellow-members of the Buddhist Sangha in Nepal. The eminent French orientalist, Dr. Sylvan Levi of Paris and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasād Sastri of the Dacca University had also come to make a research study of Buddhist literature and religion as existent in Nepal.

It was thus in 1922 in the month of April that Pandit Siddhi Harga Vajrācārya, a teacher of Buddhist and Nepalese works in the school connected with the Katmandu State Library told me of the discovery of an original manuscript written in an ancient Nepalese character and in the Sanskrit language. He had found it in the house of a Buddhist house-holder living in a near-by street of Katmandu, the modern capital of Nepal. It was lying in a dark corner of the house and the Pandit had an occasion to go to the house-holder to see what books and manuscripts he had.

(2) The title of the manuscripts.—The name of the manuscript is distinctly stated at the end of the same to be "Dharma Samuccayonāma dharmaparyaya" or "the exposition (or the teaching) of the Law (or the Truth) of the Buddha known as "the Dharma Samuccaya" or "the Compendium of the Law." Because Dharma, in a Buddhist sense, signifies "Buddhabhāsitam Dharmam" or "the doctrine proclaimed by the Enlightened One," and also "the Caturaśṭi dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi" or the 84,000 divisions of the Word of the Buddha which are most widely known as the Tripiṭaka. When particularised, only the first and the third Pitakas, namely the Sūtra and the Abhidharma are called Dharma in contradistinction to the Vinaya which is generally known as the Bhikṣuvinaya or the Discipline of the Buddhist monks and nuns. The Dharma is also known as the Dharmaśīna.

So, the Dharma as far as the manuscript itself is concerned, stands for only the 84,000 divisions of the Tripiṭaka.
DISCOVERY OF THE DHARMA SAMUCCAYA.

It means, the work is a compilation or a collection of the materials which were obtained from the Dharma or the Tripiṭakadharma. It also signifies that the manuscript is a compendium of the Buddhist Law as it embodies the principles of the doctrine as preached by Buddha and is a compilation giving a brief comprehensive summary of a larger work or even of Buddhism. That this is so, the compiler has particularly mentioned at the beginning and the end of the work.

Compendium of Buddhist Law.

The work, therefore, will be distinctly known as the "Compendium of Buddhist Law."

Sources of Material.

After paying homage to the Teacher, in one line, he mentions the texts he had quoted from in the following verses:—

Saddharmasṛtyupasthāṇa sūtra Vaipulyasāgarāt,
Gāthā samuddharisyāmi lokalocanatatpara.

At the end of the manuscript, he again mentions the texts thus:—

Vaipulyasaddharmā yaḍā hi tasya smṛtyupasthitā-
sūtravārād hi gāthā mayodārītā.

Name of the work and Compiler.

Again another line runs like this:—

Dharmasamuccayanāma Dharmāparyāyāḥ samāptaḥ
Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhī śūtravārād Bhikṣu
Avalokita Sihmenodārīta iti.

It is thus quite evident from the above lines that Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihma was the compiler and that he had deduced the materials from the Saddharmasṛtyupasthāṇa Sūtra and the Vaipulyasāgara Sūtra or the Vaipulyamahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra which I consider is the same as the just preceding one.

The Saddharmasṛtyupasthāṇa Sūtra is undoubtedly one of the 84,000 Buddhist Scriptures and particularly of the Sūtra Piṭikā, but we are sorry to say that this Sūtra is not available now for our perusal.

That this Sūtra was an independent one and existed in Nepal and in India, there is no doubt. The learned compiler had extracted much of his materials from the Sūtra this is a twice admitted fact. This is enough to show that there existed at least one copy in Nepal. But it seems strange that not one scholar Western or Eastern, who took away lots of manuscripts, from Nepal has made any remark about it in any of their accounts. If it is not gone out of the State, I am confident it may still be found somewhere there.
While referring to the fact that the Sūtra existed in India, we need only remind ourselves of the learned author of the Bodhicāryavatāra and compiler of the well-known works, the Śīkṣā Samuccaya and the Sūtra Samuccaya. He is Śāntideva who, according to an ancient manuscript found in Nepal, was the son of Rājā Maṇju Varma and who became a Buddhist monk and master of the Tripitaka in the University of Nālanda. He was also called Bhūsuka because he had become perfect in the practice of a Samādhi called Bhasukasamādhi. When he held a controversy, there he recollected his works which as the manuscript goes, he had already compiled previously or in his former birth. This shows they were earlier works and had been written earlier than the seventh century A.D. The above reference is further supported by the fact that he has quoted a passage from the Saddharmasūryapustakā Sūtra in the first chapter on Śraddhā in his Śīkṣā Samuccaya. This is enough to show that the Sūtra existed earlier than the Samuccaya by at least a few decades. The latter work has been edited and also translated by Cecil Bendall. He says it is a work dealing with the future punishment of sins. But I believe that it must have been a work of far more importance, otherwise it would not have been possible for Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṃha to get so much material for his Dharma Samuccaya which as the following details will show, is a voluminous work five times that of the Pāli Dhammapāda, as regards the number of verses. I am, therefore, trying to find out if there are translations or transcripts of the Sūtra in the Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan and other Tripitakas.

The next important work that Bhikṣu Avalokita Siṃha has referred to is the Vaipulya-mahāgambhīrodadhi Sūtra or the Text or the Discourse known as the Very Profound Ocean of the Vaipulya or the Development (of the Dharma). This Sūtra too cannot be found in Nepal at present. This must be a big and very important work giving an exhaustive interpretation of the higher doctrine of Buddhism as the name of the Sūtra implies so, and as the Dharma Samuccaya itself testifies to it. The existence of this Sūtra in Nepal and the mention of some Vaipulya works by the Buddhist pilgrims from China and the still popular classification of a certain work as Vaipulya Sūtras in Nepal are living evidences to show that there was a great literature that was distinctly called Vaipulya Sūtra or Sūtras firstly in India and consequently in Nepal and the Far East. The references of the Commentary on the Sāta Śāstra Vaipulya drawn up by Dharmapāla Bodhisatva of Kāñcipurā, the ancient capital of Drāvīḍa, in Hiouen Tsang's accounts of India, the quotation of the "great Vaipulya Sūtra" in the Amītyurdbhyāna Sūtra and from the Jñāna-Vaipulya Sūtra and the Āryasarvadharma-Vaipulya-Saṅgraha-Sūtra in
the Śikṣā Samuccaya are sufficient evidences to prove the preceding fact.

The Dharma Samuccaya is written on palm-leaves, size 12 inches long, and two and a quarter inches broad, in an ancient Bhujimo character which is the third of the thirteen or according to some, fifteen characters recognised in Nepal because manuscripts written in these characters were found there. The style of writing is uniform and exquisitely beautiful which few scribes of to-day can imitate.

The manuscript consists of 106 leaves, carefully preserved, 6 lines in a page. (63 letters in a line). It is written on both sides. The leaves have been connected by means of a cord pierced through the middle, a system which prevailed centuries back when palm-leaf writing was in vogue. It is, however, very unfortunate to find that in spite of precautions taken to preserve the leaves intact, leaves nos. 49, 53, 57, 66, 81 are missing. The appearance of the manuscript itself shows its originality and freshness, although a few leaves are torn, defaced and illegible. This must be due to the carelessness and rough handling of the present owner.

Consequently the loss in the contents of the manuscript has affected some chapters. As the compiler has distinctly written at the end that he had, with the purpose of explaining the meaning (of the Dharma), determined or "seen" in a work of 2,684 ślokas or stanzas "here", we find just after this the corresponding number. The word here and the distinct number given are enough to show that that is the number of stanzas contained in the Dharma Samuccaya and that has nothing to do with the preceding line.

Because the Bhikṣu or the Buddhist monk states thus:—

_Vaipulya mahāgambhiradhi sūtravarādbhikṣu Avalokita Sihmenodāhīta iī_.

*Atra caturaśitiślokādhika satīsatottarasahasrāvayaślokānām granthe dṛṣṭam sphulārthaye 2684._

In the first line he says he had deduced (the material) from the Sūtra already discussed, namely the Vaipulyamahāgambhiradhi Sūtra. Then just after that he says, "Here I had, for expanding the meaning, seen (?) in a work of 2684 stanzas." Although it may seem confusing, the number of the ślokas repeated twice has been helpful in determining the fact.
The few leaves of the manuscript being lost, the total number of ślokas available for our perusal, comes to about 2200 only. Almost all the ślokas are in a couplet form; each line on the average consists of 15 words. The Sanskrit language used is easy, comprehensive and simple. The technical words used are all found in the Buddhist Sanskrit Tripiṭaka. So any student or inquirer who has gone through a certain number of Buddhist Sanskrit poetry or any post-graduate of the Indian and other universities, such as the Calcutta University, who has taken up Buddhist philosophy will find it a worthy text-book of Buddhist Law in poetry.

As regards the main contents of the Dharma Samuccaya it is, as already told at the beginning, five times that of the Dhammapāda written in Pāli in the volume of details. The Dharma Samuccaya consists of 36 vargas or sections each giving a comprehensive delineation of a subject or principle of Buddhism. The following subjects form the main chapters of the Samuccaya:

### CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the subject.</th>
<th>Its English interpretation</th>
<th>No. of verses.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jīta varga</td>
<td>the chapter on the victorious</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dharmopadēsa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the preaching of the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kāyajugupsā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the abhorrence of the body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Parivartā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the changing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Anityatā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the impermanence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Apramāda</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>vigilance or lustless activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kāmajugupsā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the abhorrence or renunciation of sense pleasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Trṣṇā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Strijugupsā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the abhorrence of the woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Madyajugupsā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>abhorrence of the intoxicating liquors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Citta</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Vāk or Vācā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Karma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Samyojana</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>worldly bondage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Pāpa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Naraka</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>hell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Preta</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the preta or ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Tiryak</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>the beast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above list of chapters contained in the Dharma Samuccaya will clearly show that the work is not a mere recension of the Pāli or Sanskrit Dhammapāda but an independent compilation based on the Saddharmasamāpyupasthānā Sūtra and on the Vaipulyagambhirodadhi Sūtra, nor the chapters do agree with those given in any work of the Dhammapāda class. Where the Samuccaya agrees with such works with reference to some vargas like the anityatā and apramāda vargas, the details are more or less different, amplified or modified. The Buddhist technical words are, of course, the same throughout the Buddhist Scriptures. When compared with the various recensions of Prākṛta Dhammapāda available up to date, the details and the main headings vary to a no less extent. I cannot accept the allegation of some of the scholars in Calcutta who say it is based on the Pāli or Prākṛt Dhammapāda, for reasons already given above.

From various points of view it is clear that Dharma Samuccaya is not a recension but an independent compilation and the greatest work of poetry of its kind in Buddhist literature, particularly in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Besides, it is distinctly classified as belonging to the Dharmaparyāya class. The learned compiler gives the name of the work as Dharma Samuccayonāma Dharmaparyāya. It is this which makes it more clear that it has been compiled for interpreting Buddhism. The scribe, Bhikṣu Sujita Srignana of the Citra Vihāra who copied it for himself and for the good of others lays us under
a great obligation for copying the name of the work intact, thus revealing
to us the fact that like the works of the Dhammapāda class, there was a
class of Buddhist literature distinctly known as the Dharmaparyāya
which has of course been written especially for expounding the dharma
of the Buddha. Under this class comes the Lalita Vistara and the Ārya
Ganda Vyūha which is the eleventh Sūtra of the Āravyūha Mahad-
harmaparyāya. This reference is given in Ārya Ganda Vyūha Sūtra
which is also a work written with the principal object of describing the
similar attainment of perfect enlightenment by one Sudhana as the Prince
of Kapilavāstu did. Full evidences are not forthcoming to illustrate the
particular difference between the Veipulya sūtras and the Dharmaparyāyas
as we find that the Lalita Vistara is found to be classed as a work of
the Dharmaparyāya and also of the Veipulya class.

Date of writing.

Now we come to the date of writing. The copyist
who is a Bhikṣu or Buddhist monk writes thus:—

Somvat 293 VaiśākhaŚravaṇacaturthyām.

It means it was written in the samvat 293 which is of course, the
year of the Nepalese Era, the work being copied in the reign of Rāja
Radra Deva of Nepal. The present year is the 1045th of the Nepalese
Era and the date when it was copied by Bhikṣu Sujita Sṛṇana of Citra
Viharā, therefore is equivalent to 1173 A.D. So the manuscript was
written and finished on the fourteenth dark fortnight day of Vaiśākha in
the Christian Era 1173.

This date is very important to the student of the history of Nepal
as it throws light on the state of Buddhism at least
on the existence of the Bhikṣu Saṁgha or the Brother-
hood of the Buddhist monks in Nepal. The common
belief amongst the Śaiva Brahmins and the present Gūrkhas and
Nowars is that Saṅkarācārya and his successors had come to Nepal and
destroyed the Buddhist religion and literature there. This is the main
report which the non-Buddhists in particular have been giving by way of
defeating or discouraging every Buddhist discussion or every Buddhist
activity, up to date. Actually we find from the gradual disappearance
of the original Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṁi Saṁghas, of the original Buddhist
scriptures, of the Buddhist literary and monastic culture, and of the
State aid for Buddhist education, that there were some persecutions a
thousand years back.

The names of two Bhikṣus who compiled and copied the work respect-
ively show that the Bhikṣu Saṁgha was still existent
and the Bhikṣus were active. Preaching of the
Buddhist Law was still going on; this is evident
from the fact that Bhikṣu Avalokita Śiṃha had compiled the work espe-
cially with the object of enlightening the people and of showing the true
way to those who were busy with various religious disputes. Besides this, the work itself had the object of expounding the doctrine of the Buddha to others.

Again, the name of the king furnishes further evidence of Buddhist predominance in Nepal. The chronicle of Nepal shows that Rāja Rudra Deva belonged to a Rājput dynasty, a collateral branch of the solar dynasty of the former King Aṃśu Varma. Vāmadeva was the first king of the Rājput dynasty and Māndevar was his great-grandson who ruled 10 years and then abdicated in favour of his son Narasihma Deva. He then must have built a vihāra which is still known as Māndevar-samskārita Vihāra where he took ordination in the Bhikṣu Saṅgha, remained in it and obtained salvation. The life-account of three rājas are not given and then comes the name of Rāja Māndevar's great-grandson, Rāja Rudra Deva who ruled only 7 years, abdicated in favour of his son Mitra Deva and then took ordination into the monastic order. He remained in the old Onkuli vihāra which was built by Rāja Śiva Deva Varma and which he had just repaired. This Rāja, although invited, sent a statue of Dipaṅkara Buddha in whose name the charity festival was celebrated, to receive the offerings. He had also granted a land-endowment fund and money with which the members of the vihāra will provide necessary expenses. It is written he remained to inform his great-grandson Jayadeva Malla about the endowment. This shows that rājas zealously worked for the promotion of Buddhism, abdicated voluntarily for nirvāṇa's sake, repaired old vihāras and erected new ones, lived therein, studying and practising Buddhist Law to the end of their lives and the literary and monastic activities of the Bhikṣus were not marred by the intolerant policies of any interested sectarians at least 800 years ago.

As to the Citra vihāra where the manuscript was written the great number of the vihāras all over Nepal does not allow any definite determination where it was located. Besides this, the names of the vihāras appear to have undergone changes and the wants of a systematic chronology and a detailed history of Nepal are some of the obstacles.

As the work is of great importance to all students of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, to inquirers of Buddhism and is an indispensable text book to Buddhists and Buddhist missionaries, I determined to have it brought to the notice of some professors of the Calcutta University and of the Buddhist missionaries in Calcutta. They appreciated the work so much that my esteemed and learned friend, Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Litt. (London), Professor of Pāli and Ancient Indian History himself offered to be a joint editor of the work and brought it to the notice of the late Justice Sir Ashutosh
Mukerjee, the then President of the Post-Graduate Department of the University who was kind enough to have it published by the Calcutta University.

The work will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Litt. (London) and myself. As it was the will of the venerable compiler, Bhikṣu Avalokita Sihna and also of the copyist, Bhikṣu Sujita Sṛjana that it was meant for the enlightenment of the people of the world, I have determined to have it translated in as many languages as possible.

Just two weeks past the French lady Orientalist and explorer, Madame Alexandra David Neel who, to study the magnificent spread of Buddhist literature and religion in the world, has been away from her house in French Algeria for the last twelve years, visiting Japan, China, Korea and other places, recently passed Tibet on her way from China to India has kindly consented to translate the Dharma Samuccaya and publish it in French, as soon as my edition of the work is out. I myself will translate it into Nepalese and Hindi. My esteemed colleague Dr. Barua will, if time will permit, publish it in Bengalee. On the publication of the text along with an English translation or separately if possible, I have made up my mind to have it published in Buddhist and other languages.

It is intended, as the name of the work implies, to be a compendium of Buddhist Law in the poetical text, and prose translations in different languages. It will be an indispensable handbook for the Buddhists and the Buddhist missionaries and for all others interested in the study of Buddhism. It is a greater Dhammapāda an independent compilation of a Nepalese Bhikṣu. The materials were collected from now unknown works of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, the chapters are more systematically arranged than in any other works of the kind, the details of each chapter or subject, although deduced from Buddhist works, are more elaborately arranged more complete, and more comprehensive and new subjects not found in any other works of the Dhammapāda class have been discussed at tolerable length. It is written in such a good narrative and easy poetry style that I believe any earnest inquirer after the ancient Āryan doctrine of the Buddha will not only be convinced of the truths preached therein but will inspire the person to delve deeply into the literature and religion of the Buddhists.
IV.—Philology, Sanskritic and Dravidian.
THE ARYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

The following abbreviations have been used in this article:—

A. V. Atharva Veda.
C. D. G. A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages by Bishop Caldwell.
D. P. G. A Grammar of the Pāli Language by Charles Duroiselle.
G. M. G. A Grammar of the Malayālam Language by H. Gundert.
I. A. The Indian Antiquary.
L. S. I. The Linguistic Survey of India.
M. V. G. Vedic Grammar by A. A. Macdonell.
P. P. G. Prakrit Grammar by P. Pischel.
R. V. Rig Veda.
S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.
T. A. Taittiriya Āraṇyaka.
T. S. Taittiriya Sambhitā.
Var. Prākrita Prakāśa of Vararuchi.
V. B. U. Vājasaneyā Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad.
W. S. G. A Sanskrit Grammar by W. D. Whitney.

The system of Transliteration adopted in this paper is the same as that used in the Linguistic Survey of India.

The following additional symbols are also employed:—

\( ĥ \) is used to represent the letter :: called Aydam in Tamil.

\( C \) is used to represent the Telugu Ardhānuśwāra or the obscure nasal.

\( ch \) is used to denote the dental pronunciation of the palatal ch adopted in Telugu when ch is not followed by a palatal vowel.
THE ĀRYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

BY

MR. R. SWAMINATHA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The current Dravidian theory.

The class of words known as Pronouns belong to the most fundamental elements of a language. I propose to bring together in this paper a body of facts which seem to show unmistakably that the Demonstrative, the Relative-Interrogative and the Reflexive pronouns of the Dravidian languages are of Āryan origin, that their Personal pronouns have some Āryan affinities and that most of the gender and number signs in these pronouns are also of Āryan origin. These facts are totally opposed to the assumption made by Western Scholars that the Dravidian languages had attained their development long before the arrival of the Āryans in India and to the current Dravidian theory of which that assumption is, as it were, the sheet anchor. This theory is undergoing a process of evolution and it is not the same now that it was forty or fifty years ago. Bishop Caldwell, who is regarded as the father of Dravidian philology, maintained that the Dravidians were not an autochthonous Indian race but were Turanian immigrants who entered India by the North-West, that the Dravidian languages had become fully developed long before the arrival of the Āryans in India, that these languages had no structural relationship with Sanskrit, that their affinities were mainly Turanian, occasionally Semitic, and that where the affinities were Āryan these did not come into existence on Indian soil but belonged to the pre-Āryan period of the pre-historic past when the Indo-Europeans and Turanians were living as one undivided race.

This theory elaborated in great detail in Bishop Caldwell’s Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages (1st Edition 1857, 2nd Edition 1875) found general acceptance at one time, but is dissented from in several important particulars at the present day. As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow in his introduction to the Dravidian languages in Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey of India (1906), it is now generally recognized that these languages constitute an isolated family in India and that the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India has been a failure. Professor Sten Konow is also of opinion that all attempts to show a closer connexion with the Indo-Germanic family have proved just as futile and that there is no philological reason to connect the Mundā group with the Dravidian.

While it is assumed that the Dravidian languages have remained unaffected in structure by the contiguous Indo-Āryan idioms most Dravidian scholars hold that these idioms have, by contact with Dravidian
languages, undergone important changes not only in their vocabulary but also in phonology, grammar and syntax; and Professor Stan Konow (Vol. IV of the Linguistic Survey of India) gives a pretty long list of items in which Sanskrit and other Indo-Āryan tongues are stated to have undergone change by imitating Dravidian idioms. The most important item under phonology is the adoption of the cerebral series of letters in Sanskrit, and as these letters are found even in the oldest Vedas composed while the Āryan immigrants were still confined to the Panjab it is inferred that these immigrants must have been in contact with the Dravidians from the very beginning and that the Dravidians though confined now to the Dakhan and Southern India, must once have occupied also the West and the North-West of India.

§ 2.—The present writer’s conclusions.

The conclusions which I have arrived at after a detailed examination of the question extending over several years are entirely at variance with the current theory:—

(i) There are about one hundred suffixes employed in the cultivated Dravidian languages for the purpose of indicating the tenses and modes of verb-forms. I find that most of these suffixes are of Indo-Āryan origin.

(ii) The personal terminations of Dravidian finite verbs and the pronouns of which these terminations are in many cases early forms are also most of them of Āryan origin.

(iii) The basic portion of the Dravidian vocabularies consists largely of words of Indo-Āryan origin though, owing to the extremely limited character of Tamil and other early Dravidian alphabets, these words have been greatly corrupted and are very difficult of recognition. These conclusions clearly indicate that what are known as Dravidian languages are in all their present essential features a creation of Āryan and Āryanized immigrants from the North. Further, the existence in the Tamil language of words and forms which are met with in the Vedas and in the Avestic language but have disappeared from the post-Vedic Indo-Āryan tongues, would seem to show that these immigrants must have separated from the main body of Indo-Āryans in the North-West in pre-historic times—in the pro-Vedic or even pre-Vedic period. It also follows from the above that the tradition about Agastya’s immigration to the south is not a mere myth and that what is known as the Dravidian civilization of the South is merely the civilization of these Āryan and Āryanized immigrants.

The above conclusions are tantamount to a total negation of the current Dravidian theory in all its details and will have no chance of being listened to by the literary world unless they are presented with all the arguments which I have to urge in their support; a piecemeal treatment
of the question in a number of small papers is therefore out of the question. Some of my conclusions formed the subject of a paper entitled "Tense Signs in Dravidian" which I sent to the Poona Oriental Conference, 1919, and a summary thereof was printed in the Conference Proceedings, Volume I, but the paper itself has not yet been published. In my Readership lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in August last, I have dealt with the influences alleged to have been exercised by the Dravidian languages on the Indo-Aryan phonology, grammar and syntax; the conclusion arrived at there is that what are called Dravidian characteristics in Indo-Aryan phonology and inflexional system are really Indo-Aryan characteristics in Dravidian, and that in this matter many Dravidian scholars have mistaken the reflexion for the original and the original for the reflexion. In the course of those lectures I have had to deal exhaustively with the gender-distinguishing pronouns of the Dravidian languages. For the sake of completeness I am dealing with all Dravidian pronouns in the present paper but my treatment of the gender-distinguishing class will be as brief as possible consistently with perspicuity.

§ 3.—Classification of Pronouns.

Pronouns may conveniently be classified under the following heads:

(i) Personal, including those of the first, second and third persons,
(ii) Reflexive,
(iii) Demonstrative,
(iv) Relative, and
(v) Interrogative.

The speaker and the person or persons addressed know each other's sex and that is apparently the reason why the pronouns of the first and second persons do not distinguish gender but only show number. The distinction of gender begins with the pronouns of the third person and is found also in the demonstrative, the relative and the interrogative classes both in Sanskrit and in Dravidian. In the Dravidian languages there are no separate pronouns for the third person their place being supplied by the demonstratives, while interrogative pronouns are used also as relative. There are thus only two distinct sets of pronouns distinguishing gender in Dravidian, viz., the demonstrative and the relative-interrogative. The reflexives show number but no gender. We shall begin with the gender-distinguishing pronouns and deal with their bases first.

§ 4.—Demonstratives in Dravidian.

The following table exhibits the demonstrative pronouns in use in the chief Dravidian languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Masculine Singular</th>
<th>Feminine Singular</th>
<th>Epicene Plural</th>
<th>Neuter Singular</th>
<th>Neuter Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>Rem. Av-ãṇ av-āḷ</td>
<td>av-ār ad-ū</td>
<td>av, av-āi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. iv-ãṇ iv-āḷ</td>
<td>iv-ār id-ū</td>
<td>iv, iv-āi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uv-ãṇ uv-āḷ</td>
<td>uv-ār ud-ū</td>
<td>uv, uv-āi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal.</td>
<td>Rem. av-ãṇ av-āḷ</td>
<td>av-ār ad-ū</td>
<td>av-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. iv-ãṇ iv-āḷ</td>
<td>iv-ār id-ū</td>
<td>iv-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rem. av-ăn-ū av-āḷ-ū</td>
<td>av-ar-ū ad-ū</td>
<td>av-ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. iv-ăn-ū iv-āḷ-ū</td>
<td>iv-ar-ū id-ū</td>
<td>iv-ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uv-ān-ū uv-āḷ-ū</td>
<td>uv-ar-ū ud-ū</td>
<td>uv-ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rem. āy-e āḷ</td>
<td>ār (honorific) av-ū</td>
<td>eikulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. im-b e mōl-(*um-āl) mōnklu = in-d-ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu.</td>
<td>Rem. imbōl imbāl   (*umākulu) un-d-ū iv-ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. mēr-(*imār) imbēr (honorific)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel.</td>
<td>Rem. vāl-ū-* ad-ī</td>
<td>vār u = ad-ī</td>
<td>av-ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(*av-a(ī).ū)</td>
<td>(*av-ar-u)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. vi-ū-(*ā-ū)</td>
<td>vir u = id i</td>
<td>iv-ī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>önd u add-u</td>
<td>ör-u add-ū</td>
<td>av-ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göndi</td>
<td>vind-u idd-u</td>
<td>vir-u idd-ū</td>
<td>iv u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göndi</td>
<td>Rem. ör ad</td>
<td>örk ad</td>
<td>av, aū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prox. ēr id</td>
<td>ērk id</td>
<td>iv, īū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kul.</td>
<td>Prox. ān-ū iri</td>
<td>ēr-ū ēr-ū</td>
<td>ēwi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—A very large majority of these forms show a final ū. This ū is not radical but merely enunciatory.

There are, besides, (1) the demonstrative elements a, i, u, which always occur initially in composition as in Tamil akkudirai ‘that horse’, immanai ‘this house’, uvvani &c., and (2) the indeclinable demonstrative adjectives ā, ī, ū, ē, ō which are treated as independent words, as in, Telugu ā guramu ‘that horse’, Tulu ī jana ‘these people’, Kurukh u muluk ‘that country’, Kui ē dēśa ‘that country’, ō kōgāņju that boy.'
It will be noted that the bases av and ava of the far demonstratives have been shortened to ē in some forms in Malayalam, Kui, Gondi, and Madras Gondi; and to ā in Tulu. Ā in Tulu is also sometimes replaced by cē in oblique cases and in the plural, as in eik 'to it'; eikulu 'they'. It will also be noted that the initial a and i of some Telugu pronouns as in vāḷī, vīḷi, vāru, vīru—and the initial i and u of some Tulu pronouns as in mōl, mēr, mōkulu—lose their initial position by metathesis. Though there is no metathesis in the nominative forms adī, iādī, avi, ivi etc., of Telugu and of Madras Gondi, the oblique forms dīnī, dīini, vāṭī, vīṭi, show metathesis of the initial vowels. There is reason to believe that the m which appears in all the near demonstratives of Tulu is radical, and not merely a euphonic v hardened into m as supposed by Bishop Caldwell.

Of the three demonstrative letters a, i, u the first obviously refers to the distant thing or person and the second to the proximate thing or person. The third u is not now used in any language except Tulu, and it is usually understood to have indicated the intermediate thing or person in Old Tamil and Old Kanarese. Old Tamil usage, however, clearly indicates that in its inception u was a far demonstrative and it is used as such in the Oldest Tamil works. In these works umbar 1 means "on the other side of, on the farther side of, above"; ūngu 2 means "superior to, higher than, above"; uppakkam 3 means "the back, the side away from us, as opposed to the front," and uppāl 4 means 'the farther side.'

The latter day interpretation of u as the intermediate demonstrative is thus not in consonance with its use in Old Tamil; it is also not in consonance with its probable etymology. It has already been pointed out that ava has become ē, in Malayalam, Kui and the Gondi dialects. It will be pointed out presently that it became ē, and later ā (the pronoun of the third person), in Persian; and that the far demonstratives ē and ū in the modern Aryan vernaculars of the North have the same origin. It is probable that Tamil u has the same origin.

In Tulu both indu and undu mean 'this.' In Kurukh u means 'that there.'

We must therefore conclude that the demonstrative element u is of comparatively late origin. If we have to give a name to this u we must call it a proximate demonstrative from its usage in Tulu and a remote demonstrative from its usage in Kurukh and in Old Tamil poetry. Dr. Kittel calls u the intermediate demonstrative: I am not in a position to say to what extent such use obtained in Old Kanarese.

§ 5.—The genesis of the Dravidian demonstrative letters a, i, u.

(a) Naṉṉūl, a Tamil grammar written about the beginning of the 13th or the end of the 12th century A.D., contains a rule of

---

1. Akam 211, 251, Kurundokai 11
2. Kural 31, 92
3. Kural 620
4. Śilap.: I
sandhi (combination) which prescribes how the initial demonstrative letters a, i, u and the initial interrogative letter v should combine with nouns. If a word beginning with a vowel or with the consonants y or v come after them a v is inserted between the two words; if the second word begins with any other consonant then that consonant is doubled; the demonstratives may be lengthened into ā, ī, ū in poetry. Thus:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a+anī} &= (a+(v)+aṇī) = \text{avvaṇī} & \text{‘that ornament’} \\
\text{a+valai} &= \text{avvalai} & \text{‘that bangle’} \\
\text{a+yāṇi} &= \text{avyāṇi} & \text{‘that elephant’} \\
\text{a+kudirai} &= \text{akkudirai} & \text{‘that horse’} \\
\text{a+maṇai} &= \text{amanṇai} & \text{‘that house’}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly for the demonstratives i and u. (Note.—The doubling of v in the first example is due to another rule of sandhi).

On the authority of this rule it is usual to analyse the pronouns avan, ivan, uvan, evan, as a-v-an, i-v-an, u-v-an, e-v-an, and to consider the intermediate v as euphonic. Bishop Caldwell adopts this analysis in his Dravidian Grammar, but the fact that a+yāṇi etc., become av-yāṇi, iv-yāṇi, uv-yāṇai clearly shows that the real demonstrative bases are av, iv, uv referred to in rule 234 of Naṇṇul which in effect is the same as Rule 162 except in one respect, viz., that when the second word begins with a tenue the final v is converted into ū. According to Rule 234, the combinations instanced above must be analysed as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avvaṇī} &= \text{av+yāṇi} \\
\text{amanṇai} &= \text{av+maṇai} \\
\text{avvalai} &= \text{av+valai}
\end{align*}
\]

while av+kudirai will become aṭkudirai. These two Śūtras are in effect the same as those contained in Tolkāppiyam, the grammar of Old Tamil.

The rule that before a tenue the final v of av, iv, uv should be converted into ū has apparently given us the demonstrative neuter singualars aḥdu, iḥdu, uḥdu, from av+tu, iv+tu, uv+tu, but the sound of this ū is not now heard in popular speech. In compensation however the dental is sometimes doubled, for one often hears attai and iltai as the accusatives of aḍdu and iḍu. Similarly aṭkudirai appears to have become aṭkudirai. For the same reason the Old Tamil aṭkam ‘grain’, aṭkēṇam the name given to the ṣṭam, eṭkku ‘to reach up by standing on tip-toe’ etc., are now pronounced aṭkam, aṭkēṇa, eṭkku etc. Also

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kal+ṭdu} & \text{may become kahṛidu or karṛidu, and} \\
\text{muk+ṭdu} & \text{may become mukṛidu or mukṛidu}
\end{align*}
\]

Here ṭṛ and ṭṭ are alternative forms of ṭṛ and ṭṭ.
Thus what was once \( h + \text{tence} \) has now become a doubled tenue. The two sets of rules in Tolkëppiyam as well as in Nāṇnūl give the same result, but we can see that the original bases were \( av, iv, uv \) and that \( a, i, u \), are merely their initial letters subsequently given an independent status when those bases were becoming obsolete.

Bishop Caldwell does not refer in his book to these fuller Old Tamil bases which have now become obsolete.

(b) We thus see that the demonstrative letters \( a, i, u \), appear to have had at one time no separate existence in the language except as the initial letters of demonstrative formations derived from the real and original demonstrative bases \( av, iv, uv \). That the \( v \) of these stems is radical, and not merely euphonic, is obvious from the circumstance that it is not intervocal but occurs as their final; the analogy of the Telugu and Madras Gōndī forms in which the \( v \) occurs initially also strengthens this view. It is for these reasons that \( ava\nu \), etc., in the table in § 4 above are syllabified as \( av + ava\nu \) etc., not as \( a + (v) + ava\nu \) etc.

It may be remarked in passing that Tolkëppiyam does not refer to the interrogative initial \( e \); in fact there were no interrogative pronouns beginning with short \( e \) in the time of Tolkëppiyam except the genderless \( e\nu\nu \). Sūtra 162 of Nāṇnūl recognizing \( a, i, u, e \) as separate entities was a new rule adopted with reference to the then condition of the language, but it obscures the true history and etymology of demonstrative and interrogative forms.

(c) It is also usual to analyse the neuter singular pronouns \( adu, idu, udu \) etc., as \( a + du, i + du, u + du \) etc., but as \( a, i, u \), had originally no independent existence in Tamil the syllabification adopted in the table in § 4 is \( ad - u, id - u ud - u \) etc.

§ 6.—Demonstratives in Sanskrit.

(M. V. G. § § 392-396 ; W. S. G. § § 495-503).

(a) \( Ta \) the pronoun of the third person serves also as a demonstrative pronoun in Sanskrit. \( Ty\a \) meaning 'that' is another far demonstrative obtained by a slight modification of \( ta \). Besides these Sanskrit has pronouns formed from the demonstrative roots and elements \( a, i, \bar{e} \). The stems of these demonstrative pronouns are taken by Indian Grammarians to be \( tad, tyad, adas, idam \) and \( \bar{e}tad \), the forms which they assume in the nominative singular neuter. Of these \( tad, tyad \) and \( \bar{e}tad \) are inflected like the pronoun of the third person and call for no remarks.

(b) The near demonstrative which appears as \( (m). ayam, (f). iyam, (n). idam \) in the nominative singular means 'this here' and employs the pronominal roots \( a \) and (in various modifications) \( i \), in its inflexions; its paradigm is made up of forms derived from the stems \( id, a \), inflections of \( i, ana, ima \). There are only three case forms from the stem \( ana \) viz.,
anēna, anayā, anayōs. The forms imau, imō, imās, imū, imāni seem to be formed from a stem ima; this stem is supposed by some to be derived from the accusative i-m of i.

(c) The far demonstrative which appears as (m). asau, (f). asau, (n). adas in the nominative singular means 'that there, you'. The fundamental stem used in every case, except the nominative singular, is a-m which is supposed to be the accusative masculine of the demonstrative root a. This am gives rise to the extended stems amu, amū, and amī, from which all the oblique forms are derived.

(d) The pronoun ava 'this' is found two or three times in the Rig Veda and only in the genitive dual. The noun ama 'this' occurs only once in the Atharva Veda, e.g., amōham asmi 'this am I'.

§ 7.—Demonstratives in Iranian.

(a) Kanga's Avestic Grammar mentions the following as the crude forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the Avestic language (§ § 215-224).

(i) m. aēta; n. aētad. f. aētā.
(ii) m. ima, a; n. imad, id; f. imū, a.
(iii) m. ava; n. aom, avad; f. avā.

(b) The inflexions of the first set corresponding to the Sanskrit ētad do not call for any remarks.

In the inflexions of the second set the following stems and forms appear: ad, id, a, i, ima, ana.

The following case forms may also be noticed.

N. A. Singular neuter. ad, id, id.
N. Plural neuter. i, imū; masc. imē; fem. imē.

(c) The inflexions of the third set are all formed from the base av. The nominative plural, masculine and neuter, is avē.

(d) All the demonstrative roots and stems which occur in Sanskrit are also found here with the exception of those arising from the base am.

It appears from a comparison of the Avestic and Sanskrit demonstrative paradigms that the roots and elements a, i, ē (locative of a) and the bases av, an id, ad, im, were already in existence in the Indo-Iranian period. Of these a, i, av, an, id are even older than this period and are of Indo-Germanic antiquity (Brugmann Vol. III § 409, pages 329-331.) The last of them is obviously the same as the Latin id and the English it.

The stems ima and ad are not found outside Aryan and it is therefore inferred that the formation of new stems out of the accusative i-m and out of a-d belongs to the Indo-Iranian period; the formation of the stems amu, amū, amī out of the accusative a-m which are not found in the Avestic language belongs perhaps to the pro-Sanskrit period.
§ 8.—Demonstratives in New Persian.

(J.T. Platt’s Persian Grammar (1911), pages 47 and 49.)

(a) The genderless pronouns of the third person singular in the New Persian are:

Singular. av, but pronounced ù (archaic ō); vai
ùe (old). ‘he, she, it’. These appear to be derived from the Avestic demonstrative ava: thus, ù (ō)=Paz ō=Old Persian ava;
1=Paz ōi=Old Persian ava+hya; vai is probably a doublet of.

Plural. I-shan (archaic əshân) ‘they’.

(b) Ancient demonstrative. We also meet with the relic of another demonstrative im (O. P. ima, S. ima) which invariably replaces the demonstrative īn before the words rōz, ‘day’ shap ‘night’, sāl ‘year’, and occasionally before the word bār ‘time’. (page 56).

(c) The affixed demonstrative pronoun ī (archaic ē) called the demonstrative or ‘the ya that makes the noun determinate’. It is often termed ‘the definite article’; but it is really a demonstrative pronoun, and is generally interchangeable with the demonstrative ān. It is annexed to a noun in the singular or plural.

Remark. The demonstrative ī (ē) is derived from the Phl ē=O.P. demonstrative pronoun aīta. It is the same pronoun which forms the base of the personal pronoun ēshān (ēshān third person plural of).

§ 9.—Demonstratives in modern Indo-Āryan vernaculars.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>The far demonstrative ‘that’</th>
<th>The near demonstrative ‘this’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>u, ō, yah</td>
<td>i, ih, ō, ōh, yah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjābī</td>
<td>uh</td>
<td>ih, ōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>ū, hū, hō</td>
<td>1, hf, hō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarātī</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengālī</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the Avestic form ava was practically unknown to the Indo-Āryan literary dialects it appears to have existed in all the Āryan vernaculars of India where it has been changed and shortened into ē, ū, and u, the far demonstratives of these vernaculars. The same change took place, as we have seen, in New Persian.

Of the three demonstrative roots and elements in the Vedic dialects, viz., a, i, and ē, only a was used as an independent demonstrative pronoun in those dialects; in the modern Āryan vernaculars all the three appear to be so used. Mr. John Beames remarks in his grammar (Vol. II. page 318):—

"But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of these forms in any written works. They have their origin in all probability in a lower
stratum of popular speech than ever found its way into writing before the

time of Chand, whose forms may therefore in this, as in so many other
instances, be taken as the furthest point to which researches can at
present be pushed back."

If Mr. Beames had noticed the existence of the genderless pronouns
\( u \) (archaic \( ō \)), \( i \) (archaic \( ē \)) in Modern Persian and had known that \( ō \) and \( ō \) are traceable to the Avestic \( ava \) while \( ē \) and \( i \) are traceable to the

Phl \( ē \) corresponding to the \( ē \) of the Sanskrit \( ēta \), he would have seen that

the Indo-Āryan popular speeches had preserved pre-historic forms which

had disappeared from literary dialects.

\*10.—The relation of Dravidian demonstratives to Āryan.

We are now in a position to discuss what relationship there is

between the Āryan and the Dravidian demonstratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rem.</td>
<td>Prox.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. \( ad \) \( id \) \( ad-as, \) \( id-am \)  
   \( ad \) \( id \) (Gōndī)  
   \( adi \) \( idī \) (Telugu)  
   \( adu \) \( idu \) (Tam)

2. \( av \) \( im \) \( av \) \( im \)  
   \( am \)  
   \( av \) \( iv \) (Tam, Gōndī)  
   \( avai, ivai \) (Tamil)  
   \( anda inda \) (Tamil)  
   \( ava, iva \) (Malayālam)  
   \( avu, iuv \) (Kanarese)  
   \( indu, undu, imbe, \)  
   \( imbe, imbal (Tuļu) \)  
   \( indālu, mcr \) (Tulu)  
   \( avu, ivi \) (Telugu)  
   \( andu, indu \) (Tamil)

3. \( an \) \( an \)  
   \( an \) (Tamil)  
   occurring in the pronomi-
   nal terminations of verbs.

4. \( a \) \( i \) \( a \) \( i \)  
   \( a, u, i \) (Tamil Kanar-
   rese Tuļu.)

5. \( ō \) \( ē \) (Phl).  
   \( ū, ū, ō i \)  
   (1) occurring in compositive.  
   \( ū \) (Modern Gōndī, Kui,
   Gōndī, Malayālam).  
   \( ū \) (Tamil).

   (2) Independent indeclinable adjectives.  
   \( ū \) 'that', \( ē \) 'this'
   (Kanarese, Tuļu, Malayālam
   Kurukh, Telugu).
   \( ū, ū, ō 'that' (Kui)
   ū 'that' (Kurukh)
   ō 'that' (Brahūl).
THE ĀRYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.

(a) * ad, id, av, iv: —

The Avestic *ad, id, and the Sanskrit *ad-as, *id-am are neuter
singualrs. In the neuter plural the bases *av, *im; and *am, *im; are used:
the nominative forms being *avī, *imā, *ima, *i; and *amūni, *imūni, *imā. In
Old Persian the plurals were *avāī, *imāī (cf. Tamil avai, ivai).

In the Dravidian languages *ad, *id; *adu, *idu; *adi, *idi; are neuter
singualrs: in the neuter plural the bases *av, *iv, come into play, the
nominative forms being *av, *iv; *avai, *ivai; *avi, *ivi; *avu, *ivu. The *d of
the Dravidian singualrs is not due to any intervocal pronunciation of a
hard *t, but appears like the *d of the Āryan *ad, *id, to be a media (which
is foreign to Tamil) by origin; for in Telugu it does not lose its medial
sound even when it ceases to be intervocal, as *adi 'that,' *dāniki 'to
that'; *idi 'this, *dīniki 'to this.' 1 The *v of the Dravidian plurals is
radical, not euphonic.

The Avestic *av and *im form the bases of masculine, feminine and
neuter pronouns with suitable gender signs, *avā, (m) *avā (l), *avād, *am
(n); *ima (m), *imā (l), *imād (n). In the Indo-Āryan literary dialects the
base *av plays little or no part having apparently been superseded by a
new base *am formed in the pro-Vedic period in imitation of *im;
here *am, *im form the bases of pronouns with distinction of gender.
Similarly the Tamil etc., *av, *iv form the bases of pronouns: *avan, *ivan
avan, aḷav, aḍhu (av+tu), iḍhu (iv+tu) etc.

The Dravidian demonstrative bases and their methods of inflexion thus
appear to be identical with the Āryan demonstrative bases and methods
of inflexion, but with this difference that in the Dravidian proximate base
*iv a *v appears in the place of the *m of the Āryan proximate base *im.
The *m, however, still persists in all the near demonstratives of Tulu, and
perhaps in the forms *andu 'that,' *indu 'this' of Telugu and *anda
'that' *inda 'this' of Tamil.

It is therefore concluded that the Dravidian bases *ad, *id, *av, *iv, are
derived from the Iranian and Vedic bases *ad, *id, *av, *am, *im. Of these
*id and *av are of Indo-Germanic antiquity; *im and *ad were formed in
the Indo-Iranian period, and *am in the pro-Vedic period.

The change of *m into *v is very common in Indian vernaculars.


*av also exists in the shortened forms of *ā, *ū, in the Dravidian
languages as in Persian and modern Indo-Āryan, but with this difference
that while in the latter these forms are by themselves demonstrative and
personal pronouns they occur only in composition in some of the
Dravidian languages; e. g., Gōndi ēr 'he,' Madras Gōndi ēñu 'he'
Kui ēñu 'be' Tamil īngu 'superior to, above'.

1. Contrast with this the Telugu imperatives kamsu, agumu, ka 'become ye'
where the guttural becomes a tenue when it ceases to be intervocal.
"ā, ū, ṭā, ō, 'that' and "this" are used as indeclinable demonstrative adjectives in the Dravidian dialects marked (2) in item 5 of the table at the head of this para. Of these "ā, ū, ō, are shortened forms of av and " of iv. It is remarkable that Kui and Brāhui should use ṭ in a remote demonstrative; compare the Tulu remote neuter plural cikūlu. These three instances deviating from the Indo-Āryan practice remind one of the Phl ṭ and Persian ṭ, the bases of ʾishān and ʾishān the plurals of the genderless pronoun of the third person; these bases are traceable through Old Persian aita to the Avestic demonstrative aita (8, a, c, above) corresponding to the Sanskrit ēta.

In a specimen of the language of the Nilgiri Badagas published in the Linguistic Survey (Vol. IV, page 403) the form evam occurs in the sense of 'this man'; if this is not a misprint we have here an instance of the use of e in Dravidian as a near demonstrative.

The so-called intermediate demonstrative u appears to be only a shortened form of ū (ō; ava) uv and um appear to be of comparatively late origin formed in imitation of av, im.

(a) an:—The Āryan base an appears to have been imitated in the personal endings anan, anāl, anru, anar, ana of verb-forms occurring in literary Tamil. These endings are formed in the same manner as the endings irundavan, irundaval etc., are formed with the demonstrative base av. There is, however, one objection to the identification of Tamil an with the Aryan demonstrative an, for the former occurs not only in the verb-forms of the third person but also in those of the first and second persons:—irundavan 'I was', irundanīr 'you were'. All the above forms containing an are wholly artificial and unknown to the spoken Tamil of the people; and it is possible that the formations were originally confined to the third person in accordance with the demonstrative nature of an, but were subsequently extended by the poets to the first and second persons when the true nature of an was lost sight of. Such a thing has happened in poetic Tamil even to the demonstrative base av, for we have the sporadic forms śanravir 'ye (who) have become great, kanravir 'ye (who) saw'. In Telugu also we have similar additions of first and second person endings to third personal forms; e.g., unnāru 'he is', unnāru 'they are', unnādun 'I am' unnāramu 'we are' etc.

(d) ta. In the Telugu forms atāqū, atanu, ātaqū, ātanu, ivaqū, ītanu etc., and the Kanarese forms ātam, ītam, ītam, the Aryan base ta is subjoined to the vocalic demonstrative elements ā, i, ū in imitation of the Sanskrit ēta and Avestic aita. The dentals of all these forms are tenues as also that of atham and itham the pronouns of the third person in Toda common to all genders and numbers.
The comparative table given at the head of this article is a practical and sufficient proof of the identity of the Dravidian demonstrative bases with some of those found in the Indo-Iranian group of languages and no discussion would have been necessary had not Bishop Caldwell obscured the subject by several incorrect propositions such as, (1) that the \( v \) of the forms \( avan \) etc., and the \( u \) of the forms \( anan \) etc., are euphonic; (2) that \( u \) is an intermediate demonstrative; (3) that the \( m \) of the \( Tulu \) forms arises from the hardening of a euphonic \( v \) etc. He has thus whittled down the Dravidian demonstrative bases to such an extent that there is nothing left of them but the initial vowels \( a, i, u \), which again he assumes to be bases belonging to the old Japhetic stock. This is as if some future grammarian of English, unequainted with the Latin privative prefix \( in \), should from the English words \( immoderate, illegal, irregular, inordinate, intemperate \) etc., deduce a rule that \( i \) was a privative prefix, that when words beginning with \( m, l \) or \( r \), were compounded with it their initials were doubled and that in other cases a euphonic \( u \) was interposed. We have seen, however, that the demonstrative letters \( a, i, u \), originally existed in Tamil only as the initials of \( av, iv, uv \).

\[ \text{11.—Interrogatives in Dravidian.} \]

The following table exhibits the interrogative pronouns in the chief, Dravidian languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Tamil</td>
<td>( yau\ an )</td>
<td>( yau\ al )</td>
<td>( yau\ ar )</td>
<td>( yau\ du )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ ai )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ r )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Tamil</td>
<td>( ev\ an )</td>
<td>( ev\ al )</td>
<td>( ev\ ar )</td>
<td>( ev\ ai )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \ddot{e}\ du )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \ddot{e}\ du )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>( yau\ an )</td>
<td>( yau\ al )</td>
<td>( yau\ ar )</td>
<td>( yau\ du )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ r )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ a )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Kanaarese</td>
<td>( au\ am )</td>
<td>( au\ ai )</td>
<td>( au\ r )</td>
<td>( au\ ud\ u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ uv\ u )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ uv\ u )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaarese</td>
<td>( yau\ an\ u )</td>
<td>( yau\ al\ u )</td>
<td>( yau\ ar\ u )</td>
<td>( yau\ ad\ u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ av\ u )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( yau\ av\ u )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ r\ u )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ r\ u )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ av\ u )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( au\ av\ u )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>( ev\ ad\ u )</td>
<td>( ev\ i )</td>
<td>( ev\ r\ u )</td>
<td>( ev\ i )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An indeclinable from \( \dddot{e}mi \).
Tamil: The following interrogative pronouns in use in Old Tamil are enumerated in two sūtra’s (rules) of Tolkāppiyam (Sol. 164 and 169) yavan, yāval, yāvar (yār) (High caste, rational) yādu, yā, yāvai (Inanimate, irrational).

It is worthy of note that none of the modern interrogatives evan, eval, evor, edu, evor beginning with a short e find a place in either list. A word evan is mentioned in Tolkāppiyam (Sol. Kilāvi, 31), and does occur in Old Tamil but it is genderless and is used in the sense of ‘why, what for, for what purpose’. For instance, it occurs sixteen times in Kural but always in the sense of ‘why, what, for for what purpose’ and never in the sense of ‘who?’ (masc); this evan has given rise to the in, enna, ennai of modern Tamil.

Neither does the short e referred to in Naṇṇūi (sūtra 162) find a place among the interrogative letters which are stated to be only three ē, ē, ē, 1 though we see that this interrogative occurs initially in composition as in eppeyar 2 ‘what name’, evvayin 3 ‘what place’ in Tolkāppiyam itself.

According to modern Tamil practice, the pronouns adu, idu, udu, edu, yādu receive an inflexional increment an before the case post-positions e. g.,

ad-an-ai, id-an-ul, ud-an-odu, ed-an-in, yād-an-ai.

Tolkāppiyam prescribes this increment for adu, idu, udu, yādu, but does not speak of or mention edu 4. Similarly the neuter plurals avai, ivai, evai, yāvai now receive an inflexional increment arr; Tolkāppiyam prescribes this increment for avai, ivai, evai, yāvai but does not speak of or mention evai. These facts leave little room for doubt that the interrogative pronouns with the short initial e came into use after the time of Tolkāppiyam.

In mediavval Tamil poetry we find the forms ēdu, ēvan, ēvar of which only ēdu has survived to modern times, but with a meaning different from that of edu ‘what.’ We also have in modern Tamil the words yār, ēr, ‘who?’. The Malayālam interrogatives all begin with long ē or yā; e and ē are also used as interrogative adjectives, the former occurring only as the initial of compounds like ekkalām ‘what time’, eppaďi ‘how’, evvannya ‘in what manner, how’ etc.

None of the forms yāvan, yāval, yāvar, yādu, yāvai are used by the common people either in Tamil or in Malayālam. The yā forms of Malayālam occur in literature in relative constructions.

1. 1 ā ē o thanurum vinē Elutu Nūmarasapu - 32.
4. Tol : Elutu Urupiyal - 4, 5, 6, 28.
The Kanaresse set all begin with yā, ā or ḍā; the interrogative adjectives of this language are e, ē, ā, āva, yā, yāva, dāva. Of these e forms the initial of compounds like ētta 'what place or direction', eniu 'what quantity or number', ēlta 'where', ēndu 'when', ēhage 'in what manner, etc. The rest are not compounded but stand as separate words detached from the nouns qualified, e.g., ā hotu 'what time', āva mātu 'which word', ḍāva uru 'what village', etc.

Tulu. The Tulu interrogatives are dā 'which'; dāye 'why?', dāne jāne 'what?; yēr 'who?'. This yēr appears as dēr 'who?' in Brāhūi.

Kurukh and Malto have interrogatives beginning with nē.

§ 12.—The origin of the Dravidian interrogative forms with the initial dā.

It is well known that the initial y of Sanskrit words always becomes j in Prakrite: e.g., yashī 'liquorice', yasās 'glory', yasksha 'a demigod' etc., become jaṭṭhi, jaso, jakkha, etc. Similarly the relative pronoun meaning 'who, which,' which is indicated in Sanskrit by the type ya has become ja in Prakrite and the modern Aryan vernaculars, and yāvat has become jāva through an intermediate yāva.

The Sanskrit palatal medial j is very often changed into d in Ardhāmāgadhi and Singhalese; e.g., jugupsa 'disgust', jyotsna 'moonlight, rājan' a king', lējas 'lustre', mājjā 'marrow, pith' have become dugunchhā, dōsēna, rada tēdu, midı (vide I. A. Vol. XI, pages 216-217). The word jumāta 'a son-in-law' appears as dāmāda in some North Indian vernaculars. In Sanskrit itself the form dampati 'husband and wife' is derived by some from jampati (jāyapati). The Avestic z which in some cases is equivalent to Sanskrit j becomes d in Persian.

In the Dravidian languages also j often changes place with d in words of North-Indian or foreign origin, e.g., jinisu, jinisu, 'class, kind', javana, davana 'the plant artemisia indica' etc.

The alternative forms dāne, jāne 'what' of Tulu indicate that the initial d of interrogative forms has probably arisen from a j; and the Tulu yēr 'who' corresponding to the Brāhūi dēr 'who', shows that the initial y has probably become d through an intermediate j. It is therefore inferred that the Kanaresse forms yā, yāva, yāvanu etc., are connected with dā, dāva, dāvanu etc., through the intermediate forms jā, jāva, jāvanu etc. This is also the explanation which Dr. Kittel seems to suggest of the initial d (K. K. G. § 265, page 231).

§ 13.—Which was the original initial, yā, ē or ā,

Scholars hold wholly divergent views on this question.

Bishop Caldwell thinks that yā was the original and that ē must have been corrupted from it.

1. Adēr yō fah (Var. II, 81) ' j is substituted for an initial y'
Dr. Kittel on the other hand regards ē as the original base and yā to have been corrupted from it. According to him "The interrogative pronouns āvan, (yāvanu, dāvanu) āval (yāvalu, dāvalu), āvudu, (yāvudu, dāvudu), ār (yāru, dāru), āvuvu (yāvuvu, dāvuvu) rest on the interrogative ē, that becomes yā in the oblique cases of the mediaeval and modern dialects which is another form of ē" (K. K. G. § 265—page 231). As between ē and ā he seems to think that it is immaterial which of these is taken as the original as "they are related and occasionally interchanged". (Ibid § 138, page 77). He also considers the v in āva, yāva, dāva to be euphonic and that āva and yāva have been incorrectly assumed to be the bases of forms like āvam (ē+v+ım), yāvanu (ē+v+anu) etc. (Ibid § 265 page 231). In his view āva and yāva are mere substitutes for ē.

Mr. C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar discusses this question in a paper entitled "The Glides" and arrives at the conclusion that ā was an initial and that the prothetic y was an onglide necessitated in the difficulty of pronouncing an initial back-vowel.

We can understand the creeping in of a prothetic y in the proundu, pronunciation of initial palatal vowels, but it is difficult to assent to Mr. posi'. Venkatarama Aiyar's assumption that in a certain stage of development an initial y was found necessary in some of the most highly cultivated of the Dravidian languages as an onglide before the initial ā and that ē was subsequently dispensed with. On the other hand the rule of Tolkāppiyam that Tamil words cannot begin with y unless this consonant be combined with the long ā clearly shows the difficulty experienced by the Tamils in pronouncing an initial y. We accordingly find that all Old Tamil words which began with yā have changed their initials in popular speech and that most of them now begin with ē or ā. These facts raise a presumption that the Old Tamil words beginning with yā may not all be native words.

Words found in Old Tamil with the initial yā should, prima facie be regarded as foreign words which have since lost the y in accordance with Tamil phonetic laws.

(b) The oldest specimens of Dravidian speech that have come down to us belong to Tamil and Kanarese. The Tamil interrogatives in these specimens mostly begin with yā, but there is also the form eva, 'why, what for' and the initial short ē in interrogative compounds. The interrogatives in the oldest Kanarese specimens appear to begin with ē or ā; but as the Tamil specimens are earlier by some centuries than the Kanarese specimens it is allowable to assume with Bishop Caldwell that yā was the original interrogative and that ē has arisen from the corruption of yā.

1. Toll Eliottu Moli 39.
§ 14.—Affinities of the Dravidian interrogative base ya.

(a) Western scholars think that the Dravidian languages possess no relative pronouns and that what look like relative constructions in these languages are really interrogative sentences. This seems to be an extreme view; for there are many languages in the world in which the same set of pronouns do duty as relatives and interrogatives. The Dravidian family of tongues obviously belongs to this class; in fact, Telugu grammarians style their interrogative pronouns yat-kiṁ-arṇakāma 'Relative-Interrogative.' As Bishop Caissel pointed out long ago the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian (Turanian) tongues. In regard to the Indo-Germanic family philologists tell us that the stem* i o which was originally anaphoric came to be used as a relative without losing its anaphoric value even in the pro-ethnic period of the Indo-Germanic languages, and that this relative* i o was displaced later by derivatives from the interrogative stem* go and the demonstrative stem* to in several of these languages. (Brugman Vol. II, pages, 331-332).

We can see this displacement of the relative stem in the use of the interrogative pronouns who, which, what, and the demonstrative pronoun that as relatives in modern English 'in which no representative of the pro-ethnic relative stem* i o now survives (in Teutonic hw and th correspond to the pro-ethnic q and t). It will be shown presently that in Dravidian also the same pronoun is used as a relative and an interrogative and that the far demonstrative is also used as a relative.

(b) In his Sanskrit Grammar (§ 512) Professor W. D. Whitney briefly notices two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of relative pronouns. One of these is "a very decided preference for putting the relative clause before to which it relates; thus:

(i) Sanskrit. yaḥ sunvataḥ sakāḥ tasmā Indrāya gāyata (R.V.)

English. "Who (is) the friend of the soma-pressure, to that Indra sing ye."

"The other arrangement where the correlative is put before the relative though frequent enough, is notably less usual." The second peculiarity noticed is "a frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause; thus:

(ii) Sanskrit: pari yo pāhi yad dhanam (A. V.)

English Of us protect what wealth (there is)."

Some further examples may be given with Tamil renderings

(iii) Sanskrit. yad aham veda tad aham dārayāni. (T. A. 7-43.)

English. 'What I have learnt that may I not forget.'

Tamil. edai nāṉ kkarirukkiriñō adai maravāmal iruppenāka.

(iv) Sanskrit. ya ēṇam viduḥ amśitaṁ tē bhavanti. (T. A. 6-1.)

English. Who this know, immortal they become
Tamil. **evarkal idai arikirarkalö avarkal maranam illād-avarkal avarkal.**

Such constructions occur by many hundreds in the Āraṇyaka portions of the Taṭṭiriya Veda. They are all practically interrogative constructions. In a way they correspond to the English sentences with ' whoso,' ' whatever ' in which the relative is placed first.

The two peculiarities noticed by Professor Whitney and carried to excess in the manner illustrated above have made the relative construction look as if it was an interrogative one, and appear to take Sanskrit half way towards dispensing with one of the two pronominal sets, as has actually been done in some Indo-Germanic languages. It would seem as if the cultivated Dravidian languages had completed the process left half-finished by the later Vedie literature.

(c) The above discussion shows:

(i) that the interrogative pronouns in the cultivated Dravidian languages (as in many Scythian and several Indo-European languages) are also relative pronouns, i.e., that they are what the Telugu grammarians call *yat-kim-artha-kamu* 'relative-interrogative.' Dr. Gundert recognizes the double usage in Malayālam (G. M. G. § 554.)

(ii) that they are imitations of the Sanskrit relative pronouns derived from the base *ya* which look so like interrogatives in their use in the later Vedie literature.

(iii) if the cultivated Dravidian languages had separate interrogatives formerly we must suppose that these have been completely superseded by the relative-interrogative forms derived from Āryan.

§ 15. -(a) **Dravidian interrogative bases and their probable Indo-Āryan originals.**

We shall now briefly enumerate the various developments and modifications which the original Indo-Iranian relative bases underwent on Indian soil and indicate how the Dravidian relative-interrogative bases are traceable to them.

The root of the Indo-Āryan relative base is *ya* (m. *yas*, f.: *yā*, n *yad*), but in forming compounds the neuter stem *yad* is generally used. Professor Whitney says "the use of *yat* as representative stem begins very early; we have *yat-kāma* in the Veda, and *yat-kārin, yad-dēvatiya* in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives; *yatās, yati, yatra, yathā, yadā, yadi, yarhi, yāvant, yatara, yatama;* and the compound *yādriś "* (W. S. G. § 510). In *yāvant 'which like' (original meaning) and yādriś which like' the pronominal root *ya* is lengthened.
In Pali 1 we have the adverbial forms yāva and yāvam with the modern meanings of 'until, while, as long as.'

Sūtra IV.5 of Vararuci's Prākṛta Prakāśa says that the va of the words yūvat, tāvat etc., is elided in Prakrit and Sūtra IV.6 says that the final non-conjunct consonant of words is also elided; but as by that time (1st century B.C.) the initial y had also become j (II.31) the actual Prakrit forms of yūvat (the relative pronoun of quantity) in Vararuci's time were ja, jāva 2. An earlier form of jāva is the Pali yāva; it is reasonable to assume that jā too had an earlier form yā.

The later forms of jā, jāva in Prakrit were jō, jēva, jēma. 3 (H.G.G. 438.1).

In several modern Aryan vernaculars of India the direct singulars of the relative pronoun have the forms yē, jō, javan, jaūn, jaun, jau, jō. (H.G.G. § 437.4).

The change of meaning which the form yūvant has undergone must be carefully noted. Professor whitney says that pronominal adjectival compounds, with the suffix 'vant' conveying the meaning of 'after the manner of, like' were freely formed in the older language, e.g., māvant 'like me', tvāvant 'like thee,' yuvnāvant 'like you,' ivant 'like this,' kivant 'like what,' tavant 'like that' ētvāvant 'like this,' yūvant 'which like' (relative); and that of these only the last three were in use in the later languages in the sense of 'so much,' 'how much' (W.S.G. §§ 517, 1233-f.).

The forms tāva, yāva, yāvam of Pali, tō, tāva, jō, jūva of the literary Prakrits dealt with in Vararuci's Grammar (IV.5-6) have only the later senses of tantus and quantus. There is however reason to think that the older meanings of 'like that' and 'which like' must have persisted down to modern times in the popular dialects, for as noted above the forms jēva, javan, jaūn etc., are now used in some of the Aryan vernaculars of India as simple relative pronouns which use is apparently derived from the sense 'which like.'

We may compare also the Telugu forms māvan'ti 'like me', mivan'ti 'like you, ahuvan'ti 'like that', itvan'ti 'like this', etvan'ti 'what like' where the suffix 'vant' in the sense of 'like' is preserved.

* (i) The Sanskrit masculine singular ending n when adopted in Tamil originally indicated only the singular number and was common to all the three natural genders (§ 20 below). The Sanskrit masculine yūvān appears to have been one of the earliest relative-interrogative forms.

---

1 Childe's Pali Dictionary.
3 m also appears in the other pronominal forms ōma, tēma, kēma.
adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages, and seems to be the
original of the Kanarese interrogative pronouns ēnu, ēn common to all
the three genders (K.K.G. § 102-5, and 125) and of the genderless Old
Tamil evaŋ which has become ēn in Modern times (§ 11 above).

(ii) The interrogative e which appears initially in composition as
in Tamil eppeyar 'what name', evvayin 'what place' emmanidann 'what
man' and in Malayālam ekkālam 'what time', evvaṇnam 'what manner'
has apparently arisen from the imitation of such Sanskrit compounds and
combinations as yatkāma 'having which desire' yatkāraṇaṃ 'wherefore',
yatsukham 'which pleasure', yaddukkham 'which grief' etc., which
would come to be pronounced ekkāma, ekkāraṇam, echkukam, ettukkam
in Tamil and Malayālam. This e is another of the earliest relative-
interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages. It is possible
that the base yad has also given rise to the Dravidian pronouns evu, edi.

(iii) The Tamil-Malayālam forms yāvaŋ, yūval, yūvai, and the
Kanarese yūva, yūvanu, yūvanu, yūvalu, yūvdu, yūvuru, yūvanu are
apparently derived from the old Indo-Āryan base yāva.

The Kanarese base āva and the derivatives āvaṃ etc., are derivable
from yāva by the elision of the initial รก, as in yānu 'I' which has
become ānu.

The Kanarese forms with the initial ā are derivable from the Prakrit
bases jā, jāva, the initial of which has become ā (§ 12 above) ; these must
have come in later than the forms with the initial รก.

The Tamil-Malayālam forms evaŋ, evaŋ, etc., and the Telugu evi must
have arisen from the weakening of the initial yā into ā.

In the forms evaŋ, evaŋ, evaŋdu, evaŋru etc. the initial ā has been
shortened.

The theory of Bishop Caldwell and Dr. Kittel that the u of the above
forms is intervocal is altogether untenable.

(iv) The assumed old Indo-Āryan yā corresponding to the Pra-
kritic jā of Vararuchi appears to be the original of the interrogative yā of
Tamil and Kanarese, the interrogative ā of Malayālam, Kanarese and
Telugu, the interrogative a of Kanarese and the interrogative dā of Tulu.
It is also the base of the Tamil yādu 'which, what?' which became ēdu,
edu later in Tamil. Telugu ēdi, edi are traceable to the same base; as
also yër, ēr 'who' of Tamil, Malayālam, and Kanarese, yër of Tulu, and
dēr of Brāhmi. The Kurukh and Malto interrogative nā can also be
derived from the assumed Indo-Āryan yā as initial y often changes into n
in Dravidian. c. f. Dravidian yān 'I', Sanskrit yama 'God of death', yugā
'yoke' which have become nāṅ. (Telugu nānu), nāmā and nukkam in
Tamil.
(b).—A possible alternative theory in regard to the origin of the Dravidian interrogative forms.

It is also possible to conceive of the Dravidian interrogative bases as having arisen from the Āryan interrogative root *k* combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. The neuter interrogative form in Sanskrit is *kim* and the Sanskrit pronoun of quantity *kiyait* was *kivat* in the Vedas formed in the same manner as *tāvat* and *yāvat*. In modern Hindi the neuter interrogative is *kyā*. In all these cases the interrogative letter *k* is combined with a palatal vowel or semi-vowel. It is possible that the contiguity of these palatals palatalized the root letter itself which becoming weakened into *ch* and *š* was ultimately weakened into *y*.

In the Avesta there are in addition to the *k* forms special forms of the interrogative beginning with the palatal *ch*, viz., *chi* 'who', *chid* 'which', *chati* 'how much' (J. A. G. § 407, K. A. G. §§ 228, 229).

"Gujarātī has", in addition to the *k* forms, "a unique interrogative (masc) *śō*, (fem) *śi* and (neut, *śum*) the only approach to which is the Sindhi *chhā* used only as a neuter" (B. A. G., Vol. II, page 324).

It is therefore possible that in the language of the Indo-Āryans who emigrated into South India in pre-historic times there were interrogative bases of which the initial was *ky*, *ch*, or *š* and that this consonant was weakened into *y*. Whether the initial of the earliest Dravidian interrogatives arose in this manner or was merely imitated from the Indo-Iranian relative base *ya* there seems to be no doubt, as will have been seen from section (a) above, that the Dravidian interrogative bases are derived from four different forms *yāvān*, *yad*, *yāva*, *yā* which have the same suffixes as the Sanskrit *tāvān*, *tād* and the Prakrit *tāva*, *tā*.

§ 16 (a).—Relative participles.

This is the name given by European grammarians to certain participles in the Dravidian languages which qualify nouns and are therefore called peyar-echcham in Tamil. There is a participle corresponding to each tense form as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Kanarese</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td><em>šeida</em></td>
<td><em>geyda</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(kāttina)</em></td>
<td><em>that showed</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td><em>šeikira</em></td>
<td><em>chēyunna</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(kēyyum)</em></td>
<td><em>that does</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td><em>kēyyum</em></td>
<td><em>geyyuva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>that will do</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of these are obtained by adding the particle *a* to the old non-pronominalized tenseforms; where the non-pronominalized forms—
still continue to be used as tenses, as in the Tamil sēyyum and the Telugu chōyun, no such addition is made.

Bishop Caldwell enters into a long disquisition as to the origin of the suffixed a and comes to the conclusion that it is the sign of the possessive case. Dr. Gundert on the other hand appears to have been of opinion that the suffixed a was the same as the demonstrative base a (C. D. G. pages 411-414).

Dr. Gundert's view seems to be the correct one. As in Dravidian the subject of the action is tacked on to the verb-form and becomes enclitic thereto, and as we have seen that in the Dravidian the same words are used to denote the correlative, the demonstrative and the third personal pronoun, it would seem correct to regard the suffix a as the subject of the action expressed in the relative participles; in other words, the suffixed a of the relative participles should be regarded as corresponding to 'that' in the relative clauses 'that did,' 'that showed,' 'that does' in the paradigm above. If this view be correct the suffixed a will be the same as au the old demonstrative base which had lost its final v; in Tolkāppiyam several verb-forms occur ending in au which now end in a only.

It will be noted that the double use of au in Dravidian as a demonstrative and as a relative corresponds to the double use of 'that' in the same two senses in English. Au in Dravidian is also the base of the pronouns of the third person.

It may also be remarked in passing that without any addition for number or gender au is itself the pronoun of the third person in the neuter plural in Tamil. The original neuter plural forms must have been irundana'v they (neuter) were', pōkina'ranav they (neuter) are going', etc.; these have now lost the final v and exist as irundana, pōkina'rama, etc., as if the neuter plural termination was merely a. This has led Bishop Caldwell into supposing that the Dravidian languages resemble Latin in having a neuter plural in short a. (C. D. G. Introduction, page 76).

(b).—The relative construction distinguished from the Interrogative.

In Old Kanarese there was practically no difference between interrogative sentences and the first parts of sentences formed with relative pronouns; this led Dr. Kittel to argue that the so-called relative sentences were really interrogative sentences constructed in imitation of Sanskrit (K. K. G. §§ 267, 329 330). In modern Kanarese and in other cultivated

1. Tol. II. 2. Uyartina'iyav-uē for the modern uyartina'iya-uē 'they belong to the rational caste'.

Tol. II. 3. Ahrina'iyav-uē for the modern ahrina'iya-uē 'they belong to the irrational caste'.


Dravidian languages the interrogative and relative constructions are distinguished by the use of the particle ō in the latter, as thus:

(i) Old Kanarese ... āvan adhika punyan āvanē sēvyanam.
(ii) Modern Kanarese ... yāvanu adhika punyan-ō āvanē sēvyanu.
(iii) Telugu ... evačantu adhika punyanugalavōči vūciči sēvyanču.
(iv) Tamil ... evaŋ adhika punyan uḷḷavan-ō āvanē sēvikkaṭṭakkanā.

English. "Who (is) a very righteous man he indeed (alone) (is) venerable.

Here again Dr. Kittel argued that ō was the vowel of questioning. On the other hand ō distinguishes the relative from the interrogative construction: it appears to be a corruption of the genderless āv or āva. Sometimes this ō is directly joined to the relative, as in:

(v) Kanarese ... adhika punyan yāvanō āvanē sēvyanu.

The construction is the same as in the following:—" Whoso honours his parents (he) will live long". Yāvanō, evačo evarō etc., correspond to 'whoso,' but a second correlative is added in the Dravidian sentences as in example (v) above as ō which has no number or gender cannot fully discharge the function which the particle 'so' does in the English word 'whoso'.

§ 17.—The number and gender signs of pronouns.

It will have been seen from §§ 4 and 11 that both the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns use the same set of suffixes for indicating gender and number.

1. **Masculine Singular.**—The characteristic sign is ō which is written ṉ in Tamil and Malayāḷam, but it appears only in the oblique cases in the languages of the Āndhra and Gōndī groups, having been replaced by ṇa, ća, ṭa, ra or ńe in the nominative case in those languages.

2. **Feminine Singular.**—The characteristic sign is i; this has disappeared from the languages of the Āndhra and the Gōndī groups which are now using the same termination for the feminine and the neuter singular.

3. **Epicene plural.**—The sign is mostly r, but Gōndī has a double plural in rk.

4. **Neuter.**—As different bases are used for the singular and for the plural no distinguishing additions are necessary.
The personal and the reflexive pronouns are inflected only for number. The sign of the singular is \( n \) and that of the plural is \( m \) replaced in some cases by \( r \).

Before proceeding to consider the origin and affinities of these signs we shall draw attention to a class of Dravidian agent nouns of which the suffixes are demonstrative pronouns, and which look so like Sanskrit formations that it has led some Dravidian scholars to contend that Sanskrit has imitated Dravidian in these cases.

In Professor Sten Konow’s list of forms which Indo-Āryan is alleged to have imitated from Dravidian occur two which are not found in the earliest Vedic literature but are common in later Sanskrit. These are (1) the active past participle obtained by suffixing \( vat \) to the passive past participle as in \( kriyavan \) and (2) the periphrastic future tense formed by adding the verb substantive to the noun of agency in the first and second persons, the agent noun itself being used as the tense form in the third person, Professor Sten Konow’s contention being that these are imitations of Dravidian forms like (1) Tamil \( seyda\varan \) and (2) Gōndi \( ki\at\on a, ki\at\on i, ki\at\ort \) (L.S. IV, page 281).

This contention is totally disproved by the occurrence of these very forms in the language of the Avesta. Kanga’s Avestic Grammar. (§ 563) gives two instances of the past participle active formed from the past participle passive:—

Root \( v\at\ort ’z. to work’", p.p.p. \( var\sta, p.p. a var\stavat \).

Root \( sh\at ’to become propitious’, p.p.p. \( sh\ana, p.p. a sh\anavat \).

The same Grammar (§ 471) gives from the Avesta instances of periphrastic future which are on all fours with the Sanskrit forms. Thus from \( p\at ’to protect’, p\at\a ’he will protect’, p\at\aro ’they will protect’, p\at\a\at\mi ’I will protect’, p\at\ama\at ’we will protect’, p\at\asto ’you will protect’.

These two instances show the danger of assuming that if a form not found in the Vedas is found in later Sanskrit it must have been borrowed from a foreign source. The existence of such forms in the Avesta has demonstrated in these two cases that classical Sanskrit has inherited materials from some unknown Āryan dialects of India which are not represented in the existing Vedas.

§ 18.—A parallelism in the terminations of the masculine singular nominative.

Further, when we proceed to examine the terminations of the Dravidian forms which Indo-Āryan is said to have imitated the tables are turned and we find that these terminations have in every case been imitated from Āryan terminations. The Dravidian forms under consideration are the Tamil \( seyda\varan \), Old Kanarese \( seyda\varam \), Telugu \( c\at\i\at\at\a\at\al\at\at \) etc.;
and their terminations are practically identical with the nominative
masculine singulars of demonstrative pronouns.

In the table below these demonstrative forms are compared with the
masculine nominative singulars of the Āryan present participles which
they imitate; the nt of these participles is, as is well-known, Indo-
Germanic in origin. The comparison might also be made with the
Sanskrit possessive adjectives containing vat or mat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dravidian dialects</th>
<th>Dravidian forms</th>
<th>Āryan forms</th>
<th>Āryan dialects</th>
<th>Dravidian oblique cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>avan</td>
<td>bharan</td>
<td>Vedic avanāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayāḷam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanarese</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>avanu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Kanarese</td>
<td></td>
<td>avam</td>
<td>bharam</td>
<td>Ardhamāgadhi avanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baṣaga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>vāḍu</td>
<td>bhārantō</td>
<td>Pali. vāniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vāṇḍu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Gōndī</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ōṇḍu</td>
<td>bhārantu</td>
<td>Apabramśa P. P. G. 397.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndī</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ōṛ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ōn (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ŋañju</td>
<td>barās</td>
<td>Avestic (K. A. G. ōan (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ōṇju</td>
<td>(from barans)</td>
<td>§ 132 &amp; 133. P. P. G. 397) ōan (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulū</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ōye</td>
<td>drvāc from Avestic (K. A. G.</td>
<td>§ 134)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dru 'run'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that there is a close parallelism between the
terminations of Dravidian and Āryan forms. This parallelism gives us
a clue as to the kind of Āryan influence to which the various parts of
Southern India were subject in the earliest times. The termination m
of the Old Kanarese avam, imitating that of bharam, one of the forms
assumed by the nominative masculine singular of the present participle
bharat in Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhi, betrays Jain or Buddhistic influ-
ence; while that of the Tamil avan which corresponds to that of the
Vedic bharan arising from the loss of ts in bhārantis, probably
indicates that the earliest Āryan influence in the Tamil country was
Brahmanic. The endings of the Telugu and Madras Gōndī forms
which correspond to antō or antu indicate Pali influence. The Kui
termination ṇju may be taken to arise from the palatalization of Telugu
ṇāṇu; perhaps so, but there is also the possibility of there having
been an Aryan dialect in India possessing the Avesta form *baras* but not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakrits, and the Koi language might have received the termination *ñiu* from this lost dialect. There is nothing very special in the form *baras* the termination of which arises from anu. c.f. Sanskrit *vidāma* 'learned'.

(ii) In the case of the Tulu *āye* we have to postulate the existence of a similar dialect not represented in Sanskrit or the Prakrits. Or we may explain the final *e* in *āye* as due to Māgadhī influence, and regard the initial *ā* as equivalent to *av*, the vowel being lengthened in compensation for the loss of *v*; this Māgadhī influence appears also in *me* the Tulu proximate demonstrative, and the long *ā* also appears in *āl* 'she' *ār* 'they (epicene)'. (Vide § 4 above.)

One of the peculiarities of the Māgadhī Prakrit was that the nominative singular of its *ā* bases ended in *ē* as opposed to the Śaurasūṁī *ō*. This can be seen from the Śvetāmbara formulas when referring to the great Jain apostle.

Śē bhagavam mahāvīrē mahāmāhanē.

Sanskrit.—Saḥ bhagavān mahāvīraḥ mahāmāhanaḥ.

English.—He the Lord Mahāvira, the great Brāhmaṇa.

The nominative *e* termination is now found extensively in the Tulu language and the Kōta dialect of Kanarese; this and the nominative termination *m* of masculine nouns in Badaga and Old Kanarese are no doubt due to the influence of the Māgadhī speaking Jains who emigrated to Karnāṭaka in the fourth century B.C. in consequence of a severe famine in Magadhā.

(iii) Professor StenKonow thinks that the Gōndī *ôr* is a plural form used for the singular *ōn* which appears in all the oblique cases in the singular (L.S. IV, page 481). I beg to dissent from this view. This *r* also appears in the near demonstrative *ēr* and in the interrogative *bēr*, which become *ēn* and *bēn* in the oblique singular; (ibid, page 486); also in the nominative singular of masculine nouns like *tammur* 'brother' etc., which become *tammun* &c., in the oblique cases. This *r* is also seen in the masculine singular verb forms of the third person. In all these cases we should, on theĀndhra analogy, except to find *nŏ* or *ô* instead of *r*.

The Telugu *vāndu* has become *vālōu* and *vādu* in popular speech; if now we suppose the original Gōndī *ôndu* to have been similarly changed to *ôd* and to have ultimately become *ôṛ*, all the above Gōndī terminations will be brought into line with the terminations of the Telugu area.

Professor StenKonow himself says that there is confusion in the pronunciation of the dental *r* and the cerebral *r*. I find that the Telugu
ádu (literary á(du) 'female' appears as ár 'a woman' in Gondi, (page 612) and that the Dravidian nódu 'rural parts' appears as nár 'village', (page 480). In these two cases, a final cerebral has certainly become r and then d. There seems to be little doubt that the final d of the nouns and pronouns mentioned above is merely cerebral d mispronounced. Professor SteenKonow further points out that the nominative masculine singular also ends in ál in some cases. This replacement of a final d by r and l has a most important bearing, as will be seen later, on the gender and the number signs of pronouns.

(iv) The correspondence between the terminations of the masculine nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun in Dravidian and those of the same case forms of the Aryan participles is so exact even to details, that it leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the former are imitations of the latter, each Dravidian dialect imitating the contiguous Aryan dielect in this respect.

§ 19.—The Telugu ndu has arisen from the Indo-Aryan ntu

In the table given in the previous article the Telugu cerebral nd or d corresponds to the Sanskrit ut. Telugu appears to have a predilection for the cerebral t and d, for what is dental or alveolar in Kanarese and Tamil is very often converted into a cerebral sound in Telugu as will be seen from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary Tamil</th>
<th>Kanarese</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunru</td>
<td>a hill</td>
<td>kondá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onru</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>ondu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enru</td>
<td>the sun</td>
<td>enda 'sunshine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánru</td>
<td>a day</td>
<td>nádu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enrën</td>
<td>I said</td>
<td>endenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinrën</td>
<td>I ate</td>
<td>tinéndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purru</td>
<td>ant hill</td>
<td>huttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surru</td>
<td>envelope, coil round</td>
<td>suttu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following Telugu particles and words appear to be tadbhavas in which also the Sanskrit ut has been cerebralized.

(i) andu, undu, occurring in the respectful address emandí and in the imperatives randi, dayaköyandí, vinundu, vinuldu. The terminations in these Telugu forms appear to imitate the Sanskrit idiom in which the person addressed is put in the third person, as ágachchántu bhavanánt 'may you honour be pleased to come'. Bhavantá become bhánta, hönté, húntó, in Pali and the Prakrites (D. *P. G. § 166. P. P. G. § 476). The corresponding Apabhramṣa forms will be *hantu, *kontu *huntu. Of
these *hantu* and *hantu* losing their aspirate and with their dentals cerebra-
ized will become *anãu* and *anãu* respectively; the Sanskrit imperative
plural termination *antu* will also become *anãu*. The form *chevãndu* may
be mistaken for the negative third person. Consequently *ani* is added
which makes *chevãndi*; but we may have *chevãndu, chevãndu, vinãndu* &c.
Thence *emãndi* dayarcheyãndi is really *ëmi bhavantah dayacheyãntu.*

(ii) *ëlãku* ‘measure or quantity’, as in *muredu* ‘cubit length’
*mãndu* as much as a *mõna* etc.

This is apparently derived from the Vedic suffix -yant occurring in
*yant* ‘so much’, *ki-yant* ‘how much’ (M.V.G. § 402-d).

(iii) *vanãti*, as in *atuvãnti* ‘resembling it’, *mãvanãti* ‘resembling us’,
*mãvanãti* ‘resembling you’. The original form of *vanãti* without the
decensional suffix *ti* will be *vãnd*, which is obviously derived from the
Vedic *vant* in *mãvant* ‘like me’, *tvãvant* ‘like thee’ (M.V.G. §402-e).

(iv) *anãta* ‘neighbourhood, protection’, from Skt *anta*, as in *antika*
‘vicinity’, *antãvãsin*, a pupil.

(v) *põrãnta* the area adjoining a house, a ‘backyard’, from the
Sanskrit *paryanta* which becomes *põranta* in Prakrit.

* The above examples are enough to show that the Sanskrit *nt* often
becomes *nd* in Telugu.

§ 20.—The Dravidian masculine sign.

(a) It would appear from the table in §18 above, that the termina-
tion of the nominative masculine singular of the Dravidian demonstrative
pronouns varies from language to language, but in the oblique forms
given in column 5 of the table, an *n* appears uniformly in all the langu-
ages under consideration. Thus we have Tamil: *avãnai*, Old Kanarese;
*avãnam*, Telugu: *vãniki*, Goõdi on (k), Kui, *õani.*

The Dravidian variations have their counterparts in the corre-
sponding singulars of Áryan present participles given in column 3. In all the
Áryan forms there is an inherent conjunct *nt* which is Indo Germanic in
origin but which, owing to various causes, undergoes the above modifi-
cations.

(b) The Indo-Áryan forms which contain this conjunct *nt* are

(i) the present, aorist, and future participles active formed with
the suffixes *ant*, *syant*;

(ii) the past participle active formed with the suffix *vant*; and

(iii) the possessive adjectives formed with the suffixes *vant*, *mant*.

Grammarians recognize two forms of the stem in these classes
of words, the strong and the weak, the former containing the
conjunct *nt* as in *bhavant*, the latter containing only the single con-
sonant *t* as in *bhavat*. All the masculine case forms from and—
inclusive of the accusative plural are formed from the weak stem, the
previous ones being formed from the strong stem. In the neuter gender
only the nominative, the vocative and the accusative plurals are formed
from the strong stem, the remaining case forms being made with the weak.
In classical Sanskrit and in the Vedic dialects the nominative singular
always ends in \( n \) in the masculine, as in \( bhavan, bhagavan \), and in \( t \) in the
neuter, as in \( bhavat, bhagavat \). The feminine form is obtained by affixing
\( \tilde{a} \) to the stem and is declined as a feminine noun in \( \tilde{a} g \), e.g., \( bhavati, bhavati, kritavati, buddhimati \) etc. The masculine plurals are \( bhavatana, \) and \( bhagavanta\).

The masculine nominative singular forms ending in \( n \) in Sanskrit are:—

- dyutim\( \tilde{a} \) possessive adjective \( bhavan \) present participle.
- balav\( \tilde{a} \) do \( vridhan \) root aorist participle.
- vid\( \tilde{a} \) perfect participle \( bhari\( \tilde{a} \)shyan \) future participle.
- baliy\( \tilde{a} \) adjective (comparative \( kritav\( \tilde{a} \) active past participle
degree).

It looks as if \( n \) was tacitly adopted by the Dravidians as the ending
of the nominative singular in imitation of this large class of Indo-\( \text{\~A} \)ryan
words.

(c) It is needless to point out here that the Sanskrit masculine forms
mentioned above indicate only grammatical gender and may refer to
irrational animals or inanimate things like \( \text{simha} \) 'a lion', \( \text{vy\( \tilde{a} \)ghra} \) 'a
tiger', \( \text{vri\( \tilde{a} \)shka} \) 'a tree', \( \text{s\( \tilde{a} \)ma} \) 'the moon or the soma plaint,' which are
all treated as of the neuter gender in Dravidian, as well as to males (and
females, though rarely) of rational beings like \( \text{manushya} \) 'a man',
\( \text{am\( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{a} \)tya} \) 'a king's minister', \( \text{\( \tilde{a} \)uta} \) 'a messenger', \( \text{\( \tilde{a} \)shatriya} \) 'a man of
the \( \text{\( \tilde{a} \)shatriya caste}', \( \text{\( \tilde{a} \)r\( \tilde{a} \)h} \) 'wife'.

Consequently if \( n \) was imitated from Sanskrit as the sign of the singular
number this sign will apply to all genders and will not necessarily be
confined to the masculine.

In Tamil final \( \tilde{a} \) now indicates the male sex of rational beings but
there are remnants and traces which show clearly that at one time it
indicated only the singular number without reference to sex. According
to a rule \( 1 \) of Tolk\( \tilde{a} \)k\( \tilde{a} \)p\( \tilde{a} \)v\( \tilde{a} \)m there were then only nine neuter nouns in
the language in which the final \( \tilde{a} \) could not be replaced by \( m \); a rule \( 2 \)
of Nann\( \tilde{a} \)il written more than ten centuries later says that there are some
neuter nouns in the Tamil language in which the final \( m \) could be replaced
by \( \tilde{a} \). Reading these two rules together we might infer that there was once
a large class of neuter nouns ending in \( \tilde{a} \) in which the final has now been
changed into \( m \). The following are a few of the neuter nouns which now
end in \( m \) but which are found in poetical works with a final \( \tilde{a} \); the latter
forms are now considered archaic.

1. Tol. \( \tilde{a} \)\( \tilde{a} \)l. Pirappu 49.
2. Nann\( \tilde{a} \)il\( \tilde{a} \)k\( \tilde{a} \)tra 121.
pulam, pulan 'one of the five senses'
valam, valan 'fertility'
tiran, tiran 'ability'
maram, maran 'a tree'
arun, aran 'virtue'
nilan, nilan 'the ground'
idam, idan 'a place'

There are also traces of feminine forms once ending in \( n \). Thus we have:

1. Padumā dēvi\(^1\) where we should now say Padmā dēvi.
2. Peñ made\(^2\) 'a young girl'.
3. Akkan 'elder sister'\(^3\).
4. Amman for Ammai 'mother'.\(^4\)


It would thus seem that all nouns of the kind we are now considering formerly ended in \( n \) adopted in imitation of the very numerous Sanskrit nominative singulars ending in \( n \), and that such of them as belonged to the irrational class had their final subsequently changed to \( m \) so as to make them correspond to the Sanskrit nominative neuter singulars tānam 'knowledge', bilam 'an aperture', balam 'strength' &c., leaving the final \( n \) unchanged in the case of high-caste nouns of the masculine gender like manidān 'a man', kanavāṇ 'husband', makan 'a son' etc. Nouns of the feminine gender like akkan 'an elder sister', amman 'mother,' have now become akkā, akkāl, ammō, ammai, ammāl; while ammān 'a goddess' still continues to be amman.

§ 21. The Dravidian inflexional increment \( t \).

The oblique base of Tamil high-caste nouns (uyar tinasi) in the singular is the same as the nominative singular, but neuter nouns ending in \( n \) form the oblique base in the singular by substituting \( t \) for \( m \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>makan</td>
<td>makan</td>
<td>makan - ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'a son.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old form</td>
<td>aran</td>
<td>aran</td>
<td>aran - ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'virtue'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern form</td>
<td>aram</td>
<td>arat</td>
<td>arat - t - ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old form</td>
<td>idan</td>
<td>idan</td>
<td>idan - ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern form</td>
<td>idam</td>
<td>idat</td>
<td>idat - t - ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Padirru-pattu IV & VII.
2. Tol. Chol. 164. Śeṇavānaiyac.
This inflexional increment \( t \) appears to be imitated from the Sanskrit neuter bases \( bharat \) etc., just as \( n \) was imitated from the Sanskrit masculine bases \( bhara\)n etc.

We thus have the following stages in Tamil:

1. A singular termination \( n \) appearing not only in rational masculine nouns but also in many nouns of the neuter and the feminine genders,
2. neuter nouns separated and given termination \( m \) in the nominative and \( t \) in the oblique cases,
3. feminine nouns separated and given termination \( l \).

But the process of development does not appear to have been the same in all languages. Professor StenKonow says that there are distinct traces in Gondi of a system of inflexion of nouns where rational masculine bases form their cases from an oblique base ending in \( n \) while the oblique bases of neuter nouns ended in \( t \); but that now the latter form is used in most nouns (L. S. IV, page 290).

The evolution in Telugu differs from that both in Gondi and Tamil. Its feminine termination \( lu \) has been replaced by \( di \), perhaps to avoid the confusion between the plural \( lu \) and the feminine \( lu \).

But all languages which originally adopted \( n \) as the termination of the nominative singular appear to have felt later the necessity to have a characteristic masculine termination in the nominative singular of rational masculine nouns and to have replaced the original \( n \) as shown in § 18 above by the terminations of the nominative singulars of participles and possessive adjectives in the contiguous or surrounding Aryan vernaculars. No change was necessary in the Tamil area, perhaps because the Indo-Áryan nominatives in the Vedic area ended in \( n \) or because the Dravidian neuter and feminine nouns had been separated and given other terminations.

§ 22.—The Dravidian feminine sign \( l \).

The characteristic sign of the feminine gender in Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, is the letter \( l \) in the suffix \( al \). The other Dravidian languages which contain traces of this termination are:—Telugu which has the words \( alu \) 'a woman, wife', \( kodalu \) 'a daughter-in-law', \( cheiliyalu \), \( chellelu \) 'a younger sister', \( maracdalu \) 'a younger female relation'; Kui; \( ku\ddot{\text{al}}i \) 'a Kui woman', Kurukh: \( \ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{i} \) 'a woman'. Telugu has also the adjective \( adu \) (literary \( acdu \) ) 'female'.

The nominative plurals of the above Telugu nouns in \( lu \) are \( an\ddot{\text{dru}} \), \( kodandru \), \( cheiyan\ddot{\text{dru}} \), \( chell\ddot{\text{dru}} \), \( marac\ddot{\text{dandru}} \); and the combination \( ndr \) appears in all the plural oblique forms of the nouns: e.g., \( an\ddot{\text{dranu}} \), \( kodanda\ddot{\text{yoka}} \) etc. The final \( ru \) in the above forms is of course the plural sign, but what is the \( nd \)? There is no inflexional increment \( t \) in the oblique singular of these nouns and the \( nd \) cannot be due to any incremental \( l \). It is apparently the original from which the feminine sign \( l \) in \( alu \&c. \).
has been derived; the original of ālu must have been āṇḍu from which Telugu ādu, āḍdu 'female' have also been obviously derived by the total or partial loss of the nasal ṭ. We saw before that the Indo-Germanic nt has been cerebralized in Telugu and has given rise to the masculine sign ṇḍ as in ṇṇḍu 'husband' alluṇḍu 'a son-in-law' etc. The ṭ of these words became an ardhāṇusvīra (obscure nasal) as in ṇṇkdu, alluṅḍu etc., and has now wholly disappeared in colloquial language as in ṇṇḍu alluṇḍu etc. By another process of corruption the same ṇḍ (arising from nt) has further become l as in āṇḍu, āḍu, ālu. Āḍu containing a cerebral should have become ālu, but in this as in many other cases in Telugu l replaces the cerebral l found in Tamil, Malayālam and Kannarese as the sign of the feminine gender. Strange as it may seem both the masculine sign ṭ and the feminine ending l appear to be derived from the same Indo-Germanic nt.

At pages 120-126 of his Grammar Bishop Caldwell enters into a detailed disquisition as to the origin and inter relations of the Dravidian signs of the masculine and the feminine singular and arrives at the following conclusions:—

(1) Telugu nt, Tamil-Malayālam and Kannarese n and Old Kannarese m are identical: the masculine suffixes ṇṇḍu, an and am of these languages are also identical. (2) The Kui word anu 'a man' (which he writes āṇu) is identical with the Tamil ān 'a male' and also probably with the Tamil āl 'a man, a person of either sex'. The Kui āṇu, he points out, is in some connections shortened into āṇu, and this fact, he thinks, renders it probable that the Dravidian masculine suffix an is connected with the Kui āṇu 'a man' and the Tamil ān 'a man'. (3) Similarly the Dravidian feminine suffixes āl and anu are, he says, derived from Telugu and Kui ālu 'a woman' which is probably connected with the Telugu adjective āḍu 'female'.

As we have seen above the suffixes ṇṇḍu, an and am can be said to be identical only in the sense that they are traceable ultimately to one and the same original; similarly Kui āṇju and the Tamil āṇu and āl are identical only in the sense that their suffixes are derived from a common original. These two common originals are one and the same, viz., the Indo-Germanic ant.

There is a connection between the three words āṇju, āṇ and āl on one side and the two words āḍu and ālu on the other, which Bishop Caldwell has not noticed. In Telugu āḍu (aṇi) means 'female' and āḍudi means 'a woman', but in Tamil āḍuvi means 'a male' and āḍ viar means 'males'; in Telugu āḍangī means 'a man of womanish character and ways'; the same word exists also in Tamil as āṇṇakāṇ (āṇakāṇ) 'a eunuch'. It would seem therefore that the terminations of the five words are derived from a common original, though the first three words denote 'a male' while the remaining two denote 'a female.' This
goes to confirm the inference stated above that the suffixes \( a i \) and \( an \) are modified forms of \( ant \). 1

These facts clearly demonstrate that there was no differentiation of sex in the originals from which these words and suffixes have been derived, and that each Dravidian vernacular attached to them a masculine or a feminine signification according to its own convention.

§ 23.—The Dravidian feminine signs \( di \), \( tti \).

The feminine suffix \( lu \) now survives only in four words in Telugu, having been replaced in all other words by the suffix \( di \) which is stated to be the same as that of the neuter singular demonstrative \( adi \). Both Bishop Caldwell and Professor StenKonow think that the same neuter forms are to be found in the Tamil \( vannā- tti \) 'a washerwoman', \( vellā- tti \) 'a woman of the cultivator caste' etc., and Kanarese \( okal- ti \) 'a farmer's wife' etc. (C.D.G. page 125; L.S.IV, page 290). This explanation leaves wholly unexplained the final \( i \) and the tenual \( t's \) of the Tamil and Kanarese forms and can hardly be accepted.

The neuter singular demonstrative pronoun is \( adi \) in Telugu, and appellative nouns formed with this as suffix may no doubt give the feminine names \( chinnādi \) 'a young woman', \( gollādi \) 'a shepherd woman' etc. But the neuter demonstrative in Tamil and Kanarese is \( adu \), and it is \( adu \) even in the oldest specimens of these languages that have come down to us. Further the dental in \( adu \), \( adi \), \( ad \) is a media by etymology and by origin, not a tenua (vide § 10 above). The final \( ti \) of the Kanarese and Tamil forms has thus no connexion with the neuter \( adi \). It is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit \( strī \), 'a woman' which becomes \( sīthī; itī; thi \) in Pali; compare for example, Pali—\( chaturīthī \) 'four women' \( manussīthī \) 'a female of the genus \( homo \) (not a goddess or \( apsaras \))', \( nāṭīkāthī \) 'actresses', \( torunīthī \) 'a young woman'. The \( t \) might also have arisen from imitation of the terminations of the Aryan participial and other forms ending in \( ti \), e.g., \( kritavāti \), \( buddhimāti \), \( balavāti \). The former of these is the more likely explanation, for the \( ti \) of these last forms had very early become \( dt \) even in Prakrits, as Sanskrit \( bhavāti \), Prakrit \( bhōdi \).

§ 24.—Personal and reflexive pronouns.

These are not distinguished for gender but show only number. The tables appended showing the personal pronouns in nine Dravidian languages have mainly been adopted from Bishop Caldwell's Grammar with a few modifications which more recent information has rendered necessary. In the column of the first person plural the exclusive plural is given in line (i) and the inclusive plural in line (ii). Where the forms are given in two separate lines against a language the first line shows obsolete and obsolescent forms and those found only in poetry.

1. It is also worthy of note that \( mokkābu \) means 'a female' in Tamil while in Telugu \( magadu \) means 'a husband' and \( magavaru \) means 'males'.
(a) There is a general agreement among scholars in regard to the following points:—

(i) Some of the oldest forms of the personal pronouns are those found in the personal terminations of verbs while the pronouns in actual use have considerably changed.

(ii) Some of the oldest forms of the first person singular are ān, ēn and yān and those of the second person singular are in, i, ni. The final n of the forms ān, ēn, yān, in and of tān, the reflexive pronoun, is a suffix. Prof. StenKonow thinks that this suffix is perhaps originally identical with the suffix n of the demonstrative pronoun.

(iii) The normal plural suffix is m which has in some cases been replaced by r in the second person and reflexive pronouns.

(iv) Professor StenKonow thinks that the first person inclusive plural did not exist in pro-Dravidian and was perhaps adopted later in imitation of the Kōl languages.

(b) The following considerations should also be remembered:—

(i) There are seven languages possessing inclusive plurals; in five of these all the inclusive plurals begin with n, while in four of these five, viz., Malayālam, Tulu, Kurukh and Malto it is only the inclusive plurals that begin with n. It is probable that these plurals are late borrowals (§ 26. below) and it is possible that the initial n has spread from these to the other forms of the first person.

(ii) In colloquial Tamil enakkku and unakkku have become nēkku, nōkku by a metathesis of the initial vowels similar to those noticed in the demonstrative pronouns in Tulu and in the Telegu group. It is possible that ān, ēn, in, ām, ēm, in, may have as the result of a similar metathesis given rise to new bases nā, nē, ni mā, mē, mi; and some of these might have received suffixes a second time.

(iii) The initial n might have also arisen in some cases from a previous y, as in the Sanskrit yama, yuga which have become naman, nukam in Tamil; perhaps the change took place through an intermediate n as in Malayālam. In this language the change has stopped at n in the first person.

(iv) Considering the very large number of Indo-Āryan and Iranian affinities exhibited by the demonstrative pronouns and, as will appear presently, also by the reflexive pronoun, it may not be unreasonable to assume yā and yi to be the oldest forms of Dravidian pronouns of the first and the second person.

(v) It is likely that the oblique plural forms of the second person num, un, ungal, the vowel of which is anomalous, are derived from the Sanskrit base yushma; and that the first person plural forms āmu, ammā, am &c., corresponding to the Gaudian forms āmi, hāmi &c., and to the Prakrit, amha, amhī, amhē &c., are connected with the Sanskrit base asma (H. G. G. § 430).

1. O.D.G. Part V. Section 1. Prof. StenKonow in I.A. Vol. XXXII.
# THE PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.

| Language | Nominative  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>yañ, nañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nē k ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayālam</td>
<td>ēñ, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanarese</td>
<td>ān, yān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>en, nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>ēn-u, ēn-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nā, nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>yān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi</td>
<td>annā, nannā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>ān-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuk</td>
<td>ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>ēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
<th>Pronominal terminations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>ēñ, nō (coll) as</td>
<td>en, ēñ, anñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayālam</td>
<td>ēñ, in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanarese</td>
<td>ēñ, ēn-u, ēn-e, e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>(nu, ni) *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>yēñ, yena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi</td>
<td>annā, nannā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>ān-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuk</td>
<td>ēn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>ēn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
<th>Pronominal terminations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>i. yām, nāngal</td>
<td>i. em, ēñgal</td>
<td>i. em, ēm, ōm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayālam</td>
<td>i. ēñial, eiñal</td>
<td>i. ēñial, eiñal</td>
<td>ii. nam, namal, coll.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanarese</td>
<td>ām, ēv-u, ēv-u</td>
<td>ām, ēv-u, ēv-u</td>
<td>ēm nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>i. ēm-u, nēm-u</td>
<td>i. mā, mam</td>
<td>(mu, mi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>i. manam u</td>
<td>ii. mana, manala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi</td>
<td>i. yenkuřu, enkuřu</td>
<td>i. yenkuļe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>ām u</td>
<td>i. mā</td>
<td>ām-um.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>ēm</td>
<td>ii. ammā</td>
<td>ii. nam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Terminations

- Malayālam verbs have no personal terminations.
- The Telugu personal terminations are merely the last syllables of pronominal forms.

---

* Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns.

---

187
THE PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON.

SINGULAR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Nominative 'thou'</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
<th>Pronominal terminations</th>
<th>Nominative 'you'</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
<th>Pronominal terminations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>ni, nīy</td>
<td>niŋ, nunŋ, unŋ</td>
<td>i, i, ai, āy, āy</td>
<td>nim, nivir, niyir</td>
<td>num, um uŋgal</td>
<td>nŋ, iniŋ, ir, ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayālam</td>
<td>yi, ni</td>
<td>niŋ</td>
<td>(vi, vi)</td>
<td>ir u, mir u</td>
<td>mi, mim</td>
<td>(ru, ri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>i, n, ni, niv-u, ni</td>
<td>i, ni</td>
<td>i, i, iye, ay-e</td>
<td>nım, niv-u</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>ir, iri, iri, ari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konaressa</td>
<td>nin, n, nin-u</td>
<td>nın</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>nikułu, ir (bon)</td>
<td>nikuļe, ire</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tułu</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>nina, ni</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ir u</td>
<td>mi, min</td>
<td>i, i, ari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndi</td>
<td>immā</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni, i</td>
<td>immōt</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>i, i, ari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>in-u</td>
<td>ni, nin</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ir u</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>er-u, er-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukh</td>
<td>nin, ninu</td>
<td>nîng</td>
<td></td>
<td>nîm</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>nîng</td>
<td></td>
<td>nîm</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reflexive pronoun.

Dravidian tāŋ tana tāŋal tam, tama, tāŋal

Honorable pronoun of the second person.

Tam: tāŋgal.
Mal: tāŋ, tāŋal.
Kap: tāvu.
Tel: tāmu, tāmuru.
§ 25.—One probable source of the plural sign m.

It will be seen from the tables and the remarks above that the chief pluralising particles in personal and reflexive pronouns are m, kal, and r; ē is also used by Gōndi.

(a) Bishop Caldwell considers the origin of the plural sign m at pages 301-303 of his Grammar and arrives at the conclusion that it must have arisen from, and is in fact identical with, the conjunctive or copulative particle um of almost all the Dravidian languages. One decisive point in his argument is that all universal nouns and pronouns in Tamil formed with ellā—'all', which should, of course, be regarded as always plural in number—the nītya bahuvaṣāna of Sanskrit grammarians—must have this particle affixed to them as the sign of totality, whatever be their case; e.g., ellā-um 'all', ellā-namakk um 'to all of us', ellāvaṟṟil-um 'in all things' etc. There is no doubt that the plural sign m has the same origin as the copulative conjunction, if not actually derived from it. This conjunction is um in Tamil-Malayālam, un in Telugu, um in Old Kanarese and ū in Modern Kanarese. The lengthening of ū in the last form is perhaps due to the loss of m, or the long ū might have arisen from the Sanskrit uto as in Modern Persian.

(b) The conjunction um is found mostly used in what are literally dvandva compounds, i.e., combinations of two nouns:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) anānai-y-un pitā-v-un</td>
<td>mātara-pitarau 'mother and father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāy-un takappan-un</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) vin-ṇ-um man-ṇ-um</td>
<td>ḍyāvā-kshāmā 'the heaven and the earth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) al-ṭ-um pakal-um</td>
<td>nakṣṇoḥkṣoḥ 'night and day.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) nāyir-um-tingal-um</td>
<td>sūryā-chandramasau 'the sun and the moon.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the conjunction is attached to each member of the compound. In cases other than the nominative each noun must be inflected and must have the conjunction attached to it.

(v) eṇnai-y-un eṇ-makaṇṇai-y-un aḷaiṭṭan

'He invited me and my son'.

(vi) idu uṇakk-um uṇ tambikk-um podu.

'This is common to you and your younger brother'.

This is the Tamil idiom; we can also rewrite the sentences avoiding the repetition of the conjunction, but the construction will then become somewhat complicated:—as thus; nān en makan, iruvarai-y-un aḷaiṭṭan.
THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

(c) This method of inflecting each member of a *dvandva* compound appears to have prevailed in Iranian in the oldest Avestic period. A. V. W. Jackson says in his Avesta grammar:—

"Two co-ordinate terms which would form a pair connected by 'both—and' may dispense with the conjunction and unite into a compound. The Avesta *dvandva* compounds differ from the Sanskrit in this, that in the Avesta each member assumes the dual form and is declined separately: *e. g.*, *pasu-vīra* 'cattle and men', *pasubhya-virabya* 'by cattle and men'. (J. A. G. § 879)

(d) In the R. V. in the most numerous group of the *dvandva* compounds the combination consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual number: *e. g.*, *Mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *Mātāra-pitarī* 'mother and father', *Sūryā mūsā* 'the sun and the moon', *Dyāvā pṛithvi* 'the heaven and the earth'. (M. V. G. §§ 259—260)

Professor Whitney says that there are only three instances in which cases other than the nominative-accusative are formed and that in these only the final word is inflected (W. S. G. § 1255-a.) He apparently overlooks the instance in R. V. IX. 2—58 where both the members of the *dvandva* compound are in the genitive dual:—*dhvasrayōḥ-puruṣantyōḥ*.

From the Avestic and the Rig-Vedic examples available it is not unreasonable to infer that in the Indo-Iranian period there was a practice of inflecting each member of a *dvandva* compound for case as now in Dravidian and also for number.

(e) The most frequent ending of the nominative dual in later Sanskrit was *au* but in the earliest Vedic texts it was *ā* or *au*, predominatingly the former; and even when later *au* became universal *ā* was retained as the ending of the first member of the compound, as in *mitrā-varuṇau*, *sūryā-chandramasau*.

Philologists tell us that the *u* of the dual sign *āu* is of Indo-Germanic origin, that it was an independent particle which became attached to the case ending and that its probable original meaning was 'two' (Brug: III. § 284, 289). This sign is given by some Western writers as *au* with reference to its actual sound in Sanskrit at present. In the Vedic *dvandva* compound *mitrā-varuṇau* although the first constituent ends only in *ā* its real form is *mitrau* and the true etymological form of the compound is *mitrau-varuṇau*. Comparing this with its equivalent *mitraḥ cha varuṇaḥ cha* one might fancy that the dual termination *au* was in its inception a copulative conjunction like the *cha* in the equivalent. In many of the Aryan vernaculars of India there is a copulative conjunction which looks as if it was related to this *au*. This conjunction is *au* or *auḥ* in Hindi, *āu* or *ō* in Oriya and *ō* in Bengali;

1. Accusative and vocative duals have the same form as the nominative dual.
2. M. V. G. § 16.
it is āu with a nasal in Sindhi. Hoernle says that these forms are probably derived from Pkt: abi, Sk: api or api cha (H. G. G. § 559).

(f) However this may be, there is no doubt that as the original u was an independent addition to the case-ending, the real pronunciation of the compound will originally have been mitra-ū varuṇa-ū and the suggestion submitted for consideration now by the present writer is that an inorganic nasal subsequently attached itself to the particle and converted it into ū or um, and that this um which was in use among the Indo-Aryan immigrants in South India as a copulative conjunction and which, as surmised by Bishop Caldwell, was the original of the pronominal plural sign m, was in its inception a dual sign. It must be pointed out, however, that the dual sign āu is not to be found in the Avesta, that the Vedic forms of the compound were mitra-varuṇa and mitra-varuṇamu, that in classical Sanskrit the compound took the form Rāma-Lakshmaṇu and that the suggested from mitra-varuṇaū, though a probable one, is unknown to grammar and literature.

§ 26.—Probable origin of the inclusive plural nām.

(a) The suggestion made in the previous article receives some confirmation when we examine the nature and origin of the inclusive plurals in Dravidian. It has already been pointed out that of the nine languages included in the tables of pronouns in § 21 seven possess inclusive plurals and that five of these, viz., Tamil, Malayālam, Tulu, Kurukh and Malto, have plurals derived from the same form nam.

Dr. Gundert in his Malayālam grammar says (§ 530) that nām is in a way a dual form and quotes two examples where the word means ‘you and I’. As ordinarily the person addressed is only one, the word nām must be a dual in most cases. Professor StenKonow quotes Lingam Lakshmaji Pantulu as saying that the Kui form āju is a dual, but observes that it occurs as an ordinary inclusive plural in a Kui specimen (L. S. IV § 460). One of the duals of the first person in Sanskrit is nāu; this is used in two celebrated prayers in the Tattiriya Upanishad where the disciple addressing his Guru invokes divine blessings on both of them:—

(i) Saha nau yaśāh saha nau brahmavarchasam (T. A. 5.3).

'May both of us attain glory! May both of us attain spiritual pre-eminence.'

(ii) Saha nāv-avatu saha nau bhunaktu × × ×

'May God protect both of us! may God shower benefits on both of us!

tājasvī-nāv adhītam astu etc. (T. A. 5.14.)

'May our studies render us famous.'
In the following instances taken from the Ēkāṅgikāṇḍa and the Taittirīya Sambhitā nau occurs as an inclusive dual in the words addressed by the husband to the wife:—

(iii) sam nau manāst ākaram (Ēkā. I-3). 'I shall unite the hearts of both of us'.
(iv) sam u dēśhītri āidēśhī tu nau (Ibid I-11) 'May the preseretress instruct both of us'.
(v) sama njantu viśvā devā hridayānī nau (Do) 'May the Viśvēdeva's render our hearts friendly to each other'.
(vi) tāni bhadrāṇi bijāṇi vrishabhā janayantu nau (Ibid I-14) 'May the virile gods render our seed fruitful'.
(vii) aham nāv ubhayōs suvō rōkṣhyāmī (T. S. I-7.9.1) 'I will make (raise) a heaven for us both'.

There are many other passages in which nau is used as an inclusive dual. The Vedio pantheon, however, contains a number of twin deities which are always dealt with as pairs, like aśvinau 'the Asvins', ināṅgī 'Indra and Agni', dyāvāprīthvi 'the Heaven and the Earth' &c.; and when these speak they refer to themselves by the dual nau which, of course, excludes the person addressed. But such instances are comparatively infrequent and will not occur outside religious literature. It is remarkable that the dual nau occurs in the R. V. only in about half-a-dozen passages and in all these it is an inclusive dual. It is clear that in common speech nau will in most cases have been an inclusive dual, and this word pronounced nāu has apparently become nām. nōm, the inclusive plurals of many Dravidian languages, thereby furnishing a corroborative of the suggestion in the previous article that the Indo-Germanic dual sign has in some cases become the Dravidian pronominal plural sign m.

(b) It should not be supposed that the change of u in the dual sign aū into u or of nau into nām and nōm took place in consequence of Dravidian influences. We saw that aū has become āu in Sindhi; similarly the nasalization of the final u in nāu may have taken place among the Indo-Āryan immigrants themselves.

There are in several Indo-Germanic languages a pronoun of the first person having an initial n and a pronoun of the second person having an initial v; these, however, are confined to the dual and the plural and occur in the nominative only in a few of the languages. In Vedic Sanskrit these pronouns had degenerated into unchanging, accentless, enclitic particles confined to the A, D and G. cases:—

(Dual) nau, vām (Plural) nas, vas

The dual form vām is anomalous. The only other language in which these pronouns occur both in the dual and in the plural is O. C. Sl. and

2. T. S. V-2-3-2; VI-4-9-1; VI-4-10-1. T.A.I.7-22.
3. R. V. VI-88-5; VIII-5-11; X-10-4, 10-5, 88-17, 95-1.
**THE ĀRYAN AFFINITIES OF DRAVIDIAN PRONOUNS.**

In this language the forms of the two persons differ only in their initial letters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td><em>nama</em></td>
<td><em>nama</em></td>
<td><em>naju</em></td>
<td><em>naju</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>va</em></td>
<td><em>vama</em></td>
<td><em>vama</em></td>
<td><em>vaju</em></td>
<td><em>vaju</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>ny</em></td>
<td><em>nami</em></td>
<td><em>namu, ny</em></td>
<td><em>nasu</em></td>
<td><em>nasu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>vy</em></td>
<td><em>vami</em></td>
<td><em>vamu, vy</em></td>
<td><em>vasu</em></td>
<td><em>vasu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having regard to the regularity and symmetry of these formations, it is not perhaps unreasonable to infer that there was a similar symmetry in the Sanskrit duals also, and that *vām* should originally have been *vāu*. If so we may suppose that the tendency to nasalize the final *u* which produced the anomalous *vām* extended also to *nāu* after the separation of the South-Indian immigrants from the main body of Indo-Āryans in the North, and we also get an explanation of the dual forms *yuvam* and *yuvām*. If *vām* is not anomalous then we may suppose *nāu* changed to *nām* under the influence of *vām*.

(c) As pointed out by Professor Sten Konow the Dravidians did not originally possess the inclusive plural. This plural, formed according to him in imitation of the Köl dialects, has apparently been coined from Indo-Āryan dual forms. The bases of the new inclusive plurals are different from those of the old plurals generally.

§ 27.—*The uses of tāṇ, tām, taṇ taṃ*.

The Dravidian reflexive pronoun and its oblique form are used in widely different senses which are not often properly distinguished: and this has been the cause of some confusion. The following Tamil examples will bring out the various uses of the pronouns:—

(a) (i) *Vaḷḷi taṇ maṇaṅḍaṅ vandō*; ‘*Valli came with her son*’
      (ii) *Avāṅ taṇ maṇaṅḍaṅ vandāṅ*; ‘*He came with his son*’
      (iii) *Ni ut maṇaṅḍaṅ vandāy*; ‘*You came with your son*’
      (iv) *Naṅ oṅ maṇaṅḍaṅ vandēṅ*; ‘*I came with my son*’

The use of *taṇ* is prohibited in cases (iii) and (iv). The idiom is the same in all languages.

(b) (i) *Naḷaṅkaḷ taṅgal varukiradāka-ch-chonnārkal*.
     ‘*they said that they would come to-morrow*’
      (ii) *Naḷaṅkaḷ ni varukiradāka-ch-chonnāy*.
     ‘*you said that you would come to-morrow*’
      (iii) *Naḷaṅkaḷ naṅ varukiradāka-ch-chonnēṅ*.
     ‘*I said that I would come to-morrow*’

The use of *tāṅ* is prohibited in cases (ii) and (iii). There is no reflexive force in example (i).
(iv) Nālaikku tānē varukiradāka-ch-chomnān.
    ‘he said that he would himself come to-morrow’
(v) Nālaikku ni-y-e varukirāyū?
    ‘will you yourself come to-morrow?’
(vi) Nālaikku nānē varukrēn.
    ‘I will myself come to-morrow.’

The last three sentences show reflexive construction, but the reflexive force is furnished by the particle ē, not by any of the pronouns. The use of tān is prohibited in the first and the second persons.

(c) (i) avaṇ tānānī veruttu-k-koudaṇ. ‘he hated himself’,
    (ii) ni unnāiyē veruttukkolavēṇām ‘you must hate yourself’
    (iii) naṇ ENNUI veruttukkondeṇ. ‘I hated myself’.

Here the reflexive force is given by particle ē and the auxiliary verb koḷ.

(d) In the examples given in (a), (b), (c) above tān can be inflected for number.

In the following cases it does not change for number and can be used with all persons.

(i) avaṇalu tān ‘that much only’ implying ‘nothing more’.
(ii) pattu pēr tān ‘only ten persons’ implying ‘no more’
(iii) adai avarkal tān sēyyavēṇām ‘they must do that’ implying ‘there are none else to do it’
(iv) adai nāṅgal tān sēyyavēṇām ‘we must do that’ implying ‘there are none else to do it’.

(e) In the compounds given below tān, (tar) is clearly used as a reflexive:—

(i) tarkolai ‘suicide’, (ii) tarpukalchchi ‘self-adulation’,
    (iii) tanāraasu nādu ‘a self-governing country’, (iv) tarkattal ‘self-protection’.

(f) In the following cases tāṇ appears to have a reflexive force and is found used with all the three persons.

(i) avaṇ tāṇ-āka vandānā? ‘did he come of his own accord’
(ii) ni tāṇ-āka vandāyā? ‘did you come of your own accord’
(iii) nāṇ tāṇ-āka varavillai. ‘I did not come of my own accord’.

But it will be noted that the tāṇ of these examples can be used independently, without reference to any preceding noun or pronoun, as thus:—

tāṇāka varudai, tānē varudai ‘coming of one’s own accord’,
tanāi marattal, tanāi aridai ‘to forget, to know, one’s self’
In these examples and in those given in (e) above tan and tān are nouns, not pronouns with an antecedent.

(g) In the undermentioned examples the oblique form tan is seen combined with the oblique forms of the pronouns of all the three persons; they can also be similarly combined with all nouns. These combinations are regarded as equivalent to the oblique forms of the pronouns and nouns concerned to which case post-positions may be attached:—e.g.,

(i) en tan makan' 'O my son' (ii) avan-tanakkku 'to him'.

(iii) un-tanai marai en 'I will not forget you' (iv) maram-taṇṇai vettu 'cut down the tree'.

(h) Bishop Caldwell gives a number of names of relationship which appear to be compounds with tam as their first member: (i) tambiruṇ 'lord' (ii) tanappuṇ 'father', (iii) tande'i (tam + tai) 'father', (iv) tamiyanu 'elder brother', (v) tanakkai 'elder sister' (vi) tambi 'younger brother' (vii) taingei (tam + kei) 'younger sister'.

The meanings of these compounds are the same as those of the second members, and Bishop Caldwell is of opinion that the first member tam is used honorifically, the plural being used instead of tan the singular as a prefix of greater honor; he thinks that the compounds are similar to the English phrases:—

(i) His Lordship. (ii) His Fatherhood. (iii) His Eldership &c. (C.D.G. 293-4).

(k) The pronouns tān and tām are also used as honorific pronouns of the second person in respectful address:


In the examples given in (a), (b), (c) above, the pronoun tān seems to have no reflexive force. This and the circumstance that the pronoun cannot be used in the sentences with ni and nān as nominatives even when a reflexive force is required clearly show that in examples (a) (i), (ii), (b) (i), (iv) and (c) (i) it is merely a pronoun of the third person. It would therefore seem that the base tan was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the 'reflexive pronoun', and to be understood reflexively even when used merely as a pronoun of the third person. The meaning 'alone or only' in the examples in (d) appears to be a development of this reflexive sense. For the probable origin and development of the reflexive and other later uses of tan, vide § 29 below.

28. —Reflexive pronouns in Indo-Āryan.

"(a) The reflexives in the Vedas are the adjective sva 'own', and the substantive svayam 'self' used as a nominative mostly. 'Cases other
than the nominative are regularly expressed in the R. V. by *tānu,*
*body* e. g.

(i) *Svayam gātum tānuva ichchhamānam,* (IV. 18. 10), *himself seeking a way for himself (tānvā)*

(ii) *Yaajasva tānva* (X. 7-6) *worship thyself*

(iii) *Āśā hāsmahi prayāyā mā tānubhiḥ* (IX. 128-5).

may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves.

The reflexive adjective and a possessive genitive may be added.

(iv) *Agni*! *yaajasva tānva tāna svām* (VI. 11-2).

* ‘Agni worship thine own self.*

There are one or two instances in the R. V. of the incipient use of *ātman* *soul* in a reflexive sense.” (M. V. G. : 400.)

This word, *ātman* occurs very frequently in the shortened form of *tman,* the following case forms occur —


(b) The use of *ātman* as a reflexive which was just beginning in the R. V. became very general afterwards. The word was in wide use in later Sanskrit in the sense of *‘self, one’s self,’ occurring in all the three persons and entirely displaced the Vedic *tānu,* the shortened form *tman* was also used. Compounds with *ātman* and *tman* as first members will be:

*ātmanabahgini* *‘own sister,’ ātmanahatyā* *‘suicide’*

*ātmasutaḥ* *‘own son,’ ātmagrihaḥ* *‘own house’*

*ītmasutā* *‘own daughter,’ ātmapitā* *‘own father’*

*īnabhartā* *‘own husband.’*

(c) In Pali both *ātman* and *tman,* in the corrupt forms *ātta,* *atuma* *tuma* were used as reflexive pronouns. In composition the bases were *ātta,* *atuma* and *tuma.* Sayam *‘one’s self’ and samam* *‘self’ were used as reflexive emphatic pronouns. (D P. G. : § 328-330).

In the Aśoka inscriptions, *aṭtapāshaṇḍa* is *‘one’s own religion’.*

(d) *Āt* *‘self,’* a *tadbhava* of *ātman,* is used as a reflexive in all the Gaudian languages which also use it as the honorific pronoun of the second person (H. G. G. : § 443-447).

§ 29.—*Dravidian reflexive bases derived from Indo-Āryan.*

On a comparison of the examples given in §§ 27 and 28 above, the following conclusions suggest themselves.

(1) As already indicated the base *tāṇ* was originally a demonstrative or a pronoun of the third person related to the Indo-Iranian *ta.* In Gōndī the oblique base of *ad,* the demonstrative pronoun in the neutral
singular, is alternatively tān in the A. D. Abl. and G. cases. (L. S. IV, page 486). In Seoni Gondi tanva 'his', occurs even in the masculine (ibid 514),

Bishop Caldwell himself notes the demonstrative use of the pronoun in some cases and admits its relation to the old Persian tan's (for tana's) 'he' (C.D.G. page 296). From the fact that tān cannot be used in a large number of cases with pronouns of the first and the second person, we can go further and say that as in Indo-Iranian its sole original use in the Dravidian languages was demonstrative, and that forms of different origin adopted since into these languages and used in the sense of 'self' or 'own' have come to be mixed up with it. Its place as a demonstrative and a pronoun of the third person has mostly been taken now by awan.

(2) We saw in § 28 (a) above that in the Vedas the word tanu 'body' was regularly used to express the oblique cases of the reflexive nominative swayam. The oblique case forms in the singular are tanvam, tanvā, tanvāh, tanvāh tanvāh which, when the v of the forms was assimilated to the preceding n, as it would be, in the speech of the uneducated, will become tanvam, tanṇū, tanṇē etc., (P.P.G., § 300); all these look like oblique caseforms of tān which will show a short included vowel and in most cases a doubled u:—tanvā, tanṇū, tanṇōdu etc. This is how the reflexive use of the pronoun of the third person must have arisen among the Indo-Aryan immigrants into South India. The reflexive sense which was originally confined to the form tān must have given rise to the formation of compounds like tarkolai 'suicide', tarpukalcheki 'self adulation' etc., referred to in § 27 (c) above.

(3) The oblique form of tanu was very often attached to the genitive case of pronouns as tava tanvam, tanvam mē, tanvō nāh etc.

(i) praṇāpatē tanvam mē jūhasva (Eκē. I—11) 'O Prajapati! enter my body.'

(ii) mā nas-tanvō rudra ririshā (T. S. IV-5—10) 'Rudra! do not cause injury to our selves.'

(iii) tanvam mē pōhi (T. S. I-2—1) 'Protect my body.'

The use of the oblique cases of tanu even where no reflexive meaning is intended is like saying 'our bodies', 'my body', 'your body' &c., when mere us, me, or you is enough. Such expletive use of tanu must have given rise to the forms untanānai, entanānai, maramtanānai referred to in § 27 (g) above where tān is wholly pleonastic.

(4) In the list of compounds taneiyān, tamakki, tannmai etc., instanced by Bishop Caldwell there seems to be little doubt that tam is the first word of several of them. If so this tam appears to be traceable to tma (from ātman) in the compounds instanced in § 28 (b) above: this tma became tuma in Pali. The compounds will then mean 'own elder
brother', 'own elder sister', 'own mother' etc., and must be attached to a previous noun or pronoun in the genitive, as:— en tamakkai 'my own elder sister', avan tameityan 'his own elder brother', aval tammai 'her own mother'. But used as detached independent words they have come to mean merely 'elder sister', 'elder brother', 'mother'. In Tamil tamar means 'relatives, own people'.

The suggestion of Bishop Caldwell that the first word tam is a plural form used honorifically will not apply to tambi and taingai.

(5) The honorific forms tām, tāŋgal, tānnal, tamaru, tāvu may also be affiliated to tman; aṭman in the form of ap is universally used in the present Indo-Aryan vernaculars not only as a reflexive, but also as an honorific form of the pronoun of the second person.

(6) The reflexive use of tanu is not found outside the Vedas, not even in Pali. The Indo-Aryan immigration to South India must have taken place several, perhaps many, centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

30.—The plural signs kal, ḍ or lu, r, etc.

(a) We now come to a class of suffixes in regard to the origin of which available materials give us no lead or clue, and we have wholly to guess our way through. Tolkāppiyam refers to kal as the sign of the neuter plural, and the way in which the sign is referred to would seem to indicate that it was not then a very old suffix, previous to its introduction neuter pronouns probably had the same form both in the singular and in the plural. Kal has now extended to nouns of the rational class also. Ṛ was originally the sign of the epicene plural of pronouns from which it has now spread to rational nouns also in several languages. Lu is the ordinary plural sign in the Telugu group.

(b) Kal. If we assume a plural suffix ḍ the suffix kal will evolve out of it through the operation of a pleonastic ka. In the couplets of words given below the Telugu forms appear with an additional syllable arising out of an added ka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enbu</td>
<td>emuka</td>
<td>ōdai</td>
<td>ōdika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōli</td>
<td>kōdi ga</td>
<td>umi</td>
<td>umukā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eli</td>
<td>eluka</td>
<td>podi</td>
<td>poduka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kili</td>
<td>chiluka</td>
<td>mari</td>
<td>maraka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yānai</td>
<td>ēnuga</td>
<td>molai</td>
<td>molaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Tol. Peyariyal 15.
The plurals of the Telugu words given above formed with lu as emukalu, kōdīgalu etc., look almost like the Tamil plurals ēmbukal, kōdikal, etc., formed with kal, allowing of course for the difference between the Tamil i and the Telugu u. If we suppose for argument's sake that Tamil borrowed this suffix from an Āndhra dialect which was using both ka and lu no further explanation of kal is necessary. But it is possible that Tamil itself was using the pleonastic suffix, and that the plural retains the syllable kal while in the singular the last syllable has become abraded as in kudirai 'a horse', malai 'a mountain' etc., which must have been *kudiraka, *malaka etc. originally, and must have assumed their present forms through the intermediate *kudiraya, *malaya etc., *kudiray, *malay etc. It is not necessary that all the words of Tamil should have had this ka suffix. If an important class of words had this suffix, the form kal evolved out of them will come to be applied generally. The use of the pleonastic ka was very widespread in the Prakrits. There are now in the Telugu language nearly fifty couplets of words with and without the pleonastic ka like (1) nippu, nippuka, 'fire'; (2) kutt, kutika 'a hut'; (3) nemmu, nemmika 'love'; (4) tuñi, tuñika 'a painter's brush'.

A similar thing has happened in New Persian. There are several words in this language ending in it which in Ph. ended in k. When the plural sign ānu is added to these words the old k is restored but in a softened form, thus: singular: banda, (Phl. bandak) 'a slave; bacha (Phl. bachak) 'an infant, child'; plural bandoğan bachoğan. 1

(c) The plural sign ι or lu. This was also once the feminine sign of the demonstrative pronouns and of certain other forms in all Drāvida and Āndhra languages, and it continues to be such in the Drāvida group; but in the Āndhra area it has been replaced by di. In the case of the feminines sign lu we had a definite lead in the forms which the Telugu nouns ālu, kōdalu etc. assumed in the plural, and we concluded that the original form of the sign was nū and that it was traceable to nt (§ 22). So also in the case of the masculine nominative signs α, nū etc., and the neuter inflexional increment t we had a definite clue (§§ 18—21). It is possible that the plural sign lu is also derived from the same nt, for the plural of the Indo-Āryan present participle bharat shows nt in the plural in the Vedic Sanskrit and in Prakrits: —bharantah, bharanti, etc.

(d) The epicene plural sign r. The only lead we have is the conversion of the Gōndi masculine d to r (§ 18 (iii) above). But this is too slender to proceed on in view of the wide prevalence of a plural r independent of nt, in some Indo-Germanic dialects.

(e) The neuter plurals are av, iv in Tamil. What is the ai in avai, ivai which according to rule appears as a in Malayalam. (§ 4 above). Is

---

1 Platte's Persian Grammar (1911) § 20 (a), page 32.
it the Indō-Āryan plural termination ā as in imā or does it go further back to Avestic and Persian forms (§ 6 10 (a) above). Final Indō-Āryan ā becomes ai in Tamil; C. F. Sanskrit mālā 'a garland, vinā 'a musical instrument' etc. Tamil mālai vinai etc.

(f) What is the final i in the Telugu neuters adī, āvī? Originally the neuters must have been adu, avu as is clear from the negative forms velladu 'it will not go,' vellavu 'they (neuter) will not go.' The negative forms are among the oldest of Dravidian forms.

§ 31.—Summary.

We shall now summarise the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

(a) Demonstratives. The Dravidian demonstrative bases may be arranged in the following order of importance as determined by wideness of use:—av, iv, ad, id, an im, am, um, ud, uv. The circumstance that v appears in the Tamil forms av-yaṇai, and ivi, and that v and m appear as initials in such forms as Telugu vāṇḍu, vinḍu etc., and Tulu mār, mōlu and mōkuḷu, clearly shows that these consonants should not be considered as euphonic. Of the above bases av, im, ad, id and an are common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian; am is common to Indo-Āryan and Dravidian. The bases um, ud, uv are Dravidian formations, the initial u arising out of av common to Indo-Iranian and Dravidian.

The Dravidian adjectives ā, ū, ō, ē, ĩ are also found in the later Iranian and Indō-Āryan dialects, but used as pronouns.

(b) Relative-Interrogatives. The same sets of pronouns are used both as relatives and as interrogatives in Dravidian as in many other languages of the world. The chief Dravidian interrogative bases are:—(1) e ; (2) evaṇ, ēnu, ēmi, (3) yava, (4) yā. These are derived respectively from the Indo-Āryan relative bases (1) yad, (2) yāvān; yāvam (3) yava (4) yā. The last two exist as ēva, ēva, ē, ē in later Dravidian. The Prakrit relative bases jāva, jā have given rise to the Dravidian bases dāva, dā. The base yā has also been changed into nē.

(c) Gender and number signs in demonstritive and interrogative pronouns.

(i) The signs of the masculine singular are p, ndū, (du, ḍu, ṇdu, ṇu, r, m. All these have arisen from imitation of the terminations of the Indo-Āryan present participle in ant in the masculine singular nominative; the signs ndū, (du, ḍu, r arising from the cerebralisation of the nd of these participles which is Indo-Germanic in origin. The termination e in Tulu is imitated from Ardhamāgadhī.

(ii) The sign of the feminine singular l or lu is derived from nd, the cerebralised form of the same Indo-Germanic nt; this nd lost the nasal and the remaining d was converted into l.
(iii) Two other signs of the feminine singular are \textit{di} and \textit{tti}. The former of these is taken from the neuter singular \textit{adi} ‘it’; the latter is derived from the Sanskrit \textit{stī} ‘a woman’.

(iv) The neuter inflexional increment \textit{t} appears to have been taken over from \textit{bharat}, the nominative neuter singular of the Indo-Āryan present participle in \textit{at}.

[Note. The \textit{v}-forms of the Dravidian demonstrative and interrogative pronouns have throughout this paper been exhibited as derived from the bases \textit{av}, \textit{iv}, \textit{yāv} by attaching to these number and gender signs arising from the termination \textit{ant}. Most of these forms can also be derived from the Vedic \textit{ivant}, \textit{yāvant} and the possible *\textit{āvant}].

(d) Reflexives. The so-called reflexive base \textit{ta} appears to be identical with the Indo-Āryan demonstrative base \textit{ta}. The pronouns \textit{tān}, \textit{tām}, formed from this base were originally really demonstrative or third personal pronouns. But their oblique forms \textit{tān}, \textit{tam} were indistinguishable from two nouns \textit{tān}, and \textit{tam} derived later from the Sanskrit \textit{tānu} ‘body’, \textit{tman} ‘soul or body’ used as reflexives in Sanskrit. The result is that the pronoun \textit{tān} has come to be called ‘the reflexive pronoun’, although it has not yet lost all its demonstrative uses, and although when it is used in reflexive constructions the reflexive force is in most cases furnished not by itself, but by the added particle \textit{z} or the reflexive verb \textit{kōl}.

It is a moot point whether the forms \textit{tām}, \textit{tāngal}, \textit{tamaru}, \textit{tāvu} used as honorific pronouns of the second person in various Dravidian dialects should be derived from the pronoun \textit{tām} or the noun \textit{tam} (from \textit{tman}).

(e) The number signs in personal and reflexive pronouns.

(i) The plural sign \textit{m}. There is no doubt that this sign is related to, though not actually derived from, the Dravidian copulative conjunction \textit{um} which appears mostly in what are literally \textit{dvandva} compounds. It is probable that this \textit{um} is the same as the Indo-Germanic dual particle \textit{u} with an inorganic nasal attached. The inclusive plural of the first person, \textit{viz.}, \textit{nām} appears to be the same as the Indo-Āryan dual \textit{nau}.

(ii) The plural sign \textit{kāl} must have arisen from the plurals, formed with \textit{l} or \textit{lu}, of noun stems containing the pleonastic suffix \textit{ka}.

(iii) The plural sign \textit{l} or \textit{lu}. It is possible that this has arisen from the Indo-Germanic \textit{n} in the same manner as the feminine suffix \textit{l} or \textit{lu}.

(\textit{f}) The bases of personal pronouns. It is clear that the final \textit{n} and \textit{m} of these pronouns are the singular and the plural suffix. It has been pointed out in § 24 (b) above, that the initial \textit{n} and \textit{m} also might not be radical in some cases but might have arisen adventitiously in various ways. If this view is accepted the primitive bases will be reduced to \textit{ā}, \textit{ē}, \textit{i} or \textit{yā}, \textit{yē}, \textit{yi}. There is nothing corresponding to these in Indo-Iranian, and if the affinities of these bases are Āryan we have to go back in search of the originals to a period when the Vedic \textit{aham} and the Iranian \textit{azem} had not acquired their affixes.
It will have been clear from what has gone above that pre-historic forms of great antiquity, lost to literature, are often preserved in the submerged popular patois despised by men of culture, and that they crop up again most unexpectedly in modern times. Thus the Indo-Iranian demonstrative āva, obsolescent in the Veda and unknown to later Sanskrit and to the Prakrits, comes to the surface in the modern Indo-Āryan vernaculars in the form ṣū; the original form has throughout been preserved in Dravidian. If it is admitted that there was a large immigration of Indo-Āryans into South-India in pre-historic times we should not be surprised at their speeches preserving Āryan forms not found in the available Iranian and Indo-Āryan literature. But the materials available are not sufficient to justify anything more in regard to the bases of the personal pronouns than the general observations contained in § 24 above.

§ 32.—Conclusion.

The identity of the demonstrative, the relative-interrogative and the so-called reflexive bases of the Dravidian languages with those to be found in the Indo-Āryan and Iranian languages; the adoption of the Indo-Āryan relative stems in the Dravidian relative-interrogative system; the derivation of the Dravidian masculine, feminine and neuter pronominal signs from the endings of the Indo-Āryan present participles in ṛt; the adoption of the Sanskrit words āva, tānu and tmaṇ in the Dravidian pronominal system; to say nothing of the other influences referred to in the course of this paper, such as those of the pleonastic suffix ka and of the dual sign au; all these clearly indicate that the present Dravidian theory should be totally abandoned.

One thing comes out most clearly from the discussion in this paper; viz; that some knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit and of the Indo-Āryan vernaculars of pre-Christian centuries is necessary to deal adequately with the questions involved in Dravidian philology.
V.—Dravidian Languages and Their Literature.
THE SANSKRITIC ELEMENT IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

BY

MR. T. R. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI, M.A., B.L.,
MADRAS.

With its great antiquity, high originality and studied individuality, Tamil Literature has not escaped from the lasting effects of its inevitable association with Āryan Literature. Living in neighbouring territories, the association of the Āryan and Dravidian civilisations has been unavoidable, and has left permanent traces of the influence of each of them on the other.

The earliest Āryan influence on the Tamils is to be noticed in the migration of Agastya and his followers from the north to the Peninsula of Southern India, and in their reformation and reorganisation of the social and literary life of the Tamils. To Agastya is attributed the glory of having purified the Tamil tongue and systematised it with a Grammar of its own. To this great task, the puny sage is reported to have brought with him his immense learning and experience from the northern country. His disciple, to whom the greater task of framing the earliest authoritative and systematic Grammar of the Tamil language was entrusted was a Brahmin, who based his work or included in portions of it, principles of Grammar which were in vogue in the Āryan languages prior to Agastya’s migration, and which were ascribed to the Āndra School of Grammarians.

But the influence of Sanskrit on the Dravidian Literature of this period is very indirect and small, and would probably reduce itself to nothing. The real effect of Āryan association is to be witnessed in clearer light in the literature of the next period, when Jainism and Buddhism had gained ground in the Dravidian country. Prior to the introduction of the literature and teachings of these religious sects, Tamil literature was chiefly concerned with themes involving love and war; and the vocabulary of the poetry of this period, such as the Pattuppāṭṭu, Kalittogai, Akanānūru, Puranānūru and Paripādal, is least affected by the Sanskrit language. And yet traces of Sanskritic influence are visible in a few references to the Vēda, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The Tolkāppiyam refers to the four Vēdas as “Nānmarai”, which the Brahmins attempted to preserve intact from the populace, and as a consequence of which came to be called ”Maraiyōr”.

"..."
The Vedic Gods, Indra, Varuna, Vishnu and others are also spoken of in

" யுச்சேஷ்யம் கரியவுள்ளனை

மால விளைவுகள் அவைகளை

முன்னோரால் புனிதானை

முன்னோரால் புனிதானை அன்பானை" (ஏறல்)

The Mahābhārata is referred to in

" மாகாண்டலம் நிறுத்து உழராக

மான நாய்கள் விளைவானை" (புன்ம)

and particular incidents in the story of the Mahābhārata war are narrated or cited thus:

அபில்புமைப் பல்கும் வில்லும்

நெடுந் பார்ச்சை இருந்து விளங்கும்

அதியாதை அணாட்டு விளையாடும்;

பார்த்தீர்கிழாச்சை

சிதம் வெள்ளும்பிளைகளின் இடம்

தண்ணி தோல்வித்த செழியை உருவாடும்;

நூற்றில் ஆண்களின் முனை ஒன்று

ராணர் கலுஷ்யின் பல்குளத்து பல்குளம்

சிரித்து துர்களான விளையாடும்—(கத. 101.)

மகாண்டலம் மூலம் விளைந்து வந்த பொய்யர்களை

பல்குளம் மூலம் விளைந்து வந்த சிரித்து துர்களை

ங்கிய உடனவுடன்—இறக்கிய இளையிலை உருவாடும்.

" நோக்கிய விடையை நோக்கிய விடையை

நோக்கிய விடையை உருவாடும் வேதம்"—(கத. 52.)

" சுவாமியானவை உலகவுள் நூற்றை

மரங்கள் மரங்கள் புறாவை மரங்கள்

மரங்கள் மரங்கள் புறாவை மரங்களை

அடுத்தடுத்து வெளிய கதை அழக்கும் கதை
A few references to the Rāmāyaṇa are evidenced in

"..." (पुस्त. 378.)

The Paripādal refers to the story of Ahalyā in

"..." (पुस्त. XIX. 50-52.)

and to the chanting of sāmans in

"..." (पुस्त. III. 62.)

The Palamolī also contains references to some incidents in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

The coming of the Jains into Southern India witnessed an influx of Sanskritic ideas and vocabulary into Tamil literature. The Śilappadikārī, the earliest work of the Jains in the Tamil land, presenting a clear picture of their religious and social customs and manners, has a marked reference to the story of the mongoose and the hasty Brahmin lady, as narrated in the North Indian Pāpasattra.
It is probable that the reference to the भास्विनक is to one of Bhāsa's plays or its original.

The Manimēkalai, while describing the Jaina and Buddhist doctrines has also discussed the tenets of almost all Sanskrit philosophical systems, the Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Mimāṃsā, Śāvaka, Vaiṇava, Ājīvaka and Lokāyata. The Jīvakacintāmani has for its sources, the Mahāpurāṇa, the Gādyaacintāmani and the Kṣatraacintāmani; and in the Nariviruttam, written by the same author, the tale would appear to have been adapted from the Sanskrit Hitopadeśa.

The Tirukkural of this period is pre-eminent, unprecedented and unparalleled in literature. It might, however, be suggested that such ethical manuals came to be written in Tamil literature only after it had come under Āryan influence for some time, and as a result of the pacifying and ennobling effects of Āryan civilisation. There has been a view that the author of the Tirukkural has followed the Sanskrit ethical manuals, such as the Mahābhārata, adapting his work to the Tamil language and the Tamil people. This view has the high authority of Parimēkalagar, who adds that the divine poet has adopted the classification of the purusārthas into Aram, Porul, and Inbam, from Sanskrit writers, and that in his dispositions on each of these, he has followed the Sanskrit authorities, Manu, Cāṇakya, Kāmandaka, Vātsyāyana and others. Tradition also favours the view that since he is believed to have had as the basis of his work a Sanskrit work named the Trivargam, the author of which was Brahmā, he has come to be regarded as an incarnation of Brahmā. The proportion of Sanskrit expressions in this Tirukkural is comparatively larger than in earlier works and points to increased imbibing of Sanskritic culture.
The Perunkathai, another great work of this period, is entirely based on a Sanskrit original, the Brhadakathā of Guṇḍādhyāya in one of its various redactions. It has scrupulously kept to the original and narrated the story of Udayana, as in the Sanskrit narratives.

Among the other works of this period, are the Yāsōdhara-Kavya closely based on the Sanskrit Kāvyas of Vādirāja, and the Nāgakumara-kāvyas based on Malliṣeṇa's Sanskrit original.

When the Jain influence waned and the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious sects gained power and prominence, there came to be a fresh influx of Sanskrit words in their writings. The sectarian religious teachers introduced Āryan conceptions in their philosophy, and translated or adapted the Sanskrit purāṇas and Itihāsas. Among the works translated during this period were the Rāmāyaṇa, the Māhābhārata, the Skanda-purāṇa and the Viṣṇuyāya Māhātmya. Kambanādār, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil, closely followed the Sanskrit original (read over to him every day) and made his additions and improvements thereon. Some purāṇas were translated from their Sanskrit originals and others were followed in original Tamil works. Chief among the former were the Kanda-purāṇam, the Bhāgavata purāṇam, the Maccha, Kārma, and Tiruvilāyiḥād purāṇams; and among the latter were the Sthala purāṇas. The Sūta-sambhitā, the Upaniṣad-kāṃḍam, Kādi-purāṇam, Tiruttanīāppurāṇam and Kāśikāṇḍam are translated portions of the Skanda-purāṇam, and the Vaiṣṇupurāṇa and Brahmoṭtarapurāṇa portions of the Śivapurāṇa in Sanskrit; and the Sōtupurāṇa, being nothing more than a translation of the Sōtumāhātmya.

About the same time, some Sanskrit literary pieces also came to be translated into Tamil. The foremost among them was the Naiṣadha, which Pugalōndi introduced to his readers in his Nālavanabhā and Ativirārāmā Pāṇḍya in his Naiṣadham. The latter very closely followed the story of Naḷa as narrated in the Mahābhārata and the Naiṣadhā and attempted to adhere to the Sanskrit original even in the introduction of śloṣa. Raghuvaṁśa was similarly the subject of a translation by Araṅkōsari.

In this period is also noticeable a transition from the purely original metres, and alaṃkāras of Tamil prosody and literary criticism to the inclusion of Sanskritic metres and alaṃkāras, such as the Dāṇḍaka metre. The leading work on Literary Criticism in Tamil, the "Dāṇḍi Alaṃkāram" is mainly based on the "Kāvyādarāsa" of Dāṇḍin. The translator has faithfully followed the original not only in the text but also in many illustrations. Another work of importance that has been, in recent times, translated into Tamil is the Chandrālōka. Of the alaṃkāras mentioned in Tamil literary criticism many are wholly traceable to Sanskrit literary criticism; the only alaṃkāra that is found
mentioned in the Toikāppiam, being the Upamā or Uvamai. Similarly, Śabdacitra or Sollapi Iyal has also been adapted from Sanskrit prosody.

As in Sanskrit literature, prose literature in Tamil is very limited and specimens of the earliest Tamil prose are found in the Śilappadikārām; and later on in the Bharata of Perundēvanar and in the Taṇāḍūr Yāttirai. Prose style was chiefly the medium of interpretation and was largely resorted to by commentators. In the writings of the Jains and the later Sectarian poets, we meet with a prose style in which the admixture of Sanskrit expressions was very large. These sectarian writers compared their religious work with those of the Brahmanic religion, and the Vaiṣṇavites attempted to assimilate their works to Vedic literature by assuming the works of Nammāḷvar to be the Dravidian counterpart of the four Vēdas and the six poetical works of Tirumangai Āḻvār to take the place of the Vēdāṅgas.

Philosophical literature in Tamil has not been exempt from this Sanskritic influence. Apart from the Āryan influence in the Śaiva philosophy of South India, some philosophical works in Tamil are based on the Upaniṣads and other Sanskrit philosophical treatises. Among these are the Īṣuragītai, Brahmagītai, Kaivalyam, Vēdāntaśūdāmāni, Vaiśīttam, Prabōdhī Candrālayam and Śiva Dharomottaram. The Śivajñāna-bōliham, the foremost Tamil philosophical treatise, has grouped the subject matter into Adhikaraṇas, with their Sanskritic divisions, Viṣaya, Samśaya, Pūrvapakṣa, Siddhānta and Saṃgati; and in its exposition has resorted to the Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā, and explained them, having reference to the relative authority of Vedic texts.

The doctrines of Sanskrit philosophy are visible here and there in the works of the Sangam age. While explaining the term omnia occurring in

``

``

Parimelalagar says

``

``

While commenting on " appeasement of the Asuras", he adds, " appeasement of the Asuras; appeasement of the Asuras. A friend to the universe, friend to humanity, a friend to all in the universe. Apprised of all, friend to humanity.
SANSKRITIC ELEMENT IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

Commenting on "இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடை" (கூற்று 3, 209) Naccinärkiniyar says "இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடையில் வருவது ஏனையல் முடிக்கும் ஏனையல் வருவது? இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடையில் வருவது ஏனையல் வருவது?".

Similarly some tenets of the Sanskrit philosophical schools are also noted by Naccinärkiniyar in his commentary on "இதயாதித்யம் இவரியல் இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடையில் வருவது ஏனையல் வருவது" (கூற்று 207) where he says "இதயாதித்யம் இவரியல் இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடையில் வருவது ஏனையல் வருவது? இதயாதித்யம் இவரியல் இயற்றுதலான உணவரிக்கு புறநாடையில் வருவது ஏனையல் வருவது?

Elementary treatises on Nyāya, such as the Tarka Sangrahā and the Dipikā and the Tarka Paribhasā have been translated into Tamil, and in very recent times the Muktāvalī as well. Even in Astronomical literature, Tamil is indebted to Sanskrit literature to a large extent, having closely followed Sanskrit treatises, even in respect of nomenclature.

The influence of the Āryan immigration is also visible in the civilisation of the Tamils in those early ages; in which the Āryans introduced their caste system and marriage rites and obsequies among the Tamils.

Such, in brief outline, has been the influence of Sanskrit literature on Tamil; and the former also bears the stamp of the latter's influence, notably in the Cerebrals of the Sanskrit language. Such mutual influences on peoples, their customs and languages are inevitable; and such influence does not, in any manner affect the antiquity or greatness of any one language or literature, but on the other hand, as in the case of Tamil, it often has the tendency to improve the language to suit its changing needs and enhances the beauties of its literature.
DRAVIDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

BY

MR. J. RAMAYYA PANTULU.

Murray's Oxford English Dictionary on historical principles is the high water mark in Lexicography. Its aim is to trace every standard English word to its ultimate origin and follow its subsequent history both in form and meaning up-to-date. It is based on the materials collected by an army of enthusiastic workers some of whom commenced their work more than half a century ago.

This is a model which all authors of future attempts at lexicography in whatever language, will do well, to keep in view. It must be confessed, however, that Indian vernacular literatures do not afford sufficient scope for producing a dictionary which can approach to—much less equal the Oxford Dictionary. The Dravidian literatures—especially Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese—are perhaps older than those of the modern Prākṛt languages current in the greater part of India but even they are very much more limited both in quantity and in variety—than the English literature and owing to the fact that they were standardized at a comparatively early period, these languages have not undergone changes (Kanarese not excepted) to the same extent as English. Moreover, the state of Dravidian Philology is still in its infancy and it is more than any one can honestly attempt to trace every Dravidian word to its ultimate origin. In these circumstances, any Dravidian Dictionary that can be compiled in the near future must be content to follow the Oxford English Dictionary at a respectful distance.

The component parts of a Dictionary are (1) words, (2) meanings, (3) illustrations, and (4) derivation. The vocabulary of a Dravidian language is four-fold i.e., the words are either tatsama, tadbhava, desya or anyadesya. Tatsamas are Sanskrit words which have come into the language with no other change than the case endings. The body of a tatsama word is pure Sanskrit but it ending and by doing so becomes, for all practical purposes, a Dravidian word. In this way some words are borrowed also from Prākṛt languages and some Telugu Grammarians treat them also as tatsamas but it is more logical to confine the term to Sanskrit words. Tatsama words may be compared to such English words as dictionary and sympathetic. Tadbhava words
are Sanskrit words which have undergone basic changes and have, thereby, become Dravidian words in all respects but the origin. Some of these words have come direct from Sanskrit but the bulk of them have come through one or other of the old Prakrit dialects during the time when those dialects were current in Southern India. This, at any rate, is true of the tadbhava words in the Telugu language. This process of borrowing words is similar to that of the English words (such as trail) which have come from Latin through the Norman French or French language.

**Deśya** words are unborrowed indigenous words of which there is a large body in all languages. These may be divided into two classes viz., words which are current in all parts of the country and words which are current only in some parts of it. The latter are provincialisms and the Telugu Grammarian Appakavi confines the term deśya to this class of words, while he calls the other class pure Telugu words.

**Anyadesya** words are words borrowed from foreign languages such as Urdu and English. Sanskrit and Prakrit, though etymologically foreign to the Dravidian languages are not so treated because of the very longstanding and intimate connection between them.

Method of Treatment. We shall now consider how these different classes of words should be treated in the Dictionary.

In the Tamil Lexicon that is being compiled under the auspices of the Madras University, they are proceeding, I believe, on the principle that only those Sanskrit words should be dealt with which actually occur in the Tamil literature. This is, no doubt, the principle on which Latin and Greek words are dealt with, in English Lexicon and is logically unexceptionable. But this principle has its limitations when applied to the Indian Vernacular Dictionaries. The Indian Vernaculars have freely borrowed from Sanskrit from the remotest times to which these languages can be traced, so much so, that Sanskrit has ceased to be regarded as a foreign language in relation to those languages. For obvious reasons, the modern Prakrit languages of Northern, Eastern and Western India are more indebted to Sanskrit than the Dravidian languages of the South, but even these latter have come so much under the yoke of Sanskrit that it is useless for them to think of shaking off that yoke. There is no hope of complete Svarāj for them. This is specially the case with Telugu, Kannarese and Malayalam. The claim has been often put forth on behalf of Tamil that it is comparatively independent of Sanskrit and it is even contended that there are Tamil books which do not show any trace of Sanskrit influence. I am not personally competent either to admit or to refute these claims but I know they have
been denied-sometimes by Tamil scholars themselves. Tolkāppiyam is said to be the earliest Tamil book extant and it is said that, far from being independent of Sanskrit, this book owes even its name to that language, kāppiyam being but a corruption of Kāvyam. Like German among the European languages, the Tamil language seems jealous of its purity and individuality and it tries to clothe the ideas which it undoubtedly borrows from Sanskrit in its own indigenous form. While Telugu and Kanarese call Vowels by the Sanskrit name Svara or Prāṇa, Tamil calls them Uyireluttu i.e. life-word. Similarly, it has coined the word Meyyeluttu body-word for a consonant which is called Vyañjanam or Hal in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. It may also be that Tamil uses more tadbhavas than tatasmas, although the very defective nature of the Tamil alphabet often invests tatsama words with the false garb of tadbhavas. Ilakkaṇam may be taken as a tadbhava, of lakṣaṇam, but it would be hypocritical to regard tāṇam as a tadbhava of dāṇam or Kaṅkotakam as a tadbhava of Gaṅgodaḥkam. These false appearances are due to the fact that the Tamil alphabet has only one character to denote four different though allied sounds which are denoted by four separate characters in Sanskrit; Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam have borrowed or coined these characters and so has the Grandha alphabet which is used by Tamil scholars in writing Sanskrit books. But where the Vatteluttu alphabet is used, as is done in The Madras University Tamil Lexicon, the form of many a Sanskrit word is mutilated although such words do not, on that account become tadbhavas.

The number of such words must be large indeed. And then what about compounds? Whatever may be the case, with Tamil, Sanskrit compounds (Samāsams) are freely used in Telugu and Kanarese and I believe also in Malayālam and there is practically no limit to the length of these Samāsams. If anything, Samāsams are sometimes even longer in Telugu and Kanarese than in Sanskrit. For Lexicon purposes, are we to regard a Samāsam as one word only and so treat of the principal or leading word in it or are we to regard each component part of the Samāsam as a separate word which it really is? In the former case, how is a Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil or Malayālam reader to know the meaning of the component parts of a Samāsam without a knowledge of which, he would be unable to understand the meaning of the Samāsam itself? If the latter course is adopted, does it not amount to so enlarging the scope of the treatment of Sanskrit words as to practically neutralize the value of the principle of limiting the treatment of Sanskrit words? For, unless you analyze all the compounds occurring in literature, you will not be able to say what words are actually used. When you do this, you will, in all likelihood find that the number of words used is very large—much larger than one would be inclined to believe from a superficial view of the
matter. As has been stated already, Sanskrit has ceased to be regarded as a foreign language in its relation to the vernaculars and it forms the great storehouse from which words are freely borrowed to express ideas so as to suit the changing requirements of the vernaculars. Such a process is even now taking place under the stress of the new conditions in the country political as well as cultural. If you have to deal with such a vast number of Sanskrit words, would it not be more economical, if nothing else, to take the words and their meanings direct from a Standard Sanskrit Dictionary with such broad limitations as can be easily defined than to find them out by a tedious process of analysis? The former method is the one adopted in Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary which is perhaps the best existing Dravidian Dictionary and it is also the method which is being adopted in the Suryarāya Telugu Lexicon which is being compiled by the Andhra Sahitya Parisat (Telugu Academy). There are cases in which a Sanskrit word while remaining perfectly Sanskrit is sometimes used in vernaculars in a form or sense different from that in which it is used in Sanskrit literature. The word dhārūṇī, for instance, sometimes occurs in Telugu literature along with the word dhārini meaning the earth. Only dhārini is found in the Sanskrit dictionary. Similarly the word anumānam means inference in Sanskrit but in Telugu it also means suspedior. These variations occur not in samāsams but only when the words are used independently. They will, of course, have to be noted in the Dictionary. It is necessary to state that those who argue in this connection on the analogy of the relation of the English language to Latin and Greek will do well to bear in mind that the analogy breaks down on the question of compounds.

The above observations apply mainly to nouns and adjectives. The case of verbs is different. In Sanskrit, there are no ready made verbal bases as in the vernaculars or English. They are all deduced from the roots (dātus) as occasion arises in accordance with the rules of Grammar and it is only these roots that are exhibited in Sanskrit Dictionaries. There are elaborate rules for adopting Sanskrit nouns and adjectives into vernaculars at any rate in Telugu and Kannarese—but none such for adopting Sanskrit verbal forms and it is not every Sanskrit verb that can be adapted into the vernacular. Moreover, several Tatsama verbs are formed from nominal bases—such as Stutinchu and Karuminchu. In these circumstances tatsama, verbs can only be taken from the vernacular literature and this is an easy matter inasmuch as verbs are used independently. In dealing with tatsama nouns and adjectives, it is necessary to show in addition to the part of speech to which the word belongs, the gender which the word bears and the final letter of its base in Sanskrit, for, on these depends the correct form which the word bears in the vernacular. It is, at any rate, necessary to distinguish words of the feminine gender from those of the
masculine and neuter genders, for, while the latter words take the case-endings which are appropriate to the gender which the words bear in the vernacular on the principle of gender following sex, words of the feminine gender follow a different course. They simply shorten the final long vowel or drop the visarga. The Sanskrit word kalō, for instance, become kelā. Similarly, Stutiḥ in Sanskrit becomes simply Stuti in Telugu. Unless, therefore, a student knows both the gender and also the exact form of a word in Sanskrit, he will not be able to use it correctly in the vernacular either simply or in compounds.

Tadbhavas are Sanskrit words which have entered the fold of a vernacular language after undergoing basic changes in form in order to appear exactly like the indigenous words of that language and be easily pronounceable by the people whose mother tongue that language is. They are like the denizens of a country who came from a foreign country in remote times but have during all this period gradually shed off their foreign characteristics and assumed those of the natives of their adopted country. Owing to this transformation, the foreigners have become merged in the native population and there is nothing to distinguish them except their remote origin which, in many cases, can only be discovered by research. The question arises whether these tadbhavas should be distinguished from desyas in a Dictionary. The Telugu Dictionary Šabdāratnākara makes this distinction and in doing so, has made many mistakes. As has been stated already most, if not all, of the tadbhavas must have come into the Dravidian languages through the ancient Prākr̥t languages during the period the Prākr̥t speaking people held sway over Southern India which was the period which immediately preceded and followed the commencement of the Christian era. Some words may have come direct from Sanskrit and in later times but, I think, their number is small. In Telugu, there is a class of books called pure Telugu (accatenugu) books. They are so called because they avoid the use of tatsama words and they manage to do this not so much by coining new tadbhavas as by manipulating the existing tadbhava and desya words to form long and straggling compounds to express ideas which are ordinarily expressed by single tatsama words. And these books far from being among the earliest books in the language, as one might suppose, are of comparatively modern origin and they are still being produced. It may be broadly stated that cultural Sanskrit words enter the Dravidian languages in the tatsama form and the tadbhavas express the ordinary non-cultural ideas of the people.

The average Pandit believes that all vernaculars are derived from Sanskrit and he thinks it his duty to attempt to trace every Dravidian word to a Sanskrit origin. On the other hand, there is a class of scholars
represented by Kittel, who think that some at least of the Sanskrit words are derived from the Dravidian languages. Both views are correct up to a point but both are liable to be carried too far. In order to judge correctly, a systematic and critical study of the ancient Prākṛts is necessary and this study has yet to be undertaken in Southern India. Pischell's monumental work on the subject will probably be of great help in this study, but I believe, there is no English edition of this book. As matters stand, it seems wisest to abandon this attempt to systematically classify tadbhava words and to group them with the ḍēyaśas quoting what the editor considers to be the Prākṛt and Sanskrit cognate forms whenever they can be traced.

Kittel has grouped tatasāmas and what he considered to be tadbhavas together by printing them in small type while he printed the words which in his opinion were ḍēyaśas in fat type. This grouping is, in my opinion, not correct. There is no merit in grouping with the French, the large number of English men who trace their descent to Norman ancestors. They are, for all practical purposes, Englishmen and must be treated as such.

Foreign words where admitted should, of course, be indicated as such. Foreign Words. How far such words should be admitted in a debatable question. The number of foreign words found in Standard literature is very small. They are Persian, Arabic or Urdu and came in during the Mahomedan ascendency. A larger number of these words and also a large number of English words are used in colloquial speech and in the literature of daily life and business. There are differences of opinion in regard to the admission of these words. They have not become merged in the Standard Vernacular dialect and the proper course would probably be to include them in a supplement to the dictionary.

A more important question is whether dialectal, colloquial and slang words should be shown in the dictionary. The proper course seems to be that which is adopted in the Oxford Dictionary, Slang should obviously be relegated to a slang dictionary. The Oxford Dictionary has admitted such dialectal words as were used in the several literary dialects of English before those dialects were standardized about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The vast bulk of dialectal words are excluded in order to be dealt with in separate dialectal dictionaries. This is the logical outcome of the conception of a Standard Dictionary which should primarily and mainly deal with the standard dialect.

The vast bulk of words in any language are common to the Standard dialect and colloquial speech. The former is based on—indeed arises out
of the latter and there must always be intimate connection between the two in every vernacular. But the colloquial speech contains many irregular forms of words which are not met with in the literary dialect. This is inevitable. Owing to the well-known laws of phonetic change the language of the daily speech constantly changes. Some of these changes manage to enter the standard dialect from time to time but for obvious reasons, spoken dialects change faster than the literary ones. Should these unrecorded forms be embodied in the dictionary? I think they should not, for this among other reasons—viz they are not necessarily uniform throughout the country, which is another way of saying that they are not standardized.

The meaning of a word must be ascertained from actual usage. For this purpose it is necessary to read the entire standard literature and make extracts therefrom. The extracts must then be arranged alphabetically. When this is done the bundle of extracts relating to a particular word should be taken out and the extracts classified according to the sense which the word, at first sight, bears in each extract. This will give you as many groups of extracts as there are meanings of the words. Take one of these groups again and critically examine each passage to ascertain the exact meaning. In this process you will probably transfer some of the extracts to other groups. Deal similarly with the other groups and when the word is finished, record the result in a tentatively final form. The existing dictionaries should, of course, be consulted but only for the purpose of verifying the results arrived at independently. It is, in my view, desirable to put off this consultation till the definitions are framed, in order that the process of independent research may have full scope for play without being hampered by suggestions from the older dictionaries. As the work proceeds, it will probably be found necessary to revise the work already done here and there and it is, therefore, desirable to put off printing till the possibility of revision is greatly minimized, if not eliminated. Revisions made after printing will have to be embodied in a supplement.

It sometimes happens in all languages that certain words have two or more meanings which are etymologically unconnected with one another. Such, for instance, is the Telugu word *andu* which is a locative case ending meaning *in* and is also a verb meaning *to be reachable* or both *I* and also *five*. Here we have got not one word with two or more meanings but two or more separate words having the same spelling and pronunciation and they should be treated as such. Where, however the several meanings of a word are etymologically related to one another, however remotely, they should all
be shown under the same word. There are two orders in which the
meanings may be exhibited—the etymological and
the historical. In many cases, these two orders run
in parallel lines but they may sometimes cross each
other. Obviously the primary or root meaning of a
word should be shown first. It is, however, sometimes
difficult to say which is the primary meaning. The Telugu word *vagachu*
means to think as well as to grieve and both meanings appear in the oldest
book extant. In such cases, one has to be guided by analogies and much
scope will have to be given to discretion in arranging the subsequent
meanings. In this matter, inscription sometimes give the help which
books fail to give. The Telugu word *edalu* means bullocks in colloquial
speech and is also the sense in which it is used throughout the literature,
but in some of the ancient inscriptions it is used in the sense of *milch
cattle* as when an inscription says that a certain number of *edalu* is
given to a temple as an endowment for the up-keep of a perpetual light
established by the donor. Here, we have evidently to assume that milch
cattle was the earlier meaning of the word.

Where the shade of difference between one meaning and another
is sufficiently great, they have, of course, to be numbered separately
but where the difference is not so great, but still notable, they have to be
shown as two varieties of the same meaning. Here again, much will
have to be left to the good sense of the editor.

The object of quoting passages from literature or folklore is two-fold
*viz.*, to enable the student to verify for himself the
meaning given in the dictionary by a reference to
original authorities and also to show him how the word is to be used in
a sentence. The old metrical *Nghañius* embodied the net result of the
authors' researches but gave no clue of the process of that research and
the earlier alphabetically arranged dictionaries were not much better.
Illustrations of the meanings by quotations from literature is the chief
feature of modern lexicography and no respectable dictionary can afford
to neglect this. The length of the quotations varies from case to case.
The principle to be borne in mind is that as much should be quoted as is
necessary to bring out the meaning of a word and also to show the
usage. Sometimes a very short sentence might suffice for this purpose.
But often a longer quotation is necessary. In the Indian languages
whose literatures are mostly metrical, it often becomes necessary to
quote a whole verse and sometimes even more than one verse. Even this
does not meet the requirements of the case in some instances. There
are cases in which the sense of a word has to be gathered not from a
verse or two but from the context in which those verses occur, and
several verses before or after have, in some cases, to be studied before
this context can be ascertained. It is obviously impossible to quote all these verses in the dictionary. In such cases, the proper course would perhaps be to preface the quotation by a brief passage explaining the context and leave the reader to refer to the original poem if he is unsatisfied.

Plurality of Illustrations.

(1) Although one passage may be enough to bring out the sense of the word, it may in some cases be necessary to quote at least another passage to confirm that sense.

(2) One passage may be specially apt to illustrate the meaning of a word, while another may be better suited to illustrate its form and a third to illustrate the usage. All the passages will have to be quoted. This is specially the case in Telugu where meticulous attention is paid to form. Indeed, many Telugu scholars think that reliance should be placed only on those passages in which the form of a word is fixed by the requirements of prosody. There are considerations weighing against this view. It may, for instance, be suggested that, in the first period, at any rate, of the literature, the rules of prosody if not also of grammar, were not so hide bound as they now are. But the chief objection to that view is that it unduly restricts the choice of selection. In this connection reference must be made to the view held by some scholars that the compilation of a dictionary should be undertaken only after all the standard works in the language are critically edited and published. This view may be compared to that of the man who wanted to wait till the waves subsided before taking a dip in the sea. Critical editions of books are good as far as they go. But what about the very many readings which are rejected by the editors? Is the compiler of the dictionary to be guided entirely by the discretion of the editors of books? Should he not also use his own discretion?

(3) Another consideration in favour of a plurality of quotations is the desirability of exhibiting the use of a word at different times. The Oxford Dictionary undertakes to give an illustration for each century. A very much smaller number of quotations suffices in the Indian Dictionaries.

Quotations should be taken not only from standard literature but also from folklore and inscriptions. Folklore often illustrates the meaning and use of a word even more aptly than literature and should, therefore, be utilized in the making of a dictionary as is done by Kittel. But in folklore, words not seldom appear in their vulgar or dialectal forms.
and the reader has to be warned not to take the forms from these illustrations. Some advocate editing the proverbs by replacing the irregular by standard forms of words. Inscriptions which are being published in large numbers day by day, are of great use in ascertaining the older forms and meanings of words. Their special value consists in their coming to us in the very form in which they first came into existence and in not having been edited as books have been by generations of ignorant and perverse scribes. But some sort of editing by the compiler of the dictionary would be necessary even here. Some words appear in different forms in different inscriptions. Some of these variations may be due to dialectal differences and some to the influence of the laws of phonetic change but not a few are also due to the idiosyncrasies or ignorance of the engravers and all these causes will have to be carefully investigated and the variations due to the last cause eliminated.

While considerations of scholarship urge the editor to amplify illustrations, those of economy of space pull him the other way and the position of the editor in having constantly to choose between these two alternatives, is by no means enviable. Even apart from these considerations, great indeed must be the fortune of the editor who can escape from the double accusation of being extravagant and parsimonious at the same time in the matter of giving illustrations. But why should the maker of a dictionary be exempt from the operation of fate any more than other persons?

Derivations of the *tatsama* words are out of the question. Giving accurate meanings is as much as a Dravidian Dictionary can and ought to attempt to do. Those who wish to know more of these words must refer to a standard dictionary of the Sanskrit language. The same must be said of the foreign words which are admitted into the dictionary.

The case of the *taddhava* and *deśya* words is, of course, quite different. It must be the aim of the dictionary to investigate and give the etymologies of these words. This can be done in several cases, but I am afraid it is impracticable in many cases in the present state of research in the field of Dravidian and Prākṛt Philology. In such cases the editor must be content with giving what seems to him to be the cognate forms in allied languages rather than attempt at guessing and mislead future investigators.

Among the worries of the compiler of a dictionary must be mentioned that which is due to the impatience of the public. When it is known that a work of this kind is undertaken especially by a public body there is a tendency on the part of the public to expect the publication of the
work almost at once. It is not their business to enquire what amount of patient and tedious research dictionary making involves and how much time that takes. They fail to see that a dictionary which pretends to any degree of scholarship cannot be compiled as examination papers are answered with the eye constantly on the clock. Murry took more than forty years and did not live to see the last volume printed and most of the collection work was done before he entered on the editorial function.

An Editor who wants to do justice to himself can only go on doing his best refusing to be stampeded by popular impatience.
THE EPOCH OF KŪṆA PĀNDYA, TIRUṆĀNASAMBANDHAR
AND TIRU-MĀNGHAYĀṆVĀR.

BY
DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., MYSORE.

Kūnapāṇḍya or Kubjapāṇḍya, as he is also called, is the last of the seventy-two Kings of Madura narrated in the Hālāyamāhātmya. According to the tradition of both the Jinas and the Śaivites as recorded in their religious works, he became a Jaina when in youth and disregarded the Śaivism of his ancestore. Both in the Rājāvali Kathā and the Tṛīṣaṅgīḍhīpurāṇa-carīta of Kamoṭaka Kavīcakravartī, Kubjapāṇḍya is stated to have married Mangāyakkaraśī or Mangaraśī, the daughter of Vikrama Cola, a King of the Cola territory. She was a born Śaivite and was pained to see her husband a Jaina. His minister was known as Kulapakṣa. He was also a Śaivite. Both the queen and the minister were very anxious to reconvert Kubja to Śaivism, if possible. They waited for an opportunity which to their hearts' content, offered itself to them. Kubja had an attack of a severe type of fever and no medicine could cure him. Resort was taken to charms and spells which the Jaina seetics at his Court could make use of. The saintly Jaina scholars such as Jinasena, Nayasena, Śrutakirtī, Viśalakīrtī, Buddhacandra, Suvratakīrtī and others attempted to cure the King of his burning fever.* When the Jaina charms and spells failed to effect a cure, the well-known Śaiva saints, such as Vāgiśa, Haradattācārya, Tiruvñāna-sambandhar were called in and fortunately for Śaivism, their spells had the desired effect. The King was accordingly reclaimed to Śaivism and was given the name of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

It is also stated in the Rājāvali Kathā that prompted by Bhaṭṭākara-Iaṅka, Sala, the founder of the Hoysala Kingdom in Mysore, invaded Madura and having destroyed Kūnapāṇḍya ruled over Mysore, as a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

The mention of the name of Jinasena among the Jaina saints who tried their charms in curing Kubjapāṇḍya of his fever is an important aid in settling the chronology of that King and his contemporaries, Vāgiśa, Tiruvñāna-sambandhar, TirumanghayāṆvār, and a host of other scholars of the time. Speaking of the time of the writing of his Bṛhadhārīvamśapurāṇa, Jinasena says at the conclusion of that work as follows:—

When seven centuries increased by five in the Śaka era have elapsed, when Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa, was ruling in the north, Śrī Vallabha in

---

* Tṛīṣaṅgīḍhīpurāṇa-carīta, Chapter 32. Verse 58. Śivarahasya under Vāgiśa and Pramatha-carīta. Śivabhaktimāhātmya, Skanda-purāṇa.
the South, when Vatsarasāja, the King of the Avanti country was ruling in the east, and when Jayavarāha, King of the Śūrasenas was reigning in the west, this Vamsa of the Haris was composed in Vardhamānapura."

From this verse it is clear that Jinasena completed his Harivaṃśa in A.D. 783. It may be presumed that he was then about 40 or 50 years old. It follows therefore that Kubjapândya lived in the same century.

(2) Another tradition which tends to confirm the above date is the statement made in the Rājakālikathā that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, were contemporaries. The author of the Rājakālikathā goes so far as to say that Guṇabhadra was the student of Jinasena, and that Govinda studied under Guṇabhadra (Page 215) * and that they were all scholars at the court of King Bhoja whom he takes to be the Bhoja of Dhārā. The last statement is evidently opposed to Jinasena’s own statement that he completed his Harivaṃśa in Śaka 705, whereas Bhoja of Dhārā lived so late as the 11th century A.D. It is more than probable that the author of the Rājakālikathā mistook the Gupta King, Bhoja of Kānyakukha, son of Dunduka, grandson of Anu, and great-grandson of Yaśovarman (A.D. 690) for Bhoja of Dhārā. According to Prabhavikacarita (pp. 128-180) Bappabhaṭṭi, Govinda and Nannayasūri were all contemporaries and that after the death of Bappabhaṭṭi in A.D. 839, Govinda was invited by Bhoja to stay in his Court. Bappabhaṭṭi was stated to have been born in Samvat 800 corresponding to A.D. 744 and to have lived for 95 years. His date of birth is given in the Prabhavakacarita as Vikrama Samvat 800 Bhādrapada (Su) 3 Ravivāra and Hastanāksatra, which exactly corresponds to Sunday the 28th July 743 on which day the constellation Hasta was current after 3 hours and 14 minutes in the after noon.

The date of his death Vikrama 895 Sravanā 8 with Śvāti corresponds to Thursday the 4th July on which day there was the constellation Svāti. Referring to Govinda and Nannayasūri Bappabhaṭṭi is stated to have said that in respect of learning he (Bappabhaṭṭi) could not approach even as much as the weight of a dust particle of their feet. As he is also stated to have spoken of the learning of Vākpatirāja, the author of Gaḍabandha and Madramahī-Vijaya, that “irrespective of caste and creed, men of merit should every where be respected.” It is more than probable that Govinda and Nannayasūri, though students of Siddhasena, a Jaina teacher under whom Bappabhaṭṭi also learnt, were not Jainas.

* Hastimallā, son of Bhattarakā Govinda, and author of Vikranta Kaurava and other three dramas, says in the Kaviprāṣasti at the end of Vikranta Kaurava that Guṇabhadra was the pupil of Jinasena and that among the successive disciples of Guṇabhadra, Govinda was one. This later Govinda is evidently quite different from Govinda who was contemporary to Bappabhaṭṭi and Jinasena.
From this it is clear that the date given to Bappabhaṭṭi and Govinda is quite in harmony with the date of Jinasena. The statement made in the Rājāvalikāthā that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Govinda were contemporaries is also corroborated by the Prabhāvakaśarita.

(3) This epoch of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkarācārya, is in harmony with the dates of Śaṅkara’s birth and death given in Kṛṣṇabrahmānanda’s Śaṅkaravijaya. In verses 11 and 23 he says that

"Nidhināgebhavabhavyabde vibhave Śaṅkar odayāka,  
Kalau tu Śālīvāḥhisya Sakhendu-satasaṃtaka.  
Kalyabde bhūḍṛgūṅkūgni sammite Śaṅkaro guruḥ,  
Śālīvāha Śāke tvakṣi-sindha sapta-mite bhyaṇgāti.

In (Kali) (9, 8, 8, 3 = 3889), Vabhava, Śaṅkara was born, corresponding to Śaka 710, InKali 1,2,9,3 = 3921 corresponding to Śaka 742 Śaṅkara passed away.

(4) This epoch is also more or less, in harmony with that arrived at, for Śaṅkara by Mr. Lewis Rice by totalling the years assigned to the series of Gurus that succeeded Śaṅkaraśārya in Sringeri. According to him Śaṅkara lived between 745-767 A.D.

(5) Another evidence in support of the correctness of the above epoch is the statement made in the Rājāvalikāthā that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka advised Saḷa, or Hōysala, the founder of Hōysala dynasty in Halebid in Mysore, to invade the territory of Kuṇapāṇḍya and arrest the growth of Śaivism in Mādura under that Śaivite’s rule. According to Wilson, Akalanak confuted the Buddhists at the court of Himaśāmala in Kāṇḍi in A.D. 788 and procured their expulsion from the South of India. The author of the Rājāvalikāthā quotes a Kanarese verse (Page 209) stating that in Śaka 800, the cyclic year Vīḷambi, in the month of Caitra (March) tenth lunar day of the white fortnight. Thursday, Puṣya constellation, Kautuka dṛṣṭiyoga, and Girijakaraṇa, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka taught a Mantra to Hōysaḷa for success in his undertakings. The date referred to in the verse corresponds to Saturday 7th March A.D. 879 on which day the constellation Yoga and Karana with the exception of the weekday exactly coincide with the Tithi, as stated in the verse. Evidently the date is not a contemporary record, but a later fabrication made on the strength of tradition. This traditional epoch of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka is not, however, far from his true epoch; for Jinasena the author of Harivaṃśa speaks of him in one of his verses as follows:—

"The merits of Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, Śrīpāla, and Paṭrakesari (Vidyānanda) prove when kept at heart a necklace of pearls." 1

From this it follows that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was almost a contemporary of Jinasena. If the tradition that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was the teacher of
Sāla or Hoysaḷa is accepted, then there must be an interval of about 150 or 160 years between Sāla, the founder of Hoysaḷa feudatory State, and Nṛpa Kāma and Vinayāditya, who were independent of the Cālukyaas.

Also there is attributed to Bhāṭṭākalaṇka a verse in which he addresses Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King (A.D. 753—775) as Sāhasaṭuṅga and says as follows:—

Oh, Sāhasatuṅga! just as Kings, as victorious in war and as famous for generosity as you, are rare, so scholars as famous for their poetical skill and vast erudition as myself are very rare. This verse is taken to settle the date of Bhāṭṭākalaṇka. From this it follows that Kūnapāṇḍya lived in the 8th century A.D.

(6) An additional proof is also found in the contemporaneity of Haradattācārya to Kūnapāṇḍya. In the Skāndopapurāṇa treating of the 63 Śaiva Saints Haradattācārya is stated to have accompanied Vagiśa and Tirujñānasambandhar in their journey to Madura to reclaim Kūnapāṇḍya to Śaivism. There can be no doubt that Haradatta mentioned in the Purāṇa is the same as the author of the commentaries on the Gṛhya, Dharma, and Paribbāṣā Sūtras of Āpastamba and also of the Grammatical work called Padamāṇji and of Tatvaprakāśikā known also as Śutisūktumālā, a work treating of the superiority of Śiva to other gods. This work is commented upon by Śivalingabhūpa, a Pāṇḍya King, probably the successor of Kūnapāṇḍya. In this work and also in the commentary Haradatta is spoken of as having been favoured with a dose of Pārvatī’s breast-milk which is believed to have made him a depository of all learning at an early age. The Skāndopapurāṇa also refers to this incident as the cause of his wide learning. There is also an anonymous biography of Haradatta called Haradattopākhyaṇa, in which the learned Šaivite, a disciple of Sudarśanaśastrya is said to have been the teacher of the Pāṇḍya King Śivalinga. Sudarśana is also known to be a commentator on the Dharma and Gṛhya sūtras of Āpastamba. In the Haradattopākhyaṇa, the date of Haradatta’s death is given as follows:—

In Kali years four thousand less by twenty-one, in the cyclic year Vilambi, in the month of Pusya, the fifth lunar day of the bright half, on Thursday, Haradatta with Sudarśana passed to Heaven, as seen by the inhabitants of the village Kamsa on the Northern bank of the Kaveri. This date corresponds to Tuesday the 2nd December, 878, which was Vilambi. It is Tuesday but not Thursday, as stated in the verse. If the statement of the Skāndopapurāṇa that Haradatta accompanied Tirujñānasambandhar to Madura be true, it would follow that he was then at least twenty-five years old. If so, it is hard to believe that being born in the last quarter of the 8th century he lived for 78 years in the 9th century.
This absurdity coupled with the error in the citation of the week-day of the Tithi shows that the date is a later fabrication. Nevertheless it may be asserted on the strength of the synchronism of Haradatta with Kūnapāṇḍya, as mentioned in the Śkanda-papurāṇa that the century assigned to him is not wide of the mark.

Thus it is clear that Kūnapāṇḍya of Madura lived partly in the second half of the 8th century and partly in the first quarter of the 9th century when celebrated Śaiva Saints and Scholars such as Vāgiśā, Tiruvāḷanāsāmbandhar, Haradatta, Govinda, Śaṅkarācārya and others together with Tirumaṅgahālvar and other Vaiṣṇava saints were engaged in reviving Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in Southern India. That Tirumaṅgahālvar was contemporary to Tiruvāḷanāsāmbandhar is clearly stated in the Divyāsūrīcārīta (XV, 89 93, Page, 104) and also in Guruparampara-prabhāva (Page 134, Kāñci Ed).

In the Divyāsūrīcārīta Chapter V, 44 & 76 and Chapter XII, 2, it is stated that Vallabhadeva was the King of Madura when Vaiṣṇava saints, such as Bhattānāthasūrī, Bhaktāṅghāriṇeṣuṛī, Uraiyūr Nācchiyār, Praṇānatha, Parakāla (Tirumaṅgahālvar) Viśnucittā and others flourished in the land round Śrīraṅgam. It may be presumed that this Vallabhadeva was no other than Śrivallabhā who, according to Jinasena's statement quoted above, was ruling over the South in Saka 705. It is probable that Vallabha's capital was Kāñci and that, being the feudal lord of Kūna-Pāṇḍya of Madura, he is described in the Divyāsūrīcārīta as the King of Madura.
THE DATE OF ŚILAPPADIKĀRĀM.

BY

PANDIT E. M. SUBRAHMANYA PILLAI.

Śilappadikāram is one of the ancient classics composed by Ilangovadiyāl, the brother of the great Cera King Šeṅkuṭṭuvānan. The author has divided the work into three parts i.e., (1) The story related to Pūbar, (Kāvirippūmpāṭṭīnām) the Cola capital, (2) to Madura, the Pāṇḍiyā capital, and (3) to Vaṅci, the Cera capital. The whole story is very natural and has not even a single exaggeration, because the author was a great saint who was an eye-witness to the back-portion of the story and heard the other parts from reliable great personages such as Sathānār, Madalān and others who were also eye-witnesses. The incidents mentioned in the classics are very clear so that the way to determine their dates becomes easy.

At Kāvirippūmpāṭṭīnām, the Indra festival began in the month of Cittirai naksatīra. "तिलाहृतं क्षिप्रो भैरवस्य प्रकाशसे सांप्रदेशिना हृदयं। तस्माद मनुष्यं।" (Bhāya. V. 64-65). The festival lasted for twenty-eight days. ("तिलाहृतं क्षिप्रो भैरवस्य प्रकाशसे सांप्रदेशिना हृदयं। तस्माद मनुष्यं।" Manimekalai I-8. And Adiyārkkunallar’s commentary to Śilappadikāram). On the 29th day the sea-bath took place. Kōvalan, the hero of the poem, went to the sea-shore with Mādavi, a dancing girl. On account of some misunderstandings, Kōvalan left her alone in the evening and reached his house in the night where his wife Kaṇṇaṅki, the heroine of the poem, received him with much pleasure. Kōvalan felt very sorry for his misconduct and poverty, since he had lost all his property when he was with Mādavi. He took his wife with him the very night and departed from the city just before dawn. That was the fourteenth night after New-Moon and the moon set a little before dawn.

"तिलाहृतं क्षिप्रो भैरवस्य प्रकाशसे सांप्रदेशिना हृदयं। तस्माद मनुष्यं।"

Kōvalan reached Madura with his wife, left her in the house of Mādari, a shepherdess who lived outside the town, and went into the town to sell one of his wife’s anklets. The then Pāṇḍiya King was the great Nēduṅceḷian. One of his wife’s anklets was stolen by a goldsmith who misrepresented to the King that Kōvalan with the anklet was the thief of the stolen anklet, in order to save himself. The King believed the words of the goldsmith. Accordingly Kōvalan was slain by the persons sent by the Pāṇḍiya.
Hearing this news Kannaki hurried into the town with the other anklet in her hand and saw her husband in the evening.

"தமிழ் கண்ணா குமாரேஷ் போல் வந்தது என்று குறிப்பிட்டு இன்னும் செய்தாலே தலையே விரும்பினால் குரல்

தலையே, XIX. 37-3

At that time the sun set, and it was twilight.

"தமிழ் கண்ணா குமாரேஷ்ட் போல் வந்தது என்று குறிப்பிட்டு இன்னும் செய்தாலே தலையே விரும்பினால் குரல்

தலையே, XIX. 37-3

She hurried at once to the palace and proved to Nandigecelian his great fault. Knowing that he had committed a great sin, the Pändiyen fell down at once from his throne and breathed his last. Then Kānṉaki came round the city thrice and set fire to it. It was about two hours after sunset. That was in the month of Ādi, Friday, the eighth tithi after Full-Moon, and kṛttikā.

"தமிழ் கண்ணா குமாரேஷ்ட் போல் வந்தது என்று குறிப்பிட்டு இன்னும் செய்தாலே தலையே விரும்பினால் குரல்

தலையே, XXIII. 133-136

This is the most important data to decide the date of the burning of Madura. In this data kṛttikā is known by the words "சூரியன் தாதிலூ.

But the old commentator has written the meaning for this as kṛttikā bharani. From this statement we have to conclude that kṛttikā must have come after bharani and that too at the very same time when Kānṉaki set fire to Madura. Calculating from 100 B.C. to 400 A.D. we can find that only 144 A.D. satisfies all the conditions mentioned. From this we can also give the dates for the other incidents.

In 144 A.D. the Indra festival began in the month of Cittirai 21st, Friday, Nakṣatra Cittirai and the fourteenth tithi after New-Moon. Till Vaikāsi 17th Thursday the festival lasted, and came to an end on the 18th of Vaikāsi. On the 19th Vaikāsi, Saturday, Kovalan left Madavi and went to his house. On that very same night just before dawn he left Puhar with his wife. That night was the 14th night after New-Moon. In that year on the 25th of Ādi it was Friday, the eighth tithi in the dark fortnight and bharani and kṛttikā met two hours after sunset. And it was at that time Kānṉaki set fire to Madura. In the month of Avanit 4th Thursday, the fourteenth day after the burning of Madura.
THE DATE OF ŚILAPPADIKĀRĀM.

“என்றுள்ளே எனது விசயம் பெற்று” நூற்றை. XXIII. 193] Kaṇṇaki, mounted the top of Neduvēlkurram and went to the Indraloka with her husband on a celestial car. Hearing this news from the vedaras who were eye-witnesses to the scene Ērēn Šēnkūṭṭuvan built a temple for Kaṇṇaki in his capital city, Vañōi, and deified her in the stone brought by him from the Himalayas. We shall carefully consider here Šēnkūṭṭuvan’s journey and return since it is very important.

Śēnkūṭṭuvan as soon as he decided to instal Kaṇṇaki, started with a large army, reached the northern bank of the Ganges, won a great victory over the Āryan Kings Kanaka and Vijaya, sent his general to the Himalayas to bring the stone for Kaṇṇaki’s image, crossed the river and was on its southern bank. As soon as the stone was brought it was bathed in the holy waters of the Ganges. On that day the King saw the crescent moon. It was the third tithi in the bright-fortnight. The palace-astrologer said to the King that 32 months have passed since they started from Vañōi.

"ஏனேல்கிள் எனது விசயம் பெற்று" நூற்றை. XXVII. 149.

So he must have also started from Vañōi on the third tithi in the bright-fortnight. Now let us see the details of his journey till the close of the 32nd month.

Since it is known that Šēnkūṭtuva did not make any delay at Vañōi he should have started on the 26th day Monday the third tithi in the bright fortnight after Kaṇṇaki went to Indraloka. That was the 29th of Āvani in 144 A. D. He reached the Nilgiris and halted there to receive the presents sent by other kings. The Kōngānas and the Karnāṭars came in the summer and the Kuḍāgars in the winter. Śilappadikārām 26, ஒன்று ஒன்று என்று (85—175). He left the Nilgiris in the beginning of the winter season i.e., in the month of Āvani. It was then one year since he left Vañōi.

He crossed the Ganges with the help of the boats made ready by the hundred Kaṇṇars who were friendly with him, and defeated Kanaka and Vijaya in seven hours. But it is known that he was waiting there in his camp awaiting the arrival of, and an opportunity to attack the enemy.

“பாலபுனாமாபாரசனாமா பெற்று” நூற்றை. XXVI. 180.

So about one month must have been spent in that matter. Then his general should have taken two months to go to the Himalayas and bring the stone to the Ganges. So the journey from the Nilgiris to the Ganges lasted for 17 months [32—(12+1+2)]. The way from Vañōi to the Nilgiris is ½ of the way from the Nilgiris to the Ganges. So it will take about 3½ months to reach the Nilgiris from Vañōi. On the whole
Śeṅkuṭṭuṇan's journey from Vaṇci to the Ganges lasted for 20½ months \((17 + 3\frac{1}{2})\). And also 20½ months were spent for his return journey. He had halted in the Nilgiris for 8½ months \((12 - 3\frac{1}{2})\).

Śeṅkuṭṭuṇan returned to Vaṇci on the 53rd month \((32 + 20\frac{1}{2})\). The installation of Kaṇṇaki took place soon after i.e., within a month or two. That is to say on the eighth month after the lapse of four years from the burning of Madura, Kaṇṇaki was deified. It was the month of Panguni, in 149 A.D. At that time Gayabāhu, the King of Ceylon, was also present there and worshipped her.

"śeṅkuṭṭuṇaṁ bhārataṁ gṛhaṁ āmṛṭaṁ" Pāṇi. XXX. 160.

According to Dipavaṁśa, the oldest of the Ceylon Chronicles, Gayabāhu reigned from the 642nd till the 664th year after the Buddha Nirvāṇa. Now we have to see when the Nirvāṇa was.

In the life of Buddha the following astronomical facts are known:—
(1) Buddha was born on Friday Full-Moon in Vaikāśi in 68th year of Īśānaśaka. (2) In Īśānaśaka 96 in Vaikāśi on Friday Full-Moon he went to the forest. (3) In Īśānaśaka 103 in Vaikāśi on Wednesday Full-Moon he attained jñānam. (4) In Īśānaśaka 107 in Ādi on Saturday Full-Moon his father died at sunrise. (5) In Īśānaśaka 148 in Vaikāśi on Tuesday Full-Moon he attained Nirvāṇā. All these dates are satisfied only if we take 493 B.C. to be the date of the Buddha Nirvāṇa. From this we find that Īśānaśaka began in 641 B.C. This date for the Nirvāṇa is supported by the following facts:—

According to the Ceylon Chronicles, Aśoka's abhiṣekam was 218 years after the Nirvāṇa. It was in 275 B.C. \((493 - 218)\). He actually came to the throne in 278 B.C., i.e., four years before his abhiṣekam. Before him, Bindusāra reigned from 302 to 278 B.C. Before him Candragupta reigned from 325—302 B.C., that is to say, he came to the throne 168 years \((218 - 50)\) after Buddha Nirvāṇa. The date of his accession 325 B.C. is correct according to history; therefore, Buddha Nirvāṇa is \((325 + 168)\) 493 B.C. So Gayabāhu's reign was for 22 years from 148 A.D. to 170 A.D. \([(641 to 663) - 493]\). He had ascended the throne in 148 and was present at Vaṇci in 149 A.D.

Gayabāhu's grandfather Vasaba had improved agriculture and made the lands very fertile by digging many canals \(\text{(Dipavaṁśa Chap. 22 and Mahāvaṁśa Chap. 35)}\). Vasaba's contemporary King Karikāla Cola had done the same thing in his country. For want of coolies to work in the canals he had invaded Ceylon and taken many of its inhabitants, as captives. This fact is found in the Mahāvaṁśa (in Tamil). Gayabāhu's father Vaṅkanasikatissa had reigned only for three years \(\text{(Dipavaṁśa Chap. 22, 12, 27; Mahāvaṁśa Chap. 35, 112)}\). Gayabāhu took vengeance and invaded the Cola country as soon as he came to the throne.
and during that time visited also Vañoi and worshipped Kaññaki. These facts are also supported by the foot-note in page 117 of the Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency. Therein we find the following: "In A.D. 110 the Coḷas again invaded Ceylon and carried away 12,000 Singhalese prisoners. In 113 this outrage was avenged by Gayabāhu, King of Ceylon, who invaded the Coḷa Kingdom and brought back not only the rescued Singhalese captives, but also a large number of prisoners ".

Thus we conclude that the burning of Madura was in 144 A.D. and the installation of Kaññaki was in 149 A.D. I have laid these facts and inferences before the public in the hope of being enlightened by the research scholars.
VI.—Archaeology, Epigraphy Numismatics, Music and Indian Art.
MEMORIAL STONES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

BY

Mr. G. V. ACHARYA, BOMBAY.

1. Bombay Presidency, as it extends over a large area on the west of India, affords ample opportunities for a sort of comparative study of the different features of one and the same practice and observance.

2. Though the main underlying idea may be the same, still there may be an appreciable difference in details in different provinces due probably to the different manners and customs prevailing in them. Such like comparisons and contrasts from the antiquarian, anthropological and architectural standpoint-of-view will be beneficial to students and scholars in the respective branches.

3. In this paper it is intended to deal with Hindu memorial stones found in all parts of the Bombay Presidency. The subject may be made still wider by treating such stones in the whole of India but I leave that for some future occasion or for some other enthusiastic scholar to take up.

4. Before I proceed further I think it better to qualify this attempt of mine and declare that as I have not till now the good fortune to go to the extreme north and the south of the Presidency, I have to depend either upon the books on the subject or upon the scanty information which I received from persons with whom I corresponded for this purpose. This is just to save me from an attack of not being thoroughly exhaustive.

5. No man is perfect and in fresh fields like this no man should lay claim to such perfection. I shall be really thankful to persons who would do me the favour of supplying fresh information on the subject and thankfully acknowledge the same when I shall have the occasion to make use of it at any second similiar attempt at this subject. Memorial stones are stones with or without inscriptions erected by the relatives or other interested persons of the deceased with a view to commemorate the death or the incidents that lead to it.

6. Hero-worship is found in all nations at all ages and stages of civilization. In course of time it develops into different tangible and material attempts at inventing cheapest, simplest and yet the most permanent mode of recording the heroic deeds of the hero with a view primarily to honour him but at the same time to leave consciously or unconsciously some history of the lives of great and ideal men for the succeeding generations to follow. Love, regard and appreciation of the relations, friends and admirers of the deceased could not invent anything cheaper and simpler than these memorial stones and that accounts for the presence throughout the presidency of stones of all shapes, and forms to suit all individual cases.
7. There is always a good word for the dead with the exception of a few hopelessly depraved and degraded, and the generosity and sympathy of an Indian mind finds out or rather hunts out some salient points in the life of every dead man and tries to make most of them. Thus the honour and distinction reserved for the select and deserving few came to be lavished indiscriminately on all, great and small, good and bad.

8. A sati who sacrifices herself on the funeral pile of her husband has every right to this sort of honour; and the inhabitants of the village or the locality where the Sati-memorial stone is found, always refer to it with a sort of pride. Similarly a religious person who has courted death either by some austerities or by fasting rightly deserves this honour from the people of the place. A chief or a leader plays an important part in the history of the village or the district and naturally he is honoured with this sort of distinction. Besides, a person who has sacrificed his life for the sake of the village people by responding to some call of duty at the time of danger to the village, has a just claim to this sort of honour and appreciation. Petty warfare between neighbouring villages were very frequent and a hot exchange of words would easily lead to a free fight and bloodshed.

9. Memorial stones were thus appropriately raised for types of persons detailed above but later on the line of demarcation between persons and persons became fainter and fainter and distinctions being odious such stones were erected for one and all without discretion or distinction.

10. In the majority of cases these stones are being erected near the cemetry and the burning ghats. They are also erected on elevated and prominent places round about the villages. At times some solitary stones are also found in fields or some such places when they refer to some local incidents which might have occurred on the spot. Thus on battle-fields one can notice such stones by dozens. Such stones are also seen near temples though they have hardly any connection with the temples proper. As a rule, religious mendicants of all sorts are staying round about big temples and they are thus honoured after death usually by their devotees or the followers.

11. These stones are cut out from the hardest possible stone available in different provinces. In Sind and such other places where such pieces are not locally available only those who can afford, send for them from Rājputāna and neighbouring places while others either use bricks or go without them. This accounts for the scarcity of such stones in the Northern part of the Presidency.
12. The pieces cut out are rectangular at the base and the two sides come nearer and meet at different angles at the top. As a rule they are 4 to 5 feet in height, 18 to 24 inches in breadth and 6 to 9 inches in thickness but I have noticed several of abnormal sizes measuring about 7 ft. in height and 4 ft. in breadth. The biggest in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India measures 6'6" by 3'1'"

13. It is the fashion to leave these stones by themselves defying the inclemencies of weather. About a foot at the base they have buried in the ground to keep them standing. Stones recording the death of ruling chiefs or other big personages are usually placed on a low platform and provided with a covering in the form of a chatri (Umbrella resting on four or more pillars).

14. Ninety per cent of these stones are inscribed and in such inscribed stones about \( \frac{1}{4} \) portion from the top is reserved for representations of different types. These representations vary according to the incidents which they attempt to commemorate.

15. A Sati-stone has either a complete female figure or more commonly only the hand of the Sati on it. A hero's stone has on it the representation of a mounted warrior in fighting attitude with various weapons (usually a sword or a shield) in his hand. He is either by himself or in the act of fighting with his opponent.

16. Representations on South Indian Stone are more beautiful and vivid in architectural designs. The whole height of the stones is divided into several compartments or sections and the incident intended to be commemorated is carved out with full details in several sections one after the other beginning from the bottom. In the lowest section there is usually the representation of a cattle raid. India is an agricultural country and in the absence of up-to-date implements of agriculture which are beyond the means and capacities of uneducated class of agriculturists, cattle forms the prime factor of the activities of these people. Driving away the cattle of the neighbouring village is thus the surest way of challenging and offending the people of that village and such an action is sure to result in bloodshed. In the compartment next to that there is a scene of a free fight and the hero slain in the action is carried away to heaven, where he is figured as worshipping God in some form or other.

17. Sun and Moon. Orb of the sun and the digit of the moon are each invariably found towards the top on either side. These are invoked with a view to perpetuate the existence of these stones. They are expected to last as long as the sun and moon will endure.

18. Cow and Calf. In some of them are noticed a cow and a calf probably sculptured with a view to give sanctity to the stones. Cow is
most sacred to Hindus and the man who disturbs the stone brings upon him the sin of cow-killing. On one which is in the Prince of Wales Museum there is the figure of a small mortar one of the paraphernalia of an opium eater to show that the hero was addicted to opium.

19. With the exception of some South Indian Stones they are as a rule inscribed. The lower \( \frac{2}{3} \) or \( \frac{1}{3} \) of the stone is generally set apart for inscription.

20. On South Indian Stones, with scenes in several compartments the inscription is found usually on the belts separating the several scenes. There are two such inscribed stones in the Prince of Wales Museum, one from Dharwar and the other from Belgaum. The style of the inscription is neither figurative nor elaborate. They open out with the date in different eras according to provinces. Those in the Northern half are dated in the Vikrama Era while those in the southern are dated in the Śaka Era. Then follows the name of the ruling chief or the feudal chieftain and towards the end comes the narration of the incidents to which the hero fell a victim. There are at the end a stanza or two, imprecatory in nature, to secure the stone from any future disturbance. Over and above the imprecatory stanzas there is at times the expression of an ass curse. Religious sentiments are always associated with them and it is the practice for people who believe themselves to have descended from the hero to offer red lead, incense and coconuts once every year usually on the hero's death-date. Red lead is usually applied to representations at the top but at times it is applied over the inscribed portion by ignorant and blindly religious descendants without any consciousness of the disservice they are thus doing to the stones.

These stones play an important part also in the history in general and chronology in particular, of India. In support of this statement I give below short summaries of two north-Bombay and three south-Bombay inscriptions on such stones.

(1) Sati-Memorial Stone in the chatri of Rao Bharmalji 1 at Bhuj (Cutch).

Bai Śrī Lilāvatī, the daughter of Rao Mandalik of Junagad became a sati (ascended the funeral pile of her husband) at the time of the death of Rao Śrī Bharmalji, the son of Rao Śrī Khengarji, at Bhuj (capital of Cutch) on Thursday of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa in the year 1688 of the Vikrama Era = 1632 A.D.

(2) Memorial stone in the chatri of Pragji at Bhuj.

Rao Śrī Pragmalji, son of Rao Śrī Raidhanji, died on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa.........in the Śūlavāhana year 1637 and the Vikrama Samvat 1772.

(3) An Old Kannarese inscription at Kotur in Parasgad taluka of Belgaum district. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, 1891, p. 69.
MEMORIAL STONES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

This describes how a śaiva ascetic named Śambu i.e., Śambhu performed the ceremony of walking through the fire and then stood in it till he was burnt to death. It mentions a Cālukya prince named Parahitarāja. It is not dated but can be referred on palaeographic grounds to about the 9th century A.D.

(4) Hatti Mattūr inscription of the time of Krṣṇa I.

Epigraphica Indica, Vol. VI. No. 16, p. 160. The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Akālavarsa who because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be indentified with the Rāstrakūta king Akālavarsa Śubhatuṅga Krṣṇa I. The object is to record the death in some local affray of two heroes named Dasamma and Ereya. The second is not dated but it is to be placed after A.D. 754 (date for Danti Durga predecessor of Krṣṇa I) and before A.D. 783-84 which we have for his successor. We may place it roughly about A.D. 765.

TRANSLATION.

Hail while the Bhatarā the glorious Akālavarsa (Krṣṇa I) was reigning over the earth. In the destruction of the village of Mattavūr, Dasamma and Ereya of the villages of Surageyur, pierced (some of their foes) and died and ascended to heaven. These are the stones of those two men themselves.

(5) Naregal inscription of the time of Dhrvla.

Naregal is the headquarters of Hangal taluka of the Dharwar district.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Dora who is to be identified with the Rāstrakūta king Dhrvla son and successor of Krṣṇa I. The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death on the occasion of a cattle raid, of a local hero, named Dommara Kadava, Kadava of the Dombas or gipsies."

The record is not dated but, as we have for Dhrvla the date A.D. 783-84 it may be placed roughly about A.D. 780.

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail while the glorious Dora was reigning over the earth and while Marakkarasa was governing the Banavasi twelve thousand. In the fight about the ows of the thousand mahājanas of Nareyanigal Dommara Kadava died and ascended to heaven.

21. Conclusion. Having thus shown the importance of the memorial stones, I finish this paper with a prayer to all touring officers to note and supply information about interesting stones that they come across in various districts, as would enable me to be thoroughly exhaustive on this subject when I take it up once more.
THE STYLES OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

BY

DR. P. K. ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A., PH.D., D.LIT.

The style is a technical and purely architectural subject. Thus it is not dealt with in the Purāṇas, Epics or other poetical works, where casual references to architecture and sculpture are frequently met with. In the Brhat-Samhitā, however, as also in some epigraphical documents, mention of the style is occasionally made. The Āgamas contain a little more detail, while in the architectural treatises like the Mānasūra, the subject is exhaustively treated. The Nāgara, Vesara and Drāvida are the three broad styles distinguished. They are applied to both architecture and sculpture.

With reference to ears or chariots a fourth style is mentioned: this is called Randhra which name seems to be a corrupt form of Āndhra: further, Kaliṅga is mentioned as another distinct style. But if the identification of Vesara with Telugu or Tri-Kaliṅga be accepted, the Āndhra and the Kaliṅga would be but two branches of the Vesara style.

The Nāgara style is distinguished by its quadrangular shape, the Drāvida by its hexagonal or octagonal shape, and the Vesara by its round shape.


2. Kāmikāgama, LXV, 6, 7, 12-18 etc; Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 37, 38. 39 etc.; Mānasūra, XVIII, 91-104; LI, 52-51; XXI, 72-73; XXVI, 76; XLIII, 124-125; LII, 78, 100; XLIII, 124 125, etc.

3. Mānasūra, LII, 78, 100; LIII, 46, 47, etc.

4. Mānasūra, XLIII, 124, 125 etc.

5. Progress Report, (ibid.) page 90.

6. वेदार्थं नामरं प्रोक्तं वस्त्रं द्राविडं भवेत्।

उत्तरं बेसरं प्रोक्षामनन्त्रं स्वातं तु यद्भक्षम॥

(Mānasūra, XLIII, 124-125).

This is applied to ears and chariots. The rules referring to buildings proper are given in XVIII, 93-104; XXVI, 76; XXI, 72-73, etc; referring to sculpture proper, LII, 78, 100; LIII, 46-47, 53, 54, etc.

द्वारमेवमद्वे प्रोक्तं जातिमेवं तत्: भेषु।

नामरं द्राविडं चैव बेसरं न विश्वास सत्म।

कण्ठादारम्भं वृत्तं वद्व(तद्?) बेसरमिति स्वत्म॥
Like the Greco-Roman orders on which the European styles of architecture are mainly based, the Nāgara, Vesara, and Drāvīḍa also are but geographical names.

Drāvīḍa is the well known country where the Tamil language is spoken, extending from Madras to Cape Comorin. This tract is roughly bounded by the Vindhyā range on the north where the Madhya-deśa ends, Kerala or Malabar coast on the west, and Kaliṅga or Coromandal coast on the east. Thus it would imply the whole southern country.

Vesara seems to cover the country known as Kaliṅga, that is, the country along the Coromandal coast, north of Madras where the Drāvīḍa country begins. It would include the whole of Orissan country and a large part of Bengal and Bihar also. Roughly it would imply the eastern country.

Nāgara is also a geographical name. It seems to imply the whole of Northern India from Bihar to Gujarat and from the Himālaya to the Vindhyā.

The identification of Nāgara with Northern India needs, however, an explanation. It seems to have been never before used exclusively in that sense. Moreover it is the name of an extensive division in Mysore, a

(Prabhāṣṭāgama, XXXI, 37-39).

These also refer to buildings. For rules referring to sculpture, see the Kambāgama, LVIII, 6-7, 12-18; and the Bṛhat Samhitā, LVIII, 4 (Kern's edition.)

"An interesting record from Holal is the label cut out on the capital of a finely carved pillar in the Amṛtaśvara temple. It is called in the inscription a Śukara pillar. Speaking of the sculptor who made it the record says that the Bammaja, the pupil of Padaja of Soke, was a Viśvakarman, i.e. the architect of the gods in this Kali age, the master of the sixty-four arts and sciences, the clever builder of the sixty-four varieties of mansions and the architect who had invented (i.e. discovered) the four types (styles) of buildings, viz. Nāgara, Kaliṅga, Drāvīḍa, and Vesara."


In another inscription (Ep. carnat, vol. VIII, part I., Sarab Taluq Inscription No. 275, Roman text page 92, translation page 46, note 1) these styles are called "Drāvīḍa, Bhūmiṣṭ and Nāgara," of which Bhūmiṣṭ which literally means 'grown up on the spot' may refer to the Vesara style with Kaliṅga and Audhra as its two branches.

These and many other quotations will be found in the writer's Dictionary of the Hindu Architecture under Nāgara.

1 The Doric is derived from the cities of Doria. The Ionic has reference to the Ionians, the inhabitants of Ion. The Corinthian is originated from the country about Corinth (Vitruvius IV, 1). The Tuscan has reference to the country of Tuscany, formerly called Etruria in Italy. The Composite is compound of Corinthian and Ionio,
part in Tanjore and a number of ancient villages in the Deccan. But
it is found used more frequently as the name of villages, towns, and rivers
in Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana, the
Punjab, and Gujarat. Nāgara is also the name of a portion of the
Śrīmadpurāṇa, a sect of northern Brahmin and a script. The Śrīmad-
purāṇa, which to some scholars seems to have been named after Śrīmad-
gupta (455-480 A.D.), the seventh emperor of the early Guptas dynasty,
bears a part called Nāgara-khaṇḍa. In this part of the Śrīmadpurāṇa,
it is claimed that the Nāgara Brāhmīns are superior to all other Brāhmīns.

It is held that they came over from the north and settled down in
Gujarat at a place known as Nāgara-nandana-pura. From these Nāgara
Brāhmīns, it is said, came the use of the Nāgari alphabets which belong
exclusively to Northern India. As a matter of fact it is most famous as
the name of a script particularly of Northern India extending from Bihar
on the east to the Punjab and Gujarat on the west, and from the foot of
the Himalayas on the north to the Vindhyas range on the south. This
is the very tract which seems to have been covered by the Nāgara style
about the time of the Mānasāra.

The southern and eastern tracts represented by the Drāvida and the
Vesara styles can also be associated with the Tamil and the Telugu includ-
ing the Orijanian scripts. If based on scripts and languages, these divi-
sions, Nāgara, Drāvida and Vesara were existing apart from the
architectural styles.

The expression Nāgara is not certainly coined in the Mānasāra.
Nāgara is a common name for the town, and Nāgara is an adjective there-
from and implies something connected with a city. Madura of Southern
India can be connected with Māthura of Northern India. In the same
way, the Nāgara-Khaṇḍa of Mysore, the part Nāgara of Tanjore and the
village Nāgara of the Deccan can be accounted for. It is true that the
borrowed names sometimes become more prominent than those of which
they are but imitations. New York of America, for instance, is much
more prominent than the old York of old England.

The styles are indicated by terms which have already been in use as
class names. For the purposes of architectural generalisation the country
is divided into three parts, Northern, Southern and Eastern, and they are
called respectively the Nāgara, Drāvida and Vesara.

This geographical basis of the classification of the Indian architec-
tural styles is partly corroborated by the modern Western scholars also.

1. See the writer’s Dictionary of the Hindu Architecture under Nāgara.
cences in this Journal and many other quotations will be found under Nāgara in our
Dictionary.
"So far as yet known, we cannot point to any buildings...of very early date, or before the sixth or seventh century, if indeed quite so early". This is the statement made by authorities like Fergusson, Burgess, Smith and others. This may be referred to all parts and all styles of India. Cunningham has gathered together fragments of what he calls the Gupta style, of which, however, no single example in its entirety can be cited.

The Dravidian "temples generally consist of a square base amounted externally by thin tall pilasters, and containing the cell in which the image is kept. In front of this may be added a mandapam or hall, even two such, but they are not characteristic of the style. Over the shrine rises the Sikhar of pyramidal form, but always divided into storeys and crowned by a small dome, either circular or polygonal in shape. Another special feature of these temples is the Gopurams or great gateways, placed in front of them at the entrances to the surrounding courts, and often on all four sides. In general design they are like the vimanas or shrines, but about twice as wide as deep, and very frequently far more important than the temples themselves. Another feature is the cornices of double curve; in other Indian styles the cornices are mostly straight and sloping downwards. As the contemporary northern styles are characterized by the prevalence of vertical lines, the Dravidian is marked by the prevalence of horizontal mouldings and shadows, and the towers and Gopurams are storeyed. Then the more important temples are surrounded by courts enclosing great corridors or prakaras, and pillared halls."

"The square rathas were evidently models of Buddhist Viharas, and became the designs from which the temples proper or Vimanas of Southern India were for long copied: and further, the oblong rathas, like Arjuna's temple, appeared to have given the first form to the great gate-ways or Gopurams." 1 Pierced stone windows are found at Ellora and other places. Regarding the Câlukyan style, which covers the Hyderabad territory, the central Provinces, Berar, and the Marathi and a part of the Kanarese speaking Districts of the Bombay Presidency, it is stated that the earliest temples within this area, however, are not very clearly marked off from "the Dravidian and the more northern style, some of them have distinctly northern spires, and others are closely altered to the southern style." For instance, "the old temple of Pâpanâth at Pattadkar presents a curious combination of styles. The body of the temple is Dravidian but the Sikhar is a curious approximation to the form of the early northern Hindu or Indo-Aryan order, while in details the temple shows a strong leaning to the Dravidian." "Still in Mysore, Dharwar, and Belgaum district, as well as in Berar and Maharatha Districts, sufficient

remains exist to illustrate the various developments of the (Cālukyan) style. 1"

"In the Cālukyan temples the corners are often made prominent by increments placed over them, or the whole plan is star-shaped, the projecting angles having equal adjacent faces lying in a circle as in the temple of Belur in Mysore (built about 1120 A.D.) 2. There are other examples where the Śikhara did not preserve the southern storeyed form but was rather stepped, forming square pyramid with breaks corresponding to the angles in the wall, and with a broad band answering to the larger face in the middle of each exposed side of the shrine". "The pillars are markedly different from the earlier Dravidian forms; they are massive richly carved, often circular and highly polished. Their capitals are usually spread out while middle section of the shaft is richly carved with mouldings in the round. They are almost always in pairs of the same design". The richly carved and richly ornamented pierced windows belong specially to this (Cālukyan) style as we see at Ajanta and elsewhere, just like the pierced stone windows employed in Dravidian temples at Ellora and other places." "The buildings were erected without mortar, and the joints were carefully fitted. The whole was covered with sculpture, often of geometric and floral patterns, intermixed with numerous mythological figures; and in the later examples, the courses of the base were carved with the succession of animal patterns prescribed for them in the Śilpa Śāstras. This is very fully exemplified in the great temple of Hoysaleswara at Hubbad 2."

These peculiarities of the Dravidian and the Cālukyan styles are taken from the existing temples. Most of these details are also found under the Drāvida style of the Mānasāra, which, however, does not recognise the Cālukyan style as a separate order.

The Northern or Indo-Aryan style of architecture covers the whole area once occupied by Aryans "usually designated as Hindusthan", to the north of the Tapati and Mahānadi rivers. "What is known as the Jain style of architecture in Western India is a development or variety of this Indo-Aryan order, and was used by Hindus and Jains alike over Rājputanā, Mālwa, and Gujarāt. It was employed in its most ornate form by the Jains in their famous marble temples on Mount Abu, and by both Jains and Hindus at Nāgdā near Udaipur. At Gīṁrār also and Śatrunjaya in Gujarāt as well as Khajurāho in Bundelkhand are clusters of temples of this order 3. "Under this style are classified monuments of very various orders and may be separated into two or more distinct types". The Vesara of the Mānasāra is apparently one of these.

---

2. Ibid., pages 176, 177.
3. Ibid. pages 178, 179.
The shrines and mandapas are square, and only slightly modified by additions to the walls of parallel projections, which in the earlier examples, were thin; the walls were raised on a moulded plinth (piṭha) of some height, over which was a deep base (adhisthāna), the two together rising, roughly, to about half the height of the walls; over this is the paralleled face of the wall, usually of less proportionate height than the Cālukyan style, and though devoted to figured sculptures in compartments, the tall thin pilasters of the southern style have disappeared. Over this is the many-membered architrave, and cornice, above which rise the spire and roof. The spires follow the vertical lines of the wall, and present no trace of division into storeys, but vary in details with the age. In the earlier examples the summit was crowned by a large, fluted, circular block called amala (pure, shining) Śilā, probably mistaken for Āmalaka (Phyllanthus Emblica). The finial over this is of the shape of a vase, known as the Kalāśa or Karaka. "One of the most striking features of the style is the richly carved domes over their mandapas or porches. (Nothing can exceed the elaboration and delicacy of details in the sculptured vaults of the temples at Abu and Nāgdā). These, with the diversified arrangement of variously placed and highly ornamented pillars supporting them, produce a most pleasing impression of symmetry and beauty."

"The earlier examples were apparently astylar, then, like the southern forms, with columns arranged in the mandapas in groups of four, and later, especially in Western India, the larger domes or twelve pillars formed the central area of the halls. These mandapas in early examples were roofed with long, sloping slabs; but, to provide for carved conical roofs inside, their outer forms represented courses of masonry, which were carved in temples of Kanarak, Bhuvanēśvara (older); Ambaranāth, Baroli, Khajurāho, Abu and Chitor (mediaeval); Nāsik, Benares, Udaipur, Śatrūnjaya, etc., (recent.)" ².

The peculiarities of the Nāgara style, excepting one or two rather unessential points, would correspond to these details of "Northern or Indo-Aryan style". The Amala or Āmalaka Śilā is not mentioned in the Mānasāra under this appellation; but the miśrāhi-istaka (brick at the top) seems to serve the same purpose as the Amala Śilā. The kalaśa, dome, śikhā, and śikhara are the distinguishing features of the style found also in the Mānasāra in addition to the square shape.

"Temples at Bhuvanēśvara......differ very markedly from those in the west in being almost entirely astylar-pillars having been introduced in later additions. They have the early form of śikhās—nearly perpendicular below, but curving near the summit; and the crowning member has resemblance to anything like the small domes on Cālukyan spires."

Burgess, following the classification of Fergusson, has included the style found at Puri, Bhubanesvara and Kanarak under the Indo-Aryan or Northern style. But he has admitted that "it may be separated into a distinct order." What is called the Vesara in the Manasara seems to be identical with this style. The main characteristic feature of this style is, according to the Manasara, its round shape and this is clearly exhibited by temples and images in the Orissan countries.
MESSAGE FROM THE BARHUT VOTIVE LABELS.

BY

B. M. BARUA, M.A., (CAL.), D. LIT., (LOND.)

The Votive Labels on the railing of the Barhut Stūpa are made use of for acknowledging the gifts or donations received from different donors. The receipts are legibly incised precisely on those parts for which the contributions were made. With the exception of the coping its remaining component parts, including the gateways or ornamented arches, are actually mentioned in some of its acknowledgments, the gateways invariably, and the pillars and rail-bars occasionally. The following examples will make the point clear:

(a) As written on the lower pillar of E. Gateway:—

"Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vatsiputra Dhanabhūti son of 'Gotiputa Āgaraju' (and) grandson of king Gāgiputra' Viśvadeva."

(b) As written on railing-pillars and rail-bars:—

"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka."
"The gift of Dhamagupta—a pillar."
"The rail-gift of Pratāksita."
"The gift of Śāṅghila—a rail-bar."

The very opening words of its acknowledgments on the gateway-pillars indicate its location, that it was situated within the dominion of the Śuṅgas, who came into power about the middle of the second century B.C., and held sway over Northern India with their capital at Pāṭaliputra or Patna. The name of King Dhanabhūti, the donor of its gateways has been mentioned along with those of his parents and grandparents, which goes to show that the royal dynasty was in power for upwards of two generations. There is another acknowledgment on a rail-bar stating that it was a gift of Prince Vadhapāla or Vṛddhapāla, 1 the son of King Dhanabhūti. Just a generation after, Dhanabhūti's grandson, King Dhanabhūti II dedicated the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurā, 2 which enables us to surmise that the seat of power of this royal dynasty was either in Mathurā or a country near about. As a matter of fact, King Dhanabhūti's dedicatory inscriptions on the gateway pillars abound in the use of the cerebral nasal in line of the dental, which was decidedly an influence of the Jaina Prākṛty then prevalent at Mathurā. You must have noticed that in these inscriptions the princes of this royal dynasty have

---

1. Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions, No. 103.
2. Cunningham's Sūpa of Barhut, p. 130.
been distinguished by certain metronymics, the son by the queen Gārgi and so forth, their mothers being called by some notable gotras or families of spiritual culture and social polity tracing their origin from the ancient Rāis. The use of such metronymics as these only proves the prevalence of polygamy in Hindu Society, particularly among the kings and princes 1.

There is no reason to doubt that our railing and the gateways owed their existence and reached their completion under the fostering care of Buddhist monks and nuns of the local Saṅghārāma, the traces of which could be found among the ruins of the Stūpa 2. The early existence of this monastery is evident from one of the votive inscriptions recording the gift of a nun of the local monastic abode:

Āvāsikāya bhikkuniyā dānam.

Buddhist teachers of this monastery must have been persons well-known, honoured and trusted throughout the country. We can presume that it is mainly by the influence of this holy body of trustees that several gifts in the shape of donations and materials flowed in from the four quarters, from the monks and nuns, all of whom were Buddhists, the Buddhist laity consisting of both men and women, princes and artisans, other persons, as well as collective bodies of wealthy citizens and Buddhist dāyakas. Among the various localities of the donors, those which were most important and can now be identified, include Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the extreme north-east, Kauśāmbi (Kośam) on the Yamurā in the extreme north, Vidiśā (Bensagar or Bhilsa) and the port of Śrīputra in the extreme west, and probably Pāṇḍya in the extreme south. Purikā, Bhogavardhana and Nāśika were evidently three important cities of the Āndhra rulers of the Deccan to the south of the Vindhyas. It is under the patronage of the Āndhra Kings that Buddhist Saṅghārāmas at Nasik and Sāñci, belonging to two or more Buddhist sects, were maintained. There are also places, such as Bhojakata, Asitamasa and the rest, which may be said to have been included in the region to the north of the Vindhyas. Seeing that no place of the North-Western region is mentioned, one must imagine that this region was under the sway of some rival power, unfriendly towards the Buddhist cause. We may perhaps understand that the political supremacy was at the time contested by these three rival powers, viz., the Śuṅgas of the north, the Āndras of the south, and the Bactrian Greeks or Scythian hordes of the north-west. From the given list of places you can form an idea of the wide extension of Buddhism in India. Buddhism was no longer a local movement of the central region in the north but spread far and wide, reaching as far as the western coast in Bombay, and reached, after crossing the Vindhyas, and crossing the Godāvari, as far south as Pāṇḍya. One cannot expect such a state of things as this before the reign of Aśoka. In reality one

2. Barua Sinha, No. 25.
must ascribe this wider propagation of the religion to the missionary organisation of the Buddhist emperor and the liberal state-support given by him to the movement.

By this time you must have followed the trend of the tale of our railing far enough to be able to realise that its construction with all its ornamental designs was after all a most costly affair. The Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon will tell you that King Asoka had to call upon all his subjects including the subordinate potentates to raise money for the erection of 84,000 Buddhist edifices, while the Buddhist legends of India go to show that, in spite of all voluntary or compulsory contributions, the king had to exhaust his imperial treasury for the purpose. Our railing itself bears an inscription recording the amount required for the simple purchase of Prince Jeta's garden near Sravasti, ultimately converted into a Buddhist monastery. It says that the Buddhist banker Anathapiṇḍika had to pay to the owner of the park crores of gold coins in cash. We read in the Kathāvatthu (I. 2), a Buddhist compilation of Asokan time, that a man who had ready money to the extent of four lakhs was eligible for the status of a Banker. We read in literature that fifty-four lakhs of gold pieces had to be spent in erecting the Jetavana monastery and celebrating a great feast lasting for nine months. Even leaving a fair margin for exaggerations, the fact stands out that the construction of a Buddhist edifice such as the Bārbut Stūpa with its railing and gateways was not an easy affair within the reach of one generation, of one or two men, however rich. Now the question arises—by what method or methods the donations were collected. The Votive Labels afford instances where the Buddhist dāyakas of Purikā collectively offered a donation. It cannot be supposed that all of them happened to visit Barbut at the same time. There must be some local agent or some one sent from Barbut to raise subscriptions. The same holds true of another case where we find that the citizens of a town made a gift 1. In this latter case one cannot suppose that all the donors were Buddhists. There is a third instance where we find two ladies of the same family and a gentleman, certainly related to them, made three gifts, consecutively recorded 2. All of them hailed from Paṭaliputra. From the manner of description it is clear that the ladies came to the place on pilgrimage under the escort of the man. The rows of recesses for lights at the base of the Stūpa bear evidence of an elaborate arrangement for illumination. We must, indeed, presume that fairs, festivals, illuminations and their religious demonstrations helped the monks to attract annually

2. Barua Sinha, Nos. 9, 50, 52:
   Paṭaliputa Nāgasaṇaya Kodgiṇiṣa dānam.
   Paṭaliputa Kodgiṇiṣa Sakaṭadevaya dānam.
   Paṭaliputa Mahādaṁsa dānam.
a large number of pilgrims and to heighten the importance of the place 1. But is it not strange that the monks and nuns, who are supposed not to touch money, are included among the donors? If they had no savings of their own, how could they make these contributions? It is difficult to surmise anything positively on this point, though the traditions of the time make it clear that much controversy was then going on in Buddhist churches about the legality of handling and hoarding money by the members of the Buddhist religious order 2.

Our railing has evidence to show that by the second or first century B.C., the history of Buddhism had far outgrown the two earlier stages, namely, that represented by the career of the Master, and that by the career of the Apostles. That is to say, it reached the third stage marked by development of the churches. Not only that. It is in a position to say that the Saṅghārāmas of the different Buddhist churches, like the Christian monasteries in Europe during the Middle Ages, became centres of religious education and polite learning. So far as India is concerned, these educational institutions were liberally supported by the people, irrespective of castes and creeds, the creation of stūpas, railings and gateways served only to create an artistic atmosphere.

Please note the personnel of each church or Saṅghārāma. It consisted, as appears from the list of its donors, monks, nuns, and dāyakas. Note that the dāyakas are no mere upāsakas and upāsikās, that is, mere admirers and occasional supporters of the new movement. Mark that some of them have adopted or retained Buddhist names, e.g., Stūpadāsa, Bodhi, Bodhigupta, Buddhakṣita, Dharmarāṣṭra, Dharmagupta, Saṅgharāṣṭra, Saṅhamitra, and the like. See that such prefixes as Bhadanta—Gentle Sir, Ārya—Noble Master, and Bhadanta Ārya—Gentle and Noble Master have been freely used to denote church dignitaries: Observe that the nuns are simply referred to as "Bhikkhunīs" or "Bhīchunīs," which is not the case in all of the labels elsewhere. It is for you to guess if they were not accorded an inferior position in the particular church connected with Barhut tradition. Some or most of the names of monks and nuns go to show that on being ordained they were given Buddhistic names replacing those given by their parents. This was in practice a departure from the older tradition where Buddha's followers retained their quondam names, such as Rāhula, Ānanda, Sāriputra and Vaṅgeśa, though in theory it was a more logical carrying out of the Master's wish to organise an ideal order ignoring the previous social names and ranks, bonds and ties. It was at the same time, an adaptation to the old Brahmanist conception of a second birth having at its back a natural analogy from bird-life. Now the distinctive epithets

1. Cunningham's Stūpa of Barhut, p. 5.
2. Notably the Buddhist account of the Second Council convened at Vaissāli.
have a peculiar message of their own. The fact that the laity are distinguished as dāyakas is a clear evidence that they were kept outside the pale of the Buddhist Saṅgha, while according to Buddha's own idea, a Bhikṣu or a householder who has mastered certain stages of sanctification to be called Āryas was ipso facto a constituent of the Saṅgha, and not simply one formally ordained. Among the Bhikṣus there are some bearing the epithets Navakarmika, a church functionary whose business it was to supervise the construction of new Buddhist edifices or monuments. There were among the laity employed as church-functionaries in a monastery, such as Bhaṭṭodeśaka, whose business it was to distribute food. There were among the monks Bhāṇakas or Reciters who rehearsed, got by heart and orally handed down the traditions of the Buddhists. The schools of such Bhāṇakas, as appears from Buddhaghosha's account, arose soon after Buddha's demise. The institution of these bodies of Reciters survived till the time of the construction of our railing, which means that the Buddhist texts were not till then committed to writing. There were also among the monks Peṭakis who knew the Piṭaka by heart, as well as Sautrāntikas, well versed in the Sutras. Even among the laity there were persons who bore the epithet Pañca- naikāyika, the Master in the Five Nikāyas. The term Piṭaka wherefrom Peṭaki was derived is suggestive of double metaphor of a basket for carrying earth from head to head, that is, from teacher to teacher and of a pit or box where the whole thing is deposited or closed. The biological expression Nikāya as applied to literature denotes a distinct division or body having an independent identity. These epithets are a clear evidence of the fact that a Buddhist Canon with its division into Piṭakas and five Nikāyas was well-known in the second or the first century B.C. Seeing that Nikāya is not used in this sense by any other Buddhist sect than Sthaviravāda, one need not be surprised that the Barhut donor using the epithet connected with it belonged to this sect. How could it be that even the laity were repositories of textual traditions? The best explanation is that they were persons who reverted to household life from the monasteries retaining their knowledge of the texts, as well as their monastic names.

The facts supplied by our railing are not adequate to give you an idea of the social condition of the Buddhist laity. It is difficult to say if there was at the time any Indian Buddhist community or caste, within which interdining and intermarriage were confined, though there were beginnings of such social processes, particularly where the whole tribe or the whole population of place professed the religion. Along with these social processes there was a national process] of identification of men's existence with a place, and So and So the Salapuraka, the man of Śailapura, So and So the Therākuṭiya—the man of Sthavirakūṭa, and so forth. The personal names of the donors clearly show that deva
datta, gupta, mitra, raksita, pālītā are not used yet as surnames. These are parts of so many compounds. It is very curious that the Barhut set of names are conspicuous by their absence among the members of the modern Brahmīn caste. It is still more curious that in Bengal the Hindu castes where deva, raksita, pālīta and the like are current as surnames have a much lower social status at the present day. Is it not a pity that even behind these names and surnames one gets the scent of sectarian narrowness? Stūpadāsa is the single name where we trace the later Vaiṣṇavite spirit. Most of the names, other than those connected with religion or religious personages and orders, are yet of astrological import, Revatimitra, Bharañideva, Puṣya, Śravaṇā, and the like. Here Revati, Bharani, Puṣya and the rest are names of important constellations of stars.
AN INDIAN MUSEUM STATUETTE.
IDENTIFICATION OF AN INDIAN MUSEUM STATUETTE.

BY

MR. B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., BARODA.

The object of this paper is to offer an identification of an unidentified Buddhist image now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image under discussion is of medium height and represents a goddess in Dharmacakra Mudrā. She sits in the Lalitāsana, and from under her two armpits rise a lotus (padma) in the right and a blue lotus (Utpala) in the left. She is accompanied by two goddesses sitting on two double conventional lotuses. Under the lotus-seat there are also two figures representing no doubt two more goddesses, as they also sit on lotuses. On the aureole surrounding the head are carved miniature figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas with Amoghasiddhi in the centre, right above the head of the principal deity. The lowermost Dhyāni Buddha in the right is Vairocana with the Dharmacakra Mudrā; the next is Ratnasambhava showing the Varadā Mudrā; the third is Amoghasiddhi with the Abhaya Mudrā; the fourth is Akṣobhya with the Bhūmisparśa Mudrā and the fifth and the last is Amitābha in Samādhi Mudrā. The whole piece of stone is an admirable piece of sculpture; it is profusely but at the same time delicately ornamented. The figures all have a bold and clear outline. The symbols are definite and even the minutest details have been admirably shown. The principal figure has a serene and peaceful appearance and is pervaded with a divine dignity. The fingers of the goddess are plump and fleshy and even in the phalanges all marks and modulations are clearly perceived. The slender beauty of form, the delicate expression and finally the superb dignity of the goddess make it one of the most wonderful treasures of the Indian Museum. Never have I seen a better production of Oriental art and I think it will compare favourably with the sculpture of the celebrated Prajñāpāramitā of Java.

When I first saw the figure I took it to be an emanation of either Amoghasiddhi or of the combination of the five Dhyāni Buddhas but I could not discover the Dhyāna that explains the whole image including the principal figure and her companions. But from the image of Amoghasiddhi, and the two companions on either of her sides I however tentatively identified the principal figure as Khadiravaṇi Tārā, who is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi, and the two companions on two sides were identified as Marici in the right and Ekajatā in the left. This in fact is the identification which has already been offered by me in my
recent publication on Indian Buddhist Iconography. Therein I confessed that my suggestion was admittedly nothing but a probable conjecture. As I could not explain the Dharmasakra Mudrā in Khadiravanī there remained some misgivings in my mind as to the proper identification of the image.

Later on while I was collating my press copy of the Śādhanaṃāla with palm leaf MSS of the same work now deposited in the Cambridge University Library, I luckily came across a new Śādhanā which explained not only the central figure along with his two companions but also explained the two miniature figures under the lotus-seat. This MS bears a date in Newari Era which corresponds to A.D. 1165. The image also bears an inscription in the characters of the 12th century and so the image and the explanation may safely be taken to be contemporary. The Śādhanā in question is here given for the first time:—

Mahāśrīrīṇyā namāḥ.


Rajalīlā (lalita) sthitā devi
Mahāśrīḥ karaṇāṅvitaḥ.
Iti Mahāśrīrīṇyāḥ sādhanaṁ samāptam.

Cambridge MS (No. ADD 1686) Fol. 81-b-82-b.

In conformity with this Śādhanā, the principal figure Mahāśrī Tārā, is represented as one-faced and two-armed exhibiting the Dharmasakra Mudrā and two Utpalas on either sides. She bears the image of

1 Indian Buddhist Iconography, 1067. See the Dharmasakra Mudrā I suggested also that she may conceivably represent Prajñaparamita. All these suggestions are now proved to be definitely wrong.

2. The Sādhanaṃāla is in course of publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. The first volume is expected to be issued in July 1935. The second volume is now being printed.
Amoghasiddhi over her head right on the top thereby showing herself an emanation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi. To her left is the fierce figure of Ekajātā, sitting in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude, and carrying the Kartri and the Kapāla in her two hands. In accordance with the Śādhana she has blue complexion, protruding belly, garments of tiger-skin, and bears a wrathful demeanour. Similarly, there is Aśoka-kāntā Māriot to her right, who is yellow in colour, has a bojewelled head-dress and carries the Vajra and Aśoka flower in her right and left hands respectively. The Śādhana also prescribes that Mahāśri Tārā should be accompanied by Ārya-Jāṅguli, green in colour, showing the snake, and the Varada Mudrā in her two hands; similarly in the left there should be Mahāmāyūrī, yellow in colour, and showing the peacock’s tail and the Varada Mudrā. These two deities are represented in the present image under the lotus-seat. There is, however, some discrepancy about the symbols prescribed in the Śādhana in the cases of Jāṅguli and Mahāmāyūrī in this image.

The Mantra of this deity is Om Tārā tattāre dhanam dade svāhā. ¹ In the Mantra, the Namaskāra and in the colophon of the Śādhana she is recognised as Tārā. But the pure forms of Tārā seem to be those to whom the Mantra Om Tāre tattāre ture svāhā only is ascribed.

The Indian Museum image is the only image of this deity so far discovered, and this Śādhana is the only Śādhana which explains the figure. The manner in which the image corresponds with the Śādhana makes us confident as to the certainty of the identification.

In this connection it may be pointed out that at least in Buddhist branch of Indian Iconography it is extremely hazardous to offer an identification if the principal image deviates even a little from the Śādhana, and wherever there is any discrepancy of this kind we can never be certain as to the correctness of the identification.

---

¹ It appears from the Mantra that Mahāśri Tārā was worshipped for wealth. The most powerful Buddhist God of wealth is however Jambhola. His counterpart Vasudhārā has also the power to confer wealth on her devotees.
DIONYSUS IN MEGASTHENES: WHO WAS HE?

BY

MR. KSHETREŚACHANDARA CHAṬTOPĀDHĪYA, M.A.,
ALLA潢ABAD.

Megasthenes has, as is well known to Indologists, mentioned that Dionysus and Herakles received worship in India in his time. Mr. Mc Crindle believed that by 'Herakles', Megasthenes meant the god Śiva. But all other scholars have understood Kṛṣṇa (identified with Viṣṇu) to be this 'Herakles' and this view probably admits of no doubt. But who was Dionysus? Professor Schwanbeck identified him with Śiva and all subsequent scholars have followed him in this identification. But an attempt will be made here to show that the identification though universally accepted is based on an original misconception.

Professor Schwanbeck says, "Śiva they were led to identify with Bacchus on their observing the unbridled license and somewhat Bacchic fashion of his worship, and because they traced some slight resemblances between the attributes of the two deities, and between the names belonging to the mythic conception of each." Now, what reason had Professor Schwanbeck for believing that there was unbridled license in the Śaiva cult and somewhat Bacchic character in the worship of Śiva? No Indian (unless he be a bigoted Vaishnava) would admit that there is any license in the Śaiva cult. Such a charge—rightly or wrongly matters little for our purpose—can be levelled against Sāktas (and possibly against some Vaishnava sects) but never against Śaivas as such. We have as yet no data for assuming that the Tantric worship of Śakti was prevalent in India in the fourth century B.C. There is in Megasthenes's description of the Indian Dionysus not a single indication suggesting the god Śiva. We must therefore look out for some other god.

Now, we learn from the fragments of Megasthenes that Dionysus taught the Indians the preparing of wine after he had invaded and

1. Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Bombay 1877, p. 39.
2. Megasthenes Indica ; fragmenta collegit, commentit et indices addidit, Bonn 1846, p. 43. My informations are derived from Rajanikanta Guha's Bengali Translation (from the original Greek and Latin) and the English rendering of Mc Crindle.
3. E. g. Babu Rajanikanta Guha in his Bengali Translation and Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature.
5. This statement is not due to sectarian prejudice for I am myself a Śākta.
conquered the Indians. We read in the first fragment of Professor Schwabbeck, "They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysus made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become oppressive, and the soldiers of Dionysus being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionysus restored his troops to health was called Muros, from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysus was bred in his father's thigh (Muros). Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and Courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours." (Diodorus II, 38—McCrindle pp. 36—38). There is no god in the Hindu pantheon who is thus brought into immediate connection with the art of brewing. But if we assume that by the worship of Dionysus, the Soma-cult—the ordinary Vedic sacrificial cult—is meant matters become intelligible. The intoxication of Soma-juice can certainly lead a Greek to believe that Dionysus must be at the root of this worship. We further read in Diodorus III, 63 (Schwanbeck's Fragment I B, Mc.Crindle p. 36) "Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievement. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine." The name 'Indos' can be taken to mean 'Indian.' But would not इन्द्र: suit better? The Soma was called इन्द्र in the ancient language of the Vedas (c.f. R. V. I, 2-4. इन्द्रो बासुरानिवर्द्दि, R. V. IX, 112-1, इन्द्रयदन्दू परी सव &c.). Consequently we ought to understand the Soma-cult by the worship of Dionysus, Megasthenes mentions.

1. Compare also Fragments I B. and XLVI of Schwanbeck.
The words of Megasthenes seem to suggest that the Indians were divided between Dionysians and Herakliades. The description of Herakles leaves no room for doubting that the worship of Krishna Vasudeva as an incarnation of Vishnu is meant. Schwanbeck therefore assumes that the other cult is Saivism: two cults are mentioned, one is Vaishnavism, the other must be its antagonistic creed Saivism. But we cannot proceed on purely a priori grounds. I have already said that there is no Saiva indication in the description of Dionysus. It is possible for us to believe that Vaishnavism originally stood as a rival against the Vedic creed and not against Saivism. My own study of the Rigveda has led me to this very conclusion. I shall give my reasons elsewhere and here possibility of the assumption is all that will serve my purpose.

Now, how to explain the conquest of India by Dionysus according to the Soma-cult theory? Not everything said (or reported to have been said) by Megasthenes can admit of explanation. But this conquest of India can be explained by me. I believe that we have here some vague tradition about the conquest of India by the—Soma-pressing Vedic Aryans. Consequently the Dionysus of Megasthenes may well stand for the leader of the Aryans of Soma-cult or Soma totem, who conquered India in Rigvedic days. Megasthenes says that Dionysus came to India from the west. Of this, three explanations may be given, (1) that instead of an Indian tradition we have here a natural Greek assumption—Megasthenes would naturally assume that Dionysus came from Greece: (2) that we have here an Indian tradition of the earliest Aryan entrance into the Punjab from the west or north-west; or (3) that we have an Indian tradition of migration of the post-Rigvedic Aryans to the east of the Sarasvati region—i.e., to India proper. Which of these explanations is to be preferred, I cannot decide for the present.

It has been said about this Dionysus 4 "that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities." These words seem to suggest that the later kings of India (at least in one line) were mostly descended from Dionysus. Now, according to the Puranas most of the North Indian royal families belonged to the Aila race. These Ailas are derived from

1. In a paper on the meaning and importance of the Vrsakapi hymn that I have in hand.
2. Fragment I, Mo Crindle, p. 36.
3. Which may have been already occupied by the 'Manavas' cf Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, pp. 288—239).
5. See Map facing p. 294 in Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Traditions.
the Moon. But this seems to be due to a confusion of the original meaning of the words सोम and इन्द्र; by the time of the Purāṇas these words had come to mean the Moon; consequently instead of saying that these families were descended from the Soma (plant) the writers of the Purāṇas said that they were descended from the Moon (चन्द्र).

A confusion probably gave rise to the name "Lunar Race" and the other important race is called "Solar" simply, I believe, by way of contrast. Zimmer’s view, 2 that the Five Tribes of the Rgveda are the Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvāṣas and Pūrus, is generally accepted and seems very likely. These Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvāṣas and Pūrus are according to the Purāṇas the five original branches of the "Lunar" Race. We can therefore have little hesitation in assuming that the "Lunar" Race is the race of the Soma-worshipping Vedic Āryans.

According to the Purāṇas, the Five Tribes are thus descended:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Candra} & \\
\text{Budha m. Ilā daughter of Manu} & \\
\text{Pururavas} & \\
\text{Avu} & \\
\text{Nahusa} & \\
\text{Yayati} & \\
\hline
\text{Yadu} & \text{Turvāṣa} & \text{Druhyu} & \text{Anu} & \text{Pūru}
\end{align*}
\]

For Candra we may now substitute Soma. The genealogy begins from Candra=Soma. The best explanation for this would be that we have in Candra or Soma, the first of the race, the first Āryan coloniser of India. I have already identified Megasthenes’s Dionysus with Soma. We can thus find some agreement between Megasthenes’s statements and actual traditions in the Purāṇas. In Arrians’ Indika (Ch. VIII), which is largely based on Megasthenes, we read, “But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, SPATEMBAS, one of his companions and the most conversant with Bakhchis matter, to be the king of the country. When SPATEMBAS died, his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty, the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was KRADEUS, duly inherited the kingdom…….” 3. The name of Boudyas at once suggests that of Budha in the Purāṇic lists. It may be objected here that Arrian makes Boudyas the son of a companion of

---

1. It would be natural here to assume that the ancient Āryans had the Soma as their totem. But if such a view cannot be accepted, we may substitute for “descended from the Soma,” “descended from Soma-worshipping ancestors” simply.


Dionysus, whereas the Purāṇas make Budha the son of Candra (Soma) himself. But we have seen that in Professor Schwanbeck's first fragment, quoted above, Megasthenes himself said that Dionysus reigned in India for 52 years (and died in this very land). Making an ekavakya of Arrian's words with those of Megasthenes, we can confidently assume that Boudyas was the son of Dionysus himself. Spatembas, then, we have to identify with Dionysus. With what Indian name 'Spatembas' can be equated is difficult to decide. श्रेष्ठ must be the Sanskrit equivalent for the first part of the word. If a guess may be hazarded for the whole word, I can suggest with some disjunct, स्वात्मा, a word which though found in no Purānic list would make at least a good adjective for the Soma-juice. 'Kradeus' cannot be brought into connection with 'Puru-ravas' without setting at nought all principles of Etymology. I therefore refrain from suggesting any Purānic correspondent for it.

In support of the proposed equation, Boudyas son of Dionysus = Budha of the Soma-cult (or totem), I shall, now cite some Vedic evidence. In the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa (XXIV-18), we find mention of one Budha Saumāyana, Sthapati of the Daiva Vṛāyas. Sāyana renders Sthapatī by yajamāna but that is a guess based on the fact that Budha Saumāyana is there described as performing a sacrifice (the Sattra of 61 Nights). The guess is however not a happy one for all the Daiva Vṛāyas are described as performing the sacrifice "with Budha the Sthapatī." "Sthapati" can mean, according to the Etymology of the word and the present context, 'Chief,' 'King,' a meaning which is known to lexicographers and can be illustrated from extant literature. The Daiva Vṛāyas are described as sacrificing to the devas (the gods); therefore they are not gods themselves but may be at the utmost semidivine beings. In Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, XVII, 1-1, "देवा वे स्वर्ग लोकमायते सः देवा अहायतः बाल व व्राजस्तत्तत्त सामुद्धः यती देवा: स्वर्ग लोकमायते &c.", देवा: necessarily means 'connected with gods,' 'demigods' or as Sāyana explains 'देवानामतुवराः, अत एव देवसमस्याः' जनः: 'बालाः प्रवसत्तः' means according to Sāyana बालशतप आचार्यिनां प्राच्य प्रवसत्त: प्राच्य कुवन्त: 'But I derive the word बाल, with European scholars 1 from मात meaning 'troop,' 'horde' 2 and I take it to mean 'persons going in hordes' a nomadic band. The Vṛāyas, or more precisely the Hīna Vṛāyas, mentioned in T.M.B. XVII-1, I consider to be recent 3 Aryan emigrants.

2. Sāyana is aware of this derivation for he renders ब्रह्मानाम् in T.M.B. XXIV. 18-1 by सहारायां सहारीनाम्.
3. In the Brāhmaṇa period.
into India not following the Vedic creed and the Vedic way of life. The earlier pre-Vedic Aryan conquerors of India may easily have been called Daiva (semi-divine) Vrātyas—this involving of the ancestors with a divine character is just what we would expect among these people.

Let me now quote in full the passage in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa that refers to Budha Saumāvana:

अतिरात्रश्चूति च प्रायणीयमहस्सरोदभिमुवः पदहो
भरतित् लयः स्वरसामानी दिवाकोल्यमहस्सरः स्वरसामानी विधिजितः प्रष्यः
पदहस्वऽख्लशासर्मण एकोदभिमुवः पदह आयुः गोडः क्रेष्यो अहं द्वादशास्य
दुःशास्य श्वासमातिरात्रश्च तद्वेद्यप्रभृतिरां देवानां वाह्यानां।।

देवा वा ब्राह्या: सत्रसात्तु बुद्धेऽपवतिना ते ह वा अनियोच्य वहण राजानि
देवयज्ञनं विदीहः: तनू ह वर्णो राजाः जुन्यायज हानियभगे मो यथियायागः
एक्काल्य देवानन् पन्थानं प्रख्याययेति तस्मातेर्यो न हुविज्ञेहंति न प्रहमः।।

अथ ह वै वतहं नौस्थित्वं प्रय आसीत, नक्ष्ये सरिष:। न स्माचे मेदो, न लच्छो लोमानि,
न वनसपतिय पलाशाणि; तत्वं एक्कियिरां देवा ब्राह्या उपांसतो वै ताति
तायङ्गेतियः: समस्मुख्यः तेजस्वेणेतासन पवस्वति।।

न तदेप छोको उक्त्विनित।।

“किंकपनैतिति यत्तुः भुद्वेऽ अपुप्वत्। महति
वुम्बसयासीत्यः स क्षोरे सरिषहरतु।”।

“महं द्रीश्या सोमायनो
कुडो बदुर्यच्छत्। (८६७।) अनन्दसरब्धाप्रस्माियः मेदो अधा
इति।।

“दर्शी आसनू पवशः: क्रशा स्म्यतो व्यथनका:।
सोमायनेन
दीक्षायां समस्मुख्यत मेदसा।। इति।।

तथ कक्षरास्मार्यपुरुसः देवयज्ञनाथायाय वाहित्य अहुवः: जुहुः: ‘देखे वहण देवयज्ञनं नो दोरि
होहेन्ति’ ते देने देवयज्ञनेन जनने।।

“ते सर्वभूमिमसाङ्गवेशन्त् सर्वभूमिद्
मुस्तुवचति य एतद्युपत्नी।।

“महं निद्रा आसनू पवशः।”।

T.M.B. XXIV 18.1.9.

We do not find here any mention of Soma as the father of Budha. Sayana explains सोमायन: in ६ as सोमपुष्प; but the meaning that the formation of the word would suggest is simply 'descendant of Soma'. Instead of Soma, we get here Varuna as the father of Budha but also of the other Daiva Vrātyas; c.f. ५—the subject of अपुप्वत in ५ must be Varuna, the subject of अनुव्याजहर in ६; the context precludes any other supposition. This god Varuna is not Soma

1. See Calcutta Review for May 1924, pp. 289—291. Professor Keith has objected that the Vedic texts do not suggest the Vrātyas to be emigrants. But I believe they do. I shall write again about the Vrātyas and I shall then discuss all the Vedic texts on the point and show their bearing.
the exhilarating juice, but may have been identical with the Moon. We thus find in the Brāhmaṇa passage Budha brought into connection with both the Soma of the Sacrifice and with Moon (the father of Budha according to the Purāṇas). The Daiva Vṛātyas to whom Prthu Vainya puts several questions in the Jaiminiya Samhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa may be the same people as the Daiva Vṛātyas of the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, viz., the first Āryan colonisers of India.

It is evident now that the identification I have proposed for Megasthenes's Dionysus is supported by Purānic traditions and to a certain extent by Vedic traditions too. But I must not be understood to mean that the Indian traditions about the first Āryan migrations were always the same or that Megasthenes correctly understood the tradition current in his time. In the light of what I have tried to establish above, the following quotations from Megasthenes acquire a new meaning:—

(1) Pliny Historia Naturalis, VI-XXI, 4-5. "From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and three months.'"

(2) Solinus 525, "From him (Father Bacchus) to Alexander the great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153."

(3) Arrian's Indika IX "From the time of Dionysus to Sandrakottas the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was three established. * * another to 300 years, and another to 120 years." (Mc Crindle, p. 203).

The two Roman versions, particularly the one of Solinus, are certainly less reliable than the words of Arrian who based his history on the most trustworthy accounts of the contemporaries of Alexander. The period of over six thousand years that is said to have elapsed between Dionysus

1. See MacDonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 25, 28 and 29 and Oldenberg's Die Religion des Veda, 3, 4 Aufl. p. 189.

The first fragment of Megasthenes (Diodorus II 39), quoted above, connects Dionysus with Ἱβρας and for this we have an exact parallel in the Bhavisya Purāṇa (Viṅkaṭīvar edition) I ch. 2, vv. 40—43: "इत्यादि श्रव्यकथा भूमिका चंद्रमा रोइंगुपैति:। प्रयागगरे रस्येष्वर भूमिकपर्यायवभिभत्ति:। विष्णुमन्यमन्द्रमावृद्धश्चविश्वासुङ्गतरसः। मायादेवीप्रसारायं शत्त्वमचाकारतः। अयादससहस्राणि राज्यं कृत्वा दिवं गतः। तस्य पुनो बुधो नाम मेक्लेवस्त्रम वै धृतः।। इत्यादिद्वार धर्ममेतसमाजा: पुरवसः II, where Candra's son Budha is called 'son of God Meru'.
and Candragupta must have known not simply the reigns of 153 kings but several periods of republican government. We may then believe, that according to traditions current in India in Megasthenes’s days, the first Aryan entrance into India occurred a little over six thousand years before the invasion of Alexander. I have said ‘according to traditions current at the time’ and I must not be taken to suggest that the first Aryan migrations into India really took place about 7000 B.C. I do not believe that we have any data at the present day for accepting such an early date for the first incoming of the Aryans. I have simply recorded the tradition as I have understood it, which has value, if for nothing else, for showing at least the transition to the vast figures of more recent times.

1. Compare the statement in Diodorus II 38, “At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.” (Mo Criddle, p. 38) which is certainly a genuine fragment from Megasthenes’s Indika.
SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS.

BY

MR. R. SRINIVASARAGHAVA IYENGAR.

A treasure consisting of six gold coins was discovered by certain men while ploughing the site of the abandoned Fort in the village of Meḍur in the Guḍivada Taluk of the Kistna District, on the 19th October, 1922.

It may be sorted as follows:—

1. Coin with the legend [Ra] ya gaja Keśa ... 1
2. Coins with the legend Dēṣapaṭa ... 4
3. Coin with the legend [E] rava palla [va] rā [ju] la ... 1

Another find was discovered in a field in the village of Prabalavōdu, Badvel taluk, Cuddapah district on or about 30th November, 1916.

It contained the following:—

1. Coin with the legend [Ra] ya gajakesa [ri] ... 1
2. Coin with the legend Dēṣapaṭa ... 1
3. Coins with the legend Dānavamurāri Bāṇṭara ... 2

The coins Nos. 1 and 2 of the first find are identical with those of 1 and 2 of the second find.

All these coins may therefore be taken as four kinds as follows:—

1. Coins with the legend "Raṣya gaja kēśa" ... 2
2. Do. "Dēṣapaṭa" ... 5
3. Do. "Erava palla rājula" ... 1
4. Do. "Dānavamurāri Bāṇṭara" ... 2

They are described as follows:—

No. 1. Coins with the legend "[Ra] ya gaja Keśa."

They are more or less circular. Diameter '6 of an inch. Weight 58'75 grains. They are slightly cup-shaped owing to the punch marks on them. Legend Raṣya gaja and kēśa in Telugu—Kannada script are found at the top and bottom of the vertical diameter. The two auspicious symbols "Śrī" are punched at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. A boar is found in the centre. In the interspaces between the four punch marks around the boar are found four lotuses or Padmas. The reverse is blak.

The legend [Ra] ya gaja Kōśa stands for Raṣya gaja kesari, i.e., a lion to the elephant kings. This title is not traceable from the Epigraphical records that are known till now, but it is learnt from Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyana a Telugu translation of the famous Sanskrit Jāna Vāsiṣṭham by Maḍiki Singana, that Kūnaya Mūppa Bhūpati of Rāmagiri, had this title. Kūnaya Mūppa was a king of Rāmagiri, but nothing is known of this king in the Epigraphical records that have been published till now.
No. 2. Coins with the legend "Deśapaṭa."

Diameter varies from '62 to '75 of an inch. Weight 53'5 grs. They are all circular. Some are thin and longer while others are thicker and smaller. All have the figure of a boar punched in the centre. Two Śrīs are found at the ends of the horizontal diameter. Two Padmas or lotuses are found at the ends of vertical diameter. In the spaces between these punch marks are found the following legends shown below. The legends are all in Telugu-Kannada script.

Coin No. 1.—Four legends—Deśapaṭa, [Era] va, Rā [ju] la, and portion of some letters.

Coin No. 2.—Three legends, Erava, [Rāju] la, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 3.—Four legends, Deśapaṭa, Deśapaṭa [Raju] la, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 4.—Three legends, Deśapaṭa, [Era] va, [ ] Sa.

Coin No. 5.—Four legends, Deśapaṭa, [Era] va, [Rāju] la, [ ] Sa.

"Eruva Deśapaṭa" appears in almost all these coins. It should be the title of the king who issued these coins. "Eruva Deśapaṭa" should be "Eruva Diśūpatṭā" which means the scatterer in several directions of the Eruvarāja's army. We know of one* Malli Deva of the Eruva dynasty who was defeated and† killed by Ambādēva Mahārāja. It is also learnt that this Ambādēva Mahārāja had the title of "Eruva 2 Malli Deva Tala-gonda gaṇḍa." It may therefore be taken that these coins were issued by Ambādēva Mahārāja. He belonged to the Kāyaśṭhā 3 family and was a feudatory of the Kākatiyās. He defeated several Telugu Chiefs and overthrew Śripati Āgaṇapati. Having increased in power and influence he usurped the Kākatiya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmbā and Pratāpa Rudra Deva. As he was a feudatory of the Kākatiyās, it is but natural he had adopted the boar symbol of his master.

Though we are not able to say exactly the period of Ambādēva's rule, it is possible to say that 4 he ruled between Śaka 1194 and 1213 (i.e.) between A. D. 1272 and 1291. The coins may therefore be attributed to that period, viz., 13th Century A. D.


Diameter varies from '9 to '95 of an inch. Weight 53'75 grs. It is circular and bears eight punch marks. It has the figure of the boar in the centre. Two "Śrī" and padmas are found at the extremities of the horizontal and vertical diameters respectively. Around the border and in the inter-spaces between these punch marks are found the legends in "[Telugu-Kannada script] Eruva Palla [va] Ra [ju] la. The reverse is blank.

---

The legend may be taken to stand for Eruva Pallava Rājula. The term Eruva is mentioned as the name of a district in an inscription which records the repairs made to a temple by Ambadēva Mahārāja who was ruling at Valḷuripatāna.

Eruvanāḍu was another name of Kösera Kōta and it was known as a Sima in which the Mahārajya of Konadavidu was situated. Kösera Kōta was situated in Pālāḍ. Kösera Kōta exists even now and is a village in the Dārsi taluk of the Nellore Districts. Eruvanāḍu might have comprised that part of the country now known as the northern portion of the Nellore and a portion of the Guntur districts. The chiefs who were ruling there might have been called Eruvas. From inscriptions already published we know the existence of only three chiefs who belonged to the Eruva dynasty.

(1) The first was Malli Deva who was defeated and killed by Ambadeva the subordinate chief of the Kākatiya King.

(2) The second was Eruva Manumilī Deva who styled himself the Lord of Orayur, the Cola capital. He is stated to belong to the family of Karikāla and did not recognize the authority of Rādramma.

(3) The third was Eruva Tondaya Rāja as may be seen from the inscriptions in the temple at Drākṣārāma where the queen of this Rājā gave a lamp to the temple in the Calukya Vikrama year 46, in the reign of the Western Calukyan king, Tribhuvana Mallā Deva (Vikramāditya VI).

No other chief appears to have existed. Apparently the coin in question gives a new name, as may be evident from the legend Eruva Pallava Rājula. A chief by name Pallava Rāja should have lived. This coin is therefore very important inasmuch as it adds a new name to the dynasty of Eruva chiefs.

No. 4. Coins with the legend "Dānava Murāri Baṇṭara."

Weight of 1 coin is 52½ grs. and the other is 52¼ grs. The coins are nearly circular and resemble the Varāhas of the Vijayanagara dynasty and the Gajapati pagodas. They are thick and are made of gold 18 carats fine and have impressions on both sides.

                         Murāri Baṇṭara
Reverse—Kneeling Garuda.

1. Inscription No. 40 of 1911, Madras Epigraphy Report.
2. Copper plate inscription No. 10 of Nellore inscriptions by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, page 70.
Elliot Smith has figured a similar coin No. 87 in plate III in his Coins of South India and attributed it to the Second Prince of the Kāḷeuri of Kalyāṇ. J. R. Henderson attributed this coin to Irungōla Deva, who was ruling in Nīḍa, the modern Nīḍugal in the Pāvagāḍa taluk of the Mysore province, as the title of Dānava Murārī was assumed by him. He was a Cola chief ruling in that part of the Northeast of Mysore province comprising Nīḍugal and its neighbouring parts. He was a subordinate of the Western Cāḷukya kings. He assisted the general of Sevupā king Rāma Deva and fought the battle of Belavāḍi. He and his successors bore the title of the Lords of Orayūr and added the title of Cōla Mahārāja to their names. This Irungōla was not so powerful as his grandson who extended his territory far and wide by conquest. It is not likely that he would have had a chieftain under him who had as much status as to issue coins in his own name. The coins would not have been issued either by Irungōla Deva or his subordinates.

In inscription No. 7 of the Āṭmakūr taluk in the district of Nellore it is recorded that on a particular day in Śaka 1168, Śrīmān Mahāmāndalōśvara Allu Tirukkalattī Deva Mahārāja while ruling in the city of Kāṇci consecrated Dānava Murārī Permāṇḍi Deva at Śrī Āṭukūr (Āṭmakūr) for the religious merit of his father-in-law and for the increase of his own health and prosperity and made gifts for the conduct of worship and other things in the temple as long as the sun and moon existed. There was also an arrangement with one Rāmā Reddi that he should pay 150 māḍās every year.

This Tirukkalattī Deva was a very powerful chief and a feudatory of the Cōla king Kulaṭṭunga III. He has issued several grants. The Cōla kingdom was very weak at that time and was invaded by King Sōmāśvara of Karnāṭa, Pallava king Koperunjinga Deva and by the Pāṇḍyan king Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya Deva. This Tirukkalattī Deva defended the country and drove all the enemies away. He therefore got the title of Čōlasthāpañācārya (Establisher of the Cōla kingdom). He was also a great patron of letters and patronised learned men. In the early part of his reign he killed one Prthvīśa, a Telugu Cōla of Velanāḍu. He has been much praised by the Telugu scholar Tikkaṇa in his Nirvācana Uttara Rāmāyaṇa. He was also named Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōla or Gānda Gōpāla. Though his name indicates that he might be a Śaṅkite in religion, he was in fact a devotee of Viṣṇu. In an inscription found in the Arulālanatha Perumal temple at Conjivaram it is stated that he would consider that man who

1. Inscription No. 887 of Hiriyūr in Epigraphia Carnatica.
4. Andhrulacaritramu by Vīrabhadra Rāo, page 64.
worships with devotion the feet of Viṣṇu as his father, mother, ācārya and everything. Being a great devotee of Arulalanātha Perumāl he calls himself at the end of some records 1 "Sri Arulalanātha padalāṇchanasya" (the servant who bears the stamp of the feet of the blessed Arulalanātha), in place of his usual signature Rāja gānda Gopāla Deva. It is, therefore, clear that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu. From the fact that he constructed a special big temple for Dānava Murāri Perumāndi Deva it is clear that Dānava Murāri was his favourite God. It is likely that he might have called himself as Dānava Murāri Dāsa or Baṇṭara as it is the custom among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas to name themselves as the servant or Dāsa of their favourite deity.

It is also known that this Tirukkalāṭti Deva surnamed Gānda Gopāla issued two kinds of gold coins known by the name of māṇḍai and pudumāṇḍai. Mention is made of Gānda Gopālanmāṇḍai and Gānda Gopālan Pudumāṇḍai.2 These coins should have been very popular in that part of the country now comprising the districts of Chingleput, Nellore &c. This is evident from the gifts made for lamps to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirunirmalai near Pallavaram which have been recorded to have been given in terms of Gānda Gopālan Māṇḍai and Gānda Gopālan Pudumāṇḍai. A king who had issued coins in one form should have had a fitting opportunity to revise his coinage. It is very likely that this Tirukkalāṭti Deva or Gānda Gopāla would have thought of changing the dye of his coinage after the consecration ceremony of the temple constructed for Dānava Murāri Perumāndi Deva. Most probably the coins in question may be the Gānda Gopālan Pudumāṇḍai.

A māṇḍai is half a varāha in weight and the weight of these coins is more or less the weight of a varāha. These may be said to be double māṇḍai.

This Tirukkalāṭti Deva was also named 3 Yādavārāya. Being a Vaiṣṇava in religion perhaps he had this name also. The Yādava king had the figure of Garuḍa on their banner. It is quite consistent for Tirukkalāṭti Deva who had named himself as Yādavārāya to have a kneeling Garuḍa on the reverse of his coin.

In the circumstances it is not right to attribute these coins either to the Kāḷuria of Kalyāṇ or to Irungōla Deva. It may therefore be safely said that these coins might have been issued by Allu Tirukkalāṭti Deva after Śaka 1168 (A.D. 1246) the year in which the consecration of the temple of Dānava Murāri Perumāndi Deva took place.

2. Inscription No. 933, 934 of Chingleput in the list of inscriptions or 560 and 561 of 1912, Madras Epigraphy Report.
THE EARLIEST MONUMENTS OF THE PÂNDYA COUNTRY
AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY

Mr. K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

Discoveries of note are not of daily occurrence. Nor is the importance of such cognizable at first sight. In the field of research, where one has almost literally to grope in darkness feeling every step he takes, one cannot hit at the true worth of the finds before bestowing sufficient time, labour and thought, which they necessarily demand, not only of one, but of many heads. The mountain caverns known as Paīncapândavamalai, containing stone couches and Brâhmi inscriptions, which form the earliest of the monuments that have been brought to light by the Archaeological Department in the extreme south of India, may be said, in a way, to be noteworthy discoveries. Some of these are located in almost inaccessible heights of mountain slopes, others are found in out of the way places least frequented by the men of the neighbourhood, and still others are situated far in the interior of woods, resorted to by wild animals and reptiles. As such, they escaped the notice of men for years past. But when a stray one of the class—situated in a rather easily accessible place—had been discovered for the first time, its nature thoroughly studied, and its importance duly recognised, a vigorous attempt was made by men interested in unfolding the mystery of the past, to trace out others of its kind, for it was found indispensable to have more of such finds to come to a definite understanding regarding their origin and use. As a result of this endeavour, we have to-day quite a good number of them with inscriptions incised in clear Brâhmi characters of the pre-Christian age. These monuments, in spite of their large number, have successfully baffled the attempts of scholars at knowing the secrets enced in their inscriptions—the letters of which could, with a few exceptions, be read correctly, while the inscriptions as a whole could not be made out satisfactorily. The object of this paper is, to furnish a short description of these earliest monuments in the first place, and then to read and interpret the epigraphs, ascertaining the values of certain odd symbols employed in them and the language used and in so doing to suggest their character and early use.

In the year 1906 Mr. D. T. Chadwick, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Tinnevelly, reported the discovery of a cavern with Brâhmi inscriptions by Mr. L. A. Cammiade at Marugâltalai, ten miles from the District Headquarters. This was examined by the late Mr. Venkayya and myself, and
the Brāhmi inscription engraved on the brow of the boulder was copied. The cave is formed by two huge boulders, one overhanging the other on which it rests. Seven beds are cut on the bottom rock. In the month of August of the same year, I discovered 5 caverns with Brāhmi inscriptions, one on the Ānimalai hill near Madura, and four in the range of hills known as Kalugumalai, lying between Māṅgulam and Arittapatti. The Ānimalai cave is almost inaccessible, being not far from the very summit. It is naturally so formed as to afford shelter from rain and sun. In the interior of this cavern there are three double beds and one single bed, the last being somewhat in a lower level. Four more beds were also found covered with earth. Outside the cavern, exposed to sun and rain are eight beds. All of them are chiselled smooth and provided with raised portions on one side meant to serve as pillows for the persons lying on them. Above the entrance into the cave is a well-preserved inscription in Brāhmi characters engraved just below a small cutting meant to prevent the rain-water from trickling into the cave. A little off from the cave is a fine perennial spring of water, one of the necessary accompaniments of all caverns. Of the four caverns discovered in the Kalugumalai hill, three contain smoothly chiselled beds cut on the bottom rocks. In some, the beds are quite numerous and run in different directions. All the four bear Brāhmi inscriptions. I may note here the remarks made by the late Mr. Venkayya regarding these inscriptions as they will have a bearing on what we may have to say in the sequel. He writes "If the inscriptions and the beds are synchronous, we have in them the earliest lithic records of the Tamil country and the most ancient lithic monuments of the Tamil race. The inscriptions are also important as they may throw valuable light on the origin and development of the Tamil and Vatteluttu alphabets. The fact that the language employed in them is Pali may be taken to show that it was understood in the Pāṇḍiya country even at that early period."

On the analogy of similar monuments found elsewhere, Mr. Venkayya believed these monuments to be Buddhist.

The next year brought to light two more monuments in the Madura district—one at Variceiyür by Mr. Vibert and the other at Mōttuppaṭṭi, also called Siddhārmalai by Mr. Venkayya—and one at Viraśikhāmanai in the Tinnevelly district, by Mr. Cammiade.

The cavern at Viraśikhāmanai contains a row of five damaged beds in north-south direction, four others lying east-west and one in front of the second group, north-south. One of the beds contains 64 small squares cut on it, perhaps for playing the game, called in Ceylon Arasadi Keliya, described on page 624 of Parker’s Ceylon. Outside the cave and in front of it are a number of holes bored into the rock, meant probably for the insertion of wooden pillars, necessary for putting up temporary structures
to keep off sun and rain. There are no Brāhmi inscriptions in this cave. The Variceiyur cave is the biggest known so far. It is formed by the projection of two sides of a huge rock and is spacious enough to shelter quite a large number of persons under it. On the bottom rock are cut numerous beds. The overhanging boulder contains a damaged Brāhmi inscription on its brow just below the katarah. The situation of the Mōṭṭuppatṭi cavern is most picturesque. It is on the top of a hill lying close to the bank of the Vaigai river which here winds its course to the Pūranai dam. The beds in this cavern are five. Though they are not so well preserved as those found in other caverns, they are of great importance in that they contain Brāhmi inscriptions engraved on the pillow portions of the beds themselves establishing beyond doubt the synchronism of the beds and the formation of the cave.

In 1908, I found again three more caverns in the Madura district, two at Tirupparangunram and one at Alagarmalai, and my colleague Mr. Venkoba Rao discovered one at Kunnakkudi in the same district. The cavern in the Tirupparangunram hill is situated at an inconvenient height up the steep side on the western slope of the hill behind the railway station and village cōvāndi, and is reached by crude foot-holds cut into the rock. Within the cavern are found six beds. A cutting of the rock on the pillow side of the beds contains a clearly incised inscription in Brāhmi characters. This cavern can afford shelter to a large number of people from wind and rain. As at Ānaimalai, Kalugumalai and Variceiyur, the brow of the hill is cut to a small depth to prevent the rain water from gliding into the cavern and in front of the vaults are bored some holes evidently meant for fixing poles and rails. Not far off is a spring of cool water, as in the case of Ānaimalai, already noticed and of Alagarmalai to be noted shortly. The northern side of the hill has a small cave with two beds and no inscriptions. At the foot of the Alagarmalai range, 12 miles from Madura, near the village of Kidārippatṭi is a big cavern very difficult of approach, but having in it a good number of beds of varying sizes and provided with a clear rock-spring of ice-cold water. It has a spacious front of 50 yards and more in breadth on which are made holes and a drain to carry off the rain water falling from the drip-ledge. A single line inscription in Brāhmi is found on the floor and another on the brow of the hill. The Kunnakkudi cavern is reported to contain a Brāhmi record and some beds. The existence of a rock-cut well in it is a peculiarity. This water source takes the place of the natural springs of other caverns.

It was by accident that the Ammanāmalai cave was discovered. Having obtained information from private sources that there was a fine natural cavern with beds at Kongarpuliyangulam, a village 12 miles from Madura on the Ušilampatṭi road, I set out one afternoon to examine if it contained Brāhmi inscriptions like the others of
its kind. As it was raining badly the unwilling cartman, sympathising more with his suffering horse than with an antiquarian’s eagerness, stopped at a place nearly two miles from Kongarpuliyangulam and made me believe that it was the village I wished to see. A close examination of the hill, strangely enough brought to light a cavern with beds and no inscriptions. Further search resulted in the discovery of an excellent ancient Jain hermitage with huge Jain images and well preserved Vatteluttu inscriptions, registering the names of the Jain preceptors and disciples who presided over the hermitage in the 8th century A.D., and who are stated to have come from the village of Kurangudi, which I have recently identified with a place of that name in the Travancore State. Kongarpuliyangulam itself was visited by Rao Bahadur II. Krishna Sastri during the next year’s field season and its caverns examined. He found in one of them some Brāhmi inscriptions and a few beds. On the ground floor of three others, six sets of beds were out, most of them being without pillow lofts. The number of beds in all in these caverns amounts to as many as 33. Mr. Krishna Sastri discovered another cavern at Muttuppatti with no less than 30 beds, a Brāhmi inscription on a bed and two others on the sheltering rock. A detached boulder in the same locality contains a bed and Brāhmi inscriptions. If we add to the above mentioned monuments one discovered by me at Ayikkudi near Courtallam, with beds and no Brāhmi inscriptions and three others of which one at Karungallakudi was reported by the Collector of Madura; another at Sittamavuval in the Pudukottai State brought to light by the late Mr. S. Rādhākrishna Ayyar; and still another at Uindānkal which I recently found in the Nāgamarai range near Solavandān, all of them containing the usual beds and Brāhmi inscriptions, the list of the earliest monuments would have been brought up to date. Long before the existence of these caverns was known, one was found at Kilavalavu in the Melur Taluk by Mr. Veṅkoba Rao, but this had not been noticed anywhere. It is not unlikely that more still remain to be found out.

Though caves had been resorted to by Brahmin ascetics, Buddhist monks and Jain priests alike in ancient times and the literature of the country affords little information respecting (1) the origin of caves like the ones we have been enumerating, (2) their first occupants, (3) the length of time they were held by them, (4) the date of their abandonment and (5) the reasons which led to their being brought to the condition in which we see them to-day, there are strong circumstantial evidences to show that they were the abodes of Buddhist monks to the exclusion of the other sects and these will be pointed out in what follows.

These monuments are popularly known as Pañcepāṇḍavamalai, a name which strongly reminds us of the Pāṇḍava-pabbata at whose foot the Buddha after his renunciation took his first meal which he had obtained.
by begging; and this fact suggests that these caves might have been the favourite resorts of Baudhā bhikṣus who probably had their meals in them, as the name Uṇḍānkal "the rock of one who took meals" applied to one of them indicates, and should have been called Pāṇḍavamalai after the name of the monument where the Great One, whom they followed in every way, first resided. In this connection, it is also worthy of note that some of these hills are termed Kalugumalai, a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit Grīhrakūṭa, the hill occupied by the Buddha during his ascetic life. That this practice of naming monasteries after those of the Great One was in vogue in Ceylon may be gathered from the Jotavārāma, given to one of the monasteries of Anurādhāpura, evidently after the one built for the Buddha by the rich merchant Anadapūrīka at Śrāvasti and in which the Buddha passed several years of his life.

The general formation of these caverns, namely one or more boulders overhanging another, a flat one, on which they rest at one extremity, in the cutting of the projecting rock to a certain depth in order to prevent the rain-water from trickling into the cavern, in the existence on the bottom boulder (1) of smoothly chiselled beds with a slightly raised portion for the head just sufficient for a man to lie down, (2) of the groove immediately in the outer fringe of the cave quite below the katarah for carrying off the dripping of the rain-water to a distance (3) of big holes cut on the open yard, intended perhaps for fixing poles or railings and (4) of a number of smaller holes for other works of protection,—in all these details the caverns of the Pāṇḍya country resemble each other and agree in the main with the numerous monuments found in Ceylon which are assuredly Buddhistic. As regards the situation of all of them, it may be said that Mr. Griffith's excellent note that seclusion from the world and the active business of life was obviously the first essential of the saintly life of Buddhism as of all ascetic forms of religion, and that the originators of the caves seem to have been influenced not only in the choice of the site, but also by a keen appreciation of natural beauty and that all the caves were superbly placed with an obvious selection of a noble outlook and perfect seclusion from the world,—is well applicable. That during the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, caves were resorted to in India by Buddhist monks is evident from his statement that "Three li before you reach the top of Mount Grīhrakūṭa, there is a cavern in the rocks facing the south in which Buddha sat in meditation; thirty paces to the north-west there is another where Ānanda was sitting in meditation when the Deva, Māra, having assumed the form of a vulture took his place in front of the cavern and frightened the disciple; going on still to the west they found the cavern called Sūtapara, the place where after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, 500 arhats collected the Sūtras." (Ajanta Paintings by Mr. Griffiths, introduction). The Buddhist priests of later years than the time of the great founder appear to have followed the same
practice and the hands of the devotees (upāsakas) developed the rude natural caves into habitable dwellings befitting their residents. Whether they were primarily designed as a provision for the annual retreat initiated by the Buddha when it was ordained that the monks were to keep Vassa and refrain from peregrination during the rains or were intended to give a cool resort during the hot season, cannot now be easily determined. Besides being water-tight, convenient for human habitation and far above any possible accident from the rains and floods of the monsoon, to this day they are agreeably cool even in the hottest weather. The doubt raised in the first part of the passage quoted here, whether the caverns were designed for the annual retreat or were intended to give a cool resort can be cleared from the reply which Mahinda gave to Tissa when the latter requested the saint to halt in the beautiful garden adjoining his capital on a certain night. The statement of the Tera given in the Mahāvamsa (see Wijesinha’s translation page 54), shows that the Buddhist monks were prohibited by the rules of their order from staying even in the nearest proximity of cities or villages: in a way it also accounts for the necessity for the caverns.

The character employed in the inscriptions of these caves with the single exception of the Sittannavāsal epigraph indicates that they must be ascribed to the third century B.C. We shall now hear what evidences we have to prove that in that remote past Buddhist apostles introduced the Baudhāya religion in this particular locality where we find these monuments. This was the time of rule of the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka, whose missionaries had gone so far south as Mysore and the Nizam’s dominions where they were instrumental in incising the edicts brought to light at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Maski. It is not improbable that their influence extended further south into the Tamil country, which was well known during those days, and is found mentioned in the great emperor’s edicts. This was also the time when Ceylon was subjected to the rule of Tissa and this king is credited with having introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. On account of his piety, he appears to have been known by the name of Dūvānāmipya Tissa, just as his contemporary Aśoka was known in the north. At the request of Tissa, his maternal uncle, Maha-Ariṭṭa, one of the greatest statesmen of the day, as the Mahāvamsa puts it, went on a mission to the court of the Maurya emperor for fetching a branch of the Bodhi tree and Māhinda and Sanghamitta, both of which objects he successfully performed in the 18th year of the reign of Aśoka. As Tissa had previously promised to allow Ariṭṭa to become a Buddhist monk, the latter assumed the yellow robes soon after his return from Pāṭaliputra. If Aśoka and Tissa stand forth prominently as the royal propagators of Gautama’s creed, Māhinda and Ariṭṭa were the chief priests with whose aid they seem to have effected much to spread the faith in the extreme south of the peninsula. The hills dedicated to Māhinda and Ariṭṭa in Ceylon bear ample testimony
to the exalted position held by the two saints. Śūra-Tissa (247-237 B.C.), one of the brothers of Dēvāntāmipya Tissa, is said to have built superb vihāras at many places of which the one called Laṅkā-Vihāra was at the foot of the Aṟiṟṭa mountains. Besides the missionary work done in Ceylon, the two saints are expressly stated to have gone abroad to make fresh converts. We may with advantage quote the passage under reference. It runs thus:—

"The five principal Teras who had accompanied Māhinda from Jambūdiṇa as well as those of whom Aṟiṟṭa was the principal, and in like manner the thousands of sanctified priests, all natives of Laṅkā, and inclusive of Sanghamitta, the twelve Teris who came from Jambūdiṇa and the many thousands of pious priestesses all natives of Laṅkā, all these profoundly learned and infinitely wise personages having spread abroad the light of the Vinaya and other branches of the faith, in due course of nature, at subsequent periods, submitted to the lot of mortality."

There is nothing to doubt the truth of the statement here quoted. The first country that the missionaries from Ceylon could have visited is the Pāṇḍya territory with which they were well acquainted even since the time of Vijaya.

Now to the inscriptions. In spite of the large number of Brāhma inscriptions thus brought to light, their contents remain a sealed book and scholars to whom copies of the records were sent have not furnished any solution as yet. Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri even thought it worth drawing public attention to these mystic records by giving plates of them in his Annual Report for 1912. He hoped that scholars interested in the subject might lend the benefit of their studies and render help in arriving at the right explanation and significance of these epigraphs. Having waited for years, he wrote in 1919:—

"The Brāhma cave inscriptions of South India which were brought to the notice of scholars about 10 years ago and which were also submitted to some for critical study, still remain uninterpreted. I published a facsimile plate of a large number of them in my Reports for 1912 and 1913. Scholars engaged in the study of South Indian history of the first centuries of the Christian era and earlier have not paid to these ancient records the attention they deserve. In order to stimulate fresh inquiry in this connection, I induced Mr. Chanda to take up these Brāhma documents of South India for study and make at attempt however slight it may be, to interpret them. Careful readings directly from stone and from estampages were prepared on the spot of almost all such records as had been collected by the department. A facsimile plate of those that had not been published is appended hereto." Supplementing the plates he gave his readings of these epigraphs in a paper contributed to the first Oriental Conference which he concluded with the request that these inscriptions might be taken up for earnest study and interpretation. Besides, quite
recently, he also desired me to study these epigraphs. I base my interpretation mostly on the three plates given by Mr. Krishna Sastri, and I must say that his preliminary study had been useful in drawing my attention directly to the source of difficulties to be overcome.

The first question to settle in these inscriptions is to determine the language in which they are written. The very script in which these are found inscribed may be said to be a powerful misleading factor suggesting strongly, as they do, that the language employed must be Pāli or Sanskrit with which it is inseparably associated in our minds. Added to this, the assignment of a wrong value to one of the symbols which occurs very frequently in these epigraphs and the difficulty of ascertaining the significance of certain other symbols which are peculiar to these, in some degree went far to confirm the above suggestion and to lead us astray. As will be shown presently, there is some slight spade work to be done of which the foremost is a careful examination of the alphabet.

The script of these inscriptions resembles, in many respects, the character of the Ceylon cave records of the same period on the one hand, and the Bhāṭṭiprōlu alphabet on the other. Judging from the general appearance of the letters of the latter, Dr. Buhler has made the shrewd remark that they are only a few decades later than the Aśokan edicts, that they are much more closely allied to the epigraphs of the third century B.C. than to those of the second and that they cannot be placed later than B.C. 200 but may even be a little older. From their study he came to the conclusion that during the third century B.C. several well marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet must have existed with a perfectly-worked-out-system which in some respects, is radically different from, and which may be reasonably supposed to be coeval with, that of the Aśokan edicts. This, he thought, could not have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a long history. This conclusion of his, seems to receive strong support from the epigraphs of the Pāṇḍya country.

The formation of some of the letters deserves to be noted as they present some special features. The first point to observe in this direction is the use of the five symbols Ꞃ ꞃ ꄃ ꄤ ꄬ which do not occur in the Aśokan and about which more will be said in the sequel. Though other letters resemble the Aśokan, the shaping of गा in some of the epigraphs is somewhat peculiar. While in the Aśokan, the middle arm of the letter is much longer than the side arms and forms something like a double hook turned upwards, we have in the southern epigraphs clearly formed double tubes, the middle arm being shortened and in some cases, equal to those of the sides.

The case of मा is still more striking. It differs markedly both from the Aśokan and the Bhāṭṭiprōlu types, and consists of a broad tube opening upwards with a horizontal (cross) bar inserted almost in the
middle of the tube. This formation of the letter leaves on one the
impression that it must be the original form from which the Bhaṭṭiprōlu
and Aśokan ma's were developed, and that these inscriptions of the
Pāṇḍya country might be much older. Though, such a view would be
quite legitimate, I am rather inclined to think that the southern had
retained the original form, while it changed almost into a semi-circle with
two short strokes in the Mauryan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu types, the
difference in the two latter being that one is topsy-turvy to the other.
Judging from the Bhaṭṭiprōlu form of this letter, Dr. Bühler was inclined
to the belief that the southern ma should have originally consisted of a
circle or semi-circle with two strokes below and that the Mauryan form
must have been obtained by turning it upside down. A careful
comparison of the three forms would rather indicate that the earliest
form should have been a tube with a cross bar in the middle as seen in
the Pañcapāṇḍavamalai epigraphs and the developments of this are the
ones found in the Mauryan and the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions.

Dr. Bühler also observes that the medial short a is indicated in the
Southern Mauryan script by the addition of a horizontal stroke to the
top of the consonant which denotes long ā in the Mauryan. Since the
addition of the horizontal stroke without any further change represents
the long ā in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions it is extremely doubtful, if we
could apply this view to these epigraphs. But it has to be noted,
however, that the vowels i and ī stand one for the other in these
epigraphs and there is also the unnecessary lengthening of penultimate
short consonants in some words, which would lend support to the
Doctor's view.

The lingual l and the unique ḷ have not got corresponding symbols
in the Mauryan.

An analysis of the letters used reveals the following facts:—

(1) The varga-prathamas have been generally used,

(2) The soft consonants i.e., the varga-ṛṣṭiṣyas are conspicuous
    by their absence,

(3) Śa and sa are not met with, though sa is occasionally found,

(4) The lingual ḷa occurs frequently,

(5) Almost all the vowels with the exception of ai, au, ā, ī, am,
    ah are represented.

(6) In the case of combined consonants the occurrence of short
    c and short o deserve special attention, the two being the special
    characteristics of the Dravidian alphabets.

(7) The aspirates are seldom used: the only two letters that are
    met with are ḷha and ḷha.
(8) Some symbols which never find use in the contemporary Asokan edicts are here employed and the sounds which they represent remain to be determined. This is a factor which at once points out that the language employed in the inscriptions contains in it sounds that could not be represented by the symbols extant in the Asokan code.

The above tabulated results strongly suggest that the language of the inscriptions may be Tamil. Before taking cognizance of further indications in the same line furnished by a consideration of the etymological peculiarities occurring in these epigraphs, we have to notice here certain special features of the alphabet used and determine the values of the new symbols that are introduced in these epigraphs some of which are distinctly foreign to the Asokan alphabetical code.

1. The symbol ꜱ is quite akin to the Tamil long ī and might have been its original. It occurs ten times in these inscriptions. Mr. Krishna Sastri has noted that it has been found in Kṣatrapa and Andhra inscriptions of the 1st century A.D. and that it also occurs in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon and has been read as short ī. I find that in our inscriptions also, it admits of this same value and not that of long ī. It is curious that the symbol for short ī on the other hand, gets the value of long ī in our epigraphs.

2. The next symbol is ꜛ "the inverted J." It occurs sparingly in the Bhaṭṭiprālu inscriptions and has been taken by Dr. Bühler to represent long ū. It is the most common letter in our inscriptions. It occurs about 60 times. I find that the value assigned by the learned Doctor for this odd symbol does not suit our epigraphs; but there is no doubt that the sound it represents is ū, with whose symbol it closely resembles. The only difference is that the top bends a little to the right. At first, I thought that it might stand for the basic ū, i.e., the letter with the pulli mark. Though it suited almost all cases, it did not answer in a single instance where it occurred before ma and had to be given up. Fortunately, among these inscriptions there is a single instance in which the inverted J symbol is used along with the ordinary form of long ū. This use of it shows at once that the engraver, being acquainted with the correct mode of forming long ū, could not have used a different symbol, under ordinary circumstances, for denoting the same. The only letter that it can represent is the Tamil ū (wav) which is mostly used at the end of words and has the same sound as ū. In this connection it is worthy of note that this symbol is met with generally in southern inscriptions. And with this value it satisfies all the places without a single exception: in some cases it has to be treated as a basic consonant and in others as ū, just like other letters.

3. The third new symbol is ꜯ. It occurs but once in all these inscriptions. About it Mr. Krishna Sastri has aptly noted:—"The
formation of this letter is very peculiar. The similarity with Khali Aśokan ja given on Bühler’s Tafel II-15, 2 is very slight. One can venture to say that it is somewhat like the modern Tamil ā. I take it to be ā and I note that this value of it satisfactorily suits the place of its occurrence and that no other sound could be substituted for it. But for the association of this letter with the Brāhmī symbols, its significance would not have been missed.

4. The fourth symbol is a very curious one. It resembles a badly shaped tu. It occurs several times in these epigraphs,—once in the Ānaimalai inscription, four times in the first Ariṭṭāpatti epigraph, twice in another Ariṭṭāpatti record and once in the Sittannavāsal inscription. On them Mr. Krishna Sastri pertinently remarks, “These are letters the formation of which is not found elsewhere. I have suggested the readings ātā and ātai on the strength of the remarks on the letter ātā made by Dr. Bühler on the palaeography of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, Jvp. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 333 ff. Still, the letters read ātā and ātai are not certain. They may be conjunct-consonants as well.”

The very formation of the letter shows that it is allied in form—and I take it also in sound—to ā. From its shape, in which the upper part very closely resembles the symbol for ā, it can naturally be suspected that it is a conjunct-consonant; and if it were a conjunct the second element must also be ā for which there is no likelihood. The addition of ū and āt signs which we find in certain cases suggests that in spite of its complicated nature, it might be a simple consonant. The only letter that is allied in sound to ātā which has no equivalent in Sanskrit and for which a new symbol had to be devised in the Aśokan code is the Dravidian ātā. The difficulty of pronunciation of this letter and its kinship with ātā, ātat and sometimes with ātā by which letters it is often substituted not only in speech forms but in allled languages will be evident to any observer. (cf. Tamil kunru, Telugu Koṇḍa: Tamil nāṇru, Tel. nāṇdu).

In the earlier Telugu inscriptions we meet with forms like tunru etc., which in later records is substituted by tundu etc. This likeness in sound has to account for the devised form given to it in our records. I may note that even in the Vattelutu script, its formation is such as to be mistaken for ātā (with but a slight difference). What proves conclusively the correctness of the value suggested here is the occurrence of it after ĕ in the Ānaimalai record in the word kunra. I note that this very record uses the correct form of ātā which at once makes it unlikely that this symbol could stand for ātu.

Thus the orthographical peculiarities of these records show that they have all the characteristic features which are regarded as special to Tamil. According to the Tamil grammarian Pavanandi, the letters ē, ĕ, ā, ē short and o short, which we find in these records, are enumerated as being special to Tamil. We may overlook the grammarian’s partiality for
Tamil which shares these letters in common with its sister languages Kannâda and Telugu. It is enough for our purpose to note that these letters are peculiar to the Dravidians and we find them in these Brâhmī inscriptions amply represented. Besides, the marked preference given to the varga prathamasm and pañcamas, the entire absence firstly of ā, ū, ḫa, āṁ, and ḫr and secondly of softs and aspirates with the stray exception of ḫa and ḫr, the frequent occurrence of the lingual ḫa also favour their being regarded as Tamil inscriptions. It is quite consistent that in a Tamil country, the inscriptions, meant to be understood by the race, which is not known to have spoken any other language, must be Tamil.

As I propose to make my observations on the words occurring in these epigraphs, somewhat fully in interpreting each record, I shall content myself here by noting the following few facts only:

(i) The Tamil masculine terminations ān, ān, on, and ār occur sometimes without the final as in the spoken form. These earliest inscriptions afford clear and unmistakable proof of the fact that verbal nouns are formed by adding the pronouns to the roots (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXII, p. 451) and that these pronouns have been shortened into terminations indicative of gender and number. Vâṭṭeluttu inscriptions of even later times preserve these earlier forms. For instance, we meet with the Madras Ep. Report. forms vēndru-adru, āhu-avan and cuduka-avagaluukku (No. 296 of 1895).

(ii) The neuter suffix m is given to words of Sanskrit origin.

(iii) The genitive suffix a which is preserved to this day in some of the Dravidian languages and the dative ku are also found used.

A large number of Sanskrit words in their Prâkrit forms occur in these records, such as kūncana, kūmbhika, upisaka, putra, vatsa, dharma, caitya, adhiṣṭhina, vanik, karani, nigama, kula, yakṣa, syālaka and khālu.

The object of most of these short epigraphs is to register the names of the persons who caused the monuments to be made. In this respect, though they resemble the Ceylon epigraphs of the same period, it is to be noted that they omit the usual words agata, anagata, catudisa, sāgasa, which we invariably find in the latter. Our inscriptions do not furnish direct evidence to indicate that these monuments were assuredly Buddhistic though the nature of the monuments and the import of certain words are highly suggestive of this fact. They are of very great value to us in affording—in the absence of any definitely dated Tamil works carrying us to that early period, i.e., the latter half of the 3rd century B.C.—certain examples of words which are the result of the process of transformation of Sanskrit words directly or through the medium of Pâli into Tamil. It may not be an easy task to formulate definite and exhaustive rules from the mass of examples now accumulated in the
Tamil language, how the speech forms of Sanskrit were adopted in Tamil with its alphabetical code which is at once deficient, redundant and has certain peculiarities of its own. Need it be pointed out that we have only five letters to represent the 23 varying sounds of the first five vargas of Sanskrit consonants including sa, sa, and ha and excluding the nasals: and that we have two ra’s, two na’s and .ActionBar and  ActionBar. To such as would be engaged in the study of words, these Brāhmī inscriptions would furnish the earliest examples. They would give them a clue as to the mode of adoption or the form of assimilation of words of foreign origin as dependant on the speech capacity, habit, and genius of the Tamil race. The few rules given in the grammars fail to satisfactorily answer the various problems that present themselves in tracing the formation of words. In short, our epigraphs will be highly interesting from a philological point of view. We shall now address ourselves to the inscriptions.

I

For many reasons, the Marugāltalai inscription may be considered first. It is one of the best preserved in the whole collection and easy of interpretation. The paleography of the inscription shows, as had been pronounced by the late Mr. Veṅkayya, that it belongs to the 3rd century B.C. The letters are a little over one foot. I read the inscription as under treating the letters na in veṅṉa, ṇa in pāṇa, ṇa in kāṇaka and ma at the end, as basic consonants:

\[\text{Veṅ Kōsīpuṇ kuṭupitā kūla-kūcanam.}\]

\(\text{Na}\) occurring before ca leaves no doubt that it is a basic consonant. The fact that it is engraved without a pulli mark suggests that as in most Tamil inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts, it has to be supplied by the reader. Our text has four words of which Veṅ may be taken to be the name of a territorial division. It is now represented by the Travancore State. That in ancient times it was a stronghold of Buddhism is seen from the several images of Buddha found all over that tract (Trav. Arch. Series. Vol. II, Part II). In this region a place called Mūlavasa had a celebrated Buddha temple which is referred to in the Mūṣaka-vaṁśa, in a Gāndhāran sculpture inscription as daṅṣiṇapatha Mūlavasa Lōkanātha and in a copper-plate grant of the Ay king Vikramāditya-Varaguna who himself a Buddhist paying homage to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅga and made grants to it. It is not precluded that Veṅ may stand for vēḻ, 'a chief' of which there were many in the Tamil country in the Saṅgam and later historic times.

\(\text{Kōsīpuṇ}\) is the proper name of a person. Its equivalent in Pāli is Kassapa (Kaśyapa in Skt. and Kāśipan in Tamil).

\(\text{Kuṭupitā}\) is the verb: the final ṇ is omitted. The full form of it is kuṭupitāṉ. It occurs as such in other inscriptions; it comes from the root koṭu or kuṭu 'to cut': p is the causal particle. Its modern form will be
kottuvittān: and means 'caused to be cut'. A Tamil inscription of the time of Pallavamalla uses this word in this sense (Panca-pandavalamalai in the North Arcot district Ep. Ind. Vol. IV p. 137). It is possible to take this word without the final n as a participial adjective qualifying the next; but this is not preferable as it is not in consonance with the use made of it in other epigraphs in the collection. From the spelling given to this word in this epigraph and several others which we shall notice later on it will be evident that doubling of consonants came into use later in the Tamil language. This is a telling feature of our records. We may at once point out here that there is not a single instance of a conjunct letter in any of these records. Kottu or kuttu is the noun from the same root and it is to be noted that it is still applied in the name Panca-pandavarkutti given to these monuments in some places.

The next word kūla-kaucaṇam is the most important one. It is a compound of two words of which the first part kūla may be taken to be derived from kūlya which has also the alternate from kālya-('auspicious') or may be connected with the Tamil word kal (Singhalese galā) 'a hill, a stone' of. Uddānkal, Nelliyagalā). Kaucaṇam generally means 'gold, a tree variety,' but its use here is peculiar. Coming after the verb kottuvittu it must have reference to the monument itself and can mean nothing but an 'abode, monastery or temple.' Monier Williams points out that Hemādi uses this word to denote 'a particular form of building in the Caturvargacintāmani.'

Thus the inscription purports to convey that this "auspicious (or stone) monastery" was caused to be cut by Kāśyapa of the Vūn country (or the Velīr chief Kaśyapa).

II

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from Tirupparangunram. This is also in good preservation. The letters are very neatly incised and can be assigned to the third century B.C. The 31 letters which make up this record are written in two parts in a single line separated by a long vertical stroke. The letters in the first part are slightly bigger than those in the second, though written in the same hand. Treating as basic consonants all the final n's and the ra of tura, the ma occurring before pika, the ya's of ceya and aya, and the ca of caya, the inscription reads as follows:—

Erukkōṭür Ilam-kutumpikan.
Ceytād Ayeyan Nedu-Cutān.

1. Monier Williams says that Kāla and Kaūcana are the names of future Buddhhas. It is very doubtful if our inscription, early as it is, could have any reference to these.
The first part consists of three words of which Ērukōṭūr is the name of a village as clearly indicated by the place-ending ār. The next word is the compound Īla-kutumpikaṇḍ of which the first element Īla (with the short i for long) shows the place of origin of the person to be Ceylon: It is the Tamil adaptation of the word Sihmaḷa, passing through the intermediary forms Sihaḷa and Īla. Kutumpikaṇḍ is the Sanskrit word kutumbi which often occurs in Pāli and Prākṛt inscriptions in the form kutumbika, “a husbandman.” The spelling of the word with the hard p in place of the soft b and the Tamil masculine ending aṅ or ṅ is worthy of note. Pōḷālaiyaṅ is the proper name of the person who probably caused the cave to be made. The omission of the verb finds a parallel in No. 18 of the inscriptions of Ceylon given by Mr. Parker. The second part commences with the verb ceytā, with the final ṅ omitted as usually pronounced (cf. kutupitā in No. 1) and then gives the name of the person viz., Āyoyāṅ Nēdu-Cātan. The omission of ā at the end of Nēdu and the use of single ta instead of double tta of later records are characteristic of the times. Modern pronunciation would require the name to be written Ācana Nēdu-Cātan. It may be noted that Āyoyāṅ or Ācana is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word Āditya and it so occurs in a bi-lingual inscription found at Tirumālūpura in the Chingleput district (Vide No. 306 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906), where, the name is given as Āditya in the Sanskrit portion and Ācana in the Tamil portion. Ādiya, Āyoya, Āyoya, Āca are all variants of Āditya. Sātan is the equivalent of Sāsta.

The inscription means “Pōḷālaiyaṅ, a husbandman of Ceylon (and a resident) of Ērukōṭūr (caused to be cut) and Āyoyāṅ Nēdu-Cātan made (it).”

III

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from the high range of hills near Arittāpaṭṭi, known by the name Kālūgalumalai. I must note that this inscription is engraved on the open face of a bare rock at an accessible height in bold and clear characters. In front of the rock is a spacious court-yard without any bed and without the least sheltering place as in the case of all other caverns. By

1. This village name reminds us of Ērukkottūr the native place of the poet Tāyankānnaṇar, the author of a number of pieces (149, 319 and 357) in the Aganakūṟu collection. Noting on the Nasik cave inscription, M. Senart says:—

“The adjective expressing origin or the name of a person is here and in subsequent epigraphs invariably placed before the man’s name, not after, as in Sanskrit inscriptions.”

2. Valmiki uses this word in the following verse:—

"नाल्यविनब्र: कवित्रारीसक्षिष्टनस्रोतमसे! क्रममे यो हालिवाघोऽपवाभवननास्यवाम् बाला. VI. 7."
these features this place is singled out from others. When I discovered this 18 years ago, I remember to have noticed the ruins of some buildings at some distance, not far from this rock. It is not unlikely that some building made of perishable materials existed in front of the rock and that this building has now vanished and to it the inscription refers. This inscription is the longest of the collection containing as many as 50 letters, and in it the Tamil ர occurs thrice.

Treating as basic consonants all the ன's, the பன's that occur before கா's, the second ம in ஞம்மா, the ஏ and இ of தண்டாய்யா and the ultimate letter இந்தைய வரிகான் தண்டாய்யா வரிகான் சீயா புலி.

It is to be noted that the commencing words of this inscription viz., 'கணியா நாத சிரி-யக்கா' occurs in a slightly altered form as 'கரணிரா நோத சிரி யகரு' in the next inscription which is found in another cavern in the same hill, and may be considered as representing the same person. In கணியா, கா takes the place of கா. We may or may not suppose that the engraver has omitted to incise ர. And இந்தைய is substituted for the final ர. The latter change is noteworthy as it explains the allied nature of a number of words in Tamil and Sanskrit [cf. வயம் from பவர் and கயா from கார் (கசார்), மய் from மார் (மே)]. These words indicate one and the same term i.e., 'கரணி' which originally meant 'one born of a Sudra mother by a Vaisya father or one born of a Vaisya woman by a Kshatriya father'. The occurrence of the word in the 3rd century B.C. in the extreme south of India and as an attribute of one who bore the name Yaka is interesting. It has much to inform us. We shall be content with noting that persons belonging to this class took up the occupation of scribes and accountants. This is perhaps the earliest use of the word in inscriptions. நாத ஐ and நோத are variants of நதா 'a chief'. There is nothing peculiar in the word சிரி which we find so used in almost all Prakṛt and Pali inscriptions (See Nasik, Sānchi and Ceylon Inscriptions) for the Sanskrit word Śri. In Tamil, it takes the form tiru. Yakuṇā, which occurs in the next record in the form Yakkuru is the Sanskrit 'Yakṣa' Prakṛt Yakkha—with the Tamil masculine suffix an, which suffix, as our inscriptions will show further on, is nothing but the third personal pronoun avan. The suffix ru given to Yakkha may be considered as an equivalent of the honorific ar in Tamil and ra in Kannada. As in the previous two inscriptions, the non-doubling of ka is noteworthy. This person Śri-Yakuṇa seems to have been an individual of some importance as indicated by the use of Śri and Natā.

Dhamām is a variant of dharma with the Tamil neuter suffix m as in Kāncanam and adittānām occurring later on. Here we note the
lengthening of the penultimate ma: it is also a peculiarity of the age and we shall see more instances of the kind in the words tāntai for tantai and mākan for makan, itā for ida which stands for the modern Tamil word idu, third person neuter pronoun. It is connected with the Sanskrit idam. Malayālam retains still the form ida in place of idu. This word may either be taken with what precedes or what follows.

In the passage coming after itā, Cārikaṇ and Cāriyan are proper names, one being a variant of the other: thus exemplifying the common rule that ya takes the place of ka, passing through the form a invariably as in Prākrit. We shall also have instances of the retention of the Prākrit a in the inscriptions that follow. Neduṇi and Ilaṇ prefixed to Cariyan or Cārikaṇ means 'the elder and the younger.'

Sālakāṇ. Two ways of taking this word suggest themselves to me. It may be considered as a diminutive of Śālā which occurs in the form Śālia (Sālika) in Bājaśokhara's Karpuramaṇjari in the sense of 'an apartment, room.' A second way, which is more likely, is to treat it as a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word Syālaka 'a brother-in-law' with the masculine termination y added. That like the word tāntai, which stands for tantai 'a father' coming after Ilaṇ-Cārikaṇ, this word sālikāṇ coming after Neduṇi-Cāriyan must express some kind of relationship, is clear from the context.

The word Cēiya seems to be the Prākrit form of catiya which adopts to itself the other alternative forms cātiya, and sātiya and which are actually so used to indicate a relic-chamber in Ceylon (See Parker's Ceylon, p. 261). We have already noticed that there is a possibility of there having existed some ancient building in the neighbourhood of this inscription which unlike others does not provide any sheltering place or beds.

Pāliy is a Tamil word meaning an excavation in stone set apart for the residence of monks. 1 It is not unlikely that it is connected with palyā as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Śastri.

The expletive use of ya in pāliy and tāntaiy is in accord with the spoken dialect. This inscription thus means:—

"This is the charity of the glorious chief Śrī-Yakṣa, a Kāraṇi (by caste)." This stone excavation for a relic-chamber was made by Cārikaṇ the father of Ilaṇ-Cārikaṇ and the brother-in-law of Neduṇi-Cāriyan.

The fact that a chief named Yakṣa caused this monument to be made, is interesting. Numerous individuals, some of whom were rulers of small principalities, e.g., Yakkaṇ Kōdai, Yakkaṇ Śrīkandaṇ etc., figure in the

1. yā tāntai yā cēiya yāṇiyyata—ibid 56.
and pāliyā tāntaiyā—ibid 14.
early inscriptions of Malabar and Travancore. Besides, there exists in that tract a number of dieties called Yākṣīnis. These facts show that among the original inhabitants of South India, principally in the districts adjoining the Western Ghats, the Yākṣa element predominated and that they had at the time of our inscriptions, i.e., in the third century B.C., and probably earlier also, had come into the Hindu fold of castes as the term Karṇi indicates1. Among the Sāṅai inscriptions of about the same period as ours, there are several donative records of which the following:—

यक्षासिया दानं मिलुनिया (Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 377.)
यिक्षिय मिलुनिया वारिभवहिनिकाया दानम् (ibid.)
यक्षिदिनस मिलुनो दानम् (ibid. v. 372.)

prove that in that remote period there were several persons bearing the name Yaka and Yaksi who were of Buddhist leaning. Similarly also the Nasik cave inscriptions of a somewhat later age testify to the same fact. (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 93). The Rāmāvāna would make us believe that the original inhabitants of the island of Ceylon were Yākṣas, for it is stated that Rāvaṇa obtained possession of it by driving away Kubera. The Mahāvaṃśa does only support this when it distinctly states that the Yākṣas were ruling the island and Vijaya strategically managed to get it out of them. Mr. Parker gives a long account of this original population of Ceylon in his book. In the Sanskrit literature, the Yākṣas are generally treated as somewhat of a milder character than the Rākṣasas and there is a disquisition on the root meaning of the words Rākṣasa and Yaka in the opening chapters of the Uttarakaṇḍa. In the first six kāṇḍas, Rāma is not stated to have met with opposition from the Yākṣas except in the single instance of Tāthaka, a pure Yākṣini by birth and it is worth noting that her son Márica was cursed by Agastya to become a Rākṣasa, which distinguishes the two classes.

IV

The second cave inscription of Ariṭṭāpatṭi may now be taken up. It is in two parts and relates probably to two different compartments in the cave in which this epigraph has been found. The text runs as follows:—

A Kararira nōṭa Sirī Yaka-ru Cāṇatāritān Koṭupitōn.

B Veḷ-aḍai nikāmatōr koṭiōr.

C Veḷ-aḍaiy nikāmatāko potir Yaka-siti Kaaritāva Sāṭaṅ Piṅāka koṭupitōn.

1. A number of words are derived from Karana:—Karanaṭṭam, Karanam Kanakkan all meaning accountant; Kanakkan is also a caste in the Chengelpet district. The word 'karanam' occurs in Malayalam and in the early Vatteluttu epigraphs in the sense of 'a document, a written deed'.
In A, we have treated as basic consonants only two letters i.e., the υ's in tān and tōn; in B the la of Veḷa, and the ra's; and in C the egressive ya in aḍaiya and the final ηa's in Sāṭaṇ and pitōn. A and B go together to form one inscription. It means "Caused to be excavated by the glorious Chief Yakaṇ Cānataritaṇ, a Karani (by caste). "The citizens (or merchants) of Veḷḷadai cut it."

As our inscriptions do not use conjuncts, single la is used in place of double in Veḷḷadai and if this la is treated as basic consonant and read, the sound of double ila will be obtained. This is a preferential use of the time. The same is noticed further on several times in this epigraph e.g. Yakaru for yakkaru, koṭupitōn (twice) and koṭiṭa for koṭṭuṇṭiṇ and koṭṭinōr, nikāmatār(twice) for nikamattār and Sāṭaṇ for sāṭaṇ.

Veḷḷadai is probably the name of a place. Nikāma may either be connected with nīgama (naigama) 'merchants' which occurs in the Naṣik inscription in the form nēkkamu (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 90) and in the Bhāṭṭiprōlū epigraph in the form, negama, (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 328-29) or treated as a place-ending like sthāṇa, nagara or pura, being connected with Veḷḷadai. In this case, it would correspond to nagaratār or urār, which occur largely in somewhat later Tamil epigraphs. If this is correct, we would have here the earliest example of the existence of the assembly system in South India, which all through history we find constituting the administrative machinery in India. In Pāli, the word nēkkamu occurs in the sense of 'renunciation from the world' and is one of the pārami's 'supreme virtues.' Though this sense is not possible in our epigraph, yet in the sense 'one coming from' a place, it will well suit: at is only a euphonic particle. In koṭiṭa, we have the direct application of the termination without the addition of euphonic particles as in early Tamil works. The lengthening of ma and ka in nīgamattāko and of na in Piṇāka is the result of compensation due to the dropping of k and t in nēkkamattā and of k in Piṇākka. In Tamil sonant aspirates are absent and when such letters originally formed part of a word, the aspiration is generally dropped and as a compensation the previous letter, if short, is lengthened. It is to be observed that in these epigraphs, not only in the case of the aspirates but in the case of other consonants as well, the lengthening takes place. It is seen also that the lengthening is made even if the basic consonant that follows is retained. In many instances the penultimate long has to be shortened and the consonant that follows doubled to get the modern Tamil equivalents of the words.

In C potir probably means 'daughter'; nikāmatāko has to be regarded as a dative singular (with the final masculine termination η omitted as in previous instances and in Piṇāka) and means 'of a citizen'; Yakaśīti is the proper name of the individual and kārita means 'caused to be made.' We note that it is in the feminine form. It is observed that the word kārita is used in some of the Brāhma inscriptions of the same age.
found at Dambulla and Bawata in Ceylon (see Nos. 56, 80, 81, noticed on pages 433 and 442 of Parker’s Ceylon). Sátāṇ Piṇāka is another proper name: its modern equivalent is Śātāṇ Piṇākaṇ. The ending on and ār in place of ṣṇ ār may be noted and the use of ko the later ku denoting the relational dative. The meaning of the two sentences in C is:—

"Yakṣasitī the daughter of a citizen of Veḷḷadai caused to be made (this cave) and Śātāṇ Piṇākaṇ had it cut."

V

The next inscription comes from a hill lying between Kilūr and Kila-
valau. Mr. Krishna Sastri who examined it says that the letters are
written upside down which shows that the engraver had better conve-
nience to work from the upper part of the cave than from the front. It
is not an instance of paraelī-Bāsa current in Ceylon which requires an
interchange of letters in words. The inscription reads:—

"Upācāṇa pōta Netula-Voccō koṭu paḷī."

Here, the first word Upācāṇa may be regarded as the Tamil form of
upāsaka through Prākṛt; it occurs several times in the Ceylon inscriptions
(Nos. 13, 37 and 44). The second word pōta is no doubt the equivalent of
putra. Netula-Voccō is the proper name of a person: in this, the second
element is the Prākṛt for vatsa. It occurs in the form vacco in the Bhatti-
inscription is the pronoun ‘this’. If its use at the end of a sentence is
objectionable and unlikely, it may form part of pāḷi. This inscription
furnishes the second use of the word pāḷi in the sense of ‘a cave’. The
record means:—

"This is the cave cut by Netula-Voccō, the son of a lay devotee."

VI

The Anaimalai inscription is also in somewhat good preservation
and is important in that it affords a clue to the correct interpretation of
the symbols for r and ṣ. In it r occurs twice, tra and tha once and ṣ
several times. In the reading of this inscription, I differ widely from the
previous reading and this is mainly due to the difference in value which
I have assigned to the symbols for r and ṣ. The transcription of the
record is as under:—

Iva Kuṇḍratū uṇaṃ yuṣmātan-a tōna
Eri Arṭan Atumāyi Arattha Kāyipāṅ

I would here emphasise what I have already noted viz., that in the
word kuṇḍra the complicated r symbol following that of ṣ suggests clearly
that it is none other than ṣ; and secondly in the word uṇaṃ, this very
letter—which on account of its lower addition is liable to be mistaken for
ṭu—by getting the ai symbol proves conclusively that in spite of its com-
plicated nature, is but a simple consonant, the simultaneous ai and u
additions being inconsistent; and thirdly it is happy to note that this inscription affords example of ū which is a mere concave curve without a tail below. This one record would have been quite sufficient in furnishing all the clue necessary to fix the values of ū and ū had it introduced a ū, which however, is furnished in others as we shall see later on. The first part of the inscription means "These are the gifts of Yūnātan residing at Kurattūr". Note the use of the plural īva, the elision of the final ū in Kurattūr and of final ū in tōnam. The latter part only gives the names of the persons who probably occupied the cave in the first instance and as such, needs no comment.

VII

The short Karuṅgalakkudi inscription contains only three words if we treat ū as a basic consonant. It reads:—
"Etthuyarura Aritin Pōli".

The first word has perhaps to be supplied with the masculine ending ū. Its modern equivalent is perhaps Etthiyuran. The meaning is:—
"This is the cave of Ariti of Etthiyur".

VIII

The next three inscriptions come from Konigarpuliyaṅgulam and relate to the excavation of three caves or three compartments in one cave. They read:—

A. Kūtu koṭupitāvān Upācāna Upāruvān
B. Pākānūr-putatān Piṭān Itatāve lēn
C. Kūtu Koṭalaku Itātāvin Cetuatān lēn

On the connotation of the first three words of A we have already remarked. Upāruvān seems to be the proper name of a person. The inscription means:—
"The lay devotee Upāruvān caused the cave to be cut".

In B, the penultimate letter of the last word is damaged. I prefer to take it as le with the right arm much worn out. Pākānūr is no doubt the name of a village as the ending ūr clearly shows. Shortening the penultimate ū in Pākānūr, we get its modern equivalent to be Pākanūr, a village after which Pagaṇūr-kūrram, one of the principal divisions of the Pāṇḍya country was known in ancient times. It was in this division that Šolavandan, Tenkarai and the villages in their vicinity were situated. The meaning of Pōtātan is not clear. Like atān, which we find sometimes added to village names, this word may mean 'one belonging to'. The words Piṭān Itatāve— with the final ū supplied—may be taken as a proper name. Piṭān is a shortened form of Bhaṭāra which comes in Tamiḻ as Paḍāraṇ, Piḍāraṇ and Piḍān. Lēn means a cave. Often this
word is used with the lingual न in place of न (See Hathigumpha and Undavalli Cave Inscriptions). The meaning of the inscription is

"This is the cave of Piḍāṇ Itātāven, a resident of Pākanūr."

At the end of this inscription, and the next there are two symbols of which the first has in its centre a small circle to which is attached both at the top and bottom, the straight arm of a hook bent at the right side: it may be taken to represent Om. The second symbol is a rectangle enclosing an upright cross and is quite similar to the ones found in the caverns of Ceylon and noticed by Mr. Parker on pages 446 and 659 of his account of Ceylon. It represents the Svasti[ka] mark usually found in Buddhist inscriptions and tablets. This is again a striking similarity to the Buddhist monuments of Ceylon and their inscriptions.

In C, Kōtu-kotālaku may be taken to mean 'the excavator of caves'; Itātāven Cōtuatān is the proper name of a person of which the first element occurs in B; Cōtuatān is perhaps connected with āreṣṭhi 'a merchant', atān being a personal ending with the euphonic particle at. The meaning is:—

"This is the cave of Itātāvin Cōtuatān, the excavator of caves."

In these three epigraphs we meet with the word lōṇ (twice), and upāsaka with the masculine ending न: this ending was absent in the two cases noticed in previous epigraphs. We note again, the use of a single त instead of a double one in the word kūṭu.

IX

The next inscription that we take up for consideration comes from Śittamānavasāl in the Pudukkottai state. This is also in a good state of preservation and is engraved on the left side of one of the 17 beds chiselled in the cavern. If we treat as basic consonants the ra of īra, the na of itena, the la of pocila, the ra of ilayara, the ya of ceyata, the ṭa and na and ma of aṭṭaanaama, we get the following reading:—

Eōmi-nātā Kumāṭhūr pirāntā Kāvudi Iteṇku Īṭuṭōcil ṛlāyar ceyta aṭṭhanam.

Here Eōminātā is the name of a territorial division and Kumāṭhūr that of a village as clearly indicated by the endings nāḍu and ṛ. Pirāntā has to be supplied as usual with the final न and the penultimate length shortened: it becomes pirāntāṇ which means "one who was born." Kāvudi Iteṇku is a proper name in the dative case. Īṭuṭōcil may be the name of a village. As in Pirāntā the penultimate of Ṣlāyar has to be shortened, its modern equivalent being Ṣlāyar. To ceyta, we have to supply r. The meaning is clearly the following:—

"Īṭuṭochastic made this aḍhiṣṭhāna for Kāvudi Iteṇ who was born at Kumutṭūr, a village in Eōminātū."


In this inscription, the long nā is clearly indicated by a straight horizontal stroke marked on the right side of na. It uses also the inverted 'J' symbol. Penultimates are lengthened and finals omitted—all of which we have pointed out as characteristics of the age. It also uses the r with the length symbol, another noteworthy feature.

The use of the word adhitthānam is of importance. It may mean a capital city or it may be taken to be a synonym of vūsa 'a dwelling place, abode'; but as a place of residence it is not generally met with. It seems to indicate the place where one spends his life in fulfilment of a vow or resolution once taken. Thus a Brahmačārī's dwelling in the nāsrama of his preceptor after the initiation ceremony for completing his course of studies may be called an adhitthāna and it is so used in the anonymous Svapna-nātaka.

योग—भो: कुल आगम्यते क गद्यव्य काविष्ठानमार्गस्य?
ब्रह्म: भो: श्रृःताम् राजग्रहस्थलिंग । शृःतिविशेषणािं वस्मूमी लावाणक्र्नाम प्रामस्त्रोपितवाचनसिम ।

योग—अथ दर्पसमात्व विषयः?

But this word has a special significance also and it occurs often in Buddhist works. In Pāli, adhitthāna means "the vow of resolution" and is counted as one of the ten pāramis or perfect virtues peculiar to a Bodhisattva who is endowed with eminent moral qualities, and this the Baudhāya-bhikṣus are enjoined to follow. The vow of resolution has to be carried out even at the expense of one's life and with the firmness of a mountain as can be seen from the following two extracts from the Dūrenāna:—

सुभेधाप्रज्ञत त्यौ त्यो धर्मथाय अधिर्थान पारा मि पुर्वपायसि, यं अधिर्थासि तस्मि अधिर्थाने निष्को भरयासि यथाहि पच्छिता नाम सच्चारिः सुभासिः सुभासिः पि वाते पहरने पि न कपटि न चहलि अधिर्थाने एव तन्त्रि एवं एवं बुद्धि महिस्वसिमि चि अधिर्थान परामि दुन्वहि काव्या अधिर्थासि ।

तथेषव त्यं पि अधिर्थाने सच्चार अच्छो भव ।
अधिर्थान परामि गाव्या संभोग्ध गायणससदि ॥
माता पिपता न मे देस्स न पि मे देस्स महायस्मासु ।
सच्चार्थसि पिंयं महां तस्मा वालं अधिर्थांहिसि ॥

एवं जीवितं पि चजित्वा वालं अधिर्थांहिस्स अधिर्थान परामिः परम्याः नाम जाता ।

88
Some substitute pranidhāna for adhiṭṭhāna of which it is only a synonym. It is clear that in our inscription adiṭṭhāna must refer to the monastery where Baudhā-bhikṣus practised the vows pertaining to their order.

X

The Mutuppattī inscription consists of only three words viz.

Caiyālaṇa Vinataūra Kāvīy.

We may take these three words either as referring to the names of three persons who occupied the cave or regard Caiyālaṇa Vinataūra as the occupant's name and Kāvī, gaśi 'a cave' with the penultimate lengthened. It is also likely that the word kavi is connected with the Singhalese root kap 'to cut' and refers to the cutting of the cave. In this case, we may translate it thus 'This is the cave of Caiyālaṇ Vinataūraṇ.'

XI

The short inscriptions of Siddharmalai and their meanings are given below:

1. Potiṇūra-a-tāṇa ... 'The gift of one belonging to Podiṇūr.'
2. Kuviya antai Vey-a tāṇa... 'This is the bed of Kuviya and the gift of Vēy.'
3. Tiṭṭayil-a tāṇa ... 'The gift of one belonging to Tiṭṭai.'
4. Antai Ariati ... 'The bed of Ariati,'
5. Antai Iraṭṭāṇ ... 'This is the bed of Iraṭṭāṇ.'
6. Madira antai ... 'This is the bed of one belonging to Madirai.'
7. Visuvān Cānatā antai ... 'This is the bed of Visuvān Cānatā.'
8. Cānatā antai ... 'This is the bed of Cānatā.'
9. Vēṇatā-a tāṇa ... 'This is the gift of Vēṇatā.'

In these inscriptions, we note the use of the genitive suffix a after the names of the persons; that tāṇa has the same sense as dāna 'a gift, which often occurs in the Ceylon inscriptions and elsewhere and that final ṇ is in some cases omitted. What has been taken as antai has been read here as antai, treating na as a basic consonant. We may take it that it is used in the sense of 'a bed'; it is purely a Singhalese word still used in the same sense, and pronounced as yenda. What makes this interpretation likely is that these inscriptions are found on the beds themselves. Antai or Āntai may also be treated as part of proper names as in Eyin Antai, Pisir Āntai, Anjil Āntai, etc., who figure as Agam composers. Similarly also tāṇ and tāṇ may be treated as part of names Cf. Kirattāṇ, Vinnattāṇ.
THE PÂNDYA COUNTRY AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.  299

XII

The inscriptions in the cave known as Undâŋkal were discovered by me last year and are engraved on the pillow lofts of beds. They read as under:

1. Antai Pikâṅ mākaṅ Vēn tâna "This bed is the gift of Vēn, the son of Pikâṅ."

It is not improbable that Antai is a part of the name Pikâṅ; In this case, we have to suppose that the inscription only gives the name of the occupant of the bed.

   The first is the name of the occupant of the cave. "Vēn Kuviṅaṅ had it out."

XIII

The order of the Alagarmalai inscriptions have to be studied on the spot. As much of it as could be read in a line is transcribed and interpreted here. It reads:

Vânikan Neḷumalân .confirm Vânikan Yulnavan .confirm Cikaramâraṅ tâna .confirm Tārâni koṭupitaavān ankanam.

The first two have to be taken as the names of the persons that occupied the cave. "This is the gift of Cikaramâraṅ" is what the next part means. As a common noun Cikaramâraṅ means "the glorious carpenter." What follows may be taken to mean "Tārâni caused the cave and the drain to be made. In the previous portion which has not been transcribed here. Mattirai (Madirai) occurs several times and also the names of two persons who were poṅkulavan and kulavânikan 'dealers in gold and grains.'

In this short paper we have enumerated all the earliest monuments of the Pândya country, almost in the order of their discovery; we have noted that some of them are situated on hills known as Kalugumalai which is the exact Tamil rendering of Gridhrakûta, wherein the Buddha passed several years of his saintly life along with his chief disciple Ānanda, as reported by Fâ Hian; that all these monuments are curiously enough called Pândavamalai, though they have been provided with accommodation for many times the number of Pândavas, and that one in particular is called Undâṅkal, in addition to the name Pândavamalai; that these circumstances make us discredit the popular view that they were the abodes of Pândavas that on the other hand the name Pândavamalai reminds us of Pândavapabbata at whose foot Gautama had his first meal after his renunciation. We have observed the close resemblance which these monuments bear to the earliest monuments of Ceylon and have shown how one would be impressed with the fact that they must have all come into existence at the
same time, shaped by the same hands and for the same purpose. It has been pointed out how in the first instance this view finds support from the express statement of the Mahāvamsā giving out the fact that Mahinda and the five principal tūras who accompanied him to Ceylon as well as those of whom Aritṭa was the principal one together with thousands of sanctified priests and priestesses, all natives of Laṅkā, profoundly learned and wise, spread abroad the creed of Gautama Buddha; secondly by one of the inscriptions proclaiming the fact that a native of Ceylon had the cavern shaped out; thirdly by the fact revealed in another epigraph that it was a Ceyya Pāli, i.e., 'a Caitya cave' which add to our belief that these monuments are Buddhist; and a fourthly by a record pointing to the end that Buddhist monks practised in these cavern resorts the vows pertaining to their order. In trying to understand the import of these mystic records, our analysis of the alphabet has shown that it has a few characteristic features which the Tamil grammarians claim as being special to their language. We have shown in them ample examples of Tamil suffixes and have been able to interpret them as Tamil records. In these inscriptions we have also noticed several words of Sanskrit origin adopted through Pāli and Prākrit.
VII.—History, Geography and Chronology.
NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARAMÄRA RULERS OF MALVA.

BY

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., RAJKOT.

Three copperplate grants have been recently discovered, two in the village Harasola in the Prântej Taluq of the Ahmedabad District in Gujarat and one in Ahmedabad city. They are invested with considerable historical importance and add considerably to our knowledge of the history of the Paramâras of Malva.¹

The Harasola grants may be thus summarised.²

After the opening portion containing an invocation to God Viṣṇu in his fourth i.e. Narasimha incarnation two kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa are described with the epithets Paramabhaṭṭottaka, Mahārajādhirāja, and Parameswara. The latter king, who is mentioned as meditating on the feet of the former has the two additional epithets Prthvivallabha and Narendradeva. Then follows the enumeration of a king named Bappaparāja whose son was Vairisimha. From the latter Siya ka was born who bears the epithets Mahāmaṇḍalikacudāmanī and Mahārajādhirājapati. The grants are mentioned as having been made at the instance of the ruler of Kbeṭaka Mandala, by Siya ka on his return from a successful expedition against Yogaraja and when he was encamped on the banks of the Mahi. The king after offering worship to Śivanātha gave away to Lallopādhyāya, son of Govardhana, a Nāgara of Gopaḷi gotra with three pravaras from Anandapura and to his son Ninnā Dikṣita, the villages Kumbhopotaka and Sinakā respectively in the Modhavasaka visaya. The dāpyaka and writer of the grants were Thakkura Śri Viṣṇu and Kāyastha Gunadhara respectively. The record is dated Sām. 1005 Māgha vadi 30 Wednesday, equivalent to 31st January 949 A.D.

¹ They are being published in the Epigraphia Indica.
² The important portion of the text runs as follows. Skt portion marked above.

1. Tasmak yam kalyām manwhate jāt: Pratapādhunilāpāya
2. Varṣiprapāya: Pratapādhatvamuḥtu vedisibhā: II
3. Tuvārāpi kuṭṭiluptamūrtamāya: II
4. Nīg: Śrīśāṅgabhatamākuḷaluṣṭhīmbavath: II
5. Sa eva vīp....Agniśhekaḥcandakāsyaḥpitapratipratipraptivabhakta: Mahāmāltikalāṭamānya: Mahārajādhirajapati: Śrīśīvaka:...Vidyāvidyā yadā yogarajasaṃpāti yatrasamayagśāṃkaraṇa...nāmāṃśakalāsaktiḥsaptadeśaṃśkatvamāṇaṃ: śrīamśakalāsaktiḥsaptadeśaṃśkatvamāṇaṃ: pratiṣṭhitāya: II
The Ahmedabad grant, which consists of the second half only gives the date of the grant as Saṅ. 1026 Aśvina Vadi 15, the name of the dūpaka as Kaṅhapaika and the sign manual of Śri Siyaka.

It will be seen that these grants were issued by a king named Siyaka. Nothing, however, is known from either of them about the family to which he belonged. Owing to the incomplete condition of the second grant the name of the family, if at all it was given in the missing portion, is lost to us. But we have reason to suppose that the grantor king Siyaka of both the grants belonged to the famous Paramāra line of Mālva. Both the grants contain the Garuḍa symbol exactly in the same form as is usually found in Paramāra inscriptions. The characters used in them are also similar. There cannot be the least doubt that the king Siyaka of the Ahmedabad grant was the Paramāra ruler of the same name, who was father of Vākpati Muñja as the name Kaṅhapaika of the dūpaka of this grant is also found in the grant of V. S. 1031 of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja. 1

The names of the father and grand-father of Siyaka given in the Harasola grant are Vairisimha and Bappaiparāja. The genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālva from the founder king Upendra to the well-known king Bhoja is usually given thus.—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Upendra (or Kaṅnarāja)} & \\
\text{Vairisimha I} & \\
\text{Siyaka I (V. S. 1005).} & \\
\text{Vākpati I} & \\
\text{Vairisimha II} & \\
\text{Siyaka II (V. S. 1026).} & \\
\text{Vākpati II (Muñja) (V. S. 1031).} & \\
& \text{Sindhurāja} \\
& \text{Bhoja}
\end{align*}
\]

Now if we suppose that Bappaiparāja in the Harasola grant is the engraver's mistake for Bappauparāja-(Bappa Uparāja) Uparāja being an equivalent of Upendra, the Siyaka there can be said to be the third ruler in the genealogy. For it is difficult to suppose that Iparāja (Bappa Iparāja) was the name of a king. The reading Bappaiparāja again does not violate the metre.

If this supposition is correct a very important point in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālva presents itself before us. We have shown above that the Siyaka of the Ahmedabad grant of V. S. 1026 is unquestionably the father of Vākpati Muñja, and we have now supposed that

Siyaka of the grant of V.S. 1005 was the grandson of the founder of the line. If the usually given genealogy is thought to be correct we have to accommodate in the short space of 21 years between the dates of the two Siyakas viz. V.S. 1005 and 1026, the reigns of at least two rulers Vākpati and Vairisimha, who succeeded their predecessors as direct descendants, which is obviously impossible. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that the two Siyakas of the two grants are identical and that the names of the three rulers Siyaka, Vākpati and Vairisimha are wrongly repeated in certain later records perhaps to give an ancient nature to the genealogy. In fact the Nāgpura prāṣasti ¹ and even the poem Navasāhasāṅkaśarita ² of Parimala do not repeat these names in the genealogy given by them. The description, moreover, given of these rulers e.g. in the Udayāpur prāṣasti ³ is so formal as to create a strong suspicion about their existence.

The earliest date for Siyaka obtained by one of these grants is V.S. 1005 and the latest one is V.S. 1029 as known from Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchi Kośa wherein in V. 276 it is stated that Dhanapāla prepared the work in V.S. 1029 when Mānyakheṭa was looted by the king of Malva. We know from the 12th verse of the Udayāpur prāṣasti that this king of Malva was no other than Siyaka as it is stated there that Siyaka took away the wealth of king Khotṭiga of Mānyakheṭa. The earliest known date of Siyaka's successor Vākpati is V.S. 1031. Siyaka therefore, must have ruled from about V.S. 1000 to V.S. 1030. Hence Upendra or Kṛṣṇarāja, the first king of the family and grandfather of Siyaka, must have begun to rule from about V.S. 950.

The two sovereigns Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa mentioned in the Harasola grant are most probably the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of Mānyakheṭa whose grants are known from 851 to 911 A.D. ⁴ Nothing is said in the record as to the relation they bore with the family of Siyaka. It seems that the words immediately following the genitive case ending in the word Narendrapādānām in 15 and expressive of that relation were again through mistake left to be engraved. It seems that the founder of the Paramāra family drew his authority from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarṣa. The name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign to whom Siyaka himself owed his allegiance is not given. But seeing the disorderly condition of the Mānyakheṭa court after the reign of Indra III he seems to have almost given up his subordinate position as is seen from his two epithetsMahāmaṇḍalikaśūdāmaṇi and Mahārājādhirājapati.

No details are given in the Harasola grants about the king Yugarāja who was defeated by Siyaka immediately before the month Māgha of V.S.

---

2. *Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXVI*,
1005. The record says that Siyaka had encamped on the banks of the Mahi on his return from a successful expedition against Yogarāja. This leads us to infer that Yogarāja's kingdom was to the west of the river Mahi since Siyaka must have been going back in the eastern direction towards his kingdom in Malwa. Yogarāja's kingdom may probably have been that of the Cāvdās of Anahilvād. There was a king named Yogarāja who succeeded Vanarāja in that family but he reigned in about 806 to 841 A.D. Our Yogarāja, therefore, cannot be identified with him. It is just possible that the last ruler of the Cāvdā family who was the son of Gbāghada but whose name we do not know and who is supposed to have been reigning in about 937-961 A.D. was the Yogarāja in question. If he was a king, hitherto unknown, of the Cāvdā family of Anahilapāṭana, which according to tradition was subordinate to the kings of Kanauj—most probably the Pratihāras—it is but natural that Siyaka, a feudatory of the Dacean Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who, it is well known, were constantly at war with the Pratihāras, had invaded his territory and defeated him.

There was a Caukulka king named Avanivarman, also called Yoga, who was reigning in Unā in the south of Kathiawar in V.S. 956, as a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra sovereign of Kanauj. Yogarāja of the Harasala grant can be suggested to be this king but his date is rather early for our Yogarāja.

A king of Khetaka Mandala is mentioned in the Harasala grant. But unfortunately neither his name nor that of the family which he belonged to is given. He seems to be a subordinate chief of Siyaka. From the Kapadvaṇij grant of S, 832 (A.D. 910) we know that Pracānda of the Brahmavāk family had gained the principality of Khetaka Mandala by the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavāra and was ruling at Harṣapura, modern Harasola, where one of our grants was discovered. The ruler of Khetaka Mandala, who was contemporary of Siyaka was probably the successor of this Pracānda. From our Harasola grant and this Kapadvaṇij grant it seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavāra had allotted certain portions of his territories in Gujarat to his nobles who would check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies. The Brahmavāk family and the Paramāra family first equally owed allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign. But the Paramāra family seems to have slowly acquired greatness and Siyaka seems to have made the family of Pracānda directly subordinate to him though he himself acknowledged nominally the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. After the rise of the power of the Caukulka king Mūlarāja of Anahilapāṭana, who must have driven

1. ibid., p. 159.
2. ibid., p. 154.
the Paramaras towards Malva this family of Khetaka Mandala lost its existence.

No records of the Rastrakutas were found in Gujarat bearing dates later than A.D. 914. Our Harasola grant, though it does not give the name of the Rastrakuta king contemporary of Siyaka shows that they had continued to hold a nominal sway at least over the province and the following remarks of the author of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I, p. 131 seem to be correct. "Though no materials remain for fixing how long after A.D. 914 Gujarat belonged to the Manyakhetra Rastakutas, they probably continued to hold it till their destruction in Saka, 894, (A.D. 972) by the western Calukya King Tailapa".

The new items of information furnished by these two grants can now be thus enumerated.

(1) They are the earliest grants so far discovered of the Paramara family of Malva.

(2) They show that at least a part of Gujarat was under the power of the Paramaras before the Caulukyas of Anahilapatanap established their power throughout the province.

(3) The Paramaras were originally the feudatories of the Rastrakutas of the Deccan.

(4) The Harasola grant shows that the Rastrakutas continued to hold some sway over Gujarat.

(5) The revised geneology of the Paramaras from the first member to Bhoja is thus. 1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Upendra (Krṣparāja)} \\
\text{Vairisimha} \\
\text{Siyaka V. S. 1005, 1026, 1029.} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{|} \\
\text{Vākpati, Muñja} \\
\text{V. S. 1031, 1036.} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{|} \\
\text{Sindhurāja} \\
\text{Bhoja V. S. 1076, 1078. etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

(6) Siyaka ruled from about V. S. 1,000 to V. S. 1030. The founder of the family, Upendra, therefore, began his rule from about V.S. 950.

(7) Khetaka Mandala (modern Kaira District) was a separate principality ruled over by a king of the Brahmarshaka family who acknowledged the power of Siyaka.

1. I find that Mr. C. V. Vaidya arrives independently at the same conclusion in his History of mediaeval Hindu India Vol. II, Chapter on the Paramaras of Malva.
(8) Yogarāja who was defeated by Siyaka was probably a Cāvdā king of Aṇahilapātana.

(9) The grant of V. S. 1005 contains the earliest mention of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.

(10) From the expression Māgha Vadi 30 in the first grant we find that the month was Amānta even then as now in Gujarat.
"EMPIRE OF DELHI IN EARLY MIDDLE AGES:
ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT."

BY


[The few scholars who have written with a first-hand knowledge of the
original authorities on medieval India have confined their attention almost
exclusively to the administrative system of the Moghuls. The present
article, so far as I am aware, is the first attempt to describe the governmental
organisation of the first Empire (1206—1398). It is based on an analysis
of the Persian texts surviving to us from the period, specially the 'Tabaqat-
-i-Nasari' of Minhajus Siraj Jurjani, the 'Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi' of Ziaudd
in Burni, the later history of the same name by Shams Siraj Asif, and the
'Khazainul Futuh', 'Ayyazi Khusrawi' and the 'Masnavis' of Amir
Khusraw. I have been content to state my conclusions, without troubling
the reader with the process of reasoning by which those conclusions have
been reached; nor have I considered it necessary to refer to the authorities
at every step].

1. The working of an autocratic system depends on the personality
of the autocrat and the administration of the First
Empire was no exception to the general law.

Nevertheless the position of the Emperor-Sultans of Delhi was unique in
the history of our land. It was a position of many weaknesses and great
strength.

No immemorial tradition hallowed the prestige of the Imperial family.
Baber and his descendants could point back to a line of crowned heads
that reeded and disappeared in the poetic fables of a pre-historic age.
But such pride was not possible for our pre-Moghul Emperors. They
had sprung from the people who threatened to absorb them back again.
Some of them were men of humble origin; others were middle class men
who had risen to the top through sheer force of genius, like Ala'uddin
Khilji, or through the slow gradations of office, like Ghiazuddin Tughlak
and his son, and their sole claim to the crown lay in their power to defend
it against all pretenders. Contemporary historians are significantly
silent about the earlier history of the Khaljis and the Tughlaks. This
need not surprise us. The truth would have been too unpalatable to their
royal patrons. The Imperial throne was a competitive post; every one
could aspire for it, at the risk of his neck if he failed; it had not become
the monopoly of a particular dynasty. Public opinion regarded monarchy
as a desirable institution, but had not yet been deceived into thinking it
an inevitable part of the cosmic order.
Though Muslim kings have been ruling in various countries for the last thirteen-hundred years, to the shariat monarchy has always remained a non-legal institution. The result was curious. In the first place all distinction between the king de facto and the king de jure was lost. The Emperor for the time being could claim against his opponents all the powers that the shariat allows an elected governor against rebels; but a successful rebel, even if he ascended the throne over the body of his murdered predecessor, like the great Alauddin could claim the same privileges against his enemies. Monarchy de facto was all that mattered; strictly speaking Muslim law knew as little of rebels as it knew of kings and in the eyes of the shariat the position of the king was more precarious than the job of the humblest government employee. Secondly, no definite law could be evolved for the devolution of the crown. Primogeniture is a principle unknown to Muslim law, and the Emperor's eldest son had no more right to his office than the youngest. The law of private succession which divides the property of the deceased father equally among his living sons could not be applied. The state was not recognised as the property of the king; and in any case the programme of dividing and subdividing the empire in each generation was too impracticable to be thought of. The consequence was the interminable wars of succession with which students of Indian history are only too painfully familiar. The warrior's sword was called upon to solve the problem which the jurist's pen had left in perplexity and doubt.

Monarchy as an institution was still in its cartilage and such rules as regulated it were the result of newly established customs and public opinion. The Crown, it was expected, would be confined to the members of the royal family as had been the custom of the Persian House of Sassan. But in mediaeval India the principle had an unexpected result. Instead of helping a particular dynasty to monopolise the empire, it incited rebels to exterminate the royal family root and branch. When Alauddin came to the throne, he suppressed the family of Balban, and, later on, Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan between themselves managed to ex-terminate the extremly prolific house of the Khiljis. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (bayyat) had survived from the Ommayyad Caliphs; but when a royal dynasty altogether disappeared, the nobles were expected to elect its successor from amongst themselves through a formal or informal election, and the new family occupied the same position as the old. Public opinion did not expect that the laws of private morality would be respected by the members of the royal family in their dealings with each other. The

"Affections dear and all the charities
"Of father, son and brother"
were considered sentiments highly dangerous for kings, who often proved themselves even worse than the public wished them to be. The absence of a definite law of succession could lead to no other result.

The Imperial throne was no sinecure. Dangers beset it on every side. The Emperor had to live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust. He had to beware of his own sons and brothers, of his most loyal officers and his most favoured wife. The assassin's dagger, an unending series of palace intrigues, the constant necessity of keeping his sword sharp and his reputation green and the ever-present fear that the nobles may be hatching a disloyal plot, kept his energies on the alert. Nevertheless his position, if he happened to be a man of talents, was impregnable. The ordinary citizen regarded the occupant of the throne as the "Shadow of God" on earth. After several centuries of disorder and internecine strife a unified administration had been established over the country. The Emperor appeared, and in fact was, the great bulwark of the people against civil war; in time of danger all men of sober sense rallied to his side; it was not to their advantage to have the crown put into commission among rebels whose personal ambition was as obvious as their lack of principles. An autocrat of unbounded energies was needed to keep the forces of anarchy in check; the one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength; the one fault they could never forgive him was weakness. It was not a time for le roi faïencé. Weak-kneed princes were kicked off the throne with surprising facility. In the two centuries between the conquest of Delhi by Kutubuddin and the death of Feroz Shah Tughlak, less than a score of years fell to the lot of inefficient kings. But the power of the strong monarch knew of no limits except the patience of his not over-suffering people. The sharīat having left him an out-law could not step in to put a legal check to his authority. After the Khilji revolution the nobles were terrorised, and they bowed to the throne in abject submission. In all political matters the will of the Emperor-Sultan was supreme; it over-ruled the principles of Muslim law as well as the ancient administrative traditions of the country. And these enormous powers he was expected to use for his own personal benefit and for the welfare of the generality of his subjects (Khāliq-i-Khuda).

The administrative duties of the Emperor were as multifarious as the necessities of the state. He was the supreme legislator as well as the highest court of appeal. He led all military campaigns in person or else directed them from the capital. He supervised the workin of a far-flung but tolerably efficient spy-system that kept him informed of the 'good and bad doings of the people'. He controlled the markets and attempted to regulate the prices of the necessaries
of life. He kept a jealous eye on the governors and the higher nobility and heard the complaints of his subjects against the officers of the government. He was expected to combat famines with all the resources at his disposal and to distribute the income of his state with an unstinted bounty among the poor. Duties of quite a different kind were also thrown on his shoulders. Men of science and letters expected him to act as their patron and presiding genius and to grant them 'governorships and offices' in recognition of their work. Poets brought *qasidas* written in his honour and travellers expected a hospitable reception at his hands in return for their information and their tales. Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless, true, that mediaeval governments interfered more with the life of the people than any government is likely to do today. Inquiries were made into the income and expenditure of all persons who were unfortunate enough to attract the attention of the administration; 'spies and reporters' poked their noses into every one's private affairs, and a futile attempt was made to keep people on the path of righteousness through a system of 'warnings and punishments'. Over this extensive machinery the Emperor presided with watchful care; his eye was everywhere; nothing important could be done without his orders; and the fear that the system of autocracy may fall into other people's hands kept him perpetually awake.

II. There is a strong family likeness in the administrative machinery of all autocratic states, and a detailed examination will reveal many resemblances between the government of the Roman Emperors and the Sultans of Delhi. But the immediate model for the Indo-Muslim system were the monarchies of Persia, which in their turn had been very deeply influenced by Roman conceptions of government and law. Ziauddin Burni remarks that Balban organised his court after the manner of Kings of Ajam, and this is certainly true so far as the structure of the central government is concerned. The Imperial Council and the Imperial Court, the Four Ministries, the details of business procedure and almost all technical terms were imported bodily from Persia, though the necessities of the new state soon invested them with different functions and different meanings.

The Emperor-Sultan was the final executive authority for all state affairs. But the time-honoured custom was to call a Council (*Majlis-i-Azm*) of the highest officers for discussing the more important problems. The Council was consultative merely; it had no constitutional or legal powers; its meetings were secret; the Emperor could call whomsoever he liked and could overrule the most decided opinions of the Council. Nevertheless it was a thing of reality and not a sham. There is wisdom in discussion, and the Emperor saw the obvious necessity of consulting officers grown grey in the service of the government. On them he depended for the actual carrying out of his
orders: their silent and negative votes would turn his firman into a dead letter. Their unanimous agreement strengthened his position and their unanimous opposition was sure to make him pause. The officers insisted on being consulted and it was difficult and dangerous to deny their request. A monarch who did not care to explain his policy was naturally regarded with suspicion. The proceedings of Imperial Council have survived to us in detail and make a very interesting study. Discussions were carried on in a high-flown and courteous language. First the Emperor explained the question in a brief speech, and after giving his own views, if he had any, asked for the opinion of the Council. Every one addressed the Emperor. Both parties made repeated professions of their good faith and threw extremely vague and indirect hints at the deplorable folly, if not the treason, of their opponents. The Emperor ended by announcing his decision and the reasons that had led him to it, and praised all his officers for their devoted loyalty.  

III.—The Imperial Court (Majlisi-Am, Bar-i-Am) was an institution radically different from the Council. It was a public assembly and not a confidential or consultative meeting. The Emperor sat on the throne, a large high-backed chair with a red canopy above it. Behind him was stationed a body guard of slaves with drawn swords, and in front of him the noble stood respectfully in a semicircle with folded hands. The privilege of sitting in the Emperor’s presence was rarely granted to even the highest officers. A number of chamberlains (hajibs) maintained law and order within the assembly, while the Mayor of the Palace (Naib Amir-i-hajib), one of the greatest imperial officers, stood near the Emperor amongst the ministers. Every attempt was made to impress the public with the Emperor’s greatness and magnificence. The ceremonies of the Court were humiliating and servile. Prostration (sijdah) was necessary for every one presenting himself before the throne. Nevertheless, except on special occasions, the Court was a business assembly. Access to the Emperor was a matter of right—a right freely accorded to even the humblest and the meanest subject; and a great part of the Imperial prestige was due to the fact that every one could, with more or less trouble, lay his complaints before the monarch in person. The

1. What is called Majlis-i Aish (Pleasure-Party or sometimes simply the Sultan’s majlis must not be confused with Imperial Council (Majlis-i-Khas). The former was a social gathering of the Emperor’s courtiers for drinking, dancing and music, to which his ministers may, or may not, be invited. It had no political significance.

2. The red canopy was regarded as the most important of all royal symbols. Highly favoured subjects or feudatory rajas were permitted to use a canopy, but of a different colour, as an extraordinary privilege. Thus Raja Rama Deo of Daragar was given the title of Rai Ray-ans. (Raja of the Rajas, and invested with a green canopy by Alaeddin Khilji in recognition of his position as the second highest dignitary of the Empire.

40
programme of the day's work was drawn up beforehand and people desiring an audience had to apply in time. No one was allowed to come to the Emperor empty-handed; nobles were expected to bring presents of value, but for ordinary folk anything—an old prayer carpet, a plate of mangoes, a qasida in the emperor's praise—was enough. Bismillah! Bismillah!" (In the name of God) the hajibs cried when the petitioner entered the main door and bowed to the ground; but if he was a non-Muslim, they varied their cry and said 'Hadakallah' (May God lead thee aright.) The petitioner offered his present to the emperor who received it with mechnical praise. Then a quick inquiry was made into his business; qazis, pandits, ministers and clarks were all present to give the information necessary and to take down the imperial order. The petitioner on being dismissed came out of another door and was paid the value of his present in cash. Every species of public business was transacted in the Imperial Court. People with a grievance came there to have their petitions heard. Appeals from the qazi's court were brought before the Emperor, who, whenever necessary, personally examined the witnesses. In criminal cases the judgment he delivered was enforced then and there by a number of jallads (executioners and torturers) always present in the precinct. Our ancestors, rightly or wrongly, preferred the law's miscarriage to its delays. Here also came the governors and other provincial officers to present themselves formally before the emperor, though detailed inquiries into provincial administration and accounts were relegated to the various ministers concerned. The sittings of the court were long and tiresome, and must have been as taxing to the emperor as to his officers.

IV. Under the supervising and directing eye of the emperor, the business of the state was divided among the four traditional ministries—Revenue (Divan-i-Wizarat), War (Divan-i-Arz), Local Government (Divan-i-Insha), and Markets (Divan-i-Riyasat). The division was not quite logical, but Persian custom permitted four ministries only and the number was adhered to. The Minister of Revenue, generally known as the Wazir, took precedence over his colleagues. But they were not his subordinates; there was no corporate responsibility and every minister took his orders from the emperor direct. The relation of the ministers with each other and to the emperor is well summoned up in the advice given by Bughra Khan of Lakhnauti to his son Kai Kubad. "Select four wise and experienced men from amongst your officers and consider them the four pillars of your government. Place all public affairs in their hands. Entrust one of them with the Divan-i-Wizarat (Revenue) and raise his status above others. Give the Divan-i-Riyasat to the second and believe in his words and advice. To the third assign the Divan-i-Arz and ask him to look after the management of the army. Give the Divan-i-Insha to the fourth and leave him to reply to the petitions of the
provincial governors and officers according to his best knowledge and judgment. Keep all the four equally near to yourself and make them your advisers in all political affairs, of which they know the difficulties and dangers. Do not throw the business of the government into disorder by entrusting every thing to one man. Do not let any one of your ministers or your courtiers have too much influence over yourself or the administration. Further, every scheme you may have thought of, and every order you pass concerning the business of any of the ministries, and all confidential secrets of the state must be (discussed) in the presence of all the four ministers. Though the position of the Wazir is higher than the position of other ministers, it will not be prudent for you to favour any of the four pillars of your kingdom to such an extent as to wound the feelings of others and alienate their hearts. The personal relation of the emperor with his ministers were not as a rule very intimate. Generations before Nizamuddin Tusi drew attention to the fact in his Siyasat Namah, a strict line had been drawn between the king’s courtiers and favourites (nadim) and his ministers (naibs). The minister was not in Oriental monarchies expected to play the ‘fool’ or to go out of his way to please the king. This was the courtier’s look out, and courtiers were not allowed to meddle in state-affairs. The minister was essentially a servant of the state; his relation with his master was primarily a business relation.

The Minister of Revenue (Naib-i-Divani-Wizarat), in addition to his duties as the Emperor’s first adviser, supervised the working the Divan or Revenue Office. Though Oriental empires were never the merely ‘tax-collecting institutions’ that Sir Henry Maine imagined them to be, yet the collection of revenue was the most delicate as well as the most important function of government. On that everything else depended. The work had to be undertaken under conditions of extraordinary difficulty and the Wazir had to be a man of first rate business talents. It was his duty, somehow or other, to provide the money required for the expenses of the administration. He kept an eye on the local governors and their accounts. He checked the figures sent by various officers and got out from them every jital they had received from the people. He had to be cautious and stern, a master of general principles as well as details, in order to keep the servants of the Revenue Office in check.

The land tax was, of course, the principal source of revenue. At first no machinery existed for its collection. The government of the Slave Kings was too weak to establish anything like a regular local government over the country; and for want of any officer of its own the Revenue Office had to arrange with the rajas, rawats, caudharies and mugaddams (headman), or whatever pre-existing authority a locality may have had, for the collection of the revenue due. A deed (Khat) was taken from them and they were expected to collect the tax for the state and deduct from it
a commission for their work. The plan did not succeed. The rajas and head-men considered themselves lords of the soil. They kept armed detainers, made war on each other and ignored and insulted the revenue officers. The military arm of the state was too weak to enforce the contract made, and if we are to believe the evidence of Alauddin Khilji, non-payment of taxes was the general rule.

The power of the village head-men was overthrown by Alauddin Khilji and the work of collecting the land-tax was entrusted to amils (tax-collectors) appointed and dismissed by the Revenue Office. The Home Provinces of the Empire—Oudh, the Doab, Eastern Punjab, Northern Rajputana, and Gujarat—were measured under the direction of Yusuf Qa-ani and the records were kept for permanent reference. During the reigns of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks the procedure seems to have been as follows. A record of the arable land in every village was kept by the village patwari who sent direct to the Central Revenue Office an account of the tax in cash or kind paid for every plot of land. The Revenue Office also received from the amils an account of the revenue they had collected and from the governors of the Maqta (province) a statement of his gross receipts and expenditure. The three accounts were then compared and any money embezzled by the revenue officers was realised by 'kicks and blows,' and the excruciating torture of the 'pincers and the rack.' All tax collected (maksue) went first to the local treasury which deducted the expenses of administration and sent the remainder (fawazil) to the Imperial treasury. Alauddin and Yusuf Qa-ani did not care to classify arable lands as Todar Mall did afterwards, and were content to take a fixed proportion of whatever the land produced every year. The state-share demanded from the farmers of the Doab is stated by Ziauddin Burni to have been one-half—whether of the gross or the net produce, he does not say. The inevitable result of such a procedure was the impossibility of a budget. The state could not estimate beforehand what it was going to get; its expenses were fixed but its income kept fluctuating; every thing depended on the harvest. The Emperor-Sultans relied on their hoarded gold to make up the deficit in unfortunate years.

The Minister of War (Nâib-i-Arz-i-Mumalik, Arz-i-Mumalik) is not to be confused with the Commander-in-Chief. There was no Commander-in-Chief in mediaeval India; the office would have been too dangerous for the monarchy. The commander of every campaign was appointed for the

1. Translated by Elliot as Master-Master General. He is the predecessor of the 'Bakhsi' of the Moghul Empire. The translation of 'Mir-Arz' as Minister of Petitions by Blochman and Dr. V. A. Smith is one of the oddities of modern scholarship. Arz' here means review, not petition. Later on the Emperors themselves undertook some of the duties of the Minister of War.
occasion. The Minister of War was generally an officer of distinction, but he was not necessarily the most eminent soldier of the day. Organising capacity was required of him rather than generalship, though he had to be fairly well acquainted with military affairs. Once a year the Minister reviewed every horseman and foot in the army. The horse and arms were carefully examined and the payment of the salary was conditional on their being passed as fit; failure to come out successful meant dismissal. The price of the horse, and probably of the arms also, was paid by the state. The time-honoured fraud was to bring horses employed for private or business purposes to the review and obtain their price from the state. The practice of branding \(^1\) did not wholly remove the evil. In mediaeval warfare infantry counted for very little; it could not withstand a cavalry attack and was not sufficiently mobile. An efficient horseman usually had two horses; a cavalier with one horse only was looked upon as a lame man. If the horse was killed or died without any negligence on the part of the man, a new horse was supplied at the cost of the state. All salaries were paid by the Ministry in cash. Revenues and lands were rarely assigned for military service till the reign of Firoz Shah. The whole army, whether stationed at the Capital or the provinces, was directly under the command of the central power.

In time of peace the Minister of War reviewed the men once a year, for which they had to come to Delhi, and looked after the general business of the army. In time of war two further duties also usually devolved on him—the organisation of the commissariat and the collection of spoils. The first must have been extremely difficult considering the extent of the country, the far-flung military schemes of the Emperor and the general custom of not permitting the army to live on the country-side. As a rule the price of food-stuffs and other necessaries was fixed by the Ministry, and mahājanas and sahukars were directed to provide all requisites before hand on the route of the campaign. The question of spoils was a perplexing one. The shariat had allotted four-fifths of the spoils to the army and one-fifth to the state; but adherence to such a rule would have meant the distribution of the gold of the temples plundered from the time of Mahmud to Alauddin among the men, leaving the Emperor precious little for his pains. It was consequently ignored, inspite of the protests of the qazis. But it must be remembered that the earliest armies of Islam received no pay; they fought for the faith and the spoils of war was all that they got. The shariat rule regarding their rights was essentially inapplicable to men who were paid for fighting and drew their salaries in time of peace.

\(^1\) Branding (aagh) is popularly believed to have been an invention of Sher Shah. This is incorrect. It is mentioned by Burni in his account of Alauddin's reforms, but was probably an old custom even then. We find a reference to it in qasidas of the time of Mahmud of Ghaznin. All branded horses belonged to the state though they were in the possession of the horsemen;
The duties of the Minister of Local Government (Naib-i-Divan-i Insha) were of an extremely delicate nature. Tact was the one great quality he needed. He had to convey the wishes of the Emperor to the governors and local officers, and place their petitions before the Emperor. He had to be the master of a pliable and courtly style; plain speech was not the fashion of the day, and the officers had to be kept in hand by vague threats, assumed indifference, illusory promises of reward or whatever political move the occasion required. He was the usual channel for all correspondence between the central and local government, though questions referring the particular ministries were sent to them direct. There was plenty of red tape; everything was docketted and classified; and all legal forms, bewildering to the uninitiated, had to be carefully kept in view. All government appointments were matters of contract and negotiation; after an agreement had been reached, a deed was drawn up specifying the duties of both parties; it was signed and sealed by the Emperor and the officer concerned, and then deposited among the state documents for future reference. Most Ministers of Local Government are said to have been 'men of letters' and so were many of their secretaries and clerks; but what they really required and possessed was literature as applied to diplomatic life.

Our mediaeval ancestors had a great horror of shop-keepers, who were accused of profiteering and it was the business of the Minister of the Markets (Naib-i Divan-i Ryasat) to keep them in check. When Alauddin promulgated his economic regulations, the Minister of the Market had to supervise the work; and Yakub Nazir, whom he selected for the post, possessed all the virtues required of him to perfection. He was rough, harsh, hard-hearted, strict, incorruptible and well-versed in the ways and methods of the Delhi under-world. 'A scolding tongue and an itching palm must not go together',¹ says a mediaeval proverb, and the minister had certainly great opportunities of dishonest gains if he was unconscientious enough to connive at infractions of the law and leave his duties unperformed. Apart from the land-revenue, most of the other taxes were collected by him. All tavern-keepers were registered and taxed by the Ministry of the Markets; it levied the octroi duties from commodities brought to the towns and supervised the weights and measures kept by the shop-keepers. All special licenses were under its supervision, and it had to see that the inhabitants of the town were duly supplied with all the requirements of life. 'Fair' and not 'competitive' prices were the ideal of the day, and in time of famine or panic the minister intervened without hesitation and fixed the price of corn and eatables. All the business of the cities was under the control of the ministry, and the happiness of the citizens very

---

¹ Basaban-i daraz dast ra kotah bayad kard'.
largely depended on the efficiency with which the minister performed his work.

An extraordinary office, the Regency (*Nabat-i Mulk*) was sometimes created, either owing to the minority of the monarch or to show the confidence of the Emperor in the person entrusted with the office. The Regent stood in the Emperor's place; he was above the ministers and was not a minister himself. Considering the circumstances of the time, the office was a danger both to the holder of it as well as to the state. The high position of the regent provoked the envy of the other officers and incited the regent to aspire for the Crown that seemed to be within the reach of his arms.

Such, broadly, was the plan on which the ministries were organised. But much depended on the executive orders of the emperor and character of the ministers. The confidence of the emperor may entrust an able Wazir with the powers of a Regent as happened with the elder Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul in the reign of Faroz Tughlak, while an active and energetic emperor like Mohammad-bin-Tughlak was apt to treat his ministers as head-cklers or as executive officers whose only business was to carry out the orders given. The procedure also kept changing from age to age and duties were taken from one ministry and assigned to another.

V. In addition to the ministries were a number of 'departments' (*masnad, imarat*), which were, or ought to have been, non-political, and occupied a lower status than the ministries. The chief of these was the Department of Justice presided over by the Head *qazi* (*Sadurs Sudur*) of Delhi. Every large city had its separate *qazi* and most of the smaller towns also. Special *qazis* were appointed for the army under the direct control of the *Qazi-i-Lashkar*. The first duty of the *qazis* was to settle disputes between the Musalmans according to the rules of the *shariat*, but other functions were also assigned to them. They were expected to act as 'justices of the peace' and to settle petty quarrels in which both Hindus and Musalmans may be concerned. Appeals lay from the local *qazi* to the Head *qazi* of Delhi and from him to the Emperor. But making an appeal was an extraordinary procedure, and was not allowed except in cases where there was an obvious miscarriage of justice. The *qazi* heard both parties and their witnesses and gave his decision then and there. No lawyers appeared to argue points of law before him. Unlike other officers the *qazis* were generally appointed for life.

Much bitterness was aroused by some controversies connected with the administration of the law. The *qazis* naturally tried to make themselves independent of the government, and as interpreters of the *shariat* they could make out a good *prima facie* case for themselves. The autonomy
of the modern high courts has led to much that is good and to nothing that is harmful. But mediaeval conditions were different. Muslim law was regarded as a code unchanging and unchangeable; and unlike modern states, which are professedly law-making institutions, the government of mediaeval India could only control the law by controlling its interpretation. So the qazis have to be subdued. Here, as elsewhere, the machinery of autocracy owed much to Alauddin Khilji. On the death of Sadruddin Arif, the Head Qazi of Delhi, he appointed one of his most devoted and unscrupulous servants, Hamid of Multan, to the vacant post; and the Multani bachah, as his enemies used to call him, compelled his department to work in obedience to the Emperor's wishes. The precedent was followed by later emperors; the judicial office ceased to be a thing which 'men of piety and learning' could claim as a right; it was a government favour to be granted to those who were sufficiently pliable and subservient. Unfortunately the position taken up by the qazis more than justified their fate. Faced with the problems of a new country which had never been contemplated by the commentators, they refused to be guilty of a rational interpretation and cried for an impracticable enforcement of the bare letter of the law in direct opposition to its intention and spirit. The state did not interfere in cases that involved private rights only; administrative questions did not come within the purview of the qazis: consequently the bone of contention was the criminal law promulgated by the state. Muslim law, like Roman Law, is very undeveloped on the criminal side. The Quaran gives a few rules but they were never elaborated or studied. The 'thief'; for instance, is to have his (or her) hands cut off—but what is a 'thief'? There are series of allied crimes, petty larceny, embezzlement, peculation, house-breaking, dacoity and highway robbery—in which either forcible possession is taken of what belongs to another, or he is fraudulently denied the possession to which he is entitled. Are these crimes to be treated as 'theft' and all allotted the same punishment? The qazis had no answer. They protested against the meeting out of the maximum punishment to crimes not really serious; but they had nothing positive to put forward and none the less claimed that the law of the state had no business to interfere. The Emperor had no alternative but to ride rough-shod over the scruples of the qazis. And he did so.

The law of crime was secular and common to both the communities, but our authorities cast little or no light on the decision of cases in which Hindu law was involved. They certainly did not come up before the qazis; while Muslim law has been often overridden by customs adopted from the Hindus, Hindu law nowhere shows any evidence of that modification it certainly would have undergone, if its enforcement had been entrusted to Musalmans. Probably the machinery of the village pāncāyat was still retained for judicial purposes. An appeal, from its decision lay to the provincial governor. For Hindus as well as Musalmans,
the Emperor was the final court of appeal and Hindu Pundits were always present to advise him on questions of Hindu law.

The two smaller departments that may be mentioned here are the Admiralty (Amir-ul-Bahr) and agriculture (Amir-i-Kho). The Empire came into touch with the sea but there was no navy. The duties of the Admiral were prosaic and safe. He supervised the boats on the Jamna, Ganges and other rivers, regulated the fares of ferries and the transit of merchandise up and down the stream. The department of Agriculture dealt with the schemes of agricultural improvement which the government had almost always in hand. The main effort was concentrated on rendering many barren tracts, that lay in the various parts of the country, fertile through better manuring and the excavation of canals. Experiments were made to discover if a better system for the rotation of crops could be devised; many forests were cleared and much money was spent in subsidising farmers and contractors who promised to initiate better methods of cultivating the land. It is obvious that a government drawing the larger part of its revenue from the land could not ignore improvement, that promised to be so beneficial to the treasury.

VI.—Mediaeval India is sometimes spoken of as 'feudal'. This is an absurd blunder and arises from a misconception of the meaning of feudalism and an ignorance of the true character of the government of the first Empire. Pastoral tribes, when they settle down and take to agriculture, normally organise themselves on a feudal plan. The great leader of the hordes becomes the king of the land; the chiefs of the tribes become his feudatories or siefholders; and in subordination to them the heads of the families or clans assume the position of landlords from whom the tenant or farmer gets his land. Now the great feature of such a society is its divided allegiance; the head of the government never comes into direct contact with the tiller of the soil but can only command him through a series of intermediaries, each of whom is in a position of semi-independence. A, a farmer, holds his land from B, who holds it from C, who holds it from D and so on to Z, the king, and it is inevitable that A, B, C and D would be more inclined to follow the chief immediately above them rather than the distant and unknown king. Add to it, military service became an incidence of land-tenure. A, who held so much land, was bound to bring so many men to the army of B, who in turn led them to the army of C and so on through the intermediate links to the king. The system was ruinous to the agricultural progress of the country as well as to the discipline of the army; persons good at fighting were not likely to prove good farmers and vice-versa. while the military orders of the king were not considered binding by the men if their immediate officer, whose tenants they were for all times, took it into his head to command them.
otherwise. All offices were hereditary; from the king to the lowest farmer every one was succeeded by his eldest son and every thing depended on birth. Status, not contract, was the basis of the society. Such in general outline was the feudalism of mediaeval Europe, and such also was the system of mediaeval Rajputs. The Rāna of Cittor was the overlord of all Rājput clans. All chiefs were in theory subordinates to him—but in theory only. For practical purposes they were independent and fought and intrigued according to their own sweet will. The orders of the Rāna were not obeyed beyond his own territory.

The Empire of Delhi was in sharp contrast with the 'organised anarchy' of the Rājputs. It was a territorial state of modern type. The sovereign was supreme over all causes. The governors were not heads of feudal tribes and clans but servants of the Emperor appointed and dismissed at his pleasure, and their offices, far from being hereditary, were not even for life. The army was not 'feudalised.' The men were enlisted directly by the Emperor and paid by him. They vowed him their allegiance and knew no other master. All land was owned by the state. There were no intermediaries between it and the tenant, who obtained his farm and paid its rent to the government direct. It is obvious that while the feudalism of the Rajputs frittered away their energies by a system of divided allegiance, the Empire of Delhi concentrated all its resources under the direction of a single monarch, who controlled every thing through servants dependent on himself.

This highly developed bureaucracy was duly graded and classified according to the decimal system. Ten men were placed in charge of a sar-lashkar or sar-khail, ten sar-khails were commanded by one amir, ten amirs, by one malik, and ten maliks by one khan, and it was desired that there should be at least ten khans in the kingdom. Thus a khan = amir-i-tuman = commander of a tuman or a body of 10,000; a malik = amir-i-Hazarah = commander of 1,000; an amir or amir-i-sadah = commander of 100; a sar khail = amiroi dah = commander of 10. The term amir was often used to signify all officers commanding one hundred men or more, but the sar-khail though he was sometimes complimented with the title of amir-i-dah did not count as a person of any importance or standing.

A few words may be added to explain the meaning of the titles and the origin of the system of classification. In the history of Muslim Asia most titles have been subject to a slow and gradual degradation; and, sultan, khan, malik and amir illustrate the unfortunate process. The term amir in modern Urdu means a rich man. In Arabic it signified a ruler, commander, supreme governor, the person from whom amr or order originated. The Second Caliph, finding the title of 'Successor to the Successor of the
Prophet' uncomfortably long, invented the designation of 'Amirul Mominin' (Commander of the Faithful). The kings that rose in Ajam on the decline of the Abbaside Caliphate assumed the title of 'Amir' to indicate their curious position of legal subordination to, and practical independence of, the 'Amirul Mominin.' When the designation of 'sultan' was invented for Mahmud of Ghaznin, the word was farther degraded to mean not a semi-independent ruler but one of his more important officers. The word malik is also Arabic and is used in the Quran as equivalent to chief, ruler and king. The pre-Muslim emperors of Persia called themselves Milikul Muluk (King of Kings) and the Parthians were designated Mulukut Tawaif (tribal kings). But unlike amir, malik did not come into popular use and constantly maintained a higher dignity. Nowadays a number of families, both Hindus and Mussalmans, whose ancestors were maliks once, have come to use the word as a patronym in utter ignorance of its original significance:

The word khan has had even a more troubled history. In India it means any Afghan; in Afghanistan it is applied exclusively to men of some standing and distinction; petty princes assume the title in Turkistan, while among the Ottoman Turks it was used an equivalent to Sultan, the head of the state. It was originally a Turko-Chinese word and meant the great overlord of all Turkish tribes. Khaan and Qaan were both used, kh and q being interchangeable in Turkish. The title of Khagan given by Firdausi to the Emperor of China seems a shortened form of Khan-Qa-an (Khan of Khans). Chengiz throughout his career was known by no other title but that of Khan and his successors also found it the highest designation they could assume. The semi-independent princes of Turkistan were known as Khans in the 9th and 10th centuries just as the minor princes of Persia were known as amirs. With the conquest of Turkestan by the Mussalmans, the title of khan came to be given to the highest officers of the state, and in that sense it was imported into India. The premier khan was called Ulugh or Alf (First) Khan, a title which was later on changed into Khan-i-Khanan, while the premier amir was called Amirul Umara. Khan, malik and amir were all official titles given by the state: they were not indications of racial origin or family standing, and a private person assuming them would have been punished. Both Hindus and Mussalmans could become maliks and amirs; there are a few odd cases of Hindus being created khans, but the Hindu equivalent of khan was Rai, and of Khan-i-Khanan, Rai Rayan. But unlike the khans, the Raies of the empire were not government servants but mediatised princes, who inherited their principality as well as their title. The title of 'Sultan' was first invented to indicate the unique position occupied by Mahmud of Ghaznin. He was the first person to establish a Muslim empire distinct from the Caliphate; the title of amir seemed too small for

1. This significance is still preserved in the title of the Amir of Afghanistan.
a ruler whose powers [extended from the Punjab to the Caspian and from Samarkand to Ray, and a new word was brought into the official vocabulary to signify the advent of the first of the great Muslim Emperors. The minor kings of Ghazni and Ghor, whose pretensions far out-stripped their power, would have degraded the new title also, but the rise of the Seljuq dynasty in Persia and the Empire of Delhi in India contributed to keep its dignity intact. In India the Persian words 'Shah' was also added to it and the combination 'Shah-us-Sultan' (Emperor-Sultan) was not an inappropriate designation for the half-pagan, half-Muslim monarchical office.

While the court and the central government of the Delhi Empire was organised according to Persian models, the administration of the army followed Turkish lines. Universal conscription for the army seems to have been an immemorial institution among the Turkish races and was the foundation of their military strength. It worked with surprising efficiency and ease and won the admiration of all foreign observers. Alauddin Ata Malik Juwaini has described the system as it existed in the time of Chengiz. All persons capable of bearing arms were called to the army whenever necessary. The male population of the country was divided into groups of ten each under an amir-i-dah; ten amir-i-dah were grouped under an amir-i-sadah, ten of the latter under a amir-i-hazarah, and ten amir-i-hazarah were grouped into a tuman which was the highest military unit. It was natural that the Turks, who came to preponderate in the armies of most Islamic countries, should popularise the system to which they had been accustomed in their homelands. The conquests of Chengiz Khan, at a later date, seemed to impress it with the hallmark of success. Yet through slow changes and gradual adaptations it was divested of its most important features till there remained nothing but a series of suppositious calculations. Conscription was not worked in Persia, but the Turkish system seems to have been used for classifying and grading the officers of the army. A further change came with the Muslim settlement of Northern India after Shahabuddin Ghori. Military officers were burdened with civil duties, which, with the evolution of a regular government, came to take more and more of their time. In the end administrative work became the normal duty of most officers, while supervision of the army within the territory under their jurisdiction and occasional service on the battle-field became a mere accident. The decimal system of calculation also became a rough indication of their status and ceased to signify the men under their actual command. All maliks and amirs never commanded the same number; what made them important, or otherwise, was the land under their jurisdiction and the revenues they brought to the Imperial treasury. The decimal system was inconvenient for enlisted armies; it have too-
great jumps and allowed no place for intermediate units. Very often two or four thousand men would be required to garrison a fort or go on an expedition and for these the system had no place. It was consequently cast aside; *khan*, *malik* and *amir* simply served to show that an officer belonged to the first, second or third rank. Akbar's re-grading of the bureaucracy into *munsabddars* (officers) commanding from 500 to 10,000 men was a reform of the old decimal system on more up-to-date and useful lines.

But while the bureaucracy derived its classification from the decimal system of the Turks, its origin is to be traced to the slaves purchased, trained and promoted by the 'minor dynasties' of Persia, and to the end of its days it bore on its face the impression of its servile origin. An officer could not marry without the Emperor's permission. He could not hold pleasure-parties or go to visit his brother-officers without informing the government. When he died, he was inherited not by his sons but by the Emperor, who as a compensation undertook to look after the children of the deceased and very often enrolled them in his service. Every sphere of his life, public as well as private, was under the Emperor's control. He was subjected to a surveillance and autocracy from which all other citizens were free. Centuries later the observant Bernier was amazed at this strange phemonena of 'socialism' which so flagrantly flouted the rights of private property. Yet the solution of the puzzle is simple enough. Medieval India was not socialist; it recognised the right of property, but such a right could not be claimed by those who were themselves the property of others. The status of the government servant was that of a slave. A slave can have no property of his own; he cannot marry where he likes; he is inherited by his master when he dies and his sons are heirs to nothing but his slavery. In earlier days most officers were actually slaves, but the incidents of slavery kept adhering for centuries to the corps even when it was largely joined by free men.

A despotic system of government cannot exist without an efficient bureaucracy to support it, and it was soon discovered that the young and handsome Turks brought captive from the tribes of Turkestan and Mavaraun Nahr supplied excellent material for the recruitment of such a corps. The slave-merchants spared no effort in the education of the most promising boys in their hands, and they were well paid for their labour as the price of a really efficient slave was high. The best slaves were purchased by the kings and nobles and had prospects in life denied to free men. The great danger to the government of the day was the disloyalty of its officers; provincial governors were only too prone to declare independence and their subordinate officers very often rebelled against them in their turn. A bureaucracy of slaves provided the best possible guarantee against this tendency to local independence. The slave was the property of
the master and anything he earned or embezzled would sooner or later came into his master's power. Rough hands had torn him away from his tribe and people, and starting life in a foreign country, he had no kindred or relations to interfere with his devotion to his master's person. While the property of his master at law, the slave was no less dependent on him in fact. He had no status except what his master allowed him. He was not sprung from the soil and there was no a priori reason why, in a case of antagonism between the ruler and his subjects, he should attach himself to the latter. These considerations had great weight with the kings as well as their higher nobles, and from the ninth century onwards the more important offices were monopolised by Turkish slaves, and even free men lost their freedom by entering the service of the government.

We are here only concerned with the system as it worked in India, Shahabuddin Ghor had no sons and he consoled himself by collecting together a large body of Turkish slaves who formed the officers of his army and were entrusted with the Indian territories as they were conquered one after another. The extinction of Shahabuddin's dynasty left them without a master; the tie of 'salt and sonehip' that might have kept them in obedience to House of Ghor seemed to demand that they should obey no one else. First a triangular duel commenced between Kutubuddin Aiybek of Delhi, Nasiruddin Kubach and Sindh and Tejuddin Yilduz of Ghaznīn; and when Tajuddin was deprived of his kingdom by the Mongols and Nasiruddin was conquered by Ittimish, the 'slave-officers' of Delhi took to intriguing against each other. Their object, as a class, was two-fold. First, they wished to prevent the Crown from becoming too powerful. The king was one of themselves and they saw no reason why a divinity should be allowed to hedge him. His power could only grow at their expense; it would put an end to their independence and prevent them from exploiting the newly won country. Secondly, a large number of Hindus, thanks to the propaganda of the Muslim mystics, had been converted to Islam. What was to be their status? The shariat, of course, treats all Mussalmans as equal, but the Turkish grandees made up their mind that the Indian Mussalmans must be suppressed and the offices of the government preserved as a monopoly of the Turkish race. Many of the new Muslims had been enrolled from the lower classes, and any amount of scorn and contempt was poured over their heads on the score of their low birth. It was laid down as a principle of profound political wisdom that no office should be given to a low caste man 1; and the new aspirant to the Islamic privilege of social equality was contrasted to his discredit with the honoured families of the Indian Rais who had proved true to their ancient faith.

1. Thus according to a wretched verse which won the approval of Balban.—
"Ba sifarha ra madih xhamah ki gurdun ra mohal uftad.
"Siya' sangay ki dar Kaba'i set sasad zang-t-isinjan.
The Turkish officers were fairly successful at first. The crown was practically put into commission. Shamsuddin in Ittimish had with difficulty kept himself on his storm-tossed throne, but his sons were set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity and the heroic Raziya lost her life in a vain attempt to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness. The Indian Mussalman was made to feel his insignificance in every sphere of life. Intermarriage was not a thing to be thought of; even talking to an ordinary Mussalman or meeting him on a social footing was considered something degrading. The Turks might have preserved their power indefinitely, if they had combined to defend the government against its enemies and cultivated a strong spirit of co-operation. But while striking both at the Crown and the people, they were themselves divided into bitter factions. Every one of them imagined himself to be a Khusrau or a Kai-Kubad and shouted, "I and none other" (Ana wa la ghaire). Blood-feuds arose and were handed down from father to son; bill co-operation even against the enemies of the aristocracy became impossible. The first below came from above. Ghiasuddin Balban after rising to the throne with the help of his brother officers, thought it his duty to remove the most important of them by a liberal use of poison and the assassin’s dagger. But he was after all a Turk and desired the subjection, not the annihilation, of the aristocracy. After his death, the Turks again started their game of keeping puppets on the throne and dividing the country among themselves. But circumstances had changed. The opposition had been, slowly gathering in mass and volume; and while the aristocracy continued their death-dance over a ground that trembled and shook beneath their feet, the revolutionary forces, strengthened by an ever increasing number of converts, exploded and blew them into the air. Balban’s grandson and successor, Kai Kubad, drank himself to death, and the officers after placing his son, a mere child, on the throne, drew up a list of persons doomed to death. At the head of the list was the name of the venerable minister of war, Jalaluddin Khilji. The sequel was a surprise to the Turks. Jalaluddin massed his forces against them and proved himself more than a match for his opponents. The Turks had to yield without a battle. The child-king was deposed and Jalaluddin mounted the throne at the advanced age of seventy. The moderations of the new emperor and his reluctance to shed the blood of even his most bitter opponents served to mask the change. The middle classes of the towns of Hindustan were solid for the new regime and the citizens of Delhi, ‘who found the rule of the Khiljis intolerable’, were let in quiet. A large number of the Turkish officers were reappointed to their offices. Still the aristocratic Turkish ring was broken; the Indian Mussalmans, and such Hindus as were willing to co-operate with them, had secured a place in the sun. Jalaluddin’s nephew, Alauddin, drove the argument home. He first won the Turkish nobles from the party of his
uncle by false promises and bribes, and then as soon as his power was firmly established, exterminated them wholesale. Many of the Turkish officers were put to death, some were blinded and others were imprisoned in distant forts. Their property was confiscated, and their families and followers were overthrown. Only three members of the old aristocracy, one of them a Khilji, the second a converted Rājput and the third a non-descript Mussalman—were incorporated in the new aristocracy which was entirely a creation of the Sultan. The revolution was complete. The government had passed from the foreign Turks to the Indian Mussalmans and their Hindu allies. India was henceforth to be governed by administrators sprung from the soil. It was a sectional government, no doubt, but so have been all governments in all countries that history knows of.

The new aristocracy was kept in a position of stern subjection. No emperor of India, not even Akber, the Great, has been such a terror to his nobles as Alauddin Khilji. Spies and reporters were stationed at the gate of every office and daily informed the sultan of all that happened. Nothing was over looked, and punishment was swift and sure when proper explanations were not forthcoming. The nobles were ordered not to visit each other or to invite guests; they were even afraid of talking when brought together for business to the Imperial Court. None of them was allowed to marry without the Emperor's permission, lest family alliances should enable them to form strong and powerful cliques. The new officers had not been formed out of a body of slaves, but all the conditions of slavery were imposed on a service recruited from a free-born population.
THREE CONTEMPORARY LETTERS ON THE VIJAYANAGARA
KING VEÑKAṬA II OF THE ĀRAVĪDU DYNASTY.

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A., BOMBAY.

Mr. Robert Sewell in his Forgotten Empire speaking of the Portuguese attempts to eject the Dutch from Pulicat in the first half of the 17th century, writes as follows:—

"Senhor Lopes tells me that he has found in the National Archives in the Torre do Tombo, amongst the 'Livros das Monoces,' a number of papers bearing on this subject. The most interesting are those contained in Volume XXXIV. (Fol. 91-92). These were written by the Captain General of Meliaper (St. Thome), by Padre Pero Mexia of the Company of Jesus, and by the Bishop; and among the other documents are to be seen translations of two palm-leaf letters written by the King of Vijayanagara, then at Vellore. It appears from these that the King was devoid of energy, and that one Timma Rāya had revolted against him."

These two hints promise the letters referred to, to be very interesting historical documents about one of the latest known Emperors of Vijayanagara. They however have not yet been published, although Sewell's work first appeared in 1900. When I started to collect materials for the history of the Āraṇīdu Dynasty of Vijayanagara a year ago, I wrote to the Archivist of the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, asking for a photograph of these letters. But to my great disappointment several months passed without my receiving any reply to this request, and as a matter of fact no news has come up to the present, so I fancy it is a lost case.

But in the meantime I was going to be very much more fortunate within the boundaries of India. Because, searching after new information on the aforesaid Āraṇīdu dynasty in the official Archives of Pangim, Goa (Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo), I unearthed from among huge heaps of documents the letters of the Captain-General of St. Thome, of Fr. Pero Mexia and of the Bishop of the place. Seldom did I return home as happy and satisfied during my stay at Pangim as that evening, the letters I had been hoping for vainly for several months, were carefully copied and filed in my collection of documents.

How can we explain the existence of these duplicates in the Archives at Pangim? For these Pangim letters, are only copies of the originals, as I had supposed the Lisbon Manuscripts to be. Since the possession of the fort of

Pulicat was always considered of great importance by the Portuguese, the Viceroy of Goa thought it advisable to send the letters received on these transactions to the King of Portugal himself, but not before being copied in Goa in order to be also kept in his own Archives. Such are the copies I found almost three centuries after. That they are simply copies is evident after a careful examination. Nowhere is this affirmed, indeed, as in other documents, for instance a letter of Philip III of Spain and Portugal to Venkata I, as published in The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, entitled: *Copia da Carta que va nestas Vias para el Rey de Bismaga*. But the size of the paper is not different from the rest of the volume, and the very handwriting quite known to me as the one of a copyist of the government offices, give no ground for reasonable doubt.

Among all these letters, those written by Fr. Pero Mexia are the most important; the ones written by the Captain-General and the Bishop of St. Thome, confirmed only the account sent by the Jesuit to the Viceroy, and the source of their knowledge was the same Fr. Mexia, who had written to them also an account of his journey. For this reason I shall publish here only Fr. Mexia's letters. They are contained in *Monoces do Reino. No. 18. Ano de 1633, fol. 1154—1155*; written on an ordinary strong $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ paper. The ink has become quite yellow after almost three centuries and the paper is torn some times or eaten by white ants; so that it is not an easy task to read them straight off. They bear this heading: "*tres Cartas do Pe. Pero mexia.*"

Fr. Pero Mexia, was a Portuguese Jesuit who had then spent many years in India. In the old catalogues of the Society of Jesus in India he appears in 1604 at Manapad, in 1610 and 1611 in the College of St. Thome as Minister and Procurator, from the end 1611 to 1613 at Devanapanam, a small Mission established there after the expulsion from the place of the Dutch traders by Krsnappa Nāyaka of Gingi at the request of Venkata I; in 1619—1620 he is military Chaplain in 'Manicavari'; from 1628 to 1634 he is Vice-Rector of the College of St. Thome and it was then that he was deputed by the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linares, as his Ambassador to the court of Venkata II. Then in 1634 he was appointed Rector at Kulam, in Travancore, where he died in 1639, being 70 years old.

The Mission entrusted to him by the Portuguese Viceroy was extremely delicate. Early in 1606 the Dutch attempted to settle at Pulicat to extend their trade throughout the East Coast of India, but King Venkata I influenced at this time by the Jesuits, did not allow them to establish themselves in his dominions. But when the friendship between the King

and those missionaries was broken, about 1609 or 1610 the Dutch succeeded finally and founded a factory at Pulicat and even established a mint by a special privilege granted by Veṅkaṭa. The Portuguese prepared themselves at once for capturing the Dutch fort, which became one of their greatest nightmares in India, and in 1613 the Viceroy was thinking of sending a fleet there to accomplish this object, but on being informed that the English traders, who were just then starting their fortunate series of voyages through the eastern seas, had been repulsed by the Dutch, the Portuguese realized that to attain their purpose was impossible unless in combination with the Vijayanagara Sovereign 1. But just then old king Veṅkaṭa died and after his demise the tragic civil war narrated by Baradas and the Rāmarājyaṃu ensued. This forbade any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to make an alliance with Vijayanagara to expel the Dutch from their quarters. So, after the short reign of Rāma, pourparlers were opened between the Portuguese and his successor Veṅkaṭa II to carry out their purpose. It was on this occasion and with this aim that Fr. Pero Mexia was commissioned by the Viceroy as his special envoy to the court of Veṅkaṭa II.

The success of his deputation will be shown in his own letters to the viceroy written from the very court of Vellore. The Portuguese original will appear in the Appendix to the second volume of my history of the Āravidu Dynasty. I shall publish here only their English translation, that runs as follows:—

First Letter.

Sir,—I have written to you about my arrival and my immediate call by the king in the afternoon of the day consecrated to St. John the Baptist. I reached the place where the army was located only on Tuesday after a journey of two days and a half. However I could not see the king immediately as he had gone to Ginja to dismiss the army. The queen, or the king’s concubine, invited me to stay. Only after midnight on Tuesday the king came back after spending the whole of Tuesday in taking leave of the army at Ginja. On Wednesday morning, 28th of the month the king sent me word that he had come back quite fatigued, consequently he would call upon me only after his lunch, as he did. I met the king quite alone and he received me with the utmost enthusiasm and addressed me in tender words. I handed over to the king your letters and present together with two other letters from the Bishop and captain-general. The interview lasted for nearly two hours. I also gave the king the mirror and the piece of cloth sent by your Excellency. The king asked me to

1. I gathered almost all this information from Manuscript document either of the Pāγam Archives or the Archives of the Society of Jesus. They will be published in the first volume of my history of the Āravidu Dynasty.
come again on the night of the same day that he would at any cost furnish me with a reply. Seeing that the king was very busy on that night and on the three following days, I thought that he would not be able to give me a reply, so I declined to go on the night fixed. On Sunday, the day of the Visitation of Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth at 10 o'clock at night he sent a secret message calling me. I met him alone with one of his favourites in one of the inner compartments of the house, very happy, with a crown of roses, and he addressed me thus:—In reference to the memorandum of the Viceroy, I have to tell you, firstly that I am prepared to expel the Dutch from Pallaeacate and other parts of my kingdom, with the firm determination not to allow them nor other thieves in the fortress of Tavanapatam. Chinana did not act with my permission nor with that of the Naíque of Ginja; it is true that he had asked permission to construct some houses, because his brother had robbed him; but in a couple of days I shall give orders to cut off his hands and extract his eyes, because many complaints of him have reached my ears, and the fortress will be taken.

As regards the delivery of horses, elephants and money over to me in Jafanapatam it is not just; neither do I ask for them before the delivery of Pallaeacate, nor have I ships nor means to get them here; it will be necessary that the same fleet which will take them there, would bring them to the fortress of St. Thome. And he repeated this several times, and that was reasonable that your Excellency would do so, etc. The third point that he touched on is that the money promised to Timma Rāya and Raṅgapa Rāya should not be given to them if they were to continue in the rebellious state in which they were, because they were in possession of a great part of the kingdom; but in spite of their being destroyed by him and that they were no longer in the bonds of friendship with him (the king) nor were going to enter this league, he the king does not wish for the money at all, but since I have told him so much of your Excellency's generosity he leaves it entirely to your discretion hoping that your Excellency will think proper to add some more horses, elephants, etc., according to your Excellency's liberalities and grandeur. As regards the tribute and pension of the fortress says the king that the fortress shall continue to enjoy the same privileges of liberty and pension, which are also prevalent at St. Thome. The king had always at Pallaeacate and St. Thome his adīgars (governors) and he has them still there and receives from these lands the income of 8 thousand patacços (Brazilian coin) which is expected to be increased at present; hence the fortress will remain as it was when taken, with the same privileges, lands and pensions and if the Portuguese like to have it upon these conditions, says the king, he has no objection at all, but if they are unwilling to have them on these terms he, will continue to appoint his adīgars as he has done till now.
In reference to the hostages, the king asked me to tell Your Excellency to recommend this to the captain-general and the inhabitants of St. Thome and everything will carefully be done; because the king says that to avoid bribing the captains and other such treachery, he will witness personally everything. He added besides: I am taking this trouble on your behalf, Father, because you are my friend. In return I offered myself to be next to him on the occasion, for which he thanked me very much. The king to my mind does not make any unreasonable request; anyhow your Excellency may act according to your views.

The king handed over to me an olla (letter) for your Excellency written on a golden plate, where he in brief refers to the aforesaid things. Consequently I see no need to send an extract of the letter written in Portuguese, where the same things are said, but in detail and more diffusely. The bearer takes the 'Golden letter' laid in a silver cover. This is what I did as regards the essentials of our business. Now I shall narrate some things observed by me here, but before this let me tell you that this business was carried on in the most complete secrecy: myself, my Carica-capule, the king and one of his servants alone being present. The day I reached the Royal Camp, one Dutchman and an ambassador from the king of Siam were just leaving the place after offering the king two elephants, one golden casket full of musk-seeds in the name of the king of Siam, and in name of the Dutch they offered one bag full of grain, one full of corn and another full of nutmeg; one cask of ordinary small size full of camphor, all presents being valued at four-thousand Xerafsins (old coin); each bag contained 1 quintal (100 lbs). In spite of all these rich presents the king gave them only 100 pagodas (gold coin in India) for their expenses; sending a message through the ambassador of Siam that he would not have another interview with them. The ambassador came to complain to me that though I have taken no presents to the king as he did the king gave me more respect than to him and granted me a village. I told him that the king knew me many years ago and was familiar to me.

Your Excellency's letters to Raṅga Parāśio and Timarāśio are not yet handed over, but I have sent them word that I had the letters and if they wished could send for them; in reply they asked me to come over to their place under pretext of a visit, which I declined in order to please the king for whose sake I refused to talk to them; though I confess that I talked to Raṅga Parāśio who came to this town when the king refused to talk to him; and he went back to Tanjore because the king took every thing from him even his own houses; the king treated him so, on account of certain words he once pronounced against him. This Raṅga Parāśio sent me a message and also told me personally that Manigno Raubo and Salvador Rezende have often written to him, that I have cheated him, the king and Timma Rāya, and that I was going to Goa for good; and that an ultimatum
to this business could only be given by them and Diogo de Mello. I also
ask you to entrust to them the business and to exempt me from the same.
They will carry it out with the same fidelity as their ancestors used with
Christ and His Church.

I do not wish to be too long and trouble your Excellency, whose
life may Our Lord prolong for many years.

Vellur today 13th July, 1634.

FR. PERE MEXIA.

Second Letter.

By the vessel Chique I have sent Your Excellency a letter giving
you news of my arrival and in the same I also told you that the king had
called me. I went by the vessel as far as the Royal camp where the king
was, but before I could see him he had left the place. I suppose Your
Excellency has not replied to my letter as the letter did not contain any
other topic. After some days another vessel by name Ranras set out,
which took two letters, one from me and the other olla from the king
addressed to Your Excellency, by which he renders his thanks for your
presents, mention of which I do not like to make here in order not
to tire you. The contents of the King's letter I have only told the
Captain-general and the Bishop, because in so doing I thought I would
please you. As the mail did not reach up to now and I have no reply from
you as yet, I shall not deal with any business at present. The king as
soon as he came back to Vellur was seriously ill; after finding himself a
little better he went for a change in a cool and healthy place called
Ingenerac where he is quite all right and healthy. When the king was
sick he sent the army to take certain fortresses and other places up country
i.e., only those places which disobeysed him, from which he get large
amount of money. He is now holding a council with his captains; but they
are divided among themselves: some were of opinion that the king should
go to Peroonde (Penukonda), which is a very distant place, thirty days'
distance from Vellur to the north of this fortress, next to the Muhammadan
frontier: it seems that these will be successful. Others are of opinion
that he should go to Tanjaur or Negapatam with the intention of
dethroning the Naigue and replacing him by one of his own sons; as this
is the best advice............(the three following lines are illegible in the Ms.)

I say that the best advice was to make his own son Naigue of Nega-
patam or Tanjaur, because the Rayas are unwilling to accept his son as the
king for he is not the son of Rayati but illegitimate son of a different caste.
He has already appointed crown-prince to the kingdom his nephew, his
brother's son a young man of great expectation. When I went to see the
king I heard so twice........................................The
king has already placed in Paleseate, as I said to you before, one of his private men so that the Malaios are reduced to nothing else but merchants (chatins). We shall do nothing else but to ask God to give you successive victories over these enemies of his Holy Name and faith.

Today 5th September, 1634.

FR. PERO MEXIA.

Third Letter (an extract)

The king of Bizinaga after recovering from the sickness, became wiser he did not go personally to Peroonde (Penukonda) but sent the prince, his nephew and heir-apparent to the throne and with him Timma Rāya whose two wives are retained as hostages in the fortress of Vellūr in order to keep him faithful to his duty. Some other captains of great fame go along with the Prince. The king has already returned to Vellūr where I shall go to visit him and at the same time to congratulate him on his recovery. It is a general talk that he wishes to make his sons Naique of Tanjaur and Negapatam which is very likely because the king has kept under his protection some captains, enemies of the Naique of Tanjaur and in close relations with that of Ginjya (Gingi).

Today 23 September, 1634.

FR. PERO MEXIA.

Such are the letters of Fr. Pere Mexia. They reveal the hitherto unknown transactions between the Portuguese and Veṅkaṭa II as regards the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat, which failed on account of the inconstancy of the king. The volatile character of the Sovereign is likewise shown in the document, as well as his lack of health. The relations between the Sovereign and the Nāyak of Tanjore were by no means satisfactory so much so that the former was thinking of installing in Tanjore one of his illegitimate sons; these are the first manifestations of the treason that burst out during the reign of his successor and caused the total ruin of the old Vijayanagara Empire. On the other hand his nephew and successor, the future Raṅga III, is presented as a young man of great qualities and of great expectation; so he was indeed, although he could not fight against his own fate. Finally one of the concubines of Veṅkaṭa, the mother of one of his sons, who belonged to a different cast, is twice mentioned in these letters, she must be the woman whose will so disastrously influenced the old Sovereign in his last years to such an extent that she is called the real ruler of the Empire. Being in secret intercourse with Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura she fostered in him ideas of independence, thus preparing the final downfall of the Empire, according to an unpublished contemporary document, in my possession.
INDIAN COLONISATION IN THE FAR EAST.

BY

PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, DACCA.

Although the study of ancient Indian history has made a great deal of progress in recent years, there is one aspect of the subject which has not yet received the attention it deserves. This is the expansion of the Āryans beyond Indian frontiers towards the east and south-east. The history of Indian Āryans usually begins with their settlement in the Punjab, and ends with their expansion over the whole of India as far as Assam in the east and Cape Comorin in the south. This is, however, an arbitrary line of distinction for which there does not seem to be any great justification. For the Āryans never regarded the hills or the sea by which India proper is bounded as the natural limits of their advance, and boldly crossed them over to the other side. Their achievements in these regions are but vaguely known but the more one thinks on this subject the more is one forced to realise that the Indianisation of these countries to the further east was probably as complete in the ancient period as at present in the Dravidian countries within the frontiers of India. The study of Indian civilisation must therefore be regarded as imperfect unless we take into proper account the achievements of the Indians in these regions.

Half a century ago, there were nothing but vague legends and traditions to guide us in our study of this subject. But the archaeological investigations of the French and Dutch scholars have yielded most interesting results, and there is already a great deal of fruitful study in this direction. Unfortunately the results of this study are embodied in journals written in foreign languages and little is known in this country. Hence the indifference of Indian scholars to this most fascinating branch of study. It is time, however, to make a serious beginning, and in order to draw the attention of the scholars to this subject I am dealing with a few preliminary points in the present paper.

I propose to discuss, first, the routes by which the Indian colonists went; secondly, the antiquity of these colonies; and thirdly, the nature of civilisation that these colonies had established in these far off lands.

I. As to the routes, the Āryans proceeded both by land and sea. Regarding the sea route, there seems to have been emigration both from eastern as well as the western coast. From a very early period there was a regular trade intercourse between the coast of Bengal and the Far East. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka reference is made to a voyage between Cāmpā and Suvannabhūmi. Similarly passengers from distant inland cities
The king had the title 'Mahārāja' and the people probably used an alphabet of Hindu origin. It was a great centre of Buddhism. According to local traditions Avalokiteśvara came directly from central India to convert it. There is a tradition that towards the close of the 8th century A.D. when the king of the country was inclined towards the Chinese civilisation he was abused by seven religious persons of India. Buddhism had a strong hold in this region and we find the Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the Grāhakūṭa, the Kukkutapāḍagiri, the stone mansion of Upagupta and the stūpas containing the relics of Ānanda, all in the neighbourhood of Nan-Chao. In the first half of the 9th century A.D. a Hindu Bhikṣu of Magadha named Candragupta led a brilliant career of Thaumaturgist in Yunnan.

There were two other Hindu kingdoms between Nan-Chao and the Indian frontier. To the east of the mountain ranges that border Manipūr and Assam there was the Brāhmaṇ kingdom of Ta-tsin. About 150 miles further east beyond the Chindwin river was another Brāhmaṇ kingdom just to the north of the town of Ngan-si. Thus we find Hindu settlements all along the hilly tracts between the frontiers of India and China, in the Upper Valleys of the Chindween, Irawaddy, Salween, Mekong and Red River. That the Indians proceeded south along these rivers is also fairly certain. The kingdoms they established in Burma at Prome, Taung, Lower Pagan and other places is too well known to be described in detail. There are indications that similar Hindu kingdoms existed in the Laos country. It was formerly known as Mālavadeśa. Ptolemy refers to its eastern part (mod. Luang Phrah Bang) as 'Dasana' which, as Gerini thinks, is probably derived from the Indian name 'Daśārṇa'. Gerini suggests that as the original 'Daśārna' in India denoted the eastern part of Mālava it was, by analogy, given in Further India to the corresponding portion of the Indo-Chinese Mālava i.e. Eastern Laos. Gerini has traced the Indian origin of many other place-names in Indo-China and has collected many traditions about the Indian colonists associated with those places. He has summed up his observations in the following sentence:

"From the Brahmapatra and Manipūr to the Tonkin gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pāli languages in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments after the Hindu style, and employing Brāhmaṇ priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the Court and State. Among such Hindu monarchies we may mention those of Ta-tong, Upper Pagan, Prome, and Sen-wè, in Burma; of Muang Hang, Chieng Rung, Muang Khwan, and Daśārna (Luang Phrah Bang) in the Lau country; and Agranagara (Hanoi) and Campá in Tonkin and Annam." 1

Although some of the conclusions of Gerini are based on mere philological grounds which are not always very reliable, the facts stated above make it quite clear that there were a good many Hindu Kingdoms in the interior of Indo-China which was not easily accessible by sea, and which must therefore have been reached by the Indians by means of land-route. On the whole, strong and conclusive evidence supports the hypothesis advanced long ago by Sir Arthur Phayre, and recently advocated by Gerini viz., 'that a double stream of emigrants from India flowed into Indo-China at a very early period'—one, proceeding from the north advanced overland, through Bengal and Assam, along the valleys, of the Chindween, Irawady Salween and Mekong; the other reached Indo-China by sea.

Gerini and other scholars have, however, held that only the Indians of the Malabar and Coromandel coast colonised Indo-China by the sea-route. But there is nothing to support this view. As has been said above, Bengal also undoubtedly played a great part in this colonisation through its well-frequented harbour Tâmralipti. So far at least as the few historical evidences go, they prove a close association of Bengal with Indian colonies in the south and east throughout the Hindu period.

Reference has already been made to the Jaina and Buddhist stories about the voyage of merchants from Campê to Suvarâabhûmi. We know from the Chinese records that the king of Fou-Nan (comprising Cambodia, and Cochín China) sent an ambassador to India about 240 245 A.D. and that the embassy reached the mouth of the Ganges at the end of a year. In the fifth century A.D. a king of Campê called Gaṅgârâja abdicated the throne and went over to India in order to spend his last days on the banks of the Ganges. About the same time inscriptions were engraved in Guptâ character in Malay Peninsula. Four hundred years later we find an ambassador of one of the colonial states in the Court of Devapâla. The Tibetan annals tell us that during Nayarâla's reign Buddhist Bhikkhus proceeded to Suvarnadvipa for education. In the thirteenth century A.D. we find a queen of Campê called Gaudendralâkṣmi (probably a princess of Gauda). All these evidences certainly show a far more intimate connection between Bengal and Indian colonies than has yet been recognised.

Further, most of the traditions preserved in the different colonies refer to their original country as situated in northern India. It is true that the traditions have very little value as historical facts. But it is impossible to ignore altogether the general view-point of all these stories regarding the original home of the colonists and the methods of colonisation.

According to Burmese tradition, a Sâkya chief of Kapilavâstu came with an army to the country of the middle Irawady, long before Buddha was born. The dynasty he founded ruled for 31 generations in Burma when they were overthrown by an invasion of an eastern tribe coming
apparently from China. About this time there came a second band of immigrant Kṣatriyas from Gangetic India. Their chief married the widowed queen of the last king of the previous dynasty, and established a new kingdom. This was the origin of the ruling dynasty of Upper Burma. 1

According to the traditions of Arakan the first king of the province was the son of a king of Benares who settled at Rāmavatī, a name which still exists in a corrupted form Rambyi or Rāmri. 2 The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the kingdom of Cambodia in the following way.

"Ādityavamśa, king of Indraprastha, was dispossessed with one of his sons and banished him from the state. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide arose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand and the king overpowered by her charm agreed to marry her. Then, the Nāgarāja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would-be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country, built a capital for him, and changed the name of the kingdom into that of Kāmboja.

The same tradition, in a changed form, occurs in an inscription of Campā dated 658 A.D. Speaking of the origin of Cambodge it says:

"It is there that Kaundinya, the greatest among Brāhmaṇas, planted the javelin which he had received from Āśvattthāman son of Droṇa. Kaundinya married the daughter of the Nāga king named Somā and from this union sprang up the royal race."

A still earlier version of the story, current as early as the first half of the third century A.D. occurs in a Chinese history compiled at the beginning of the sixth century. Referring to Fou-Nan, a kingdom comprising modern Cochin-China and Cambodia, it says:

Formerly the country was ruled by a queen called Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of Ki called Houn-t’ien who saw in a dream that a spirit gave him a bow and asked him to take to sea in a junk. Houn-t’ien went in the morning to the temple of the Deity and found the bow at the foot of a tree. Then he got into a junk and sailed to Fou Nan. The queen Lieou-ye saw the junk and collected her soldiers to resist him. But Houn-t’ien raised his bow and shot from afar an arrow which passed through the side of a ship and struck somebody in the interior. Lieou-ye was struck with terror and submitted and Houn-t’ien married her."

Now Houn-t’ien is an exact Chinese transcription of Kaundinya and we know from another Chinese version of the story that he practiced the.

1. Phaya—History of Burma, pp. 7 ff.
2. Ibid, p. 12.
Brāhmanic cult. This story is therefore the earliest of the different versions and it must be noticed that it is the most credible of them all. It explains, in a quite natural manner, the conquest of Fou-Nan by Indians by means of superior military power, and the social alliance between the new-comers and the old settlers. It may be added that the tradition of their origin was faithfully kept by the later kings who called themselves as "Śrī Kaunḍinya-Soma-dhūtṛ-prabhavāḥ" or as belonging to 'Somā-Kaunḍinya-Vaṁśa'. Somā, the female originator of the race being the daughter of Soma, the dynasty was also called 'Soma-Vaṁśa.' 

No doubt this appellation was to a great extent inspired by the Indian tradition of the great Somavamśa. As a proof of this we find an attempt on the part of the rival Cambodian kings to trace their descent from Sūryavamśa. According to legend they were descended from Mahārśī Kambu Svāyambhuva belonging to solar race, and the Apsara Merā. Thus Jayavarman II, a king in the 9th century A.D., is called in his inscription "Śrī-Kambu-Bhūhyā-in-a-vamśa-lalāma-gopā" or guardian of the best solar race of king Śrī-Kambu". Sūryavarman I of the eleventh century is called Sūryavamśajo and Jayavarman II of the 12th century "aṁśumāla-vamśodbhavo". But this tradition about Sūryavamśa apparently had no strong hold on the people, for, generally the kings of Cambodge adopted the tradition of Fou-Nan and called themselves descendants of Kaunḍinya and Somā and as such belonging to Somavamśa.

II. The facts and legends quoted above unmistakably prove the Indian colonisation of the territories named at a very early date. If we now seek to find out more precisely the time when these colonies were established, we find ourselves in great difficulty in the absence of any definite evidence. The utmost that we can do is to lay down a time limit before which these colonies were accomplished facts. Three different lines of argument point out the first two centuries of the Christian era as this limit.

In the first place Ptolemy writing about the middle of the second century A.D. has used quite a large number of geographical names of Sanskrit origin in Indo-China.

Secondly, when the Chams or the people of Annam appear in history towards the close of the second century A.D., they were already under a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty, and the inscription of Vo-can written in correct Sanskrit about the second or third century A.D., show them to have thoroughly imbibed the Indian civilisation.

Now the royal author of the Vo-can inscription at Campā calls himself the descendant of Śrī Māra. On the other hand the Chinese refer to the foundation of the kingdom of Campā at 192 A.D. by one

whose personal name was Lien, and family name Kiu. It is probable that Śrī Māra was the same person as Kiu-Lien, but whether this is true or not we know of the definite establishment of a Hindu kingdom in Annam about second century A.D.

Thirdly, the Chinese had intercourse with the Hindu kingdom of Fou-Nan in the first half of third century A.D. At that time the throne was occupied by an usurper, and two kings had ruled before him for a period of 93 years. This takes us back to the first half of the second century A.D. as the date of the foundation of the royal dynasty.

Fourthly, an ambassador from one of the smaller Hindu kingdoms, Lang-ya-Sieon (identified with Tenasserim) who visited the Chinese Court in 515 A.D., is reported to have said that their kingdom was founded more than four hundred years ago. 1

All these evidences agree in referring the Indian colonial kingdoms to a period not later than the second century A.D.

But although this may be regarded as the lower limit of the date by which Indians must have established kingdoms in these distant colonies it should by no means be regarded as the upper limit also. The very fact that the easternmost part of these colonies, viz., Annam, came under the sway of the Indians not later than the second century A.D., would naturally push back by a few centuries the date of the beginnings of political activity of the Indian colonists in these regions. Further, colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, would be pushed back still further.

This hypothesis, self-evident as it is, has recently been challenged by a distinguished scholar. The question arose out of the interpretation of a passage in Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra which runs as follows:

"Bhūtapūrvamabhitapūrvam vā janapadam paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhisyandavanamanena vā niveśayet (By sending excessive population of his own country or carrying away people from other countries (a king) should colonise new or old settlements)."

Commenting on this passage, Jacobi argued that new colonies in the above passage could only refer to countries on the east and south-east of India, i.e., Indo-China, as the Deccan had already been Brahmanised by the time when Kauṭiliya wrote. As Jacobi held that Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra had been composed in the time of Maurya Candragupta, he found in the above passage a reference to Indian colonisation in the Far East in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. Professor Finot opposed this view on two grounds. First, that although the whole of India was Brahmanised, there remained vast unoccupied space within the country itself which could

offer facilities for colonisation, and the passage of Kautilya need not therefore necessarily refer to Indo-China. Secondly, he held that on the available evidence it is impossible to date the Hindu colonisation of Indo-China before the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Professor Finot's first argument is eminently sound, but the same cannot be said of his second. As has been already shown above, the available evidence shows that the Hindus had established political authority in Indo-China at least as early as the first two centuries of the Christian era, but that almost necessarily proves the existence of colonies long before that period.

III. About the time when the Indians gradually penetrated into Burma and the countries further east, these were settled by savage tribes. Those in Burma were Mongoloid in character and akin to the present tribes of Abors and Miehmis. The people of Indo-China and of the islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo were Malayo-Polynesian in character. "In native traditions the early inhabitants of the coast, specially near the mouth of the Salween river, are represented as savages, called in Burmese Bilu, the equivalent of Rākṣasa. They rejected all intercourse with civilised men and even Gautama himself who, it is fabled, came to the country, was stoned and driven away by them."1 The Chinese also speak of the people of Annam in the same strain. "They are we are told 'so savage that they do not know cultivation and live by fishing and hunting alone. They are turbulent people who frequently rise in revolt, invade the Chinese official quarters, burn, pillage and massacre wherever they go, and take refuge in their impenetrable forests whenever they are attacked by a strong army.' 2

It was the mission of Indian colonists to bring this heterogeneous mass of barbarians within the pale of civilisation, a task which the Chinese, their next-door neighbours, had hitherto failed to accomplish.

As a matter of fact the political conquest of Further India and the adjacent islands was rapidly followed by a complete cultural conquest. The local people readily assimilated the new civilisation and adopted the religion, social manners and customs, alphabet, literature, laws and administrative system of the conquerors. We state only a few characteristics under each of this head, for it is obviously impossible to give here a complete picture of the new civilisation 3.

1. Phayre—History of Burma, p. 27.
2. T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 228.
3. The picture of civilisation that follows is based entirely upon Inscriptions. I am preparing a collection of these inscriptions, and the first volume, containing the inscriptions of Campā (Modern Annam) is in the press, to be published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.
Religion.—The worship of Brahmap, Viṣṇu and Śiva and of the Śaktis of the last two gods was the principal feature of the religion. Homage was also paid to other minor gods or demigods like the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Water, Fire and Wind. Śiva was known under various forms such as Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, Īśana, Bhima, Rudra, Mahādeva and Ugra and was worshipped in his linga form. Śiva was looked upon as the most powerful of all the gods and most costly temples were dedicated for his worship. Bhagavati, Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka, and Skanda the War-god were duly worshipped and Nandi and Garuḍa, the Vāhanas respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular.

Social.—The social hierarchy of the Hindus was adopted and the people were divided into four castes—Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Of course the rigidity of the caste system was absent and marriage between different castes was in vogue, as was the case also in India in early times. King Vrāntavarman of Campā, i.e., Annam, laid down that there was no greater sin than the murder of a Brāhman, and on the whole the predominance of Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas is marked throughout. The kings belonged to the Brahma-Kṣatriya race, probably the result of a mixture between the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas. The system of administration followed closely on the lines of Indian monarchy. The king's power was more or less absolute. He was duly consecrated and the royal umbrella was held over him. The crown-prince, called Yuvarāja, had to be accepted by an assembly of the Grandees. That this too was an Indian custom is proved by Rāmāyaṇa which describes how Daśaratha convoked an assembly and proposed to them to consecrate Rāma as Yuvarāja.

Law.—Law and administration of justice was also based upon Indian practice. Mutilation of limbs was practised and Indian law books like the Smṛtis and the Sahāhitās served as their basis of law. The trial by ordeals was not unknown.

Alphabet and literature.—The alphabet was purely Indian, slightly modified by local characteristics. The Indian literature was the fountain source of their knowledge. Works written in indigenous language were neglected and Sanskrit works alone were thought worthy of being studied. Any one who wanted fame by literary composition wrote in Sanskrit and we have got remnants of a work called Artha Purāṇaśāstra written during the reign of Jaya Harivarman I. The large number of Sanskrit inscriptions that have already been discovered give us a fair indication of the extent of knowledge in Sanskrit literature possessed by the people. They tell us that the people cultivated the study of the Śāstras, literature including Epics, the Grammar of Pāṇini with its commentary, the Kāśikāvṛtti, the Horāśāstra or Astronomy, the six systems of Philosophy commencing with Mīmāṃsā, the doctrines of Buddha, the law books chiefly of Nārada and Bhārgava, the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites and the
64 Kalās. That this picture is no exaggeration is proved by the inscriptions themselves written in good Kāvya style.

Art and architecture.—Along with Hindu literature Hindu music was also cultivated in these far-off lands. Last but not the least in importance was the influence of Hindu ideas upon Architecture. The Indian temples, stūpas and the sculptural motifs make their appearance in these far-off lands. The wonderful monuments of Borobudur in Java and Angkor Vat in Cambodia have elicited the admiration of the world. An idea of their magnificence will be apparent from the fact that the series of sculptures, depicting Indian themes, in Borobudur alone, would, if arranged consecutively in a row, extend over nearly three miles of ground. For nearly one thousand years the Indian colonists had persevered in adorning these far-off lands with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class. But at the end of that time, as happened in India, they disappear as if at the touch of a magician’s wand.’ The case of Java is a typical one. In the year 1479 the last Hindu dynasty was overthrown by the Muhammadians. Fergusson describes the sequel in the following words: “Then occurred what was, perhaps, the least expected event in all this strange eventful history. It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools, and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved, that is worth even a passing notice.”¹

Thus in every respect Indian civilisation made a thorough conquest of these lands, and a new India was established in that far-off country. The Indian colonists even tried to complete the transformation by importing the celebrated place-names of their motherland into their new home, and thus we find new towns and countries called Ayodhyā, Kośāmī, Śrīśastra, Dvārāvatī, Mathurā, Cāmpa, Kaliṅga, Kāmboja, and Gāndhāra springing up hundreds of miles away from their namesakes.

¹ Fergusson—History of Indian and Eastern Architecture; Vol. II, p. 491.
POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MEDIAEVAL TRAVANCORE.

BY

MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., TRIVANDRUM.

The researches of scholars have conclusively proved that ancient India was not unacquainted with representative popular Government, that institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth had also flourished in India long ago from the early Vedic and post-Vedic days, when such corporate bodies as the 1 "samiti, sabhā, the mantri-parisad and the council of ordinary ministers," are known to have played an important part in the administration of the country, and that India was not always the land of civil strife and anarchy before the auspicious era, when peace and prosperity followed in the wake of Britain's occupation.

In Kerala, more than in any other country, where the spiritual domination of the Brāhmaṇ was so pronounced from early days and where the administration of the land was, according to tradition, theocratic and intimately connected with the temple as nucleus, similar popular institutions existed from an early past. But in this home of the world-famous forests whose abundant timber had supplied, the chief and almost the only building material, there is unfortunately a shortage of early lithic records which alone could have supplied us with much valuable data; and, apart from the literary testimony embodied in the Śaṅgam works such as Śilappadikāram, Padippagam, Puranāṇuru etc., which give us an idea of the advanced state of civilisation of the West Coast in the early centuries of the Christian era, our knowledge of Kerala history has now to depend mainly on tradition and the available records of a comparatively later date. I propose in this short paper to collect the evidence furnished by some of the Travancore inscriptions ranging from the 9th to 12th centuries A.D. which, though not containing such epoch-marking information as the famous Ukkal and Uttiramarūl records of the 10th century A.D., may yet establish in their own limited capacity that mediaeval Travancore was not quite a stranger to the principles of popular government.

The Keralālppattī, a Nambudiri-composed (?) Malayālam work of no great antiquity or authenticity, but purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early kings gives the following 2 interesting account of the origin of kingship in ancient Kerala:

1. Corporate Life in Ancient India, Chapter II.
The country of Kerala, which was reclaimed from the ocean by the warrior-saint Parasurama, was originally gifted away by him as brahmadeya to the Brähmans of the land, in expiation of his initial matricidal and homicidal sins. This landed aristocracy, which was distributed among the sixty-four brahman settlements comprising Kerala, conducted a joint administration of the country for some time; but finding the system unworkable on account of petty jealousies and inter-locine dissensions, they tried the experiment of rule by Baksāpurusas or 'Protectors' who were elected from among themselves for short terms of three years each from the four important villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Perunjellūr and Cenganiyūr, in which had been installed four great assemblies or kalakams, representative of the sixty-four colonies. This policy was, on experience, also found to be a failure, owing to the high-handed opportunist tendencies of the elected protectors, who made the most of their short spells of power to aggrandize themselves at the expense of others and the State. The Brähman oligarchy were thereupon forced to import Viceroy from adjacent countries for fixed periods of twelve years each, to afford them the necessary military protection and get as remuneration the impost of raksābhōgam, aggregating to a sixth of the land produce; but as an effective check on the growing power of these foreigners, four new assemblies were formed at Paravūr, Mūlikkalam, Ayirānikkulam and Iriñjālakkuda, which were situated near enough to the capital, Kōdungōlūr and to each other, unlike the other four which were so far apart, as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These councils had their halls called talis (Skt. sthali) in the capital itself, the Neñiyataḷi, the Mōḷaḷi, the Kiltaḷi and the Cingapuretaḷi representing respectively the four great assemblies mentioned above; and their presidents called the taḷiyādirimār (or taḷiyēlvām) were selected celebrities from certain influential families. (These latter presumably formed the king's cabinet of ministers, whom he had to consult in all matters.)

Though this narrative appears to be slightly apologetic of the Brähman supremacy in the land, composed as it may have been by a member of that community, and has such an utter disregard for historical sequence as to import an Āņegundi Kṛṣṇaraṇya to the rescue of the bewildered Kerala Brähmans in the 4th century A.D., a few at least of its general particulars seem to have been based on some correct tradition current at the time of its compilation; for its account of the early experiment at

---

1. Compare also verse 69 of the Sūkasandesām, (13th cent.):—

वा च येषां भवति नृपतिविवहोऽराजनृपतिः
प्रामाण्येण बहुर इह ये महाभ्रणेऽनुविदः
शस्त्रे शास्त्रेषु व गुद्गुप्तमार्गमेवते या
विप्रवेद्यतैविषिन्धसममत्वायावलेषु स्त्वलेषु
popular Government made in Kerala is in a way confirmed by what we find in some of the inscriptions of Travancore, in regard to the administration of the country in general, and in its religious side, in particular.

The earliest copper-plate document, that has hitherto been discovered in Travancore and that is palaeographically attributed to the beginning of the 9th century A.D., is the record of the 12th year of the reign of Rajaśekharadeva. 1. The Cera king, who has been given the imperial birudas of Śrīraja, Rājadhirāja, Paramōvara and Bhaṭṭāraka, and who has also been identified with the traditionary contemporary of his compatriot, the great Advaitin Śankara of the same period. This plate, which relates to the arrangements connected with the daily routine of worship in the Tiruvārulvāy temple, mentions in its preamble that the representatives of the eighteen nādus or sub-divisions which comprised the Tiruvārulvāy District and the residents of the township of Valapalli met in assembly in the immediate presence (tirukkaikkil) of king Rajaśekharadeva and made some regulations regarding an item of service in the temple:

'Tiruvārulvāy padaṇṭunāṭṭurum Valaipalli-urārum kūdi Rajaśekharadevar tirukkaikkil vaittu leyda kaccam'—Rajaśekhara plate.

Next in point of time, come the famous Kottayam copper-plate charters, 5 of the reign of king Stbānu-Ravi. (c. 870-900 A.D.) which granted certain social privileges to the Christian colony at Quilon headed by the influential immigrant Maruvān Saphir Iśō and some land for the upkeep of the church called the Tariśappalli, which he had erected there. This document has the following preamble:

'Koyiladhikāriγa Vijarākādarēvar utpāda irundarulī pidi-naḍatti nirttuliyōdu kūda Ayyonadigal-Tiruvadiyum ilaṅgūru vālinva. Rāma-Tiruvadiyum adikāraram prakṛtiyum arunurruvarum Punṉaiṭaltalip-patīyum Pulatikkuḍīp-pattiyum utpāda vacu,' which states that, under the presidency of Koyiladhikāriγa Vijayarāgadēva, an important assembly was convened consisting of:

(1) Ayyonadigal-Tiruvadi, the Governor of Vēnādu at that time under the Cēra king, Stbānu-Ravi.

(2) Rāma-Tiruvadi, probably the crown-prince, who was administering the ilaṅgūru, or a portion of the Vēnādu province.

(3) the prakṛti or the ministry ṛprakṛti also connotes the seven constituent elements of the State:

स्वाम्यालाणो पुरं राज्य कोष्ठाणो मुख्यतः ।
सम्प्रकट्यो श्रेष्ठ: सताङ्क राज्यमुख्यते ॥

2. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 81-84.
(4) the adhikārar or important executive officers;

(5) the Maṅigrāmam and the Aṅjuvanānam which are already known to scholars as the names of two semi-independent trading corporations enjoying certain distinctive privileges up to criminal and civil administration within their own respective jurisdictions;

(6) the Puṇṇaṭtalai-pati and the Pūlakkudi-pati, who were the pati or the headmen (grāmanī) of the two suburbs of those names in Quilon: and

(7) the assembly called the Arunūṟruvar or 'the six-hundred', which may not have consisted actually of this unwieldy number of members, but may perhaps have been a council representative of a community known by that name, which controlled the affairs of a certain district: (compare, the Muṇṇūṟruvar or 'the three-hundred' of Nāṟṟupelai-nadu and the Nāṟṟuvar or 'the hundred' of Cittūr-Cochin State).

The fact, that the presence and consent of all these parties were deemed essential for the authentication of the Christian charters, indicates the important position that a representative form of Government held in the country's administration.

The title of Kōyiladhikārī which has been applied in this document to Vijayarāgadeva requires some explanation Kōyil means 'a palace or a temple' and adhikārī is 'an officer' and Dr. Gundert has translated the title into 'the Palace Mayor': but it appears to be more appropriate to take it in the significance of 'Devasvam-Commissioner' or 'Director-General of Temples'. The primary importation of the foreign Viceroys into Karāla was, according to the tradition embodied in the Keralōḷppattī, for the purpose of administering the vast demesne (saṅkētām) of temples on behalf of the effete Brahman proprietors. When in course of time the official machinery grew more complex, and greater power began naturally to centralize in the ruler's hands on account of the responsible position which he occupied in the executive, this work of supervising the numerous temples of the land appears to have been handed over as a distinctive function to the heir-apparent, who, in addition to thus relieving the king of a portion of his work, received also therefrom the necessary preliminary training in general administration. In minor temples, the chieftain and executive officers called the Nāṉvālis and Dēsvālis or influential members of the village called the Urāṉmakkārar were the subordinate
local representatives of the royal kōyiladhikāri. This sacerdotal supervision is still a royal prerogative in Travancore and Cochin, and the Rāja of the latter State styles himself even now as ‘Perumbadappu Gangādāra Vira-Kōraḷa Kōyiladhikāri!’ in the documents relating to temple property.

The Māmballī plate of the Venādu (Travancore) ruler Śrīvallabhāngōdai dated in the Kollam year 149 corresponding to A.D. 974, is the next in sequence; and it records the significant fact that even an apparently unimportant gift of land to the Ayirūr temple made by his consort Ādiroṣa-Umaiyanmai of Tirukkalaiyapuram was ratified by the king on the occasion, when the great men (perumakkal) of the pariṣṭai (Skt. pariṣad-assembly) of Tirukeyanur had assembled in the elevated archery-hall (kōṭṭil) of the Paṇaiṅgāvu Palace at Quilon.

\[ 'Kollattu Paṇaiṅgāvuṅg kōyilāl uvarīya kōṭṭilāl Tirukeyanur pariṣṭai-perumakkal kūṭtam küdi irundaruḷḷeyatu nirōḍattī koduttām Venāuduḷḷaya Śrīvallabhāngōdai.' \]

The numerous inscriptions of Indu-Kōḷai (c. A. D. 955-71) and Bhāskara-Ravivarman (A. D. 978-1036) contain information of a similar nature which establishes beyond doubt that temple administration, in particular, was effectively conducted by corporate bodies.

Each village temple had its own assembly consisting of the important residents of the village and of responsible temple officials, and was presided over by the Deśavāḷis, the headmen of villages which were the administrative units of those days) or Nāduvāḷis (who were chiefs of a higher status capable of maintaining a militia of Nāyars at least a hundred strong and governing a large tract of province), who represented the king as a kōyma in these councils. Instead of under the village tryesting tree, usually a banyan, a tamarind or an aśvattha with its open platform called the maṇḍra, which had no attraction in the rainy West Coast, the assembly of a Travancore village generally met in the sheltered portico-hall (vādilmāḷam) or the drama-hall (kūṭṭambalam) of the local temple (mukkūḷvaṭṭam), which were convenient communal rendezvous for the village elders, brahman and other, to meet and deliberate on their parochial politics, and occasionally also on topics of greater public moment. The poduvāḷ or the madhyastha (arbitrator), sub-divided into the agappoduvāḷ, the purappoduvāḷ and the ippoduvāḷ according to his duties, was an important personage in these assemblies. There were also the vāriyar or general supervisors, the perumudiyar, the

ulpādar etc. who were connected in some way or other with particular items of temple service.

One record ¹ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in the 33rd year of his reign (c. A. D. 1011) and another ² of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikārīgal assignable to about 1098 A. D. which are both of them found in the Viṣṇu temple at Peruneyal (Ceṅgaṇācēri taluk), contain some interesting information in regard to the part played by the ministers in the temple administration. The first epigraph states that the influential residents, members of the assembly and the poduvāḷ (madhyastha) of Peruneydal met in council and assigned 80 kalams of paddy as the āṭṭaikkōl or the yearly impost which was to be paid to the Kōyiladhikāri. On being informed of this resolution, the ministers (amaiccu) were pleased to ratify it in an official order, authorising the Kōyiladhikāri to levy just this stipulated quantity of paddy and no more. The other record mentions that the royal order of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikārīgal assigning to the Peruneydal temple his own incomes of impost and arandas (a tax?) leviable from the same village, was first approved by the ministry and that it was then communicated through the agency of two other officers, to the pati (headmen) of the two villages of Muttūru and Kāpāli̇mangalam, who thereupon promised to abide by the new rules of tax-exemption and had this order engraved on stone and set up in the temple-compound. The Tamil texts of the particular portions of the records are as follow:

(1) "Peruneydal ūrum paraḍaiyārum poduvāḷum kūdi ēnpadiṅ kalan nel Naṅṟulai-nāṭṭu āṭṭaikkōḷaka koduppāṅ-amaṅįjūr amaiccuḷ-urutta" and,

(2) "Āṭṭaikkōl namakkāramum Mābūrataṭam tiruvullam paṇṇi-yaruliyār amaiccuḷ-uruttiya Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikārīgal."

One other point deserving of mention in the preamble of this latter record and of another ³ belonging to the same king dated in Kollam 273 (= A.D. 1102), is that he has been described as having been surrounded by the four talis, both at the capital and in camp.

(1) "Naḷu-taliyaiyum Tirukkuṇṟappōlaiyum kutṭikkonḍu Neḍiyataḷ irunnaruḻi".

When the king was present in Nediyatali having taken with him the four talis and Tirukkuṇṟappalai-Peruneyal;

3. Do. Vol. V. p. 44.
We the four tālis, the thousand five-hundred, the ruler of the district, Vikkiraman...and other feudal barons were assembled under 'the aegis of the kingin the Paṇaiṅāvu palace at Kurakkōni-Kollam'. Quilon.

As has already been explained, tālī a 'temple' denoted also the assembly-hall at the capital and by metonymy, the presidents of these councils; and these presidents, in addition to forming an advisory board to the king at his capital, appear to have also accompanied him in his state tours to the different vicerealties of his kingdom. Tirukkuṟṟappōlai is the name of an important sankatam with the Edappalli Raja at its head, and this chief appears to have also formed part of the royal cortege. The detailed mention of the circumstances under which the council met, the place of meeting, and the constituents who formed the council, gives one a fair idea as to the definiteness of the administrative procedure of those days.

Another interesting inscription ¹ is found engraved on a slab of stone, which must have originally belonged to Quilon before its present transplantation in the outer corridor of the Napier Museum at Trivandrum; but its possible importance is much vitiated by the damaged condition of the record, of which only a small portion can now be satisfactorily deciphered. The existing traces seem to register some transaction made in the Kollam year 229 (=A.D. 1053) by the people of the eighteen seaports (paṭṭiṅam), thirty-two vellams, sixty-four kadigai-tāvalam, the setti-merchants of the tāvalam, the kavarai and 'the thousand five-hundred' of Kurakkōni-Kollam. As Quilon was a great maritime centre in the eleventh century A.D. and as the parties involved in the transaction were the residents of sea-port villages and tāvalams (or halting stages on the water-routes), this inscription may perhaps have contained, in its entirety, some useful data on the customs-regulations of the time.

The Quilon record of date 1102 A.D., mentioned above, contains another piece of interesting information, namely, that in expiation of the sin of his enmity with the Āryas (brāhmaṇas), the king made some donations in land for the expenses of conducting worship in the temple of Rāmāśvarasvāmin at Quilon. Epigraphical researches have accumulated quite a large number of instances to show how expiatory donations were forced from private individuals who had been guilty of injury to others.

1. Inscription No. 1 of 1096 M.E.
which sometimes culminated in accidental homicide; but this is another
instance wherefrom it is seen that even kings and chiefs were not exempt
from the rod of correction, and that, either voluntarily or under the
moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called
the yōgams, they had to make ample amends for their acts of
 petty tyranny and coercion. The Chronicles of the Padmanābbhasvāmin
temple at Trivandrum which have furnished certain facts for the compila-
tion of the Travancore State Manual ¹ cite the following cases also:

(1) Vīra-Keralavarman (A.D. 1344) had to pay some land com-
pensation to the survivors of certain Brāhmans (dēśikal)
whom he had murdered, and another similar donation to
the Trivandrum temple for having assaulted some temple
servants;

(2) Vīra-Mārtāṇḍavarman (A.D. 1381) had to pay a penalty
for the wasteful loss of human life in a battle at Kiliṃānur;

(3) Vīra-Rāvivarman (A.D. 1416) had to make amends for having
misappropriated property belonging to certain Brāhmans;

(4) Vīra-Rāmavarman atoned for certain atrocities by the gift
of an elephant to a temple."²

These penalties were called garvakkaṭṭu or amercement for high-
handed conduct. But although the records try to cover up the sting of
forced penalty by the euphemism that the expiatory donations were made
on the king’s own volition, there is no doubt that great power was wield-
ed by the assemblies over and above the king himself, in matters relating
primarily to temple administration; and this fact gets further exemplifica-
tion in the later activities of the eṭṭaraiyōgam or ‘the Committee of 8 ½
votes’ (the king having a bare half vote, the other eight being the mono-
poly of eight influential families), which brewed considerable mischief in
the later days of Travancore history, sometimes even bouding the king
into tight corners.

In another copper-plate record ³, dated in Kollam 343 (=A.D. 1168)
when Vīra-Udayamārtāṇḍavarman was the heir-apparent governing the
silāṅgūru (minor) portion of the Travancore kingdom, certain regulations
were made in regard to the internal administration of the temple of Tiru-
pārkadal-Bhaṭṭāraka near Kiliṃānur, one of which related to the
appointment of a supervision-committee of ten members from certain
influential centres. These men were to hold office in annual batches

---

² Malabar Quarterly Review, VII. p. 133.
of two at a time and look after the temple accounts in such an honest manner as not to utilise anything for themselves, but they were given some land as a remuneration for their work. It was also stipulated that on their vacating their seats, either by absence or demise, their eldest sons were to take their places on the temple committee of management.

From the foregoing paragraphs, it will be seen that assemblies and other corporate bodies of the people in Travancore had a large hand in the administration of temples and their vast landed resources, that the other departments of Government must naturally have been conducted on similar lines, that the arbitrary powers of the rulers were much circumscribed by the restrictions placed on them by the popular assemblies, and that the kings were answerable to the people for their own good conduct and for just government.
be sung in various tunes or rāgas in praise of God Raṅga Viṭṭhala. Most of them are highly lyrical poems depicting the life of Kṛṣṇa as described in the Bhāgavata, (10th skanda), and few of them deal with the polemical questions of his days. There are hundreds of them available even now in manuscripts and a few of them have come out in print. Thus the first step was taken by Śripāda, himself a sanskrit scholar and writer, to write as well in Kannada, the vernacular of his country, the philosophical literature of the Dvaitic school which could be found till then only in Sanskrit.

The reasons for this bold departure on the part of an orthodox sanyāsi imbued in sanskrit learning from childhood must have been very weighty indeed, though not evident to us at this distance of time. His were the days of great religious controversies and the criticisms levelled against the Dvaita Philosophy must have been of a very serious character as could be seen from the prominence given by the writers of those days, in their works, to the controversial questions bearing on Madhva’s doctrines. During such hairsplitting logical discussions, ordinary minds might have had their faith shaken in their own religion and shown signs of changing their creed. Moreover, just previous to this time, Viraśaiva writers had produced a large quantity of Viraśaiva literature in the Kannada language and its influence on the population was great. As a set off against this influence and to keep the followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith within their fold by removing all their doubts regarding the validity of their own philosophical doctrines in simple and non-technical language and also to infuse the devotional spirit amongst them, the tevāranāmam or the religious songs seem to have been written. Thus, Śripādarāja was one of the earliest among the Brahmin writers in the Kannada language, perhaps including even Kumāra Vyāsa-[(1508) A.D., date of his Mahābhārata] The Āvārs of the Tamil country had done this for their religion in South India many centuries earlier than this, and Śripādarāja did a similar thing for his religion. His successors especially Vyāsarāja and Vādirāja continued this work with great enthusiasm and the former has given to the Kannada country the two most famous Vaiṣṇavite devotional songsters— Purandara Dās and Kanaka Dās, both of whom lived at Vijayanagar for a considerable time.

The ascetic Śripāda in addition to his being the head of the Sanskrit Academy of Philosophy and starting the school of vernacular religious poetry among Vaiṣṇavites, seems to have wielded much influence in the courts of the contemporary kinkgs of Vijayanagar and Gajapati Kingdoms. This influence over his royal patrons seems to have been more an inheritance from his spiritual preceptor Pārāśurāma Tīrtha rather than one newly acquired by him and it seems to have culminated in the ascending
of Śripāda Rāja on the imperial throne of Vijayanagar in the last decade of the 15th century.

Śripādarājaśṭaka a work written by one of the successors of Śripāda, eulogises him in the conventional language usual in stotras recording many events of his life, and also mentions two historical personages, Vira Narasiṅga Rāya Nṛpati and the Gajapati King of Orissa, who seem to have both honoured him. [Also another king is mentioned, but he is not identified. This reference shows Vādirāja, Raghunātha Tīrtha and Śripāda Rāja were invited for meal by that king. So Śripāda Rāja could not be much older than Vādirāja]. The Aṣṭaka mentions that Vira Narasiṅga Rāya Nṛpati resigned his great throne effulgent with light (Ujvala mahā sihmāsana) to Śripāda Rāja who sat on it and expiated him from the sin of Brahmahatyā. Thus a brief reference to a very short lived occupation of the Vijayanagar throne Śripāda Rāja has been made; but who the king was that resigned the throne is not clear. He must have been either Narasā, the father of Kṛṣṇadevarāya or Vira Narasiṁha, the half-brother of the latter king. The confusion here is due to the fact that the father Narasā was also called Vira Narasiṁha (Vide Kumāra Dhūriṭi’s Kṛṣṇarājavijayam and Epigraphia Carnatica Shimoga, No. 64 of 1506 A.D.) It may be argued that the King referred to in the Aṣṭaka was Saluva Narasiṁha, but as he has not been anywhere mentioned as Vira Narasiṁha but as Saluva Narasiṁha or Katari Saluva, he is to be rejected as the least likely.

Next, according to the newly discovered Vyāsasyogi Caritam, when Narasā entered the City of Vijayanagaram as king (about 1495 A.D.), Vyāsa Tīrtha was there and was highly honoured by him. Since it appears that Śripāda Rāja was at Vijayanagar for some time staying with his disciple Vyāsa and also Purandara Dāsa who was Vyāsa’s disciple according to a statement by the son of Purandara Dāsa this must have occurred only after Narasā’s entry into Vijayanagar and thus Śripāda Rāja and Narasā should have both lived for sometime together in the City of Vijayanagar. It is likely that the enthronement of Śripāda Rāja should have taken place sometime during this period, i.e., about the year 1495 A.D. So it seems to me that the king referred to in the Aṣṭaka is the father Vira Narasiṅga Rāya and not the son Vira Narasiṁha.

It was a custom with the Hindu emperors to celebrate Tulābhāram (i.e., weighing against gold) and similar ceremonies in places like Tirupati Rāmasetu etc., and wash off their sins of omission and commission in the waters of those places. King Vira Narasiṅga Rāya did many such

* This book was discovered by Mr. B. Veṅkoba Rao, Dy. Commissioner of Bangalore and is now in print.) Its author is one Somanātha who writes very high campus style employing Śāśālāmkāra practically through the work. It is very surprising that his existence was not known till now and that on his excellent poetical production had been lost to the world for so many centuries.
purificatory ceremonies as records show and as a further step in his expiatory ceremonies (for, his murdering the two sons of Saluva Narasimha the claimants to the throne should have tormented him in his old age) he seems to have resigned the throne to Śrīpāda Rāja and requested him to sit on it which he did.

The enthronement of Śrīpāda Rāja and the reason mentioned thereafter in the Śrīpāda Rāja Aṣṭaka may appear fanciful to some of us. But considering that Rāmakūṭaśekas and Kanakābhīṣekas and Tulābhāra ceremonies, which we can only hazily imagine in these days were the order of the day in the Courts of Vijayanagar Kings, the enthronement of a sanyāsi on the imperial throne need not create any stir amongst us. Nor was there any need even for the Vijayanagar Emperor, who did such a thing to get much perturbed in resigning his throne to that ascetic, because the latter would have been the first person to return it safely back to him. Moreover, if there had been no enthronement, the name of an earthly ruler, like Vīra Narasimha would not have been mentioned in a poem in which only the miraculous powers and the spiritual greatness of a recluse have been described solely for purposes of daily prayer by his followers.

So, assuming that the Aṣṭaka's account of enthronement is correct, it seems to have taken place within a few years after 1495 A. D.—the date of Vīra Narasimha's entry into the capital as Emperor and the cessation of his military activities.

The actual period during which Śrīpāda Rāja wielded kingly authority must have been naturally very brief, and during this period, he should have made great grants of land and money for the worship of gods and the study of the Vedas. Politically considered, his period as a ruler might have been a most insignificant one. But from the cultural standpoint, the period should have been most noteworthy. The impetus and encouragement given for religious study and sanskrit scholarship should have been immense. An ascetic on a throne, reflects, on the part of the Emperor who resigns his throne, a realisation of the smallness of his worldly glories, and in the popular mind, it is a symbol of the eternal superiority of divine wisdom over worldly knowledge, of philosophy, over science, and finally of spirit over matter.

Vyāsa Tīrtha, the famous disciple of Śrīpāda Rāja, far surpassed his master in fame and scholarship. The exact date of his birth is not known, but there is no doubt that he was living in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century. Tradition has made him a Karnāṭaka Siṃhāsanādhisvara and in support of it there are literary evidences in the contemporary Kannada Vaishnavite literature, in Vyāsavijaya (a work of about 140 ślokas said to have been written by Srinivāsa-Tīrtha, the successor of Vyāsarāja on the pontifical seat of
Vyāsaraṇa Mutt), and in the newly discovered Vyāsayogisacaritam which is now in print. But the details as to the time and circumstances of his sitting on the throne are not yet clear.

It seems to have taken place during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. Since he was engaged in warfare away from his capital till 1514, the year of his entry into Vijayanagar, and since he was at Tirupati in 1523 making grants to Vyāsa Tirtha and thereafter went on a long pilgrimage to the South, the event of enthronement must have happened sometime between 1514 and 1523 A.D.

The tradition goes to say that a period of disaster caused by planetary conjunctions by name, Kuhū yoga (Kuhū—New moon day probably due to the fact that it occurs on New-Moon days) was awaiting the king and that to escape from this, he made Vyāsa Tirtha sit on the throne in his stead, as it was probably thought that he could withstand the effects of the yoga by virtue of this ascetic powers.* That there is a great deal of truth in this traditional account the following facts will show:—

That Vyāsa Tirtha was the donee of several grants from king Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from 1516 A.D. to 1527 A.D., i.e., for a period of 12 years or more is quite evident from the Epigraphical records published till now. That he lived at Vijayanagaram for a considerable period is evident from the newly found Vyāsayogisacaritam the contemporay Kannada Vaishnava literature and other evidence. Nuniž, the Portuguese Chronicler as an eye-witness about the year 1530 A.D. describes him as a brāhmin, who never got married nor touched a woman and was daily teaching religion to the king (probably to king Aycuta Rāya). These facts go to show that Vyāsa Tirtha had profoundly impressed the royal house of Vijayanagar by his scholarship and saintliness and that his influence was indeed very great extending over a long period. So supposing that either Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya or Aycuta Rāya had thought of seating some Sanyāsi on the throne as a means of escape from some impending disaster, then they could not but have chosen Vyāsa Tirtha for that purpose. That the choice should have fallen on Vyāsa Tirtha will become more probable, if we recall now that his Vidyā Guru, Śrīpāda Rāja had on a similar occasion formerly sat on the throne of Vira Narasimharāja—a predecessor of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

Now, turning our attention to the account of the battle of Raichūr in Sewell's Forgotten Empire we find therein that Friday, the 18th May 1520 A.D. was a new moon day and was quite inauspicious for the king—so inauspicious that even a hero like Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya with an

* The statement Vyānavijaya that an elephant garlanded the ascetic Vyāsa Tirtha and consequently that he sat on the throne may be true; but that the ascetic qualities of Vyāsa made the king choose him seems to be more probable, for both had known each other very intimately for a long time.
army of several thousands quite confident of success on the battlefield, had to stop the battle and proceed with it only on the next day. When even a foreigner like Poes who never believed in the customs of the heathen Hindus should have observed this New Moon-day particularly as being quite unlucky for the king and considered it worthy of recording in his chronicles as a great historical event, one could gauge the seriousness with which the occasion should have been viewed then. It is most probable that Kuhū, or the New Moon day yoga should have occurred on this date and caused the enthronement of Vyāsa Tirtha and given him the appellation of Vyāsa Rāj as he calls himself. Vyāsavijaya mentions that on this occasion he was proclaimed as "Gaja Gahmara Sīhmaśana Gatha Prabho." The devotional sons of Purandaradāś and his successors describe this incident over and over again. Vyāsa Yogiścaritram gives a most glowing account of the enthronement of Vyāsa Tirtha in a language of highly poetic imagery. Considering that the author of this last work was not a co-religionist of Vyāsa, but as his name and other literary evidence in his work show should have been a smārta or a follower of Bhāgavta Sampradāya,) there could be no doubt about Vyāsa Rāja's enthronement, and this event so far as available evidences go, seem to have occurred on the 18th May 1520 A.D. Further careful study of the newly discovered work Vyāsayogiśa Caritram and other contemporary works and records may throw additional light on the great personality of Vyāsa Tirtha and the contemporary history of Vijayanagar.
ŚRĪRAṆGA III OF VIJAYANAGAR.

BY

MR. R. SATYANATHIA AIYAR, M.A., L.T., TRICHINOPOLY.

"A brave man struggling in the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state."

1. *His Early Life.*—Śrīraṅga, the nephew and successor of Veṅkaṭa II, is referred to by scholars as Śrīraṅga or Raṅga II, III or VI. The form Śrīraṅga is kept here as it is found in inscriptions and literary works. Dr. Hultzsch mentions Śrīraṅga as the sixth of the name, but he was not inclined to consider whether the Śrīraṅgas who preceded him were emperors or not. Mr. Robert Sewell gives the genealogical table as arranged by Dr. Hultzsch and disavows any responsibility for the numbers attached to the names.1 As Śrīraṅga, the successor of Veṅkaṭa II, was the third of that name to rule as emperor, it is proper to regard him as Śrīraṅga III. He is referred to as Śrīraṅga II, probably on the ground that Śrīraṅga Cikkarāya, the nephew and successor of Veṅkaṭa I, did not occupy the throne for any appreciable length of time; but the duration of his reign is immaterial to our present purpose, and even if he had been sovereign for a few days only, he must be reckoned as Śrīraṅga II. So the emperor who succeeded Veṅkaṭa II was the third Śrīraṅga.

The date of Śrīraṅga's accession to the throne is the 29th of October, 1642: Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstri quotes the authority for this statement.2 The existence of an epigraphical record of Śrīraṅga, dated 1630, probably indicates that he had been selected as yuvārāja by Veṅkaṭa II soon after his succession. If so, Śrīraṅga had sufficient time before his accession to the throne to gain knowledge of imperial affairs. Though he seems to have been on good terms with the emperor till his death, he was opposed to the policy of his uncle towards the feudatories of the empire. Veṅkaṭa II appears to have loved peace at any price, and during his reign the anti-imperial attitude of the provincial rulers was not properly dealt with. He wished to avoid the embarrassments of war. He must have known the aims of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, but he probably thought it inadvisable to force him into implicit obedience. Though the tribute of Madura was not regularly paid, no serious measures

---

were taken to prevent such an irregularity. The Kuniyur Plates of Venkata II (1634) show his amiable relations with Tirumala Nayaka, but the subordination of Madura that record implies could have been only nominal. Both laboured diplomatically to maintain peace between themselves and adjust their differences. But Tirumala Nayaka's growing power was not checked. On the whole the emperor lost the game substantially. In the light of these considerations, supported by contemporary Jesuit records, the following observation of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri may have to be revised: "Venkata (II) appears to have for a time revived the supreme sovereignty of the Karnata kings, which was found to be fast declining." The character of Sriranga was very different from that of Venkata (II); his was not a pacific temperament. His ability and courage prompted him to a complete reversal of his predecessor's policy.

2. Problems he had to solve. An important problem which confronted Sriranga on his accession was his relations with his feudatories, especially with the Nayak of Madura. Though Mysore was as strongly inclined to independence as Madura, if not more, the opposition of Tirumala Nayaka to the empire loomed large. Probably his personality and strength of will gave a special character and magnitude to the question of the imperial policy towards him. Another vital question related to external defence. After 1636, the date of the Mughal settlement with the Dakhani Sultanes, their activities against the Hindu empire might be renewed at any time. Upon the solution of the internal problem depended a proper consideration of the problem of defence against foreign enemies. Sriranga resolved to deal with Madura first and thought of putting the empire on a stable basis as a preparation for protecting it from the Muhammedan encroachments. Mr. Krishna Sastri says: "According to Mr. Foster's extracts, the Muhammedan kings of Golconda and Bijapur began to invade the territories of the Hindu king in 1642, immediately after the death of king Venkata-pati (II). They are even stated to have occupied the whole country on the coast." The Jesuit letters mention the Muhammedan invasion as the result of Sriranga's dealings with the Southern Nayaks.

3. His Struggle with Madura and the Dakhani Sultans.—Soon after his succession, Sriranga declared war on Madura and was not prepared to waste time in negotiations. As crown prince, he might have studied the policy of Tirumala Nayaka and come to the conclusion that an appeal to the sword must be made. At the head of a 'formidable' army, he marched to the south to crush his great feudatory of Madura. For more than a

generation Madura had exhibited hostility to the empire. The period following the death of Venkaṭa I (1614) found that province definitely committed to an anti-imperial policy. So Tirumala Nāyaka only continued the long-standing opposition of Madura to the empire. It is definitely mentioned by Jesuit writers that Mysore set the example of provincial insubordination and this example was followed by Madura. Tirumala Nāyaka probably believed that the inconspicuousness of the emperor would continue even after Śrīraṅga's succession to the throne; he had too long been accustomed to Venkaṭa's acquiescence in his policy to expect a sudden exhibition of imperial authority against him.

Tirumala Nāyaka was a resourceful man; he entered into an agreement with his neighbours of Tanjore and Jinji with a view to arrest the progress of the emperor. When the Nāyak of Tanjore divulged the schemes of his allies to Śrīraṅga, the latter turned on Jinji. But Tirumala's disappointment did not lead to the cancellation of his plans. To save himself from the wrath of the emperor, he sought the help of the Sultan of Golkonda by inviting him to attack the imperial territory. The movement of the Golkonda army forced the emperor to make a retreat and defend his own dominions. Śrīraṅga succeeded in defeating it and securing its withdrawal. This was a great triumph for him as the Muhammadans sustained serious losses.

The Sultan of Golkonda made active preparations to regain his reputation. When his attack was delivered, Śrīraṅga found his own position untenable. He now thought that his salvation lay in the wholehearted support of his Nāyak feudatories of the south, and entered into negotiations with them. Encouraged by their new attitude—his revised terms were accepted by them—he worked with them to devise plans for the expulsion of the Muhammadans from their recent conquests. It is to be noted that Śrīraṅga preferred to reconcile himself to an alliance with these rebels rather than invoke the aid of Mysore (or probably he sought it and failed) either against the Muhammadans or against his recalcitrant feudatories.

Śrīraṅga's new policy did not produce any satisfactory result. It is said that he "spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts, and pleasures, during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. Rejected again by the Nāyaks, Narasinga established his court in the forests of Kalīnās (lying to the north of Tanjore), where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him." It is not known what exactly prevented the success of the plan of joint action proposed by Śrīraṅga and accepted by his feudatories. The above extract from Jesuit records shows that the Nāyaks were not solely responsible for the
unhappy termination of the emperor's promising career. Śriṅga became an emperor without an empire. This miserable position of his is confirmed by the notice of the French traveller, Thevenot, that "the king of Bissagar ....... was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains,"1 and by the reference Ṣivatāvatratnākaram to the loss of his capital Vellore and to his "wandering without a home."

Śriṅga's hard forest life soon came to a close. His appeal to Kanṭhārava Narasārāja of Mysore (1638-59) relieved his miseries, and the emperor is said to have received "a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank", which went far beyond his expectations. It is creditable to Śriṅga that he was not inclined to remain a well-fed guest of Mysore. When the Muḥammadans returned home after their conquests, he bestirred himself and, with the help of Mysore, recovered a portion of his old territories. He defeated the Golkonda army which advanced to attack him.

To this part of Śriṅga's career may be ascribed the services of Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkōri to the empire, recorded in the Śivatāvatratnākaram.2 This Sanskrit work mentions the capture of Vellore by Śivappa Nāyaka and the numerous honours conferred upon him by the emperor. It places that achievement some time after Śriṅga's "wandering without a home". So the reference is probably to the second victory of the emperor mentioned by Jesuit writers. The Rāmarājīyamu says that "once Śriṅga Rāya marobed from his capital against the hill fort of Udayagiri, which was occupied by the Kutub Shah, and utterly defeated him."3 Mr. H. Krishnā Šāstri refers to Śriṅga's defeat of the "Moors" in 1644, according to the extracts quoted by Mr. Foster in the Founding of Fort St. George, and suggests that this authority perhaps refers to the event mentioned by the Rāmarājīyamu.4

The Jesuit records specify two different occasions when Śriṅga was successful against the Sultan of Golkonda; the second time with the help of the Mysore army. From these records it is clear that his first attempt was for driving the Muḥammadans out of his dominions, which had just been occupied by them during his absence in the south. When he made a second attempt, he was the first to take the field, and his object was to recover the territories he had lost, not, as in the former case, to repel an army dispossessing him of his dominions. So the Śivatāvatratnākaram and the Rāmarājīyamu may be taken to refer to the later success of Śriṅga and Mr. Foster's extracts to his earlier victory.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History p. 347.
3. Ibid. p. 311.
The progress of Śrīraṅga towards the recovery of his dominions was nullified by the activities of Tirumala Nāyaka, who was frightened by the possible consequences to him of the united efforts of the Mysore ruler and Śrīraṅga and who therefore invoked the help of Bijapur. The intervention of Bijapur resulted in the defeat and flight of the emperor and in the loss of the prestige of Mysore. Thus Śrīraṅga's second attempt to recover his empire was also a failure. He was “obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests, where he led a miserable life.” Mysore was in no mood to invite and help him again; Kanṭhirava probably thought that a repetition of his generosity would mean a recrudescence of his recent troubles. Śrīraṅga’s two separate efforts to re-establish the empire curiously ended in his expulsion to the forests twice. The cup of his misery was now full.

4. His Appeal to the Mughal Emperor.—Professor Jadunāth Sarkar refers, on the authority of the Adab-i-Alamgiri, to two futile appeals which Śrīraṅga secretly made to the Mughal emperor, Shab Jahan, through Aurangzib, Viceroy of the Dakhan, for protection against Bijapur and Golkonda; the first in 1653 and the second, two years after, in 1655. It is said that the Vijayanagar emperor was willing, on the second occasion, to pay 2½ crores of rupees, 200 elephants, and all the jewels in his possession, besides an annual tribute, as the price of Mughal protection. He was further inclined to enrol himself as a Mughal jaghirdar and even prepared to embrace Islam, if such a condition was imposed upon him. ¹ This account throws light on the serious situation in which Śrīraṅga was placed. That such was his position we understand from the Jesuit records and, to some extent, from the other authorities. There is exact correspondence between the double appeal made to the Mughal emperor, according to the Adab-i-Alamgiri, and the betrayal of the Vijayanagar emperor twice by his feudatories, in the language of the Jesuit fathers. Śrīraṅga must have become desperate beyond description after his second disappointment, which was preceded by a great hope of the rehabilitation of his imperial position, based on the good-will of Mysore—an additional source of strength to him. In the intensity of his disappointment, it does not seem unlikely that he made promises, otherwise incredible, to the Mughal emperor, even compromising his position as a Hindu ruler. The hard conditions to which he was ready to submit exhibit him as a great man who, exposed to peculiar misfortunes, was prepared to sacrifice almost all his cherished possessions for the recovery of his lost territories. The Adab-i-Alamgiri records ² the subsequent attempts made by

---

Sriraṅga in 1657 and 1658. This is intelligible in the light of the furious wars between Mysore and Madura in the last years of Kāṇṭhbirava Narasa and of Tīrumala Nāyaka (both of them died in 1659), which are described as "the Wars of the Noses" by Jesuit writers. Though the campaigns of Kāṇṭhbirava Narasa were not conducted on behalf of Sriraṅga, they could have been thought, by those to whom the Adab-i-Alamgīr is indebted for its information, to be for the restoration of the Vijayanagar emperor, as that Mysore ruler had ostensibly worked for him before for some time. There are no sufficient grounds for thinking that Sriraṅga continued his imperial efforts during the years referred to above, (1656—59) though their continuation is not improbable.

5. His Life after 1659.—The life of Sriraṅga after the death of Tīrumala Nāyaka and Kāṇṭhbirava Narasa is very obscure. The throne of Madura was occupied by Cokkanātha Nāyaka from 1659 to 1682 and that of Mysore by Dōvarāja from 1659 to 1672 and by Cikkadōva Rāya from 1672 to 1704. The available information about Sriraṅga may be summarised as follows:

(a) Jesuit evidence.—Father Proenza's letter of 1662 contains a reference to Cokkanātha Nāyaka's 'daring project,' viz., "to drive the Mughals (the Dakhan Sultans) from all the countries they had invaded, to re-establish the ancient king (the ex-king) of Bīsnagar in his country, (and) to give Jinji to its Nāyak." It is surprising that there is no other specific reference to Sriraṅga in the Jesuit letters after 1659. Probably his movements were not known to the authors of those records or they thought that he had ceased to be an important factor in South-Indian politics. Father André Freire's letter of 1678 says that Sivāji seized several provinces of Vijayanagar and that, by his capture of Vellore he became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, as he had already been master of Jinji. The reference here may well be to the territories which once formed part of the Vijayanagar empire. The letter of 1682, written by the same Father, gives the information that the sovereign of Vijayanagar had already been deprived of his dominions. So the later fortunes of Sriraṅga cannot be traced with reference to the Jesuit accounts.

(b) Other literary evidence.—Thevenot, after mentioning the expulsion of the Vijayanagar emperor from his dominions by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, notes: "(He was) constrained to fly into the mountains, where he still lives." Obviously the reference is to 1666-7, during which years that French traveller visited Bhagnagar (the capital of Golkonda) and Masulipatam.

The Cikkadēvarāya Vamśāvāli describes the relations of Mysore with Ikkēri. It is said that Śivappa Nāyaka, after ascending the throne by murdering his brother, sent his representatives to the Court of Cikkadēva Rāya to conclude an alliance between the two kingdoms. When that offer was rejected by the Mysore ruler, Śivappa Nāyaka espoused the cause of Śrīraṅga, ceded to him the two districts of Hassan and Belur, and declared war on Cikkadēva Rāya.¹

So it is clear that Śrīraṅga was alive after 1672, the date of Cikkadēva’s accession to the throne, and the war referred to must have been waged after that date and after the succession of Śivappa Nāyaka to the throne of Ikkēri. According to Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar, Śivappa’s accession “may be put down a couple of years later at the most.”²

(c) Inscriptional evidence.—Śrīraṅga’s Bellary inscription of 1663 mentions him as living then “at Vēlā puri on his jewelled lion throne.” Cokkanāṭha Nāyaka’s grants recorded in two inscriptions of 1663 and one of 1667 were made” in the reign of Śrīraṅgadēva Rāya.” Further the emperor is referred to in a record of 1678-79. These evidences, literary and epigraphical, show that Śrīraṅga must have lived for more than a decade and a half after his second appeal to the Mughal emperor.

6. The Battle of Erode.—An inscription of 1686 mentions the achievements of Cikkadēva Rāya: the defeat of the Lord of Madhurā in the Iroḍu country, the capture of Tripura (Trishinopoly), Anantāpur, Śāmbalī, Ömalūr and Dhārāpuram, and the death of Damarala Aiyapendra. An earlier record (of 1679) refers to the defeat of the Pândya king Cokka and the capture of Tripura and Anantāpur. A record of 1722 says that Cikkadēva Rāya “emulated the sports of (God) Kṛṣṇa in conquering the lord of Madhurā”. The question is when exactly the above-mentioned defeat of Cokkanāṭha Nāyaka and of his allies by Cikkadēva Rāya took place. Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar observes: “The battle that was fought at Erode must have taken place about the end of Dēvarāja’s reign, as the Mysore accounts state that Cikkadēva, while yet a prince, offered, when negotiations failed, to lead the army to victory. This battle may be dated somewhere about 1670 and was undertaken ostensibly in the interests of the emperor” (Śrīraṅga).³

The achievements of Cikkadēva Rāya detailed in the first of the above-mentioned inscriptions cannot be ascribed to the date of that inscription (1686) as those very achievements are stated in a summary form in the inscription of 1679. The dates of the inscriptions cannot be taken as the dates of the events recorded in them as is shown by the

---

2. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 138 n.
3. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 138 n.
information contained in the three inscriptions. An analysis of the Jesuit evidence confirms this view and gives some indications of the probable date of those events.

Father Mello's letter of 1686 states: "In the south, the petty rājas.....continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, which is too weak to preserve its conquests..... Sāmbāji mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign."

This account is followed by a description of the internal troubles of Mysore which culminated in a civil war and in the siege of the fortress of Mysore, in which the king had shut himself up. Father John de Britto's letter of 1683 says: "The power of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because, violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sāmbāji, he cannot sustain and reinforce the armies he had sent to these countries. The provinces he had conquered there shake off his yoke gradually." Father André Freire's letter of 1682 contains an account of the Mysore Dalavāy, Kumārajaya's siege of Trichinopoly, of his attempts to come to terms with Cokkanātha Nāyaka owing to the proximity of the armies of Sāmbāji and Ekojī (Veṅkāji), of his final resolve to withdraw to Mysore in safety, and at last, of his defeat and capture by Sāmbāji's general. Kumārajaya is referred to as having been invincible till then. The subsequent misfortunes of Mysore are mentioned, i.e., the loss of the province of Dhārāpuram and other neighbouring territories. It is said that the king of Mysore appealed to the Mughal emperor for help against the Marathas. The same Father's letter of 1678 says: "The king of Mysore took possession, without striking a blow, of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north." His letter of 1676 gives the information that "Mysore...fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura." It is noted, in the same letter, that Cokkanātha Nāyaka was involved in "disastrous wars, an account of which was given in that letter (of 1673)"; unfortunately this letter has been lost.

Therefore the lower limit of the date of the battle of Erode may be fixed at 1674. Its upper limit is 1666 as far as the Jesuit evidence goes. Father Proenza's letter of 1665 describes the military achievements of Cokkanātha Nāyaka. Father André Freire's letter of 1666 says that "all the political events of this year consist in some changes of ministers". For the history of the period between 1667 and 1674 we have not the guidance of Jesuit records as far as they are known to me.

A study of the inscriptions tends to shorten the period to which the battle of Erode is to be ascribed. Cokkanātha Nāyaka's epigraphical records in the Coimbatore and Salem districts are found up to 1668-69. From 1669-70 to 1671, the inscriptions of Dēvarāja and, from 1673, those.
of Cikkadēva Rāya are frequently found in those regions. It may therefore be taken that the battle of Erode was fought between 1669 and 1674.

All this evidence goes to support Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar's view quoted above. One important detail noted by him is that, at the time of the battle, Cikkadēva had not become king of Mysore. If this literary notice is not incontestable, the battle of Erode may be ascribed to 1672 or 1673. It is not unlikely that an organised attempt by the South Indian powers was made at a time when or some time after there was a change of rulers. The death of Dvārarāja might have given a suitable occasion for upholding the imperial claims of Śrīraṅga even nominally, and the hostility of the confederates might have at first consisted in questioning the succession of Cikkadēva Rāya and urging the claims of the emperor. Though there is nothing decisive to show that the missing letter of Father Andrés Freire, written in 1673, gave an account of the events of that year or of the previous year, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was written shortly after the battle of Erode, on the ground that the Jesuit Fathers were inclined to record important events as early as possible as is attested by their chronicle of Sivāji's Karnāṭic expedition and of other historical happenings.

7. His Last Days and Death.—It is not definitely known how long Śrīraṅga was alive after the battle of Erode. He took refuge in Bodnur, and Śivappa Nāyaka is recorded to have given him an honourable reception. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar sums up the indications given by literary evidence, and takes Śrīraṅga to at least 1675.1 He refers to a silver plate grant in the possession of Mr. Jayanti Rāmaiya Pantulu, issued by Sivāji to the widow and sons of Śrīraṅga, in which it is noted that the emperor died a fugitive 'in the west country'.2 The date of the grant is not given, and Dr. Aiyangar says that the genuineness of the grant is not established beyond doubt. It does not seem necessarily to follow that Sivāji made that grant while he was in the South in 1677, though such a supposition is quite reasonable. It may have been issued some time after that date in accordance with his instructions. Evidently the date of Śrīraṅga's death cannot be taken later than that of Sivāji's, i.e., 1680. The inscription of 1678-9 (Kālayukti) found in Madura, which mentions him, may be the last record about him.

Mr. H. Krishna Śastri remarks that "Ś. 1587 (A. D. 1665)......is the latest sure date for Raṅga VI (Śrīraṅga III)".3 The record of Ś. 1585 (A. D. 1663) seems to be the last one issued by the emperor. The inscriptions of Ś. 1587 (two), 1589 and 1600 (A.D. 1665, 1667

---

1. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 134 n.
2. Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 312 n.
and 1679) say that they were issued "in the reign of Śrīraṅgadēva Rāya." These records cannot, by themselves, establish the final date of Śrīraṅga. But it may be noted that there are records of A.D. 1678 mentioning Śrīraṅga and Veṅkaṭa. The next mention of a Veṅkaṭa is in an inscription of 1680 and of a Śrīraṅga Rāya in one of 1692. It is not unlikely that the last record of Śrīraṅga III is that of A.D. 1678-9, as the series of inscriptions mentioning him continues without a break up to that year. All the evidence pointed out in this section tends to leave a broader margin for the date of Śrīraṅga's death.

8. Estimate of his Character and Life.—Śrīraṅga was a more courageous and talented emperor than his nerveless uncle Veṅkaṭa II. Perseverance was the dominant note of his character. Undaunted by repeated disappointments, he persistently attempted to infuse life into the almost moribund imperial system. When driven to extremities, he was inclined to sacrifice his all, provided that such a sacrifice would ward off the extinction of his empire. Though he must have realised by bitter experience the difference between life in the palace and that in forest, and though he was driven from pillar to post, he endured all "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" with remarkable courage. Though his two successes against the Dakhân Sultans were each time followed by a most desperate moment in his life, and though he was kicked like a football by feudatory after feudatory, he could not be forced into passivity. In the midst of a life of strange and tragic vicissitudes, he gave some attention to the work of peaceful times. Literary men were patronised by him, and it is well known how he encouraged in 1645-46 the activities of English merchants with a view to "secure the prosperity of his subjects by opening up the country for foreign merchandise."¹ He is eulogised by contemporary Jesuit observers as a ruler who was wiser than his feudatories and who "alone could save the country." There is no doubt that his personal worth deserved better results than those which attended his efforts.

Though a man of high ideals and abundant energy, Śrīraṅga is recorded to have once lapsed into fatuous inactivity detrimental to his interests. He is said to have lost much of his precious time by throwing himself into pleasures in the company of his Southern feudatories at a time when the Muhammadans were seizing his dominions in the north. There was a certain amount of precipitancy in his actions and movements which made his victories mere cases in the desert of his failures.

It does not appear that Śrīraṅga carefully calculated the chances of his ultimate success or estimated the amount of co-operation which his-

¹. A. S. I., Report, 1911-12, p. 198.
policy would secure from his feudatories Disaffection was not confined to Madura. If the facts of the situation had been known to the emperor, it is not easy to understand how he could have ventured on the war-path. Either Śrīraṅga was unaware of the extent of the opposition which an attempt to rejuvenate the empire would call into being, or he was confident that he could set things right unaided, seeing that the hostility between Mysore and Madura would prevent their combined action against him. He does not seem to have considered whether it was practicable to revitalise the empire in the teeth of strong provincial opposition. Ever since the battle of Talikota in 1565, the feudatories of the empire were learning to care more for their separate interests than for their common imperial interests. The civil war that followed the death of Veṅkaṭa I was damaging to the prestige of the empire, and it accentuated the diversity of provincial interests. Though the empire was formally preserved after that catastrophe and Rāmaḍēva and Veṅkaṭa II occupied the imperial throne in succession, the rule of these emperors only hastened the decadence of the empire. If Śrīraṅga had appreciated the character of his dangerous inheritance, he must have pondered over the possibilities of the renovation of full imperial strength. The only practical solution of the problem was perhaps the establishment of a common understanding for the preservation of common interests, without the assertion of the legal rights of the emperor, to the full and unquestioned obedience of his feudatories. If hostility to the empire had been confined to the minor provinces or to a small part of the empire, a different policy might have succeeded. But, under the circumstances, an arrangement which would conduce to concerted action against external dangers was alone feasible—the conversion of the nominal empire into a strong confederacy.

Whatever may be said against the policy actually followed by Śrīraṅga, his idealism commands admiration. His emphatic repudiation of Veṅkaṭa II's policy and his efforts to metamorphose the rickety empire into an actively functioning body invest his career with imperishable glory. His failure was a splendid one, and it was mainly due to the circumstances of the time and to the refractory attitude of Mysore and Madura. It was not loyalty to the empire that induced Mysore and Ikkēri to welcome Śrīraṅga in misery, but their schemes of self-aggrandisement. But it is easy to exaggerate the selfishness of the feudatories. In the case of the emperor, his own interests coincided with those of the empire. It is not true to say that Śrīraṅga was not in the least responsible for his failure. A less ambitious policy and a more considerate attitude might have secured the common interests of South India, without offending the susceptibilities of the feudatories of the empire. But the emperor and his major feudatories were all blind to their own real interests and those of their country.
"PUṢYAMITRA—WHO IS HE?"

BY

MR. H. A. SHAH, BOMBAY.

Puṣyamitra is a prominent figure in classical Sanskrit literature. The drama of Kālidāsa has preserved him from obliquity and the connection of Bhāṣya kāra Patañjali as a priest at his sacrifice has sustained our interest in his personality. Apart from these facts, he has his own place in the dynastic lists of Purāṇas. We propose to bring together everything stated about him and to suggest true interpretations of certain data, which, we urge humbly, have been loosely thought about. With due deference to scholars who have contributed mightily towards discussions we will point out certain defects which have unconsciously marred their efforts.

One general notion about him is that he is a Śuṅga king and that he killed his master Maurya Brhadratha. Bāṇa has cited two examples (in his Brhadārlī, in book VI) which have fostered these impressions.

"प्रानुषदुर्बङ्ग च बलदेवनास्यपदेशदलिताःश्रृःशैलः
सेनानारायणोऽवसर्य बुद्धलघ्व पिपेश पुष्पमित्रः स्वाभिनम् " //

"अतिक्रस्सक्षरणमभवतः शुक्रमात्यो वसुदेवो
देवभूतिदासीदृष्टिर देवघर्णाशय सीतजीवितमकारयत् " //

We would not have thought of challenging the statement of such a learned figure in literature; but older information as preserved in the Matsya Purāṇa leads us to conclusions different from his. The state of chronology or knowledge of it in his time is least assuring. We know from Hieun Tsiang (629—645 A.D.), his contemporary, that ‘Buddha Nirvāṇa was calculated (in those days) to have occurred in about 1200 years, 1300 years, 1500 years, above 900 years and under 1000 years according to different authorities’ (cf. Watter’s ‘Yuan Chuang,’ Vol. II, p. 28). This is sufficiently damaging for claims to exact records and so we are tempted to take up the clue the Matsya-narration gives, in spite of the great authority of Bāṇa.
That Matsya-Purāṇa-narration is a record of considerable antiquity and worth a genuine history has been brought out by Mr. Pargiter in his studies (cf. Introduction, Purāṇa Text of the "Dynasties of the Kali age," 1913). His conclusions may be briefly cited with advantage.

Versions of the Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas present a remarkable similarity in their close agreement (Para 3): so do the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas (Para 4). They all point to an original source which may be styled Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Para 9). The Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas must have been sanskritized versions of Prākṛta original as several traces of Prākṛta influence betray (Para 15). Matsya Purāṇa stops its narration much earlier than what the Vāyu Purāṇa and others do (Para 20): hence, it appears that the versified chronicles were first collected about or soon after the middle of 3rd century A. D. (Para 21). The Matsya Purāṇa borrowed from the original Bhaviṣya Purāṇa the shorter account, about (say) the last quarter of 3rd century (Para 23). The Matsya Purāṇa version is older than those of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa...it is somewhat crude at times (Para 24.) "Where variations occur, I have endeavoured to choose the most weighty, it being remembered that the Matsya Purāṇa gives the oldest version, a Vāyu Purāṇa the next and all other copies of Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas the third recension." (Para 32).

Let us proceed, then, with the Matsya Purāṇa.

What the Matsya Purāṇa has to say about Puṣyamitra and his dynasty is contained in its Ch. 272, vs. 26—32.

We are informed by it that from Mauryas, earth will pass on to the Śuṅgas (vs. 26) and that Devabhūmi, last in Puṣyamitra family, will be followed by the Śuṅgas (vs. 22) and Vasudeva who deposed him is a man of the Śuṅga family (vs. 33).

“इत्येव दश मौयाकृत्ये भोक्ष्यति वसुधराम्।
सताःप्रियां च पूर्ण तेम्यः षुक्ष्णां गमिष्यति॥ २६ ॥
भविष्यति मुतस्ततः देवभृति: समादश।
दृश्यते षुक्ष्णाराजाने भोक्ष्यन्तीमा वसुधरामः।
शतं पूर्णं दशं द्वे च ततः षुक्ष्णागमिष्यति॥ २१—३२ ॥
अमात्य बसुदेवस्तु प्रसद्या हस्तनां नृपः।
देवभृतिमयोपत्साय षुक्ष्णसक्षिप्त अभिविता नृपः॥ ३२—३३ ॥
"PUŞYAMITRA—WHO IS HE?"

We use the Matsya Purāṇa published in the Ānandārama series at Poona 1907.

It leaves no doubt that Matsya Purāṇa does not count Puṣyamitra as a Śuṅga and definitely implies that he is not a Suṅga. Later on while developing Āndhra succession, it tells us that Śiśuka, first of the enumerated Āndhra rulers, who will overpower Suṣārman (a Brahmin &c.), who will suppress the remnant of the Suṅgas, is of their caste. [सजातीयः] This view definitely attributes to Suṅgas the caste of Brāhmins which Puṣyamitra was not.

The text is as follows:

"चतवारिशिविज्ञाते कप्प्प प्रवृक्ति वै महीम्"
|| ३६  ||
"काव्यायनास्ततो भूपा: सुशर्मण: प्रसश्य नाम  
शुक्लानां चैव चच्चेष्ट अष्टिवा तु बलीयसः  
शिष्यकौशः सजातीयः प्राप्त्यान्यां बुचुप्पराम्"
||

Ch. 273, Vs. 1-2.

King Gautamiputra is styled in an inscription of his son as एकनयानस (cf. E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 59 ff.) which characterization is in perfect agreement so far as the caste of Śiśuka-Āndhra is concerned.

Even with the help of the Matsya Purāṇa it looked too audacious to challenge the veracity in Bāṇa’s illustrations. So the drama of Mālavikāgānimitra was hunted up; but throughout, no evidence of the hero or Puṣyamitra styled as Suṅga turned up. Instead, we came across a verse in act IV sung by the hero that it was the hereditary vow in the family of Baimbikas, of sticking to दाक्षिण्य (Regard and honour for their consorts).

राजा—“दाक्षिण्यं नाम विभोरोषि वैष्णववांक नुल्लकार्तम्"
|| २४  ||

The king herein claimed seems to belong to those of Bimbis—perhaps those in whose clan or family king Bimbisāra, (a contemporary of Buddha and Mahāvira) best of Bimbis, flourished. Bimbisāra was a Kṣatriya by birth and is not known as a Suṅga.

Another statement of Bāṇa is that Puṣyamitra killed Maurya Bṛhadra. The Vāyu Purāṇa has the last Maurya ruler Bṛhadāśva and not Bṛhadra. The Matsya Purāṇa tells us something, quite different and of great import.
"पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीहुवल्य स बृहद्रथान्।
कारिण्यति वै राज्यं सत्त्विशचं समा नृपः।" || १७ ||

It means that the deposed Bṛhadāhas are not a single king but several of the family of the Bṛhadātha dynasty. Hence, if we have to look for the predecessors of Puṣyamitra, we have to look to the Bṛhadātha-dynasty and not the Maurya-dynasty. We saw before that the Matsya-Purāṇa-narration of successors to the Mauryas referred to the Sungas which Puṣyamitra is not; and hence, Puṣyamitra cannot be understood to have followed the Mauryas. In this way the second statement of Bāṇa is found to be untenable if we follow strictly the Matsya Purāṇa. We therefore leave aside what he says in favour of what we glean from the Matsya Purāṇa and follow it in the chronology it suggests. We did the same in our paper on the date of Mahāvīra with respect to Kāṇva and Āndhra chronology. Here we take up the Bṛhadātha chronology. Matsya Purāṇa has recounted the Bṛhadātha kings in Ch. 273, vs. 17-30. It professes to give an account of 32 kings for a period of 1000 years. The start is made with the termination of the Bhārata war but the end is not so definitely stated here which is quite unusual with its mode of narration. Hence, we have to connect the link from the following chapter where we are told that Puṣyamitra deposed them.

The kings actually counted are not 32 but 22 and the total made up is not 1000 as proclaimed but 825 years only. This is how the list runs according to the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas,

"अत् उच्चः प्रवक्त्यामि सागरा ये बुद्धीवा।" || १७ ||

पूर्वं ये जरासंहातः सहदेवत्वं नृपः।
अतीता वर्तमानाम् भविष्याञ्च निविदत्जत॥ १८ ॥

सहामे भारते दुनि सहदेवे निपातिते।
सोमाधिष्ठतस्य दायायो राजामूलं गिरिंद्रज॥ १९ ॥

........................................................................

रिपुजयस्तु वर्षमोंि पञ्चास्त्रान्त्यं मद्द्रीम।
द्राक्षिरां नृपः हेते भवितारो बुद्धिवा।॥ २९ ||

पूर्णं वर्षसहस्त्रं हु शेषं राज्यं भविष्यति।
जयतां क्षत्रियाणां च बालकः पुढ़को भवेत्।" || ३० || मस्त्यपुराण।
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Matsya Purana</th>
<th>Vaishnava Purana</th>
<th>Remarks as to agreement in years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name.</td>
<td>Years.</td>
<td>Name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सोमाधि</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>सोमाधि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>श्रुतावब</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>श्रुतावब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>अमरोपी</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>अमरोपी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>निरिभित्र</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>निरिभित्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>शुष्क</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>शुष्क</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>वृहत्काम</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>वृहत्काम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>सेनाजिञ्ज</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>सेनाजिञ्ज</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>श्रृंजय</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>श्रृंजय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>विधु</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>महावाहु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>शुचि</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>शुचि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>क्षेम</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>क्षेम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>अनुवत</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>अनुवत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>सुनेत्र</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>संजय (सु)नेत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>सिन्धुति</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>सिन्धुति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>सिनेत्र</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>सिनेत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>सुमृतसेन</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>सुमृतसेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>महानेत्र</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>महानेत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>अचल</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>अचल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>चन्द्रेत्र</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>चन्द्रेत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>सतीजिजत</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>सतीजिजत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>अर्जुन</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>अर्जुन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>रिपुजय</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>रिपुजय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Total</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>974</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated Total</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_N.B._—The total in the Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇa is 916 years. It counts 22 kings like Vāyu Purāṇa.

The above list shows what absurdities it contains; and along with them, what facts it preserves. Where the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas
differ about names we cannot control the difference. But where they differ in years, we take them as they state and find that at some milepost later on they again meet in their onward journey—meet in their totals, till finally, they meet to separate.

We may leave out the details therefore in favour of totals there being no other reasonable course; and the Matsya Purāṇa being the oldest, we stick to its total as the one which signifies some juncture point in history inferring that the Vāyu Purāṇa tried to give the whole detail of duration of the dynasty amounting to 974 years, which approximately agrees with the duration which the Matsya Purāṇa asserts, viz., 1000 years, a pretty round number when we find that the total is not in agreement with details.

The juncture point is, as stated by Matsya Purāṇa, the rise of Pulaka, at about 825 years of Brhadratha dynasty. "Pulaka established on throne his son (in Avanti) who ruled for 23 years and who was succeeded by Pālaka." It therefore means that since the Bhārata war, 348 (825 & 23) years had gone when Pālaka ascended.

The year of Pālaka is known well from the following Jain gāthās

"वीरिनिर्वाणकाठे च पालकोक्रामियेक्ष्यते |
लोकेषववतित्तुतो राजा प्रजानाम प्रतिपालक: " ||

I. A. Vol. XV P. 141 ff.

"जं रयणं कालगो अरिहं तिथ्यंकरो महावीरो |
तं रयणं अवन्तिवे अहितिचो पालगो राया " ||


It means that in Avanti, Pālaka was anointed on the very night Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. In other words the year of Pālaka is O. A. M. and therefore the Mahābhārata war must have taken place about 848 years before Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. If the Nirvāṇa year corresponds to 527 B.C.—and no doubt it does (see our paper on "The Date of Mahāvīra")—the great war occurred in about 1375 B.C.

So much for the starting point of the Brhadrathas.

For their end:—Their end (i.e. end of their power) came by Puṣya-mitra is what is told by the Matsya Purāṇa. Their end came when 1000 years were completed according to the Matsya Purāṇa or when 974 years were completed according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. In other words, their end came about 175 years after Ripuṇjaya and rise of Pulaka according to the Matsya Purāṇa (i.e., 1000 — 825 = 175 years), or 149 years after that event (i.e., 974 — 825 = 149 years) according to the Vāyu Purāṇa.
"Puṣyamitra—Who is He?"

As Pālaka is preceded by (a rule of) 23 years, the year of his anointment, for displacement of Rīpuṇjaya, we have to accept 23 years before the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. *Thence from 23 before Mahāvīra*, for 175 years (if Matsya Purāṇa is followed) or for 149 years (if Vāyu Purāṇa is followed), the Brhadrathas must have existed as minor power. It is equivalent to a period ranging from 23 years before Mahāvīra till 152 A.M. (or till 126 A.M.).

It must therefore be cire, 126 A.M. or 152 A.M. when Puṣyamitra must have flourished. This is the proper date for him. It is synchronous with the dates of the last Nanda and of Candragupta. The date of Candragupta according to Homaśandra (Parivāra VIII, 339) is 155 A.M.

एवं च | ? | महावीरसमुक्ष्यांतसंयोजिते गते | पञ्चपञ्चादशिके चन्द्रगुतोभवत्वः: ||

The result is that Puṣyamitra is an elder contemporary of Candragupta Maurya.

That the Brhadrathas were formerly in Girivraja (very near Rājaśghra capital of Bimbisāra) is according to Matsya.

सोमाविष्टस्य दायादि राजास्मूलः गिरिन्धे || Ch 271. १९ ||

It lends colour to the fact of Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra claiming descent from a clan or family of the Bimbis (in Mālavikāgnimitra IV 14) whose one great ruler Bimbisāra ruled at Rājaśghra very near Girivraja.

The early date of Puṣyamitra in about 126 A.M. or 152 A.M. is naturally the date of the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali. It is very close to that of Vararuci, whose death has been described by Hemaśandra in his Parivāra Parva Ch. VIII 82 ff. It happens within the period of a year of Sthulabhadra taking vows. The latter event happens according to Jain succession lists (I. A. Vol. XI, P. 251) in 146 A.M. (=After Mahāvīra) when the ninth Nanda was ruling. Accordingly, the death of Vararuci takes place in 147 A.M.
The fact of—the date of the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali being tied up with date of Puṣyamitra has been very successfully established by Dr. Bhandarkar in the pages of the first Volume of the Indian Antiquary. This is what he says in I.A. Vol. II, P. 59, in his reply to Prof. Weber:

"इह युक्ति तथा भाष्यम्:" ...is given by Patañjali as an instance of the Vārtika, which teaches that the present tense (Lat) should be used to denote an action which has begun but not ended... ...The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patañjali, since it shows that the author of the Mahābhāṣya flourished in the reign of Puṣyamitra."

Now we have to consider other passages of Patañjali which have a bearing on this period. First we discuss a passage of his Bhāṣya (V, 3, 99) on "जीविकायौ चापये।"

He writes:

"अपने इतिहासं तत्तदं न सिद्धाति। शिवैः स्कन्देन विशाल इति। कि कारणम्। मौर्यान्वेयाध्यायिकर्षणं। प्रकल्पिता।। मौर्यान्वेयाध्यायिकर्षणं। प्रकल्पिता।।

Kaiyvata observes on it as follows:

वास्तवता इति। या: परियोज्य गुह्यतृतिष्ठति तास्तित्विधर्म।। वास्तु विकृतायेति साधु

Prof. Weber has discussed the passage (cf. I.A. Vol. II, P. 61). Therein he observes

"...On the other hand it is not easy to understand how kings, in order to earn their livelihood (and only on this condition is the example relevant to the sūtra), should have caused images of the gods to be prepared or exhibited for sale."

In these words he has doubted the construction put forward by Dr. Goldstücker (ibid. p. 229) "that he lived after the last of Maurya dynasty." Placing of Puṣyamitra after the Mauryas allayed this doubt (of Prof. Weber) as of little or no significance. But, with a change in chronology, the questioning of the attributed sense (by Dr. Weber) comes into forefront that Maurya kings did not live upon this sort of worship will be a common sense view. The sūtra lays stress upon "जीविका । " for livelihood, which condition is absent in case of the Maurya kings. Therefore, "by Mauryas" in this illustration we have to understand "persons of Maurya gotra or clan." That there was a name such as "Mauryaputra," the name of one of the several Brahmin gāṇḍharvas (foremost disciples) of Mahāvīra, shows that the Maurya name was used irrespective of family and that it need not necessarily mean the Maurya race of rulers in our illustration.
PUSHYAMITRA—WHO IS HE?

[That Mauryaputra is the son of a Brähmin called Maurya is stated in the Tri. (Bk. X, ch. 5) of Hemacandra]. Again another illustration of Patañjali (I. i. 63) "पुष्यमित्रसमा, चन्द्रगुप्तसमा" puts चन्द्रगुप्त on a level with Pushyamitra which would not be the case if Candragupta was earning his livelihood on worship of images. In Mālavikāgnimitra on I. 7.

मौर्याभिविभिन्निनित्य पूवः संयतं वम मम स्वाधः ||
the commentator Kātyāyana explains मौर्याभिविभिन्निनित्य which implies that the word "Maurya" is not at all reserved for Maurya rulers. On the other hand, the illustration पुष्यमित्रसमा, चन्द्रगुप्तसमा is pregnant with implication that the author (Patañjali) had before his mind two sights which impressed him; and the order of his narration was according to the importance he attached to them, or that Pushyamitra was treated as an elder contemporary of Candragupta. Some copies omit the latter citation. If the omission is accepted as natural and true, then all connection, in fact the only connection of Patañjali with the Mauryan ruler is lost; in which case, his date stands irrespective of date of Candragupta (which is 155 A. M. according to Hemacandra). Moreover, mention of the assembly of Candragupta in the same breath with that of Pushyamitra would have no significance if the one sight was separated from the other by several generations. To preserve the force of this illustration we have to understand that the two sabhās (assemblies) must have been green in the author's (and in fact, of his readers') memory.

It will be seen from the above disquisition that Patañjali has nothing in his Bhāṣya which challenges our findings based upon the Matsya Purāṇa and against Bāna. We leave it to scholars to consider the effect of these changes in dates of Pushyamitra and of Patañjali. We considered them so far as chronology and prevalent notions (mistaken as 'they were) were concerned.

We have accepted the total of the 825 years of Matsya Purāṇa for a cross road in the fortunes of the Brhadratha line, with its end in Ripuṇjaya. Some will propose to accept 974 years of the Vāyu Purāṇa instead of 825 years of the Matsya and would prefer to count 26 years hence for the appearance of Pushyamitra on the scene. This latter proposal is not acceptable because out of the 26 years (1000—974=26), 23 years will have to be deducted for the reign of the son of Pulaka. Then will remain only 3 years which are 3 years of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra because Pulaka, the successor to Pulaka's son was anointed on the very night when the Nirvāṇa occurred. It will therefore assign to Pushyamitra 3 A.M, which is inconsistent with the reference to Patañaliputra (अनुश्रोषं पाटलिपुत्रं) in the Bhāṣya of Patañjali. The city of Patañaliputra was founded by Udāyi, son of Ajātaśatru, which therefore cannot be
earlier than 20 A.M. (because Ajātaśatru reigned for 32 years and died 16 A.M.) The foundation of that city is narrated by Hemacandra in his Pari. ch. VI 22 ff.

Therefore, the total 974 of the Vāyu cannot be taken as the year when Pulaka came in the forefront. The total 916 years of व्रतं दूष्ण is unacceptable. It would assign to Puṣyamitra date 61 A.M. (1000 minus 916 = 84. 84 minus 23 = 61 A.M.) It is much remote from the time of Vararuci whose death occurs in 147 A.M. The only other interpretation therefore is the one we have ventured to offer—that 974 is the only actual figure approximating to 1000 and may be substituted for it (unless we are confronted with some other weighty evidence going against our proposal) for the end of the Brhadhratha line.

The total duration of the family of Puṣyamitra is according to the Matsya 300 years and according to the Vāyu 112 years.

Succession to Pusya-
mitra family.

“व्रतं दूष्ण व्रतं दूष्ण” ch. 272, 32. of the Matsya.
“शतं पूर्ण द्वार दूष्ण” according to the Vāyu.

It is evident that the Matsya Purāṇa is not correct because after completion (“पूर्ण”) of 100 naturally decades and units are to follow and so does the Vāyu Purāṇa, making it 100+10+2.

We have inferred before that Puṣyamitra must be ruling about 126 or 152 A.M. adding 112 years, we come to 238 or 264 A.M. as the probable time when his dynasty came to an end and was succeeded by minister ‘Vasudeva’ belonging to the Śūngas or of Śūnga family. Who succeeded him, we are not told.

The chronology so far reconstructed in terms of A.M. years (years of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira which is equivalent to 527 B.C.), is as under:—
"PUṣYAMITRA—WHO IS HE?"

RESULTS.

Great War (circ. 848 B.M. = 1375 B.C.).
Somaḍhi (= 848 B.C. = 1375 B.C.).

Ripuṇīṣya (dies)
Pulaka and his son
(33 B.M. = 550 B.C.).

119 or 175 years.

Pulaka [Nirvana of Buddha.]
Nirvana of Mahāvīra = A.M. 1537 B.C.
Seven or eight years after
the Nirvana of Buddha:—
(Cf. our views in
"Date of Mahāvīra").

Erhaḍrātha (last).
(= 152 A.M. = 401 B.C.
or if 152 A.M. = 375 B.C.).
Puṣyamitra ruling now = Patañjali flourished.

(126 or 152 A.M.
= 401 or 375 B.C.).
(Vaṃśavali died circ. 146
A.M. = 381 B.C.).

112 years.

Ajātaśatrū (dies; ruled 32 years)
(= 16 A.M. = 519 B.C.).
Udayi on throne
(died 60 A.M. = 467 B.C.).
Builds Pataliputra in
Somebody about 4 years about
20 A.M. = 515 B.C.

Vasudeva Śaṅkara
(for some years).

= 238 A.M. = 219 B.C. (or 264 A.M. = 263 B.C.)

(Inferred) a number of kings.
(Inferred) Kāṇḍawāna Kings (293 A.M. 235 B.C.). (Cf. Date of Mahāvīra).

Āṇḍras.
(337 A.M. = 190 B.C.).

The above form of Chronology is the result of the authorities we have used—both Jain and Purānic. Let us now collect the information we get from Kālidāsa, from his drama the Mālavikāgnimitra, the hero therein being the son of Puṣyamitra.

We hear of Puṣyamitra for first time in Act V, when he sends a messenger to fetch his son with family at the sacrifice at a place not at all given by Kālidāsa. In the drama, Aṅgimitra is the lord of Vidiśā (परिमाजिका अंगिमित्र के मोर्ते: "अंगिमित्र के मोर्ते"); in Act IV, Puṣyamitra is regularly styled Deva and Senāpati but they do not convey to us any indication, of his kingdom, if he was not lord of Vidiśā. He styles himself as Senāpati in his letter. There he styles himself according to one
reading Vaidisah (of Vidiisa) while according to another reading it is “वैदिसय युग्म आयुमन्त्रम्” (Act V) to his son (long lived) who is at Vidiisa. It is therefore undecided where Puṣyamitra ruled although the latter reading has the word पुत्र which appears redundant and undignified, it being followed by आयुमन्त्रम्.

But the seat of Government must be Vidiṣā and none else is obvious from the war which is waged against Vidarbha king, who is styled “प्रकृति अभिभ” (Act I). Now प्रकृति अभिभ means a close neighbour in politics, he being naturally inclined to swerve from friendly basis according to political science (cf. Kauṭilya VI, 2, 97. “भूमिः युवनां प्रकृताय अभिभ; नृत्याभिभनससाहजः.”). If Puṣyamitra’s kingdom extended from Pāṭaliputra (or Magadha) till the borders of Vidarbha, only then, the Vidarbha king would be to him “प्रकृति अभिभ,” being a close neighbour. But we have no indication of such an extent of his kingdom in this drama. It is very unlikely that he let loose his horse and went after it so far away up to the banks of the Sindhu without subjugating his neighbours. Had Puṣyamitra been on throne of some powerful kingdom, the king of Vidarbha would have thought a hundred times before giving a cause for quarrel to his son Agcimitra. With the styling of the lord of Vidarbha as a “natural enemy” the King (Vidarbha) becomes a “तुल्याभिभनन्;” (as may be seen from Kauṭilya). The king in fact remonstrates with Agnimitra that he should have known well the mode of dealing with तुल्याभिभन्न kings, the neighbour getting that position of equality (तुल्य) and respect (अभिभ) automatically in politics. And on that basis, he proposed exchanges to Agnimitra. Of course he under-estimated the power of Agnimitra but his reply leaves no doubt as to the equality of the position of Agnimitra (and incidentally of Puṣyamitra) amongst several rulers of those times.

The picture of Puṣyamitra tagging to his army hundred princes protecting the horse, and the other picture of Agnimitra thinking of invading a powerless and newly established king are incommensurable. The second picture should have been an accomplished fact before the first one is drawn. We therefore think that the horse-sacrifice or the great Yajña was a result of the co-operation of several states who combined together to check the onslaught of foreign intruders and that Puṣyamitra with his grandson led the host; and accordingly on the achievement of victory, he was the principal sacrificer with sons of hundreds of kings. It looks as if Patañjali is referring to this intrusion of Yavana hordes when he cites illustrations that “Yavanaḥ beseiged Śaketa;” that “Yavanaḥ harassed the Mādhyaṁika people.” They (Yavanas) must have been finally driven away in a pitched battle.
on the shores of the Sindhu where Puṣyamitra must have been the generalissimo of Indian kings. With propriety and pride he may have called himself the Senāpati and later on, it may be said, it became his title—the Senāpati of Vidiśā.

Résumé.

We have now exhausted our sources of information about Puṣyamitra. Let us take stock of the results:

(1) The Matsya Purāṇa does not call him either a Śuṅga or a successor of the Mauryas.

(2) Elimination of his dynasty from the chronology after the Mauryas allow us to build up a much more consistent and reliable chronology of the Āndhras; (see our paper on the "Date of Mahāvīra.")

(3) His early date allows the Bhāṣyakāra, Patañjali an early date which is quite consistent with tradition and with illustrations—"पुष्यमित्रसमा—चन्द्रगुप्तसमा"

(4) Moreover we find an easy link in him by his advent after the Brāhadrathas who begin with the end of the Bhārata war. That Brāhadrata were originally of Magadha but later on were in Vitihotra is what the Purāṇa says. But geography in Purānic narration is very uncertain and geographical centre appears to be shifting now and then, and as such affords us no certain check to our findings.

So much and no more—can be said with reference to Puṣyamitra and his times—and with reference to his great contemporary Patañjali.

N.B.—Chronology herein presented is of course a tentative one because we have no inscrptional or strong literary evidence to settle it once for all beyond dispute. In our paper on "Date of Mahāvīra" we settled the Maurya, Kaṇva and Āndhra chronology. We hope to settle the remaining ones of Pradyota and Śaṅkunīka quite to the satisfaction of scholars in another article on some future date.

1. It will be published in A. B. I., Poona.
INFLUENCE OF SOUTH-INDIAN IMPERIALISM ON MEDIAEVAL HINDUSTAN.

BY

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Expansion: 753—973 A.D.

The spread of Buddhism and Jainism to the Deccan and Southern India as early as the Mauryan epoch, strengthened the connection between the North and the South already growing. This connection, cultural from the beginning, assumed on occasions a political turn also. Not only was the frontier region of the country between the lower Kṛṣṇā and the Tirupati Hills a bone of contention between the dominating power of the Tamil land and the lords of the Deccan; but the region of the Narmadā and the Vindhyā Mountains was equally disputed between the Deccan powers and those of Āryāvarta. There are evidences of the Tamil Cola rulers of the earliest times like Karikāla trying to strengthen their frontier region of Kāñci, as well as of powerful Sātavāhanas like Vāsiṣṭha putra Śrī-Pulumāvi (Cir. 150 A.D.) making a great effort at southern expansion beyond the Kṛṣṇā to the North Peṇṭār basin. The northward expansion of the Sātavāhana power which incorporated the Maratha country as early as the time of Śātakarni, 1 and pushed on to Ujjayini as may be inferred from numismatic testimony, resulted in a long struggle waged by the Āndhra power first with the Śuṅgas, and later on with the Śakas for the possession and retention of Imperial Ujjain. The struggles of Āndhra rulers like Gautamiputra-Śātakarni and Vāsiṣṭha putra Śrī-Pulumavi with the Śaka Satraps, Nahapāna Caśtiṇa, and Rudradāman which are made so clear to us by Professor D.R. Bhandarkar from the inscriptions of Western India in the second century A.D. 2 have a twofold significance for us. On the one hand they are an indication of the recurrent waves of Southern imperialistic advance on the North; and on the other hand they form a struggle of Hindu orthodoxy with the casteless, and in other ways disagreeable, foreign races so largely settled in Western India at that epoch.

The Cālukya Pulakesi II’s repulse of Ḥarṣavardhana’s personal attack with "the troops from the five Indies and the best generals from all countries" on the line of the Narmadā is the next great historical landmark of interaction between Deccan and Hindustan Imperialism. The marcher rule of a younger branch of the Cālukya dynasty in Lāṭa (Southern Gujārat) seems to have served its purpose well. In a grant

made by one Pulakesi of this branch (circa 739 A.D.) we find it stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas (Arabs) which had destroyed the Saindhava (King of Sind) Kaecella (probably the King of Kaeccha) Saurāstra, Cahotakaṭ (King of Anhilpattan of the Capotkata race), Maurya, Gūrjara and other kings on its way to Daksināpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasāri to reduce that country first. Thus the task of defending the land against the great wave of Islam penetrating into the interior fell upon this marcher principality as upon the Gūrjaras also who bounded the Arab power on the North-East and East.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas began their rule with an outburst of military glory and expansion. Dantidurga, the founder, is supposed to have conquered not merely the kings of the South but also of those of Malwa, Lāta and Taṅka, and “at Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity”. Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa who consolidated Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy, churned the Cālukya ocean and drew out from it “the Lakṣmī of paramount sovereignty.” The next important ruler was Dhruva Nirupama, Dhrāvavarga (circa 779-794 A.D.) who according to the Radhapūr plates of Govinda III, (Saka 730) had a victory over Vatsarāja of the Gūrjara-Pratiharā line, “who had easily appropriated the fortune of the royalty of the Gauḍā”. Having with his armies which no other army could withstand quickly caused the Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the sovereignty of the Goddess of (the country of) Gauḍā that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of the deserts of Maru, he took away from him not only the two regal umbrellas of Gauḍā. Thus Vatsarāja who established his suzerainty over all the Gūrjara states of Rājaputana and who had probably defeated the expanding king of Gauḍā, was soon after his victory humbled along with the Gauḍā by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Thus “it appears that while Vatsarāja was laying the foundation of the future greatness of his family in the West, the Pālas had established a strong monarchy in Bengal in the East. The former had gradually expanded his kingdom in the East while the latter did the same in the opposite direction……. While the rivals were thus fighting with each other a common enemy appeared from the South, involved both of them in a common ruin and pushed as far as the Ganges and the Jumna”.

Dhruva who according to the Baroda Plates of Karkarāja conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna appointed his brother Indrarāja to rule over the Lāṇḍāvaramanḍala, that is the

northern dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Lāṭa as the centre. When this Īndarāja was expelled from Kanauj in a period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa depression soon after the death of Dhruva by a recrudescence of the Pālas of Gauda, the kaleidoscopic struggle assumed a new phase. The Gūrjara monarch Nāgabhaṭa II (Cir. 825 A.D.) allying himself with the powers of the middle belt from the Sind to Kaliṅga, tried to stem the double tide of Rāṣṭrakūṭa aggression from the south and the Pāla advance from the Doab. Govinda III, Jagattuṅga, Prabhūtavarsa, who was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, after overcoming his initial difficulties in the south strengthened his brother of Lāṭa who was being hard-pressed by Nāgabhaṭa. When he next advanced against the Gūrjara king, "the latter in fear vanished no-body knew whether so that even in a dream he might not see battle".1 We have also got other epigraphical reference in the Sañjan Copper-plate and the Pathāri Pillar Inscription, as to the victories of Govinda against the Gūrjara.2 Govinda's victory seems to have extended against the Gauda also, which is interpreted to mean that the Pāla monarch and his lieutenant of Kanauj who were so lately at war with the Gūrjara "made common cause with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against their more dangerous rival namely Nāgabhaṭa".3 The date of this invasion of Govinda is easily fixed as 807-808 A.D. Between the issue of the Wani plates and that of Radhanpur grant which contains besides a repetition of verses in the Wani plates, another verse descriptive of the flight of the Gūrjara king before Govindarāja Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The Nilagunda inscription4 tells us of the victory of Govinda over the Pāla also which most likely means that the Dharma-pāla of the Gauda was probably forced to submit to him. The inscription issued in the 52nd year of the reign of Amoghavarsa Lakṣmi-vallabha (Cir. 814-15-877 A.D.) represents the Rāṣṭrakūṭas being worshipped by Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Malava, and Vaiṣnava. Amoghavarsa in the Deccan and Mihirabhoja Pratihāra (Circa. 843 to 890 A.D.) at Kanouj seem to have been a repetition so to speak of Pulakūṣi II, Cālukya and Harṣavar­dhana in the seventh century. Bhoja, like Harṣa seems to have been repulsed by Dhruvarāja of Gujarāt whose Bagumra Plates dated 867 A.D. narrate his victory over Gūrjara. It was only towards the latter part of Bhoja's reign that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power represented by Krṣṇa II Akālavarsa (875 to 911 A.D.) was engaged in a bitter struggle with the Cālukya ruler and could not seriously check the Gūrjara. But even as it was, the Navasāri plates issued by Indra III Nityavarsa, dated Śaka 836 give an account of Akālavarsa's wars with Gūrjaras as given by old men at the time of the grant.

2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Gūrjara-Pratihāras, p. 43 quoted above.
3. This has another interpretation, Vide next section.
But the Gūrjaras under Bhojas and Mahendrapāla reached the zenith of their power enjoying undisputed possession of Kanauj which was the accepted Imperial capital as Arab contemporary and slightly later accounts amply testify, pointing to the city as the capital of Hind. "The halo of the Empire of Harṣa hovered long over the city and induced each successive aspirant to imperial power to establish his dynasty there." 1

It was fortunate in another sense that the Gūrjaras should have attained to dominance in Kanauj for they stood out at this epoch as the bulwark of India against Arab invasions; while the Rāṣṭrakūtas always the friends of Arab traders, " seem to have allied themselves with the Islamic powers of Sind against them." The Arab merchant Sulaiman and his continuator, Abu-Zaid, who wrote respectively about 851 and 916 A.D. tells us of the unfriendliness of the king of Juriz also (Guzr) 2 and the latter calls Kanauj a large country forming the empire of Jurz 3 Both Sulaiman and Maṣūdi, a later traveller and writer (d. 956 A.D.) concur in making Jurz border on the kingdom of the Balharā. Though Maṣūdi locates the Bambūra at Kanauj and speaks of Jurz as quite a distant kingdom still it is presumed that the Bambūra of Kanauj was only the Pratihāra who was the lord of the Gūrjaras—Reinaud having long ago pitched upon the identification of Jurz with Kanauj. 4 The Arab travellers are explicit upon the mutual hostilities of the Bambūra and the Balharā (Rāṣṭrakūta), the southern of the four armies of Kanauj always fighting against the Balharā.

Though the Rāṣṭrakūtas might not have foreseen the consequences of opening the door of commerce and friendliness to the Arabs, it was to the credit of the Pratihāras that they successfully resisted the encroachments of the Arab power in Sind, and to them "the country owes its immunity from Moslem invasions for well-nigh two-hundred years."

Thus at the beginning of the 10th century the Pratihāras under Mahendrapāla could play the imperial role to the fullest extent. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar says "the struggle for empire between the three great rival powers of the 9th century A. D. had thus its logical end. Dhruvā and Govinda III, Dharmapāla and Dvārapāla (of Gauḍa) Bhojadeva and Mahendrapāladeva, each played in turn the imperial role and satisfied to the fullest extent the Imperial ambitions of the respective powers". 5

But the Rāṣṭrakūtas were not to rest content without one more assertion of their imperial impulse. Indra III Nityavarṣa (Acc. 914 A. D.) the donor of the Navasārī grant gives in this a description of his

---

2. Pages 5 & 10 of Elliot and Domsen's Hist of India Vol. I.
grand-father's wars against the Gürjarae. Of him and his wars with the Gürjaras, the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV give an account how the conquered Ujjayini, crossed the Jumna and destroyed the city of Mahodaya—'the cavalry swimming in the deep Jumna yying with the sea or the Indus, storming and devastated Kanauj so that it truly became Kuśasthali or a plot overgrown with grass ¹ (circa 916-7 A.D.). The last northern expansion of the dynasty was that of Kṛṣṇa III—Ākālavarga who issued the Wardha grant which describes his achievement in detail dated 940 A.D. We are told how the terror of his name and southern conquests frightened the Gürjara king who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kalañjara and Citrakūṭa and how all feudatory chiefs between the Himalayas and Sibmāla paid obeissance to him.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas achieved all this empire and glory only to die like their rivals the Gürjaras. The Čalukyas before them had indeed warred with the northern powers. Pulakaśi had defeated Harṣa and Vinayāditya had probably checked Yaśovarman of Kanauj in his dīvasthāya ² But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced frequently into the heart of Hindustan itself as far as Kanauj (which as the seat of the northern empire was their natural objective as much as Delbi, the seat of Mughal empire was the objective of the Marathas.)

II.

Cola Imperialism 985 to 1118 A.D.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa legacy of imperial expansion passed on not so much to their immediate successors in the Deccan the Čalukyas of Kalyāṇi as to the revived Cola power of the Vijayālaya dynasty. After the consolidation of their rule in their hereditary Cola country and in the adjacent Pāṇḍya and Tondaimandalam territories it was left to Rājarāja the Great to begin a career of aggressive conquests. The conquest of the Gāṅgas, and other powers of the south was easy enough. Before the 14th year (A.D. 998-999) Rājarāja had conquered Veṅgainādu, Gaṅgapādi, Nolambapādi Tadigaipañdi, the last of which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with a portion of Mysore. One of Rājarāja's first achievements was a permanent alliance with the Eastern Čalukya power cemented by a marriage and probably effected "after a demonstration of power or more probably a warlike intervention". We find the Veṅgi ruler Vimalāditya in Tanjore in A.D. 1013-1014 making gifts to the temple there. The importance of the Eastern Čalukya alliance was great, since a combination of Veṅgi with the Western Čalukya power at Kalyāṇi would have weakened the Colas along their

---

2. The point is doubtful and has not yet been finally settled. Vede Vaidya, pp. 885-86 of his Hist of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. I.
northern frontier and disabled them in their expansionist policy. Rājarāja's victory over Satyāśraya the W. Cālukya king and his conquest of Rattapadi seven and a half lakhs country cannot, as proved by Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar, be the conquest of the whole of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions now in the hands of the Western Cālukyas, but only a victory over the ruler, nor do we know for certain what exactly Rājarāja did with regard to Kalinga. The actual northern line of Rājarāja's conquests might have been along the Tuṅgabhadrā down to the Karnul and then along an irregular northern line behind the Veṅgi dominion to the Orissa frontier 1.

Rajendra Cola already associated with his father in the last five or six years of his reign began even from his accession a career of northern conquests with "the great war-like army" built up by Rājarāja. His first conquests were Idāitturainādu, Vanavāsi, Kollipakkai and the camp of Maṇṇai. Ṭhaturainādu has been identified by Dr. Fleet with the Raichur Doab; Kollipakkai has been shown in the Hyderabad Archaeological Journal Vol. I to have been then Kulpak between Hyderabad and Warrangal; and Maṇṇai kaṇḍaham by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar to be the Tamil representation of Mānyakhetā, the erstwhile capital of Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Mankir of the Muhammadan historians. The records of the 10th year of Rajendra describe a war with the Cālukya Jayasihma whom he defeated at Muyaṅgi. This place is according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar the Kanarrese Masaṅgi, contracted into Maski, where the Aśokan Minor Rock Edict was found, in the Raichur district, 2 Had Rajendra been merely content with this he would have followed only the achievements of his father and "no originality could be claimed for him." But he had a powerful imagination and grasp of the political situation of Northern India at the time, weakened as it was by the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni. Records of his 12th year among them the Tirumalai inscription 3 and the inscription No. 44 at Koler 4 give the achievements of the conquests of Śakkarakkoṭṭam, Namanaikonam, Paṇḍapalli, and Māsunīḍesam, a victory over, Indraratha of the lunar dynasty, at Jatinagar the capital of Oddaviṣaya, and Kosalinādu, victories over Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti and Raṅaṅūra of Daṅgipalāda; and he further "attacked Vaṅgaladesam, from which Govindaendra fled and took the territory of where the monsoon never ceases". He then "reached the mouths of the Ganges and having frightened in the field Ottamayipāla he took his elephants, the camp of his women and Uttaralāda". Other records of the king's 13th year mention his overseas conquests in Kaḍāram, Śrivijaya etc. regions probably situated in South Burma and

the Malay Peninsula. The famous Tiruvālāṅgādu Plates of which the Sanskrit portion was written at least a decade later than the Tamil contains, in the Sanskrit part, a record which says that Rajendra returned to his capital after his victory over Jayashma and ordered his commander to subdue the king’s occupying the banks of the Ganges. (verses 108-110). Then follows the order of his conquests which are mostly recorded in the historical introductions to his Tamil inscriptions dated from and after the 13th year of the reign. The Editor of the Tiruvālāṅgādu plates and Rai Bahadur V. Veṅkayya before him say that the northern expedition was conducted by deputy and the former maintains that even the title Gangaikōndan assumed by the Cola after the defeating the northern powers and receiving from them the waters of the Ganges with all the pomp of a conqueror is “not enough by itself to suggest that Rajendra personally conducted the campaigns as is recorded by the Government Asistant Epigraphist”. First there was the campaign of Musangi and next awas the campaign which seems to have had for its object the subjugation of Kaliṅgā which must apparently have started from Kolliṇakki (Kulpak) or thereabouts. Śakkaraṅkūṭa whose rulers were the Nagavainisī is identified by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on the basis of the researches of Paṇḍit Iliralal of Nagpur with Śakkarkoṭṭam and Māsunideśam the territory of snakes. The other places mentioned may be regarded as the centres of feudatory chiefs among whom Indraratha was the dominant ruler. This Indranātha of Sadināgam has been identified by the above authority with the Somavaṁśi king of that name whose capital was Yayātinagar (the Jaj Nagar of Muslim historians). This Indraratha strong “with very powerful elephants, horses and innumerable foot soldiers” was defeated in the battle field and “his white parasol of sovereignty fell to the ground.” This defeat of Indraratha meant virtually the Cola conquest of Odavaṅgaya which apparently was his own direct territory”, as well as the subjugation of Kosalāṅgādu the Mahāкосala country of the Central Provinces which constituted the hinteland of modern Orissa.

The campaign extended beyond Orissa where the Cola general proceeded from this second base is not certain. The Tiruvālāṅgādu plates say that the general attacked Raṇasūra of Dakṣināḷaḍa and then entered the extensive dominions of Dharmapaḷa, thereafter getting the Ganges waters carried by the subjugated chiefs to his royal master who had meanwhile reached the river Godāvī; he had also defeated in the meanwhile Mahīpāḷa and taken possession of his same splendour and precious gems. The order is somewhat different in Tamil Records, the general

advancing first against Dharmapāla of Dāṇḍabhukti and then against Raṇāśūra of southern Lāḍa. The exact order of the campaign would be of great use in testing the historical and geographical accuracy of the Cola records.

Working on the basis of materials supplied by Mr. R. D. Banerjee, Mahāmahapādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri and others, Dr. Aiyangar would come to the following conclusions. (1) Rāḍa a well-known division of Bengal is the same as Rāḍa-Dakṣina-Lāḍa being Midnapur and Uttara Lāḍa, Burdwan; and Dāṇḍabhukti is Behar the modern province of Bihar without Orissa. (2) Three was a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭa—Karnāṭakas, in the region of Dāṇḍabhukti which must have been planted by either Dhrupa or Govinda III when Vatsarāja who had got the sovereignty of Gauda was driven into the deserts of Māru 1. This new power first planted in Central India was attacked by the great Gūjjaras ruler, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla and had to move east to Magadha being eclipsed by Mahipāla the Gūjjaras. This power is revealed to us in a few Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions but goes under eclipse during the 10th century allaying itself with the Pālas of Gauda (3), the Dharmapāla of Dāṇḍabhukti is probably a relative of Mahipāla of Gauda ruling over the territory of the eclipsed Karnāṭakas. Most of the points raised and argued in the course of this elaboration are mere visions of material already to hand interpreted in the light of new data. We are also treated to a good refutation of Mr. R. D. Banerjee's assumption that the Cola general was unable to cross the Ganges to the farther bank being defeated by Mahipāla, the Gauda and that the Karnāṭakas whom Mahipāla defeated, were not the Colas, nor a portion of their army left behind—the Cola objective being only the reaching of the Ganges bank for spectacular and religious purposes as well as for a deeper object. "The real object of the invasion seems to have been the through conquest of Kaliṅgam" (Vide Rajendra—the Gangasikonda, Journal of Ind. History already referred to.) It is also quite possible that the Sena and the Karnāṭa dynasties which ruled over Bengal and Mithila in the latter days of Pāla rule were not the result of the Cola conquest, but merely the result of a revival of the eclipsed Karnāṭa power of Magadha.

Coming to the next stages of the Cola campaign the probability of truth lying more towards the order of events and march as presented in the Tamil records—the Cola general advanced from Dāṇḍabhukti to Dakṣina-Lāḍa, and then marched east against Govindacandra "of whom as yet we know nothing,"; after turning to the mouths of the Ganges he took Uttara-Lāḍa having frightened Ottamayipala. Then the Ganges water was taken and brought to the Cola king encamped on the banks of the Godāvari. Here it is proved by Dr. Aiyangar that the Mahipāla was not

1. The Pālas of Bengal by R. D. Banerjee, Gangasikonda MSS and notes by H. P. Sāstri—quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, in his Rajendra the Gangasikonda Cola.
the Gauda ruler but an Odda ruler of "the Saṅgama which teaches the sea"—which description of the king is given in the Tamil records and the ruler who was defeated by the Cola was the king of the north Orissa extending from the Mahānādi to the Hugli.

The succeeding campaign seems to have been waged by both the general and the master—(verses 120-123) of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates describing clearly the events, the killing in battle of the Lord of Odda etc.—the Tamil records describing clearly only the overseas expedition that followed. All the records are unanimous that after reach—the banks of the Ganges the conquests of the Orissa coast region followed—the Orissa coast being the base from which the naval expedition should have started. The last overseas campaign is not germane to our purpose here and is consequently left out.

The northern campaigns of Rājendra could not have occupied more than a year or two. But they did not merely constitute a mere roving pilgrimage and had a definite political and military object in view—the securing of the northern flank of the Cola empire by a triumphant march from Bihar to Gangaśāgara coupled with an effective subjugation of the feudatories of the interior and followed by the effective subjugation of the Orissa coast which served as the starting point of the overseas enterprise. Probably the Odra king threatened to rival and forestall the Cola naval expedition.

One result of these northern campaigns seems to have been the establishment of some sort of intercourse, diplomatic and otherwise between the Cola and the north Indian powers like Kānaūj. The title 'Protector of the people of Kaṇḍakucce' seems to have been bestowed by Rājādhirāja cola on one of his relatives. Virājendra conferred a similar title on one of his relatives. Mr. Venkayya suggests the probability of visits and revisits between the Cola capital and Kānaūj in the 11th century. An inscription of Kuloṭṭūṅga at Gangaikonda Čolapuram dated 1010-1011 A.D. contains a copy of a portion of the introduction in the copper-plates of the Gahadwala king, Govindacandra of Kānaūj. (1) Mr. Venkayya postulates Āryan influence in other directions, also, as in the grammar of the Tamil language which saw the importance of the Āryan Bahuvrīhisamāsam (Tamil—Palaner—samāsam) about this time as quoted by Buddhāmitra. "There is also reason to believe that Śaivism which largely flourished in the time of Rājendra cola was due to his intimate connection with the North." "The Cola king Rājendra cola went for a bath in the Ganges saw the best of Śaivas there and brought them with him to settle in his own country in Kāṇeī and throughout the Cola land."

2. *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report* from 1911-12, p. 175.
3. Quoted by V. Venkayya from Tēlocana—Śiva-ārya's Siddhānta-Saravali.
The achievements of the immediate successors of Rājendra were mainly against the Western Cālukyas. Kulottuṅgaoolla (1070-1118) had even as prince engaged in the capture of Vairagaram (Wairagarh) in the Central provinces; his ambition was always imperial and in his reign there were clearly two invasions of Kaliṅga—as referred to by the Tiruvadamarudūr inscription of his 26th year and again by inscriptions of his 42nd and 45th years, at least of such Kaliṅga as was outside the Veṅgi viceroyalty of the Colas. The first invasion of Kaliṅga of 1095-96 A.D. might have been possibly directed against some intruder into the remote northern frontier of Veṅgi—probably when Vikramāṅka Cālukya penetrated into this region which supposition would account for inscriptions of his, found at Drākṣārām in the Godāvari district and which is described by Bīlhaṇa. The Kaliṅgattupparani states that the grand invasion of Northern Kaliṅga was undertaken when its king failed to appear with the usual tribute—this was probably about 1112 A.D.

Kulottuṅga in spite of his greatness appears to have lost his overseas dominions as well as the Gaṅgapādi territory. Otherwise the Cola dominion remained in tact for some time but its imperial glory had vanished and its imperial status had gone as well with Kulottuṅga.
HINDUISM AND MUHAMMADAN HERETICS DURING THE PATHAN PERIOD.

BY

DR. SURENDARANATH SEN, CALCUTTA.

The Timuride princes of Delhi were good Muhammadans, but during their long sojourn in India they had imbibed many of the superstitious beliefs of the original Hindu inhabitants of the country. Their belief in astrology was probably characteristic of that age, but Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Jehangir, speaks of one superstitious rite that is still current among the native Hindus and was undoubtedly of Hindu origin. Writes Sir Thomas Roe, 1 "Then the king descended the stairs with such an acclamation of health to the king, as would have out-cryed cannons. At the stairs foot, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune." In that "mighty carpe" and "a dish of white stuffe like starch" it is not difficult to identify a *Rohit* fish and a pot of ' *Dadhi*', things of good omen that every orthodox Hindu likes to touch and look upon when he sets forth from his home for a new place, even to-day. The Hindu and Muhammadan had lived side by side for so many centuries that they had naturally learnt to tolerate and unconsciously imbibe each others social customs, common beliefs and even superstitious rites, and the process must have begun long before the conquest of India by Babar and his immediate successors. Towards the Tughlak period, the Muhammadans of India had earned such a notoriety for their heathenish practice among their co-religionists outside India that Timur regarded his invasion of India as a real *Jehad*, for, according to him, most of the Indian Muhammadans were no better than heathens. In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* we read that the expedition was directed mainly against "the infidels and ploytheists of India." The Muhammadans were neither infidels nor polytheists, but the same authority informs us that in this country there were 'those who called themselves Musalmans, but had strayed from the Muhammadan fold.' (Elliot & Dowson Vol. III, p. 426). In the defence of Bhatnir the Muhammadans not only fought side by side with their Räjput comrades and fellow countrymen, but, like them, when all hopes were lost, killed their women and children and rushed forth to fight and die sword in hand. Evidently the Hindus and Muhammadans had learnt to unite in the face of a

common danger and disaster. Both of them had learnt not only to
tolerate but to co-operate with each other and from the evidence at our
disposal, it appears that the social customs and even religious beliefs of the
Islamic conquerors of India did not long remain unaffected by those of
their Hindu subjects and neighbours.

A zealous Muhammadan was Firuz Shah Tughlak; in his reforming
zeal he did not spare either himself or his subjects, and heresy wherever
and whenever detected was sternly suppressed. He has given us a list of
his achievements in a short work called I'utuhat-i-Firoz Shahi, which
gives us some idea of the encroachment made by Hinduism on the Muslim
mind in those days. Firuz Shah informs us—"There was a seat of
heretics, who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism. They
met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers.
Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship.
They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings.
The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship, and each man
had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the
heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned and banished the rest so
that their abominable practices were put an end to." We know nothing
more about this heresy suppressed by the pious Emperor but from the
short description of their abominable rites one feels tempted to find in these
heretics the Muhammadan converts of Täntrism. The free use of wine
and communion of women at their place of worship reminds us of the well-
known Bhairavi-Cakra of the Täntrists.

If the Täntras found their votaries among Indian Muhammadans in
those remote days, the ordinary idolatrous practice was not
without its admirers among them. We read in the pages of Tarikh-i-
Firoz Shahi of Sham-i-Siraj Aṣf, of a Brähman who perverted the
Muhammadan women of Delhi and led them to become infidels. It
does not appear possible that the Brähman actually converted these
Muhammadan women, for even in those days Hinduism was not a prosel-
itysising religion. All that these female converts to idolatry probably did
was to worship a wooden tablet, "covered within and without with
paintings of demons and other objects." The Brähman was burnt
to death after a formal trial by a body of Muslim theologians, but the
historian does not tell us whether that served as a deterrent to the fair
delinquents of Delhi.

If Täntrik doctrines, in their grossest interpretation were accepted
by some sensualists and ordinary idolatry, without any philosophy at all,
found converts among credulous women, the higher teaching of the Vedânta
was not altogether lost upon the Mahomedans of India. Shufism is, as is
well known, nothing but Vedântism in its Islamic garb, and the celebrated
Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulla was suspected of Shufi leanings. Shufism,
however, did not disappear with him, and was found to prosper in its
most advanced form during the reign of Firuz Shah in the far off province of Gujarat. The Emperor tells us—"A person set himself up as a Shaikh in the country of Gujarat, and having got together a body of disciples, used to say, "Ana-l-Hakk" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words they were to say "Thou art, thou art." He further said "I am the king who dies not." In the above mentioned exclamation—"Ana-l-Hakk" we hear nothing but an echo of "Soham" "I am He," and the Hindu theory of identity and unity between the creator and his creation. A book written by the Gujarat heretic was burnt at the orders of the zealous Emperor, but did that root out this heresy?

The Emperor also tells us that "A custom and practice unauthorised by the Law of Islam had sprung up in Musalman cities. On holy days women riding in palanquins, or carts or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs." This new practice did not meet the Emperor's approval and he frankly informs us that it had not the sanction of the Law of Islam. Where these Muhammadan ladies emulating the example of their Hindu sisters who were in the habit of going to holy cities on pilgrimage on festive occasions in large companies attended by only a comparatively small number of the male sex?

It may be objected that these heretics were all probably new converts and uneducated people of the lower classes who find it very difficult to shake off their old beliefs and customs. This objection is not unreasonable and from the meagre materials, now at our disposal, it cannot be satisfactorily answered. But it is noteworthy that during the reign of Sikundur Lodh, a Muhammadan noble man of very high station and probably of good education as well, Ahmad Khan, son of Mubarak Khan, Governor of Lucknow, was accused of becoming a convert to the Hindu doctrines. Probably this conversion did not go further than avowed sympathy as in the case of Prince Dara Shikho in a later age, but it is undoubtedly significant. Many Muhammadan scholars studied Sanskrit literature and philosophy. The celebrated poet Amir Khusru, "the parrot of Hindu," was a sincere and ardent admirer of both. There is no reason to suppose that he was the solitary Muhammadan to admire the ancient philosophy and literature of the Hindus in the so-called Pathan period. The Vedanta and the Upanisads have many European admirers to-day, and is it impossible that they found some real converts among the Muhammadans of those days? It is highly improbable that these heresies would have attracted the attention of the Emperor Firuz had they been confined among a few low class renegades newly and probably forcibly converted into Muhammadanism. Either these heresies could count among them men of note, or the heresies, suppressed by Firuz Shah, must have been very wide spread indeed. It is not improbable that some men
of high rank at least had some leanings towards the heresies described above. Converted Hindus often rose to very high position in the days of the Pathan Emperors. Khusru Khan, the notorious favourite of Mubarak Khiliji was a converted Hindu, and so was Khwaja Jehan, the all powerful minister of Firuz Shah Tughlak. It appears that in those days converted Hindus, even when highly placed, did not forget their former friends and relatives, nor did the latter hesitate to stand by their converted kinsmen. In the pages of Firishta we find an instance of a Hindu chief permitting a brother, converted into Islam, to reside in his fort. Khusru relied mainly on his Hindu friends in his ambitious schemes, and so did Khwaja Jehan, the Junior. Heredity, and environment, after all, cannot be easily dismissed, and these highly placed converts, who intermarried in high families were probably not a little responsible for the propagation of the Hindu ideas and introduction of Hindu customs among their new relatives and co-religionists. This seems all the more likely when we remember that to-day uneducated Muhammadans in Bengal willingly worship many popular Hindu gods, and the Hindus, on their part, resort to shrines of celebrated Muslim saints with unmitigated alacrity. Even the caste system, a practice opposed to the fundamental democratic doctrines of Islam, is recognised by many Muslims in India. The reforming attempts of Firuz Shah proved a failure, for Sikundur Lody had to prohibit afresh some of the objectionable practices, said to have been suppressed by Firuz. In the meantime toleration grew apace among the people in general, and in Bengal in

1. The new spirit of tolerance can be illustrated by the following anecdote told by Firishta. A Muslim holy man once had the temerity to protest against the intolerance of Sekundar Lody. “He maintained that it was highly improper for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages. The prince drew his sword and said ‘Wretch, do you maintain the propriety of Hindu religion?’ The holy man replied, ‘By no means: I speak from authority. Kings should not persecute their subjects on any account.’” This offers a remarkable contrast to the opinion expressed by Kazi Kughasesuddin, when consulted by Allauddin Khiliji, that “to slay the Hindus or to convert them to the faith” was a well-recognised maxim. But Gulam Hanif forbade headless execution and commanded that “tribute should be executed to the uttermost farthing from the non-believers, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death.” It is also noteworthy that when a Brahman who claimed equality for all religions was placed before the Kazi of Lucknow (during the reign of Sekundar Lody) for trial, they were divided in their opinion as to the eligibility of the doctrine upheld by the offender. In an earlier period there would be no difference of opinion among the Muslim Doctors of law as to the utter worthlessness of any doctrine that placed Muhammadanism and any other faith on the same level. Unfortunately we have not enough information about such interesting subjects and some side-lights alone were thrown on the state of religious toleration when such a bigot as Firuz Shah deemed it necessary to record, what he conscientiously considered to be his services to Islam in India. More tolerant rulers were probably indifferent to heresy and idolatry and only negative evidence of their tolerance is available, except when a Badauni comes to upbraid, or an Abul Fazal to eulogize, a religious innovator like Akbar.
particular many Muslim poets came forward to enrich the Vaisnava literature. The Vernacular literatures of Hindustan found many Muhammadan patrons and towards the close of the Pathan period, the response from the Hindu side was, so eloquent that the Muslim rulers no longer felt it necessary to issue bi-lingual coins. As the Shu'is popularised Vedantic doctrines among Muhammadans, so also the Hindus, in their turn, made a serious endeavour to introduce the democratic principles of Islam into their own faith. The result of this influence was the Sikhism of Nānak and the Vaisnavism of Caitanya.

When the Muhammadans first came to India the Hindus naturally kept aloof from their conquerors, and the followers of the two faiths regarded each other with jealousy and mistrust. But gradually their relation improved and the early Pathans became as much Hindustanis as the Saiyads of Barā in the closing years of the so called Mughal period. A careful examination of known events shows that the Hindus again began to take a prominent part in the politics of the Pathan empire during its last days. The renegade Hindus naturally led the way but they were in due course followed by unconverted Hindus as well. In the Saiyad days the powerful Hindu Zamindars were no longer indifferent spectators, but took active part not only in the petty intrigues which characterised that period but also in the administration of the country; and the closing years of Pathan rule was marked by a striking revival of Hinduism. The Historians of the Pathan Rule in India cannot afford to ignore the fact that the Afghan Jagirdars of Northern India once looked to Rānā Saṅga of Mewar for leadership in their opposition to Babar and his foreign hordes. A new spirit of comradeship and sympathy, of which the heroies mentioned by Firuz Shah were probably the first fruits was in fact coming into existence, when it was interrupted, for a short time only, by the advent of a new band of Muhammadan warriors yet unaccustomed to tolerate idolatry and unfamiliar with the brighter side of Hindu culture.
INDIA IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

BY

PROF. S. V. VENKATESWARA, MYSORE.

In his chapter on 'Indian Native States' in the Cambridge History of India, Prof. Rapson remarks that "political conditions in the 2nd and 1st centuries are extremely complicated." Recent researches have thrown light on a number of facts in the history of this period, and it is high time to co-ordinate all the scraps of information available from Traditions, Numismatics and Epigraphy.

At the dawn of the 2nd century B.C. we have the undoubted fact of the decline of the Maurya empire. The Purānas and such Hindu traditions as were preserved in later times have bearing for the most part on Magadha and the eastern parts of the empire; while Western Hindustan especially Avanti was the stronghold of Jainism and Buddhism, and its political conditions are reflected in Buddhist and Jain traditions. Of the four sons of Aśoka known to us, one (Mahendra) became a monk, and another (Tivra) is not heard of after his father's death. Kuṇāla was Viceroy at Taxila, and Jalauka ruler over Kashmir and Kanauj who sought to replace Buddhism by Śiva-and-Śakti worship. In the next generation we hear only of Samprati whom Jaina traditions and Northern Buddhist tradition agree in considering as ruler of Western Hindustan, and of Daśaratha who dedicated caves to the Ājivikas as known from three inscriptions on the Nāgārjuni hill.

The list of Eastern emperors has been given by Pargiter along with the various readings found in the Purāṇas. Some of these names are found in the Garga Sanskrit. It styles Devādhama Śāliśuka and says he was of janarāja Satakula. It mentions Śatadhanus as an elder brother of Bṛhadhratha. The last king and his overthrow by the Kaṇva is mentioned in Bāṇa's Harsacarita also. The first of this line apparently

1. Ch. I., p. 516.
2. Divyāvadāna 29 ; Yuen ch. I, 245
4. Ind Ant. XI, 946.
5. C. I, I, 104, 184.
6. 'Dynasties of the Kali Age', p. 29.
8. Trans. of Cowell and Thomas, p. 198.
is Daśaratha of the Nāgārjuni cave dedications. That the Garga Samhitā had some access to traditions not available to us elsewhere is clear from its reference to the invasions of the yavanas who penetrated, past Saketa (Oudh) and Pāñcāla (the doab of the Ganges and Jumna), as far as Kusumadhvaja.

The list of the Western Emperor’s can be thus made up. Samprati’s rule at Ujjain is proved by Jain traditions preserved in inscriptions of later ages. His rule must have extended into Rajputana in the light of these. Tārānātha mentions his grandson Virasena as ruling in Gāndhāra, Polybius tells us that Antiochus the great renewed an ancestral alliance with Sophasenus (Subhāgasena) in the Kabul valley about 205 B.C., and the word ‘ancestral’ makes one think he must be of the Maurya dynasty. The only other reference we have which might possibly refer to this line, is in an old hemistic quoted by Vāmana and which has been referred to a Gupta emperor but which may be as old as this period.

Soyam Samprati Candrapugta tanayaḥ candraprākṣo yuvāḥ
Jutobhāpatir aśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyāṁ dīṣṭāyā kṛtārdhasramah. ||

The hemistic if applied to, Samprati, would show that there was trouble as to the succession after his death, possibly due to the Kings of the east. It may also explain how these intestine broils helped the usurpation of the throne by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

II

The account of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga’s reign given in the Divyāvadāna demands more attention than it has received. Puṣyamitra got all the forces mustered together before usurping the throne. (This is in keeping with the Purāṇic story that he was the Commander-in-chief.) He then set on foot a persecution of the Buddhists. He proceeded to Śākala and set a price of 100 dināras on every head of Śramaṇas. He then marched on Kōṭṭaka, when his forces were taken in the rear by the Yakṣa of Damśṭra and his great ally Parvata. Then forward the Yakṣa came to be known as Munihana. At the death of Puṣyamitra, the Maurya dynasty also ended. Avadhāna 29 adds that Puṣyamitra’s

---

3. XI. 94.
4. The passage does not refer to Vasubandhu but to Subandhu (Ind. Ant. 1911-13).
5. In Śūdraka’s Padmapābubṛaktakam we have reference to a Maurya prince Candrōdaya who had trouble from his feudatories. (Trichur 1923, p. 19).
attempt on the great monastery near Pāṭaliputra was obviated only by roar of a mighty Sihma (lion).

The mighty Sihma which struck terror into the Śuṅga emperor must have been from the South, for Puṣyamitra had proceeded S. E. of Pāṭaliputra, and the capital would have been his defence on the north. The first of the Āndhras of history is Śimuka or Sihmaka in the Purānic list, the Śimuka of the Nāgārhat inscription No. 1113 1 which Bühl assigns to about 200 B.C. The raid of Śimuka on Magadha is also preserved by the name Śaliśūka in the Maurya list, whom the Gārga Saṃhitā, as we have seen, describes as Janarāja Sātakula which I would amend by Jina rāja Sāta kula 'who belonged to the Sātavāhana race of Buddhist Rājas.' Since the dynasty of the Mauryas ended only with Puṣyamitra, we may assume that he reigned only five years as emperor, and that for the 31 years more assigned to him by the Purāṇas he was de facto ruler under the last Maurya emperors after Śaliśūka. 2 That Śaliśūka was a Sātavāhana King appears indicated by the name itself which means 'an ear of corn' (Cp. nivāra Śūkhavatitanu in the Mahānārāyaṇa upaniṣad), as Śālivāhana (variant of Sātavāhana) means carrier of grain i.e., of merchandise in grain.

The Yakṣa referred to as the other rival of Puṣyamitra must have been Menander as the term munihana in the passage referred to is evidently a play on his name. The Garga Saṃhitā informs us of Oudh and the Doab ravaged by the yavanas until they were checked by Kusumadhvaja. Dr. V. A. Smith who quotes this passage 3 thinks that Kusumapura is intended, but it may simply mean the banner of Pāṭaliputra, whose forces must have advanced to check the progress of the Graeco-Bactrians. We find such an event referred to also in Kālidāsa’s Mālavikāngāmitra. This is the sequel apparently to Patañjali’s statement in the Mahābhāṣya that the yavanas stormed Sāketa and Mādhyamikān (nagari in Rājputana).

The contemporaneity of Kharavela is suggested by the name Bahasati of Magadha in Jayaswal’s reading of the inscription 4. Mr. Jayaswal has rightly identified Bahasati with Puṣyamitra, an identification supported by the general study of the coins of this dynasty, to which we shall now turn.

2. This agrees with Jain tradition of 105 years for the Mauryas and 30 for Puṣyamitra (Ind. Ant. XX 347) as against the 137 years given by the Purāṇas to the Mauryas.
III

A large number of coins which Numismatists describe as 'Mitra' coins were discovered originally in Oudh and Rohilkhand, and described by Rapson and Smith in their coin-catalogues. Dr. Vogel discovered some more during his excavations at Śrāvasti in 1907-8, and Pandit Hirānanda discovered some during his excavation at Sankisa in 1917. Sir A. Cunningham 1 gave a warning that these coins should not be ascribed to the Śuṅgas on the ground that the Śuṅgas did not hold the territories where these coins were found. The main objection to the identification was that these coins were not unearthed from Magadha, with which part of India Purānic students had identified the Śuṅga Rājas. But as Prof. Rapson rightly points out, Vidiśa not Pāṭaliputra was the capital, of the Śuṅgas, at any rate after Puṣyamitra, and "no certain traces of the Śuṅgas or their feudatories have yet been found in the region of Magadha." 2 Speaking of the coins of Agnimitra in relation to the identification with the 2nd Śuṅga King the same scholar remarks that there is 'no evidence at present either to prove or to disprove the suggestion'. 3 The question may therefore be considered de novo.

An examination of the coins shows that one favourite method of mentioning the King's name in this period was similar to the one now adopted by the Mahārājas of Travancore—naming the King after the asterism under which he was born. As every nakṣatra has its devatā a Rāja's name may be denoted either in the one way or the other. For instance, Puṣyānaksatras has Bṛhaspati as its devatā or presiding deity, so that the King's name is found either as Puṣyamitra or as Bahasati (Bṛhaspati) Mitra. Similarly Indra is the deity of Jyeṣṭha, Bhaga of Phalguni, Viśvēdevas of Uttarāṣādha; We can therefore identify Jyeṣṭhamitra of the Purānic list with Indramitra (Idamita) of the coins, Bhaga of the Purāṇas with Phalgunimitra of the coins, and so on. 4 Vasumitra, or more properly Purnavaumitra, may be identified with Śūryamitra and Bhānumitra of the coins, as the deity of Purnavasu is Aditi, (whence, Āditya) the only names on the Śuṅga list not represented in the coins are Āndhraka and Pulindaka. This circumstance heightens our suspicion as to the historicity of these kings.

As regards Āndhraka there are too many variants in the Purāṇas, among which are Oḍraka and Bhadraka, and Pargiter 5 does not regard

1. 'Anc. coins of India ', p. 80.
4. The devatas of the Nakṣatras are detailed in Tait. Brāhmaṇa III. 1.
5. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 81.
Andhraka as a proper name at all, as there are variants Antaka and Astaka. Mr. Jayaswal takes the reading Odraka and makes it the corner stone of a theory, which involves his position in a chronological absurdity as Prof. Rapson has already shown. 1 In view of coins of Bhadrabhoga I I would accept the reading Bhadra of the Brahmanada and Bhagavata Puranas and not regard him as a separate king from Ghosa (sp. Bhagabhada of the Besnagar column with Bhagavata or Bhaga of the Puranas). About the other king Pulindaka it may be merely mentioned that his name is not at all found in some of the Matsya mss. examined by Pargiter, and that the Brahmanada and Bhagavata Puranas have the name in the plural Pulindakaha! So also, the name Ayumitas (ayumitrasya) on the coins has nothing corresponding to it in the Puranio list but it does not apparently belong to this dynasty. These coins are obviously of a later age, judging from the form of the letters yu and sa.

On an examination of the symbols on the coins we find not only the chronological arrangement of the Puranas satisfactory, but the relations of the dynasties explained better than in the traditions available. The coins of Bhunumitra and Suryamitra, for instance, show the same symbols on the reverse as those of Agnimitra; but we have the solar emblem characteristic of the King's name on the reverse, like the bull on the coins of Pushyamitra (or 'Byhaspati,' one of the forms of Siva in the Yajur Veda) or Indra on the coins of Indramitra. The three symbols which first appear on Agnimitra's coins apparently belong to Vidiisā, Pañcāla and Kosala over which he ruled as Viceroy under his father, and are on the reverse while on the reverse we have agni pañca sikhā, characteristic of his name and dynasty. These symbols remain on later coins, but on the reverse in place of agni we have on them a standing figure, or seated figure, sometimes, a female (with a lotus, in those of Bhagavata, representing Laksmi).

I have identified Kanhayama of the coins with Kanyakavaca Vasudeva the founder of the Kanya dynasty, and Bhunimitra of the coins with his successor, so named in the Puranas. Here, again, the symbolism on the coins is profoundly interesting. Prof. Rapson has conjectured that Mitra-deva who slew that fourth Sunga King may have been an ancestor of Vasudeva Kanyakvaca. The coins of Mula-deva 3 have the elephant symbol and snake as on the coins of Kanhayama, and Mula-deva is one of the readings of Mitra-deva in the Harshacarita of Bana. The epithet Karsita of Mula-deva in the Harshacarita establishes the identity of this King with the famous exponent of the Cora Sāstra, and the famous art-critic of his time. Secondly, while the coin of Bhunimitra has

nearly the same symbols as those of the Suṅgas, the railing on the rev
have crossed bars which are absent from Suṅga coins, thus denoting a
change of dynasty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purānic names</th>
<th>Coin-names.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Puṣyamitra</td>
<td>Bahasati (Smith's coin catalogue of the Ind. Mus. I p. 155).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Sujyēṣṭha</td>
<td>Jetha (p. 146) [and possibly some inscribed Indramitasa].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Vasumitra</td>
<td>Sūryamitra (p. 185).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhūnimitra (p. 185).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Bhada [ka] and Ghoṣa or Ghoṣa Vasu</td>
<td>Bhadrghoṣa (p. 187).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Vajramitra</td>
<td>Indramitasa (p. 188).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Bhāgavata</td>
<td>Phalgunimitra (p. 187).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Devabhūti</td>
<td>Devasa (pp. 206, 207).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṅvāyana Vasudeva</td>
<td>Kaṅhayama (p. 200).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūcimitra</td>
<td>Bhūmimitasa (pp. 187, 194 and 205).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyana</td>
<td>Viṣṇu (p. 194).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards provenance ¹, it may be mentioned that Sir A. Cunningham
got from a single place 16 coins of Bahasati three of Jyeṣṭhamitra
and two of Devasa. (Arch. Rep. X, p. 4). The coins of Bahasati were
mostly found in Kōsan and Rāmnagar (Ep. Iud. II. 243) and of Agni-
mitra mostly in Pāṅcāla and Kōsala. But coins of Bahasati have been
found in Oudh (Kosala) also, as also those of other kings in the list, and
as far as Farukhabad district in 1917.

IV

There is hardly any doubt that the beginnings of the Āndhra
dynasty are to be referred to about 200 B.C. and that the Purāṇas are
wrong in the account of Śimuka, overthrow of the last of the Kāṅvāyana
Kings who lived far later, probably about the middle of the 1st century B.C.
This ² is obviously a mistake, and we have a parallel in their account of
the Śāśurāgas overthrowing the descendants of Pradyota of Avanti, who
really was a contemporary of the Buddha and of Bimbisāra of
Magadha, fifth in the Śāśurāga list. What the Purāṇas really preserve
is the tradition that the power of Avanti was eclipsed by that of Śāśurāgas
of Magadha, and that the power of the Kāṅvāyanas was overthrown by

dor 1907—8, p. 199.
². See my article in the Ind. Ant. for 1915 for the discussion.
the Sātavāhanas. Their mistake consists in attributing their achievement to the first King and founder of each of the succeeding dynasties, instead of to some succeeding King.

A raid of the Andhras under Śisuka or Śimuka probably led to Śalisūka finding way into the Maurya list, but it is possible that the Andhras were in possession of Magadha for some time. A second conquest, though temporary, by the Andhras, now in concert with the Pulindas, both a Deccanese people,—can alone account for the inclusion, unwarranted by the coins, as we have seen, of these names in the Purānic Śunga list. The Kāṇvāyana power was anticipated by Mīladeva's assassination of Vasumitra Śuṅga at the theatre, and hastened by these blows on the Śunga power from the south, not to mention the Kaliṅgas of whom we have no record after Khāravela. But the Śuṅga empire dragged on for years, as there was a balance of power between the Andhras and Kaliṅgas in the south, and as the foreign dynasties were at war—the Parthians supplanting the Greeco-Bactrian dynasty in the Punjab, after a century or more of hostile relations. The Yuga Purāṇa apparently refers to the latter incident when it says that the yavanas 'soon withdrew because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country.' We know from the Indic-Bactrian coins that a tendency towards the creation of petty principalities became a marked feature in the final phase of Greek rule in India.

Evidence from the coins reveals the existence of various tribal republics in North India, the Ārjunāyanas, and Yaudheyas who had a continued independent existence at least a millennium after Pāṇini's time, the Kuṇindas whose silver coins were found in Kāṅgra with Greek coins of Apollodotus, the Mālavas of Eastern Rajputana whose earliest coins have legends in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd century B.C., and the Rājanyas whose coins are in type like those of Mathurā.

The Bhaṭṭiprōlū inscription mentions a King Kubera (Khuriraka) in Guntur district about 200 B.C. The Hathigumpha inscription (Line 4) mentions the Mūśhikas who, associated with Vanavāsi in the Mahābhārata 1 and with the Canarese districts (Sri Rājyam) misnamed (Strirājyaṃ) in the Viśu Purāṇa 2 had colonised the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the modern Nellore district whence they were dislocated for a time by Khāravela. The same inscription seems to mention the Pāṇḍya Rāja (Line 13) but nothing definite is known about him, or about the Colas or the Ceras in this century. On the other hand, the Kannada districts appear to have been in active trade relations with China, as may be inferred from the find of coins of the Han emperor Wa-Ti (C. 135 B.C.) unearthed at Candravalli (N. Mysore) in the Kaḍamba country.

1. Bhāṣa, Parva.
2. Wilson, IV, 32.
It is possible that northern Deccan was dominated by the Kosar who appear along with the Mauryas in ancient Tamil tradition, and who are probably meant by the 'Kosambas' in the inscription of Kharavela, who were his allies. In his fourth year he claims to have humbled the Rāṣṭūkas of the Mahratta country and the Bhojakas of Berar, who were at any rate semi-independent and became feudatories of the Ānдра Kings in later times.

V

The sources we have been examining enable us to get some account of social life in the second century. Commercial activities were in full swing as there was trade with China on the east proved by the finds of coins, and trade with the Western world, especially Persia is clear from the resemblance to the Persian of the coins of Demetrius, evidently issued to suit Indian traders. Menander's coins were in circulation on the west coast, and his city of Śākala was a great centre of trade, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens, groves, lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. There is considerable evidence of vigorous life in cities in this century. The city of Śākala has been already described. The city of Pāṭaliputra had its charms yet, as described in Śūdraka's Dhāna (the Padmaprabhāśakam) where Mūladeva expresses his longing to return to this city, but its splendour had been already eclipsed by the greater glory of Ujjain which was the seat of arts and learning, and the new capital of the Śuṅgas Vidiśā was also rising into prominence. Aesthetic education must have received a good impetus under the School founded by Mūladeva and during the rule of the later Śuṅgas and Kānvāyanas two of whose kings perished as victims to the sensual side of the aesthetic instinct.

Social relations had been established between Indians and foreigners. Not only did Subhagasenus renew alliance with Antiochus, but Antialcides, King of Taxila sent an envoy Heliodorus the Bhāgavata the Śuṅga King at Vidiśā. Foreigners adopted Indian Religions. Menander became a Buddhist, and Heliodorus a Bhāgavata. Earlier still, it is possible, that Demetrius showed a tendency to Hinduise, judging from his coins on which the Sun-God is represented as driving in a four-horse chariot. The legend on the coins, Mahārajas and Rājane might merely show a desire to indicate rule in India, as also the figure of the elephant on the coins, but the figure of the dancing girl on the reverse of the coins of Agathocoles and Pantaclenus bear witness to the social relations of the Indians and the Greeks.

The educational system of the time finds revealed in detail in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya. Kharavela's inscription shows that Kings had

1. Periplus, ed. (Schoff) Bharukaccha. p. 47.
2. Milinda Pañha (S.B.E. Vol. 35 p. 3.)
training in correspondence, Accounts, Currency, \(^1\) Public Law and the principles of Dharma. (Lekharūpa, Gaṇanā, Vyavahāra, Vidhi). There was a systematisation of branches of knowledge into Arts and Sciences. Even thieving was a fine art under Mūladeva who also codified the laws of gambling! University of Taxila was elaborately organized, with various departments of arts and sciences already revealed in the Jātaka literature.

The great revival in Hinduism is in evidence in the Horse-Sacrifice (Aśvamedha) performed by Puṣyamitra, and by Śri Śātakarni, in the great gift of the Kalpa tree in gold by Khāravela, and the setting up of a flag-staff by Heliodorus, and the hermit's cave at Prabhāsa cut by Āsādhasena. But the religion was of a liberal kind. Khāravela for instance, styles himself 'a worshipper of men of all sects'. The only exception was in Ceylon if the Rājāvali could be believed. There were two importers of horses by sea (aśva nāvikas) from South India had established political influence and ruled justly for 22 years (177–155 B.C.) according to the Mahāvaṁśa (Chap. XXI), but Rājāvali has it that Elala was a Malayāli from the Ola country who took to Ceylon a million Tamil soldiers and desecrated the monasteries! The story shows only the intimate relations of South India with Ceylon, and the Mahāvaṁśa \(^2\) must command our credence infinitely more than any Rājāvali. But the chief interest of the story for us is that it shows that the Ceras were already a sea-power in the south.

---

2. Chap. 21.
VIII—Oriental Philosophy.
ŚAṆKARA—THE COMMENTATOR ON THE MĀṆḌŪKYA KĀRİKĀS

BY

MR. T. R. CHINTĀMANI, B.A. (HONS.), MADRAS.

One of the traditions amongst Vedic scholars is that Śaṅkara, the author of the Śārikāra Bhāṣya has also commented upon the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās of Gaudapāda. Certain orientalists, like Prof. Jacobi a few years ago 1, and Mr. Vidhuśekhara Bhattācārya of the Viśvabhaṭati, recently 2 have seriously disputed Śaṅkara's authorship of the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās. The object of this paper is to show that the authority of tradition on this point is genuine and cannot be easily set aside. The arguments they advance 3 and those that may be anticipated to make us doubt Śaṅkara's authorship may be very convincingly answered.

Prof. Jacobi's argument runs as follows:—

In the commentary on the Kārikā

अन्तःस्थानान्तः महाजागरितक श्रृतम् ।
यथा तत्र तथा स्वयं संवर्त्ते भ्रमणे मिहवे ॥ ⁴

we find a reference to the various members of an anumāṇa explained in the terms of Naiyāyika principles. On this point Prof. Jacobi remarks, "I am inclined to think that this Śaṅkara is not the same as the author of the Śārikāra Bhāṣya. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and terms of an anumāṇa according to Nyāya principles." ⁵

Mr. Vidhuśekhara Bhattācārya's argument is based on the word अस्वर्णयोगो occurring in the Kārikā

अस्वर्णयोगो वै नाम दुर्वर्यम्: सर्वतोगिमि: ।
योगिनो विभयविद्यमातृ अभये भयदिन: ॥ ⁶

and its commentary which runs as follows:—

अस्वर्णयोगो नाम वै स्वयंते प्रिसितं चवलिष्ठस: । ⁷

3. Mr. Vidhuśekhara Bhattācārya's paper (Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee volume) wherein he claims to have proved that Śaṅkara is not the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās has not been available for reference.
It has not been possible he says, to find out any reference to the अच्छाइयां in the early Upanişadas. Saṅkara whose knowledge of the Upanişads was very minute and comprehensive would not have been bold enough to say प्रतिवर्त उपीनपत्तु when as a matter of fact it is actually not the case. So Saṅkara could not have commented on the Māndūkyya Kārikās.

The following arguments may be anticipated in addition:—1. That the commentator on the Māndūkyya Kārikās has composed two benedictory verses at the beginning of the commentary. It was not usually so with Saṅkara, the great Advaitic master and thinker. So, the author of the Sārīraka Bhāṣya and the author of the commentary on the Māndūkyya Kārikās cannot be identical.

2. That in the second of the two verses there is a metrical slip. Saṅkara is a master poet and it is impossible for us to believe that he would have committed this slip.

3. Lastly, that the commentator on the Māndūkyya Kārikās differs from Saṅkara in the interpretation of a passage that is extracted from the Īśāvāsya Upanişad and commented upon in the Kārikā Bhāṣya. The passage runs thus:—

अनं तम: प्रविष्टानि व (5) सम्भूतिसमापते।

Saṅkara here takes the word to be असंभूति in his commentary on the Īśāvāsya Upanişad in consonance with what follows in the next half of the verse. The commentator on the Māndūkyya Kārikās takes the word to be संभूति and comments upon it. There is also another difference of opinion between them regarding the explanation of बिचार बचीवा च यत्तद्विशेष्य सह।

Saṅkara says that two kinds of upāsanās are described in the context, that of बिचार and अविचार together and that of सम्भूति and असंभूति together whereas the commentator on the Māndūkyya Kārikās is of opinion

---

1. Ānandaśrama edition, of the Māndūkyya Upanişad, pp. 1 & 3.
2. भो बिचाराच्या विचारिकवाणां प्रायं मोताभावांबोधानां प्रतिवर्तानां व्ययतविवानां व्ययतिषा स्त्रेषु सहानां।।
   सम्भूतानुपनुपपति स्थापत्ति स्थापितत्त्व हितास्वितिषायां विग्रहण: पालसौनस्वरूपः।।
5. Ibid.
that only one kind of upāsanā, of बिया, अविया, संभूति and असंभूति, (all together) and not two. In virtue of this inconsistency the authors of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya and the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās cannot be equated with each other.

Prof. Jacobi’s argument that Śaṅkara would hardly refer to an anumāṇa in the form and terms of Nyāya principles cannot stand. Prof. Jacobi could not have meant that Śaṅkara was unaware of the Naiyāyika terminology and ideas, for they had been developed long before his daya. If he had meant that Śaṅkara as a staunch upholder of Uttara-Mīmāṁsā-thought would not have countenanced the five-membered-syllogism of the Naiyāyikas, since a valid syllogism in the opinion of the Vedāntins following the view of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsakas should consist of only three members, then, he is right to some extent. But we should note that Śaṅkara and most of the Advaitins after him do not set their faces against the five-membered-syllogism. True it is that among the Advaitins there is this current saying व्यवहार स्फटनय: but there is no hard and fast rule binding the Advaitins to this view. They have not made it a principle that they should argue only according to Mīmāṁsaka logic. In many places in his Śārīraka Bhāṣya, Śaṅkara refers to all the five members though he does not specify the names of each of them.1. In fact he favourably looks upon their terminology as is evident from his remarks in the Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad Bhāṣya.

From these it follows that Śaṅkara was not against the five membered syllogism of the Naiyāyikas. If so, the mere fact that we find the five members of a syllogism explained in the commentary or the Kārikās cannot lead us to conclude that Śaṅkara could not have been its author. Apart from this it is to be noted that he is commenting on a passage wherein the five members are plainly set forth. In explaining them Śaṅkara candidly refers to what the author of the passage could have kept in view. If he faithfully interprets the words before him it is not his fault.

Let us now examine the argument based upon the word अस्पष्टवर्षयोग and its commentary प्रसिद्ध उपनिषदः. It should be noted that the word अस्पष्टवर्षयोग

---

1 परमामाणां अणुवनिलतिविपर्ययः प्रसज्येत।
कृत एवं छोकः दशस्वात्।
यदि छोके स्फुतादिस्मृत्तम् तत् स्वकाराणप्रेक्षया स्फूतं अनिलं च स्त्रयम् यथा पदः
नत्त्वноपेक्षया स्फूतं: अनिलयं भवति।
तथाचामी परमामाणं स्फुतादिस्मृतं।
तस्वतेतयां कारणवतः: स्फूतः अनिलयं प्राप्तुवातिः। || Brāhmaṇastrā Bhāṣya

is no technical term. In other words, it is not a रूढशब्द. It is only यौगिक. This word occurs in the Kārikās twice 1. And in both these places we find it to be only यौगिक. And it has been so explained also. When the commentator wroteप्रख्ये उपविष्टः he could have had only the derivative sense in view. In other words, the commentator wishes to indicate that the idea conveyed by the phrase अस्पर्श्योऽग्र is to be often met with in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā. And a careful and thorough searching of the Upaniṣads shows how the idea is hinted at in passages like.

न दिष्यते कर्मणि पापकेन ||
न दिष्यते लोकंत:खन बाह्य: ||
मात्रास्पर्शांत्व बौद्ध: शीतोष्णसुखं:खदा: |
आरंगमापायिनो निखा: तान् वितिश्रव भारत || 4

The meaning of अस्पर्श्योऽग्र is:—
स्पर्शे एव परम: जन्मः: | न विभे यस्य योगस्य
कदाचित् केनविद्यय स: अस्पर्श्योऽग्र || 5

The very same idea is conveyed by the extracts given above. So, प्रक्षेत् उपविष्ट is not wrong. We cannot deny Saṅkara’s authorship of the commentary on the Kārikās because he refers to an idea of the Upaniṣads as found in them.

The first objection anticipated refers to the benedictory verses. It needs only to be pointed out that it is the practice with Saṅkara to begin his work with a benedictory verse at times and without at other times. To the Bhāṣya on the Bhagavadgītā (which is doubtless Saṅkara’s) is attached a benedictory verse. Saṅkara has intentionally put that verse there. Again there are three such verses at the beginning of the Taittiriya Bhāṣya; and they are undoubtedly his composition. Saṅkara’s authorship of them is objected to by some. Their objection seems to be based on the word तत्त्वज्ञानसार in the verse.

2. Kathaka Brāhmaṇa III, ix, 8.
The word तैत्तिरियक्षर is taken by some to refer to the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the Taittiriya Upaniṣad. It is consequently argued that the verses were probably composed by a commentator on the Bhāṣya and were later incorporated into the body of the text. But the fact remains that the word तैत्तिरियक्षर does not at all refer to the Bhāṣya. So far, it has not been possible to find out any reference to the Taittiriya Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara as Taittiriyaśāra in which case alone even the possibility of such an opinion may be tenable. It is the practice among the Śāstric authors to refer to the Upaniṣads as शिवर, शिवा etc. of the vedas. सार 1 is one such term and the phrase here simply means तैत्तिरियक्षर. If there be any misgivings regarding this explanation we are at perfect liberty to take the natural meaning. 'The essence of Taittiriya.' The evidence of Ānandagiri, a Vedāntin of the thirteenth century is on our side. He comments on the verses with the firm conviction that they were genuine compositions of Śaṅkara.

Thus it may be established that the mere fact of the existence of the benedictory verses need not disprove Śaṅkara's authorship. If it is true that Śaṅkara does not usually begin with a benedictory verse as some say, then too there can be some reason for doubting Śaṅkara's authorship of the verses alone and not of Śaṅkara's authorship of the whole Bhāṣya.

The fault in the form of the metrical slip has to be answered. The last quarter of the second verse2

has indeed four letters in excess when compared with the other quarters of the same verse. It is true that Śaṅkara is a very great poet. When we do find this fault, we have only three courses to pursue. We should be prepared to say that it is no fault, or it should be said that the fault crept in unwittingly; or failing either we have to adopt the last course and say that the composition is to be seriously doubted whether it belongs to Śaṅkara. Ānandagiri adopts the first course and defends Śaṅkara saying,

न च द्वितीयेऽकोऽपर्यं वुक्तत्त्वक्षणाभावानां असाध्यमात्राद्विनाय गायत्रिक्षणय तत्र सुसंपादत्वादिति द्रष्ट्यम् ॥

The field of gāyā is very wide and we can bring under it any number of metres. Moreover even if the gāyā वक्षण cannot be applicable to the

1. Compare.

2. Ānandagiri's comments on p. 4 (Ānandaśrama Edition of the Māṇḍūkya upanisad).

Muktikopanisad I, 44 where the word सारा means upaniṣad.
present case we can argue thus. Definitions are based on the existing facts and not vice-versa. When we find verses written by great poets we have to find out a definition which will be applicable to the instance under question. If so, we can find out a definition for the present instance also. It is not also wrong to suppose that great men commit certain faults unknowingly. Or we may allow even the last alternative. In any case there is no room to suspect Śaṅkara's authorship of the Bhāṣya. The verse might or might not have been written by him. But the commentary is surely his.

Now to the difference in the interpretation of the same passage between the author of the commentary on the Māndūkya Kārikās and the author of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya, Śaṅkara himself interprets particular passages of the Upaniṣads in one way in the Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas themselves and differently in the Brahmsūtra Bhāṣya. Of such there are many instances but a few may be noted here. Moreover the nature of vedic passages is such that they lend themselves to a variety of explanations. Many of the vedic mantras occur in a number of places and when we read them we understand them in a particular way. In the Brahmsūtras we find them explained in one way, in a certain context and differently in another. While Śaṅkara attempted to comment upon such passages he had perforce to explain in all possible ways and hence the inconsistency in explanation. The Mantra

चत्वारिश्च लयो अस्य पादा दे शायं समहस्तायो अस्य ।
विबा वदिः हृत्रयो रेवर्धीति महो देवो मौलि, आवंवेश ॥

has been interpreted in more than four or five ways. The Mantra

कूल पिपल्ली………………

has been explained in three different lights; similarly the Mantra,

हेप: उचिष्ठमुन्तरिक्षसत् होता वेदियदातिथिदिरोणसतः.

So also in the present case the difference in interpretation is due to the fact that Śaṅkara was at liberty to comment as he liked, when he was dealing with the verse in the Īśāvāsa-Upaniṣad. But in the Kārikās he had to explain them as understood and set forth by Gaudapāda. The latter takes the word to be समृति in “अन्य, तम्: प्रतिविद्यते ये समृतिपुस्तके” ॥ as we find in सम्पूर्णप्रवादारीभव: प्रतिविद्यते ॥ ॥ and hence Śaṅkara thus comments. But Īśāvāsa refers to समृति apart and so he takes this to be असमृति. For the difference in the meanings Gaudapāda alone is responsible.

1. The possibility of a corrupted text is the most probable under the circumstances.
After thus answering the objections, we may note the evidences that prove the identity of the authors of the Śārīraka Bhāṣya and the commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās. There is a long and uninterrupted tradition. It is kept up by traditional scholars. The commentary does not lack the fine touches which are characteristically Śaṅkara's. The language of the Māṇḍūkya kārikā Bhāṣya compares well with the rest of his Bhāṣya. Śaṅkara is the student of Govinda Bhagavatpāda who in turn is a student of Gauḍāpāda. To Gauḍāpāda, Śaṅkara had a great respect and regard as the leading exponent of Advaitic thought. He was his Guru; and if we say that Śaṅkara did not comment on a masterly treatise produced by one to whom he had an innate respect and reverence and who was considered by him as by the rest of the world to be the leading exponent of a system of philosophic thought it would argue presumption on the part of Śaṅkara. Why should we, without reason, then discredit Śaṅkara by saying that he did not comment on his master's work?
YOGA PSYCHOLOGY

BY

PROF. SUREN德拉 NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph. D.
CHITTAGONG.

The word 'Yoga' occurs in the earliest sacred literature of the Hindus in the Rgveda (about 3000 B.C.) with the meaning of effecting a connection. Later on in about 700 or 800 B.C., the same word is used in the sense of yoking a horse. In still later literature (about 500 or 600 B.C.) it is found with the meaning of controlling the senses, and the senses themselves are compared with uncontrolled spirited horses. The word probably represents a very old original of the Āryan stock, which can be traced also in the German joch, O.E. geoc, Latin jugum, Greek zugon.

The technical sense of the term in the system of philosophy which I am to discuss, is not only that of restraining the senses but of restraining the mental states as well, so as to bring the mind into absolute quiescence. Yoga in this sense is used only as a substantive and never as a verb. It probably therefore, came into use as a technical expression to denote the quiescence of the mind, when people came to be familiar with the existence of such mystical states. Analogically and etymologically, however, it is related to the older sense of 'yoking'.

In the Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad, dating about 500 B.C. or so we find a curious passage, a part of which I quote from Max Müller’s translation as follows:

“...All that we call desire, imagination, doubt, belief, unbelief, certainty, uncertainty, shame, thought, fear, all these make up the mind. Carried along by the waves of qualities (guṇas) thickening into imaginations, unstable, fickle, crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief believing 'I am he,' 'this is he', he binds himself by his self, as a bird with a net. Therefore a man being possessed of will, imagination and belief is a slave; but he who is the opposite is free. For this reason let a man stand free from will, imagination and belief; this is the sign of liberty this is the path that leads to Brahman, this is the opening of the door, and through it he will go to the other shore of darkness. All desires are there fulfilled. And for this the sages quote a verse: 'When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state.'

The testimony of early Hindu and Buddhist writings goes to show that probably about five or six hundred years B.C. the sages who were engaged in asceticism and the acquirement of highest virtue of self control...
had discovered that by intense concentration the mind could be reduced to an absolutely quiescent or unmoved state, and that at this stage the highest metaphysical truths flashed forth intuitively in a way quite different from what was ordinarily the case from inferential processes of thought. This state was thus regarded by them as leading to the highest that man could aspire to achieve. When this experience had been testified to by many sages, its place in the system of human knowledge and its value began to be discussed. The quotation given above represents one of the earliest specimens of such speculation. Later on, about 150 B.C. or so, Patanjali collected some of these floating arguments and speculations and gave them the form of a system of thought, which closely resembled the Sāukhya system of philosophy which was said to have been promulgated by Kapila. The resemblance of the Yoga way of thought with that of Sāukhya is so great that they are regarded as representing two schools of the same system. The Yoga system has undergone much elaboration and improvement at the hands of Vyāsa (200-300 A.D.), Vācaspāti (900 A.D.) and Vijnāna Bhikṣu (1600 A.D.). It has associated with it its own metaphysics, cosmology, physics, ethics, theology and mystical practice. I propose to discuss in this paper mainly some aspects of its psychology. But as its psychology is very intimately connected with its metaphysics, I am afraid it may be impossible to avoid brief reference to some of its metaphysical doctrines also.

The Yoga system admits the existence of separate individual souls, of individual minds, of an objective world of matter and of God. It holds that both matter and mind are developed by the combination of an infinite number of ultimate reals (guṇas). These reals are of three different classes: forming the energy-stuff (rajas), the mass-stuff (tamas) and the intelligence-stuff (sattva). As space does not allow us of entering into any detailed account of them, it may briefly be noted that the combination of these three different types of reals in different proportions and different modes is said to produce both mind and senses on the one hand and the objective world of matter on the other. Minds are said to differ from matter only in this that they contain a very large proportion of the reals of the type of intelligence-stuff and energy-stuff, whereas the world of matter is formed by a large preponderance of the reals of mass-stuff and energy-stuff. The souls are distinguished from the minds and the matter as being principles of pure consciousness; they are said to be absolutely passive and inactive and devoid of any other characteristics. There is an inherent 'blind' purposiveness in the reals such that they tend to relate themselves to the principles of pure intelligence or consciousness and allow themselves to be interpreted as experience. This is rendered possible by the hypothesis that one of the classes of reals, the intelligence-stuff, is largely akin to the souls or principles of pure intelligence. The reals classed as the intelligence-stuff cannot, however, of themselves give us
conscious experience, for being always associated with the energy-stuff they are constantly changing. Conscious experience cannot be produced without reference to a fixed or steady purposiveness which should run through all the reals and unite them into a system referring to a person. What we perceive when we analyse mind is but a fleeting series of mental states. These are passing in quick succession. They will not stop for a moment, but are rapidly consuming themselves like a burning flame; percepts, images, concepts, are all continually appearing and passing away. When, however, we notice carefully our conscious experience, we find that, though these are present in all our mental states, they imply a unity, a distinct purposiveness, without which they themselves become as blind as any physical phenomenon of inanimate nature can be. To take an example: I know that I have experienced a world of events during the last thirty years. Those are all in me or in my memory; but if I am asked of how many of these I am now conscious, I can hardly mention any except what are directly uppermost. If, however, I should try to think how many of Browning's love-poems I can remember, I find that I can recall a number of them. Only then can I say that I am directly conscious of these. There can be no doubt they were existing in the mind; but we say that they were existing in a sub-conscious state (sanskāra). During deep sleep I cannot say that my waking experiences are destroyed; I can say only that I was then unconscious of them. This shows that our mind-states can exist in a condition in which they cannot be called awarenesses. Consciousness does not belong to them as their innate and intrinsic property; but they come to consciousness somehow under certain circumstances. The condition under which our mental states are rendered conscious is due to their association with our self (purusa).

It must, however, be noted that this real self is never objective to us in our psychological experience. When in accordance with ordinary perceptual experience I say I see my book on my table, there is indeed in me a notion of self which connects itself with this experience. But this self forms a part of the act of cognition, and it associates itself differently with different experiences, and as such it is but a part of our thought. Each and every definite mental state shows itself to be associated with some notion of ego or 'I'. This notion is an indispensable stage through which the mental state must pass in order to get themselves fully expressed.

But this notion of an 'I' is not a direct experience of pure self. It is simply a necessary stage in the process of the completing of the cognitive act, and as such its nature is not different from the nature of the cognitive experience. When I see my book on the table and think 'this is my book', there are at least three elements involved in the judgment there is the sense-object; there is the definite apprehension of the
book as such; and there is also the association of the book with the
notion of 'I' to which it appears to belong. This interpretation of the
experience as my experience in connection with the notion of an age,
varys with each different experience; for the nature of this association
of the sense-objects with this age has a different character in accordance
with the change of the sense-objects. My experience of a part of my
body as being mine is obviously more intimately mine than my experience
of a book as my book. When I speak of my pen and my book, I am
disposed to think that the notion of 'mine' is more or less of a home-
genous nature, and the only difference here is the difference of the object
of cognition. But when I compare the notions of my honour, my son
and my stick, I see that the association of three objects of cognition with
the sense of 'mine' is very different on these three occasions. It may be
objected that there is an ambiguity in the use of the word 'mine' on these
three occasions. I agree, and this is precisely what I was trying to show.
The main point is that our notion of 'mine' is no simple homogeneous
and fixed element, but varies largely with the variety of experiences with
which we have to deal. This notion 'mine' thus does not point to the
experience of a permanent self in consciousness, but to the existence of a
separate category of an agehood which represents a confused mass of feel-
ings, having its root far into the depths of the sub-conscious elements of
our nature.

The self (purusa) in Yoga is thus not directly demonstrated in
experience and cannot be found by an analysis of introspection. The
existence of the self (purusa) is a matter of implication and not an object
of direct apprehension in consciousness. The existence of the self is held
to be implied on teleological grounds, and on grounds of moral responsi-
bility and moral endeavour. If there be not a separate self for each of us
behind all our experience, what would give the unity to our experiences?
This unity is not given by any notion of 'mine', for we have already seen
that the notion 'mine' is a variable element, and hence is as much of a
changeable nature as are the mental states. On the other hand we cannot
say that our experiences have no unity and system in them. This unity
thus presupposes a permanent subject with reference to which or in unison
with which our experiences become systematized into a whole. There
is an order and a purposes running through all our experiences, though
the full meaning and value of them are not indeed clear to us. This
much, however, we can understand, that probably our experiences, are
connected in such a way that something like a blind destiny runs through
them, and that this blind destiny refers to some entity which is beyond
them and within which they are somehow mysteriously associated. There
is a difference between our sub-conscious and conscious mental states,
and this is inexplicable except on the supposition that our conscious
experiences are made conscious by some entity other than themselves.
There is in us a sense of moral responsibility and a sense of striving after the good and this also would be inexplicable except on the supposition of a self. The only psychological ground on which the self can be inferred is the necessity of accounting for the peculiar trait of consciousness, viz., of its illuminating, which cannot be said to belong to the mental states themselves.

The existence of the mental states in potential forms in the sub-conscious is the root-idea of Yoga-psychology. The sub-conscious mental states resemble the conscious mental states so far as the substance, stuff or constituents of which they are made up, is concerned, but still there is an essential difference between the two: viz., that the one are unconscious, while the other are conscious. Why, if their substance be the same, should be mental states at one time be conscious and at other times be unconscious? This seems to imply the association with some other element different from the mental states. So in Yoga the self has to be admitted, and its association with the mental states has also to be somehow admitted. This is, however, the obscurest part of Yoga-psychology.

But we here tend to digress from the field of Yoga-psychology to Yoga-metaphysics. Leaving aside the question of the transcendent influence of a pure intelligence by which the mental states are somehow electrified into consciousness, let us come to the consideration of these states.

Mind (buddhi) according to the Yoga-system is a product of certain super-sensuous and super-subtle reals which are in essence characterised as feeling-substances. It is indeed difficult to understand what the Yoga-thinkers understood by calling them feeling-substances. But since feelings are not treated separately from cognitive acts, it appears that the whole of the mind-stuff was regarded more or less in the light of a melted mass of feeling stuff. We are generally accustomed in these days to think that feelings are mental experiences, whereas substances are things which have a non-mental or physical existence. There is therefore for us some confusion when we are told that the mind in Yoga is regarded as a product of the combination of three types of reals which are in essence but feeling-substances. But we should remember that according to the Yoga-theory, with the exception of a transcendental element of pure consciousness or pure intelligence, all forms of cognition, volition and feelings are regarded as super-subtle, substantive entities or reals. Feelings are regarded as the ultimate forms into which both the cognitive and volitional modes return and out of which they differentiate themselves under certain conditions. If we should think of the mind-substance as apart from cognitive or volitional states, we should call it according to Yoga an indeterminate stuff of feeling-complexes. The cognitive form of the mental states no doubt constituted the
only stage in which the feelings or the volitions could find themselves interpreted and expressed, for it was with this form alone that the light of the transcendent self in a person could become associated. The substance of these cognitive states, however, are but the stuff of feeling complexes, and so each cognitive state has a feeling-tone inseparably connected with it, as pleasurable, painful, or dull. A cognitive state in fact in Yoga means nothing but that state of the combination of the feeling essences in which these could copy the objects of cognition and get the light of the self reflected on it. The energy which characterizes volition is already presupposed in the feeling-reals, and hence the volitional element is also present in every state of mind. We shall see below that a well regulated volitional control was the chief thing in which the Yoga system was interested.

It is thus, I hope, clear that the special nature of the hypothesis of the mind-stuff is such that there is no room for considering feeling, willing and knowing as three distinctly separate mental functions. These according to Yoga are as the three aspects of the particular states of the same substances.

But it may be asked: If the mind-stuff is made up of so many diverse reals, how is any unity of action possible? We have already observed that there is postulated an inheritance teleology in the mind-stuff such as to serve the purpose of the self. Blindly guided by this teleology the reals conglom erate in such a manner as to render the experiences of the self possible. It is said that as fire, wick and oil, though altogether different, combine together to form the flame, so the different types of reals combine together for the formation of the stuff of the experiences of the self. The three different kinds of reals which, from the mind-stuff, can by no means remain uncombined, or separated from one another. Moreover these combinations are continually changing form like the flame of a lamp. During our waking state our senses are continually coming into contact with all sorts of objects, and as an effect of this, these objects are automatically being copied or photographed in the mind, and at every moment a phase is formed in the mind which duly represents them. Moreover, as any perception passes away from the field of operation of the senses and another new perception comes in, the phase of the mind which represented the old perception passes away and a new one comes in its place. But the old phase in not wholly destroyed; it is only shifted into the region of the sub-conscious and may be revived partially or completely later on. Disappearance from the field of direct consciousness should be on no account be regarded as destruction, any more than external things should be regarded as having ceased to exist when there is no perceiver to perceive them. And just as the physical objects, though to all appearance they may sometimes seem to have reminded the same, may yet undergo considerable changes in the shape of atomic displacements
unperceived by us, so is it the case with the mental states which pass into the sub-conscious. All physical objects are wasting away every moment, some rapidly and others slowly. The changes of those which waste away slowly can be remarked only after a long time; nevertheless it has to be admitted that they have been wasting all the while. This wasting does not mean that they have been completely destroyed, but only that there has been disintegration in one form and reformation into another. There is nothing which comes into being from nothing, and there is nothing which is absolutely destroyed. So the mental states also as they exist in the sub-conscious are continually wasting; nevertheless the waste in some mental states takes place so slowly that they may be said to exist more or less the same even after long intervals of time. There are other mental states however, which waste away so quickly that even after a short interval they cannot be revived except in distorted forms. According to Yoga some of these mental states reduced to mere impressions or modes of mind continue to exist even through the lapse of many births. They cannot be directly re-called into consciousness, but they still exist and mould or influence the nature of our thought. These semi-effaced mental states often determine the mode and nature of our choice. In most cases, when we think that we are acting freely, we are in reality being determined by these hidden experiences of the past operating unseen. These semi-effaced mental states which reveal themselves as accountable tendencies of the mind, are technically called vāsanā. It is said that the mind is netted with innumerable knots of the vāsanās. They represent the result of a host of experiences, the detailed features of which are often lost, but which have produced such deep impressions that they can largely determine the course of our choice and the nature of our enjoyments. The perpetual and other forms of our conscious mental states, including all the volitional and feeling aspects, when they are continually active and repeated, constitute potencies in the sub-conscious state of the mind. These potencies are in a large measure the determinants of the modes and the habits of our thoughts and volitions. These unseen potencies are according to Yoga, of a twofold character: those which are the results of the experiences of past lives and operate as innate tendencies or instincts of this life; and those which are the results of repeated experiences of this life.

Ordinary mental processes are said to be of five kinds: pramāṇa, viparyaya, vikalpa, nidrā and smṛiti. Pramāṇa includes valid states, the states of perception, inference and belief in valid testimony. Viparyaya means illusory knowledge, which is produced by the operation of the defects of the senses, the rousing of wrong memories, causing non-observation of the distinction between the right thing and the wrong. Vikalpa means the processes of abstraction and contraction employed by us in following an argument or sometimes in using language. Thus when...
I say 'conscious of the self.' I make an unreal abstraction, for the self according to Yoga is identical with consciousness; but for the convenience of language I separate them as though they were different from each other and then unite them. This state of the mind is of a distinctly different type, and without it thought and language are not possible. Sleep (nādīrā) is also regarded as a separate type of mental process, when the volitional control of a man is absent and as a result thereof, by the loose play of the suppressed mental state of the subconscious dreams are produced. In the state of deep sleep there is not a cessation of mental states; the state represented therein is one of negation of all positive appearances, but though a negation it is considered as a mental process (vṛtti). Memory (smṛti), is also regarded as a separate mental process. Memory is produced by the recalling of the old saṃskārās or impressions in the subconscious by similarity, contrast, contiguity of time or place, etc. It is said that memory may also be produced by the random working of the saṃskāras, in which case it is said to be determined by time.

But if in the perpetual state of our consciousness we are determined by the influx of sensations, and in our thought processes, choice and volition by the accumulated experiences of the past acting as tendencies we seem in no way to be our own masters and to have, no power for moral endeavour at our disposal at all. Such a view, however, Yoga cannot admit; for the whole theory of its psychology aims at explaining the fact that we can by the exercise of our will and concentration attain final emancipation from the bonds of all worldly experience. It therefore holds that there is a power (śakti) inherent in the mind by virtue of which it can endeavour (cestā) in any particular direction. It can react against the forces of the past tendencies, repress them and concentrate upon states which may appear desirable to it. Undoubtedly the force of the tendencies of the accumulated experiences of the past in the subconscious cannot easily be overcome. Whenever there is any slackening of the will, these will try to have their own way and distract us into paths hostile to our best wishes. If we are with full consciousness exerting our will, there will be a constant fight between the sort of conscious states which we are trying to have, and the sub-conscious tendencies pulling us the other way. But if as said above, none of our experienced states can be destroyed, it would seem that we can never hope to succeed in having our own way entirely.

Here, however, comes in the theme of the law of contrary mental states (pratipaksabhūvanā). Ordinarily no mental states are destroyed; even when they seem to be destroyed, they work in a cumulative manner as tendencies of particular kinds. But the law of contrary mental states holds that any subconscious mental state or tendency can be ultimately destroyed by generating opposite mental states. Thus if I am jealous of
a man, I shall naturally be led to think of his evil deeds; but I can fight against this tendency and try to think of some of his good traits. In the first stages it will hardly appear pleasant to shake off my ill-will against the man; but I may try it again and again and each attempt will make the task easier for me. For each good thought that I may be having at different times is being stored and accumulated in the sub-conscious. Here another law comes into operation: viz., the law that the repetition of any mental state will strengthen the corresponding impression of it in the sub-conscious. Thus in accordance with this law the power of the sub-conscious impression of good thoughts will gradually gain strength. The evil thoughts come now only at random moments, and hence, however strong originally, they may be destroyed eventually, by continually thinking of the opposite good thoughts.

When any particular evil thought ceases for a time to present itself before us, we are not to suppose that the evil tendency has been removed. In reality it is still existing and, if it is to be completely uprooted, the root of the impression of the opposite thought in the deepest parts of the sub-conscious has to be strengthened. There are different levels of the sub-conscious, and even when an impression has been destroyed in the shallower ones, it may still have roots in the deeper and may in time grow up again. So there is no permanent safety from any impression of an evil thought unless the root of the opposite good thought may be made to run as deep as the roots of the impressions of evil thought, as a good impression in the subconscious grows stronger, its roots go deeper and deeper into the utmost levels of the sub-conscious, and as it spreads there, it destroys the roots of the opposite evil thought which have been already enfeebled by its growth. The significance of the Yoga-theory of psychology with regard to ethical conduct is that it is possible to control not only our external conduct but also our inner thought. Though the workings of the sub-conscious are apparently unknown to us, we may by directing the workings of the conscious determine the growth of the sub-conscious in a way helpful to our purposes. We may cease to be disturbed by any evil thought or propensity, not by simply negating it, but by the acquisition of positive good thoughts and ideals. Thus we may so develop the habit of thinking of universal love and compassion and the tendency to overlook others, defects and of feeling happiness at the happiness of others, that it will become impossible for us to have a single evil thought against any fellow being.

It should be noted, however, that the Yoga-ideal is not satisfied by a man's becoming solely moral. A Yigin seeks deliverance from every bondage, even from the bondage of his mind. The attainment of perfect morality and self control by acquiring the virtues of universal non-injury, truthfulness, celibacy, purity, contentment, fortitude, etc. (technically called yama and niyama), is of course indispensable for him.
But this is not all. This cannot give him full liberation. He would be a pure and free 'spirit' untrammelled even by his 'mind'. Thus when his mind has been sufficiently purified and is no longer disturbed by ordinary moral strivings, he endeavours to engage himself in a higher work, viz., that of staying the movement of the mind states.

We have already said that the mind is always changing as the flame of a lamp. So long as this change of mind, this continual succession of mental states continues, a man is, as it were, for ever being tossed upon the crests of the waves of thought. He is not master of himself. The Yogi therefore, in order to suppress the ever-changing nature of the mind, tries to restrain his mind from the many different objects of thought and to hold one object only continually in his attention. The former process is called dhārāṇā and the latter dhyāna. In the first stages it is difficult to fix the mind on one object, and the object has to be continually replaced before the mind. By this process of continually presenting the same object to the mind a habit is generated and a potency of fixation is acquired in the sub-conscious, and gradually the changeful character of the mind ceases and the mind becomes one with the object. At this stage there are no fluctuations of mental states: the mind becomes one with the object of thought, absolutely still and motionless. This state is called samādhi. When the mind becomes thus fixed on one object, it is said that immediate cognitions of the real nature of the object dawn before the mind. This is called prajñā-knowledge. In its character as immediate and direct it resembles perception, but it does not fluctuate and so the nature of the reality of the object appears in one undisturbed flash. The mind is at this state one with this reality. It is this knowledge alone which the Yogi considers to be supremely real. As the Yogi advances in his path of meditation the impressions of this tendency to meditation grow stronger, so that to get into meditation becomes an easy thing for him; and as at each stage of meditation he meets with new flashes of true wisdom, the potencies and impressions of his old phenomenal knowledge are gradually destroyed, and there comes a time when he is able to perceive the true nature of the self a distinguished from the mind. As this stage is persisted in, the ignorance through which the mind was being falsely identified with the self is ultimately destroyed, and as a result of this the connection of the mind with the self ceases and the soul (puruṣa) remains in itself in its own absolute pure intelligence.

In this part of the Yoga-theory there seem to be three things which may appear to us as assumptions, but which the Yogins affirm to be undeniable facts of experience. These are; firstly that the changeful processes of the mind can at a certain state be brought to a standstill; secondly, that such a state can give us a new grade or dimension of knowledge; and thirdly, that, as a culmination and highest advancement.
of this knowledge, the pure individual self as pure intelligence can be known. This kind of knowledge will not of course be knowledge in the familiar sense; for all samādhi-knowledge is said to be non-conceptual knowledge and so of a different order. This difference in kind refers not only to the fact that prajñā knowledge gives us a knowledge of reality, whereas perception gave us phenomenal knowledge only, but also to a difference in their essential nature or character. The prajñā-impressions tend to loosen the mind from the self. They represent a different dimension of knowledge completely foreign to phenomenal knowledge. We can never recall the knowledge gained by prajñā in our normal consciousness, for it is opposed to the letter, and the former can never be translated in terms of the latter; the memory we recall is a phenomenal state of consciousness. This new dimensions of knowledge is thus said to supersede scientific knowledge and not to supplement it. We should also remember that this prajñā-knowledge has nothing to do with telepathy, dual or multiple personality or the like, which are all but varieties of phenomenal knowledge.

If we do not believe the testimony of the Yogin, there is probably no way for us either to prove or disprove its reality.
FRAGMENTS OF BHARTR-PRAPAṆCA

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A., MYSORE.

I—INTRODUCTION.

By the courtesy of the Editors of the Indian Antiquary, I was able to publish in that Journal for April last, an article giving a tentative account of the doctrine of Bhartṛ-PrapaṆca, a Vedāntin who lived long before the time of Śaṅkara, but of whose works none has so far been recovered. The material for the article was derived chiefly from the discussions of the views of this ancient thinker found in the commentary of Śaṅkara on the Bhadārayāyaka-Upaniṣad and in Sureśvara’s masterly Vārtika on it. In his gloss on the latter, Ānanda-jñāna gives several extracts from Bhartṛ-Prapaṇca’s bhāṣya on the same Upaniṣad. Many of these he refers explicitly to that bhāṣya and the others which are introduced by expressives like yathāhūḥ or uktam hi, it is clear from the context, are taken from it. The majority of the extracts are quite short and do not therefore serve by themselves as a basis for drawing any definite conclusions; yet they are too precious to be allowed to lie scattered in a book which is one of the biggest in Vedāntic literature. Besides, these fragments gain somewhat in significance when one sees the doctrine as a whole has been roughly sketched. They are accordingly brought together here in a form convenient for ready reference and care has been taken to exclude all quotations about which there is the least doubt. They are arranged according to topics and do not therefore always appear here in the order in which they are found cited in the gloss. A few which bear upon the interpretation of particular words or passages have been given under a separate head. As a help to the understanding of the fragments, a brief summary of Bhartṛ-Prapaṇca’s doctrine, as described in the Indian Antiquary is added.

II—SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE.

(a) Theoretical Teaching.

The doctrine of Bhartṛ-Prapaṇca is monism and it is of the bhedābheda type. The relation between Brahman and the jīva, as that between Brahman and the world, is one of identity in difference. An implication of this view is that both the jīva and the physical world evolve out of Brahman, so that the doctrine may be described as Brahma-parināma-vāda. On the spiritual side, Brahman is transformed into the antaryāmin and the jīva; on the physical side, into avyākṛta, sūtra, virāj and devaīḍa which are all cosmic; and jāti and pīṇḍa which are not cosmic. These are the
avasthās or 'modes' of Brahmān and represent the eight classes into which the variety of the universe may be divided. They are again classified into three rāsis—Paramātma-rāsi, Jīva-rāsi and Mūrtamūrtarāsi, which correspond to the triple subject-matter of Religion and Philosophy, viz. God, Soul and Matter. Bhartrṛ-Prapāṇa recognised what is known as pramāṇa-samuccaya by which it follows that the testimony of common experience is quite as valid as that of the Veda. The former vouches for the reality of variety and the latter, for that of unity (as taught in the Upaniṣads). Hence the ultimate Truth is dvaitādvaita.

(b) Practical Teaching.

Mokṣa or life's end is conceived as being achieved in two stages—the first leading to apavarga where saṁsāra is overcome through the overcoming of āsaṅga; and the second, leading to Brahma-hood when identity with Brahmān is realised through the dispelling of avidyā. The means of reaching either stage is jīnā-karma-samuccaya which is a corollary on the practical side to pramāṇa-samuccaya on the theoretical side.

III—Extracts.

Note.—The pages refer to the Ānandāśrama Edition of the Vārtika and the figures within brackets, to the number of the sloka, in the gloss on which the extract occurs. Dots placed between two extracts do not signify that they are not consecutive, but only that it is not certain they are so.

(a) Theoretical Teaching.

(1) Brahman is the permanent unity underlying all diversity.

P. 572. (693) विशेषणां ब्राह्मन एकता अवति यथा समुद्रे समुद्रे-भीणाम् \( II \)

P. 623. (948) यथा तस्मिनान्तरणीति विशेषणे ब्रह्मसांतरणात्विशेषणैव भूतमार्हिणि अवति \( II \)

P. 661. (1139) सर्वक्लेबः परं श्रद्धा परमात्मा य:....स आत्मा (1140) अनेनात्मनाभवन्ति...

P. 664. (1154) तत्र परमात्मा निहः \( II \)

P. 670. (1184) द्वीतिविषयेन्यस्यंपेणात्मनाभिमिस्यिति: \( II \) (1185) हृद पुनरूपे सर्वमार्मरणन्यत्वत्त्वत्वस्वस्वत्त्वेव वास्यनाभिमिस्यिते \( II \)

P. 769. (1703) यथा विशेषात्वम्या अनमित्यका परमात्माविद्वं या \( II \)
(2) The three rāsis.

P. 1011. (113) तान्येतानि श्रीणि वस्तूः पूर्नामूर्ति मानाभाजनादिरुप-मायात्मा भवति ॥

(3) The jīva cannot be the same as Brahman as, for instance, is indicated by their treatment in separate sections of the Upaniṣad—Adhyāya III, Brāhmaṇas IV and V.

Pp. 1341—2 (9) *प्रभः परमात्मात्मविषयः विज्ञानात्मविषयः ॥

(11) एकसिद्धालंकारं द्वयोहलसर्वतरं दर्शनं परमात्मायुक्तमानं विज्ञानात्मानि सिद्धे भविष्यति ॥ (12) तत्स्य तद्वैभव्यता तेनेव संवच्चाचकोषमोहायतीतता प्राक्षकव- मात्रे रूपसंवच्चाचकोषमोहायतीतता परमात्मानि सिद्धा भविष्यति ॥ (13) पञ्चमयायायवेषे परमात्मो निर्त्यो वक्ष्यमानः...षष्टिन विज्ञानात्मः ॥ (14) अप्रवृद्धिन श्री इतिविचयं प्रस्तेन भविष्यत् ॥

(4) The jīva is a transformation of Brahman and is other than the body which is only its support.

P. 890—1 (22) *बोक्ष्यः देवता: करणाचिन्तायशः किमव्यविज्ञानात्मनां कार्यार्थति। अतिशिन्द्रधारी स्थितो गार्भः पूर्वपक्षपरिस्वियऽयथ: ॥ (24) कार्यात्मना उत्तिसिद्धान्तमुक्तति।

Pp. 1008—10. (93—4) तत्संबवद्ध्यावास्तवम्...तत्र प्राणां विज्ञानात्मनां नामरूपस्याद्वितीयस्यसंयोगाकार्यकरणवत्ता नामरूपवन्तो निर्देशाय कल्पनते। (95) तद्वैतस्य विज्ञानात्मस्ववृद्धि ॥ (96) सत्यात्रिष्णुपद्ध्य विज्ञानात्मस्ववृद्धि वक्ष्यम्। (97) एतत्स्यवस्तवायमं भोक्ता अस्मी विज्ञानात्मां: प्राणा इत्यय हिंस्यो विशेषो ना- स्ति। (98) आधारात्मायं नामरूपक्रमो विशेष:। (99) तद्वैत सत्यं परिशो-ध्यातनां नामरूपक्रमो विशेषः। (100) तद्वैतस्य विज्ञानात्मानं सामान्यमेव वक्ष्यायं भवति। (101) तत्स्य हैत्तत्स्य प्रहेल्लस्य विज्ञानात्मो रूपं निर्देश-यते...उपक्षाणवेतस्य रूपं मूर्तिमूलतिवस्ये। (103) इति तु परमात्मः परिशोध्यायायस्य वेत्ति सर्वस्य विशेषेण विज्ञानात्ममलद्ध्यायस्य निर्दिष्टिसिद्धिमपाण्यात्मतिर्मम्॥

P. 1433. (918) विज्ञानं परं बाधा। तद्विनिर्भूतको जीवं: विज्ञानमयः॥

Pp. 1450—51. *Objection (425) साध्यप्रेक्ष्यः कलेव बुद्धरेव धर्मी विल-क्रणोद्धम्भो भोक्तुच्छम् (426) तत्र कर्म व्यतिरित्तोपप्पथते।*

* This order is in reference, not to the Kāṇva but to the Madhyamaka recension to the Upaniṣad on which Bhartṛ-Prapañca commented.
Third Oriental Conference.

(Answer) (428) स एष यदि व्यतिरिक्तः न स्त्रान्तमायर्ति चोक्षयोभूतः
विविधैपूर्वकस्तहार्ष्यायुपितापि अभोग विपधेत || न तु मथवीयत्वोगम्यतेतार्ति
क्षिप्रचज्ञातिरिक्तः मद्दीवान्ध्रवति यद्मावान्ध्रवति ||

Pp. 1578—83. Objection: (1118—20) यथैव बायास्हुयः प्रकाशर्योः
स्ंसंगीत्त्रिशेषप्रकाशानामन्यतिरेव बुधचिद्यसंसगीतुपविविधज्ञानाभिविभिन्नः।

Answer: (1122) यदि व्यतिरिक्तः विज्ञातः न स्त्राते योगनकाले ज्ञाति
क्षीय ज्ञयतिरेव बुधचिद्यसंसगीतूपविविधज्ञानाभिविभिन्नः। नातायोगपथोणोभयोपविविधस्यांतः । (1123—4) न तु मथवतः ।...उपस्थितोपर्णोऽनोऽनोभयोपविविधस्यांतः अभिविभिन्नः।

Objection: (1127) तासां चाचिन्तानीणां पर्ययेण दृष्टिरूपपद्धते ।

Answer: (1131) देवताया विभूष्णुप्रयत्नकार्येण योगपथं न तु
विज्ञानाम: । (1133) अनेन भौत्िप्रयुक्तेन हृदिता प्रयत्नायोगपथेन
व्यतिरिक्तकद्रष्ट्रमत्सिद्धः । (1134—5) तस्य हि स्नानंतुवद्वात्योऽ
व्यतिरिक्तकद्रष्ट्पमात्सिद्धः । ज्ञाते कर्मवृत्तं प्रति यत्नो न स योगपथेन संभवति ।
तस्मात्स्य तथा विविधर्मोऽद्वीपेव विविधतिरिवासिथियं मथवतिः । (1136) उपस्थितां योगार्योऽ
गुणमान्यास्तिके, विश्वः । (1146) उभयोऽ कालयेययतिरिक्तकार्यतिरिक्तो
दृष्टि । न मौलिकं दृश्येनभः । नापि देवताकृतम् ॥

(5) The jiva is both a karta and a bhokta.

P. 1012—3 (115) स एष विवावधपुर्व्वप्राप्त्योक्तोस्य कर्मणो बायास्सुत्ति-
मूत्सर्वाधित्यो बायास्सर्वाधित्यो वायास्सर्वाधित्यो भोगसिद्धः। (120) स परमात्मेकेदः
किल...स कर्ता ॥

(6) The state of Hiranyagarbha is due to avidyā. He is the cosmic soul revealing himself in all beings.

P. 661. (1141) तत्स: प्रत्युत्नामविवाधकः हिरण्यगर्भः आत्मा सर्वे
साधारणस्थनामाना सर्वस्वाभावनाभिन्नः ॥

P. 669. (1177) स ईश्वर्जगद्यात्मानाभिसंप्रेयुक्तमूद्विद्यया ॥

P. 1001. (53) योह द्वितिस्मिन्मण्डः विज्ञानात्मः ।...एष खल्विवाधकमे-
पूर्वप्राप्तिरिष्टत: विज्ञानात्ममामपद्धते ॥
FRAGMENTS OF BHARTI-PRAKĀṆA.

(7) Hiranya-garbha is the creator of the world in the form in which it serves as environment to the jīvas in it.

Pp. 1001—2 (54) विद्वानात्मनस्तः द्रव्यविश्वारिक्षणयोक्ति भवति।...अन्तः
रिक्षाधारसः बायुपरिपूवई कर्मणो वायुविश्वारिक्षणयोवेव तेजससंस्वांः।
(55) तेजसेः इत्यरे भूते। (56) तदर्मसामायिकः कर्मणा रसमूलेनाबिश्वारिक्षण
रिक्षणोः। प्रवृत्ति। (57) “सद्या तपस्वाजन्यलिता” इति युक्तम्।

P. 1008. (91—2) यावन्ते बाहो विकारो विद्वानात्ममनस्तः द्रव्यविश्वारिक्षणोऽवभि
वायुदीविव वा नामशुष्विभागेन व्याकुलसर्वदोऽवेश मूलोऽव भवानिकृतोऽव सासु
व्यवह...।

(8) Distinction between avidyā and āsāṅga which together condition the jīva. Pāsanās really belong to the antah-karana but are transmitted from it to the jīva.

P. 665 (1156) कदाचित्विवातिरस्य कदाचिद्विवातिरस्य भवति।
(1157) वादवासामेवं सर्वभूतस्यार्थवाणीसंबोधः। (1158) स एव संबोधे
निध: परम्यस्माते...अत्य ह्यंतस्मितारिक्षणविचाराने सांसारिकः। (1159) वचने
संस्कृत्तो वेदविवायम् सर्वभूतविवा विद्वाया सर्वसम्बन्धिनेन सर्वभूतविवातिः...

Pp. 1156—7. (54) अयतनिः इह कर्म विक्रेतव के वस्त्रकारुणिकारणामाभ
वोज्वविवातिः...विवानं परिवेश्वृत। (55) वेदविवाया परिवेश्वत: विवानम्।

Pp. 1295—6. (32) सर्वान्तः विद्वात्मप्रवेशवर्थः महारजनानिद्वित्यवर्तः जय-
मंगतेत्वकमः। (34) विनायकोर्वकारं परश्य सौक्ष्म्या व्यविश्वतस्तित्राग्नायः।
(36) तस्मिन्ततिविद्वेशे नोपपच्चि विवेशवेशो विवाधमानावातुः...नामिः तदाभिः
व्यपदेऽकस्तिः विवेशस्याग्निमाणचतृत।

Pp. 1573—4. (1069) अस्य प्रहस्य बाहों कर्म बुद्वविद्वात्योऽपि
श्रेयः...तत: कर्मणो भावना सचेत्वनामाकृति। तवोर्विवेर्वो व्याह्यातः।
(1090) अंबिया पुनःवज्ञानश्रृङ्खः। (1091) तदेव विज्ञानं विज्ञान विक्रेत
प्रायः प्रकृतयति। (1093) स विद्वानविषेषः बुद्वविद्वात्योऽव श्यालीमृतोऽव
बाहोः प्रकाशो व्यवहारार्य कल्पने। (1094) य आस्तिकतस्वस्तित्वर्थस्वेच्छोऽव
विवेकावृत्तिः। वस्त्रविवविद्वेशस्तित्वर्थस्तित्वर्थविवेको व्याह्यातः। (1097) आस-
स्त्रुतो विवेशवेशेवतः वाहिकस्तित्वास्मातामस्तित्वप्रवृत्तिः।
Pp. 1590—2. (1189) तत्त ाः: कमणः: फलः करणं एव तु बासना। (1190) यथाव्यतःयेव भावना तत्कथा करत तयाव्यतःयेव फलं तस्य विश्वानामसा भावना तदेत्र स्वप्नधुकृ प्रवेष्यकाम्यता मवति। (1191) तदनुराघितो विश्वानास्मात काम्य कामयत इलेक्ष्ट्वति। (1193) विश्वान् पुनर्वनामापरिष्ठेद्रितिनांसा विश्वानानुविधायिनी हि कर्मणः विजित्या...विश्वानामसााः प्रतिवृत्तेष्यक्षम्यस्वप्नः। (1194) स एव बाह्यो विश्वानामस्य इत्युत्तमः। (1195) तथं प्रयोक्त्री भावना कर्म विकर्त्तृ। (1196) एवं कामकर्मभावनाविश्वानानां परस्परप्रेक्षावृकार्थता। (1197) तद्भवन्या कामयतेविविधया (?|) पवति द्वेषाविषयम्।

P. 1786. (396) कामः: पुनर्वनामारजनादिरूपः। (397) तत्त्व मार्जनादिरूपः: कामविग्रहेष्यस्ते बाह्यः हदये चित्ता। (399) तत्त व हि तेस्स प्रसरुतिभेवति। (401) यथा बीजगतस्याकारस्य पुरविवाचित्य प्रसुरतिः प्राचार्यतानां हदये योनः।

(9) The jiva being the subject cannot be known. It only knows. It is also the kartā of the jñāna-phala i.e., samavedana.

Pp. 1236—7. (171) दृष्टि: क्रिया। तस्या यदृः तत्कथा। तत्त्वपरिष्ट- तममस्य...चकुयोन्तुवित्तिरिति करणानि। (172) विश्वानामविनिर्वाच्य दृष्टिक्रियायाः: फलः रूपोपाविष्ठः। (173) क्रियारूपाधितेक्षण विनियुक्तः। ...क्रियारूपविरुध्दतः काले फलं कस्मापि भविष्यति। (174) तद्धैगतितविषयम्। न कर्ता।

P. 1653. (1546) तत्तवापि मुद्रार्थयथस्य घटदेढश्रेष्ठा प्राप्तावहभावेन संविकासायानविनिर्वाच्य दृष्टेऽ। (1547) तत्त्व यिमयुप्वेदकृष्टं स्वप्नार्मदिसबिच्यनविनन्ति... (1548) विश्वानामापीयेनो दृष्टिक्रियाभावः कर्तुः।...

P. 1666 (1625) हुज्जनेन कर्तुः कर्तवेयवाच्येऽ... कस्य द्रष्टा। द्रष्टे। (1626) दृष्टिरिति भावः क्रियासमाप्तिः: फलाक्षितो निद्रितस्यते। (1627) किं पुनः फलम्। प्रकाशायम...तत्त्वत्वप्रकाशनं च ज्ञानकर्मे चतुर्थि धर्मिन्यं प्रयोगकार्यमुपास्यन्वयवेते।

(10) The indriyas are bhautika.

P. 1728. (28) प्रकाशः: पुनर्वम मौतिको न जात्यन्तरः मूतेभयः।

(11) Dreams and susupti.
P. 929. (252) तस्य हि झानालमो या च ख्याकाशात्सिस्सा हृदय-ध्वरण व्युहतति हृदयं विशेषायतनम्। (२५४) तत्र हि भवनाविज्ञानं विशेषमाधिविद्यक्षमास्ते यत् एवंक्ष्या तस्मिन्दे इतयुज्यते॥

Pp. 1581—2. Object. : (1137) न हि देवतानां ख्याकारे स्वव्यापरः। तत् विद्यक्षिप्योर्कारं प्रति विशेषकारोपयायविमिकानि हितः स्वानि स्थानानि प्रतिपदन्ते “ आँखि वागप्येति ” श्लायदिखुते। तथा ख्याकारं प्रति-पिसोदेवता अपकाराना महति।

Answer : (1140) न हि देवता कदाचिचिन्ता जहाति। सा लघरमिम्यके लिखे नानां विशेषकारोपयः॥

P. 1591–3. (1192) तत्र क्रमतच्छवातिनि सुख्दुःखं दर्शयति। (१२००) विद्यापि विपरीतस्य प्रबिधकत् स्थानं गात्राय विशेषविश्वानाय कल्यते॥

Pp. 1625—9. (१३८७—८) अशोकान्तरामित्युक्तं तदेवाविस्मकाते स्थेनालमना व्योतिष्ट्रणं महति।... व्याम्बिकेन स्वर्यं व्यातिल्भ्य। (१३८९—५०) तद्विशेषज्ञानमिविद्यापक्षस्येव। (१३९२) नातासदर्शकारे युक्तं हि भवमविद्येवतुःकर्।... अहेवेदं सर्ववस्मिति प्रतिपक्षमूला विद्या। (१३९३) तदेवे देववक्ष्यन्ति मध्यमानं सदाशुरुं प्रसरं महति। (१३९४) स्वेन विशेषविश्वानालमना देवद्यमानों महति.... विशेषत्वानुविपस्यसंयोगः।

Object. : (१३९९) तम एवेनल्लौ व्यातः न व्योति।॥

Answer : (१३९९) व्योतिष्ट्रपत्यस्य महता प्रवेचनम् विभावितवात्। (१४००) स्थितत्वाय सिद्धान्तस्य। (१४०६) स्वामीनाय व्योतिष्ट्रव्याहारम्॥

Pp. 1652—6. (१५४१) पश्चिमवायं तस्मिन्काले महति। (१५४३) न चायस्य विशेषग्ना प्रातुरतिः (१५४९) यावदुर्दृष्टिनामिवो हि गुणः। यावदद्विनिर्वातामण्डः। (१५५०) यावदृष्टि यावदद्विनिर्वातपरिपोषः। (१५५१) नित्यो हि देशः। (१५५२) न दृष्टि विनिष्टं श्रीलों विद्यते। (१५५३) सर्वभूवाते वादेववात्त। (१५५४) यथा दृष्टान्यं द्वितीययम् नाश आधारक्षेत्र न तदक्षित। (१५५५) यो तेनैव तस्य विनाशोपस्ति। (१५५६) अविनाशिल्वानः—
OBJECT: (1559) यदि पश्यनेवाते कथं न पश्यति।

Answer: (1560) अथ यथा पश्यति न पश्यति च ...पश्यति तावदयम।
(1561) तत्र द्वितीयं नासित यस्मश्चत्तानं विशेषविन्यां ग्राह्यं भावं (1562) ब्याधिभयातं।
(1563) यदि हि ततो अन्याश्रेष्ठं स्वाधीन्येत्। न तु तद्र्वितीयं शयति।
(1564) तस्मादेक्षाकोग्नियम्यानवातं पश्यनेवाते। न तु द्रष्यं प्राप्तिः
यतोतः: नोपल्लभते। (1565) तथया अभिव्वलता प्राप्तेऽथ द्रष्यति तद्वत्।

(12) Reality of the physical world.

P. 1590—1. (1188) अथ हि द्रेताविये विशेषविन्यानादिप्रयासिश्चिक्रीणं जागरितद्विस्मन्तादेवभासते। (1194) सापि नाति द्रष्ये विषयं राह्येत्।

(13) Parallelism between the adhyātma, the adha-bhūta and the adhi-dāiva phases of the universe.

Pp. 827—8. ('71) वाचोधिनें व्रती शरीरं काठिम्याद्वन्तत्वाचामसमं (172) सेषा द्रिविचित्र सूपेण पार्थिबं नैसेन चार्वस्थित। (173—4)
एवेदेव देवन्तिश्रव्यायमापमिभूतं च ...अधिवें च सर्वमात्रिकां देवतामुपादेवकः
कृत्त्वा देवतामुपादेवतृतं ...तत्र ...‘175) यावलय वागधातामापमाभूतं वा तावति
(176) सेष हि व्रतीदेवता तत्र तत्र तत्र तत्र तत्र व्यवित्तुः। (177) स एवायमस्थः प्रभृत्याचाना वाचानां वैकैस्मिशिशिकारस्थिते काल्प्येन द्रष्यवः।

Pp. 1369—71. (67) संपदा सूक्ष्मा देवतान्तहदे कदम्बगोलककुड़द्यान्यादीपु समन्ताविण्मसस्तस्तानु विषयकः। (68) एवभेक्किता देवता। (68) सर्वां कार्यकारणस्य साधारणत्वात। (69) यथा देवताया यथा द्वार्षेणित्यां तदा
सर्वांस्माधित्यतं ददश्चत्तम। (70) नाभ्यशंकरेशि यथा देवताप्रक्ष्यते सा तदा
कृत्त्वा देवताविभवस्मिन्द्रेष्ट्योपतिष्टे। (73) प्रयत्नवं कृत्त्वा परिषमात्रास्तैषा
व्यायामामधिश्रुतमात्रिभिर्मधिथिर्भिर्मधिर्मधिथि एवमेतेवं प्रक्ष्यविभवस्मिन्द्रेष्ट्योपतिष्टे।
(74) एतमसंदेह शरीरार्धिनिध्वत्य सत्य जनादापूर्वाविधिततः। (77) यथावाचाया—
(b) Practical Teaching.

(1) Conception of mokṣa.

P. 1241. (10) अस्त हि विज्ञानात्मकः परमात्मन्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

P. 1375. (101) वाचवपि नात्मकः परमात्मकः न तु साक्षात्कारः।।

(102) द्वितीयो मौक्षोस्मिने भरीरे साक्षात्कारव्रता मुक्त इत्युच्यते न ब्रह्मणि जीनः। तत्शि श्रीरंपाटात्तकारं ब्रह्मणि रखो द्वितीयो मौक्षः स त्वासित्वः ॥

(2) Need for practical discipline before attaining Brahma-hood.

P. 1361. (16) बजनको वेदं तत्तं न नस्नालितपि मार्गम।। स तु तद्दशनेन परिशोधः।। (18) ...जाननापि परमात्मां दर्शनमागस्य परोश्वत्वायः ॥

(3) Vairāgya, a necessary preliminary.

P. 639. (1025) नामस्वास्तमके मेवास्य दृश्यं ब्रह्मविषयासांहि प्रात्मंगुणात्।। माणलात्।। तत्त्विविरृत्तिपुरुङ्गात्मां प्रबौहिन्तिपु: प्रक्रोदति ॥

P. 1785. (392) यथा पूर्वसिद्धमकम्बैंवन्य इति इत्येकोनेत्राविवेचनेवेशापि निष्कामाद्वियुक्तत्त्वते इति इत्येकोनेत्रीमाविशिष्टति ॥

(4) Obligatory character of agnir-hotra.

P. 851. (302) स एष संप्राति कृतव यावनेवति ।। न तावद्विलोक्तुत्स्ताब्दैंमत ॥

(5) Nature of meditation.

Pp. 663—4. (1150) तां एत्व दृश्यावस्थाः।। एतदेव चासां कार्यम्।।

(1151) पिण्डात्ममद्विं पिण्डात्ममविभिसेवते प्रेयः।। (1154) एवं परमात्मदृश्यावस्थाय:।। परमात्मभाव एव कार्यम्।।

(6) Jñāna-karma-samuccaya leads to mokṣa through an intermediate stage of apavarga.

P. 724. Objecton : (1467) ओऽज्यतया कृत्वां जगद्दस्पात्मम।।

Answer : (1469) द्वितिषये हि तेषामधिकारः।। अयं पुरैदैवाविषयो भवति ॥
Pp. 762—9. Objection: (1667) भग्निश्रे देयतय नाथपातिसस एतैे नशव बस्त्यति।

Answer: (1693) द्रेवतास्तावक्कमरङित्रता: कमीसंवैं नियत्यन्ति। (1694) ताम्यो वृवत्यात्मायद्दश्व: नोपपयते। (1695) आत्मांपि लंसंस्तरमान आत्मवेन नोपथंति। (1704) यत्रुपद्वेदतावस्थायमुपरते तस्यामेव कर्म भवति।

Fp. 838—40. Objection: (225) योगमेववितिपुष्पस्त एष प्रजापति।

Answer: (237) समुबितानि पुनर्चित्ताद्त्तानि सर्वंतम्बाय। (232) विचारेष सर्वभावायप्य लोकायोगपश्चिरि न। पृथक्कारणवत्।

Objection: (236) न हि पुनर्लप्यथानाद्यनेन मन्तुपयेकजयोक्षति। (238) किमिवनी त्यापितिष्यते।

Answer: (238) तत्र मन्तुपयेकजयापतिक्षिक्षक्षित्व। इत्यु ततो व्याख्यत।

Pp. 1155—8. Objection: (47) द्रेवताद्दशंनेन कर्तंदित्स्तार्यसुधिं न भूतमायप्राधवान्षेव बीजमं। (48) तेनेवप्रकटः पुरुषं: कठायिद्वाॆलामेदानैमैत्रैनदीने प्रयोजनमति।

Answer: (51) द्रेवताद्दशनास्तार्यसुधिं तास्तं उपादानं भूताना-मं। (52) स एष काष्ठप्य उद्धिर्धः। काष्ठ नय्पक्षस्त्वै। (53) विज्ञाना- त्तमो किमविशिष्टत इति। विज्ञानमविशिष्यते। (56) यस्मात्परिचित्तिं: परमा- त्तमो पृथमूत आस्ते स एष संसारविशिष्यस्त एव द्रेवतां। अथ श्राणां दयं: कर्त्तेन्य:। (57) तथ्य प्रधृं: कर्त्तेन्य: इवहवसितार्यमेव वाक्यं प्रवत्तत् आ प्रव्यायामू। (58) इवेकाक्यता। (59) अन्विश्चेन्द्रेः हि परिवेक्षे क्यास्त्विं न तु कर्मयो विकर्त्तवायमानस्तार्य:। (60) ते आसिक्षाॆनि अनिवेक्षे पुनर्विन्याः प्रयरु- क्षीयातां तेषां परिसर्वान्वितार्यगतितिवत्। (61) न चाचवादेवद्रेवताद्दशेन शक्यम्।

(c) Extracts bearing upon interpretation.

(1) General plan of the Brhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.

P. 648. (1067) एतेषां यथोपन्यस्ताना: हिन्यानव उत्तरो ग्रन्थ: आर्यवते आ परिसमातेदाशास्त्र॥ (See gloss on stanza 1066)

P. 666. (1164) एष विचारः किसु तद्वद्वेषसातमसवर्मभवन्


P. 668. (1175) श्रवणं ब्रह्मावेशं पुरुषो निरंतरतयेत । (1176) इदमात्ति

(4) Connection between Br : Up I-iv-7 and 10.

P. 758. (1646) तद्वद्वायाविषयासूत्रम् । तद्वायानमं योजन्यामित्यादि

(5) Br : Up. I. v. 3.

P. 822. Objection : (137) यथा रूपमात्रेनात्मानं व्याकुलतेषु शब्दाः

Answer : (138) एषा व्याख्या न कथाचित्तकाशयितव्य-मन्त्रेणोपजयते


Pp. 829—30 Objection : (180) सर्वसदा हि मनसाध्रो भवति

Answer : (181) मनोबुद्धिभेदमेवं भास्कर्तवात् । (183) यथा हि मनस्तु

(7) Br : Up. II. i. 16.

P. 919. (196) सोक्तत्त्वानस्वभवति कर्पेणु विदमानेषु कथं कदाचित्

(8) Br : Up. II. i. 17.

P. 929. (251) उभयतः स्वपनः करणसाधनं एव विज्ञातशब्दः

(9) Br : Up. II. ii. 1. (“प्राणः स्थृणा”)
P. 989 (15) प्राण उच्चासिनिदिशासकर्मां वायुशारीर: शरीरपक्षपाती
ग्रस्तते। एतस्यं स्थूलार्यं शिशु: प्राणः करणदेवतादिक्षेपपाती
ग्रस्तते। स
देवः प्राण एतत्सिन्नाश्च प्राणेः संबंधः।

(10) Br: Up. IV. ii. 3: Meaning of इथ्व in "प्रविविक्षाहारतर इथ्व"।

P. 1369. (65) यथा खलु बायस्य पिण्डस्योपचार्यमाहारस्तथा तस्या-
रैत्यायत्मकास्मात्यात्प्रविविक्षाहारतर इथ्व।
THE DEVAYĀNA AND THE PITRYĀNA

BY

PROF. R. D. KARMARKAR, POONA.

The Devayāna and the Pitryāna are described in the Upaniṣads (which call them also the Aścīrādī mārga and Dhūmādī mārga respectively) and in later literature as the two paths by which the souls of the deceased pass on, the former leading to the Highest or Brahmaloka from which there is no return and the latter only to the Moon from which the souls return after their stock of merit is exhausted, and are again plunged into the whirlpool of this saṃsāra. It is proposed in this essay to deal in an exhaustive manner with the original signification of the two terms Devayāna and Pitryāna and the later ideas imported in connection with them.

Both the Devayāna and the Pitryāna are referred to in the Ṛgveda. Thus in I-72-7, 1 and X-98-11, 2 Agni is said to know the Devayānas (in the plural). In X-2-7, 3 Agni is said to know the Pitryāna. In I-183-(184)-6 4 the Aśvinis are requested to come by the Devayānas. In VII-76-2, 5 Vasiṣṭha talks of the Devayāna-paths being visible to him. In X-18-1, 6 where the path of Death is said to be different from the Devayāna, obviously a reference to the Pītṛyāna is intended. In A.V. XII-2-10, 7 the kravyād Agni is sent away by the paths used by the fathers and is asked not to come again by ways wherein Gods travel. In the funeral hymn X-14-2, 8 a reference is made to the paths by which the early ancestors travelled.

Mr. Tilak thinks that 9 by Devayāna and Pitryāna are meant the two portions into which the oldest Vedic year appears to have been divided,

1. I-72-7—अन्तरबिस्त्रां अवमो देवयानानननननो दूतो अभिनो हविवर्त।
2. X-98-11—विद्रानपि क्रविद्यो देवयानान्तन्योत्तरं दिव देशेणु भविष्य।
3. X-2-7—पन्थामन्तु प्रविद्यानु पितुयाण दुमते सामवानो वि भविष्य।
4. I-183-(184)-6—एत यात सहिष्णुदेवयाणि।
5. VII-76-2—प्रमे पन्था देवयानाम अधिनु।
6. X-11-1—परं तु तुलो अनु परेदि पन्थो यत्रे तन्म हर्त्रो देवयानान। The same occurs in Atharva Veda XII-2-21, with the reading यत स एष for यते एष।
7. A.V. XII-9-10—क्रविद्यादिष्टा शाबादवस्तुम्यं प्रहिणोभि पशिष्य: पितुयाणि। मा देवयानि: पुनरा गा अलोकिष्ठि पितुषु जाग्यदि तमू।
8. X-14-2—यज्ञ न: पूर्जे हिरण; परेषुरेना एस०।
9. The Arctic Home in the Vedas pp. 78; Orion, 38 page.
and that the two paths originally corresponded with the Uttarāyāna and the Dakṣiṇāyana, or the day and the night of the gods. And further, Devayāna and Pitṛyāna represent the two divisions of the year, one of continuous light and the other of continuous darkness at the North Pole. Mr. Tilak finds a corroboration for the above thesis in passages from the Brh. Up. VI. 2-15-16 \(^1\) and Ch. Up. IV.15-5, \(^2\) V, 10, 1-2 and the Gītā. VIII-24-25 \(^3\) where a reference is made to the Uttarāyāna and Dakṣiṇāyana, in a detailed description of the two paths. He again discusses in detail the passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II-1, 3-1-3) \(^4\) where the three seasons, Vasanta, Grīṣma, and Varṣa are said to be the seasons of the Devas, and the sun, when he turns to the north is said to be amongst the Devas and protecting them; the Ṣaraṇ, Ḡomanta and Śiśira are the seasons of the Pitṛs, and the sun turning to the south is said to be amongst the Pitṛs and protecting them. He infers from the above \(^5\) that Devayāna in those days was understood to extend over

1. Ch. Up. V-10, 1-5, तथा हृदं पियुप्यूषेनेवप्रयोगं द्रवाद तथा इन्द्रपास तेषस्विमेवचन- मिसंय नमयविषयमिह आयुमरणशमात्ममाणशमात्ममाणकायमाणुकरकद्विति महायाना। मातेय: संवस्तरं संवस्तरादित्यमादिराशिबद्धिमं चन्द्रमसोवर्गतं तत्तुष्पुडमानव: स एतान्त्रद्वी- गमयेकं देवयान: पर्यः। [In. IV-15-5 for देवयान: पर्यः, we have देवययो ब्रह्म- पथ पत्रं प्रतिविमाणम: इम मानवस्वर्त नावथंते नावथंते।] अय इ से मालम इढपू के दत्तात्यपयोपन्ते तत्र धूमरममसंकाहिनं धृताराजी रात्रेंपर्यक्ष्यमपर्यक्ष्यमात्रात्रिदिशिकै मात्र- स्ताति संवस्तरादित्यमालकवन्यति। मासेय: पितृवृक्ष: पितृवृक्षाकाराकाराकाराकाराकाराकारादत्तमसंय खोयो राजा तद्भवानां मं देवा सक्षयति। तस्या राजस्यप्रभुपर्खशितमेवते भवति।

2. In Br VI 2-15, the passage तेषस्विमेवचन- मिसंय नमयविषयमिह इति occurs with slight variations. मासेयं देवकारणक देवोहकारातिस्वरस्वरसितुतं त्यायुत्यातुपयो मानस एवं ब्रह्मानामयते तेतु ब्रह्माण्यकं परः। परावतो बलतो तेषां न पुरात्रिस्वतः। अय ये यजन दानेन तपस्वा तोहकाराधिनं तत्र धूमरमसंकाहिनं धृताराजी।...मासेय: पितृवृक्षं पितृवृक्षाकाराद तं च रा प्रायः भवति...एवं पर्यन्तं न बिदुस्ते। की: पत्त्या शदिः दन्दुकर्मक।

3. Gītā VIII. 24-25 अभिम्यूवितादेकः पितुकः पयमासाः उत्तराभ्रामी।

4. Śatā Br. II. 13-1-3' कस्यं प्रीष्म्यो वर्गे। ते देवा भूतादेवता: यशोद्रमं: धिशे- रस्ते पितरो एवापुर्वे तेषस्विमेव: स देवा तोषपक्षयते स फितराचर्ये देवा राणि: पितर: पुरूष: पुरुषा: देवा अपराध: पितर: ...स यज: समावते देवेऽपि तां भवति देवस्तान्त्रिष्ठिताय यज्ञ दक्षिणावते पितृदु परं भवति देवस्तान्त्रिष्ठिताय यज्ञ दक्षिणावते।

5. Orion page 25.
the six months of the year which comprised the three seasons of spring, summer and rains, and that when the Vedic Āryans became settled in India they made a change in the old order of seasons to make them correspond with the real aspect of nature, so that the Winter-Solstice falls at the end and not in the middle of Hemanta which would be the case if Devayāna or Uttarāyaṇa commenced with the Winter-Solstice which is impossible as in neither hemisphere, the Winter-Solstice marks the beginning of Spring, the first of the Deva seasons.

Mr. Tilak's explanation of Devayāna as being the same as Uttarāyaṇa or as the continuous day of six months obtaining at the North Pole can easily be shown to be absolutely unconvincing. How can Mr. Tilak with this interpretation explain for instance the passages where Agni is said to know the Devayāna paths? According to Mr. Tilak, the passage ought to mean 'Agni knows, the paths of the Uttarāyaṇa or the continuous day of six months.' Now the paths of Uttarāyaṇa, is obviously a meaningless expression, neither can the paths be associated in an intelligible manner with the continuous day of six months. Again, what is more important is, that the Rgvedic passages which speak of Devayāna and Pitṛyaṇa often speak of the paths in the plural. Sufficient attention does not seem to have been paid to this point. As the gods are many, so are the paths naturally by which they travel to attend the sacrifices of their worshippers. Similarly the souls of the deceased also seem to pass by different paths. Agni is often described as carrying the oblations to the gods (the epithet Haunavāha is characteristic of him) and for this purpose it is necessary that he should know the paths leading to the respective gods. Mr. A. C. Das says, that the Devayāna and Pitṛyaṇa mean simply, the Path of Light and Life, and the Path of Darkness and Death, and that the Devayāna is an invisible path located in mid-sky which only becomes visible when the Gods of light travel by it. We however doubt very much whether the additional meaning read into the expressions by Mr. Das, was really present in the minds of the Vedic bards. To them Devayāna meant simply 'leading to the gods' and 'Pitṛyaṇa 'leading to Pitṛs? The Devayāna again does not appear in the Rgveda to be open to men though in VII. 76-2, the Rṣi talks of the Devayāna paths being visible to him and in VII 86 2 Vasiṣṭha wishes to be in the presence of Varuṇa. That idea seems to have been evolved later. In the Vājasaneyī samhitā (19-47) the two paths are described as being open to mortals.

Mr. Tilak's interpretation of the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is equally unconvincing. The passage in question refers certain divisions of the year and the day to the gods and certain others to the Pitṛs. Thus

1. Rgveda India P. 380.
2. Strictly speaking Devayāna itself should mean 'the path of the Gods.' The passages quoted above invariably speak of the 'Devayāna path' and the Pitṛyaṇa path, in the same way as we now speak of the 'city of Nāgapura' for instance.
Mr. Tilak's mistake lies in his understanding Numbers 1 and 5 of the above series as referring to one and the same phenomenon, hence his suggestion that the Vedic Aryans seem to have made a deliberate change in the order of seasons. But if we understand No. 1 as referring to the continuous day of six months at the North Pole, how are we to explain No. 2? It is ridiculous to talk of a bright fortnight which depends for its existence upon the rise of the moon, which cannot obviously be thought of, when there is a continuous day for six months. No. 4 again assigns only the Pūrvāmalı to the Pīṭras. To be logical therefore, we must understand all the five factors in the series as mutually modifying one another. Are we to understand then that the latter part of the day in the Uttarāyana belongs to the Pīṭras and that the first part of the day in the Dakṣiṇāyana belongs to the gods? The true interpretation of the passage therefore is that which has been given by Mr. Dās 1 viz., each of the factors in the series has to be taken independently by itself. The first three seasons of the year, in which the power of the sun grows are assigned to the Gods; the last three when the power of the sun diminishes, to the Pīṭras. The bright and dark fortnights are assigned to the gods and the Pīṭras respectively because the power of the moon increases and decreases at those periods. Similarly the days when there is light belong to the Gods and the nights when darkness reigns to the Pīṭras. The fore-part of the days when the Gods are usually worshipped belongs to the Gods and the latter part of the day belongs to the Pīṭras as the Śrāddha ceremony in honour of the Pīṭra is performed at that time. The northern journey of the sun when the sun's heat increases thus belongs to the Gods and the southern journey when his heat decreases, to the Pīṭras. Or alternatively, the North being regarded as the direction sacred to the gods, the sun's course to the north might have been described as belonging to the gods. Whatever in short is suggestive of light or increase of power is ascribed to the gods and the reverse of it to the Pīṭras. There cannot therefore possibly be any reference in the

---

1. Ṛgvedic India, p. 888.
passage to the two-fold division of the year at the North Pole as Mr. Tilak suspects.

The original signification of the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna in the Vedas seems to be as follows: (1) The Devayāna-path is restricted only to the gods who alone are privileged to travel by it, and that (2) there are many such paths. The (1) Pitṛyāna paths are also many and (2) everyone who dies travels by the path taken by his ancestors. The corpse-eating fire leads him by this way. Pitṛyāna paths are the only ones that are open to mortals and there is no idea of the departed returning to this world again. A vague idea about evil-doers being thrown into darkness or hell is referred to in some stray passages. In R.V. IV.5.5 an abysmal station is said to have been devised. In R.V. VII.104-3 Indra and Soma are requested to plunge the wicked into darkness that has no support. In R.V. VII.104-17 the singer wishes the wicked fiend to fall downward into endless caverns. The Upaniṣads betray a great advance made on the above original notions about the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna. The passages quoted above from the Ch 10. and the Br. 11. Upaniṣads which obviously take their cue in this matter from the Satapatha and other Brāhmaṇas clearly point out to this fact. First, we find that both the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna paths are thrown open to the mortals. Secondly, all without discrimination after death are not entitled to travel by these paths. Good people are divided into two classes (1) those who practise penance and Śraddhā in forests, and (2) those who lead a holy life in their houses and perform many acts of charity. Those belonging to the first class reach by passing through various stages the Brahmaloka, and do not return to this world; those belonging to the second class go to the Moon and return to this world when their merit is exhausted. The wicked are not entitled to go by any of these two paths, and are born again as worms, insects. Thirdly, an elaborate description of the Devayāna and Pitṛyāna paths, with their various stages is given. Fourthly, there is only one Devayāna path and one Pitṛyāna path.

We thus have here a pretty complete scheme evolved describing the after-life condition of mortals. It is beyond the scope of the present essay to trace this evolution from the scattered ideas in the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. We are concerned only with the evolution of the ideas about the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna. Thus, according to the Chapter the Devayāna path is as follows:—

1. The Rigveda refers to the custom of burying the dead also. But when the funeral hymns 14 was composed, cremation seems to have been regarded as the only proper method of disposing of the dead.
2. पापास: सन्तो अनुता असल्ला हंदे पदमजनता गमिश्व।
3. इत्यायसमा दुःखिती चेमे अन्तर्नायम्यानं तमशि प्र विश्वतम।
4. ब्राह्मण अनन्तोऽध्व सा पद्धिः प्राप्ताः ग्रन्तु रक्षस उपवैः।
Ch. U (V.10.1-6)—(1) Aćcis (2) Day (3) The bright fort-night (4) The six months of the Uttarāyana (5) Year (6) Āditya (7) Moon (8) Vidyut (9) Brahma where a non-human being carries the departed soul.

That is, the Devayāna consists of eight stages, the ninth Brahma being the destination.

Br. U. VI. 2. 15.—The first four stages are the same, ५) Devaloka (6) Āditya (7) Vidyut (8) Brahmālokas (Plural) where a Mānasā (mind-born) being leads the departed souls.

That is, the Devayāna consists of seven stages, the eighth Brahmālokas being the destination. This passage speaks of a Mānasā being. It is possible that पुरुषो मानस is a misprint for पुरुषो मानव spoken of in the Ch. passage. In Br V.10.1, the soul is also said to go to Vāyu from this Loka.

Kau. U 1-3.¹ This passage does not give all the stages. (1) Agni-loka (2) Vāyu-loka (3) Varuṇa-loka (4) Indra-loka (5) Prajāpati-loka (6) Brahma-loka.

That is, only five stages are mentioned. It is not clear from the passage however, whether we are to regard Agni-loka, etc., as the stages on the path or as the different destinations, one after another, as the passage speaks of the Agni-loka being reached after one has taken to the Devayāna path.

Śaṅkaraśārya comments in detail on the Vedānta-sūtras IV.3.1—6 ² referring to some other passages as well. Taking into consideration the various conflicting passages in this connection, Śaṅkara declares the Devayāna path to consist of the following stages:

Devayāna :—(1) Aćcis, flame (2) Day (3) Bright fort-night (4) The six months of the Uttarāyana (5) Year (6) Devaloka (7) Vāyu (8) Āditya (9) Moon (10) Vidyut (11) Varuṇa (12) Indra (13) Prajāpati (14) Brahman.

---

1. स इति देवयानं पन्थनामापत्ताशिलंकागद्याति स बायुलोकं स वरुणलोकं स इन्द्रलोकं स प्रजापतिलोकं स ब्रह्मलोकम्।

2. The Vedānta-sūtras in IV-3.1-6 discuss all these conflicting passages and try to reconcile them. The sūtras are :

अभिरामिनं तत्प्रविष्टं इति।

वायुमवादिविशेषविशेषवाभासारं।

तत्तिर्तिः वक्ष्यं संबन्धात्।

अतिवादियास्तिश्रावं।

उभयप्रथमोष्णातिश्रव।

बैयुक्तनमृत्तकस्य।

See the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on these sūtras.
From the Vedántasūtras themselves, however, it appears that only Vāyu and Varuṇa have to be provided for in the list found in the Ch. or the Br.-Upaniṣads, as those only are referred to by name in Sūtra IV. 3.2 and IV.3.3 respectively. In view of the fact that the moon is referred to as the destination to which the Pitṛyāṇa leads, it seems queer that the moon should have been mentioned as one of the stages on the Devayāṇa. The Br.-Up. rightly drops the moon in its list. It substitutes 1 Devaloka for the Saṁvatsara in the Ch. list. We think that Saṁvatsara is the right stage after the six months spoken of, and that all those stages containing the word 'Loka', which are specially mentioned in the Kau-Upaniṣad should not be regarded as stages on the Devayāṇa. It is possible to interpret the passage in the Kau. To mean that a person on going by the Devayāṇa path reaches Vāyu-loka or Vāruṇa-loka or Indraloka or Prajāpati-loka or Brahma-loka according to his merits, and Vāyu-loka, etc. need not be taken as intermediate stations that lead to Brahma-loka. If this view is accepted then the Devayāṇa should consist of only the following stages (1) Arcis (2) Day (3) Bright fortnight (4) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa (5) Year (6) Vāyu (7) Ṛṣita (8) Vidyut [(8-a) Varuṇa] (9) Brahma-loka. The Bhagavadgītā undoubtedly refers to the Devayāṇa and the Pitṛyāṇa when it refers to the Śukla and the Kṛṣṇa ārtīs in VII.25. It does not apparently refer to all the stages on the two paths, but mentions only the time when the yogin should die to reach the Brahma-loka or the Pitṛ-loka. It refers only to five stages (1) Agni (2) Jyotis (3) Day (4) Bright fortnight (4) Six months of the Uttarāyaṇa. Agni might be said here to refer to the Arcis of the Upaniṣads. Saṅkara also in his commentary on Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.2, referring to the Agni-loka referred to in the Kau passage says that Agni-loka and Arcis mean one and the same thing 2. If so the Gītā inserts one more stage between Arcis and day. The Pitṛyāṇa path has the following stages (1) Dhūma (2) Night (3) Dark fortnight (4) Six months when the sun goes to the south (5) Pitṛ-loka (6) Ākāśa (7) Moon who is identified with Soma. Both the Ch. and Br. Upaniṣads mention the same stages. The Gītā mentions the first four and also the Moon. Those who go by this path are described as being the food of the gods and they return to the world after enjoying the fruits of their merits. In Vedāntasūtras III. 1 7, 3 the expression 'They become the food of the Gods' is explained as having only a metaphorical sense viz., that they enjoy themselves in the company of the Gods.

1. Apparently to correspond to the सांस्कृत: पितृलोकम in the description of the Pitṛyāṇa.

2. तत्सारिसिद्धीश्चतादेवेश्वरीयो ज्वलनवचननीतिः Saṅkara on IV. 3.2.

The Nirukta in the Pariśīṣṭādhyāya (which is rightly regarded as a later addition) gives a similar description of the two paths. Those who giving up Vidyā and taking to (sacrificial) Hiṃsā, practise great penance or perform rites described in the Vedas, go by the Piṭṛyāna, and those who giving up Hiṃsā and taking to Vidyā, practise great penance or perform actions associated or described in connection with jñāna, go by the Devayāna and do not return.

The question then arises:—what are we to understand by the various stages described above on the two paths? Are we to take the different stages in their literal sense or only metaphorically? The Vedāntasūtrakāra answers the question in Śūtras IV. 3-4 आत्मविज्ञातात्मतित्वात् 1 by saying that by the stages are to be understood the human guides associated with them. The Upaniṣadic passages mention a non-human Puruṣa from Vidyut onwards, so before the Vidyut stage, a human Puruṣa may be taken to be the guide. The question crops up again in Śūtras IV. 2-18-20, 2 where the soul is said to pass by the Nāḍīs connected with the rays of the sun. Now a person dying at night time would not have this Nāḍīraśmi connection and he would be prevented from going by the Devayāna path. The Sūtrakāra replies that such a relation exists as long as the body exists and so irrespective of the time when he dies,—it might be even in the Dakṣaṇāyaṇa,—still the person is entitled to travel by the Devayāna path. Obviously the Sūtrakāra believes in the popular notion about the merit of dying in the Uttarāyaṇa and Saṅkara in his Bhāṣya actually refers to the case of Bhīṣma who refused to die till the Uttarāyaṇa set in. Saṅkara himself dismisses this reference to Bhīṣma by saying that it has no philosophical significance. Bhīṣma waited for some time to proclaim to the world his powers of ending his life at his sweet will and also


2. IV. 2-18-31, रस्म्युसारी, निष्प नेति चेत संबन्धया याब्रह्मिविलासीयति च। अतिथावनेन चर्यने योगीः प्रति च स्मर्यन्ते स्वातः नैति।
to respect the traditions. Sūtra 21 is taken by Śaṅkara as referring to the passages in the Gītā. He remarks that the time for death mentioned therein refers to the Yogins only and must not be taken as superseding the passages in similar connection in the Śrutis. As an alternative interpretation, he proposes that the ādīnā...mentioned in the Gītā should be taken in the sense of deities acting as guides. The two verses in the Gītā (VIII.24, 25) are extremely obscure and no satisfactory explanation can possibly be given. In verse VIII.23, Śrīkṛṣṇa wants to describe the time, dying at which, people do not return or return to this world. Verses 24 and 25 therefore would naturally indicate this time and have thus to be taken apparently in a literal sense. In verse 26, however Śrīkṛṣṇa speaks of the two paths obviously referred to in the last two verses. Thus there is a clear discrepancy. Mr. Telang owns that he cannot explain these verses. Garbe regards them as clear interpolations. John Davies says, 'I cannot believe that the enlightened author of the Bhagavadgītā wrote these verses' and remarks that 'the passage is a curious instance of the grotesque folly which so frequently attends Hindu speculations, even of the highest kind. He also takes the Jyotis in the passage to refer to the ray of material light to show the way to the soul with the līṅga body. According to Mr. Tilak, Agni is the funeral fire and Jyoti the flames of the fire. He also understands the same funeral fire as leading the Karmamārgins, through the smoke etc. to the Pitṛ-loka. The different stages on the bright path or the Devayāna and the dark path or the Pitṛyāna according to Mr. Tilak, are the following:—(1) Funeral fire (2) The flames of the funeral fire (3) Day (4) Bright fort-night (5) Six months of the Uttarāyana; these five are on the bright path. Mr. Tilak also remarks that all bright things are referred to in connection with the Devayāna as the Uttarāyana is the bright six months day of the Gods at the North Pole. It appears that Mr. Tilak also regards the above path as commencing strictly speaking with the second stage given above, viz., the flames of the funeral fire. The stages on the dark path or the Pitṛyāna, he understands as follows: (1) Funeral fire (2) Smoke of the funeral fire (3) Night (4) Dark fort-night (5) Six months of the Daśṣīnāyana.

Mr. Tilak perhaps stands alone in regarding Agni also, as commencing the Pitṛyāna. There does not seem to be any justification for this view. His idea again, that Agni refers to the funeral fire and that Jyotis and Dhūma are respectively the flames and smoke issuing from the funeral fire, is quite unconvincing. If Agni represents the funeral fire, what

1. भौतिकयोग प्रतिपालनमानाना प्रतिपालनाय पितृप्रादलोधस्वच्छन्दपुतृपालनाय।
2. The Bhagavadgītā p. 101 and 98.
3. Gitārābātya (Marathi) p. 999.
would be the path taken by a Sannyāsin whose body is buried after death, and not consigned to the flames. The bodies of some Sannyāsins are again simply thrown into the waters. Are these Sannyāsins to be debarred from going by the Devayāna path? There cannot thus be any reference to the funeral fire or its flames in the Devayāna path. The Kravyād Agni is no doubt referred to as leading the soul to the Pitṛ-loka in the Rgveda, and hence the Dhūma may refer to the smoke of this fire. If at all Dhūma does have any sensible sense in the passage, it ought more probably to refer to the Dhūma of the sacrifices which the deceased Karmamārgin entitled to go by the Pitṛyāna must have performed during his lifetime. In any case, the Dhūma need not refer to the smoke of the funeral fire. Another thing in connection with the two verses in question seems to have been ignored so far. It would be seen that, according to the Gitā passage which undoubtedly has been based upon the Upaniṣads, the Śukla path gives five stages and the Kṛṣṇa-path only four. Thus,

Śukla-path—(1) Agni (2) Jyotis (3) Day (4) Bright fort-night (5) Six months of the Uttarāyana.

Kṛṣṇa-path—(1) Dhūma (2) Night (3) Dark fort-night (4) Six months of the Dakṣināyana.

Now there cannot be any doubt that the description of the two paths involves a deliberate correspondence between them. The same number of stages ought to be therefore mentioned in both. Nowhere in the Upaniṣads, except perhaps in the Kau. passage, where Agni-loka is referred to does the Devayāna begin with Agni. It begins with Arcis and Jyotis and Arcis can be easily identified. Is it possible that the true reading in the passage is Agni-jyoti and not Agni-jyoti? If it is so, there would be only four stages mentioned in the case of the Śukla path, and each one of the stages would have something corresponding to it in the description of the Kṛṣṇa-path as well. Agni-jyoti or the flame of fire is undoubtedly the same as Arcis. Garb, and Davies save themselves all trouble by regarding the passage as an interpolated one. But, interpolated or otherwise, the passage surely does need some explanation or other. We too are of opinion that verses VIII. 23—28 in the Gitā do not properly harmonise with the context, and the confusion is worse confounded by the author of the Gitā professing in verse 23, that he would indicate the time when the yogins should die, while he describes the paths in verses 24 and 25. But one wonders whether one should go as far as expelling the passages out of the Gitā for, verses 24 and 25 simply refer to the old ideas on the subject in the Upaniṣads and verse 23 refers to the popular notion on the matter which is referred to elsewhere in connection with the death of Bhīṣma in the Bhīṣma-parvan itself.
We think that the misinterpretation of the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has been the root cause of all this confusion in connection with the description of the two paths. When the Devayāna which in the Ṛgvedic times was a path by which the Gods alone travelled was thrown open to the mortals later on, it was naturally found necessary to devise a detailed description of it and the Upaniṣads found a ready-made description by taking the Śatapatha passage in a literal sense and they stuck on to it like a vice. We must thank ourselves that the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa did not go on with his distribution of various things between the Gods and the Pitṛs, still further, as he could have easily done. For instance, he could have spoken of the first half of the bright fortnight, or the first yāman of the Pūrvabhāṣa, as belonging to the Gods and the latter half of the bright fortnight or the latter yāman of the Pūrvabhāṣa, as belonging to the Pitṛs. In that case, the Devayāna and the Pitryāṇa could have been made to contain a larger number of stages. The original intention was to make the Devayāna as bright and shining as possible, to correspond to the bright Devas, and for the sake of contrast specially, everything that was pale or dark came to be associated with the Pitṛs. As a matter of fact, the description of the Pitṛ-loka, given in the Vedas does not warrant this sort of seant courtesy to the Pitṛs, shown to them by the inventors of the Pitryāṇa. Not satisfied with these two pāths, later philosophers invented a third place or hell or the convenience of those who were followers neither of the Jñānamārga or of the Karmamārga. The Devayāna and the Pitryāṇa came thus to be restricted only to the good people of the first class and the second class respectively. As philosophical ideas advanced, and advaitism held its head high, a further change was made. The good people were divided into three classes, the first class referring to the Jñānīn proper who becomes Brahman, the moment he knows Brahman (Brahmavid brahmaiva bhavati), and who thus is spared the journey on the Devayāna, the second class referring to those who have Jñāna but who are not yet entitled to enter the highest charmed circle, and who thus travel by the Devayāna and secure krama-mukti, and the third class referring to sacrificers who go by the Pitryāṇa and are not entitled to salvation, but only to godly pleasures as long as their merit lasts. As advaitism forms the high water mark of philosophical speculations, there was no necessity of making any further revision in the notions about the Devayāna and the Pitryāṇa.

It would thus be seen that the successive revisions and changes in the ideas about the two paths are the result of corresponding changes in the philosophical thought and naturally so. Both the Devayāna and the Pitryāṇa have deteriorated from their original signification, the former being the greater sufferer. Thus the Devayāna was originally restricted only to the gods; it then was thrown open to the good people
having knowledge and practising penance, and lastly it became the monopoly of the good people of the second degree only. The Pitrâyña was originally a thoroughfare, the admission to which could be gained only by the simple process of dying; it then became the privilege of good people belonging to the third class (originally these were the good people belonging to the second class but with the advent of the proper Jñānīn on the field, they were sent down).

It would be unfair to ignore two more interpretations,—one the geographical and the other the yogic—advanced in this connection and we would shortly refer to these before we conclude. Pandit Umesh Chandrá Vidyaratna, in his Rgveda sanhitā (Part I) commenting on the passage ये पञ्चानो बहुवे देवयानाः अन्तते धातव्यस्वरूपिः सेवनरित्त from the Atharvaveda and जवान्ताः पश्चो देवयाना धातव्यस्वरूपिः विषयति from the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, says that अन्तरीक्ष is one of Devayāna paths where the two paths, Khyber, and Bolon are situated, the third is the Badrinārāyanā path and the fourth is the Durjayalinga (or Darjeeling) path. He takes दिव्र to mean Siberia, अन्तरीक्ष Turkey, Persia and Afganistan; and स्वर as Mongolia (p. 64). He also understands Saumvatsara, Ahar, and Bātri as the proper names of countries. The Devayāna path extends from India to Siberia. Agni, Varuna, Vāyu, etc., are also proper names of persons who had travelled to and from Siberia. The two Ayanas also represent two countries, being portions of the Saumvatsara country. Dakṣiṇasaumvatsara means the region near the Meru mountain, and Uttarasaumvatsara, southern Siberia, मासेस्वत: संवत्सरम, means 'that the Meru mountain region is reached after some months.' Ahar country is the northern portion of the Devayāna path and Bātri country, the southern portion of the Pitrâyña path and so on in the same strain. It is needless to say that all this is highly improbable. It is only referred to, to show the extremely obscure nature of the Devayāna passages, and like a drowning man catching at a straw, one is tempted to resort to any interpretation, however fantastic, provided it fits in with the whole passage properly.

The later Yoga-Upaniṣads put a highly technical yogic interpretation on the Devayāna and Pitrâyña passages. The Vadāntasūtra IV. 2.17 undoubtedly refers to the Nāḍīs and the process of the vital breath leaving the body at the time of death. The Yogasūtras, which one would certainly expect to refer to such a process, are curiously enough quite

1. तदेकाश्चव्यनन्तप्रकाशितद्वारो विशाशास्यायैतज्ज्वलयुग्मस्वतितियोगाय हारि-सुप्रस्त: शताचित्कया। IV. 2. 17.
silent on this point. The Bhagavadgītā in VIII.12 also refers to the same thing and it is quite probable that verses 24 and 25, अतिरिक्तता etc. were added later on by some one who wanted to read in them the Yogic theory of ending one’s life, on which the future prospects of the Yogin depend. The Agni referred to in the various passages is said to be the one residing in the body. The sun, the moon, the Uttarāyana and Dakṣināyana refer to the Nādis and the passage of the vital breath through them. Thus the दशोपनिषद् (p. 166, Yoga-Upaniṣads, Adyar,) says

इदायां चन्द्रमा निक्षयं चरखें महातुमने ||
पिक्ष्यायां रविस्त्रदन्मुने वेदविदां वर ।
पिक्ष्याया इदायां तु वायोः संक्रमणं तु यत्र ॥
तदुत्तरायणं प्रोक्तमुने वेदवानवदिभिः ।
इदाया: पिक्ष्यायां तु प्राणंसंक्रमणं मुने ॥
दक्षिणायनमित्युक्तं पिक्ष्यायामिति श्रुति: ।
इदापिक्ष्योऽसंधियद्रश्चृऽ प्राण: समाग्नतः ॥
अमावास्या तदा प्रोक्ता देहे देह्युज्तां वर ।

On. p. 413, the योगशिल्पपनिषद्द describes the सुषुम्ना Nādis holding the way to मीक्ष्य
मोक्षमाग्रे प्रतिष्ठाना सुषुम्ना विरवरुपिणी ।

also (p. 450 pp).
एकोत्तरं नाभिस्वरं तासं मध्ये परा स्मृतं ।
सुषुम्ना तु परे चैनविरजा श्रवरुपिणी ॥
इदा तिर्यति वामेन पिक्ष्या दक्षिणेन तु ।

........................................
इदापिक्ष्योऽसंधियद्रश्चृऽ सुषुम्ना सुरवरुपिणी ॥

1. सवंदर्भाणि संयम्य मनो हृदि निरथ्य ।
पूज्योपासयामः प्राणमार्थि दोमितार्यामः ॥ VIII. 12
also (p. 661).

Similar descriptions occur in other Upaniṣads as well. The Śivasamhitā (18 pp. The Yoga Sastra, Pāṇini office publication) also says,

मेघयूते स्थितेऽतिहोऽविमंगलस्वरूपः।
दक्षिणे पथोर्दिशमिवेवहृदयूर्वः प्रजापतिः॥

(Meru = the vertebral column)

The reference to the six months in the Devayāna passages etc., is apparently to be understood as referring to the normal period which a yogin takes, to be proficient in various intricacies of the yogic science (Thus on p. 56 we have,

प्रभाससमस्यमविषयं यः करोति दिनेदिने।
सर्वपापात्मनुष्ठीतो रोगानन्दस्य ते हि सः॥

On p. 47, प्रभाससमस्यमं चुन्यं जयस्यवस्य न संस्कारः।
On p. 50 प्रभाससमस्यसन्योगी चुन्यं जयति निश्चितम्॥)

One who knows the Brahmārṇavāraṇa is liberated

व्रह्मारण्यं तु तत्रेत्र सुन्यमाधवरमण्डले।
यो जानाति स मुक्तः स्यात्मभवन्यादिविवक्षणः॥

The Gherandī samhitā speaks of three varieties of Dhyāna, the Sthūla, Jyotis and Śūkṣma. The last two are thus described.

मूलाधारे कुण्डलिनी भुजगाकारक्र्वलिपी।
जीवादम्ब निश्चयति तत्र प्रदीपकटिकाक्र्वलिपी।
ध्यायेनेत्रोयणं ब्रह्म तेजोध्वनिनां परात्मरम्।

.................................

बहुमाययवशाद् यस्य कुण्ठलि जामतीं भवेत्।
अत्मनं सहव्यंशन नेत्रराधिविन्यं तः।
विहीरेदु राजसार्वं च चक्कलब्धयो दृश्यते॥ (P. 54)

It is unnecessary to multiply such passages. This highly technical interpretation could not obviously have been the original one, as it betrays a very great advance in yogic ideas and technique.
BODHĀYANA AND DRAMĪḍĀGĀRYA, TWO OLD VEDĀNTINS PRESUPPOSED BY RĀMĀNUJA

BY

PROP. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., MADRAS.

PART I—BODHĀYANA.

In the very first sentence of the Śrī-Bhāṣya, Rāmānuja refers to a Vṛttikāra, as Bhagavad-Bodhāyana, the author of a Vṛtti on the Brahma-sūtras; and the same Vṛttikāra is referred to without the name Bodhāyana, in six other places in the Śrī-Bhāṣya. The relevant extracts are given below:

1. “भगबद्रोधायनकर्ता विषीणां ब्रह्मसूत्रवाचि पूर्वचार्यं: सांविक्षिप्तः । तन्नतांतुसारं सूत्रात्मारणी व्याख्यात्मने ॥”


2. तदाह वृत्तिका:—“वृत्तात्मकमाहिनपूर्वतं ब्राह्मविविदिषा” इति। वक्तव्यति च कर्मभ्रमोपयोगकृतसारयम्—“संहितंकेतेष्वा-रीरकं जैमिनीयेन पोहङ्क्ष्येतेइति शास्केकत्वसिद्धि:” इति ॥

3. वृत्तिका: “जागरणार्थं समानो व्योमिता” इति। Ibid., p. 70.

4. तदाह वृत्तिका:—“सतासोम्य तदा सम्प्रेत भवति इति सम्प-स्यस्मपतितमयामेतदसीयते; प्राधेनात्मना सम्परिष्कृतः—इति चाह” इति। Ibid., p. 164

5. यथाह वृत्तिका:—“सवं खलिन्ति सर्वोमा ब्रह्म: ”—इति। Ibid., p. 234.

6. तदाह वृत्तिका:—“सूपालेवति यूगम ब्रह्म, नामादिपपरंत्या आसन उध्यायपद्वेशात्” इति। Ibid., p. 289.

7. तदाह वृत्तिका:—“अति हि मश्यविद्वं संबंधो ब्रह्मण एव सर्वेत्त निवाच्यात्त्” इति। Ibid., p. 332.
In some of the footnotes appearing in part I of the Śrī-Bhāṣya, it is found that the Ānanda Press edition erroneously attributes certain extracts from the Vākyakāra's Commentary to the Vṛttikāra. The Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition of the Rāmānujiyas accepts Rāmānuja's identification of the Vṛttikāra with Bodhāyana. The identity of Bodhāyana, to whom a Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtras is attributed, has so far remained one of the obscure problems in the Cultural History of India. There does not appear to be any reliable evidence which would enable us to identify this Vṛttikāra-Bodhāyana with the Bodhāyana of Kalpa-Sūtra fame; nor is there any good reason to equate the former with Bhavadāsa, a Vṛttikāra of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras referred to by Kumārilabhaṭṭa as having been presupposed by Śabara-svāmin. (See Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika pages 11 and 21 Benares edition). Śaṅkarācārya presupposes in several places in his Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras, a Vṛttikāra, who seems to have written a Vṛtti on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā-Sūtras and Brahma-Sūtras; and this Vṛttikāra seems to be Upavarsa, who is definitely referred to by Śabara-svāmin in his Bhāṣya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras. In the Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya, Śaṅkara refers to a Vṛttikāra, according to commentators, under I-i-19 (Sūtra), I-i-23 (Sūtra), I-i-31 (Sūtra), and I-ii-23 (Sūtra); and unmistakably refers, at the beginning of his Bhāṣya on 3-3-53 (Sūtra), to Upavarsa as having written a commentary on the Brahma-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras and Karma-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras, this Upavarsa being identified with Vṛttikāra, both by Ānandagiri and Rāmānanda. The subjoined relevant extract from Śaṅkara's Brahma-sūtra-Bhāṣya deserves careful consideration.

"इद्वैध्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनः सध्वः समध्येति वन्धमोक्षाधिकारिसद्वः।

न यस्वति वैध्यतिरिक्तानाम् परठोक्ताधादोर्नु उपपडोरसन; कस्य वा ब्रह्मामव- ।

सुपरित्ययेत्? नभु शास्त्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादशश्वलोपभोग्यो।वस्य देश्यतिरिक्त- ।

स्यालोकाः स्विनमुक्तम; नहु तत्रतत्त्वस्व बुद्धिसिद्ध; 

इह लत स्यमेव सूत्रान्तः तत्त्वस्वनाशाश्चेष्यपुर्वस्य प्रतिद्वापितम; ।

इत्य एव च इव च भगवतपर- प्रेण प्रथमे तन्न आलमितिविनायवाचारीं कः काव्यम्य इत्युदारः। क्रः।

(Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya under 3-3-53.)

Upavarsa is referred to in the following extracts also:—

"अय गोरिलख कः श्रवः गोरिलकारविशर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः।"


"वर्णा एव ल श्रवः इति भगवानुपवर्षः।"

(Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras I-iii-28).
II. It can be clearly made out from these extracts that Upavarsa was the Vṛttikāra presupposed by Śaṅkara and that Upavarsa—the Vṛttikāra was decisively in favour of treating the Karma-Mimāṃsā and Brahma-Mimāṃsā as forming the former and latter parts of an integral whole. Those who are sufficiently acquainted with the Vedānta-darśana know well that the interpretation of the first word ‘अय’ in the first Sūtra of the Brahma sūtras depends largely upon agreement or disagreement with the view indicated above regarding the interrelation of the Karma-Mimāṃsā and the Brahma-Mimāṃsā. While, in this matter, there is striking divergence between the above-mentioned view associated with Upavarsa—the Vṛttikāra and Śaṅkara’s view, Rāmānuja’s own view and what Rāmānuja attributes to Bhagavad-Bodhāyana—the Vṛttikāra are in complete harmony with Upavarsa’s view. In this connection, it would be useful, in particular, to compare the extract No. 2 from the beginning of the Śrī-Bhāṣya given above with what Upavarsa is said to favour in the beginning of Śaṅkara’s Bhāṣya under III−iii−53 of the Brahma-sūtras. And it would also be of advantage to note how the particular interpretation of the word ‘अय’ refuted by Śaṅkara in the first adhikarana of his Sūtra-Bhāṣya happens to be identical with the view attributed by Rāmānuja to the Vṛttikāra. These facts would naturally lead to the inference that Bodhāyana—the Vṛttikāra and Upavarsa—the Vṛttikāra presupposed by Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara respectively are identical. Some over-zealous latter-day representatives of the Viśistādvaśa system, however, like the late Pañḍit Rāmāmiśra Śāstrin who edited the Siddhi-traya in the Chawkbāmba series and the Agama-प्रामाण्य, Śāstra-Dipika and Vedārtha-Saṁgraha in the Pañḍit series of Benares, would insist that the Bodhāyana-Vṛtti relied upon by Rāmānuja should be differentiated from the Upavarsa-Vṛtti sometimes relied upon and sometimes refuted by Śaṅkara in his Brahma-sūtra-Bhāṣya. Nevertheless, there are luckily available a few significant data which would enable us to definitely equate Bodhāyana—the Vṛttikāra with Upavarsa—the Vṛttikāra. Vedānta-dēśika is discovered to clearly suggest this identity in the following sentence, which occurs as lines 7 to 10, at page 149, part II of his learned commentary called Tattva-ṭikā on Rāmānuja’s Śrī-Bhāṣya.

[इति श्रुतिकारोपां स्वतंत्रम्—शब्दस्यहिः अपिरूपणस्मुख्यायः। अत्र-शाबद्वम्—“गौरिन्त्र कः शब्दः। गाकारोकारविसंजयने्याम्।” इति | इति श्रुतिकारस्य बोधायनस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्याचाम।] (Tattva-ṭikā Conjivaram Oriental Library Institution series No. 6, Telugu edition 1906, Sudarśana Press, Conjivaram.)
III. The Bodhāyana-Upavarsa-Vṛttikāra equation, suggested as it happens to be by Vedānta-Deśika, one of the greatest authorities of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school, and supported as it is by the other references given above, can easily be pulled up to the level of an historically acceptable fact. And the weight of evidence in favour of the view that Bodhāyana was perhaps the gotra-name of Upavarsa himself would be considerably enhanced by the well-known fact that many an Indian philosopher had two or even three names, one of them being a gotra-name, as, for instance, in the case of (1) Kaśyapa-Kapāda-Ulūka (2) Vātasyāyana-Paṅsila Svāmin, (3) Ātreyya-Brahma Nandin-Taṅka, and (4) Aksapāda-Gautama.

PART II.

DRAMĪDĀCĀRYA.

IV. Yāmunācārya, the spiritual ancestor and Prācārya of Rāmānuja refers, in the beginning of his Siddhārtya, to a Bāṣya-Kṛt; and it is rightly believed that this Bāṣya-kṛt is Dramidācārya.

“यथापि भगवता वादार्यमेव इत्यमाियेव सूक्ष्मानि प्राणात्मि, विद्वतानि च परिमितगम्यस्यभाषिणा भाष्यकृता, विद्वतानि च तानि गम्यव्रीयावसागर-भाषिणा भगवता श्रीवस्त्वाक्रमेश्यापि; तथापि आचार्य-त्यक्त-त्रिकृण-तृतीयिक-मर्तुहिरि-ब्रह्मदृत्त-शक्ति-श्रीवस्त्वाक्रम-माशकरादि-विमूल्यसितासितिभिभिषियिनेश्चनन्त्र-द्राक्षपीतन्त्रनुभुन्यो न यथावत् अन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यते—इति तत्तत्तिपचये युक्त: प्रकरणप्रक्रमः:।”

(Siddhārtya-Chowkhāṃba edition, Benares—Pages 5 and 6.)

V. Rāmānuja refers to Dramidācārya in several places in his Vēdārtha-saṅgraha and Śrī-Bāṣya, as the following extracts will show:

1. “तत्वसूतितसिद्यायायासुपास्य श्रव्य सञ्जूं सुगुणं सुगुणब्रह्मप्राप्तिः फल-मिल्यभियुक्तः पूर्वचार्येऽयोऽयतम्। यथोक्त वाच्यकोरण—‘गुर्गुणको-पासंतात्’ इति; भाष्यात् च द्राक्षपीतन्त्र विशालिक्यम् बदता—‘यथापि साधुतो न निर्मुग्धेऽवत् गुणन्य मनसामध्यवेत् तथावन्त्यवा अवेत् देवतां भजते”—इति।


2. भगवद्धाप्यायन-त्यक्त-द्राक्ष-दृश्य-दृश्य-वर्षाव-भारवि-प्रमूखविविग्नितिष्ठ परिश्रीतपरातिवेदवेदान्तव्याकरणुगुणाः सुगुणब्रह्मात्मोऽऽविद्यतितिकारनिदिशितोऽन्तः पन्थाः।

(Ibid page 148).
From the foregoing extracts it may be made out that Dramiḍācārya wrote a Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya and perhaps also on certain other Upaniṣads and that he also commented on the text of the aphoristic Vākyas of the Vākya-kāra, otherwise known, according to the Viśiṣṭādvaśa tradition, by the names of Brahmanandin and Tānka. Vēḷaṇṭa-Deśīka also refers to Dramiḍācārya in the following places in Part I of his Tattva-ṭīkā:—Page 7, lines 8 to 10 (The Sudarsana Press, Telugu edition of the Tattvaṭīkā—above referred to); Page 34 Vākya and Dramiḍa-Bhāṣya and Vāmanatīkā on the latter are referred to Ibid; page 60, lines 1 and 2 Ibid; and page 138—"अन्तः भाष्याकरो ब्रह्मनिद्वशव्याहाराता इमिदाचार्यः—Ibid."
VI. According to Ānandagiri, Śaṅkarācārya presupposes Dramidācārya, the author of a lengthy and learned commentary on the Chāndogyopanishad, in his introductory statement at the beginning of his Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya:

"अभिभूतवक्ष्ययायाम् छान्तीयोपनिषत्। तस्य: संक्षेपतोऽर्थ-जिद्धासुख्य अजुविवरणमत्यप्रमथामार्यते॥"

(Śaṅkara’s Bhāṣya on the Chāndogyopaniṣad—page 1). Ānandagiri has the following note in this connection:

अजुविवरणमिति—अजु पाठकमालुसारि विवरणम् अर्थस्फुटिकारणं प्रक्वलोपनिषद: यस्मिन्माये तत्त्वेऽति यावत्। अथ पाठकमालमार्यायि द्वारिं भाष्यं प्रणीतम्, तत्किमनेनेवास्मृतवाह॥

At the end of Śaṅkara’s Bhāṣya on II-32 of the Maṇḍūkya-kārikās, the following quotation is found, from Dramidācārya’s work according to Ānandagiri:—“सिद्धं तु निवर्तकवादविनवादमविदं सूतम्”..........................

Again in the Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya on III-8 to 10 of the Chāndogyopaniṣad, Śaṅkara is found relying upon Dramidācārya’s explanation to meet a difficulty arising from an inconsistency between the Chāndogyopaniṣad and the Paurāṇika account of the time of sunrise and sunset in the different parts of the world of Gods.

“अत्रेऽतः निरिहार आचार्येऽ”

Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya on the Chāndogya—Ānandasrāma edition page 145.

In this connection Ānandagiri says—

“यथापि शृवतिविरोधे स्वतिः प्रमाणम्, तथापि यथाकथाविविचिरोधारिं परिहारं द्रविधाचार्यांकमपयादविति” (Ibid—page 146.)

It may be observed here that the names द्रविधाचार्य and द्रविधाचार्य occur as variants in Vedānta literature. Again, on page 34, part I of Vedānta-Deśika’s Tattva-ṭīka (Telugu edition), the following quotations are found:

तथा च वाक्यम् "उपनिषणत्वाहोपनिषत्” इति। तत्र द्रविठभाष्यम्—

“गहने हृदय बिधा संतिविद्या” इति। तस्य च वामनटीका—“गहने ज्ञानी उपनिषणां” इति।
Careful scholars cannot miss the unmistakable echo of the above extract in the following passage from Saṁkara’s Bhāṣya:—

“उपनिषदिति विवेच्यते: तत्त्वितिनां ज्ञानम्यज्ञानिनिरूप्तार्थवाच। तत्त्वसाधनाभाय: ब्रह्मणों चौपिणिमयितवाच। उपनिषदिति वाच्यां परं अयो हिति। 
तद्भवे द्रामिदात्र्योऽपिनिषत्।”

(Saṁkara’s introduction to his Bhāṣya on the Taittirīyopaniṣad.)

VII. It will be seen from page XVI of the introduction to the Tarkasaṁgraha, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series No. III, that some scholars, like my friend, the late Mr. T. M. Tripathi, are inclined to differentiate the Dramidācārya presupposed by Saṁkara from the Dramidācārya presupposed by Rāmānuja and to identify the latter with the great Śrī Vaiṣṇava saint Nammāḷvār otherwise known as Sathagopā. There are, however, two conclusive evidences which would show that Saṁkara’s Dramida and Rāmānuja’s Dramida should be held to be identical and that Dramida cannot be equated with Nammāḷvār. The sub-joined extracts from the third chapter of Sarvajñātāmatmrāṇi’s Saṁkṣepera-Sārīraka may be perused here with advantage:—

“आत्रेयवाक्यमिति संविंतवहरायत्र कार्य समसामिति न: कथव बभवव।
सत्कारात्वविषयो न हि दोषात्मरेस्यायमेव भवितुस्वस्तहे विरोधात्।”

Chap. III, 217.

काणादद्धरसमार्थवदयसर्वजं दूरारतिस इह संविंतवहरायत्र।
वेदान्तभूमिकुशलो मुनित्वबंवस्यतनाह कार्यानिद्ध संविंतवहराद्रथ्या।”

Ibid, 218.

षष्ठपराधकनिविवुद्वकरितं यतव तथाष्णेव खलु सत्यसामायवतान।
अन्तैव यथुपनवाच समुद्रकनद्यतान्त्वर्कमदो व्यवहारद्रथ्या।”


पूवं विकारसुपवर्णव शनेन: श्रेष्ठस्तुष्टि विस्तृतिम निकटे परिग्रह तत्त्वान।
सवं विकारसमथ संविंतवहरामात्रमेवत हतरिक्षति वाक्यकार:।”

Ibid, 220.

अन्तर्गुण भगवती परदेशतेति प्रलगुणे भगवानवि मायिकार:।
आह्म स्य यथाद्विन्नितदुष्टवाद संगम्हते न तु पुनः सर्गाप्रवदेः।”

Ibid, 221.
VIII. In the commentaries published in the Poona Ānandaśrama edition of the Śaṁkṣapa-Sārīraka and in Nṛsiṁhāraṁsin’s commentary on this work, available in manuscript, the Vākyakāra referred to by Sarvajñātman as Ātreyā is identified with Brahmānandin, and the Bhāṣyakāra, in verse 221 quoted above, is taken to be Dradiḍācārya, the author of a lengthy Bhāṣya on the Chāndogopaniṣad-vārttika consisting perhaps of the aphoristic vākyas of Brahmānandin, otherwise known, in the Viśiṣṭādvaīta tradition, as Taṅka, the Vākyakāra. The last of the verses quoted above (221) requires particular attention, in this connection, as it is discovered to incorporate in the first pāda, an important part of the quotation from Dradiḍācārya’s Bhāṣya, which is set forth above as occurring at page 138 of Rāmānuja’s Vedārtha-Saṁgraha, Paṇḍit edition, Benares. Sarvajñātman was Suṛēvārācārya’s disciple and contemporary, as may be made out from the eighth and penultimate verses of the Saṁkṣapaśārīraka; and Suṛēvara was one of Śaṁkara’s (788—820 A.D.) disciples. If, as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao says at page 21 of his history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, published by the Madras University in 1923 at the Government Press, Madras, the first half of the ninth century A.D. is the time when Nammālvar lived and wrote his memorable Tiruvāy钒, Dradiḍācārya, the author of the old Bhāṣya on Brahmānandin’s Vākyas and the Chāndogopaniṣad, presupposed by Rāmānuja, Sarvajñātmanum and Śaṁkara, must, for obvious reasons, be held to be different from Nammālvar.

IX. A critical investigation of the hagiographic accounts of the Āḻvār and Ācārya in the literature of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava-Sampradāya, like the Guruparamparāprabhāva by Pinbalahiya-perumāl-jiyar, has led historians of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism to the conclusion that Tirumalvisión-Aḻvār, who produced the Tiruccanta-Viruttam and the Nāmukan-Tiruvāntāti and was contemporaneous with the three Mutal-lāḻvārs, was born in Tōḍaimeṇḍalām and flourished there during the period of Pallava supremacy; and that he might, with good reasons, be assigned to the first quarter of the 8th century A.D (See the late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao’s history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas already referred to—pages 16 and 17). A careful examination of all the details relating to Tirumalvisión Āḻvār in the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya literature, in comparison with the material gathered by me about Dradiḍācārya, also known as Draviḍa, from Vedāntic literature in Sanskrit, has revealed to me three striking correspondences between Tirumalvisión and Draviḍa—(1) a biographic correspondence (2) a textual correspondence, and (3) a phonetic correspondence.

X. In the traditional accounts of Śrīvaṁśavas, it is stated that Tirumalvisión was born as the son of the sage Bhārgava, and afterwards became the foster-son of Tiruvāḷan, a Śūdra. After critically studying all
the systems of philosophy, Tiruvālan's foster-son found complete satisfac-
tion in Vaiṣṇavism. A reference to the Tirumalāḷaippirān-vaibhavam in
Pīnabaliya-perumāl-Jiyar's Guruparamparā and Periyavācāśānpillai's
introduction to his commentary on Tirumalāḷa's Tirucōcoattiruttam
would show how Tirumalāḷa was born of a sage, and thrown into the slums
by adverse fate and redeemed later by some great Āśārya. There is an
interesting parallelism between this aspect of Tirumalāḷa's life and an
illustrative story which is known in the Vedānta-literature in Sanskrit
as व्याख्यात्विनिर्देशकपुञ्जनवाच्याणिक and which is found narrated in extenso, in
verses 506 to 527 at pages 970 to 972, in part II, Suresvara's Brhadār-
anyakabhisñavārtika (Poona edition) and at pages 152 to 154 in Haradatta's
Ujjvalā on Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtras, Mysore Government Oriental
Library edition. Ānandagiri, in his commentary on verse 506 of
the Suresvara-vārtika above referred to, definitely attributes the
authorship of the व्याख्यात्विनिर्देशकपुञ्जनवाच्याणिक to Dromidaśārya. Would
it require any great strain on imagination to see that, if Dromidaśārya and
Tirumalāḷa Ālvar should be identical, the akhyāyikā in question could
easily be taken to strike an autobiographical note?

XI. The textual correspondence is such as might well support the
suggestion that Dromidaśārya should be identified with Tirumalāḷa. At
page 75, Part II of the Madras Ananda Press edition of the Śrī-Bhāṣya,
Rāmānuja gives from Dromida-Bhāṣya the extract:—

कम्भित्सारांनि विनात्सिनि, य प्रतोऽस्त ववयति शालमया" ॥

Any scholar who has fully understood the meaning of this extract can
easily realise how the same idea is reproduced in a slightly amplified form
in the seventy second verse of Tirumalāḷa Ālvar's Nāṃukan tiruvan-
tāṭi:—

"तत्त्वम विषयं विषयं विषयं विषयं
विषयं विषयं विषयं विषयं—रंगेरुपनम
श्रृवणानं वरिष्यतं गती गती गती
वरिष्यतं गती गती गती गती।"

XII. Would it now be felt a far-fetched suggestion that the phonetic
parallelism between Dromida and Tirumalāḷa should be taken to be, not
merely accidental, but full of significance? It should be borne in mind, in
this connection, that the Dromidaśārya who is presupposed by Suresvara
and Sarvajñātman and who is identical with the Dromida presupposed
by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, may well be assigned, on historically acceptable
grounds to the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., to which period
historians of Śrīvaishnavism would assign Tirumalāḷa Ālvar.
FURTHER LIGHT ON THE PRĀBHĀKARA-PROBLEM.

BY

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., MADRAS.

In continuation of the paper read by me in 1922 at Calcutta, as President of the philosophy section of the second Oriental Conference, it is proposed in this short paper to draw attention to a few noteworthy points which would throw further light on the Prābhākara-problem in the history of the Mīmāṃsā-SAstra.

(2) In a Prābhākara-work called the Mīmāṃsānyāya-kośa, of which an incomplete manuscript is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it is clearly stated on page 10 that the Vārtika-kāra has given ten interpretations in one place and six in another place, for the introductory passage (तेक इत्यादि भाष्यम्) in the Bhāṣya of Śabarastūmin:

“तेक्षे द्वितीयोत्तरायास्य भाष्यम् वार्तिककारैरेकत्र दशायो: समाधिते तेक्षे तत्त्वभूतिक औचित्याः सम्मानितक्षेत्रः। तथा अन्यान्त्र पदर्थाः; तत्र द्वारा औचित्याः सम्मानितक्षेत्रः। तत्त्व औचित्याः सम्मानितक्षेत्रः। तत्त्व सम्मानितक्षेत्रः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः।

‘गुरु: समाधिते द्वितीयोत्तरायास्य अर्थम्। इति बिवेककथा:। तत्र पशुदस्तत्वश्च औचित्याः। सम्मानितक्षेत्रः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः।

‘तेक्षे द्वितीयोत्तरायास्य अर्थम्। इति बिवेककथा:। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः। तदस्य अन्तर्गत होर्डतस्य धार्मिकताः। प्रकाशितस्य पदर्थाः।

page 10 मीमांसान्यायकोश manuscript in the Government Oriental MSS. library, Madras.

A careful consideration of this extract, beside the corresponding portion in the TarkaLPad of Bhavanātha’s Nāyaviveka and the introductory passage at the beginning of the Rjuvimāla by Śālikanātha, would leave no alternative except to admit:—

that the Paramata referred to by Bhavanātha in this connection is Vārtīkakāra’s view;

that the same Vārtīkakāra gives six interpretations in one place and ten interpretations in another place;
that the identity of this Vārtikakāra with Kumārilabhṛṣṭa is strongly supported by the text of Kumārila's Śloka-Vārtika beginning with the following verse:—


dhok ihāyāṃ āyatasya pādāniṃ saṃprachātāt

āyatācalanātāraṇaṃ pratyakṣyaṁdit: āsim ॥


that, as interpreted in the Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-kośa, both Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha assume that Prabhākara’s Bṛhati presupposes Kumārilabhṛṣṭa’s Vārtika;

and that a part in the above extracts from the Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-kośa refers to some work by Kumārilabhṛṣṭa which is not at present known to be available anywhere even in manuscript; and an extract in the same extract undoubtedly refers to the Śloka-Vārtika of the same author.

(3) At present only three of Kumārila’s works in Mīmāṃsā are accessible to scholars—viz. the Śloka-Vārtika, the Tantravārtika and the Ṭāp-ṭikā. In addition to these three, two other works named Madhyamaṭikā and Bṛhaṭṭikā are attributed to Kumārila by Mādhavasarasvatī in his Sarvadarśana-kaumudi, a manuscript of which is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The relevant extract is given below:—

“तत्र सहस्वाधिकरणवत्नानां भीमांसायायात्वित्वातिनिः कर्म- रस्वयमेवं भाष्यम् ।

तदुपरि प्रत्यक्षन्यायम् — भाष्य प्रभावकारसमतिः ।

तत्र भद्र-चारणां पत्थ्र व्याख्यानानि भाष्यम्; एका ब्रह्मविक्रम, द्वितीया मध्यमतिका,

दूरीया उपस्तिका, चतुर्थी कारिका, पत्थ्रम् तन्त्रवार्तिकमुकातुकुरुक्ष्यितम् ।

तव वृह-मध्यमतिकों संप्रति न वास्ते” ॥

(Page 121 of the MS. of the Sarvadarśana-kaumudi in the Government Oriental MSS. library, Madras.)

Of the two lost works of Kumārilabhṛṣṭa, viz.—Bṛhaṭṭikā and Madhyamaṭikā, extracts from the former are found quoted by Bṛhaṭṭa-śomesvara in his Rāṇaka (Nyāyasudhā) in several places (vide, for instance, pages 201, 329, 330 and 393 of the Benares edition of the Nyāyasudhā). In all probability, the daśāpakṣi referred to in the beginning of the Nayaviveka, or in other words, the ten interpretations attributed to Vārtikakāra in the above extracts from the Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-kośa, were given by Kumārilabhṛṣṭa in one of his two lost works—Bṛhaṭṭikā or Madhyamaṭikā.

(4) At page 56, line 7, and page 77, line 1 of the manuscript of the Bṛhati in the Madras Government Oriental Library, Prabhākara is
discovered quoting, in a felicitous manner, the quarter—अविवेकः परमापदं पदम्, which forms part of the first half of the following oft-quoted verse 30 in the second canto of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya.

"सहसा बिदा धी न क्रियासविवेकः परमापदं पदम्।
ब्रजते हि बिभ्रमकारिण गुणखुशः स्वयमेव संपदः॥"

This famous verse is generally recognised to be characteristic of the gnomic verses in the Kirātārjunīya and is sometimes brought into relation with an anecdote as to how Bhāravi once very narrowly escaped committing a most heinous sin. Prabhākara quotes the second quarter of this verse in a context which is inseparably bound up with what is usually considered one of the fundamental doctrines of the Prabhākara epistemology viz.—akhyātivāda. The name Prabhākara is almost synonymous with the name Bhāravi. In the second verse, at page 1 of the Śiokavārtika, Kumārilabhaṭṭa does homage to his revered teacher in these terms:—

अभिवन्धु गुरुनाथी शिष्यदीपिकानीवान्।
तदप्रसादात्तिर्ध्येष्वह माईमांसालोकवार्तिकम्॥

There is a story which makes out Kumārilabhaṭṭa as having been guilty of academic treason by his avowed and determined attack of his guru and as having atoned for this sin by some kind of self-immolation. And the veteran scholar of Allahabad, Dr. Gangānāth Jha, more than thirteen years ago, suggested that Prabhākara's works must be assigned to the ante-Kumārika period of Mīmāṃsā. The cumulative effect of all these points is very likely to make itself felt in a strong temptation to equate Prabhākara with the poet Bhāravi, whom the Aibole inscription of 634 A.D. refers to as a famous poet, and to assign Prabhākara to the earlier part of the seventh century A.D. in agreement with Dr. Keith. (see Dr. Keith's Kārmā-Mīmāṃsā, page 9, the Heritage of India series). There is, however, conclusive evidence which makes it impossible for careful scholars to yield to this temptation. At page 84 of the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Brhatī, in lines 13 and 14, the following quotation is found:—

"सत्यस्मृ—क्रियासमि [यज्ञाना(?)] (यज्ञान) तदयागम पूर्वकस्म्।"

This represents the second half of 1-30 of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya. The full text of the verse is:—

"नचागमाहते वच्यो स्तरकेष्व व्यवितिष्टे।
क्रियासमि यज्ञानं तदयागामपूर्वकस्म॥"

Page 15, Benares edition of Vākyapadīya.
In fact, Prabhākara is discovered using in a somewhat waggish way, the very name of Bhartṛhari’s famous work—Vākyapadīya, in connection with his exposition of the Anvītābhīdhanā doctrine; and this will be evident from the following extract:—

“अत एते पदर्थीः, एषामविभागनाति, बांसिद् बाक्यपदीयम्; अन्तः
झलव्यम्यमान: पदर्थीविवेकोऽपि पर्वते प्रवर्ति”

lines 3 & 4 at page 89 of the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Bhāti.

It seems to me obvious that Prabhākara is referring, at page 35 of his Bhāti (Madras manuscript), to the Sphōta-doctrine as stated by Bhartṛhari; and at page 55, lines 12 and 13, and at the end of page 58 and beginning of page 59, in the same manuscript, that phase of the Advaita system is referred to, which, in the pre-Sāṃkara stage, should be specially associated with Gauḍapāda. According to the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, Bhartṛhari’s death took place about 650 A.D.; and Prabhākara, who makes use of Bhartṛhari’s Vākyapadīya should certainly be considerably later than 650 A.D.

(5) In the Madras manuscript of the Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī by Mādhava-sarasvatī, referred to above, it is stated that Prabhākara wrote two commentaries on the Sābara-bhāṣya, viz. Vivaraṇa and Nibandhana. The following extract gives this information and gives some interesting particulars about the Prabhākara literature.

“प्रामाणकर्पर्माणां तु—भावस्य प्रभाकरस्य ज्ञात्राणं ज्ञात्रांद्रम। एकं वि-
वरण धर्मसंहस्रं। अपरो निवन्धनसंहस्रं: धर्मसंहस्रम। विवरणम् अजु-
विवल्ला, निवन्धनस्य तीपशिस्य, तीकायं शालिकनाथकं प्रकरणं शालिकायाम।
नविवेकिकां सत्ता ज्ञात्राणं प्रकरणं द्वादशसंहस्रं। तट्रीका वरदराजज्ञात अधा-
चल्लं च नाणाणां अहिः।”

(Page 122 of the Sarvadarśanakaumudī manuscript).

From the foregoing extract, it is clear that Prabhākara’s Bhāti should be identified with the Vivaraṇa; and the Nibandhana, which Dr. Jhā identifies with the Bhāti (see lines 18 and 19 at page 9 of Dr. Jha’s book—Prabhākara school), turns out to be different from the Bhāti; for the commentary on the Vivaraṇa, called Rjuvimāla, by Śālikanātha, deals with the Bhāti and not with the Nibandhana. The colophon ‘कृते प्रभाकरस्यस्मिन्नामस्यायामविवरणे’ reported by Dr. Jha as found at the end of the second pāda of the second Adhyāya in the Bhāti manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, supports the identification of the Bhāti with the Vivaraṇa. On page 413 of the Benares edition.
of Mandanamiśra’s Vidhiviveka with Vācaspatimiśra’s Nyāyakanikā, while commenting upon the text “नक्षेण प्रवृत्तिविषया: अनुसुङ्गयतात् अश्वद्यायायात् कमविद्यते वेयोनिषयतात् अनिर्दिष्टमाणि।” Vācaspatimiśra observes—

“तत्र विवरणकृतो हेतुमाह—अनुसुङ्गयतात्। निवन्धनकृतो हेतुमाह—अश्वद्यायायात्।”

With reference to the same question relating to krama, as dealt with in the 3rd and 5th chapters (तात्त्विकम्ब & पाध्मिकम्ब), Pārthaśārathimiśra says at page 148 of his Nyāyaratnamālā, Benares edition—

“तत्त्वात्सर्वैः तात्त्वः पाध्मिकम्ब क्रमो न विच्छेदः—इति विवरणकारः। निवन्धनकारस्वाधृतम्—भवतु तात्त्विकसम्भाय संस्कृतावैवेदाविप्रविधाया अभिदाहानमेव साति विवेच्येयात्रत्यानिज्ञानमेव विषयवल्लम्, नलेवं पाध्मिकक्रमस्य संबंधेत; न हि तत्त्व किंविदविद्विकारस्मिति।”

Prabhākara’s remarks at the beginning of the first adhikarana of the 5th chapter of the Brhatti are in perfect agreement with what is stated by Vācaspatimiśra and Pārthaśārathimiśra in the above extracts as the view held by Vivaraṇakāśa.

(6) Śālikanātha is the oldest commentator on Prabhākara’s works, who is definitely known to us. He could not have been removed from Prabhākara by a long interval. In fact, he seems to have been one of Prabhākara’s pupils. In this connection, the following extract from page 31 of the Benares edition of the Prakarana-Pāṇoikā may, with advantage, be considered, beside the first verse of the Nitipatha—section 2 of the Prakarana-pāṇoikā—

“अर्थांसंप्रशिष्टात्तत्त्वा यथा शब्दस्य वायुः। प्रभाकर्युरूः श्रव्ये स्त्रया यथो विधियते॥”


“यथा बहुः स्मार्थेष्वेत्त्वस्मातिर्त्वेदिकाय ज्ञातायं सामान्यं प्रश्चिम्भा-गोचर: केष्विद्विज्ञे, तदपि गुरुस्मान्तं न मृष्यति।”

(Page 31, lines 20, 21 Ibid).

Mandanamiśra quotes at page 109 of his Vidhiviveka (Benares edition), the following extract appearing at page 10, line 18 of the Madras manuscript of the Brhatti:—
"कर्तव्यताविषयो नियोगः न पुनः कर्तव्यतामाह"

While commenting upon this extract, Vācaspatimiśra makes these remarks:—

"अङ्केन जर्जपामाकरोनियतार्थ गुरौवेचः सहस्सचत इत्याह. . . . . . . .
नवीनतत्त्वायतिः—अनिस्पितनियोगमवायपरस्येवं चोयमिस्तुपम्येवेद्मुच्छम्। कर्तव्यताविषयः . . . . . . . . इति। यागकर्तव्यतातुष्णां विषयो वस्य नियोगस्य स प्रसर्था। तेनहि नियोगः साध्यते, न पुनर्नियोगो यागस्यतातुष्णां भावयति."

Page 109, Benares edition of the Nyāyakaṇḍikā, with the text of the Vidhiviveka.

The above extract from the Brhatī quoted by Maṇḍana is found explained as follows in the Madras Government Oriental Library manuscript of the Rju-vimalā—

"टिकार्थस्तु अनिस्पितनियोगमवायपरस्य—न निर्धायति उपादानविक्रयो नियोगमवायारो वेद तस्य—हृदं चोयम्। यागकर्तव्यतातुष्णां विषयो नियोगस्य, तेन नियोगः साध्यते न तु नियोगो यागस्यातुष्णां भावयति।"

[Rju-vimalā-Tarkāpāda page 24—lines 14 to 17].

From these extracts it will be seen that what Vācaspatimiśra attributes to the navyās is identical with what Śālikanātha says in this connection in his Rju-vimalā. Probably the जर्जपामाकर referred to by Vācaspati in the above extract from the Nyāyakaṇḍikā was but an older contemporary of Śālikanātha and an earlier commentator on Prabhakara's Brhatī, such references to older and younger contemporaries as prācyās and navyās being very common in Indian tradition, as, for instance, in the case of Jagadīśa and Gaddādharā in the history of Nyāya. It must be remembered that Vācaspati's date is 841 A.D. and he presupposes both Śāṅkara (788-820 A.D.) and Maṇḍana. Śālikanātha quotes from Kumārila in several places in his Prakaraṇapaṇiṣṭikā and Rju-vimalā. The following quotation, for instance, occurs at page 64 of the Madras manuscript of the Rju-vimalā, Tarkāpāda:

tadādu vāntikekaśāmāstra:—

गम्यामात्रयो चार्यवेद्वेद विशेषेण्।
शब्दान्तरिविभक्तम् वा धृतोऽयं जबलतविवस्तु॥ इति.

[See page 858 lines 4 & 5 of the Ślokavārtika Benares.]
On pages 5, 114 and 122 of the Benares edition of the Prakaranapaññākā, quotations from the Ślokavartika occur, as already pointed out by me elsewhere. (See page 408 of the proceedings of the second Oriental Conference). At page 178 of his Prakaranapaññākā, Śālikanātha quotes the following verses from Maṇḍana’s Vidhiviveka:

“पुंसानेत्रहम्मुक्तायवान......... ||”  
page 243 Benares edition of the Vidhiviveka.

“कतरिष्ठाम्मुपायः हि................... ||”  
page 302 Ibid.

From a perusal of the text of Maṇḍana’s Brahmasiddhi, (my edition of which, under the auspices of the Madras Government, is nearing completion and will be issued shortly) it will be seen that Śālikanātha in the course of his refutation of the Advaitasiddhānta at pages 154 and 155 of the Prakaranapaññākā quotes the second verse of the Tarka-kānda of the Brahmasiddhi. That Śālikanātha definitely presupposes Maṇḍana’s advaita, and not Saṁkara’s is a fact which is full of significance in this connection. In my critical introduction to my edition of the Brahmasiddhi, to be issued shortly, it will be proved beyond any reasonable doubt that Maṇḍana-Sureśvara equation in the history of Advaita is a myth; that Maṇḍana is a representative Advaitin of the pre-Saṁkara stage in the history of Advaita, who closely follows, whenever possible, Bhartṛhari’s Šabdādavitasiddhānta; that Vācaspatimiśra, only slightly later than Saṁkara, reconciles, as far as possible, the views of Maṇḍana and Saṁkara, who have shown sharp divergences in many respects; and that Maṇḍana is not, but Sureśvara undoubtedly is, a disciple of Saṁkara.

(7) Bhaṭṭomveka, already referred to by me elsewhere (see pages 410 and 411 of the Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference) is found to be the author of a commentary on Maṇḍana’s Bhāvanāviveka, which was edited by Dr. Jhā and published recently as No. 6 of the Princess of Wales’s Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, in Benares. A careful consideration of the independent discussion closing with the verse “बहुर्वाभित्रत्वंमच्या.........” in the commentary at page 76 of the Bhāvanāviveka and of the Varia Lectio “प्राधान्यं तत्प्रियवन्नानादिति (न) समीचीन: पाठ:” noted in the commentary at page 77, line 18 of the same work, renders highly dubious the identity between Maṇḍana and Bhaṭṭomveka, which is found to be proposed by Dr. Jhā in his introduction to the Bhāvanāviveka; for, it would be absurd to suppose that the author of the Bhāvanāviveka is himself referring to a variant reading in his own work. It is worthy of note that, at page 43 of the Bhāvanāviveka, in lines 16 and 17 (Benares edition),
Bhaṭṭomveka refers to Kumārila as Bhaṭṭapāda and as Guru, while quoting the following verse from the Tantravārttika page 351 Benares edition:

“यथोलं भट्टपादिः–“अन्यदेवविहितार्थे (यागादृ) सामान्यं करणाश्चक्षु।
यथोलं गुरुणा–अन्यश्र भावना नाम साध्यतेन्विवाक्ष्यतम्॥”

Would it be too much to say, at this stage, that it would follow as a legitimate conclusion from the above data considered in relation to the data already furnished by me elsewhere (see pages 408 to 412 of the Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference), that Prabhākara, Maṇḍana and Umveka (Bhavabhūti) might have been younger contemporaries of Kumārila, who might safely be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century A.D., that Śālikanātha and Umveka might have been younger than Prabhākara and Maṇḍana, and that all these Mīmāṃsakas might well have preceded Śaṅkarācārya?
THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF MĀRA

BY

DR. BIMALA CHARAN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

Māra, the spirit of evil of the Buddhists, the enemy of the Good Law, appears to have been the personification of an abstract conception of the Buddhist religion. The Buddhacarita-kāvya of Aśvaghosha tells us that he who is called in the world Kāmadēva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the Lord of the course of desire, is the Buddhist Māra, the enemy of liberation (Book 13). In other words, Māra is the personification of Kāma that thwarts the aspirant after the highest stage, Nibbāna. Māra is of different kinds:—Khandha Māra (Māra of the elements of being), Kīlesa Māra (Māra of sin), Maraṇa Māra (Māra of death), Devaputta Māra (Māra of the gods), and Abhisamākhāra Māra (Māra of the accumulation of Kamma) (Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 241). The Śīkṣā-saṁuccaya of Śāntideva mentions the four, except abhisamākhāra Māra (Tr. Bendall & Rouse, p. 192). In the Mahāvamsa, he is described as one having thousand hands (Ed. Geiger, Ch. 35, Verse 75). Woman is not competent to acquire the state of Māra (Vibhaṅga, p. 337). It is interesting to note on the authority of the Buddhist and Jaina texts that Māra is the originator of Māyā or attachment. (cf. Sūtrakṛtānga, Jaina Sutras, pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XLV, p. 244) and the person who falls a victim to Māyā is conquered by Māra. His daughters are desire (tanha), discontent (arati), and passion (rāga), 1 the ultimate categories of evil in its psychological system. The fight of the Bodhisattva with Māra is a struggle against the fetters and hindrances that stand in the way to Nibbāna. He does not resemble the evil spirit of the Zoroastrian, Ahriman, who is a spirit of equal power with Ormuzd, the principle of good. In the Zoroastrian system every good is opposed by its corresponding evil, and Ahriman, the spirit of evil, has existed opposed to Ormuzd since the commencement of the world. With the Satan of the Old Testament, Māra has not much in common, though there are some points of resemblance. Like Māra, Satan goes forth to tempt Job, to test his loyalty to God whose permission he obtains before commencing his evil activities.

---

Scholars like Windisch, \(^1\) Beal, \(^2\) Kern, \(^3\) Rockhill and Sir Charles Elliot\(^6\) have given us very little information regarding Māra and his activities. Oldenberg's treatise on Māra is indeed the pioneer work in this field. In the following pages an attempt has been made to collect from the Buddhist literature materials which have hitherto remained unnoticed and which throw some new light on the subject. The Buddhist conception of Māra is in many respects the same as that of the Hindu Kāmadeva. Like Kāmadeva, Māra has his flowery arrow and there are many more points of resemblance; in fact, Māra is one of the names by which Kāmadeva is designated in Brahmanical literature. Māra bears many names in Pāli literature, he is called, for example, Kaṇṭha (black), adhipati (chief) antagu (destroyer), namuci (non-deliverer), pamattavandhu (friend of the passionate)\(^6\) and at the same time he is also designated maccu (death), \(^7\) perhaps because death and ruin overtake one who is caught in the snares of Māra. Anattakāma (wishing ill), ahitakāma (wishing injury) and avagyakhimakāma (wishing unsafety) are the epithets of Māra. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 155).

Kāma (sensual pleasure) forms the first army of Māra; arati, (discontent) is his second army; khuppipāsā (hunger and thirst), the third; taṇhā (desire), the fourth; thīnamiddha (sloth and torpor) the fifth; bhīru (fear) the sixth; vicikicchā (doubt) the seventh; and makkho (disdain to others) thambho (self-adulation) the eighth; labha (gain), siloka (fame), sakāra (honour), mīchāladdhāyaso (wealth obtained by improper means), attāsamāsamkaṃsānā (self-praise) and pāresam avajānanā (speaking ill of others)—all these constitute Māra's army. (Niddesa, Vol. I, p. 96; cf. Majjhima Nikāya, Padhāna Sutta).

Diṭṭhadhammika kāmasaṇṇā (i.e. the idea of sensual pleasure in present life), sampārayika-kāmasaṇṇā i.e. the idea of sensual pleasure in future life) form the kingdom, state and food of Māra. (Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. II., pp. 261-262).

---

1. Māra and Buddha
2. The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, pp. 36, 199.
The snare of Mára (Mārabandhanam) means that a meditative person through two kinds of meditation, becomes freed from the snares of Mára which consist of births in kāmāvacara, rūpāvacara and arūpāvacara-lokas 1. One is entangled in the snares of Mára if he has any attachment to beautiful form, etc. 2. Mára is the chief of those who are possessed of adhipatta (influence) 3. He who has attachment is entangled by Mára 4. In the Dhammapada we read that Mára will certainly overthrow a person who is unrestrained in his senses, immoderate in his food, idle and weak 5. A person’s mind is always attempting to come out of the kingdom of Mára 6. Those who can restrain their mind and check its propensities can escape the snare of Mára 7. One should fight with Mára with the weapon of wisdom 8. One can go beyond the sight of Mára, King of Death, by destroying the flowery arrow of Mára 9. Mára cannot find those who are pious, leading a strenuous life and emancipated by perfection of wisdom10. One can make himself free from Mára if he has attained the noble eightfold path 11. Those who meditate on the impurities of the body can cut off the snare of Mára 12. Mára cannot destroy the Dhammacakka (wheel of law) 13. One should destroy the army of Mára with strenuous exertion 14. One whose mind is not protected, who has false belief and is idle, comes under the control of Mára 15. The Nettipakarana mentions the fact that Mára could not detect the consciousness of Godhika 16. Mára went to search for Vakkali’s consciousness but he could find no trace of it because Vakkali passed away completely before the quest of Mára 17. The Visuddhimagga tells us that a wise man who finds delight in forest hermitage, that is, one who

5. Dhammapada, Yamakavagga, verse 7, P.T.S. Ed.
7. Ibid. 6.
8. Ibid. 6.
9. Ibid. 7.
10. Ibid. 8.
11. Ibid. 40.
12. Ibid. 50.
15. Ibid. p. 85.
has freed himself from the ties of the world, is fit to overcome Māra with
his army. A yogi who remains fixed in his seat spending his whole time in meditation, can subdue Māra. The Niddesa relates a conversation that is
supposed to have taken place between a bhikkhu named Vajirā and
Māra. Vajirā said to Māra thus, "There is no sattā (being) here who can come under your control. This
is no being but a heap of dirt, (Vol. I, p. 439, cf. Kathāvatthu, Vol. I,
p. 6; Abhidhammāvatāra, p. 88). There is a reference to the Buddha's
subjugation of Māra at the foot of the Bodhitree at Gaya. (Ibid, p. 455). The Buddha assured his disciples
thus, "Oh bhikkhus, if you live within the country of your father (i.e. the Buddha), you will not be overcome
by Māra. (Niddesa, Vol. I, p. 475). Māra has no
share in jātī (old age), vyādhi (disease), maraṇā (death) and pubbakata-
tells us that Māra is conquered by a person who is free from attachment
and who has risen triumphant over all sufferings and will not be born
again (p. 58). A fool, a person devoid of merit, and one who earns his
livelihood by following low professions are reborn in hell. (Itivuttaka,
p. 59). Those who are under the domain of passion, delusion and anger, are
ignorant of the ariyadhammas and subject to Sacciyadīthī (heresy of in-
dividuality), cannot liberate themselves from the clutches of Māra. (Ibid,
p. 92). The Aṅguttara Nikāya asserts that one who follows the dhamma
can conquer Māra. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 150). The bhikkhu
who puts forth the right effort and who has conquered
the kingdom of Māra, is not subject to rebirth and
death. He can conquer Māra with this army and can
destroy the power of Namuci and live full of bliss.

An ariyasaśaka endowed with the seven kinds of sadāhāmma
and the four jhānas, is one who has passed beyond
In one of the Jātakas, we read that Yudhiṭṭhila and
Yuvaṇājaya passed beyond the kingdom of Māra, which was made up of
rāga (passion), dosa (fault), and moha (delusion). (Jātaka, Fausboll,
Vol. IV, p. 123.)

Māra stood up as an antagonist of the Buddha trying to prevent his
attainment of Nirvāṇa. Māra in his great and
ineffectual struggle to bring down the Buddha, used
all sorts of arms, both physical and spiritual. The
Nettipakaraṇa tells us that Māra hurled a huge stone at the Budh-

from the top of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain. (Nettipakaraṇa, p. 34). When Siddhārtha was going out of the city of Kapilavastu for the great renunciation, he was met by Māra at the gate. He urged Prince Siddhārtha not to leave the city as he (Buddha) would become an universal monarch on the seventh day if he stayed in it, but all Māra’s efforts were in vain. Māra asked him why he was renouncing the world. The Buddha replied that the was doing so in order to obtain the supreme knowledge. Māra then tried the effect of threats on him and pointed out that he would bring him to grief if the least thought of lust disturbed his mind. In vain did he seek for seven long years to detect any defect in the conduct of the Buddha. After the lapse of five years, the Buddha acquired omniscience. When the Buddha was sitting at the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree, in the fifth week of his attainment of bodhi, Māra came and told the Buddha that he was now beyond his power. The three daughters of Māra named tayhā, arati and rāga tried to tempt the Buddha in various ways but all were in vain. (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 195-196). Again we are told that when the Buddha was going for alms to a Brahmin village, named Pañcasāla, Māra resolved that he should not get any alms there. Māra entered the bodies of the villagers and inclined their minds not to offer any alms to the Buddha who came back to the village-gate with his empty bowl. Māra taunted him by putting the question whether he had received any alms. The Buddha replied that he was fully aware of his mischievous intention. Thereupon Māra urged him again to go and seek for alms with the sinister object that the Buddha might be insulted all the more. The Buddha retorted that he would live on piti (joy) like the ābhassaraśevas if he received no alms. (Ibid. Vol. III, pp. 257-258). The same commentary also records another passage at arms between the Buddha and Māra; we are told that a god belonging to the Māra world entered into the bodies of five hundred young women of whom the great and wealthy lady of Sāvatthī, Visākhā, Migāramātā, was in charge. As Māra got possession of them, they began to laugh, dance and clap their hands in the presence of the Buddha, who, however, became aware of the fact that all this was the act of Māra. By his supernatural powers the Buddha created darkness and the women were entirely nonplussed and were overtaken by fear. A short while afterwards they came to their senses. Then the Buddha removed the darkness and brought in light and the ladies became ashamed of their light conduct (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III, pp. 101-102).

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakāṭṭhā narrates another story recounting how Māra tried to catch the Buddha in his toils. The Buddha said on one occasion that the kings were in the habit of oppressing their subjects, thus causing untold misery to them. He further said that had he been the ruler, he would have ruled his kingdom without any such oppression.
Māra offered him the sovereignty of a kingdom with a view to put him to trouble. The Buddha, however, saw through his evil motive and gave out his intention to him and said, "the four means of obtaining supernatural power have been well meditated on. If necessary, I can even change the Himalaya mountains into gold. Therefore I can rule the subjects well without exacting any tax from them." He further said that Māra need not tempt him (Dhammapada Commentary. Vol. IV, pp. 31, 32), as all such attempts were bound to be fruitless. Once Māra in the shape of an elephant attacked Rābulakumāra while he was lying down in the latrine of the Buddha, being driven out by the bhikkus in the Jetavana vihāra. Māra's intention was to terrify Rahula and thereby to cause pain to the mind of the Buddha. The Exalted One, however, recognised Māra and told him that he and his son could never be hurt by Māra. (Ibid, Vol. IV. pp. 69—70). On another occasion Māra in disguise met the Buddha and asked him about the sinfulness of pāra. The Buddha recognised him at once and retorted, "pāra is obtained by sinless arahats. You are Māra and you have nothing to do with pāra." (Ibid, Vol. IV, pp. 140—141).

The Majjhima Nikāya records that Māra entered into the bowels of Mahomāggaśana who felt his stomach to be heavy. Trying to find out the cause, he sat down to meditate and came to know that Māra had entered into his body. He asked Māra to leave him and not to disturb Tathāgata and his disciples. Māra came out of his mouth and stood on the bar of the door. Mahāmoggāla related to him (Māra) his deeds in the time of the Buddha Kāruṇaśanda, the trouble he gave to Vidūra, which ultimately led him to hell where he suffered for many years. (Vol. I, pp. 332, foll).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya records a conversation which the Buddha is supposed to have held with Māra three months before his pārinnābāna. Māra said, "Let the Blessed One now pass away, this is the time for him to pass away. You said that you would not pass away until your disciples were trained properly, until they had grown restrained, fearless, learned,holders of dhamma, followers of the dhamma and the right path, till they were able to teach and preach and also to refute the teachings of others. Your disciples are now competent to do all this work and it is time for you to pass away." Māra also said the same thing regarding the bhikkhus. The Blessed One replied, "Don't be anxious. The Tathāgata will pass away after the lapse of three months." (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. IV., pp. 310-311). The Samyutta Nikāya informs us that Māra in the guise of a devata named Veṭamvarī came to the Buddha and told him thus, "He who hates tapa (austerity) and does not like to stay alone, who is addicted to rūpas or beautiful forms and wishes to go to the regions of the blessed (devaloka), is competent to give
advice regarding the attainment of the next world." The Buddha recognised Māra in the guise of a god and explained to him, "rupa (form) in this world, in the next and in the sky, is praised by Namuo. It is nothing but a bait." (Vol. I, p. 67). One night while the Buddha was at Veluvana, Māra in the guise of a big snake, went to terrify the Exalted One who, however, recognised him at once and said, "He who lives in a solitary place and has self-restraint, has no reason to be afraid of any terrible sight and can bear the bite of snakes, etc." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 106-107). On another occasion, Māra said to the Buddha, "the term of life of a human being is long. It should be enjoyed to the full extent." The Buddha retorted that the contrary was the truth. (Saṁyutta Nikāya Vol. I, p. 108.) Māra disturbed the Buddha while he was delivering a discourse on dhamma to a large assembly at Jetavana by saying, "You have your opponent, why are you roaring like a lion here? You have not yet conquered your opponent, why should you call yourself a conqueror?" The Buddha replied, "He who has become fearless, does roar in this way. The Tathāgatas who are endowed with ten powers, are veritable conquerors of the world." (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 110). Māra came to the Buddha while he was lying at ease after having received injury to the finger of his leg due to the stone thrown at him by Devadatta, and said, "You have no wealth, how is it that you are lying at ease. Are you absorbed in poetry or in indolence?" The Buddha replied, "I have enough wealth, I am lying at ease with compassion for all beings. Those who are pierced with arrows, etc., are lying at ease, why should I not lie at ease being free from all spears?" (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 110-111). Again Māra in the guise of a fiery bull wanted to break the bowls of the bhikkhus, placed outside in the sun while the bhikkhus were attentively listening to the religious instruction given by the Buddha on upādānakkhandha at Sāvatthi. A bhikkhu shouted that a bull had come and it might break the bowls. The Buddha said that it was Māra that had come in that guise and not a real bull (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 112). While the Buddha was delivering a discourse on Nirvāna at Savatthi Māra in the guise of a ploughman came and told him, "Have you seen my bulls?" By this query Māra disturbed the Buddha and the bhikkhus and their attention was distracted. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 115). Māra told his daughters to overpower and defeat the Buddha. They made every attempt to do so but in vain. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 127).

Māra tried to lead astray the therīs by painting the picture of the worldly enjoyments in brilliant colours, but here also all his attempts proved unsuccessful. Māra urged Ālavikā, a bhikkhuni thus, "Enjoy sensual pleasures; otherwise you will repent." Ālavikā replied, Kāma is like a spear, I do not find any pleasure in it. (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, 62)
p. 138). Māra went to Kīsāgotami, the great therī, and told her, "Why are you crying for a dead son? Go to the forest and select a suitable husband for yourself." She recognised Māra and told him, "I am sorrowful, I have no fear. I do not like to go after a man. I have destroyed all my attachments, the darkness of ignorance has been dispelled. I am now free from sins having conquered you and your army." (Sāmiyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 130). On another occasion, Māra went to Vijayā bhikkhuni and told her, "You are young, I am also young, let us enjoy ourselves." Vijayā replied, "I do not find any delight in sensual pleasures." (Sāmiyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 131). Māra went to a therī named Cālā and told her, "What is it that you don't want?" She replied, "I do not want birth." He rejoined, "If you be born, you can enjoy the pleasures of the senses." She replied, "If one is born, he is subject to death, he will have to suffer much. I wish to have the dhamma preached by the Buddha for overcoming birth." (Sāmiyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 132). Māra went to another therī named Selā and addressed her thus, "By whom has this body been made? Who is the maker of it? What is it and how will it cease to exist?" Selā recognised Māra and replied, "I am not the maker of this body which has come into existence owing to some cause and it will pass away after the cause is destroyed." (Sāmiyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 134). Similar stories of temptations held out by Māra to many of the therīs are recorded in the Therīgāthā. Sukka therī after having attained arahatship said thus, "Hold the antimedha after defeating Māra and his army." (Therīgāthā, p. 61). Selā therī after having obtained arahatship went to Andhavana for spending the day. Māra in order to prevent her from meditating, said to her, "There is no salvation in this world. What good will you derive by meditation? Enjoy Kāma." The therī in reply told Māra that he was but a fool and that he was not aware that she had acquired arahatship. The therī further said, "Kāma is like a spear, why do you speak of sensual pleasure?" I do not find any delight in it I am free from attachment. You have been killed." (Ibid, pp. 64—65) Somā therī attained arahatship and Māra tried to disturb her at Andhavana. Māra said to her, "What is difficult for a rṣi to get, how will you get being a little woman?" She replied, "Although I am a woman, if my mind is steadfast, if I have wisdom, I shall see the dhamma perfectly. The state of a woman is no hindrance to my attainment of arahatship. My attachment is destroyed, ignorance is dispelled and you have been defeated." (Ibid, pp. 66-67).

Once Khemā therī sat under a tree to spend the day. Māra in the guise of a young man tried to induce her to enjoy the pleasures of the world and said, "you are young and beautiful, let us enjoy ourselves." The therī became aware that it was Māra who was trying to tempt her in that way and replied him thus, "This rotten body is much hated by
me. I have destroyed Kāmaṇḍhā. I do not find delight in Kāma, I am free from all sins. You have been destroyed." (Therīgāthā, p. 137-138). Māra attempted to prevent Cālā theri from leading a holy life. Cālā told Māra thus, "I have received ordination after listening to the Buddha who has preached the four noble truths to me, I have received three viñjas. I am now beyond your dominion." (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 163-164),

Uppalavāṇṇai theri went to the sālā forest to spend the day. Māra addressed her thus, "If you, being alone, are oppressed by the wicked people, what will you do?" She replied, "If many wicked people come and oppress me, I am not afraid, what will you do being alone? You will not be able to recognise me if I disappear from your presence and enter into your stomach or stand on your eye-brow. My mind is steadfast. I have acquired six abhiññās, I have mastered the Buddhāsāsana. Thereupon you cannot overcome me." (Ibid, pp. 198-199).

In the Sutta Nipāṭa Commentary we read that Māra tried to prevent Dhaniya and his wife from taking ordination from the Buddha by saying, "One having sons finds delight in them as cowherds find delight in cows. Attachment is the root of happiness". The Buddha refuted it. (Vol. I, p. 44). From the Jātakas we learn that Māra cannot overcome the bhikkhus if they follow the sublime sighted path. (Jātaka, Vol. III, p. 532) Māra asked a householder not to offer charity. He also told him that if he did so he would suffer in a hell which he pointed out to him and which was full of burning charcoal and he acted according to his advice. (Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 231). Māra also tried to dissuade a banker of Benares from making any gift to apacekabuddha who came to him for charity. With this end in view Māra caused a shower of burning charcoal to fall in front of the gate of the banker's house and there was such a heap of burning charcoal that it looked like the Aṭṭī Hall thereby trying to prevent thepacekabuddha from having access to the house and the benefit of the charity but at the intervention of the Bodhisatta, Māra's attempt was baffled. (Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 233 foll). Buddha in course of his religious instruction to the bhikkhus told them thus, "Don't walk in an improper place which is not the Buddha's property because Māra would find an opportunity of finding fault with you" (Jātaka, Vol. II, p. 60). A theri named Nandiya after obtaining saṅghaloka was once dwelling in a Deer-Park Pādaṁvamsa. In order to terrify him Māra went to him after having assumed a horrible appearance. Nandiya having recognised Māra told him, "You can't do any harm to a person who has gone beyond your kingdom." (Therīgāthā Commentary, Sinhalese Ed., p. 82).
The Mahāyāna Buddhist texts contain some references to Māra and his activities. Māra tried to prevent a Bodhisattva named Sadāpravuddha from acquiring merit. The Bodhisattva when he heard a divine voice that Dharmagupta would arise and take his seat in the midst of the town to preach the Law, he was elated with joy. The Bodhisattva then went to cleanse the spot and appointed a pulpit adorned with many gems. Then he desired to sprinkle the ground but he did not get water because all water had been hidden by Māra, the Evil One, with the object of causing him to change his purpose and thus his roots of merit might disappear. But the object of Māra was baffled because the Bodhisattva not finding any water drew out blood from his body for the purpose of cleaning the spot. (Śīkṣāsamuccaya, translated by Bendall & Rouse, pp. 42 foll.) The Buddhacarita Kāvya informs us that when Siddhārtha was sitting at the foot of the Bo-tree to obtain omniscience, Māra with his three sons, Vibhrama, Hārsa and Darpa and with his three daughters, Rati, Priti and Trāṇā, and himself armed with the flowery arrow, came to the Aśvatthā tree to disturb him. Māra tried various ways to tempt the Buddha but in vain. Māra with his army tried to make him impatient but in vain. He then left the Buddha in despair. (Buddhacarita, Ch. 13. of Soundarānanda Kāvya Canto III. Ślokas 7-8.) After the Buddha had received Sambodhi, Māra came to him and told him, "Your object has been fulfilled. You obtain nirvāṇa." The Buddha replied thus, "After having placed all people in Dharma, I shall obtain nirvāṇa." At this Māra grew furious and returned home. The daughters of Māra made many fruitless attempts to tempt the Buddha. (Buddhacaritakāvya, pp. 11-36). Māra in the guise of Kaulesvara of the Śākya family, came to the Buddha and requested him to return to Kapilavastu but the Buddha recognised him and asked him to return home. (Ibid, pp. 37-45). In the Mahāvastu Avadāna we read that when the Bodhisattva came to the foot of the Bodhi tree, Māra came terrified and began to praise him saying, "You are unparalleled in beauty. You are possessed of seven gems. You are endowed with the thirty-two signs of a great man. You enjoy women. The daughters of Māra are singing songs and throwing scented powder to cheer you up. Oh Prince, stay at home and enjoy yourself." The Bodhisattva replied, "I have no desire for kāma. I am after salvation. Kāma is to be given up. Women are the cause of harm. The Bodhisattva is not attached to women. You don't speak of kāma." Māra's son, Sārthavaha, said to his father thus "Please listen to me. The Bodhisattva will remove the darkness of ignorance. He will be our saviour. He will do good to the world. He will defeat all the army of Māra. You will not be able to move him by any means." At this Māra grew angry with his son. The army of Māra attacked the Bodhisattva but he was not afraid. Māra and his army were thus defeated (p. 357).
The most detailed and elaborate account of the great struggle between Buddha and Māra is narrated in the Lalitavistara. When the Prince Siddhārtha was about to reach Sambodhi, Māra dreamt many inauspicious dreams, and came to know of the great effort that the Śākya prince was making for final emancipation. He at once roused his sons and assistants, his generalissimo, Simbahānu by name and all his friends and relatives, informed them of the activities of Siddhārtha and prepared a mighty host of all arms; his soldiers were fearful and terrible, of all queer and unseemly forms that the imagination of man can conceive of. His thousand sons were ranged in two battalions to his right and left. Those ranged on the right led by Sārbhavāha, urged him to submit to the Bodhisatta while those on the left argued to the contrary, and were determined to fight to a finish. Then commenced the onset of Māra whose army began to strike at him with all sorts of weapons. Huge heaps of flowers, dreadful fires hurled at him, formed an aureole round his body; dreadful death-dealing weapon formed beds of sweet smelling flowers round about the Bodhi tree and many of them hanging from it in garlands added to its beauty. Then Māra appeared before him and urged him to rule over the earth but failing to tempt the Bodhisatta, he fled with his army. Then Māra urged his fascinating daughters to try all their arts and skill on the Bodhisatta. They tried the effect at first of the thirty-two womanly arts upon him but could not produce the least impression on him. Then they tried to tempt him with sweet gāthās to enjoy the pleasures of the senses in their company but the Bodhisatta discoursed to them on the futility of all desires. Then the daughters of Māra, trained and accomplished as they were in all the female arts and guiles, began to exercise on him the full strength of their powers but the Bodhisatta restrained them with soft and sweet words, unmoved alike by all that they said or did. Then they desisted and reported to their father of the futility of female charms against Bodhisatta but Māra would not yet turn back. He now tried threats to frighten away the Bodhisatta but he was no more successful than before. At last he made a final onset with all sorts of offensive weapons and the whole of his army, but he was defeated. At last he had to retreat, unable to turn away the Śākya prince from the great object he had placed before himself.

The Divyāvadāna describes a fight between Māra and the sage Upagupta who succeeded in binding the Satanie enemy and inflicted an insulting defeat on him. (Divyāvadāna, p. 357ff.)

In order to defeat Māra, Lord of the World of desire, one should accept the Law of the Buddha, which causes pain, sorrow and lamentation to Māra, the Evil One. (Śīkṣāsamuccaya, Tr. by Bendall and Rouse, p. 44.)
line. He was specially advised by his preceptor to popularize the teachings of the Nāthaś. Nearly seven (Dvipā-XVIII-1810) centuries have elapsed since the publication of the said works. Therein sacred secrets of the sect are preached in the language of the people (Dvipā-XVIII-1805 1780; 1736). By the past generations they were very roughly handled (Dvipā-XVIII-1812). Besides this, a marked change in the form of the language took place. Hence great caution is required to be exercised in drawing conclusions from a study of the works. In the first place, to grasp the spirit of the writer, it is necessary to enter the heart of the author. The study of the surroundings and the social state of the time are essential in order to become conversant with the facts. Let us proceed with our enquiry along these lines.

IV. Once there was a time when a monopoly of the Vedic education and of the means of obtaining final beatitude had been completely usurped by the so called twice-born castes (Dvipā-XVIII-1457 to 1458) and a great many privileges were also enjoyed by them in social life (Dvipā-IX-457 to 483). In the long run this arbitrariness became unbearable to men of honour and justice (Dvipā-XVIII-1459). The down-trodden classes joined with them to face the opposition (Dvipā-XVI-52; 58). Some joint efforts were necessary in order to change the outlook of the time. These men wanted to have some scope for their activities. The party in power was mostly of an uncompromising nature. It was firm with its bigoted ideas (Dvipā-1478 Br. Su. S.B. I-iii-34). The true spirit of the sons of Bharata was dormant and śama, dama, and dayā these elements had become foreign to them (Dvipā-XVI-316). Neglecting real measures for their own welfare they occupied themselves in the bad business of pulling down others whether by fair means or foul (Dvipā-XIII-18). The energy of the learned was wasted in shallow literary combats which were the manismans of the day (Dvipā-XIV-152; 153). This was the case not only with the Vedikas but with their opponents as well, who were committing the same mistake (Dvipā XIII-21). Harmony between the branches of both the Vedikas and Avedikas seemed impossible of attainment (Dvipā-XIII-15). This had created an atmosphere of strife in the society and had caused the revolutionary reaction everywhere. There seemed to be no hope, for the light of true knowledge (Dvipā-XVII-93 to 95). Though it was badly wanted by everybody, it had become very dim. In addition to this in such a chaotic condition of the country impostors were obtaining great success and thus contributing to the completion of the disorder (Dvipā-XIII-805; 720 to 722; 813; 661). The whole country was groaning under the burden of these sinful wrongs (Dvipā-XVI-451 to 453). The leaders of the day were groping in the dark (Dvipā-IX-176; 177). The society had to experience the pinching pains and torments of the mind (Dvipā-XVI-421 VI-443).
V. In this state of things need of a guiding hand was most urgently felt; some help for the unhappy victims was necessary. Then the Siddhas of Nātha line came forward with their loins girded (Dipikā-XVIII-1760). They were the pioneers who took into their hands the work of reformation at the opportune moment. They caused the revival of the true spirit of the religion (Dipikā-XVIII-1765). What they first did was to cut asunder the artificial bonds which were causing religious stagnation in the people. Slavery was rooted out from the province of religion (Dipikā-XVIII-1714; 1462). The right of all classes, alike of men and women to stand on a common platform was re-established (Dipikā-XVIII-1464; 1448; Siddhānuvāda, II-5). The teachings of the Vedic seers were unfettered for the first time. They came forth from the obscurity of Sanskrit and saw the light of day. The chains of various restrictions were broken and spiritual truth was made free. Then and there it became available to one and all. By these generous men, the Vedic religion of the Rgvis of Rgveda with some suitable improvements was given to them in their own tongue (Dipikā-VIII-1736). Thus they were made capable to attain their perfection independently (Dipikā-XI-10). It was left in the hands of every one to secure the place aspired. Thus the Siddhas of Nātha line worked strenuously to build up the religious side of the nation in Mahārāṣṭra. They kept nothing secret from the public as Mānabhavas did and taught frankly whatever they knew to the person who went to them with that intention (Dipikā-XVIII-1508; 1509). The right of enjoying the spiritual domain was granted to every body. (Siddhānu-X-25-28). They worked out a radical change in the social position of women by their foresight (Dipikā-XVIII-1751; IX-474). Minor differences of the devotees about the adoration of the deities were skillfully reconciled. (Dipikā-IX-353). In their moral teaching all were condemned (Dipikā-XVII-104 to 108) and virtues encouraged (Dipikā-XVI-199-3; 2095). A way was opened to sinners for the expiation of their wrong doings, (Dipikā-IX-419) and the hope of reward for the righteous for their meritorious works was kept constantly alive (Dipikā-VIII-131). This liberal policy on the part of the Siddhas made their teaching popular among the people of every class. The proverb "example is better than precept" was brought into action by them. This produced a good impression on the people and they once again assembled under the bannner unfurled by the Siddhas. With this material at hand they have made enormous efforts in the field of philosophy. Everything sublime and admirable was made use of to rouse the dormant spirit of Mahārāṣṭra. Just as they have their own philosophy, so they have their own songs sung in honour of their God Viṣṇubāṣa. They sought by moral instruction to guide the life of people, and set them to do works of piety (Dipikā-XII-38; III-91; 107.) Now let us see what it was that they actually said and did for our dear Mahārāṣṭra which led to this revolution in the spiritual world of thought and in the society itself.
VI. At this stage some words about Jñādeo, the last of the Siddhas of the Nātha line, will not be out of place. They are intended to give some clear idea of the value of the opinions he held in his work Siddhānuvāda, the first and last work of its kind. He is to the Nātha teachings what Śaṅkara is to Māyāvāda. The doctrine of devotion was made perfect by him (XVIII-1133; Siddhānu-X-60). The philosophy propounded by Jñādeo is based on a different ground from the philosophies of other thinkers. His uncommon reason in interpreting the difficult Mantras such as viśvataś caksuḥ" (Dipikā-XIII-874 to 891), etc., has proved his originality of thought. In ascertaining the divisions of the Bhagavad-gītā on the basis of the divisions of the subject made by the author of the work, Jñādeo has opened a new line in the matter (Dipikā-XVIII-1433 to 1450). He has made it quite evident that he has justly weighed the past writers on philosophy (Dipikā-XVIII-1722; 1723). He appreciated the truths ascertained by the Vedas and the other works of the kind (Dipikā-XIII-1078) but he kept his vision so that he is not clear dazzled by anything else whatever its name or authority may be. The Nāthas have got their independent ideas of God, Soul, World and the final goal. In his Bhūṣva Šaṅkara rightly says "Yena tvamāśena na viruddhyete tenaṣṭameva sāṅkhya yogasmytyos śūvakaśatvam" (S.B. II-1-3). On this principle the whole structure of their philosophy was built up. At the beginning it is taken by him that there is only one element which becomes everything and does everything, just like 'Light' that takes the various shapes of all flames of the lamps (Siddhānu-I-18; Dipikā-XIII-1077). The ideas of qualified God of Viṣṇusvāmi, and of non-qualified Bramhan of Šaṅkara are most skillfully harmonised by him in his idea of the soul (Dipikā-XII-25) Rāmānuja's idea of "Prapatti" was accepted with some change in it. The Nātha doctrine of 'Premabhakti' is a development of Rāmānuja's prapatti combined with the idea of the nature of the soul of Šaṅkara. The Gitā and the Tāmil Ālyās had already cleared the way by which the Nāthas took women and others direct to final beatitude which was prohibited to them long ago (Dipikā-IX-456). The holy teachings of 'Pāñcarāstras' were not left untouched. The ideas of Vasudeva’s Abbigaman, and Āradhan, it seems, are evidently taken from them (Dipikā-XVII-202, 210). Some of the principles of Kāśmirian Śaivism of Vasuguptacārya such as 'Samvida' etc., are also seen in this work of the Nātha line (Siddhānu-X-11). The doctrine of 'Avidyā' is examined in many ways (Siddhānu-VII-11 to 278). The idea of 'Avidyā' is condemned (Siddhānu-VII-277). The world as the production of Avidyā is proved to be an impossibility (Siddhānu-VII-269). The 'Avidyā' of Šaṅkara being beyond the province of pramāṇās' is proved unfit for consideration (Siddhānu-VII-55). He was willing to receive with any source (Dipikā-XIII-359). If once his reason is satisfied he is sure to accept it. Words even from God Šaṅkara and Viṣṇu had themselves no value unless they were supported.
by logical reasonings (Siddhānu-III-17-18). He had become confident that even the decisions of the Vedas on the points taken by him for consideration do not traverse the conclusions which he arrived at independently (Siddhānu-X-18). With this right confidence in himself, he started to write his works on philosophy. His extraordinary skill in making his subject easy, and charming and his power of producing a good impression on his readers are well known to the scholaras of Marāṭhī language (Dipikā-VI-131 to 135). With all this material at hand the works like 'Siddhāṇuvāda' etc., are written by this leading philosopher of the Nātha line, on them we make the following comments:—

VII. He says:—It is a fundamental truth that the 'Upādāna material-cause remains materially unchanged when it assumes the form of a certain thing effected from it (Pāsastī-14, Siddhānu-VII-144). The law of the indestructibility of the matter does not allow a single moment to pass without the world consisting of so many concrete things of undeniable existence (Siddhānu-VII-157-159-160). Naturally the world with its causes proves to be permanent and true (Pāsastī-12, Siddhānu-VII-272). This is possible only when there is total non-existence of a foreign matter. 'Caitanya' is admitted to be of this nature (Siddhānu-V-34, Dipikā-V-137; 180). This, 'Caitanya' is itself a world (Dipikā-XIV-127 and Siddhānu-VII-289). It being all powerful requires no assistance from without (Siddhānu-VII-134) much less from non-entity like 'Avidyā'. (Siddhānu-VII-292). This world is the obverse of the coin 'Caitanya' and with that view it is called qualified (Siddhānu-IX-11). This world of objects and subjects is just like the rays of the Sun, 'Caitanya' (Dipikā-IX-251) and this sun 'Caitanya' cannot be obscured by its rays. (Siddhānu-VII-137-166). On the contrary they add to the lustre something charming (Dipikā-XIV-126). The relation between 'Caitanya' and the world is declared to be similar to that of a diamond and its lustre (Dipikā-XIV-373-377.).

Vivarta and Parināma in this connexion are considered quite unfit to give the correct idea of the nature of the things in question (Siddhānu-VII-19, Dipikā-IX-64-to-66). This true is also of the soul (Dipikā-XIII-1063). It is counted as one as well as many from different points of view. It is true that these two contrary qualities cannot exist in one and the same thing at the same time. The riddle has been already solved by Śaṅkara by giving the instance of 'Saṅkocita prasārita hastapāda Devatattāḥ' S. B. II-i-18. To make this point clear, Pāsastī states that just as the whole tablet of camphor is regarded as a camphor in whole. But when a particle of it is separated from the tablet it remains camphor as before (Pāsastī-6, 37; Dipikā-IX-256-257). Thus the souls are proved to be one element that plays many parts.

VIII. So also with 'Caitanya' and the individual soul. This is what this school calls their Almighty God (Dipikā-XV-579; XVIII-1,
XVI-17). Without any change (Vikṛti) in its nature 'Caitanya' plays the part of world as well as of God (Siddhānū.VII-149). The power of the absolute of becoming all is explained with the apt instance of a rain-bow. There seven colours are displayed by the light of the Sun. God does the same thing (Siddhānū.VII-131). In the play of 'Bahubhavan' Absolute and Qualified are the two aspects of all-pervading 'Caitanya'. A turban is nothing more than the arranged threads twisted in a particular way. Similarly the world, the soul, and God are nothing else than a concrete 'Caitanya' (Pāsāti-19-Siddhānū.VII-141-147; Dipikā-XIV-120). In the same manner, just like a soul God is considered both to be absolute and qualified (Pāsāti-15). Now let us see the way of attaining the goal.

IX. It is a general rule established by the 'Upaniṣads that the things thought to be dear are proved to be really so, only when they are able to give something in return. People do not love a single thing for the thing itself. The love for the self is totally disinterested. It is for the self that all else is loved (Bṛhadāraṇyaka-II-iv-5; Dipikā-XVIII-1346). This unique love of the individual self when properly transmitted to the all pervading soul, i.e. 'Caitanya' is called true love for God (Dipikā-XIV-388); This pure devotion leads the thinker to final beatitude (Dipikā-IX-430-Siddhānū-IX-61). This is called 'Premabhakti.' When the individual soul arrives at this stage of cultivated thought, it actually melts in God and at that stage the God becomes the devotee's own-self in thoughts and deeds (Siddhānū-IX-35-62). In the experience of this state God becomes dearer to him even than his own life itself (Dipikā-XVIII-1421-23). In this state this 'Premabhakti' goes on without any physical or mental efforts (Dipikā-XVIII-1153; Siddhānū-IX-58). Here the object of love being pure bliss of an indestructible nature, by the intensity of his thoughts, the lover becomes one with the loved (Siddhānū, IX-6, 35). Then he tastes the unlimited bliss unmixed with any foreign element. For the continuous enjoyment of this, there is the necessity of cultivated mind and thought on a proper line (Dipikā-I-56 to 62, Siddhānū-IX-60). Singing the praise of God (Dipikā-IX-200), practice of Yoga (Dipikā-VI-291) and the study of the scriptures (Dipikā-XVI-459) are the means prescribed for the preparation of the required powers. These measures of 'Premabhakti' are also termed as 'Bhakti' by many writers on the subject. The final state is realised in this life itself (Dipikā-IX-365).

X. The future progress of the devotees depends on his constant study of the said measures in truth. In order that higher devotion may be excited. It is necessary that there be no duality. It is only possible in oneness (Dipikā-VIII-126). He illustrates this by the example of a carved stone. The stone is one, while the figures carved are different. Siddhas who had already reached the goal observe the rule of
‘Sadhanabhakti’ in their greatfulness (Dipika-III-159; Siddhānu-X-6) and for ‘Lokasaṅgraha’ also (Dipika-III-176). They have something of their own to say on the law of Karma (Dipika-III-45 to 63) and practice (Dipika-III-130). There are many remarkable principles of ethics (Dipika-III-81 to 145) in the said work the description of which is out of our province.

XI. This is the broad out-line of the teaching and the history of philosophy of Jñānadeo a siddha-leader of the Nāthapantha. This philosophy with the accompaniment of ‘Premabhakti,’ has opened the royal (Dipika-XII-39 to 93; 219) road of bliss to the disappointed millions. So that innumerable innocent persons are relieved from the heavy pains of life of pessimism (Dipika-XVI-34; 50). The whole Maharashtra is singing the praises of this last Nātha who has made human life a joy. This world which was thought to be a hell is turned into heaven (Dipika-XVI-37) by the Siddha Jñānadeo with the force of his ‘Premabhakti’ (Dipika-XV 570); and has set up good example of other benevolent religious reformers to follow, for the good of the country (Dipika-XVIII-1795).
Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in the Light of Uttara-Mīmāṃsā.

By

Prof. T. V. Ramachandra Dīksitār, Madras.

The focus on śāstra and the development of ācāra in the context of Śāṅkara's Śvetāmbara influence on the development of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā tradition is highlighted here. The text elaborates on the interplay between the Pūrva and Uttara schools of thought, emphasizing their contributions to the broader understanding of śāstra and ācāra. The historical and philosophical context is vividly presented, with specific reference to Śāṅkara's synthesis of the two traditions, thereby bridging the gap between the two schools.

The text also delves into the significance of Śāṅkara's philosophy in the evolution of Brahmanical thought, underscoring his role as a pivotal figure in the development of Śaivism. The analysis of Śāṅkara's influence on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā tradition is a significant contribution to the understanding of the historical and philosophical landscape of Indian thought.

Key points:
- The integration of śāstra and ācāra within the framework of Śāṅkara's philosophy.
- The role of Śāṅkara in bridging the gap between the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Uttara-Mīmāṃsā traditions.
- The historical context of Śāṅkara's influence on Brahmanical thought.

In conclusion, the text provides a nuanced perspective on Śāṅkara's contributions to the development of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā tradition, emphasizing the synthesis of śāstra and ācāra in the broader context of Brahmanical thought.
सांख्य अथवा नारिकेलन्तस्मातमात्मानेकं बिति निर्देश्यते। उभयेषामपि
वादनां बेदो यथायोक्तिकथां धर्मानीन्त स्वार्थव्यवस्थापकः; परिनिर्दिष्टं
च वस्तु प्रामाण्यात्ममेवात्ति तदवस्तेनवादमानं नम समानम्।
यदाद्वाच: "अतीतद्रियश धर्मातिदुपये नाम गमाते" ॥
"समाद्यपिता-
वाळिता परीश्रमणात्मगमात्मिकः" ॥
इति च; तथापि साङ्केराह्मेयवस्तस्मेव
न यववसिताति वेदापाध्ययत्वसङ्कमनातू वेदसिद्धां च ब्रह्मनामवर्षानां तर्को-
मयक्वथापनातू तु सुकाम्बीवार्केन नैयायिकादीनपेल्यात्मतः वेदारमाण्येदधिकतर-
विषायम्।

भगवतो जैमिनिसमुखादिकादित्वातः "अर्थेनुपलब्धे तथा प्रामाण्य
वादरवण्यास्य नेपत्वात्" ॥
इति सुमक्षमेवारथकर्तिता कामपि वेदारमाण्यस्य
सुभाषिताकर्तां ततो तत्स्य भावग्राहिणः परा काण्डः।

यस्तवतात्विकवृत्ते—जैमिनिरपि न साक्ष्येन तस्य प्रामाण्यमुजानाति;
अर्थाकानेव च अर्थावादीनभिमान्यत्व इति। स इथं प्रतिनिर्देशः—अनिभेरः
खलेष आचार्यस्य, सिद्धे वेदस्य निरेपकप्रामाण्येत्रकारणमयथावादानेवत्कृत-
विषायात्मिति।

यथा च न केवलमाचार्ये रेषां प्रामाण्य न निजुतुष्वे, माननात्वाय एव
च समद्विः, तथोपरिष्क्रियविद्विषायः। तदेवं सिद्धं यथोक्त्वार्थार्थार्थकर्मणा
राष्ट्रवाहिकार्यस्मृतनिरुपेराप्रामाण्यस्यस्मान्नामीतिः
पूर्वस्त्रोतस्तन्त्राशोभतः।
\n\n
शास्त्रेषुसिन्ह उक्त्वान्तोऽध्वस्तवायायोम् द्वादशास्त्रः प्रः योगाते। तत्र प्रथमदश-
क्षणार्थक्षणरूपमेव द्वादशास्त्रं इति समानम्। द्विती-
यक्षणार्थस्पृक्षः शब्दान्तरादिभि: कर्मेन्द्र आधसनादुगुणोपस्हियसहायपादेन
स्थितस्ते।

1. अर्थ मधुनारतुस्तु: कौपिने ओश्च।
2. सांख्यकारिका ६।
3. जै. १-१५।
4. उक्त्वान्तो: अध्वस्तः; ज्ञिः श्च।
5. द्वादशास्त्रः—द्वादशा विनिकृत्रूपः; आदिरक्ष।
तृतीयं तु श्रवत्कृष्णि तद्रववि च समन्वयवक्षणायेन समीपते।

ब्रह्मव: प्रयोगप्रमोक्षायां "फलमत उपपत्ति:।" इयादी सहायःक्रमान्तरति। तथा चक्कशोषरोऽस: कषोपितिकारं विमानाद्यमार्गितार्थत्वव्यावहरसप्रचलिताः। अधिकारिणियमध्ये चोपकारति। अतिदेशाविचारपरं तु उत्तरकर्त् नात्र ताहाद्वायुगव्य तथाहि—अस्यायुख्तंत्रत्र विमान्यात्तस्ताथ तीव्रविविषेषितो द्विविषेषितो ज्ञानप्राप्तालं। द्वायुपास्तकेत्विविषेषिता एवतिघोंसभायायाद्यताथार्थत्वमान्यन्यादिचार्यां निर्गुतं संप्रभुम। तथाति विभाविकान्ते देवताकाण्डे वा नात्तानमत्तमत्तदिहं निविषेषिते। सम्प्रभुति चात्मााद्वे निरूपणे पुष्यला सामी। उपासनं नाम भववेक्षयुक्तविज्ञात्यात्तस्ताथ सत्त्वा संहित्योपतिष्ठि, अत्तर्क्षाधानं च तत्त्वा इति। अत एतदीशेऽर्षं मन्त्राधिकारिणोपसार्थाचर्यायघुराग्नि। "बिश्रोतं मनस्यमं समुपप्रभुवाह्सीतानां। तेर्वमदेववार्तास्तस्वतोपाधिकार्यनम्।" इति।

एवं इयादि विचारार्थित्वः प्रविषेषितालया। इयादि प्राप्तिकार्यात्मात्रानां द्वायुख्तंत्रखिकसृङ्गेश्वराकाँडाः। ग्राह्यायाम् कुमारशास्त्रात्मात्रानां अथ वा "यामुप्त गेशो तावश गेशो। ३ इयादिस्थाने बायानाद्विचारायाम् च सर्वकृतीवर्योगायुगप्रवृत्त संस्कृतम्। सुतारापि "शब्दं इति चेतातः प्रब्धवाल्यितानां ताशक्तम्।" ४ "सर्ववेदक्ष्यात्रयात्र चोदनायविवेशात्।" ५ प्रकाशविवेद तदुक्तम्। "विविषेषां धारणवत्।" ७ "अपसुदन्तुक्तम्।" ८ भुयिन्तीवश्चादिद्विः बिल्लीवश्चादिद्विः।" १० इया विनास्तम्। पुष्यतंत्रेण मिल्युद्वेप्याः सप्तमेव जगाद।

न चेतातवता विषयं तेनेव गतायातुर्चर्यस्त्रेण वन्ध्यमभवामयाः। पुनर्वर्तमान्यमिति विभावविविष्टिः। यतं एवमधियु शह्याप्रेषु तन्त्रयाविषेषः। भायाकारादिहितेऽवसुदूरं तत्र तत्र परात्तम्। तथाहि—कणाशंस्यात्रस्त्रुवयुविल्लीवश्चादित्वं। प्रयादेषुअयुगप्राप्तालं इव श्रीगवाल्याभापत्ताः। "मेदेशाययत चेतात्स्मयामापि।" ११ इति सुतस्मेदिराश्चादिपद्योक्तार्यांब्रुः।

1. ब्र. III-iii-38.
2. वेदांकल्पकथा: दृ. 191
 विशेषसागरः।
3. छाद्यम १-vii-5.
5. ब्र. III-iii-1.
6. ब्र. III-iii-43.
8. ब्र. III-iii-33.
9. ब्र. III-iii-49.
10. ब्र. III-iii-44.
11. ब्र. III-iii-2.
"ये तु नामस्यायो वेदद्वारामासास्ते प्रथमे काण्डे 'न नाम्स्य स्वात्' इत्यार्थय परिहितः। इति। अयमात्र विशेषशास्त्रः—एकादशकापात्त्वदाशकापात्त्वायोबुंधरुकापात्त्वायोबुंधरुकापात्त्वायोबुंधरुकापात्त्वायोबुंधरुकापात्त्वायो
कामापात्त्वायो कामापात्त्वायो कामापात्त्वायो भवनितकल्प उप-
कथिताभ्यांमान भवत्। इति। तु म "पञ्चाश्रीस्वयं" इति सहक्षुधया उपात्तिःसंबन्धतः
चतुस्प्रेक्ष्याति:।"।८ इति बिन्ना भिषेयैव गुणार्थित। एवं "एक भातमनस्सरिरे
भावात्।" इत्यत्र तन्नृस्याचार्यकर्त्य विधातन्त्रापूर्वकरणिः सम्—"ननु शास्त्रमुख
एव प्रथमे पादे देहद्वितिकिरस्यात्मनाक्षित्वयुक्तम्" इति। एतद्वि भवित।—सर्वेऽ
सिद्धान्तपथानुसारे शाखायें; अयत्तसिद्ध देहवतिकिरस्यात्मनाक्षित्वयुक्तम्—
सुमानादीश्वरामाण्यवदेव नेह युक्तारि; अयस्तेवादेन शाखामें तु सुतारमित।
"सहमुकं भावयुक्तता न तु ततत्तालालिते सुतारमितः"। इति परिहारसमुगमः।
तदनेन पूर्वतन्त्रापृष्ठरतन्त्रेण सापेक्षेभ्युपलब्धिः सर्वभवति। तददिदुभ्ये "अत
एव च भगवतोपवृवण प्रथमे तन्नृ...अयस्य प्रस्तुकी शारीरके कथयाम इत्युदारः
कृतः।"।७ इति।

अपि च पूर्वतन्त्रापृवण्यायांनागि श्रृुतिकिरक्षानि सामायब्ध्वावा-
न्येषेवह प्रणीते, न यथाभ्रक्तिस्वभावान्येषेव। अस्माहदश्तकोभूतकिरकरञ्च
वाचकशंद्रितीयामानौकाराशास्त्रियकरणेण्यो। वदव्यात्ममनि वेशामानि
हस्तितानो पृष्ठो चूक्षणो चूक्षणो न्यविततिः॥ तथा शाश्वार्प्रनर्दनस्तेवन्मृपरियाहयायादि-
धिकरणेषु चूक्ष्णानमेव पूर्वाभ्रतमेव मुक्तादमेव। अत्ष्टब्रेनामानि इतरना चित्रेययत्षुः
जकतदय्यप्रमुखितनिमित्तकदश्बद: श्रुतिकिरस्वामादि च अपूर्वाभ्रक्षणेषु कथयानि।
निमित्तात्मतत्त्वयोगेन बालवल्मिकुपायम्।

ननु सुभाष्यधिकरणेष्वाभ्राामात्यस्य विपरीतमापि बालवल वृित्ताम्।
सत्यं दृित्ताम: तथापाठ्यक्षयाप्रतित्तानामेव तत्तौ। इति तुप्रक्रमः।ृहितायत्श्चि-
क्षिपितानि तानि प्रवक्तानि निर्णयिते।

1. चान्द. शांकरभाष्य प. 746 (निर्णयसार 1917).
2. छान्दोग्य अ-१०.
3. छान्दोग्य VI-ii-14.
5. चान्द. शांकरभाष्य प. 849 (निर्णयसार 1917).
6. चान्द. शांकरभाष्य प. 860 (निर्णयसार 1917).
7. चान्द. शांकरभाष्य प. 880 (निर्णयसार 1917).
ननु चैतन्यं नाक्षरिविव; स्थितमेतत्—उद्दैर्थे ओमदेन कृयते इति।
अद्भुत ताल्पर्येऽञ्जनं सङ्क्षिप्तमन्त्रं तत्रितिक्रियां नित्यस्तिष्ठयं।
सूचनारोपितं ततुसंमयं इत्युपक्रमणं वाक्यसमन्वयं लक्षणां संपरिज्ञाते न नुभ्यविकल्पविद्वस्तम्।
एवेब दिक्र रामप्रमोणिपाणी संवाराजीव।
तत्र गृहस्थ शास्त्रियोपयोगानां समाजसम्बन्धानामंकृतसंस्काराधारी—
स्मृतिविवशेषति: क्रमो विवशेषते; न ततेह क्रमो विवशेषत:, अहितीयं ब्रह्म अवतार—
विभूत्वागमं: सृद्धिप्रतिपादेन न्यायार्थमाणं: कामपि प्रक्रियामार्जयाति: सुमिर्द्य एष राजात:।

अथापि स्मात्, अन्तरेःसापि ताल्पर्यं विवेकार्थं महाभूताचार्य साहस्थ्या—
दिवाद इव विप्राविजयादेशापरमाणम्यन्तेतु।
इत्यन्तरेण दूरः उपस्थिततीयेऽस्मृत्वाभ्यायं युक्तिवाचायां भाषामान्यवाचायां: प्रपञ्चमिति।

उपासनासु चापेतिशनीसच्च प्रम: पूर्वतन्त्रसिद्धेऽव प्रयाक्षापैवंधारयं
शक्यते निर्विकालमिति न तत्राधिक प्रयत्यं।
दिवात्रिक्रियेश्वः पदार्थायों स्वरूप—
मातिज्ञतमुं। लक्षणनिर्देशक्षेत्रं विभूत्वाद्विधयो: पुनः किश्चिदुर्बिधयं सम्बन्धम्—
पिन्धं यद्यसिद्ध परोऽस्मिन पूर्वतन्त्रविचारचरणानां विशेषतो नयमसङीकारः—किश्चाहि—
मणिदीपिकाय न्यायर्णामाणि—परिमलद्रिप्रथन्तकार्ण्यमानाणिनिरीमिति।

एवं नावन—

ईष्टेऽद्: पदार्थादेशां कृत्यत: पूर्वसन्त्र:।
न्यायानामपि सङ्ख्ये विमिति: परानीत्रग्राहम्॥

तत्र प्रथमं नावन—कौण्डिपां बिनामाणेने “उपसंस्कारित्वा मासमन्त्रिहोत्रोऽ—
त्युहस्ति” इति श्रुत्ये।
तत्र नामावल्यों प्रसिद्धमन्त्रिहोत्रमन्त्रं मासो गुणो
विधीयत इति प्राप्यं मासमन्त्रिस्त्रादेशे।
विभीमानो ह्य गुणों नैकौतु विधातुं शक्यते, प्रसिद्धार्थिदेशे न सन्युपसद्य इति।
तद्विहोपसदः, तदान्तः स्मृतिक्रियायं न च चिन्हे गुणो विधानमिति।
तस्मात् पूर्वस्थैष
विशेषक्रियायं संस्येल इति।
तद्विं गुणात्मकर्मदर्शनं न प्रकरणात्तराविद्यन्नु—
शायना वातिक्यर्कारः प्रकारान्ततः मूला पूर्वादयांव्रूपः।
नद्यः गुणाद्वारकारणः

1. वृ. 1-1-4.
भिक्छु, भिक्षुमानांतर तत्त्व कर्म भिन्नतीति प्रवाहिका समाधिविवा युक्ता शब्दान्तर- दिन्नपि ¹ यथासम्भवं तदापि:। किंतु प्रकरणान्तरमिति—पूर्वस्तवस्तवपरिवत्ति: लुक्कानबलासंवध्यते। तेन प्रयोजनायत्वं विचित्रायमास्य धातर्वस्य बेद इति। एतदृःक्ष भवति—सर्वेऽधातवभावनाविषयो विचित्रित्वृत्तमः। योगयोगपदस्व पत्रव विनियमं तथात्। प्रतिपत्तारोऽि परिविचित्रायमस्य भूतिविजयभावेन ज्ञायमानं, अज्ञातं ज्ञायमानंतरं समानान्तिकारणमश्च व्यवस्यति। तदेक्षत्तप्पवादाक बलवति साधिक्यादि यो मायास्तिमकं ज्ञातीति वचन्यथिति कथनया न युक्तं तयोस्तामानान्तिकारणं विहृतं। अतो विशिष्टविशिष्टबीतुर-प्राणुपदेयगुणसहकलातुपरिश्राव कर्मेवद इति।

अन्य विद्विद्यथानि—यदि नाम सार्य जुहातीतादि वायव्यहिंस्ते सङ्कुचिप्रदेशायु विपरिभिन्नमाते परवभाविवाहात्यसम्भवमा भवेऽवस्यति, तथा प्रयोजनं स्वायत्ततात्वकोणादिनामं। प्रयोजनायमानाय विमण्येत् तत्त्व पर्यवसास्यति का न: प्रयासाः स्वातः। तेन त्रृमत: तात्त्वमात्वो धातुनोपपहरेिति सगुरुङ्कितेवात्-द्विधिरंक्रीित्य सत्रोपकाराय पुनरिवायायत्ति कर्मकं सम्प्रद एवेति।

अत्राह—तिष्ठति तात्त्विनि किमनेिनायतेन नामवन्यने भवित्वं न भवित्वं वेनि। यथाति हि वृक्षपरीर्मूलोंसवत्त्वमा धातुनोपपनीयेति मावार्येऽ न तात्त्विनसुपरमार्येनान्नाम। अत्यः तात्त्वमात्वम् एव तात्त्विनि न भवित्वं। बाह्यवर्तमात्र। तथापि नामवन्यभविवाहात्यसंतानान्तिकारणमपवानात्मयमेत्यं। ततो भविवाहात्यसंतानान्तिकारणन्ति वजातििहें में कुत्रह- दिष्टात्किनि यदुपायगमस्तेः एवेहायायायस्येति।

स यदि यन्त्रेत्तं न कल्यात् कापि रूढिदात्तिः। अवयवशो हि व्युपाय-मानस्मिन्द्व नाम अभिदेववें होमि वर्तित इति लघुयसि कल्यातः। एवं योगमाले बहितग्रामायु नामो यत्रवायज्जयं गास्त्रमू पूर्वस्तवस्तवस्यविमत्ता कर्मण्युदासीनयम् कः प्रवत्तयात्, यथा मूः कर्मण्यूपगृहणीति। तस्मु विधिकिनेत्—एवं तस्मि प्रक्षुधारियं शाब्र्दाकर्षं पदववजार्ति प्रश्येत् तोषकः। न हि कल्यातायायाय तोषकी नियतं युक्तं। प्राचीनप्रयोगोपदेशयोगस्तरात्त्वप्रयोगनियमनमात्र एवोपक्षेणो न युन: पदद्वायायवायवोकारणं न तत्। विधिकिनेनायायाय यथासम्भवमिति।

¹ संस्कृतमायायावर्जनाय।
अत्रश्रयभमालेण परावर्तोपहो जारीः; अकामेनापि रूढिततालमा वा निरूढलक्षणायुपेनतः। सेवं विधा प्रक्षेतिपि भविष्यति।

ननु रूढिपृष्ठ सहप्रयोगो नोपपदते; दभायमापि नामावत्मयां विजातीहोमाविधिनां प्रत्युत्तिनिमित्तमेदभावावदति चेतु। अस्योतरं प्राचीनं एवमानुः—सर्वंश्च यज्ञेतावर्ति यागसामान्यस्योनुस्मृयतया सत्यं विदिशायमथक्षेपे सामान्याचामेव यागविशेषो धारतां बुद्धते। न धर्मसामार्थ्याय महंकति धातीविजातीयहोमवं सहस्रा श्रक्षितापदयति। न क यागलसामान्यमुनामतिव वोरुपमि न क्षमम्। अतो युक्तेमस तथा तयाजुनालेष्व नाम्नाय व्याहःक्ति क्रियते। त न हि लोकेति गर्गचच्चतिति वचने अथ एव गच्छति, गोसामान्यं वा गच्छति, गच्छतीं पुनरेकं गां यथमनुः गच्छतीं गारियं गच्छतिति। तेन शाब्देयादिपद्धतिमोधिन्दादिद्यं दीर्घमपीह सह प्रयोगक्तत हि।

अथ वा पद्यानं संभूय विशिष्टाधीकरितेति न्यायेन, तत्रप्रयादिप्रमाणा- न्तरशास्त्रसंस्करणाला भवानामोलाबन्धिदिनामभानालीकृतयमानविविधानेन नामावट्तिनिमित्तमेदभावावदति। इत्यं नाम यथा सत्यमात्रं प्रपावार्थविशेष- महाविषयं नामेकं धारतां सह सहवस्तिमिति वाम्। परस्यं युक्तरूपं प्रमाणः। अस्मिन्नची पश्चेक्परित्यजैव योगिकस्मृं रूढं निद्धं वाष्ठिहोत्रपदं सम्बधिमात्रं हि धर्मविशेषभानासहप्रयोग उपपादनीयं। केवल्यावादिदिनदस्तं पद्धं पद्धतिति सह प्रयोगानुपालनिवार्था स्थातु। अय्य क नामावत्मयां सहस्रदृष्टीि विषयां विषयानामतिं इति प्रायोगिकस्मृं तिच्चायमात्रं प्रत्ययायते। एवमेव हि "तिरु आहुतीजुङ्गाति" "भक्त्या भजनित मां सक्ता।" इत्यवे मायस्यं दीर्घपुरं सहप्रयोगं साधु सम्बधिमात्र।

येतु संस्करणानं प्रयोगार्थविशेषणतथा शब्दोऽपि प्रतिमातस्ते हि लोकानुसन्धान शरणामाविविध विषयेन विशिष्टसंस्थितं पवित्र वीतस्थं सक्षरनिति, तेजमुखव-न्यासभारणां न कापि गति: प्रतिहयेते।

अस्तु वा संस्करण नान्यतरविधायमानिति न्यायादेको द्राक्षिदिविन्तु घट: कठान इत्याभिविषेधमेवस्तुएवसंप्रयोगसहभावः। यथादः।—

Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in the Light of Uttaṇa-Mīmāṃsā.
"“एवं तावद्विम्बवस्तुविषयवश्चांद्रान्यो दर्शिते
लोके दशनयेन पापानिविक्षोधयसैव संसूचकम्।
येनायें स्थांति प्रक्षयामिन्धिते वृष्णादिके केवले
तत्त्वात्र निःश्रयाति सूत्रवचसेवायं विभक्तं मुनि:।।"”1 इति।

यथा चाल्यायु मेन इतरत्द्वस्त्रितः तथैवेद्य सक्त्याविद्वक्षणं प्रयोजनमस्येवति सक्त्यत्वक्षणं सम्बंधी प्रामाण्यमेत्य पुष्कलमेव संपत्त्यते।

अस्थिः च सर्व्यें योगहरुर्दिश्च योगमात्रमुपगच्छतामस्मिहोत्त्रातिनामातितिः द्वितजजालिः प्रस्वयेत। कृत्यस्व वृह त्वम्यानव निःश्रयाक्षणाया आचार्येन्द्रेति योगमात्रमुपगच्छता।

पवेश यदि मासमर्गोत्त्रे कुमाचरीयत्र निःश्रयाक्षणाया प्रसिद्धप्रमोशितः, कथं तत्र इत्यक्रणान्तरम्? अथ नोपतितिः, कथमपिताः? भवन्यापित्तिः: न त न साज्यिरिति विधिनिष्ठापित्ति। अत एव सर्वदे निःश्रयाक्षणायं च भाज्योपयोगो निययाम2 इत्यपि न सम्यिक्षम। स्वारैतत।

यथोक्त तिष्ठतु तावदावायं स्वतंत्रं परतंत्रं वैति। अंग्रेजः—सुचिर तावदावायं स्वतंत्रमेव तिष्ठतु। अथापि परत्तन्त्रमेव सब्रं नाम निस्मात्रत्रात्त्रिति अनुगहतां धातुनां नियत: कांस्त्यमोजीं शिष्यं इत्याच्येष्येति। इत्यक्रणायमात्रा सार्वपुंसकोपविशेषो धातृं यागश्वक्तात्रे त्वम्यात्त्रिति स्वातन्त्र्य्यपदे-शास्त्राद्यान्त्रिति।

सर्वत्क स्विद्य न: कांमेक्षम्यं। सूत्रतु 'प्रयोजनयत्वम्' इति प्रयुत्त्वमात्रस्त्रात्त्रात्त्रितम्योगोग्य अथवते भेदमुद्दिष्टति, नाप्रामाण्यति सत्तोत्त्व।

अस्थिः न्यायो। "राजसूयेन्द्रे बृहस्तपस्तिसून यजेत"3 इत्य्यापि बिनियुक्तविनियोगसद्येव संयोगानिः। अत एव वेदाशिवकरणे आचार्येभगवसादा वाचस्पतिमिश्रात्त्र बिनियुक्तविनियोगायपेक्षैव खादिर्वादिके बृहस्तपस्तिसूनेवोदाहुः। स्वारैतत्। युक्त यत्व "य इत्यत् पशुन्त लोमेन वा यजेत सोडा मायास्याः यजेत" इत्याक्रमायं सिद्धमुद्दिष्टिः। अपराध कालसंयोगेन तं विचल इति। कलकष्ठात्र विना बायक्षेंद्रमेकस्मिन्यायेः व्यापारद्वादनुप्रवेशः? कात्त्रा: नपत्ति:। अन्यदि पदं, अन्यब बायक्ष्म्।

1. संस्कृतपुरांरितम् I-216.
2. भाषीपिका I-iv-9.
3. भौ. IV-iii-29--81.
पदमात्रसैष धर्मों यत्रात्मभिधान, वाक्यस्य चैव यद्वपि य विद्धावात्मम्। एवमपि धमङ्गम-मसहुमानपत्या बाहुःसतोऽहे समत्वं मायाभागी यजति। इति कर्मिन्ताः? फलस्वपन-परसंस्कृतामाणाविवाहारोऽहे चौकोकोपसिद्धेष्यते; तेन श्वाक्ष्य इव प्रयामिष्ठापनं तामिलेव च विधानमिति रिष्यते। एवमपि । धमङ्गमे दृष्टिर वायुस्येतु राजामिहिताकरः-कृम्भोति।' इत्यादृ । प्रकरणानांतरावरणेन नासंस्कृताणां प्रत्यभिष्टावस्त्राय वहृ- द्राहायम्।

विन्यान्, अन्यशब्दोद्वरं यद्रुव्यमानो गृहगुणित्रीयं लक्षणां वर्षते इति रिस्तित: तेन च गुणा: 'तस्यकः, जात: सात्जात्' इत्येवमादिना समानु-कालः। तत्र सर्वेष्वंततज्ञानयस्ति संभावत्रातिद्रादिति किं सात्जातात् तृतीयात् प्रातिशिवनेत्रेऽपेनेमिति पर्यंतयोऽक्षयम्।

'यदि मन्त्रेत् स्वरसः लोकानुभवः खलेवभक्ति स्रंद्रत:; तथा च य जमान: प्रस्तर: इत्यादः िजमानंस्मृतामिहितासाधनात्मम्, स्वसमानजाती-यकार्यकारित्वं  हिनया आनुपूवया प्रस्तरनिन्यस्येव भवत्वमार्गः । नैवमादित्रेऽ युप:। तत्र दुरुप्रकृष्टष्य पुर्वसत्त्वयाविवेकत्वसतस्रृत्य तेजससम्बन्धेव युपे भवत्वमार्गः। तेन प्रस्तरवुप्यपत्यायों कार्यकर्तव्याविशेषायोऽस्मितात्प्रकारात्मायो मांमतिति वैष्ट्यम्युक्तं भवति।

युक्मेत्तर । किं तु ये नामात्मे “गुणवादस्तु” इति प्रतिकृताव्यर्थवादाधिकरण परिपूर्णि: “रूपात्”, “प्रयात्”, “दूरसमस्तात्” इति तेजस्वयं सहार्युष्र बन सम्गृहेरु, अन्यत्र षणामिव परिगणने नातिप्रयो-जनाभी। उपसिद्धे वा सार्थमिति न तेजस्वयविविद्येति यथायमः।

अक्षरोऽन्तर्गत लुप्तचन्द्रकायामेव व्याह्यांत्—सार्थमिति सात्जातमुस्यते। तथा दुरुप्रकृष्टप्रकारावपुर्वसत्त्वसम्बन्धोऽयव्यवस्थो। अतिरिक्त: पद्धारो वा यथा व्यव्युक्तानान्तिति। तदवें सति “सतेन मनः”, ‘अनुतवादनिव बाकः’, ‘आदिनो युपः।’ इत्यादितुदाहारणान्तरेष्वमामसान्यादिविद्यादिकेश्य अपर्याक्ष्य राज्यस्य

1. मार्हसापिका X-vii.9.
2. भै. I-iv.28.
3. मार्हसापिका I-iv.13.
4. भै. I-ii.10.
5. ब्रह्मान्दाय पृ. 972 वणीयसागर
बा स्फुरणोपमात्रसंगीताप्रकाशातमानाप्रकाशं न विशेषते।

ने च यूस्ते प्रकाशावनो भास्वलं, पुष्पार्थिक मनमादी प्रचुवळकारित्वादि संगीतेन येन तदेव प्रकाशो उक्षणामिनित्रि चैति कल्पयेः।

स्यादेवतु। अस्येष आचार्यारूपिकायः: योगस्फुरतमारि भेदमपाच्युि
अन्यमेव सतमम्यं कल्प्यति कवयः। सहद्या अपि यथाविद्यनमेव विस्मरत
इव आरोपितामेक्नेव प्रतिपद्यतं इति। ततकथं प्रश्नरसादेश्वेषा गौणी उक्षणा
सब्धेष नियम्यतेः?

नन्न लौकिकीनां कृत्व वाचमेषा दुर्बलस्य यदारोपपुष्पमापि प्रवर्तितवम्।

तेषाः कथा। वेदावाचैैः। तेषु तु यथोपदेशोऽव उक्षणाप्रकारोगृह्याः निर्पर्णोतीतिः
युक्तम्।

सोऽवच्चण प्रणव एव विश्वरः। तथा हि यजमानं: प्रस्तर इवादाबारोपण-
रूपितामेव प्रस्तरे यजमानमेक्न्युक्ति स्वस्तत आसन्नावाक्षेपेऽव भवति।
न तल्लब्धम्। “उतरं बामिनिः प्रस्तरसादेश्वे” इत्युक्तवा भविते—“प्रजा
वेक बाहर्यजमान: प्रस्तरो यजमानमेक्न्याजमानादुतरं करोति” इति। एतदुः
भवति। यदिं बाहर्यजमान—प्रविज्ञं एव। योऽववच्चण प्रस्तरः नाम
—यजमान एव सः। तेन यथौं मूलमच्च प्रस्तर आसाधते प्रजायम्य एव तदेवपरि
यजमान आसाधते भवति प्रस्तरयजमानवायराधादिति। अत्सवुदर्थानिविति-
मन्यारों सूत्र आरोप लौकिकेषादायरेण्य व्याह्येयम्। अन्यथा वेद आरोप-
कल्पाधिकरणम्। सहद्यनकारित्वादि।

न चेतस्य फलायोपचारासु वेदे आरोपापुशारणं नातास्य प्राध्यमात्रा-
फलायोपचारादित्वानि नियामको इतुस्यमभवति। तदनु “आधिराहुः पूर्णो
इस्ताना” इवादमन्नेतर्व भुस्मुपत्तिनाम विद्यानां विचारनिर्धार च अथवादे-
व्याह्येः वाक्षेपाथारापुशारणाधिकरणेऽव चित्रं मन्यामहेऽ

वदन चेतस्मुद्युक्ते वेदे आरोपपुरुषाभावात् वेदे आरोपपुरुषाभावाधि
ति। अस्त्या वजनन्यन्त्रे: को सु खुः स्मारकिरणीति इति न स्कूर्ते जानिमः।
वेदमव व वेदे यथाविद्यनिश्चयाये ततोऽक्षेपमात्रिपि न सिध्येदिलक्ष्मू। अपि
वाणे बोधप्रकारोऽपि कृष्णमन्नात्ति महतेश सुदाहाम: परीच्छन्तं प्रक्षालं एवेति।

1. भारदार्शनिकारा I-iv-18.
2. भारदार्शनिकारा I-iv-18.
“धर्म जैमिनिरत एव”

1. इत्यतदशऽविवरणे ईदमस्ति भाष्यम्—“शूरये तावद्यमं रजेत खर्काम इत्येवमादिः वाक्येषु | तत्र यागस्वर्गेऽपि त्वादक इति गम्ये । अन्यथं हार्द्धनात्तं को याग आपेतं। तत्रस्य विविधेऽ

2. यथं स्थात्” इति। एतस्मातःतितिविभिः सर्व्यायम् च व्यास्यायान्तः

3. भामातीवाक्यमपि तथातः। भगवतदादार्यबच्चस्यालेव्यं सापेक्षवचनकर्णा

4. कमिः हुद्यनितत्तं भाजुच्छायात्तेयं। यागस्वर्गार्थं प्रतिवेद इति वक्त्वे । न

5. जानीमें किमिःं गम्येत् । ‘अन्यथे’ इति चावश्याम्बि वचनम् ।

एत एवं स्थात गोमे: पच्छीवशाविव सर्व्यायन भावनायं धातव्यं

6. भायो हुष्यते। तत्स्य च भावानां जन्मिद्वी:। स्थानायपारतन्यायामा

7. वान्यें भावयद्यायन्यो दोषमावहततीति। इतेव वाक्यद्वियं प्रत्ययं काला

8. प्रश्नमेन्मुखद्यायामास श्रीमुद्दानगेशो हनुमानुपायाम् ।

9. अथ वा नैवं स्थात। इत्यदानस्कमेव हि सिद्धान्ते विंश्य:। तद्यत्र

10. स्वर्गकामपदसर्वाभ्यायारात्तर्ग्यूंदेशसाधनलं पर्यावरतं एवं ‘गम्ये’

11. हुलादिनां प्रत्यायितमिति। स्यायमेत्तसमन्यसुत्रेण भाष्यादि:।

12. अथ वा भविष्यविधिवाक्याः स्वर्गकामाधिकरणं पूर्वाश्च वादिदिनं प्रति-

13. देवेमें सातुशत्चर्चनं भविष्यति।

14. अथव यथा तथा। किमिनेन तन्त्रयोर्धिभेदकल्यनायकसनेन। सन्तोष्यि

15. काहितकाह्रेषु चिरबिवरणा। एवं येदिः। किंतु

16. संस्कारगते च बहुतसारामेत निमान्येव। एतावतेव

17. नन्तुन्येसाहाय्यं। तन्त्रदियं यत्स्तिद्वान्तत्तसारेण शास्त्र-

18. भेदारीक्षेत्रमासमावस एव शास्त्र्यासाहैक्यमपि कुल्यन्यमुपेक्षा

19. व्यवहारे। फँ हुद्याना। यावधमचिन्हासमानानाचार्यं वेदात्मसवर्तकावर्तानेव

20. अथिकात्मसवर्षिक्यमयस्यादि। सिद्धरवाक्यसामान्यः

21. मेव पाराम्बुश्चत्तरुण्ययुक्तमेव संज्ञे—“भौतिककृत् शाब्दवायायं समन्यो वर्तिते। स्यायार्थं दुष्परेवाणिः”

22. तत्वमाणां...

येनान्त्र संपातायपारत्नयादान् वचताविमहविग्रहणं परमेयः

23. परामियं पारिताः परिवर्तनुप्रदान स्तवविमकेत्यस्यसत्स्तथायति; ते निर्गति—

1. श्री. III:i-40.

2. हनुमानुपस्य तित्वार्थनिरुपणम् प्र. 1092 (चौलम्बा).

3. श्री. I:i-5.
कुसुमसब्दक्रृतविषमक्रमातितवृतवांग्रंथसंबंधात्मकवनस्य प्रान्तमूलमिति-
मेवारायीलकन्या पहलापने। न हेतानाचार्यः परमायेत भावन पराभावयति सत्चे-
तसो वक्तमय सार्वप्रार्थमृ। जैमिनिः किंदे "स स्वर्गस्वाल्खर्मण्यविशिष्टविवात्"1
इति कर्मफलात्मकमुर्क निर्मिति ततो वैराग्योपायनाय "तेषां ठोकवलयरि-
माणितः फलविशेषप्रस्तावः"2 इति तत्त्व सार्वत्यतमुपचितिध्रुप। स्वर्गमुनत्व-
मनंदायायान्तर्गत्यार्थोऽर्धाौः इव "अविशिष्टस्य वाक्यार्थः"3 "अधेरकतावर्द्धेके वाक्यम्"4 "तस्यस्यिद्धिः"5 इवादिनां, सृज्ञातविज्ञांभवता ठोकसंप्रामाण्यनिषोि
मा भूतिति तद्व्रामाण्योऽहोंक समावहः। तत्रप्रामाण्य देवस्यपवेष्टं-
स्वतमेष्टंत्रलिपिततान्वैत्तिककर्मणोऽऽतिविदवे छोटिया। अर्थातस्यिद्धार्थविद्वे फलविशेष च "तेषां वै वातः"6 "प्रतिमित्तिः"7 इति च सविधायात्मकं।
एवं श्लोकत्वेतुषुर्ण—

अथ वा किंमत्र चित्रेण यत्तू श्लोक्तेऽद्वितयज्ञ वात्स्योपस्तमनमाचर्यायिनां
गुणारुः: प्रमाणमधवार्यव, श्लोक्तेऽद्वितयाय प्रमाणमधवार्यर्दशानन्ताति श्लोकाना-
ण्ययां शाशा साहसनात्सङ्ग्रहः प्रमाणायेत्रेति। तथा चार्य इदमर्थं जातं परमात्मयर्वेषण
प्रत्यादितेष्टि साहसमान्त्रम्।

यदृ भवनाचित्रं प्रमाणं न भवनायेत, इधूः न अणयाय, सन्यासं निष्का-
स्यति । तत्सैव परस्थत्त्दस्यद्वितदवर्तित सद्यक्ष्रेष्ठ। वेदान्त निरपेक्ष-
प्रामाण्य श्लोकाविन्यमाना एवमें सव्रवहते आचार्य इति। तत्त्वायादिशर्तावावृि
एवमादेशप्रक्रमः यत् अभिमतं श्लोकार्यन्तृत्व नैन्यम: एवप्रस्खणितः, विपर्ययोऽ
कोकः कथं तु: नाम अर्थवर्तते। प्रवृत्तीमेवचत्वसमेत अत्मानां धर्मानां धर्मानां
पृथ्वीम गोष्ठाकर्त्तम: प्रमाणीयांशदीजवाद्वालो गौतिढ्याया-न्यूटन्-प्रश्वेत: किमिति किमिति
वा पायं नामश्चेतु: सुधंजनेतिः।

1. जै. IV-iii-15.
2. जै. I-ii-17.
4. जै. II-1-16.
5. जै. I-iv-38.
7. जै. IV-iii-17-19. 
अषोदेषो बेदी निरेपक्षः प्रामार्यं प्रति; अथ च स्वेतकस्तिस्तयेवः प्रपेनेति
चैवमार्यरी बिकृट्वश्चाभासानि तत्तानि बोद्धमहमाणेषु वहुषु कस्मिविच्छे
श्चरि वेदं न्यर्यचर्यत जलैः। अर्प: छन्दै एव श्वत्त्वसस्य सवं निर्यस्यस्य
क्रां कर्मीपिरितुप्रेक्षाः। देवतानाथ विप्रहपोरो गृहिः कर्मणां साधारणेन ता
उपयोगैः। अद्वितीयाप्रामाण चोदनेवतुद्रतेत तुते यः। अन्यः पुनरस्मादिनो
वेदेव जननमरणवर्ती देवताणिस्तणीय वेदांश्रव्यानित्यं प्रसज्जेयेः।
अतः परिहायवादिनो स्वभासात् संस्क्रायनाविं वेदमर्गी, सम्बन्ध संस्कृत्तां
द्विन्तां दुखवेखाश्च वेदप्रामाण्य प्रत्यपीपदनारायणो निश्चितमितात्मतित
हृद्। को वा सकलक्षेत्रस्यान्यपूर्वांसिद्धजनमतिपिक्षवर्तीं उपदेशेवदेवस्यं,
उद्याक्षत्र-त्यात्मवित्तिनिर्निरर्षर्षार्णां। विश्वस्तुमुखसुस्त्रणां रचनाचारुकृतं।
अत एव चैवामार्यां न्यायपत्रस्व तत्र तत्र विशस्योऽपि विवेकः। "शास्त्योपकाल्तु
पूर्वतु वादारायणो हेतु-र्वपेदेसात्।""विरोधः कर्मणां चैवानेककमः
प्रतिप्रेक्षां ते। "शब्द स्वते चेरात: प्रभवात्..." "इत्यादिवादिनां ध्योपविक्षति जैमिनेः
राज्मामार्यायाम्।" "सत्यकविनिर्विकल्पकारणणविश्वस्वात्मात्रां अनुपिनुऽंतु
वेदाँश्रव्यानित्यं प्रसज्जेयेऽः।" तथापि ध्यस्त्वर्तादिशेवारसाहणिन्यर्षवतुद्रतारः एव।
तत्तो ध्यस्त्वर्तादिशेवारसाहणिन्यर्षवतुद्रतारः एव। ते अनेखे वेद अनुपिनुऽंतु प्रचादवाणमास।
"प्रसरं न दिती एव यावक चन्म मर्यादन।" "इत्यादिवायस्य चालकः
को विद्वान् यथार्थारते।" इति च न्यायप्रस्थिते।।

नानित्यसमूहतमादश्रेष्ठानन मनोर्मायत नियंत्रणाय सवधत्वावशेषान्।
निजित्य तेषां वशां प्रमाणार्यां स्वरूपाविशेष कूलम्।।

एवमेव सर्वं दर्शनकारे मिनिभिभिः सीवं पद्धारममुक्ताना अपि
वेदाश्चेत्तकाममु कृष्णश्च विनाशेव। संश्चर्यते च निशेष्यसमेव परं लाभमिति
नैवान्ति विश्रवोक्तिकतात्ततो वेदाश्रव्यानित्यात्माति राजपारं इव विग्रहम्मास्यप्रवेदेत्।

1. भ. I-i-8.
2. भ. III-i-41.
5. पूर्वत्तश्रेष्ठः वेदान्तसंबंधुपृथ्वी जैमिनिराचार्यस्मान एव। तथा वेदाद्वासो
बेदान्तसंबंधुपृथ्वी बादारायण आचार्यः: पूर्वत्तामांसवृद्धिः समान हृदि संप्रदायायानात
भावहतम्य। बिचारोपयोध्यसन, विवेयां विमलान्तरे व्यक्तयः।
अत एव "पैदे योगः प्रस्युकः"। इति सूर्वे सांख्यादिदर्शानांनेवनांविन। वेदान्ताधीन्याच्याक्षाणास्वातं पुरुषबुद्धिदृष्टगतगौड़ये कामिप्रक्रियां रचयन्तु। तत्यात्योपगुणतिते तद्वेव多नन्यपेश्यमेषा प्रातान्यमिति भाष्यभाष्यमयोः स्थितम्। न हि सवे वेदान्तायुन्यां तत्तत्त्तत्त्तमाध्यामिति भवितुं युक्तम्। नापि यथाशृङ्गार्थ-मेवेति। अपि च यथे धार्मिकतबोधायनो शिश्यचार्यमूली कृतसमवाविश शौर्यं स्वर्गमध्ये कर्ममधिकामिकं विलेनुः। एवं जैमिन्यराजायणापि संस्वर्गं विशेषतो न्यायवस्ताभिमिति सिद्धत्ते। तुल्यं सांप्रदायिकम्। अभिभुजा अध्याय-चार्यपरशार्यानगरितसामान्यमेवमाहुः।

जैमिनिये च वैयासे विन्यासो न क्षण।
श्रुत्या वेदार्थविवाहे श्रुतिस्तरी गतस्ति हि लाई॥ इति।

प्रसिद्धं च घोषे यथा न्यायात्मारोभिमातायमेवत्युतः नादीविन्य वहुदुर्विन्य। न च तात्त्त्त्त्त्तमाध्यामिति ज्यायस्वम् कानोरत्ता चापरस्थेयति। न हि गोचर्या एव पश्चाय इत्यमुपपेश्य द्वितिकाः। तदेवं भिन्नमार्ग-प्रस्थत्त्ते अर्थितविप पूर्वोत्तरमेंसयोंमा अनुमानांगितिरोषो नासात्तदि निरिष्टात्मुके।

अत एव पूर्वत्त्त्तमाणेश्वु कुटार्थी वेदान्तार्थानन्दृक्षा निराक्रियमाणारोष-ठामाहे, यात्तत्र तत्र पुरुस्तानावामिकस्वयम्। उपसंहारे चार्यादिगम प्रश्न-कत्त्तविकरणवागिनिकपथं श्लोकमुनुस्मरम्।

शाब्दबोधैति ख्येत्रं शाब्दं वेदार्थमुख्यमेव।
तद्वयाविधिनितं सवेमेक्षे परसामान्या॥ इति।

अत्त्रायथं इतं ब्राह्मण भवितां। "स्त्रयत्रिष्टिस्तवबचा राधोरतं। तप इति तपोनिवयः पौराषिष्टिः।" यस्मि इति धर्मस्त्रूपं जैमिनः। तद्वचेति। श्रमानिद्रो न्यायः पाराशरः। तद्वश श्रेयस्तद्वश श्रेय इति॥

॥ ओम्॥

1. श्रेष्ठ II.1.9.
2. अद्वैतभासिद्ध-सुदर्प्रथार I पु. 54.
3. तत्त्वार्थक पु. 719 (चौधाम्बा).
"INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AS A LIVE PROPOSITION."

BY

MR. S. V. RAMAMURTI, M.A., I.C.S., RAMNAD.

Modern India, having been bred under the wings of England, has adapted to a great extent the points of view, the standards of values and the ideals of England. It is only in recent years that the inherited traditions of India are trying to assert themselves as against the acquired views. The conflict is particularly severe in India because the genius of her own civilization is fundamentally different from what she has been receiving from Europe. Louis Dickinson points out that the contrast of civilizations is not between those of Asia and Europe but those of India and of the rest of the world. He calls the latter the civilization of time and the former that of eternity; we might say instead, of timeliness or timelessness. The stage of an invalid India spoon-fed by its nurse is passed. India, thanks to the nursing of England, is again feeling healthy life. It is necessary that India should remind herself of what she has been driving at through some millennia in order that she may decide what she shall choose to receive from the west and how, in the future building up of her life.

2. When we look at the activity of India when she was pulsing with life, we find that more than on any other activity all the best men in India spent their energies on the development of philosophy. For over two thousand years starting about 500 B.C., we have a development of philosophy which both in depth and width is comparable to the development of science in Europe in the last four centuries. Under our acquired viewpoint of Europe, we now look on philosophy as a side issue. It is science, we have come to believe, that is necessary to good life and its progress. Power and comfort, dignity and even the leave to live depend on a command of science and its deductions. The result is that in the British Empire over intellectual India, there is no place for Indian philosophy. It is taboo even in the secluded corners of academic Halls. The Indian Pandits preserve their Philosophy along with their shawls in naphthaline balls to be exhibited on occasions. Life in India now offers better adjustments for cooks and chauffeurs than for philosophers. The English Pandit on the other hand cuts up Indian Philosophy like a dead frog. His forte is history which is anatomy in time. The nature of the soul, the interactions of mind and matter, the one essence behind the Universe, the relation of the soul to God, the common factor of soul and God—all these are regarded as having no vital and immediate relation to the life we live. They are of the category of idle musings when the
needs of life have been met. Indian Philosophy on which the best of our forefathers spent their energy has now become a reproach. Science holds the wand of office.

3. How then is philosophy related to Science? Briefly, science is the knowledge of the matter-world and Philosophy of the mind-world. I use mind in the sense of the Sanskrit *manas* which is the seat both of thought and emotion. The soul is what may be called bare mind. The world expressed in terms of the soul is the mind-world. In Europe, most people do believe in the mind except a few very intelligent people who deny or ignore it. The mind is however regarded by most as an appendage or an effervescence of the body. In India, all people do admit the reality of mind (except the negligible Cārvāka Materialists.) A few very highly developed ascetics ignore the body. But the body is regarded by most as a deduction from the mind. Science therefore gives the pivotal knowledge for Europe and Philosophy for India. But India under her doctor's regime has temporarily neglected philosophy for Science. It is true that Europe has her philosophy too. But it is a product of her science. The mind, it deals with is a product of the matter, her science deals with. Mind does not stand by her own right. Idealism in European Philosophy is a poor, neglected foundling.

4. It may be asked if such a simple definition of philosophy as the knowledge of the mind-world can apply to Indian Philosophy with so many different types as the six orthodox systems of Hinduism, the philosophy of Buddhism and Jainism and numerous lesser ones. I believe it does. I leave out the Cārvāka materialism which is a long lost accident. All systems of Indian philosophy accept the reality of the soul, admit an interaction between soul and matter, which is called *Karma* and believe in the dissolution of the aggregate of soul and matter which is called *mukti*. They thus believe in the reality of the bare mind and also believe in a re-orientation of the world of bare mind and matter. This re-orientated world I call hereafter the harmonized mind-world. Is such a world, the result of *mukti* or *nirvāna*, empty? The *Upanisads*, on which the six orthodox systems of Hindu Philosophy depend, say that that world is not empty, that as a result of *mukti* evolves spirit. Spirit as the result of the individual's *mukti* is called *Ātman*. The result of the cosmic *mukti* is termed *Brahman*. It is asserted that *Ātman* is *Brahman*. The supreme *Ātman* is *God*. But Buddhism says that the harmonized world of mind, the result of *nirvāna*, is empty. Jainism says it is both empty and not empty. Thus when orthodox Hinduism says that *Ātman* is, Buddhism says that *Ātman* is not and Jainism says that *Ātman* both is and is not. It is curious that these should furnish the three directions of a straight line in a harmonized mind-world (or as I sometimes call it, Euclidean mind-world) as described in my paper on "Time, Space, matter and mind".
in the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Association. Thus so far as the mind-world is concerned, all systems of Indian Philosophy have a common basis and where they differ is, not as regards the mind-world but as regards the spirit, that is to say, as regards religion. Indian philosophy is one. Indian religion differs but is the outcome of one philosophy. Philosophy can be described as the knowledge of the mind-world whatever Indian system you deal with.

5. How has such a philosophy affected life in India in the past? Mukti is the harmonization of mind and matter. You get a harmonious world of matter when each piece of matter obeys a definite law—the Law of gravitation. Each piece of matter attracts and is attracted according to this law. It performs its Dharma without individual caprice. The life of the part becomes merged in the life of the whole. So too in a world of mind and matter, let each mind obey its dharma. Dharma is a synthesis of right and duty. Each mind does unto others according to its duty and is done unto by others according to its rights. Matter which occurs in that world of minds has mind of its own—small comparable with the human mind but not absent. To clean the earth, to be kind unto animals, to live on the earth and receive from animals the benefit they give forms part of the dharma linking the human mind with the mind of matter and of animals. The law of dharma is the analogue of the law of gravitation for mind. By the observance of dharma, the mind-world becomes cohesive and integral and evolves a new character different from that of its parts whether mind or matter. This new character is that of the spirit. Buddhism which denies the spirit is but truncated Hinduism. It ignores the apex and strengthens the base. The dharma theory is present in orthodox Hinduism also, as in the Bhagavadgītā where you are asked "without desire to perform action which is duty".

In orthodox Hinduism, you have first the karma mārga for life which depends on the law of dharma. If you do not do your dharma, you are unstable. Then there is the Bhakti mārga which may be called the induction of the spirit. Your little bit of mind is placed in front of a supreme spirit who induces the spirit from within you. Then there is the jñāna mārga which evolves the spirit by a conscious and deliberate re-orientation of the mind-world by the mind itself. Thus whether by the system of dharma or by the three paths of karma, bhakti and jñāna, Indian philosophy has yielded ways of organizing life in accordance with its belief in a mind-world which is to be harmonized. The science of dharma yields a synthesis of economics, politics and ethics. Karma yoga leads to the same. Bhakti yoga leads to the arts. Jñāna yoga leads to science. But all have the background of Indian philosophy. Life in its various phases in India has flowed from her philosophy. India has had a social, political and economic
system which has not yet broken down but has had a continuity in spite of ups and falls for three or perhaps five millennia.

6. I have said that the arts of India flow from the Bhakti yoga. The supreme Indian art is Indian mythology. The medium for Indian artists is the mind-world. The ancient saints and seers of India out of their vision of that world have fashioned the figures of Indian mythology. There is a definiteness about their form, colour and character which shows them to be the product of a masterly perception. It is true that Gods with three heads and four hands look illogical. But remember that the men who fashioned them were some of the subtlest men who ever lived. Such illogic is the symbol of a new logic being true for the harmonized world of mind. The creators and executors of Indian art are generally different. The former work in the medium of mind. Then they translate their work into the medium of matter. They have furnished conventions and code-words for the translation. Lesser men copy the translations. Their excellence lies in giving finish and an individual touch to the translation. Music, dancing, architecture, sculpture and painting in India are the translations of the art of a mind-world. They present not the harmony of matter but the harmony of mind.

6. Then as regards science, Indian philosophy has not yet developed the science of the world it deals with. Science is the knowledge of the matter world. But matter is an ingredient of the harmonized world of mind. True its texture may be changed but the changed texture has its laws. I believe that the harmonized mind-world has its own logic, theory of numbers, geometry and mechanics. The methods and laws of the science of Europe furnish us sections of the methods and laws of the mind-world. In logic, there has been a persistent attempt in India at developing the category of that which both is and is not. I believe that this lies at the basis of a new relation of numbers which I call the Supernegative and a new geometry where straight lines have three directions. What Indian Philosophy has yet to evolve is a science of the quantity, the form and the flux of the harmonized mind-world.

7. I have spoken of India. What is India from the Indian standpoint, which is the standpoint which her philosophy gives her? India is not merely the collection of men, animals, trees and rocks that are about us. Bose under the bent of the Indian genius has posited mind at each tree and each piece of matter in what is physical India. Erect at each animal, tree and rock its mind ordinates. Take as the atom at each point the compound of the matter and mind. Sum them up and you get the world of mind-India where the mind is the harmonized result of matter and bare mind. It is this mind-India that is the reality to us, that is the Indian nation in which
we believe the continuum not merely of mountains and rivers but also of Gods and men. Europe which regards the matter-world alone as real, points out to us our physical differences of race, language and distance, tells us how numerous these differences are and says we are not a nation. But our India is a mind entity where physical differences are but sections of the reality. What is it that separates our mind-world? None so far as Hindus, Buddhists and Jains and other religious sects born out of India are concerned. True, Islam and Christianity have a different mental outlook. Our problem is not one of geography but of reconciling religions. The aeroplane and the motor car have different obstacles to deal with. A study of pits, stones and thorns is no good for the aeroplane. The obstacles in the path of the Indian nation are not arithmetically so large as Europe would have it. They are few but of a different quality.

8. Again, the root problem of civilization is that of education which furnishes the new material and the new motive power required for the growth of civilization. Education is the drawing out of the quality of the boy. The inner core of the mind is the spirit. Education is thus the reaching of the mind on to the spirit. Completed, it yields salvation. Education is thus a differential of salvation and salvation is the completion of education. National education like national science has a significance in India because of her philosophy.

9. I have said that India has to develop the science of the harmonized mind-world. This will yield us a secure flow of life and art because of our firmer understanding of the mind-world. Not only this, the science of the mind-world including the laws of its flux will yield us the energy of man. What India like the rest of Asia has is an abundance not of coal and iron and oil but of men. Man is the result of evolution as matter is but is the result of a much longer evolution. He should be the repository of divine energy even more than matter is. The unstable position of the world now is due to a weak Asia against a strong Europe. The power of man, if unlocked, will produce a new stability and will enable men to be brothers which they are now not. I believe too that this energy of man is subject to the logic of the mind-world where contradictions are not opposed but reconciled. The unlocking of such energy will make not for destruction but for new construction. It is they who believe in the existence of a real harmonized world of mind that can unlock its energy. I am inclined to think that it is this energy that Gandhi has called soul-force—a non-violent energy, a positive entity, yet not the positive energy of matter. But Gandhi's grip over it appears to have relaxed. His handling of it was true but not strong enough. But the importance of the Gandhists' attempt is that it is one direction in which India has re-started on her quest for the mind-world.

10. The same is the case with the Bengali School of Art. There too India has begun again to be concerned with the art of the mind-world and
not the matter-world. The artistic work of this school has great sincerity but not yet enough of strength. There is a certain want of clear character a certain amorphousness at the crystalline edges. But the importance of life in the Gandhist school and art in the Bengali school is one of direction regained and not of achievement already made. The signs are that India has again taken up her high adventure, the conquest of a new world, the world of mind. Alone among the nations, she has set herself this task of the vanguard of civilization. It is up to us to work at the task in this birth and the births to come. To be born an Indian is a high privilege.
KUMĀRILA AND THE BRHAṬTIKĀ

BY

PANDIT K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, BARODA

AND

A. SANKARAN, B. A. (HONOURS), MADRAS.

In the course of our study of the Prābhakara system of Karma Mimāmsā, we found in the Prakaraṇapaṇiṇī, the Rjuvimala, Nayarviveka, Nyāyakośa and other works, many verses cited in the name of one Vārtikakāra. It was possible to trace some of them to the Ślokavārtika and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila, while the source of the others remained unknown.

Let us cite a few instances:

(A) of known sources. Prakaraṇapaṇiṇī Vākyārtha, p. 5.

तदाहुवैरविभक्कारापादः —
न विबुधानि सामथै वाक्यार्थेंधपि पदानि नः !
तन्मात्राविभिधे पदार्थेंध्य: स गम्यते॥
Ślokavārtika p. 909.

वाक्यार्थविभिधे तेषां प्रयुक्ती नान्तरीयकम् !
पाके ज्वालेव काद्यानं पदानां प्रन्तिपादनम्॥
Ślokavārtika p. 943.

Prakaraṇapaṇiṇī p. 10,

(B) of unknown sources.
Rjuvimala Ms. p. 86.

तदाहं भगवान् वासिनकारः —
न ज्ञायेनार्थं एवं तिौ गम्यते पुनः !
सविकल्पविभाषमात्रावानु तिरोहितं॥
तद्वेतस्तैवकारो भगवान् मुष्पति.
Who may be the author of these Vārtikas of unknown sources? This has been a problem to us for sometime.

Dr. Gangānāth Jhā expresses the opinion and Professor S. Kuppu-swami Sastrīar lends support to his view (vide Report of the Second Oriental Conference, Presidential Address of the philosophical section) that this Vārtikakāra is different from the well known Kumārila, for he says the following in his thesis on the Prābhākara School of Karma-mimāṃsa page 8 "The Prābhākara School had for its founder a writer whose work has not yet come to light and who is referred to by Prābhākara and his followers as Vārtikakārapādāḥ. That this Vārtikakāra is different from Kumārila is shown by the fact that the quotations referred to him are not to be found in any of Kumārila’s works and that Kumārila is referred to by these writers only as “Yathāhuhāḥ” without any appellation of honour.” It is attempted in this paper to show that this Vārtikakāra is none other than Kumārila himself and that most probably the unknown source is his Brhaṭṭīkā.

The data on which Dr. Jhā bases his conclusions are open to criticism. Kumārila is often referred to even by the writers of the Prābhākara School especially, Śālikanātha very respectfully and with due appellation of honour. The verses पद्यम्: अल्पार्थम् etc., न विभूतिः सावधयं etc. cited above are from the Ślokavārtika and their author is referred to by Śālikanātha as Vārtikakārapādāḥ. While refuting the views of Kumārila in the beginning of the Prakaraṇapaṇeikā Śālikanātha calls
him Vārtikakāramiṣrāḥ (Page 3.) Further, on pp. 12-13 of the Vākyārthamāhātāvṛtti he has the following वार्तिककारपदाधिस्थानीतिकानां सब्जेवाय कोनिभ्यक्तात् ाहः—वाक्षां दक्ष्माणि य हि सर्वेऽऽ म हि तद्यथेऽ हि

It is very well known that the above view viz. that verbal judgment arises only through laksanāvṛtti (or the secondary significative capacity of words) is held by Kumārila and it is clear that Vārtikakārapadāḥ refers to him alone. Again in the text quoted above from the Rjuvimalā p. 86 तद्यथ भगवान् वार्तिककार:...........................तद्यथेऽकारारो भगवान् मात्ति the honorific term ' Bhagavān' which is generally used only in referring to great spiritual teachers like Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is applied to Kumārila whom Prabhākaraguru is represented to oppose.

The verse वच्च्छ्र अभिमाणे हि etc. quoted above from the Prakaranapaṇoikā and the Nyāyakośa and attributed therein to one Vārtikakārapadāḥ is found cited by Jayanta in his Nyāyamaṇjarī page 3 in the name of Bhāṭṭa thus:—"तथा च म धर्मः वशिष" etc. "Bhāṭṭa" used by itself refers to Kumārila and many other passages from the extant works of Kumārila are cited in the Nyāyamaṇjarī by that name (see pages 87, 128 and 130). Jayanta who lived about the middle of the 9th century came close after Kumārila and his authority is unquestionable. Besides this, many other verses, not found in Kumārila, are quoted in the Prakaranapaṇoikā along with other verses identified to be his (see Vākyārtha. M. p 5, 15, 17). The natural conclusion that could be drawn from this is that Kumārila has written some other works not accessible to us at present.

This view is further strengthened by some facts deduced from the following references in the Rjuvimalā, Nāyaviveka and the Nyāyakośa. These are:—

(1) लोक इत्यादिभाष्यं वत्तायर्वं प्राणाएसिकरुण व्याख्यातमुः; तस्य मन्द्रप्रयोजननामिति मतव ठीकाकार: प्रयोजनं दुर्भायति—लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्य- 

Rjuvimalā-beginning.

(2) यथापि परस्ते लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्य पड्ड्यान्वक्ता दशापक्षी चापरो- 

कता तथायथययश्नद्वृष्णार्थोत्तीतियानुभाषणपरत्वेव स्वीकर्त तद्यथ लक्ष्म माला 

Nāyaviveka-beginning.

(3) तत्र सुरभाष्ययोरथयायान्त्रिकाने भगवं दुर्भायति मतव प्रभाकरुणे गुरुणा सत्यायान्त्रिकाने दुर्भायते कृत्तम् तत्र परस्तद्वृष्णाने समस्यात्त्वेव स्वमोरत्त्वाधापन 

मिति मतव भाष्य्मं भाष्य्मं दुर्भायस्य दूषणम् क्रियते....। लोक इत्यदेशायस्य 

भाष्यायान्त्रिककारैरक्षण दशाथिः: सम्भावितलेनोक्तः। तत्र शमोऽध्यो औचित- 

त्यानुभाषणम् । तथायथ वर्धयः, तद्यथः यह औचित्यानुभाषणम्।
Nyāyakośa-beginning.

Regarding the first passage, we agree with Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar in thinking that Prabhākara is there represented to refute the views of Kumārila. In the second text which is an amplification of the previous one it is stated that, for the initial sentence of the Śābara-bhāṣya, there were suggested in the Bhāṭṭa school six senses in one place and ten others elsewhere, and that Prabhākara disagreeing with all of them gave a seventeenth meaning to it. The third text which further elucidates the second, supplies definite and more corroborative information. According to that, Vārtikakāra it was who gave these two series of interpretations for the Bhāṣya and that the last sense in both the texts is identical. There is in the Śloka Vārtika of Kumārila a series of interpretations for the initial sentence of the Bhāṣya and the latter agrees with the one given above as the last of the interpretations by the Vārtikakāra, viz., ओषध्यानुभाषणम्. It could be seen from the above that the author of these two series of interpretations is one and the same Vārtikakāra and that when the author of one of the series is established to be Kumārila there is no doubt that the author of the other is none else than the celebrated Mimāṃsā Vārtikakāra. What is that work where Bhāṭṭa has suggested the second series of ten senses? It is not any of his extant works. We venture to put forward, on the basis of the following evidences which appear to be very reliable and convincing, that it is his Bhāṭṭikā.

In the catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht, the Bhāṭṭikā is entered on p. 375 as a work of Kumārila. In the catalogue of Hall appears the following on pp. 170—‘The Author of the Tantrasūdāmaṇi or Kṛṣṇadeva asserts that ‘Vārtika’ is a common name of five separate works of Kumārila: the Bhāṭṭikā, Madhyamaṭikā, Kārikā, Tantraṭikā, and Tuptikā, these compositions diminishing as to size from first to last, in the order in which their apppellations are here arranged.’ In the Sarvadarśanaalkaumudī of Mādhavabhāratī who catalogues there all the works of the different philosophical systems the following is found:—

तत्त्र सत्काधिकरणाः द्वादशक्षण्या मीतांसायाम् वैविश्वातितिस्वरूपस्य ।
तदुपरि प्रस्थायवर्तमां तत्त्र प्रभाकारमिति ।
एस्य मन्त्रवाचार्यणिः
पञ्च व्याक्यानांतः भास्यस्य एकौ बृहद्दीकौ, 
दितीयं मन्त्रमैत्रिकौ, 
दूसरौ तद्दीकौ, 
चतुर्थीं कारिकौ, 
पञ्चमम् तत्त्रवाचार्यमिः ।
तत्त्र महत्त्मस्य सम्प्रदायिनः
तत्त्र दु: माणाश्च वर्षिते ।
This writer lived about three centuries ago and he records above the genuine Mīmāṃsā tradition current in his days that Kumārila wrote five works, only three of which were available to him then as now, and that of the two others one and certainly the bigger was the Brhaṭṭikā. That Kumārila was the author of a work other than the three extant treatises could be understood from this verse of the Nyāyasudhā p. 1546:

तस्मालवैभवलोकनस्यापि चतुर्मेव भट्ट्रणीतं
मीमांसा सारविद्वदुमतानिचयो चोपजीवायाद्रेण।
युक्तिऐश्चाकुय सम्बग बद्धविद्विमित्वो भान्वयवृष्य सुनुः
सोमेश: कर्तृमैत्यलसकविवृत्त्ये तत्रदेव गूढे काम

where Bhaṭṭa Someśvara the learned commentator on the Tantravārtika states that for purpose of his comments on this work he depended especially upon a celebrated work of Kumārila which probably treated of only the first four chapters of the Mīmāṃsāsāstra. This work may have been the Brhaṭṭikā.

Further, in the Nyāyasudhā, itself, there are references to and also some extracts from the Brhaṭṭikā. From the Vyākaraṇadībhikaraṇa of that work (see Nyāya-S. p. 329) the following may be cited:

न च संसारिक्षययमज्ञातः मोक्षसाधनम् तत्सत्वं सति कर्मसऽप्रस्तुत्वः
योगात् यद्यसुहृत्वकायम् "ननु निःश्रेयससञ्ज्ञानात् बन्ध्वेदोत्तेः कर्मसऽप्रस्तुतः"
इत्याविक्य "नैकमादपि तत्किंतु ज्ञानक्षमसुन्मुख्यात्" इत्युत्कम् तहिःस्वे
तेत्याविक्याभ—न चेति।

By making the above introduction to a text of the Tantravārtika p. 341 Someśvara represents that Kumārila is endeavouring to remove an apparent difference that may be discovered between the Brhaṭṭikā and the present text viz. the Tantravārtika regarding the means of obtaining final salvation. Such an attempt on the part of Kumārila is justifiable only if the Brhaṭṭikā is his own work, for a writer is ordinarily anxious to see that he is not understood to express conflicting opinions on the same subject in different works of his own, but he, if only a greater thinker like Kumārila, will not stoop to take pains to reconcile his views with those of another. Moreover in two other places Someśvara says that the same view as is held in the Vārtika is expressed in the Brhaṭṭikā, and he cites the two texts from the latter thus:


एवत्रवेचर्मेऽस्य बुध्दिकायायुक्तम्
नित्येत्वमित्वीश्चे श्रवणो वृत्तिकायम्।
It has been shown above that the two grounds on which Dr. Jha bases the possibility of a second Vārtikakāra *viz.* that Kumārila is not respectfully referred to by Prabhākara writers and that many verses cited under Vārtikakāra are not found in the extant works of Kumārila are untenable. Kumārila is mentioned with due honour even by the Prabhākaras and some verses, attributed to Vārtikakāra and not found in the extant works of Kumārila, have been identified to be his. We do not absolutely deny the existence of another Vārtikakāra, but we have to do so if that is based on the grounds urged by Dr. Jha. It is reasonable on the other hand to suppose that the unidentified verses of the Vārtikakāra are drawn from a work of Kumarila now taken for lost. This work most probably is his Bṛhaṭṭikā. Its very name and the references to it in the catalogues show that it is very voluminous and probably its enormous size has stood unfortunately in the way of its being preserved to posterity. But we do not despair and we place this paper before the conference with the full and fervent hope that some scholar will be able to discover ere long in some unknown corner of a library, this monument of the greatest Mimamsa philosopher, and thereby enrich the philosophical knowledge of India. Happy will he be who will bring to light this great *Bṛhaṭṭikā!*

N.B.—References to Mss are to those deposited in the Government Oriental Mss Library, Egmore, Madras.

*P.S.* We are sorry to note that lack of information about this work of Kumārila has led even some well-informed scholars like Mr. P. V. Kane to mistake references to the Bṛhaṭṭikā of Kumārila for the Bṛhatī of Prabhākara. For, referring to this passage:—
“पक्षदोषेऽि चान्यासामुदाध्रणविस्तरः।” Ślokavārtika.

“अर्थाप्यन्तराणाम् उदाहरणप्रय: पक्षदोषाः कर्त्तव्यदिनास्तिरतायाम्।” मित्यादिना बृहद्धर्मकायां दर्शित इत्याह पक्षदोषेभिः।” Nyāyaratnākara.

Ślokavārtika, Benares Edition, p. 452

He remarks thus:—“It has escaped the notice of scholars that according to the Nyāyaratnākara on Tantravārtika (Ślokavārtika?), verse 9 (पक्षदोषेऽि चान्यासामुदाध्रणविस्तरः) Kumārila makes an express reference to Prabhākara’s Bṛhatā. (See Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, 1924-25, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 26, foot-note 49). It is true that in the above text Pārthasārāthi interprets Kumārila as making an express reference to the Bṛhatā, where the different varieties of artha-patti are explained in the section on the pakṣadosas. But this Bṛhatā is different from Prabhākara’s work called Bṛhatī. Further we state on the authority of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, that in the Manuscript copy of the Bṛhatī of Prabhākara which is completely available here for the first six chapters, we do not find any pakṣadosa-karaṇ or a separate section relating to the faults of the minor term, nor do we find in the corresponding portion of this work any detailed reference to the different varieties of artha-patti.
ON THE ORIGIN OF TAMIL SIDDHĀNTAM

BY

MR. V. R. RANGANATHAN, M.A., B.LITT. (OXON.).

The problem that is presented and not solved in this paper is about the Origin of Tamil Siddhānta. It is a religio-philosophical system of South-India particularly of the Tamils, which is almost identical with the Śaiva Siddhānta of Kashmir. It will be useful to start with a brief outline of its metaphysics.

Śaiva Siddhānta, whether of Kashmir or of South-India, is the result of an attempt to harmonise the Vedāntic and Sāmkhyan teachings. The philosophy centres round the three categories, God, Soul, and Universe or matter, called in this system as Pati, Paśu and Pāsa respectively. These terms are of venerable descent, being terms of Vedic sacrifice. God, invariably called Śiva, is the active principle of the Universe. He is both transcendent and immanent. His immanent aspect is designated Śakti which is thus the connecting link between God and his universe. The souls are many and are of the same nature as God, but not identical with him. In their manifest state they are bound by a three-fold fetter. These finite conditions are (1) Ānava or Avidyā, the power of darkness obscuring the light of the Soul. (2) Karma, as in other systems, and (3) Māyā, a term which signifies something very different from what it does in Śāṅkara’s system, viz., cosmic matter. Liberation for the Souls is disentanglement from these fetters. This freedom is to be secured partly by the Soul’s own efforts, through Bhakti and partly by Anugraha, grace from God. In fact, Siddhānta is a philosophy of love and devotion. Māyā-vāda is rejected. The world has a kind of dependent reality and is a necessary element in God’s scheme and is especially designed with a view to the emancipation of the Soul. Through a metaphysical analysis of Nature, adapted from the Sāmkhya and improved upon, Śaiva Siddhānta attempts to exhibit the relation between the three eternal entities.

The difference between the Kashmir school and the Tamil System is said to be similar to that between the colder thought of the Upaniṣads and the later theistic speculation (Dr. Mo Nicol). In the Northern system there is greater insistence on the casual sufficiency of Śiva in creation; while in the Southern School, Śiva is on the whole an efficient cause only and requires Māyā as the instrumental cause. There is a similar difference as regards the part that the Soul’s own effort plays in
securing deliverance. God's co-operation in the form of grace is more emphasised in the Southern system. As to the nature of the liberated souls, the Tamil school lays greater stress on their conscious and active life. With these differences, of emphasis rather than of principles, the two systems are identical.

Now the interesting question is how far is the one indebted to the other? Is the resemblance between them accidental? or if one had inspired the other, was it the South that was indebted to the North, or vice-versa?

The question was first raised by Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum Library in a paper on Śaiva Siddhānta read before the Royal Asiatic Society. After pointing out that the doctrines formulated in Kashmir by Abhinava Gupta are in all essentials the same as the Tamil Siddhānta, he arrives at the following conclusion:—

"We are therefore led to conclude that it was from Kashmir and the neighbouring regions that the Śaiva theology came to the Dravidian South at first in slight currents of incoherent ideas and gradually gathering force until it swept in a great stream of reasoned thought southward, taking its course, chiefly through the centre of India and thence following South-east into the Tamil lands". To support this conclusion Dr. Barnett adduces the following arguments: "The systematic formulation of Tamil Siddhānta begins with Meykaṇḍan, whose Śivajñānābodha was written about 1223 A.D. In the middle of the 12th century occurred that great upheaval in the neighbouring Kanarese country which dethroned for ever the jain and made śiva-church dominant for many ages there. Then he traces the course it may have taken. "At some date possibly at the beginning of the present era and most probably not later than the 5th century, the incohoate idealism of the older Upaniṣads was harmonised with the growing belief in the reality of the material principle in Nature. This body of ideas gradually developed in Kashmir into the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā Schools. Meanwhile filtering down through the various channels into the lands of the Dravidians for whose ancient cult it supplied a theological basis. The Pratyabhijñā was finally codified about 1000 A.D. In that form it passed through Āgamic and other channels southward notably into the Kanarese country and reappears at the beginning of the 13th, as the basis of the Tamil Siddhānta." Dr. V. V. Ramanan of the Calcutta University also agrees with the view of Dr. Barnett.

Dr. J. E. Carpenter appears to suggest that the process may have been just the reverse. In a footnote in his "Theism in Mediaeval India" (p. 360) he writes as follows: "It must not be forgotten that Tamil śaivism had a
Long religious and literary development before the appearance of the Schools in Kashmir and much common terminology may be traced for centuries before Maykanan wrote. Śāṅkara argued against Śaivism with which he must have been acquainted in South India and his visit to Kashmir (if tradition may be trusted) apparently coincides with the first beginnings of the Northern scholastic philosophy." Quite a number of Tamil scholars will readily agree with this view, but proof is lacking.

There is no doubt that the Sanskrit Āgamas and some of the Upaniṣads were the sources, from which the Tamil Siddhānta as well as the Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir directly drew their inspiration. The Āgamas and the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad represent that attempt in philosophy of which Dr. Barnett speaks, viz., the attempt to harmonise the incoherent idealism of the older Upaniṣads with the growing belief in the reality of the material Universe. The Siddhānta philosophy also represents the same attempt, but it is a later though a more systematic and successful attempt.

The eclectic tendency to harmonise the Saṁkhya-Yoga and Vedānta is very marked in Siddhānta and the oldest representative of this tendency is the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad. And this Upaniṣad which was canonical long before Śāṅkara, as Dr. Barnett says, contains the elements of Tamil Siddhānta, the Sanskrit Āgamas and the Śaiva theology of Kashmir. There can be little doubt that this Upaniṣad is one of the main sources of Śaiva philosophy. It is likely that Nīlakantha’s Śaiva Bhāṣya also influenced the formulation of the Siddhānta doctrines. This sectarian commentary was probably an interpretation in the light of the then prevailing Śaiva religious and vague philosophical ideas, and when later on the Siddhānta philosophy, came to synthesised this Bhāṣya rather than Śāṅkara’s was taken for guidance. The two commentaries differ on some vital points, which are also the points of difference between Siddhānta and Śāṅkara’s Vedānta. It is one thing to say that Tamil Siddhānta had for its source the Śaiva Āgamas and some of the Upaniṣads and it is quite another thing to assert that the entire philosophy in its present systematised form came from Kashmir, as Dr. Barnett says it did.

It is difficult to refute Dr. Barnett’s arguments, and still more difficult to suggest an alternate theory. Yet, there seem to be some difficulties in accepting his theory in its entirety. It will be sufficient in this paper to point out what these are and invite discussion. The first difficulty is historical. The impulse towards Hindu revival according to Dr. Barnett came from the North, first to the Kanarese country and thence to the Tamil land. The dethronement of Jainism and the establishment of Śaivism in the former country took place in
the middle of the 12th century. But long before this by the 10th century Śaivism (and Vaiṣṇavism) overthrowing Buddhism and Jainism seems to have established itself firmly in the Tamil country, so that the impulse to the Hindu revival could not have passed from the North to the South.

A second difficulty is this: The history of Tamil sacred literature appears to be continuous and Siddhānta, the result of a process of natural development. The system does not make a sudden and dramatic appearance in the Tamil country. On the other hand the philosophy was gradually developing for centuries and its final formulation in the 13th century and not earlier can be more or less satisfactorily explained.

There is no means of knowing what the religion of South India was before the introduction of Buddhism from the North. But there is no doubt it was some form of Śiva-worship. Whether the God was actually called Śiva or not is not a matter of much importance. The deity worshipped came in later times to be identified with the Vedic Rudra-Śiva. Barth's statement that, 'Śiva was a popular and almost supreme God before our era' supports such a view. Buddhism was introduced into South India probably about the 3rd century. For a time it flourished side by side with Hinduism, but in course of time the new religion slowly began to replace the older faith. Jainism too seems to have been very powerful in the South by the 1st century A.D. and in the following centuries it became a formidable rival of the ancient religion. Before the 5th century the two new faiths had made such advance that Hinduism was threatened with extinction. In the 5th or 6th century began the revival of Hinduism and in this revival Śaivism played an important part and attained to great prominence. During this period of Hindu revival Śaivism developed, probably reformulating its principles and practices, and soon became a faith that could stand against the two new faiths. The fight went on for centuries, from the 7th to the 9th century: at first it was a struggle for existence on the part of Śaivism, but later on it was a fight for supremacy. By the beginning of the 10th century Śaivism was left supreme and ever afterwards remained the dominant faith in the South.

Now if this account is correct then it will not be wrong to conclude that the Kanarese revolt against Jainism followed that of the Tamil land.

This period between the 7th and 10th century, i.e., the period of Tamil Devotional literature, Hindu revival produced a copious devotional literature in Tamil wherein are found all the technical terms of the later theology and most of the elements of the subsequent philosophy. Dr. Barnett himself admits this; for he says.
"The famous poems of Thiruvācakam by Mānikkavācakar frequently use the technical terms of the Siddhānta—Pati, Paśu Paśupati, Māyā, Śakti, Malam, etc., in Sanskrit form". A perusal of Tēvāram and other works of Tirumurai (7th to 11th century) will make this amply evident. The mystic poet Tirumūlar in his Tirumantram (a 9th century work) mentions several Āgamas by name and attempts to give an exposition of the Āgamic teachings. In the literature of this period occur not merely the technical terms but such philosophical ideas as Bhakti, Anugraha Māyā Karma etc. No doubt they were incoherent and undeveloped ideas, yet they were the necessary material for a philosophical edifice. Such a period of inspired writings was a necessary prelude to a period of reflection.

The Tamil works known as Siddhānta Śāstras giving a systematic account of Śaiva thought were produced during the 13th and 14th centuries. They are 14 in number and of these the earliest and the most important Śivajñānabodham is the work of Meiyāndan who lived about 1323 A.D. This book which is the basis of all the later Siddhānta works, said to be a translation of 12 Sanskrit stanzas which form part of Rauravāgama. This is doubted by some; but it cannot be doubted that Śivajñānabodham epitomises the teachings of the Āgamas.

The period of inspired writings was identical with the period of conflict with Buddhism and Jainism. In fighting the new faiths, appeal had often to be made to the emotions rather than to reason; and this was done in the writings (the hymns of Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar, and Mānikkavācakar. When the struggle was over, and Śaivism was firmly established there was the needed leisure for reflection.

Another important factor now gave a further impulse to reflection. The two chief sects of Hinduism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism now no longer in danger, began to emphasise the difference between them, which at first was slight, and thus began a sort of rivalry between the two. And when in the 12th century under the lead of Rāmānuja, Vaiṣṇavism came to be definitely marked off from Śaivism, the latter had the needed stimulus to a systematic formulation of a theology and philosophy. Thus the 13th century saw the rise of the great teachers and with their writings began the Siddhānta philosophy.

The Śaiva Āgamas and some of the sectarian Upaniṣads furnished the elements for the Tamil philosophy. The Āgamas, like the Upaniṣads, contain no philosophic synthesis as such, but they do contain some fundamental ideas.

Philosophic synthesis by Tamils.
and germs of philosophy. The Tamils may have had the credit, not of originating, but of formulating a coherent and consistent system of philosophy. And this was no small task. It is quite possible that the Kashmirian system may have had some indirect influence on the philosophy of the South, but the reverse could hardly have been possible.
IS DHĀMAT RELIGION, BUDDHISM?

BY

KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

We hear so little of Buddhism after the Mahomedan destruction of the famous seats of Buddhist learning and slaughter of Buddhist Śramaṇas and Ācāryas that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say definitely what was the condition of Buddhism at that time. We are however, indebted to Mahāmāhopādhyāya Professor Hara Prasād Śāstri and Prācyavidyāmahārnava Babu Nāgendranāth Vāsu for attempting to throw light on the subject and it is rather tempting to examine their contentions and conclusions.

Mahāmāhupādhyāya Professor Hara Prasād Śāstri is of opinion that the outrages committed by the Musalmans deprived the Buddhist community as a whole of the guidance of its intellectual and spiritual leaders. There was at that time no powerful monarch of Buddhist leanings to protect the religion or the community. The moslem pressure that was brought directly or indirectly to bear upon the community was so hard that the people of the community could save themselves only by adopting the religion of their conquerors.

Prācyavidyāmahārnava Babu Nāgendranāth Vāsu holds a somewhat different view (vide Śūnya Purāṇa, Preface, pp. 66-8). He seeks to establish that the antagonism between the Brahmans and Buddhists during the Sena rule, which was characterized by the increasing domination of the Vedic Brahmans, drove the Buddhists to side with the Musalmans in wiping out all traces of Brahmanic temples and mathes by the way of revenge. He further asserts that there can be no doubt as to the fact that 'Saddharmin' was the common designation of the Buddhists of that time having the Dharma Pandits for their teachers; and all along tends to identify Dhamat or the Dharma cult (which according to him was the prevailing religion of the mass at that time) with Buddhism. But we cannot help thinking at this, that in doing so he has simply followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Professor Śāstri, who has perhaps invariably adumbrated this opinion except in his edition of 'Baudha gāna-o-dohā'!

In his paper entitled "Buddhism in Bengal", published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the year 1895, Professor Śāstri contends as follows in seeking to establish that identity:—

(a) In all probability Buddhism became mixed up with some aboriginal form of worship, namely that of Dharma, during the ascendancy of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal.
(b) No cooked food is offered to Dharma and the same being the case with the Buddhist and the Jaina idols the probability of the identification of the Buddha with the Dharmarāja becomes very great.

(c) If there is no caste distinction among the Buddhists, there is also absolute liberty to all castes to worship Dharmarāja. Even domas worship him and often offer him hogs' flesh.

(d) The following mantra used in the worship of Dharmarāja leaves no room for doubt that he is no other than the Buddha. The attributes of the former admirably fit in with those of the latter:

"Yasyānto nādīmadhyo na ca karacaranām nāstikāyanidānam
Nākāram nādirūpam nāsti jāmājhayasya [hya jasyar]
Yogindro jñānaqamyo sakalajñanahitam sarvālokaikanātham
Tattvam tam ca Niraṁjanam maravar pātuvaḥ Śûnyamūrtih"

(English Translation)—He who has no end, no beginning and no middle; he who has neither hands nor legs, he who has no germ of body; he who has no form no primordial form; he who has no birth; the one protector of all creatures, the truth, the spotless, the giver of boons to mortal men, whose form is Śûnya or void: may he protect you

(e) If there be any doubt as to the possibility of the assimilation of such low practices as the sacrifice of pigs' head, into Buddhism, it should be set at rest at once by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Babadur's following translations from the history of Buddhism by Lāmā Tārānātha of Tibet:

"He (the Domācārya) preached the Tāntrik doctrine of Buddhism, called Dharma, to the people of Tipera and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became Siddhas too. He was then invited to the country by Rādha, called Rājra in the common language of the people. The Rāja of that country was a bigoted follower of Brāhmīns, but seeing the supernatural powers of Domācārya, and his goodness and learnings, he became changed in his views and henceforth the 'Dharma' Buddhism, in its Tāntrik phase became greatly honoured and followed by the people of Bengal, Rādha and Tipera. By the worship of Dharma, is meant, that of the Buddhist deities, such as Vajrayogini, Vajrawarāhi, Vajrabhairava (Kṣetrapāla), Vajradākini, the Nātha and so on. In fact, in the latter days of Buddhism the Dikpālas, Dharamapālas and other spirit-protectors of Buddhism, became objects of worship to the exclusion of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas".

Many of these deities like Kṣetrapāla are still worshipped in Bengal or like Vajrayogini, Vajrabhairava etc. were at one time worshipped in Bengal.
(f) further probability of this identification can be found in the fact that the Dharma-priests like the Buddhist monks of yore even up to this day dispense medicine.

Again, in his introduction to Bābu N. N. Vāsu’s “Modern Buddhism” Professor Śāstri leads us to believe that the Brāhmīns of the south-western part of Bengal (particularly those who came from Howrah and Midnapore districts) who beg with the image of Śītalā in hand are no other than Dharma-gharī Yogis and are survivals of the Hinayānist monks of the Tāmralipta country.

But there are certain facts which I am sure would have led Professor Śāstri to another conclusion, had he but considered them. The morsel of boiled rice found in front of a Buddha’s image dug up at Sarnath and Chittagong contradicts his assumption that no cooked food is presented before a Buddhist idol as offering. Then again, it remains yet to be proved that the cult which permits the offerings of hog’s flesh to its deity can have anything to do with Buddhism, however fallen it may be. Even Professor Śāstri does not give us any indication of such a practice in his well-known treatises on the Buddhist Sabajī-cult or the Vajra-cult which form part of the ‘Baudhagāṇa-o-doha’.

Coming now to his identification of the Dharma-gharī Yogi, we cannot help thinking that it is bound to astonish those Buddhist Communities and nations scattered even to-day in India and other parts of Asia, who have kept up the traditions of the past. It is inconceivable that such a low practice as carrying the image of Śītalā in begging alms, has been associated with the Holy Order, particularly the so-called Hinayānist, who were holding fast to the rules of the Vinaya discipline. Dr. Benimadhava Barua in his valuable monograph on the Ājivikas (Part I) has referred to an important Pāli passage (see page 60) containing a list of popular non-Buddhist sects known to the author of the Milindapañha (who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era) called “Dhammagiriya,” which undoubtedly has closer resemblance to Dharamgharī than what Professor Śāstri leads us to believe. Then again, we are indebted to Dr. Hoernle for drawing for the first time our attention to the existence of the practice of begging alms by the show of pictures in India as early as the 6th and 7th century B.C. outside, of course, the order of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Gocāla, the last known teacher of the Ājivikas was, for example, the son of Maṅkha (or wandering mendicant who earned his livelihood by showing pictures). Dr. Barua has further suggested that Kasapanaka mentioned in the Mudrārāksa as carrying the Yamaśīta might be taken as a representative of this class of mendicants and popular teachers. This class of pictures, aptly called Cāranacitra in the Buddhist literature, has been commented upon by Buda-bhagcāsa in the following terms: There was a sect of Brāhmīn
heretics called *nakha* who used to roam about in the country with picture gallery having pictorial representation thereon of various scenes of persons enjoying the fruits of virtuous deeds in heaven and sinful deeds in hell. Do not these facts forcibly suggest that the origin of the practice of begging alms should rather be traced in these *Caraṇacitra*-beggars than in the Buddhist *Bikkhus*, who were unconnected with those beggars?

Let us turn to examine the position of the Prācyavidyāmahārṇava regarding his opinion about the Dharma cult of the Śunya Purāṇa. The opening verses of the Purāṇa contain a story of creation in which the cosmic void is said to be the resting place of God. Depending upon the void, the story tells us, the Lord roamed all about and was always active. Out of compassion he created the world as his own body—out of his body sprang up a personal form (Puruṣa), which was without hands, legs, eyes, parentage or companion and yet resplendent enough to see itself.—But, is this story of creation peculiar to Buddhism? Is it not, on the other hand an echo of the Nāsadiya Sūkta of the Rg Veda. Except for the Bhāgavatīc idea of compassion as the formative principle of the cosmos, the resemblance between the two is so close that no one can doubt that Rāmāī Paṇḍit’s story was nothing but a free Bengali translation of the Vedic hymn. Similar stories can be traced in the Dharmapūjāvidhāna, ascribed to the same author, and composers of the Dharmamāngalas are said to have repeated the story as given by Rāmāī Paṇḍit. But in spite of the fact that the Vedic hymn referred to above was the original source of the story of the Śunya Purāṇa and other works of the Dharma cult one might contend that Dharma Paṇḍits’ source of information was not Vedic but Buddhist and this source was some Mahāyāna work of later origin. But was it really so?

If the story was really derived from a so-called Māhāyāna work like the Svyammbhu Purāṇa of Nepal, why is it, we must ask, that there is no mention of the Ādi Buddha, of any Dhyāni Buddha or of any Bodhisattva. Even granted that Rāmāī Paṇḍit found his story in a Buddhist work that he had read, does it necessarily follow therefrom that the story was of a Buddhist origin? If we come across a story of creation put into the mouth of Buddha, we are at once struck with the manner in which it has been narrated and it leaves no doubt that it was a well-known story of Brāhminical origin which Buddha utilised, as suggested by Dr. Rhys Davids and others, for a very special purpose. The story recurs in many later Buddhist works. But when we read these works we find in their tone, in their expression some peculiar traits of Buddhists that always stand out and cry down with vengeance any attempt to mistake the Buddhistic doctrine for Brāhminism or other cults. The details of the process of creation as described in the Śunya Purāṇa go to show that Rāmāī Paṇḍit’s story was a synthesis of
Brāhmanical stories as we find them in the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Purāṇas and later works.

It is a mistake that the word Saṅkha or Śaṅkha had been used in the Śūnya Purāṇa as a Bengali corruption of the Buddhistic term ‘Saṅgha’ the Holy Order. Both in the Śūnya Purāṇa and the Dharmapūjāvidhāna ‘Saṅkha’ or Śaṅkha’ in used through out to denote ‘Conch-shell’ and not ‘Saṅgha’. Mr. Vāsu is his ‘Modern Buddhism’ (pp. 19-20) has cited a legend from the Siddhānta Dambāra, an authoritative work of the Bāuri of Oriissa, which says that Viṣṇu killed Saṅkhāśura and presented the eldest son of Padmālaya with the Saṅkha. Mr. Vāsu thinks that the only probable interpretation of the legend is that the eldest member of the Bāuri community became a Saṅghāḍhipa i.e. chief of the Buddhist fraternity after destroying the enemies of the Saṅgha. He further opines that the interpretation of Saṅkha as Saṅgha is supported by the Śūnya Purāṇa, in which Saṅkha is very frequently used for Saṅgha. But this kind of credulity in a serious work of research reads as a fact far stranger than fiction.

Then, it is stated that the attainment of Brahmanirvāna (Bambha-nibbāna) is the highest goal of the Dharma-cult. This at once discountenances any suggestion as to Dharma-cult being Buddhist; nay, this goes to show that the Dharma-cult was in essence a kind of Bhāgavatism ultimately based upon the religion of the Gītā.

‘Saturday’ is the most auspicious day for worshipping the holy foot-prints of Śrī Dharma. This is a very strange fact indeed and is sure to upset any Buddhist of the world to hear that Saturday was sacred to Buddhism.

Dharma deity as described in the Śūnya Purāṇa is a male god while Ādi Buddha the highest deity of the Buddhists of Nepal is a female. Even Dharma of the Buddhistic trinity has been personified as a female deity. In the Śūnya Purāṇa, Dharma is not distinguished from Dharmarāja. In the Mahābhārata (Yudhīṣṭhira) is called Dharma-aputra i.e., the son of Dharma or Yama; and the epithet of Yudhīṣṭhira is Dharmarāja. But in Śūnya Purāṇa, as we find, Yama is called Dharmarāja. In the Buddhist works of Nepal a hard and fast distinction is made between Dharma the personification of Prajñā Devī and Dharmarāja or Buddha Śakyamuni. Then also the Dharma rites and rituals are not all Buddhistic.

Mr. Vāsu’s argument is that in the Śūnya Purāṇa and other works of the Dharma cult ‘Simhala’ or Ceylon, is said to be the place where Śrī Dharmarāja was held in very high esteem and as Buddhism was the prevalent religion of Ceylon, there can be no doubt that Śrī Dharmarāja was no other man than the Buddha. It cannot be denied that Dharmarāja was also an epithet of Yama. In the Śūnya Purāṇa itself (p. 49)
Yama is so described——'Yamadhrmaraśa' i.e., Yama, the administrator of Justice; and Dharma itself, as in the Brhaspatiṣya Upaniṣad, is represented as personification of Justice. The word 'Laikā', again, appears to have been used in a very special sense. By 'Laikā' Rāmāi Paṇḍit did not mean, directly, the island of 'Laikā' or Ceylon but a particular structure in a Dharma temple.* But Rāmāi Paṇḍit's 'Simhala' cannot but mean the island of Laikā or Ceylon. In the two expressions, "Simhalata Śrī Dharmarāja bhūta saṃmāna" and "Dharmadevatā simhale bhūta saṃmāna" Rāmāi Paṇḍit may be understood to have meant the Buddha by Dharmarāja and Buddhism by Dharmadevatā. But it is no less likely that his geographical allusion also bears the influence of Rāmāyaṇa story of Rāma's conquest of Ceylon and the inauguration of the Āryan religion through the installation of Vibhiṣaṇa. The indirect reference to Ceylon may be as much due to influence of the Rāmāyaṇa as to that of Buddhism. It is very strange indeed that no Buddhist holy place finds mention in the Śunya Purāṇa. The whole pantheon and the holy places mentioned in the Śunya Purāṇa are evidently Hindu. The ideal of Abhimaṇa as set forth in the Śunya Purāṇa was not then in a way peculiar to Buddhism, though it may definitely be regarded as a point of contact between the Dhrama cult of Bengal and Buddhism. The Nātha Siddhas such as Ādinātha, Minanātha, Cowraṅginātha find mention in the Śunya Purāṇa and Dharmapujāvidhāna but not a single Buddhist Siddha. Mr. Vasu's another argument is that Rāmāi Paṇḍit must have meant Buddha by Dharmarāja when he said 'Dharmarāja yajña nindā kare' i.e. Dharmarāja condemns the sacrifices. This seems apparently quite

---

* C. F. "Homayajñā adhivāsa mantra avchāna
Vamhana pāṇḍita aila deva niraṇjana
Laikāra duāre aji sunida vārata
Nitāi pāṇḍita aila ātha sa-gati
Homa yajña kari dīla tamara aṅguri

Śunya Purāṇa—p. 44.

"Laikāra duāre ke pāṇḍita
Nitāi ātha sa gati āna lekhya

Śunya Purāṇa—p. 53.

Maṇḍapa adhivāsa kare dana-pati
caribhita rve kalā hitarā hemagiri
cau maṇḍapara khame bāndhas banamāla
Laikāra duāre pāṇḍita Nitāi jāra ātha sa gati
Hapṣaṭa dia tahaka rahaila maṇḍape haila upaniti

Śunya Purāṇa—p. 61.

Puba diṣa mājhe kanakalankā pāra
kanaka maṇḍapa parabhur kanaka bhāra

Śunya Purāṇa—p. 91.
sound. The Buddha was undoubtedly known in the popular traditions of Bengal as an avatāra of Viśṇu, who was Yajñanindaka or condemnner of sacrifices. But, here too, one must remember that Vedic sacrifices were condemned in the Gītā and other subsequent religions. Thus though in reading the writings of Rāmālī Pandit there is here and there some influence of Buddhism, the facts stand out that the Dharma Pandits of Bengal were all advocates not of Buddhism but of the Brahmajñāna (Bambbajāna) and of Brahmanirvāṇa,
THE YOGAVĀŚIŚṬHA RĀMĀYĀNA, ITS PROBABLE DATE
AND PLACE OF INCEPTION.

BY

PROF. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, M.A., RAJSHAHI.

About five years ago while engaged in the task of editing the Alamkārakaustubha of Kavi Karnapūra for the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi—the first volume of which has since appeared in 1923—my attention was drawn to a verse therein.

कूर्मेऽलोमपद्वः शास्त्रश्चिन्तुरेऽः ।
एष वन्यश्रुतो मति लघुपदक्षेत्रेऽः ॥

Alamkārakaustubha, kiranā I, p. 8.

The verse had the ring of 'oldness' associated with it; moreover the fact that the rhetorician, whose aim was to exemplify his rules and principles from the life of Kṛṣṇa went out of his way and quoted it indicates that it was a familiar thing with his readers. I had to trace it to its source. My younger brother, Pandit Manmathanātha Pañcatirtha informed me that he remembered to have met with it in the Yogavāśiśṭha Rāmāyāna; Pañdit Pañcānan Tarkaratna of Bhātpāra, my native village, an undisputed authority in matters relating to Philosophy and the Purāṇas, was also of the same opinion. I had to hunt the verse up in the work. While I could not find the whole verse, parts of it were actually identified from that work, which, when tagged together, gave us the verse; and the identification was indicated to that effect. I remembered that an almost similar verse is cited in the Durghaṭavṛtti (under II. 2-8) of Śrāṇadeva, who along with an earlier contemporary of him, Purusottama-deva, the author of the Bhāṣāvṛtti and his friends, formed almost the last batch of Bengal Buddhists, who kept up the torch of grammatical learning as based on the school of Pāṇini ablaze in Eastern India; there is a similar rather charming verse in the Naiṣadha-carita of Śrīharṣa,1 who too belonged to that quarter of the Indian continent. A perusal of the Sanskrit commentaries on the Baudhā Gāṇa-O Dohā as edited by M. Haraprasad Sastri had convinced me that allied thoughts

1. Naiṣadhacarita, XII. 106. The contention that these terms are found to be used profusely in later orthodox Hindu philosophical works loses much of its force when we remember that in the early part of its chequered career Indian philosophical literature (particularly the Nyāya system in which these terms abound) was influenced not in considerably by Buddhistic writers.

69
and expressions are not uncommon therein. Terms like *Vandhyāputra*, *ākāśakusuma*, *gandharvanagara* which are common-places in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* are the stock-in-trade of a certain school of philosophers; and these terms are again of frequent occurrence in literature, professedly Buddhistic. This led to a lurking suspicion in my mind that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was Buddhistic in essence and inception—a suspicion which has since been confirmed—and led me to read the work more carefully so as to trace its period and place of genesis.

While the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is but one of the four works (including the rather queer epitome, perhaps of a late age, the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*) that attests itself to Rāma, styles itself *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is ascribed to the sage Vālmiki, it is fundamentally different from the rest. The plot here just touches a fringe of the story in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* and the story dwindles into nothing—or to be more precise, there is here no narrative at all. There is philosophising, not in the manner of the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*, where the philosophy, often vague, sweetly pantheistic and almost non-scholastic, is made to run in a line with the actual story of the epic, but philosophising in a fashion, and to a definite end. In this work the role of the teacher is taken by the family spiritual preceptor Vasiṣṭha, who in the long run, represents a school of thought not fostered by orthodox tradition on him or on any other Indian sage of legendary and Paurānic fame; and in contravention of the custom of all post-Christian literature on the subject, Rāma’s identification with the great Spiritual Being is almost hidden from view, to be made out only at the sequel. Some of

1. Compare the views about *vastrāyaṇa* and *nirvāṇa* appearing in Nāgarjuna’s *Aparatāthāprikāsa*, quoted in the commentary on *Caryacaryavinīscaya* (pp. 16–17, 24):—

   यावान किंविद्धिक्षः: प्रभवति मनस्सात्यायस्यां हि तावा-

   न्योद्दागान्तन्द्रुप: परमतुलकर्: संकि संकल्पमात्र:।

   यो व बैराग्यभावस्तदयं तदुस्मयं तद्वस्त्यामहं

   निवास्यात्मस्यादशति किविद्धि विषये सिद्धकपत्मचिन्ताम्।।

2 The *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*, highly popular with the *kathakas* of Bengal for its underlying element of sweetly serene Bhakti-culture, is regarded by many as forming a part of the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, just as that other important work, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is regarded as a part of the rather unimportant *Grahaṇapurāṇa*. Our knowledge of the *Purāṇas*—as we have them printed—cannot be regarded as adequate even in the matter of ascription of authorship we can never be sure that we stand on old tradition. This much is certain about the work—that it is told out in the form of a *sampada* between Uma and Mahēśvara.

3. The tradition connecting Vasiṣṭha with the cult of Buddhēsvarī Ṭārā and the spread of neo-Tantric doctrines from Mahācāra, a country of Buddhistic practices referred to in the *Rudraśāmala*, the *Cinārātāntra* and the *Ṭārātāntra* is presumably a Buddhistic one and affords us some light on this head. It is interesting to note that in the present work, too, there is a reference to Vasiṣṭha living in Kālāsakṣamāra with his gūra the great Mahādeva, collecting *uṣṭakās* on worship etc. (*Nirvāṇa-vijñāka* 29 I, 86-90).
the prominent features of the work bearing on its manner and externality may be noted here:

(i) The Buddhistic setting:—Like Buddha in early youth, Rāma in his adolescence, is mortified at the many kinds of duḥkhā, the common heritage of man, such as jāti, jarā, vyādhi, bhogapañcaka, maraṇa, priyaviprayoga¹; and his earnestness in endeavouring to trace them to their root-cause as well as to hit at the way of deliverance therefrom,² leads him almost automatically to the labyrinthine mazes of philosophical and mystic speculations, to the queries about vairāgya, mumukṣutā, upatti, sthiti, upasama, and nirvāṇa, which are discussed in the first sections of the work covering about 33,000 stanzas, in volume nearly one-third as much again as the present form of the original Rāmāyana. The episodes—and considering the volume and nature of the work, they are not many—that are introduced contain a few ākhya-yikās,³ mostly in the form of old parables or allegories which are narrated in parts dealing with cycles of births, as in the Jātakas. It is curious to note that the Daśaratha Jātaka (Vol. IV Fausboll) does exactly hint at a similar predicament which is removed afterwards, as is evidenced by the gāthās cited.⁴

(ii) The author’s favouritism for certain words like mālita, buddha and derivatives of the root cup, to silence, and words and phrases of philosophical import like bhāva, śūnya, cit, ātman, karnaṇa, nirvāṇa, trṣṇā, bhogapañcaka, nairātmya, brahman, vijnāna, ākāśa,⁵ and the use of the latter—of course the author is not very consistent in the connotation he attaches to them—in rather unorthodox ways betray his leaning for Buddhistic tenets and doctrines.

¹ Cf. Vairāgya—5; 10.4—51; also 11.2 (Viśvamitra’s diagnosis of the situation):

एष मोहो रुपपत्तिपूर्णो न च रागत: तिवैवैरैरायणवती बोध एष सहीद्वः

² Thus considered it is on a line with that important and old Buddhistic Sanskrit work Leśkāvatāra Sūtra, a work in ten partīvartas (chapters) treating amongst other things, of anitya and keśaṅkara. The 108 and odd questions of Rāvaṇa are answered by the great Buddha just as in the Yogavāsishtha, the many doubts and difficulties of the youthful Rāma are dispelled by the master-sage Vasistha.

³ Utpatti, 2; Nirvāṇa, 62—81 (Jivantapakhyaṇa) 15, 16. Utpatti, 52.53. The Utpatti, section of the work is, according to the statement of the author, stānta khyāyikāmaṇa. (Mumukṣu), 17, 14.

⁴ Pali Texts (p. 127, Vol. IV). In answer to Bharata’s query कैन राम पन्नातिष्ण दोचिद्रव्यं न शोभसि Rāmānapāṇḍita cites the gāthās.

⁵ Cf. Vairāgya, 6.14; 12.9; 2.6, 7; 16, 13.39; 17; 26.39; 29.8; Utpatti, 3:93, 43. 71.74; 24.88; 63, 14, Nirvāṇa, 1. 25; 2 32, 7.87.
(iii) In quite a number of passages the words *buddha*, *sacchāstra* and *asaṁga* (occasionally with compounds depending thereon e.g., *asaṁ-gadhi*) are used in a manner that it becomes extremely difficult not to take them as proper names. *Asaṁga*, as is well known, is one of the earliest teachers amongst Buddhist philosophers (*yogācārins*) who preached the *ālayavijñānavāda* and his school got a decent following in North-Eastern India.

(iv) Though described in the colophon always as *ārṣa*, the work itself makes a candid confession that much that is contained in it is not *ārṣa* but *pauruṣa* and that though the author has tried to make his thoughts consistent with what was taught by the orthodox schools, he has been not infrequently influenced by *paramata* (alien views).

All this however does not help us much beyond proving that there was an admixture of Buddhist doctrines; as to time, it does not take us much beyond the sixth century A.D., even if the author be regarded as a rather late follower of the *yogācārin* teacher *Asaṁga*.

The outer shell of the work with its occasional references takes us much further, as will be evident from the following considerations:

(i) The work is permeated with the *kāvyaka*-style-paraphernalia, both in the verses and in the rather occasional *cūrṇaka*-prose portions. Elaborate descriptions, ideas, images and allegories repeated and reiterated often to a degree of monotony, figures of speech of various shades (the chief figures being *upamā* and *rūpaka*) and, more than everything else, the spirit of the surrender of the story and often the subject-matter or the theme to the hunt after rhetorical effect and conceits go to show that it is a specimen of the later exuberant but extravagant *kāvyaka*-style.

(ii) The work containes references to, parallelisms of and, often *verbatim* quotations from the great classical masters *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravi*, *Bhaṭṭi*, *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, *Bhavabhūti* and *Māgha*. The contention that these—specially when they come in the form of direct citations—may be

---


सच्चासाज्ञातानामानि*विरोधितिः कर्मणि। रमते धार्मिकः............ II

...बासाज्ञातानामानि। महाशानिनियतःस्तु* न भमा उद्भविषयः II
tेन्द्रियमेक्षोनम्। स्वानु रमीति। पवेशस्यसाधिः: II

2. Cf. *Mumukṣu*, 18. Were it not for the cumulative effect of the 'atmosphere' in the whole work, this canto could be explained away and dismissed as an interpolation. The verses 1—8, 9, 68—70 prove beyond doubt the writer's preference for non-orthodox rationalistic views. The references in the footnotes here are all to the Bombay edition of the work.

dismissed as interpolations, does not help us much, when the cumulative evidence of the 'atmosphere' and style is almost decisive. Moreover, there is not much of artlessness in the fitting in of these verses that come from or are influenced by other sources; nor again is there any evidence forthcoming of a great incentive of adding them to the work.

(iii) Again, while the work shows traces of the complexity of Hindu ideals and modes of worship after the Purânio fashion, it often has the courage and frankness to cry them down in no uncertain terms.¹

(iv) The fact that though it is composed in the Kāvyay-style, it is seldom found quoted in any of the medieval alamkūra texts and in any of the native traditional anthologies—though such works, no matter whether they are included in the restricted code of kāvyay or not (e.g., the Purāṇas, the Rājatarangini and often the lekhas) are allowed that place of honour, is certainly a proof that it was not known for long and that it was comparatively at a later date that it was studied. (Compare the introductory verses in Ānandabodhayatin's Viśiṣṭhārthapraṇāśa).

Looked at from the standpoint of its philosophy and the inner essence of its culture, the Yogavāsiṣṭha seems to reflect the tendencies of a particular age, and, as there is good reason to think, of that age, as inherent in a particular local environment. The following are some of the principal features that emerge out of a consideration on these heads:—

(i) The Yogavāsiṣṭha, because of its palpable inconsistencies and its sweet vagueness in technology and no less for its ślokākūtas² is not regarded as an authoritative work of philosophy; and no writer and scholiast on philosophy earlier than Vijnānabhikṣu seems to use it as an authority to defend a position without knowing its limitations,—he again has used it in the same light in these matters (and some later authors following him have adopted the same course) as the Kūrmapurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa etc.

(ii) It has thus not attained to the rank of the Bhagavadgītā though in the manner of that earlier work and using its very words, it


². Cf. Utpāti 1-1—4. There occur phrases brahmāṁśa, chinabhodeśavid, etc., reminiscent of Buddhistic phraseology. Vide the commentator's elucidation of these verses in an orthodox fashion. The terms jiva, brahman, kārma, nirvāṇa, atman, are rather promiscuously used. Sometimes a'nestis (brahman) is synonymous with śunya, asat etc. (Nirvāṇa 33. 17.) ; sometimes (Utpāti 13. 35) they seem to be different. Sometimes brahman and jagat are one (Utpāti 10.19); more often they are different entities. Yoga, which is often used to emphasize a disposition of the mind, is occasionally, or rather as an exception, used to denote ascetic practices. (Nirvāṇa 13.7); and so forth.
tries to make a synthesis of the views of the Sāmkhya and Yoga, or, as it
styles them, Sāmkhya yoga and Yogayoga systems ¹; whereas, from the
peculiar circumstances under which it was produced, it should have
attempted a synthesis of the Yoga, Vedānta and Yogācāra doctrines. Nor
does it represent in an unadulterated manner—like the Bhāgavatapurāṇa—the crystallised views of a particular school of philosophical
thought.

(iii) All the while, it is not too much to say that the present work
presents us with a comprehensive and inspiring dissertation on vairāgya
and nirvāṇa of a type that is rare in Sanskrit literature, though it is in a
line, on the expression side with Kāvyā works like the Vairāgyasatāka.
The idea of the different bhogabhūmis and yogabhūmis ¹ and the preference
of the disposition of mumukṣutā to mokṣa which is the professed aim of
the generality of orthodox works, whether legendary or philosophical, seem
also to point to a regard for the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with
its nucleus of the Bodhisattva creed of redemption and deliverance.

(iv) The philosophical groundwork, as we have here, is a complex
fabric of theories and doctrines, not very closely and systematically
joined:

(a) It treats of Yoga only in a restricted sense—the fundamental
idea of yoga (योगविद्यातिथिमिस्यः) or samādhi and the
efficacy of trances and psycho-physical exercises has been
rather lightly dismissed in the manner of the Buddhist
Vijnānavādin. ² Emphasis is laid on the tempera-
ment, rather than on the practices which are believed to
lead to it.

---

1. Cf. Nirvāṇa 69.18—21. While apparently at one with the Vedāntins as regards
the eternal nature and finality of brahman (Upātti: 13, 35 &c) and the belief in
jñāna marga (Cf. Upātti 7.1) as the only solution, it does not even insist on the identity
of jiva and brahman (Upātti 13.). Again, while distinctly professing a leaning for the
prevailing Buddhist yogacārin views of cosmogony dependent on spanda (cf. Upātti 67.),
of brahman = nirvāṇa or manovilaya (Upātti. 9, 97) &c. it chooses to acquiesce in ideas
about ikaloka and paraloka (Mumukṣu, 3, 13-15), in the equation manas = daiva and
so forth, which would not appear palatable to them. The synthesis it preaches is more
superficial than grounded on any arguments adduced—it is arbitrary, often nothing,
more than rhetorical flourish. (cf. Upātti 4.2—8.). As to bhūmis cf. Vairāgya 12,
8, 6 : Mumukṣu, 3.10; Mumukṣu 3. (bhīyo bhūyāh Sargavarmanas.) Mumukṣu.; 4.3 ;
10.28, 40—41; 17-50; Upāsama, 75; and so on. Regarding the yogabhūmis one may
compare the name of daśibala. (वद्विन्नो दशाचोट्ट्वत्वादो विनाभ: of Amaramibba)
and daśabhūmīsastra. The latter, by the by, is the appellation of one of the nine
sanskrit texts of the Eastern (Nepāl) Buddhists.

2. Cf. Upātti, 1.86-41; Upātti, 4.54. Indeed both in theory and practice
the two differ so much that it would be reckless misrepresentation to take the Yoga-
vyāsa as a work on the orthodox Yoga system. Cf. also Upāsama, 92 and 96.
While at one with the later Vedāntins on the idea of prapañca (world) as a mere projection of manas (mind), 1 (here again there is a difference in the exposition or grasping of the process) and on the all-pervading nature of Brahman, it has substantial points of difference with the latter as regards the nature of nirvāṇa or mokṣa, of manas, citta and ātman.

Unlike the Yogācārins, it seems to believe in the transmigration of souls or rebirths and not in the transmigration of ‘caste’ or ‘character’ as in the Buddhistic creed 2. The conceptions of jīva, ātman, samsāra etc., are however fundamentally the same in the Yogavāśiṣṭha as in the theory of Asanga and his followers.

As to religion and forms of worship there are no stereotyped ways and theories formulated and prescribed. Viewed in the ethical aspect, the work inculcates wholesome tolerance and perfect liberalism—maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā as much as questions of śīla form its forte 3.

Putting all these together at the date of the work, it would appear bold to say that it was composed earlier than the ninth century A. D. The nature of the ideal and temperament held up for realisation could not be thought of in Buddhist India before the days of the Pāla Kings of Bengal, when we remember that the writer was ostensibly a Hindu, treating of a subject essentially Hinduite.

That this seems to be more than a plausible surmise, based on the internal evidence of doctrines and cultural level, is borne out by the following considerations:—

(i) The mention of the Pārāsikas and Tāmrayavanas 4 in a rather cryptic account of the war between two kings of Western India

---


2. Cf. La Vallee Poussin’s remarks on the subject in The Way to Nirvāṇa. Vide, however, Utpatti 1:9-57, Cf. Utpatti 2, (ākāśajñānapropākhyāna) and the verse न स्म नास्ति तथा न च नास्ति of Asanga quoted in Yamakami Sogen’s Systems of Buddhist Thought (Cal. Univ. 1912)—p. 280.

3. Cf. Nirvāṇa. 39, 98-90. There is however, a reference to these as to the other yogāṅgas in the Yoga System of Patanjali (Of. Yogadarsana. I, मैत्रीकृषि, गुरुविद्यानात्मकप्रेमसादनम् । भुजामुखविस्मयायां सतानातिनिविलपसादनम् । But an insistent demand on these themes points possibly to the Buddhist connection of the work.

4. Utpatti. 37:9-24, Cf. also कांतकाज्ञानकावतारारसकाममाध्यमिनी। जुज्राफाणमनस्तत्त्सर्षेष्ठितिनिकरणः।

(Vide also the commentary thereon). The tribes and races referred to include the Dāsāparāh, Śāntikāh, Maragāh, Daradāh, ināh, Śakāh (dāś-a-kaṣākāh). Some of these appear to be named after the countries inhabited by them.
helps us in a manner to have a limiting date for the work. While there
can be very little doubt about the former, the latter were possibly the
people of Afghanistan, who from about the tenth century onwards, came
in hordes to the western countries of India for plunder and ravage and
ultimately acquired mastery. The story, however, does not indicate
the overthrow of the Indian princes nor does the work seem to know of
the conquest of any part of India by these invaders.

(ii) The reference to the school of Vedânta Philosophy as the
Vedântins or Vedântavâdins 1 would take us to a time not earlier than
that of the great Śaṅkarācārya and the author’s references to the views
of this school, which are hinted at above, sufficiently confirm this point.

(iii) In one text the Purâṇas are described as bahupātha 2,
having different readings or recensions; and in another text 3 we have a
rather indirect hint, which goes to show that the author may have been
familiar with the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and its hard and fast line of demarcation
between amśakalā and bhagavattva of the Supreme Being Viṣṇu.
The first fact is sufficient to carry us to the tenth century, if the researches
of modern scholars on the age and compilation of the Purâṇas are
accepted as substantially true. (Vide Pargiter—The Purâṇa Texts of the
 Dynasties of the Kali Age.)

(iv) The author seems to be rather at home in treating of the
customs of the Easterners and the picture he presents of Buddhistic ideals
and of the superinducing of the alien doctrines (paramāta) on
national life is possibly the prototype of the conditions in that quarter of
India where Buddhism played a dominant part in matters of philosophical
beliefs and general culture and is believed to have subsequently merged
itself in the older creed of the land. 4

(v) The text has been an authority in Bengal from about the
time of the religious reformer Caitanyadeva and not much earlier, and,

1. Sūkta, 21-26; Upātī, 4'6, 5; Upātī, 13-35; 3'3, 40; 4'6; Sūkta, 2 8-9.94;
11'63; 20; 21, 39. It is important to note that there is no reference in the work to the
views of qualified monist Rāmānuja or his school of thought.

2. Nirvāṇa, 22'20—27. The accounts of the reедакtion of the different texts (e.g.
the Rāmāyaṇa), and about the different jīvas passing under the names of Vālmiki
and Vyāsa form interesting reading. That there were different Vyāsas was well known
(from recorded references) in or about the time of King Ballâla Sena (11th century)
of Bengal. He gives us in his Dāsāṅgara references to and quotations from Laghu-
vyāsa, Brāhmatīvyāsa, etc. It is not necessary to go into great detail here.

3. Nirvāṇa, 64'81—83.

4. Vāyuva 3'37—38; Upātī, 36, 37 etc, Mumukṣu, 16, Sūkta, 62 8, 11, 12.
along with the *Brahmasaṅhitā* and the later *Upaniṣads*, been cited by many a Vaishnava writer ever since. The manuscripts of the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* are as common in Bengal homes as those of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and the work enjoys a sanctity amongst popular semi-philosophical works little short of that of the *Bhagavadgītā*.\(^1\)

(vi) The fact that the only great commentator on the work Ānandabodhasarvasvāti, who on his own assertion seems to be the earliest scholar to comment on it and belongs possibly to the seventeenth century, if not later, is of south India\(^2\) does not vitiate the conclusion to be

1. The *Laṅgu Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* or *Mahopāyanā* which presupposes the bigger work, (described in I.O. Descriptive Catalogue entry No. 2424) is a work in 92 verses by a Bengali writer, possibly a North Bengal writer, (named Abhinaanda Tarkavājī, with many titles (e.g. *gaṇamandaṇḍalai-karapipanda Samiśvetaka* etc.), who is thus to be distinguished from the famous Gauḍa Abhinaanda of Kashmir, the author of the *synopsis of Kalāmbara* etc. A commentary presumably on this work (I.O. Cat. entry No. 2437) is known to be the composition of one Mahidhara of Bengal, who lived towards the latter part of his life in Benares. This is dated Vikrama Samvat 1564-1599 A.D. If the *Padaṇcārikā* (described in I.O. Cat. entry No. 2399) be a commentary on the original work and if Rāmāṇadatīrtha, to whom it is ascribed, be the great Rāmāṇadatīrtha, who died in 1377 A.D., it would tell us much in the matter of dating the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* itself, though at the same time it would invalidate the statement of Ānandabodhendrā Sarvasvāti, अनन्त्यूर्ववाक्यमयः प्रथम ने यावकार्यतः (statement which may not be taken too seriously or literally). All this would certainly go to prove the immense popularity the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* enjoyed in Bengal homes for centuries in the later Middle Ages. The *Prabodhāmihrodaya*, a *Tantra* *cun* Smṛti ribandha by a Bengali Kayestha Rāmāśvara Mitra Tattvānanda of Saka 1597 (Decr. Cat. of Miss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library—*Tantra* No. 49). It is also significant in this connection to remember that of the many classical Sanskrit works translated into Persian before or during the time of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, the Y. V. was one; and that the mention of this fact comes from a Bengali Hindu writer of Persian Haricaraṇ Dās of the time is also noteworthy, (vide Dr. J. J. Modi's *King Akbar and the Persian translations from Sanskrit—Proceedings and Translations of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919*).

2. The commentary (vide verse at the close—N.S. edn.) is dated Śaka (Vikrama?) 1786 (śurasaturasūramauh) The commentator gives his pedigree thus,—Śarvajña Sarvasvāti—Ramaśandra Sarasvāti—Gangadharendra Sarasvāti—Ānandabodhendra Sarasvāti. From I.O. Des. catalogue entries (No. 2360, 2361, 2485) we got this verified. We also learn that his guru Gangadharendra wrote in Vikrama Samvat 1748 (1692 A. D.) his *Siddhaṇṭa-bindiya*, a commentary on the *Sidhaṇṭabinda* of Madhuvadana Sarasvati—which work, again, is a commentary on Śanka's *Dāśāloki*—a copy of M. S.'s work being dated 1617 A. D. It is not at all unlikely that Madhuvadana himself was connected with this line in direct relationship (by vidyāsambandha)—he might have been the paramaguru of Sarvajña Sarasvati. Whatever might have been the native place of Madhuvadana, he (for the matter of that, his line of pupils) was held in high esteem in Bengal and our commentator Ānandabodhendra, if not naturalised in Bengal, seems to know much of the province (Gauḍa). He is thus different from the earlier Ānandabodhendra Yati, the author of the *Vedāntic, trāṣṭa Nyāyamakaranda*. 70
derived from the above considerations, as this is not unusual when we look to other departments of literature.

All this points to 10th to 12th century as the probable date and eastern India (it may be Bengal) as the place of inception of the work, which in more ways than one, may be regarded as a monumental one. The work however suffers from more than one disadvantage. It is often nauseatingly prolific in its verbal images and there is a chance of the reader’s missing much of interest thereby; again the Bengal and Bombay editions (the Bombay edition is an excellent one in its own way except that its oblong form has something to say against it) do not contain any index of critical or historical information. A close and careful study of the work is what is urgently needed from the critical scholar of these days. We believe that the geography and topography as we have it here ¹ (and this is more detailed and presumably of a later age than the accounts in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa and the Brāhmaṇa) and the sidelights of contemporaneous history, which peep in through some of the episodes ² (e.g. the fight between Līlānātha Padma and Sindharāja) may ultimately prove of much help in this matter.

¹. Cf. Vairāgya, 3-31-40; Utpatti chaps, 21-29, 36-37. That the geographical information supplied is not a mere copy of old things will appear from a close and comparative study of the work with the other purāṇas giving the authentic information on this head. (Cf., however, geography given in the Abdhutasagara of Ballāla Sena).

². Utpatti chapters, 34-48. The account of the dvairātha samara is almost an echo of Bhavabhūti’s Uttarānāmacarta V & VI. It would be idle to dismiss such accounts—and there are not many such references—as pure fabrication. There is one famous Sindharāja in history—he is the father of King Bhoja of Malwa. Bhoja succeeded him in 1010 A.D., the year in which Mahmud of Ghazni took Multan. V. Smith refers to Bhoja’s fights with neighbouring powers, including one of the Mahomedan armies of Mahmud. It would be, however, bold to say that this Sindharāja is the king described in the episode.
RAMANUJA'S CONCEPTION OF JIVA AS A PRAKARA OF ISVYARA

BY

PROF. P. N. SRINIVASACHARYA, M.A., MADRAS.

Vedanta is the science of specialising in Brahman. It is not merely a speculative synthesis of reality, but an intuition of Brahman enshrined in revelation by realising which everything else is realised. Among the many modes of approaching Brahman, Dvaita, Advaita and Viishistadvaita are known as the chief types. Ramanauja's philosophy of Viishistadvaita is not as widely known as that of Saunaka, and it is the modest endeavour of this paper to present in brief the main feature of his teaching which consists in knowing the jiva as a prakara or mode of Brahman. Ramanauja insists on the equal validity of all the vedic texts as they speak of things as they are in reality and therefore lays stress on sutra as a whole, unlike the advaitin who distinguishes between primary and secondary texts and deduces his own system from the primary texts known as the Mavakayas. Ramanauja however postulates the reality of experience on all its three levels of revelation, reasoning and perception, and therefore accepts the realistic method of satkhyati, as opposed to the theory of illusion, adopted by Saunaka (anirvacanyakhyati) and the Buddhistic school of Nihilism and Subjective Idealism (asaikhyati and amakhyati). He then deduces the principle of co-ordination (Samanadhikaranya) from the postulate of realism as contrasted with the principle of identity (or aikyatad) of Saunaka. This view predicates the co-existence of attributes in a continuous substance. The judgment, "This is that Devadatta", does not establish bare identity, as the advaitin says, by the removal of contradiction implied in the subject and the predicate. It refers to a personal identity pervading spatial and temporal differences. The principle of co-ordination naturally leads us to the doctrine of inseparability known as aprthaksiddhaviisesana. A mere subject without a quality is a bare identity devoid of content. And a mere attribute which is not rooted in reality lands us in subjective idealism. Therefore, the subject of every judgment is always qualified by its attributes. When the attribute is a determining quality (niyama prakara) it is known as aprthaksiddhaviisesana.

With these three principles Ramanauja establishes his central doctrine and claims for it the merit of textual coherence and logical consistency. Saunaka's doctrine of the finite as a mere figment of the absolute is untenable as the origin and value of the fiction itself demands-
explanation. The cause of fiction cannot be fiction. The Bhedābheda-
vādins like Yādava and Bhāskara postulate perfection as well as limitation in the content of the absolute and thus lay themselves open to the charge of contradiction and the attribution of evil to Brahman itself. The Dvaitavādins assume the existence of independent reals and are therefore unable to establish any real connection between them. The absolute idealism of Spinoza and Hegel affords striking parallels and contrast to Rāmānuja's views. Spinoza's famous doctrine that all determination is negation lands in the abstract universal devoid of all differentiation. It is aptly remarked that the absolute of Spinoza has no place for it in Spinoza himself. In the dialectic movement of Hegel the abstract one passes into other with a view to return to itself. It is a movement from error to truth since the thesis as well as the antithesis betrays contradiction the logical impulse of consistency drives them to self transcendence and synthesis. Rāmānuja rejects the realistic view that nothing exists but spirit and that reality is a movement from error to truth. Hegelian theo-pantheism as it is called mediates between theism and pantheism and shares in the defects of both. It may lapse into abstractionism or irrational personalism. The inherent defects of these systems lies in their utter failure to provide for morality and religion. The religious sense is outraged by the absolutist's logic that God is less than the absolute and may be finally absorbed by it along with the finite self. The finite self is neither an illusion nor a defect of the absolute, nor does it persist in its absolute separateness. Rāmānuja's theory of jiva as a mode of Brahman avoids all these defects and allows full scope to finite personality as well as to the infinite Brahman. Its precise nature may be determined by studying the finite self in its logical, ethical and aesthetic aspects and finally its status in religious realisation.

The jiva as a prakāra of God may be viewed as a logical ego satisfying the demands of reason. Thought is impelled by the monistic impulse and tries to seize the totality of things. It employs the categories of causality, substance and unity and deduces therefrom the ontological relation between Brahman and jiva. The sad-vidyā in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad states the problem of causality in the following classical manner. "What is that by knowing which everything else is known" (ekavijñānena bahu vijñānam) and furnishes the key to Rāmānuja's interpretation of reality as an immanent individuality. Rāmānuja recognises the dynamic identity of cause and effect and rejects atomism as well as abstractionism. Causality implies a logical and temporal priority in which cause as a potentiality passes into the actuality of effect and thereby becomes its ground. It is a process of self manifestation involving the unity, continuity and the activity of reality. In the scriptural judgment "Sat alone existed in the beginning, it said let me become manifold." (Sadb eva saumya idams
Rāmānuja’s conception of Jīva as a prakāra of Īśvara. 557

*aṇga āsīt.*) the term *sat* does not connote absolute identity arrived at by a process of progressive abstraction. The absolute of *pralaya* referred to in the text is only a potentiality or non-manifestation and not negation. Involution is not extinction, neither is creation as Kapāla says a creation out of nothing. The judgment "the one becomes the many" really predicates the one in the many, and thus justifies the passage from the one to the other. Brahman is eternally separate from the finite centres but is not really external to them. *Sat* in the causal state connotes Brahman containing *Cīt* and *Acīt* in posse. In the effected condition of creation the indeterminate becomes the determinate. Brahman concretises himself into the cosmos and grows into all its manifold by his mere volition (*Īkṣate*). By His mere will he evolves the 24 categories of matter and then incarnating himself into the jīva he projects the multituidness names and forms of the cosmos. The texts illustrate this process by the analogy of a lump of clay and its modifications in pots, dishes and various other forms. By knowing the cause the effect is also known. Likewise by knowing Brahman who is the stuff as well as the spirit of creation we also know the manifold of matter and spirit as his eternal modes drawing their substantiality and activity from Him. (*Upaniṣaḍ*). Brahman is the unity of composition as well as the unity of manifestation. In the causal state he is the unity of composition, in the effect state he is the unity of manifestation. He thus reveals himself in creation in the moulding of matter "and the making of souls". The identity of causality is not a bare identity between Jīva and Īśvara but the operative or dynamic identity of Brahman with the potential forms of *Cīt* and *Acīt* in the causal or *pralaya* state with the same Brahman modifying itself into the manifold of creation in response to the karmic means of the finite self.

The Chāndogya text finally solves the ontological problem by declaring the identity of Jīva and Brahman in the famous judgment "THOU ART THAT". Rāmānuja determines its meaning in the light of the grammatical rule of co-ordination and the Mīmāṃsā-doctrine of connotation. He posits absolute difference (*atyanta bheda*) between the substance *viśesya* and its attribute *viśesana*. The substance as the subject of quality cannot as Mc Taggart points out itself be a quality, because a quality cannot be predicated of itself. A subject has qualities but is not itself a quality. Experience (*anubhūti*) involves both self-cognition and the cognition of external objects eternally separate from it. A contentless thought is a contradiction in terms. The denial of the quality is the denial of the substance itself. The attribute is not a contradiction of the substance (*bādhita*) but co-exists with it according to the grammatical principle of co-ordination. Co-ordination is defined by Pāṇini (as quoted by Rāmānuja) as the power of words having different meaning to denote
only one thing. When the attribute is the essential property of the substance it is called its mode or prakāra. The concept of gotva or the generic character of the cow e.g. is essentially related to the cow and is therefore said to constitute its prakāra. The attribute of a thing refers ultimately to the thing of which it is the attribute. In the doctrine of predication the connotation of every term its jāti and guṇa is therefore rooted in the vyakti and the guṇi. Applying these two principles of co-ordination and connotation to the interpretation of the text "Thou art That", Rāmānuja abandons Śaṅkara’s theory of absolute identity established by the elimination of attributes (jaha and ajahat-laksanā) and postulates the reality of qualified Brahman (saviśeṣa Brahma). The judgment really shows the co-ordination between ‘that’ the cosmic self of creation and ‘this’ the inner self of reality. Every concept or term which refers to the body also refers to the self of which it is the body. (Śarīra vāci kābdānām śarīrī paryantam). Words that connote God, man or animal also connote the self of which these are bodies. The body of Śvetaketu in the context refers to his self and for the same reason the self of Śvetaketu himself really connotes Brahman, who is its source and substratum. The self is the adjective of the absolute, derives its substantiality from it and is therefore called its mode. Consequently to know Brahman is also to know the modes which derive their structure and function from him, who is the real Reality of all (satyasya satyam) and thus by knowing Brahman everything else is known.

The soul does not admit of spatial division on account of its essential spirituality. In the same way Brahman is not a quantitative infinite or a mere sum for aggregate of things (Samaśṭi). The finite self is not a reflection of māyā like the image of the sun in water. But, it perseveres in its own particular being as an independent Real. Rāmānuja defines a part as the particular place of a whole and identifies the part with the attribute. In one sense it is essentially distinct from the whole, in another sense it is one with it. This contradiction may be reconciled by substituting the concept of amśa for part. Brahman is not an aggregate of unrelated reals, nor is it an absolute absorbing all finitude. He is the self of creation imparting reality to the finite self and through it to matter. As the self is the essential quality of Brahman (vibhu) and cannot be realised apart from it is called its amśa. Creation is only a pāda or fragment of Brahman. The finite is but a speck or part of the infinite. The true meaning of the jīva going to the self referred to in sūtra I, i, 10 is the merging of the finite in its divine cause without losing its monadic individuality. The jīva as an amśa of God is not like a geometrical point vanishing in space. Nor is it an element absorbed in the pantheistic Absolute. It is monadic in substance (svarūpa) but infinite in intelligence (dharma bhuta jñāna). Our way of contact with reality
says Bradly is only through a limited aperture. Each monad mirrors forth the whole universe from its own unique point of view. Just as the sun with its place in the spatial order illuminates the whole universe so does the finite spirit abides in its own absolute minuteness though in its attributive aspect it pervades the whole of experience. It is in this way that Rāmānuja saves the finite self from absolute dissolution on the one hand and absolute separateness on the other.

The logical categories of causality and substance do not satisfy the demands of moral and spiritual freedom. The logical self posits an all-inclusive reality differentiating itself into modes and finally absorbing them into itself. But morality demands the reality of personality and fulfils itself in external relations. A quality may be predicated of a substance but relation connects one thing with another external to it. The finite self is not merely a particular but also an individual substance. The logical attribute now develops into an ethical self. The self activity of substance grows into the self-consciousness of personality. The very term Śāstra connects a moral imperative and therefore recognises the reality of individuality and responsibility. Sūtra II, iii, 33 attributes personality and freedom to the finite self and Sūtras II, iii, 18 and 19 affirm the eternity of the finite self as a self-conscious personality. Conduct is determined by the law of karma or moral causality and its operation is marked by the relentless rigour of mathematical necessity. The self however has the will to free itself from the bonds of causality.

The Mīmāṃsaka realises the omnipotence of karma in all our experience and deifies karma into Brahmaṇ. The Veda consists of ought judgments of duty and has no reference to any end which can be perceived immediately by us. The end of conduct as in the case of sacrifice is however realised immediately through the agency of a supersensuous cause known as āpūrva or niyoga. Jaimini therefore exhorts us to do the duty ordained by the karma Śāstra and develop the moral feeling or respect for āpūrva or karma Brahmaṇ. Rāmānuja examines this tenet in detail in the introduction to the first sūtra and in his Vedārtha Saṃgraha, and contends that the endeavour cannot be separated from the end, but must be directed to secure it. The object of duty is the realisation of the supreme good in Brahmaṇ and the attainment of permanent bliss. Mere āpūrva being a blind force is only a faceiful hypothesis. The true import of karma and sacrifice is the satisfaction of Brahmaṇ who is immanent in the vedic Gods and their Inner Ruler Immortal and apportions merit according to desire.

The law of karma relates to a mechanical order and sacrifices the freedom of personality to mere mathematical necessity. Rāmānuja therefore reconciles the law of karma with the divine order by the doctrine of
Īśvara and niyānta or the transcendental controller of the cosmos. He is the creator of creators who makes the jīva His own image by entering into it and endows it with the freedom necessary to grow into His personality. In the process of soul making Īśvara is only the operative cause the karma of the soul in its potential condition of pralaya being the material cause. The existence of evil and inequality in the moral life is entirely due to individual responsibility. Śaṅkara attributes evil to the cosmic illusion or māyā co-existing with Brahmā as a contingent quality. Yādava and Bhāskara recognise it as a limitation inhering in Brahmām itself. To the modern absolutist it is an element which finally transcends itself in the ultimate reality. The bheda-vādins regards it as an eternal reality absolutely hostile to Īśvara. To avoid all these risks Rāmānuja throws the entire responsibility on the karma of the finite self.

The infinity of God is contrasted with the infinitesimal nature of the Jīva. In explaining Brahmā as the cause of the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the cosmos, Rāmānuja refers to the Taittirīya texts defining Him as the true (satyam) intelligent (jñānam) and infinite (anantam). The first attribute excludes the bound soul or the (bādrah); the second eliminates the freed self (muktā) and the third rules out the eternals (nitya). The essential quality of Īśvara is his infinity or lordship of the cosmos, and the differentia of finite individuality is (anutva) monadic minuteness. The Jīva is by nature minute like a mathematical point depending upon God for his being and sustenance. Rāmānuja solves the vexed problem of free will and fatalism by recognising the claims of the finite will and the divine will. Rāmānuja illustrates it by the analogy of two men A and B jointly owning the same property. B wishes to transfer it to C and though he has to obtain the permission of A, he alone has to execute it and is therefore entirely responsible for the result. Īśvara is absolutely pure and good as his will is not tainted by karma. He has the two-fold moral excellences (ubhaya liṅga) of freedom from all imperfections and the possession of infinite auspicious qualities. Freedom is a gift of God in order that the finite self may shake off its shackles of matter and grow into the perfection of God. The aham that has its true abode in God has now degraded itself into the āhamkara that comes of false identity with matter. The value of freedom consists in the realisation by the finite self of its absolute dependence on God’s as the (śesin) and attunement to His will.

Vedānta Deśika goes a step further and evolves the idea of dāsatva from śesīta. Both Citi and Ācīt subserve the divine will and thus fulfil their śesatva. But Citi as a rational self is conscious of his being a means to the Lord’s satisfaction and therefore surrenders its will to God, as his dāsa (paratantriyaṃ). The mechanism of mere work is
now transfigured into kaiṅkarya or worship of God. The Jīva realises his absolute impotence and unworthiness and surrenders himself to his will. He makes a gift of self to God who is its real owner and ruler. We can now reconcile the dualism between karma and redemption. Karma is rooted in causality and leads to an endless samsāra or round of births and deaths. The judicial idea of karma carried to its logical conclusion lands us in fatalism and despair, but love is more than logic and God is a redeemer as well as a law-giver. The ends of justice are best served by the redemption of man from his career of ignorance and sin. Both justice and mercy are well-balanced in the dual personality of God as Ruler and Śrī. Īśvara insists on requital and expiation, and Lakṣmī whether as a divine mediatrix or co-eternal with him pleads for the free flow of mercy and forgiveness. If God is law alone we are helpless. If He is love alone we become irresponsible. Therefore Rāmānuja predicated lordship as well as love to Brahman. Both are vital functions of God and it is impossible to explain them in terms of causality.

The logical ego as the effect (upādeya) or attribute (viśeṣa) or part (aṇīśa) is conceived as a mode of the self-differentiating absolute and is likely to lapse into a pantheistic emanation. This tendency is corrected by the ethical self (vidheyaṭva) which conforms to the will of a transcendental lord and resigns himself to his worship. But, the ethical ideal of duty, service and self-surrender is rooted in the externality of God and does not bring out adequately the religious yearning for ecstatic union with God. Intellectualism with its pantheistic or anthropic bias exalts the finite at the expense of the infinite, and voluntarism with its theocratic or monarchical temper sacrifices the finite. If God is beyond the cosmos as the Naiyāyika says then he is beyond our reach and if he is immanent in the cosmos there is no need for seeking him. Rāmānuja reconciles the two extremes by making God the material as well as the operative cause of creation. By his ādheyaṭva, Sat evolves itself into the manifold and by means of Vidheyaṭva he enters into it as its ruler and directs its process. Both these views are correlated in the concept of Śarīra kariribhāva or the relation between the soul and the body. The cosmos throbs with the pulse of Puruṣottama and is organically related to him. Reality is neither the big blank of the Buddhist nor the abstract absolute of the Advaitin. Īśvara is the stuff and the soul of Reality. He is the designer as well as the material, the first cause and the last. Brahman vivifies the self directly by entering into it and through its medium vivifies matter also, whether antahkārapravesa or entry means omnipenetrativeness or inseparability. The creative impulse of God is allied to the intuition of art and the joyous spontaneity of sport and issues finally in the redemptive principle of love. The concept of organic unity
satisfies the logical impulse of synthesis. There cannot be a more elevating moral ideal than the idea of the absolute God losing Himself in the redemption of the sinner. The aesthetic craving is satisfied by the idea of God as a transcendental beauty craving in human form for ecstatic communion with jīva.

We are now in a position to determine the nature and character of Jīva and Īśvara and their precise relation. The Tatvārya of Pillalokāśārya furnishes a succinct account of this relation. The self is defined negatively as what is distinct from the 24 categories of matter, incapable of spatial division (miravayava), the immutable (mirvikara) unmanifest (avyakta) and indefinable (acintya). All souls are absolutely alike in essence, but not identical, and the distinction between a Devadatta born as man and an Yajñadatta born as an ox is only a fiction of flesh caused by karma. The essential features of the Jīva may be defined positively also. Each spirit has a monadic existence of its own and persists for ever in own uniqueness. It is not as Kaṇāda says a mechanical thing mental stone, but it is like the thinking thing of Descartes and is its own evidence. Rāmānuja distinguishes between the self as a unique knower (māyā) substantive intelligence (pratyaktva) and attributive intelligence (dhi); bhūta jñāna and pratyaktva. While the self is atomic in existence its attribute is all pervading like the illumination of a flame. The attrity adorned by karma is subject to expansion and contraction (saṅkoca vikāsa). In addition to intelligence (Tātṛtva) it has the qualities of responsibility (kārtṛtva) and appetition (bhokṛtva). Cognition, will and feeling can only belong to a personality as a non-personal experience is unthinkable. Rāmānuja classifies the spirits into three kinds. The bound soul (buddha) is ensnared in karma owing to its mistaken identity with matter. The freed soul (mukta) lives in eternal perfection in the city of God (paramapada) and the eternal (niyta) is ever free and absolutely devoted to its will.

Brahman is both the material and the operative cause of the cosmos. He is beyond the cosmos and at the same time its Inner Ruler Immortal. From His divine nature follows an infinity of absolutely auspicious qualities of which the most essential are, eternity, (satya), intelligence (Tātṛa) infinity (anantam), blissfulness (ānanda) and purity (apahatapāpamvatam). Eternally self-realised in His supreme abode, pours Himself into the cosmos and by His pervading identity imparts to it its substantiality and function. In His infinite love He spurns His Īśvaratva or lordship and assumes human forms with a view to recover and redeem the prodigals. He is the true of the true and the eternal of the eternals. His beautiful form is made of love itself and ravishes the soul. The God of Rāmānuja is thus a personality having personal relations with the finite souls. The finite is sustained (adheyatva) and controlled by God (vidheyatva) and is
absolutely a means to his satisfaction. It is a vital tissue of God and vibrates with his being.

Rāmānuja regards this view as the very heart of his system by which he reconciles the apparent contradictions of scripture. The manifold of matter and mind in the potential as well as the manifest states forms the body or śārīra of God and is alive only in Him. The key to this explanation is furnished by the antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa of the Brh. Upaniṣad. Rāmānuja defines the body as a substance which a sentient soul can completely control and support for its own purposes and employ it as a means to his own end known respectively as Ādheyaṭva-Viḍheyaṭva and Śesatva. The first quality refers to that which by its very nature imparts substantiality to another and sustains it svarūpata. The second denotes the internal controller, who by its mere will creates and dissolves the cosmos saṅkalpaṁāṇa. The third connotes the absolute self sustenance of God and the utter dependence of the jīva. The body in relation to the soul satisfies these three conditions of modality dependence and serviceability. Every term denoting the body also denotes the self of which it is the body Śārīravāci śabdānām śārīra paryantam. In the judgment "He is a God, or man or beast" the term referring to the body also refers to the self. Likewise the soul is the body of the supreme. Every term connoting the finite self connotes also the highest self of which it is the body.

Philosophy reduces experience to a synthetic unity. But religion seeks spiritual union. The self no doubt manifests itself in God, but it is not thought. The thought of God can never be God at all. Syllogisms and systems can never solve the problem of sin and suffering. At best, it can only give us a clear idea of the ultimate reality embodied in scripture, but it does not enable us to have direct face to face knowledge of God. But it is the primary function of religion to lead the soul back to its home in God. The sense of alienation that oppresses the finite self is finally subdued by the irresistibility of divine love and grace.

Among the five noble truths of Vaishnavism known as the artha-pāñcaka is included the necessity of removing obstacles to spiritual progress. It is the primary duty of the mumukṣu or seeker after salvation to free himself from the fiction of matter which from time immemorial has claimed him as its own, and implicated him in endless saṃsāra. The only way of redemption therefore lies in retracing the steps and returning to God. This can be achieved by abandoning the self of prakṛti. The bound soul has a dual nature, the empirical self (dehātma bhāva) the product of prakṛti and the spiritual self (paratantriya) as a spark of the supreme and depending on his will (paratantriya)
True renunciation consists in throwing off the mask of matter and growing into the image of God. In its positive sense renunciation is the affirmation of the pure self as a mode of God. This is done by a kind of spiritual induction, in which the pure self is discovered by the elimination of the empirical self.

In his commentary on the Gītā Rāmānuja analyses the stages of soul-making. On the moral level of karma yoga the self has to practise the ideal of duty for duty's sake freed from sensibility and utility and to transfigure work into a worship of God. Karma yoga culminates in Jñāna yoga in which the self freed from sensibility shines in its own pure light and is blissful for ever in a state of Kaivalya or ātmānubhava. Rāmānuja rejects this experience as a godless state arising out of false knowledge, in which the soul is stranded in solitary selfhood, but to the true jñāna-yogin there dawned the idea of a vision of the supreme as his very self. In this state known as the Bhāktiyoga the devotee realises God as the very self of his being. But self effort without the grace of God is utterly futile. The soul realising its emptiness and unworthiness resigns itself to the will of God and his redemptive impulse. This is known as Śāraṇāgati. The prakāra seeking God now becomes a Prapanna sought by God and is immersed in the infinity of his grace and the ecstasy of his mystic communion. To know God is to love him for ever. And loving God has its fruition in service or kainkarya which is therefore said to be the consummation of religion.

The ecstatic outpourings of Nammālvār the practical propounder of the Prapanna school and rightly regarded as the super prapanna expresses in inimitable language the infinite wealth and variety of divine madness. The Lord in his infinite love repudiates his heavenly majesty and pines for the love of the devotee whom he regards as his prakārin. In the ecstasy of union the self feeling melts away and expires in bliss. Even mukti loses its value if it is emptied of the divine content. This state is followed by the pangs of separation (viśleṣa) and the all-enveloping depression arising out of a sense of unworthiness and emptiness. In the dark night of the soul, as this state is called in mystic language, life loses all its zest and value and becomes a burden. In this way God plays hide-and-seek with the soul. Seized with scul-burden he invades the self and swallows up its whole being. And the self likewise thirsts for God and is thrilled by its touches. The deliciousness of divine union (rāsa or aravanamudu) is ineffable and incommunicable. Self gift is the only return that the self can offer to God, but even this is impossible on account of the self being His own. It is difficult for us to analyse this reciprocal experience and determine the contribution made by each. One school which may be called the volitional type emphasises self effort and the other known as the self-surrender type lays stress on divine grace. But as Bosanquet truly observes “One cannot divide up the organic unity
and tell how much comes from 'You' and how much comes from God. You have got to deepen yourself in it or let it deepen itself in you whichever phrase expresses the fact better to your mind'.

When the body made by prarabdha-karma is dissolved by death, the prakāra rises from it and returns to its home released for ever from the burdens of karma and ajñāna. The freed soul soars gloriously through the path of light to its permanent abode in Brahman. There he realises all his desires with or without a body and without any effort. Like the radiating light of a flame the atomic soul attains omnipresence and becomes one with Brahman, but without His power of cosmic creation and control. Does the released self persist as a separate being or does it get absorbed in the absolute? Rāmānuja of course rejects the advaitic idea of jivan-mukti or absolute identity realised even in this life by eliminating the false sense of māya and krnamukti or progressive ascent to Sagunabrahman which is itself an empirical reality encased in cosmic illusion. He also abandons the other extreme of the Dvaitin who explains union as the consciousness of separateness implied in the terms of fellowship and equality of attribute. In his comments on the sūtras IV, ii, 15 and IV, iv, 4, he defines his position clearly and concludes that the self realises by direct intuition his true nature of prakāra-vatva or non-differentiation from Brahman by being its body. The finite self is not, as Bosanquet puts it, dissolved like a perfume exhaled in the very dissolution of its private being. To Rāmānuja the self feeling is an organic mode of God and the mode is as real (dravya) as the substance itself.

Religion may be defined as the life of God in the soul of the jiva.

The ultimate meaning of Prakāra.

This proposition recognises the unity as well as plurality in the content of reality. The Absolute is a personality with the manifold of matter and spirit as his body. Matter, Spirit and God form a totality and can therefore be distinguished but not divided. The first alone leads to materialism; the second alone to solipsism and the third an abstract absolutism. Rāmānuja corrects the onesidedness of these abstract theories by his doctrine of organic unity sarira-saririsambandha. The divine life courses through the finite self and gives substantiality to it. This vision enables us to realise in a way the meaning of the definition of religion as the life of God in the soul of man. (1) From the point of view of reason, it posits the realities of the three categories of Citt, Acit and Īśvara distinguishable but not separable. (2) In the moral realm of ends the proposition describes the summum bonum of conduct as the gradual growth of the self into the perfection of God, when "the divine will becomes one with the finite in a single personality". (3) But it is the aesthetic aspect of the self that fully elicits the organic unity of spiritual life. The ideas of logical necessity and the free casualty of
ethics are only conceptual symbols of reality. They spatialise the intuition of divine spontaneity and break up its living continuity into discreet categories. In the state of soul union God tries to exhaust himself in the soul and the soul makes a gift of itself to God. It is impossible to define the rich content of this spiritual realisation and estimate its value in terms of human thought. We shall however try to determine the spiritual status of the Jīva in God realisation in terms of feeling, thought and will.

In commenting on sūtra IV, iv, 21 which asserts the equality of enjoyment between the self and the Brahman Rāmānuja observes that the self enjoys an intuitional insight into the nature of Brahman, whose supreme bliss cannot be surpassed. The self is said to attain Brahma- bhāva in the sense that Brahman imparts a nature to it like his own in the same way as the magnet draws iron to itself and thereby imparts its character to iron. In acquiring the nature of Brahman, the self acquires his eight qualities including purity, eternity and blissfulness. In divine union the self is soaked in the bliss of God and God soaks himself in the bliss of the self. In this way the self attains equality of status with God in the matter of enjoyment.

We shall now consider equality of the self with Brahman in the matter of intelligence. Though atomic in nature, the self expands in its intelligence (dharma bhūta jñāna) into the infinity of God. In the direct vision of God there arises the onset of cosmic consciousness. Then as Walt Withman says the soul has sight of the divine thread which holds the whole congeries of things. It is in that state that Vāmadeva and Prahlāda realise the cosmic consciousness and unity. In the well known Tiruvāyumolī V, 6, the God-intoxicated Nammāḻvār in the agony of his separation from God imagines himself to be God and imitates all His cosmic and heavenly functions (ubhaya vibhūti) as detailed in the Vibhuti-Yoga of the Gītā. From the point of view of thought, spiritual experience implies the identity of connotation between the finite and the infinite and their difference in denotation.

But it is in the sphere of volition that we discern a distinct dualistic tendency. The released self no doubt acquires the six-fold character of God including, intelligence, energy and glory. Like Viśvāmitra the self may acquire lordship (Īśvaratwa) and create new worlds. But as the essential nature of the self is rooted in atomicity as opposed to the infinity of the divine nature (anamataṃ and vibhutam) its will is absolutely dependent on that of God, the sēṣiṇ. As God is the highest self or prakārīn the finite is only a means to His satisfaction. Really speaking God himself is the means as well as the end, the source as well as the goal, and the highest end of the released self is service to him as a mode of his satisfaction.
We may next consider the claims of Rāmānuja that his system
bridges the gulf between advaita and dvaita. The
former relying on the Mahāvīkṣyas like the judgment
"I am Brahman", thinks of reality as the absolute
shining so to speak in the limitless space of Īśvara are only
Cidākāśa and immersed in eternal bliss. To the advaitic self, Jiva and Īśvara are only
solidified masses of māyā vanishing ultimately in the light of
knowledge (aparokṣa ānā). The dvaita-vādin is horrified by this
all-devouring absolute. It shocks his sense of individuality and
separateness and outrages his moral and spiritual consciousness.
Rāmānuja mediates between the two extremes and maintains that his
theory of Prakāra and Prakārin based upon what he calls the
Ghaṭaka Šrutiś fits in with all the texts and reconciles their contradic-
tions. (1) The abheda Šrutiś referring to unity do not abolish
distinctions. They only deny the manifold as manifold. (2) The texts
referring to causality (karaṇa Šrutiś) refer to a Brahman that is both in
the world and yet beyond it, investing the Jiva with name and form to
work out its own divine destiny. (3) The Nirguṇa texts do not predicate
a bare being. Nirguṇa means negation of evil and imperfection in the
nature of Brahman. (4) The passages that define the nature of God
(svarūpa śodhaka vākyas) predicate intelligence (jñānā) trutī (satyam)
and infinity (anantam) as the essential qualities of God. (5) Judgments
dealing with identity do not abolish distinction but only predicate the
organic inseparability of Īśvara and Jiva. (6) Dualistic texts (bheda
Šrutiś) insist on the essential distinction of each category without
destroying their unity. In the concept of Brahman as the self of the
Jiva both the claims of non-dualism as well as dualism are fully safe-
guarded. It is difficult to decide whether this view of Rāmānuja does
not border upon pan-theism, as understood in the west. Logical pan-
theism deals with the static immanence of substance and degrades God
into one of the cachets of the absolute. In mystic pantheism the self
transcends itself in the absolute. Rāmānuja's view of the three
categories of reality which are externally separate and eternally united
differs from both the views. He corrects the fatalistic tendency of
pantheism by the theistic belief in Province and Redeemer. The heart of
destiny is not the loss of personality but the loss in personality. In
theory the monistic impulse of the divineness of reality overpowers the
dualistic demands of externality and anthropomorphic ideals. But in its
practical form it is overborne by the theistic claims of dependence and
redemption. The advaitic aspect emphises the self in God, but the
viśistā aspect emphasises the self and God.

The nature of spiritual experience ultimately depends on the nature
of the desire itself. Spiritual life is so rich and varied in content that
cannot be exhausted by labels and formula. The Upanisads speak of
32 forms of meditation to attain the intuition of God. Rāmānuja commenting on Sūtra III, iii, 57 concludes that all these are not obligatory but are merely optional on account of the non-difference of the result. The mystic may be a jñāni like Bharata, who wants to become one with God. The Karma Yogan like Janaka may delight in service or kāsīkārya. The devotee like Prahlāda may lose himself in the love of God. But Brahmaṇ as the subject of all these qualities is the same in all modes of devotion. Substance and attribute being organically related every attribute connotes the substance also and consequently every form of devotion to God has direct efficacy in securing the stability of salvation. But the easiest and most rational form of worship that follows from the essential nature of God as sēsa is the attitude of absolute self-surrender to God as the only self and saviour. The doctrine of sārīra sārīri bhāva opens the door to the ideals of social solidarity, spiritual service and religious toleration. Since all jīvas sub-human, human and divine are essentially alike in their relation to God as His prakāra, the propamā sees all with the eye of equality and love and delights in spiritual service as the highest form of religious endeavour. That Vaikunṭha is the region of absolute love is amply illustrated by the fact that Garuda and the serpent vie with each other in serving the Lord as their prakārin. The gift of self to God who alone is its real self is literally the birth right of every individual irrespective of his birth and status. The principle of organic unity also provides the raison de être for religious toleration on account of the living identity of God pervading all the differences of sects and systems which are His modes, and thus makes a claim for universality. Rāmānuja is never tired of pointing out that every deity refers to Brahmaṇ and therefore the worship offered to the deity is really the worship of the highest as the Lord says, “whosoever worships me in whatever form ultimately reaches Me”.
THE METAPHYSICS OF THE ŚAIYA SIDDHĀNTA SYSTEM.

BY

MR. K. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A., M.L. MADRAS.

This system has been pronounced by the late Dr. G. U. Pope of Oxford as "the choicest product of the—Dravidian intellect." The same view has been expressed in greater detail by Rev. W. F. Goudie, who says "this system possesses the merits of great antiquity; in the religious world it is heir to all that is most ancient in Southern India. It is a religion of a Tamil people by the side of which every other form is of comparatively—foreign origin. As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life, the Śaiya Siddhānta is by far the best that South India possesses. Indeed it would not be rash to include the whole of India and to maintain that judged by its intrinsic merits, the Siddhānta represents the high watermark of Indian thought and Indian life."

Recent research shows that at a remote period in the history of the Tamils answering to pre-Vedic times, a class of high-souled seers called Ārivers (அறிவர்) developed a rare system of metaphysics and psychic science and taught the same to their disciples and followers. It appears that originally there were four secret sacred books on the subject by four great Saints of Old. Later on, a group of five Saints gave birth to twenty-eight mystic works corresponding to the 'Śaivāgamas' of the day. These two sets of books were regarded as the highest authority by the ancient Tamils. Superfluous it is to refer to countless minor books based on them.

During the Vedic age, we have reason to infer that the Tamilians or Dravidians inhabited this land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and beyond, and that several of the Tamil princes in Northern India were well versed in the philosophy of Ārivers. Probably it was to one of these rulers that the four Brāhmans of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad resorted for spiritual enlightenment. It is interesting to note that the prince was surprised to see that they were the first Aryan priests that approached him for attainment of divine wisdom. In process of time, it came to pass that many of the ideas and words of this system found a prominent place in some of the Vedic songs, and Upaniṣads, and a cycle of Sanskrit literature called Tāntric or Āgamic came into being as adaptations of the mystic lore of the Tamil Saints.

This event is of infinite importance from the historical standpoint; for it served to preserve at least in a rough Sanskrit garb fragments of
the traditional system of the Arivars at the time when violent inroads of the sea occurring at two distant landmarks of time engulfed a vast portion of the Tamil country which now forms the base of the Indian Ocean. Not only did these deluges once for all hide from human view the glorious cities of golden gates (to which Vālmiki refers in his Rāmāyaṇa) wherein Pāṇāyan monarchs had treasured up the most splendid products of their hoary civilization, but they washed away the last vestiges of the grand libraries of science, art and literature which the first two Tamil academies had reared through ages of culture and development. The last corner-stone vouchsafed as a foothold for posterity is the Tolkāppiyam which has been almost the only real source of inspiration to the student of Tamilian History and Archaeology for the past three thousand years. In Tiruvalluvar as well as in this ancient grammar we find the first allusions extant to the psychic culture of the Arivars.

In the post-diluvian age, these great men came to be called Siddhars in Tāntric literature. It was the school of Siddhars with Saint Tirumālar at their head that kept alive the flame of philosophical and mystic learning in their enigmatic Tamil songs up to the age of the Tevāram hymnists. Now the ancient system came down to the Tamil people with the Tāntric stamp on it. In other words, its terminology became mainly sanskritic and most of the latter-day writers were content with tracing the Siddhānta to Āgamic and Upaniṣadic sources in Sanskrit. About this time arose the necessity for a comparative study of the system with the doctrine of other Tāntric creeds and Vedic schools of thought. In the days of the Arivars, this system went by the names of 'the happy path', 'the road of bliss', 'the path of light', 'the one way', and 'the great way' etc. After the special Tamil term for God viz., Śiva (meaning good, upright, pure and blissful) was taken up into Sanskrit; the religion came to be called Śaivism. The word 'Siddhānta' bears two meanings viz., (1) the conclusions of the Siddhars, (2) the final word or the end of ends. Needless to indicate that the phrase Śaiva Siddhānta is a combination of the two terms 'Śaiva' and 'Siddhānta'.

Although the four great leaders of Śaivism who flourished from the sixth to the ninth century have given distinct expression to the essential principles of the system in their sublime devotional lyrics, an exposition of the same in a scientific manner is found only in Saint Tirumālar's Tirumantiram, Jñānāmṛtam, Tiruvanttiar, Tirukalithupadiar, and a few other books prior to the age of Śri Meikandar, the inspired Velḷāla boy-saint of Tiruvempainallūr who inaugurated the renaissance of the Siddhānta Philosophy in the 13th century. His famous work called Śivajñānabodham is the central gem of Śaiva Siddhānta literature and presents in a nutshell the whole system of Siddhānta religion and philosophy. Śri Arūḷandhi Śivācāryar, the first of the forty-nine disciples of Śri Meikandar is the author of another important-
work 'Śivāgdana-Siddhiyar which is virtually an expansion of his master's production. Another work of St. Arūlṇānda is called Umaivilakkam. A book of a similar name on the same subject was written by Saṅga Rāmaśāstra Kadantār about the same time. Eight other works were written by Saint Umāpati Śivam, the disciple of Saint Arūlṇānda's disciple. All these twelve works with two others are known as the fourteen standard Śaiva Siddhānta books at the present day. Śivajñānabodham in this system occupies the same position as the Brahma-sūtram or Bhagavad Gītā of the orthodox Vedda school. Corresponding to the Bhāṣyams of Śrī Saṅkara, Rāmānuja etc., among the latter, there is a superb Tamil commentary on Śivajñānabodham by Saint Śivajñāna Munivar of Tiruvavudutturai Ādhānām, who flourished in the 18th century. Śivāgrahāṣayam is a big sanskrit commentary on the sanskrit rendering of the Tamil Śivajñānabodham. Space does not permit reference to other treatises on the subject.

Some of the standard works on Siddhānta Philosophy like Śivajñāna Siddhiyar commence with a brief statement and criticism of the tenets of other Indian systems of thought which are grouped into four divisions each of which comprises six schools of philosophical opinion. In the first are placed (1) materialism known as Lokāyatam, (2-5) four sections of Buddhism and (6) Jainism. This group is called Purāṇa puram. In the second, we find the Vedio systems of Mīmāṃsā, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Yoga and Ekātmavāda together with Pāncaṛātram or Vaiṣṇavam. Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya are clubbed together as the Tarka school of thought. This group is called Puram. The third and the fourth groups are mainly Tāntric, the former differing from the Siddhānta in respect of its doctrine about the nature of the soul and the final goal; and the latter showing a divergence only with reference to ultimate salvation. The creeds of the former are named Pāśupatam, Māviraśa, Kāpālam, Vāmam, Bhairavam and Aikyavādam and those of the latter, Padānavādam, Bhedavādam, Ṣūra Aikyavādam, Śiva Samvādam, Saṅkaranāthavādam and Śivādvaitam. What is called Śuddhaśaiva makes the nearest approach to the Siddhānta System and in the name of Śaivaśaiva, it has been put into the fourth category by Śrī Umāpatiśivam in his Saṅkalanirākaraṇam. All these are looked upon as a gradation of steps leading up to the Siddhānta which transcends them all. 'It is for this reason that it has been called the 'end of end', beyond which there is no path.

No reference is here necessary to the traditional six creeds of the Āgamic side viz., Kaumāram, Gaṅapatyaṃ, Sauram, Śāktism, Vaiṣṇavam and Śaivaṃ which claim no special system of Philosophy as their basis. Such of them as trace their origin to metaphysics came under the systems above mentioned or within the Śaiva Siddhānta. The six 'end systems' which Saint Tirumūlar alludes to in his immortal work represent different stages in the evolutions of psychic science and
are called Siddhāntam, Vedāntam, Bodhāntam, Nādāntam, Yogāntam and Kālāntam.

Now we shall consider the doctrinal side. The phenomenal world is divisible into two grand sections under the heading of spirit and matter. The Śaiva writers use terms meaning the intelligent and the unintelligent. The former signifies God or the absolute and other countless intelligences known as souls and the latter, the world of Nature. It is in respect of these three entities God, Soul and Nature and their relation to one another that differences in doctrine arise among philosophers, pursuing the orthodox method. We shall pass in review the views of these various schools of thought.

The materialists of this land called Lokāyatas or Cārvākas held that in the evolution of the world, four stages were perceptible, and accordingly believed only in the existence of the principles which brought about the solid, liquid, fiery and gaseous condition of things. For them no soul or God existed and they did not even recognise what we call other. They regarded human intelligence as a resultant of the combined operation of the four material entities above mentioned. In the light of this doctrine they shaped their ideals of life and practice. While condemning theistic belief and ceremony, they advocated the development of agriculture, commerce and industry and agitated for the constitution of the Government in the interests of the people. A section of them inclined to the view that the five senses constituted the soul; another class advanced the opinion that the senses depended for the proper exercise of their function on breath-energy which should therefore be taken to be the real soul. A third section of this school surmised that the intellect was the soul. At this point the materialist trenched upon the ground of the Buddhists.

The general Buddhist doctrine is that the soul is the sum-total of moments of perception and that the continuity of intelligence is maintained by every impression associating itself with its successor by virtue of its retentive force. If this power of association snaps once for all, then dawns the final salvation. One class of Buddhists held that the annihilation of consciousness itself is the glorious end of their faith. With Buddhists came the doctrine that the external world should be regarded as coeval and co-existent with consciousness. If consciousness is renewed every moment, every thing in Nature similarly appears and dies each second of preception.

There are four schools of Buddhistic metaphysics all of whom agree in holding to the phenomenon of universal change but differ from one another in the interpretation of their master’s teaching with reference to the reality or otherwise of the world. Mādhyamikas who represent the first shade of opinion hold that everything in the universe including
THE METAPHYSICS OF THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA SYSTEM.

consciousness has only an illusory existence, and nothing in fact exists. Their argument is that what exists will not die, and what is not in existence will not come into being, so that there is only appearance and disappearance of things every moment of experience.

Yogācāras, the second class of Buddhistic interpreters question the unreal character attributed to consciousness by the first school. They choose to hold that being the basis of personal experience, consciousness should be deemed real, while the external world must be regarded as a hallucinative or dream-like projection of the mind. Another school of this system rejects this idealistic theory and regards as real the external world as well as consciousness but contend that the former is not directly perceptible. Their opinion is that every physical object simply touches the focus of consciousness and passes off instantly, leaving only its impression therein; and it is this impression that is perceived as the thing itself. The champions of this school called Sautrāntikas ascribe the origin of the physical universe to the action of atoms of four kinds and analysed the system of inner experience into five orders answering to the psychological processes of sensation, perception, ideation feeling and memorising. The fourth school of Buddhistic doctrine differs from this only in holding that it is the external world itself that is subject to direct perception and not its impression on the intellect.

The Buddhists thus advanced a step above the materialists but failed to penetrate to the agency which unifies intellectual and emotional activity. In this respect the Jains progressed further and posited the existence of a soul of which consciousness was the main mark. They too never believed in a Creator, but looked upon God as the first of the souls that attained perfection in evolution. They also adopted the atomic theory of the world and held that each soul should work out its own salvation by eschewing evil deeds and doing good to humanity at large. When, by dint of merit, the bonds of birth are broken, the soul will reside free or rise higher and higher in the ethereal firmament.

So much about the Purāpura group. In the Pura group, the Mīmāṁsā is the least philosophic but the most dogmatic of all. The Veda is believed to be eternal and the strict performance of what is laid down therein secures one the attainment of his aims and aspirations. While this creed is as atheistic as those of the Pura groups, it holds the souls and the world to be real just like Jainism.

No doubt the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya systems admit the existence of an Almighty Creator, but have a poor conception of the soul. The mind which is the spring of knowledge for the soul is an infinitesimal material-atom attaching to each soul. Detached from mind, the soul would be inert like a stone. Final bliss consists in a state of stonelike indifference to pain and pleasure resulting from the dissociation of the mind from the
soul. With some modification, the Tarka schools have adopted the atomic theory of the world and hold that the atoms move in pairs. But they attribute the action of atoms to the energising of them by God. Space and time are considered to be different aspects of the same entity.

Turning to the Sāmkhya school which is also a Godless one, we find the analysis of the universe to be far deeper than in the preceding systems. In this system the atomic theory is rejected and the phenomenal world is traced to the subtle substratum which underlies our psychic and physical operations. All forms of matter are reducible to an unintelligent something, which is not matter itself in the sense of the term as used in physical science. This fact has been recently recognised by Western scientists. Now this something is derived from one of the three parts of a subtler entity which vary in their nature and form the back ground respectively of the activity of the senses, of the motor nerves and of pre-matter forms. A deeper layer than this is the medium of intellectual or thinking processes. Now, this too is traceable to a trifold subtler substratum which serves to evolve the good, middling and bad tendencies of the soul and goes by the name of Guṇatattvam. The root of this is regarded by the Sāmkhyans as the primordial basis of Nature and is styled Mūlaprakṛti. The soul is a being of pure intelligence, by nature free and actionless whose timeless association with Mūlaprakṛti has been productive of pain and pleasure to it. If the soul realises its true nature, i.e., its independence of Nature, its salvation is then assured for ever.

Upon this system of Kapila, the author of Yoga-Sūtram has improved by positing the existence of a God who is the great Instructor of the souls. His book deals with eight forms of Yogic practice which are of immense value for spiritual emancipation.

The systems hitherto dealt with represent the advance of thought from an analysis of Nature to its primeval substratum. The idea of the soul is common to Jainism and all the systems of the Vedic group. The Tarka and the Yoga schools alone are theistic in character, but even they do not speak clearly of the immanence of God in the Universe. Only in the Tarka systems God is regarded as a Creator, while Saint Patañjali in his Yoga Sutram views Him only as a Light-giver. These dualistic systems perhaps supplied the material for the Mādhyā school of thought at a later day.

Now we shall pass on to Ekātmavādam or monism of Vyāsa or Śri Śaṅkara. This doctrine appears to be an—eclectic combination of some of the cardinal ideas of Buddhistic Yogācāras, and the followers of Sāmkhya and Yoga systems. The first of these originated the idealistic conception of the world; the second spoke of the soul as bondless and actionless in reality; and the third spoke of a great soul, the fountain of
wisdom for others. Now the monistic school perhaps sought to harmonise all these by holding the world to be illusory in fact, and identifying the intelligent many of the Sāṃkhya with the intelligent one of the Yogins, since there was hardly any difference between the attributes of both. But the Ekātmavādins had to reconcile the multiplicity of souls with the oneness of God. Either plurality or unity must be the fact. Since unity attaches to the great soul, they jumped to the conclusion that multiplicity must be only apparent. Then they had to account for such an appearance. This they did by attributing it to Mūlaprakṛti otherwise called Māyā, and laying it down that the contact of Māyā with Brahman (i.e., the one soul) caused its reflection in the form of the unintelligent world and the souls.—What is this Māyā? Is it an intelligent or unintelligent entity? The answer of the monists is that it is something of which nothing can be said.

According to the orthodox view, the monistic theory of the Vedāntins has its basis on the interpretation of the two terms 'Ekam' and 'Advaitam' in the Vedic books. These terms applied to God and were taken by the monists to have an identical meaning in the light of the Vedic verse which means 'One without a second'. Accordingly, wherever God is described as being Advaitic with the world, it was understood by them that God is the world itself in another form. Science traced the world to Mūlaprakṛti or Māyā. Now for the purpose of holding to the truth of the said Vedic verse, they had to associate God with Māyā and hold the world to be unreal since the reality is only one. In fact, the Vedic verse meant that there is only one God without a second, and was intended to inculcate the principle of Monotheism. The adherents of this school were known as Māyāvādins.

This theory was modified by another section of the same school who declared that God himself became the universe just as sweet milk turns into sour curd. Out of Him was evolved the intelligent and the unintelligent universe and ignorance of such evolution caused self limitation. Removal of such ignorance secures one salvation. This theory has had much influence on the ideas of the Vaiṣṇavite and the adherents of Tāntric creeds like Vāmam, Bhairavam, etc.

There is a third shade of opinion that the Universe is God sporting Himself by evolution. The fourth section of the Ekātmavādins hold that God is the voice of the silence and His form is the primeval sound Om that gave birth to the sentient and the non-sentient world as a whole.

The Pāṇiaratrīs or Vaiṣṇavas accept the Sāṃkhyan view of the material world but held, like the second section of Ekātmavādins mentioned above, that out of God sprang four great Beings who evolved all the universe. Hence souls and the unintelligent world are really attributes of or parts of God Viṣṇu. Many of the Tāntric creeds of the third and
the fourth groups betray traces of the influence of the ÊkâtmaṉavaṆa doctrine. They need not be dealt with here, since they are not so well known to the world now. These two groups are styled Akapuram and Akam respectively.

Even the philosophy of the Christian and Muhammadan religions is at bottom as monistic as Vaiśṇavism. If God has created the soul out of himself, it points to the substantial identity of the Intelligent Many with the Intelligent One.

On the Vedic side, it is only the Mādhva system of mediaeval times, and that of Swami Dāyānanda Sarasvati of the present day that have escaped the influence of the monistic doctrine and are sternly dualistic in their conception of their relation between God and the world.

From the foregoing discussion, it may be seen that ÊkâtmaṉavaṆam or Kevaḷa Advaitam is the typical system of Vedântic thought. The Ágamic creed of the Vaiśṇavites was improved upon by Śrī Rāmānuja who made it Vedic by his interpretation of Brahma Sûtram. In the Śaivite group, (Akam) the Sivâdvaita doctrine has been influenced by monistic views and its best exposition is by Śrikiṁtha who is a great commentator on Brahma Sûtram. This should not be mistaken for the Siddhânta system which has its origin in Tântric literature.

A critical examination of the cardinal tenets of ÊkâtmaṉavaṆam will take us straight to the teachings of Tântric or Tamilian Śaiva Philosophy. The Vedântins hold that God alone exists. Then the question arises what they call Mâyā exists or not. If its existence be granted, then it would lead to the positing of two ultimate entities God and Mâyā, which cuts at the root of the monistic theory, that nothing exists, save Brahman. If its non-existence be assumed, the phenomenon of the universe cannot be explained away in any other manner. The next question is whether it is intelligent or non-intelligent. If it be regarded as a sentient entity, it must be part and parcel of the Almighty who is the one intelligence that really exists according to the monistic view. This will lead to the conclusion that the limiting power of Mâyā or the source of all evil is in God himself. Then the power that causes the self-limitation of God must be more potent than the better parts of God Himself and God would have to be viewed as a mixture of good and evil.

On the other hand, if this Mâyā be an unintelligent something, then the system does not explain how the intelligent God can be reflected through this inanimate medium, and appear as the world and the souls.

Then if, casting away the idea of Mâyā, it be held that God Himself expanded into the unintelligent world and the intelligent souls, how are we to answer the question—whether there are two parts in the
Almighty corresponding to the sentient and the non-sentient portions of Creation? What exactly is the line between the two in God. Can God then be presumed to be a Being of pure intelligence?

Again, what is meant by saying that even the souls which are centres of intelligence are unreal? If the soul is a reflection of One Supreme Soul, why should there be so many reflections, and how are we to account for the multiplicity thereof? Is it possible to conceive that God admits of material dimensions so as to be cut up into countless souls? If the soul is really God Himself, how are we to solve the problem of evil? If evil be due to finitude and the soul be God under limitation, how are we to explain the possibility of God undergoing such mysterious restriction of His freedom. If God be subject to the weakness of being self-limited as often as possible, then the very idea of salvation would be quite an illusion. If souls, as separate from God, are unreal, to whom are they so illusory?

From a personal standpoint, it is our existence and experience that are real to us beyond anything else. If the world is only in our idea, the idea of God itself is only intellectual. Then it would appear that nothing beyond ourselves would be real to us. If the world and souls be unreal to God, what is the need for speaking about appearance and reality from the point of view of a being who is naturally transcendent. Further, what is real to us is our suffering and how is it to be explained away in accordance with monistic tenets. Thus the Ekātmavāda and allied theories leave us in confusion as respects the nature of the Universe, that of the soul and of God Himself in relation to these.

What is opposed to the Siddhānta system in these doctrines is the confusion of the intelligent with the unintelligent and the identification of the intelligent Many with the Supreme Being. In sketching an outline of the Siddhānta system of metaphysics, we may first direct our attention to the unintelligent root-cause of the phenomenal world.

The distinctive merit of the Siddhānta school of thought in this respect is its wonderful progress in the scientific diagnosis of Nature. While the Sāmkyans pursued the analysis of the cosmos down to the substratum of Mūlaprakṛti, the Śaivites plunged deeper and detected that even behind it, there were five subtler strata of the prematerial unintelligent entity and the said Mūlaprakṛti was evolved from one of them. Out of these five, tattvas as they are called, three serve to evolve in a general rudimentary manner the faculties of knowing, doing and feeling, which the tattvas below Mūlaprakṛti develop more definitely and elaborately; while the other two are concerned respectively in limiting the enjoyment and experience of finite intelligences and in directing the reaction of thoughts and doings on their agents in due time. These two are in ordinary parlance called Time and Space. All these five are derived from a.
subtler substratum called the Impure Māyā which is far more refined than Mūlaprakṛti but which is so designated because behind it there is the ultimate section of the unintelligent entity called Pure Māyā which in turn admits of a five-fold division.

This Pure Māyā provides the medium through which the soul in its finite condition derives the light of knowledge from God and contact therewith does not obscure one's psychic powers like the Impure Māyā and the Mūlaprakṛti. The term 'Māyā' bears a different acceptance in the Siddhānta system from what it is taken to mean by the Vedic schools of thought. It does not mean illusion. The Tāntric or Tamilian view is that each letter of the word has a significant meaning; 'Mā' means involution or that to which the universe reduces itself and 'ā' means evolution or that from which everything comes out. This is the way in which the term is split up by orthodox Siddhāntins. I surmise that the proper way to divide the term is into Tamil Māy (mūru) and ā (ṉ) respectively meaning in Tamil 'to hide or die' and 'to become'. Both mūru and ṉ are pure Tamil words. So, Māyā means the irreducible, undeveloped, pre-material, unintelligent entity which is the beginning of all evolution and the end of all involution, i.e., at once the womb and grave of Nature. The Impure and the Pure Māyā are the two ultimate basic substrata of the Universe. What are called tatvas or mudals (in Tamil—mudal) are the material principles which help to evolve the different stages of the evolution of the world from its primordial dual basis. Up to Mūlaprakṛti the tatvas are said to be twenty-four in number. All the Vedic schools of thought which have not been influenced by the Tāntric system, posit the existence of only these twenty-four tatvas, on the whole, since they have not gone beyond Mūlaprakṛti. In addition to these, the Śaiva Āgamas speak of twelve higher tatvas. One above, what the Vedāntins call Mūlaprakṛti, six in the impure Māyā, and five in the pure Māyā, the whole number of tatvas being thirty-six on the whole. These thirty-six are sub-divided into ninety-six according to one calculation, which we need not consider here. All the tatvas are successive variations of the unintelligent which help the evolution and expression of the otherwise inexpressible faculties of the intelligent many, which have to be exercised and purified as a condition precedent to their final salvation. It should be noted that the Almighty is beyond all tatvas and does not require their aid for achieving any end of His own. On the other hand, it is He that emerges the tatvas for the good of the souls. The root-cause of the unintelligent does not at all originate from the intelligent one. It is an entity uncreate by itself, but capable of evolution into tatvas by the Śakti of the Almighty.

So much about the universe; we shall now consider the subject of souls. The peculiar feature of the Siddhānta lies in its elucidation of the
nature of the soul far better than any other system. The Buddhist speaks
of only a stream of consciousness as the soul, and believes that at the final
stage of psychic evolution, there would be an annihilation of consciousness
or at least of the force that maintains the unity of moments of preception.
This view cannot satisfy our reason since it does not explain how some-
thing that exists can turn into nothing. The Jain doubtless posits the
existence of as many souls as there are centres of knowing, feeling, and
doing, having certain common attributes, and in this respect he is at one
with the exponents of Vedic systems of thought other than the Ekātmavā-
dins, but he does not present us an accurate exposition of the chief
aspect of the soul. It is the Jain view that the soul in its primeval state
is bound down to matter, but it can by its own efforts achieve its salvation.
Only the first soul attained freedom without any example to follow and
chalked out the path for others. He is therefore the Guru and God of
all others, although he is not the Creator. Now if the capacity to
free itself from bondage, is inherent in the soul and no aid is
required from One Supreme Being, how could such a soul have been
enthralled by matter at any time of its existence. Further the Jains
believe that the ethereal region of Ākāśa which extends boundlessly beyond
the cosmic world is the back ground of the soul’s eternal progress even
after emancipation from material bonds. Now this Ākāśa is really the
pre-matter unintelligent entity which even the freed soul could according
to them never get rid of,—at least for its residence or onward march.
Such a position cannot be regarded as representing the final goal of
freedom from the unintelligent; or, dependence of the soul on a part of
the unintelligent must be viewed as a permanent characteristic of the
soul, so that liberation of the intelligent from the unintelligent can never
be complete according to the Jains. He detracts from the dignity of the
soul as a purely self existent Intelligence.

Without examining this doctrine further, we shall see what the
Vedic schools say of the soul. The Mīmāṃsā has little to say, save that
souls exist. The Tarka schools hold that deprived of what is called the
mind, the soul is practically unintelligent not only during bondage but
also after its salvation. The Śāmkhyans view is that the soul is a change-
less intelligence. If so, there is no need to speak of salvation. The Yoga
school, though granting the existence of One Supreme Being, has more
or less the same theory as the Śāmkhyans, and believes that Yogic practices
will pave the way for realisation of one’s true nature and attainment of
salvation. The Ekātmavādins, as already shown, could see no distinc-
tion between the soul and God, and view the former as an unreal shadow
of the latter. The Vaiśṇavites regard the soul as a part or attribute of
God, which will logically lead to the conclusion that the soul is God
Himself. Although the Mādhvas hold that the soul has a distinct
individuality from God, their conception of its nature is quite im-
perfect since they classify souls into three classes Śātvik, Rājasik
and Tāmasik by nature and view them as being limited in evolution by their respective temper. A tāmasik soul can never become Sātvik, so that there is a limit to the spiritual development of the second and third classes of souls. Needless it is to refer to various systems of thought on the Tāntric side as they are hardly known to the world-at-large.

The Śaiva Siddhāntins hold that souls are distinct centres of knowing, feeling, and doing and are countless in number just as the Unintelligent is indefinite in extent. Each soul is distinct from God as an entity; for if it were God Himself, it could not have an inclination to the unintelligent and been subject to limitation thereby. But if at the same time contact with the root of matter were inherent in its nature, the soul could never become independent of Nature. Hence its inclination to the unintelligent is of such a character that it is capable of being got rid of at a certain stage of evolution; otherwise all progress should be only an illusion. The soul has been compared to water in this respect; water changes in colour and value with the nature of the land on which it flows, although by itself it is pure as it drops from the clouds. The soul is by itself an intelligent being; but a peculiar trait of it is that it becomes one with what it contacts. This shows that it cannot be its own master. Hence it follows that all souls must each have a master, since the orderly development and involution of the universe wherein souls have to work out their salvation requires the presence of a single master. God is the one grand Leader of all the souls that exist, as well as the universe. Though God and the soul are both intelligent beings, they are not homogeneous because it is clear that the nature of the Divine intelligence is fundamentally distinct from that of the soul. God is always the leader and the soul is always led by Him. Hence souls are uncreated intelligent entities not originating from God, and though immortal like him, ever require His guidance and control. God knows everything Himself, but the soul requires His help at every step of its knowing or doing. God is to the soul what the sunlight is to the eye. While the soul can see if made to see, the Unintelligent can never be made to do so.

Although God is its real guide, the soul cannot realise that fact so long as it is inclined to and bound up with the unintelligent. Not only is the soul subject to limitation by the unintelligent, but when it is ignorant of God, takes delight therein, or is at least against its dissociation from it. The inclination of the soul to the unintelligent is its weakness that has rendered it blind to its own real nature and the nature of its master. This renders it finite and is the source of all evil. It is neither inherent in the soul nor given by the Almighty. It is called Śīrumai in Tamil and Ānāvam in Sanskrit. The one purpose of creation is to redeem the soul from this, its inclination and ignorance by helping it to turn away from the unintelligent to the Supreme Intelligence.
The soul is in its primeval state bent towards the unintelligent and has an inclination thereto so that from eternity it has been just like iron in the ore. If the soul is purified of its evil tendency, and has its bent made straight and turned towards God, it would not return to its original condition, being essentially an intelligent entity feeling its harmony with its master the self-effulgent Light of wisdom. The 
Psyche first lies tied down to the unintelligent and feels delighted in thraldom because of her inclination to become what she comes in touch with but directly she realises her true nature as distinct from the unintelligent and turns away to meet Her Lord, she cannot look back to her old way. It is in this respect that the Śaiva Siddhānta differs from the philosophy of Dayānanda who holds the view that after certain millions of years, the soul goes back into bondage.

The soul has got powers of knowing, feeling and doing. These have only a limited scope in its unfree condition, but become infinite when it is rid of the bonds of the unintelligent. It should at the same time be borne in mind that they come into play under the guidance of the Divine will. It is the Divine will that energises the Māyic substratum of the unintelligent and evolves the universe out of it. Bodies which are the tenements of the soul are all bits of the universe. Hence the force of the maxim, whatever is in andam is in pindam as well. It is God that moves the soul to know, feel and do. This we may call the energising of the soul. For the energising of the soul and the universe, God’s powers must be in Advaitic harmonious contact with the souls and the world. Just as the soul that guides the body is immanent in it, so too God is immanent in the universe in such a manner that his intelligence and activity are indistinguishably at the back of the whole creation. In like manner, as the light of the sun mingle with the light of the eye to make things visible to us, the powers of God are in advaitic contact with those of the soul for purposes of guidance and control. This is the meaning of the Śāstraic dictum that God is Advaitic with the world. The saying does not imply God’s indentity with the world itself, so as to lead to the mistaken inference that God himself is the world in another form. For this reason, it is said that the Śaiva Siddhānta is the true Advaitic system, and not any other. God, soul, and world are in Advaitic contact with each other, but God’s contact is free and arises from his self-less love for the souls. God is back of the soul which in its unfree condition is turned towards the world and knows little of him. If the soul loses its grasp of the world and turns back, it falls into God and is led by him ever after.

1. (universe—macrocosm).
2. (body—microcosm).
Although God is immanent in the world, He is the free agent of it and is not bound down thereto. At the same time He is by Himself transcendent as well. Passing into the transcendent aspect of God where the freed soul enjoys perfect union with the guiding intelligence is the final goal of salvation in the Siddhānta system. This is the far-off event to which the whole creation moves and the evolution of the universe by God's Śakti is for the benefit of the soul. God's grace or Śakti or Love is the connecting link that relates Him to the souls and the universe. It is the mysteriously Divine force that maintains the harmony of all that exist.

His form is Love. His attributes are Love. His action is Love. His limbs are Love. His auxiliaries are Love. All selfless Love of his for the good of souls.


Thus while there are three ultimate entities God, soul and the unintelligent root of matter or Māyā substantially distinct from one another. God's Śakti or Love (i.e., Arul) preserves their harmony in an Advaitic fashion. This in brief is the gist of the Śaiva Siddhānta metaphysics.
BHĀSARVAJṆA.

BY

MR. V. P. VAIDYA, B.A., LL.B. (BOMBAY).

Bhāsarvajña. His Theology.

The philosophy and theology of Bhāsarvajña have a peculiar interest of their own. Philosophy generally aims at the highest attainment of good or as it is said the highest happiness. Bhāsarvajña and other Naiyāyikas strike a different note. Their goal is Duṣṭkha Viccheda (destruction of pain). The creative and original genius of the eminent logicians do not agree with the other philosophers. To the former, happiness and pain are relative terms. Even the subtle Vedāntin has to stretch many points in argument to assert his aim of highest happiness. To the criticising mind of the logician the relativity of the two ideas happiness and pain becomes an instrument of destruction. Disappearance of one brings on the destruction of the other.

Early Logic Free from Theology and Ritualism.

The Nyāya Sūtras do not teach theology. Its theism is inexplicable and there is no ritualism nor hierarchy. Some of the Sūtras leaning towards these are believed to be interpolations. Nyāya Darśana is the pure science of logic dealing in rules of arguments and fallacies, i.e., the method of acquiring correct knowledge. Logic, as an experimental science, showed poor progress; but, that science was to some extent developed in the study of Jyotiṣa and Ayurveda (Astronomy and Medicine). The absence of the ultimate goal brought the school under disrepute. They were called Kutārkikas. It was said that they, having no goal, their disputations were merely destructive. They had nothing to construct.

Nyāya Asserts its Right.

Even then the study of the science was necessary for the philosopher. It was a grammar of thought necessary for a sound study of philosophy. Scholars of all the different schools of philosophy (Darśanas) found it essential to study logic. The Naiyāyikas again became a terror. The greater the Naiyāyika the more destructive the antagonist. The old undesired result again came up.

Buddha Philosophy and Nyāya.

Buddha taught his tenets by stories and dialogues. All the early teachers did the same. But when in or about 2nd century B.C. subtilety
began to creep in, it gave birth to philosophy and the philosopher then became a Naiyāyika. The Buddhist had to do it to meet the Brāhmaṇ disputations. After several lesser luminaries came Diṅgaṇga the greatest Buddhist disputation which India had ever seen. He was a Brāhmaṇ by birth and a Baudhā by conversion. His zeal in defeating the Brāhmaṇ was very great. The Brāhmaṇ and Jain attacked him ruthlessly but he well sustained the attacks. In his later age he migrated to Tibet taking with him manuscripts of his works on logic and Buddhism. He wrote about forty books on different subjects of logic forming the ground-work for the later Chinese and Tibetan scholarship. The Buddhist development of metaphysics gave not a little impetus to Brāhmaṇ and Jain scholars of the time to revive their own philosophical teachings which had fallen into back-ground during the ascendancy of Buddhism. The triangular fight culminated in the revival of old light in a new form. With the disappearance of the teachings of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Diṅgaṇga there came the orthodox teachings of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great Mīmāṃsaka and Śāṅkara the great Vedāntin. The intelligence of these two eminent philosophers and reformers sealed the fate of Buddhism so far as India was concerned.

Jainism found a very sympathetic home in Gujarat where before the advent of Mahomedans it was studied practised and a literature commensurate with the enthusiastic study grew up. Naturally logic also had its share in that development during this mediaeval period.

Logicians Pure and Simple.

Diṅgaṇga, Kumārila and Śāṅkara, the ablest logicians and philosophers with a propaganda of their own, and many more who preceded them made the position of logicians pure and simple less reputable. The study of the science of logic was an end in itself and it had no elements to make it popular. The mass did not want it. To earn popularity the Naiyāyikas thought of affiliating themselves to some school of theology. Gradually, they arranged themselves in two different camps of Śāivism and Pāṣupatism cultivating their own cult and attacking the others by their grammar of thought. Śāṅkara thought, and thought very rightly that the Nyāya Darsana as a Darsana had nothing to refute. But the new schools of Śāivism and Pāṣupatism advocated by the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas respectively, though simple in their origin were getting subtlety by this new fusion. They had to be refuted and Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja and other scholars directed their efforts to do so.

Bhāsarvaśaṇa and His Works.

This logician who flourished about the 8th century has to his credit only three works which are very small. But we must admit that his was a master-mind. He boldly refuted even Gautama and other
logicians and he has his own independent method. His works are:—
appears from the title, is not merely a manual on logic but it explains
though very shortly his philosophy and theology. Nyāya Bhūṣaṇa is a
commentary by him on his own Nyāya-sāra. Gaṇapārika containing only
8 Kārikās has been very recently discovered by the late indefatigable scholar
Mr. Dalal, whose loss will be deeply deplored. This gentleman has enriched
the Central Library of Baroda by researches of manuscripts and his share
in making the library a prominent centre of education is no small.

Bhāsarvajña’s Status.

Bhāsarvajña’s reputation as a sound scholar and an eminent writer
was of no mean order. In the 14th century Sāyaṇa quotes his Gaṇa-
pārika though not by name. About that time it was known that 18
commentaries were written on his Nyāya-sāra. Prof. Hall gives 1257 A.D.
as the date of his commentator Bhāṭṭa Rāghava, and one commentator
named Jayasimha Sūri is believed to have flourished about 1037 A.D.
Bhāsarvajña was known as Parama Śaivācārya and Tārīkā Sārva-
Bhauma. To win the last suggestive and glorious title we must credit
him with three centuries priority to Jayasimha Sūri. So it will not be
far from truth if we place him in the 8th century A.D. The last
commentary of Nyāya-sāra lately discovered and placed in the Govern-
ment Manuscript Library of Madras is by Aparādītya. There is another
commentary very recently discovered, what is called Nyāya-pañikā.

Bhāsarvajña’s Theism.

Endowed with super-intelligence as he was, he naturally felt that
logic pure and simple had no value unless there was a philosophy to be
backed up by it. Sāyaṇa thinks that to the Nakulīśa Pāśupata Darśana
he applied his intelligence and yarred round it a philosophy which was
already begun before him by the Āgama writers.

Nakulīśa Pāśupata Darśana.

Nakulīśa was born in a village known as Karwan near Broach, now under Baroda Government. He must have been a Vairāgé
and came into prominence by hard austerities and Yogic practices. He
became a pioneer of Śaivism. On account of the wooden staff which
he used to roam about, he was called Lagūḍīśa (Lord of the
wooden staff) which by corruption seems to have turned to Nakulīśa.
Even today the Bairāgis of the cult are seen roaming about with a staff
which has developed into a peculiarly twisted one. To the followers of
this cult he is, not merely an Ācārya but an incarnation of God Śiva
himself. In his time the Linga worship seems not to have come into
prominence. If that is the case we can assume his date to be about the
first century A.D., because excepting in one place in Anuśāsana Parva of Mahābhārata, we do not find Liṅga worship in early times. This portion seems to be an interpolation in Southern India recension. The cult spread widely in the north and the south as is shown by inscriptions in the Rajputana and in the Mysore Districts.

The Theology of the Cult.

God, known as Maheśvara is the creator of the whole Universe, omniscient and not at all touched by the qualities thereof. He is all-powerful. There is God or Ātman of lesser magnitude who is also eternal but is enjoyer of the world. He is to be inferred by the actions of one's intellect but is also all-pervading. Then the theology develops into philosophy, the final goal being cessation of all pain. In Śaṅkara Vedānta the final goal is Mokṣa and the highest happiness. Happiness and Pain being relative terms the highest happiness cannot be anything else logically than the absence of all pain. The attainment of this Duḥkhānta is by tapas, abhyāsa and dhyāna. This portion of the philosophy is imported from Patañjali's Yoga.

The Ritual of the Cult.

The ritual is very simple. The disciple getting up in Brāhma Mūbūtra performs his ablutions and besmearing the body with Bhasma walks out for alms just sufficient for his maintenance to be taken in the form of food. The three Vṛttis to be adopted by him are that, first he offers the food to Maheśvara, then secondly to the Guru and then thirdly the remnant he takes to himself. The formula of introduction is simple but dignified. The pupil or disciple approaching the Guru utters नमः विष्णु. The Guru replies विष्णु नमः. They believe in the eternity, omnipresence, omniscience and the all-pervadingness of Śiva and yet they teach that Śiva appears in corporeal form. The most striking feature as distinct from the present belief is that their Maheśvara is without the serpents, without the moon-disk, without Pārvatī and without holy Ganges. This is so explained in the Śad-Drāsana-Samuccaya of Haribhadra. Bhāsarvajña is quiet on all these points but the author of Ratna Tiṅka on his Gaṅakārikā gives us many of these practices and ideas while discussing what is inculcated by this small masterpiece of Bhāsarvajña.

Heirarchy of the Cult.

The hierarchy seems to be that a person or a Yogi who has attained prominence by acquiring merits and dispelling sins by remedies practised in connection with places and conditions within his knowledge, becomes a Guru and is respected though not exactly as Śiva, as a personage next to God Maheśvara. The hierarchy is so very diffused that the Śādhus roaming about the country know where to find a particular
Guru. It looks like an order with signs for the recognition and knowledge of the status of persons whom they meet. Excepting for this recognition of position in the order and the respect given to the superior by the inferior, originally there happened to be no governance. But with march of time it grew, and we find bands of Sādhus assembling round a Guru and the Guru looks after the education and maintenance of these pupils. Thus he attains the position of an Ācārya. Some of these by discretion, wisdom and deep thinking have attained the highest prominence while others seem to have abused their powers and dropped down from the self-created position.
IX—Oriental Science.
ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY

RAO SAHIB R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE, M. R. A. S.

"Even with the limited knowledge of Hindu Science that could be obtained at the time, Sir William Jones could say: "I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the most subtle spirit which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection and refraction of light, electricity, calorification, sensation and muscular motion, is described by the Hindus as a fifth element, endowed with those very powers."—Har Bilas Sarda.

"'Never and nowhere lie down to sleep with your head placed Northward ', is one of the 'superstitions' religiously observed by Hindus almost all over India. The old mother gives this injunction to her dutiful son and he implicitly obeys her. The experienced physician says this to his suffering patients in palaces of kings as well as in cottages of peasants and they loyally carry it out. Brides and bridegrooms are always seated facing eastward on the wedding day. Corpses are placed down with the head southward. Superstition and religion go hand in hand; religion and science are wedded together. All these may appear absurd to a few modern minds which are prone to make out everything inexplicable to them as superstition. Bacon has in Novum Organum: "'Natural science is the surest remedy of superstition and the most trusty hand maid of religion'. A day will come, as assuredly as the day follows the night, when the world will know that the so-called superstitions prevalent in our country are not superstitions, but practical adaptations of scientific discoveries made by Rśis (Hindu Sages) resting on certain basic principles and so embodied in the daily practices as to combine, says Dr. Annie Besant, science and religion in perfect harmony. 'The Hindu Religion is the knowledge and the comprehension of those eternal principles which govern Nature and Man, those immutable laws which from one view point are called 'Science' and from another 'True Philosophy'.' It concerns itself not with things true under certain conditions or at certain times; its precepts are ever true, true in the past, true in the present, true in the future." These are the pregnant words of Mr. Har Bilas Sarda, the author of a book entitled "Hindu Superiority, which is a mine of information all relating to Ancient India, and which is feeding, invigorating and inspiring the minds of humble workers like myself in the field of research.
It is stated in "Hindu Superiority" that not only were the sciences of electricity and magnetism extensively cultivated by the ancient Hindus, but also highly developed in ancient India; and that the Hindu Sages perfectly understood all the electrical and magnetic phenomena. Thales, one of the Greek Sages, learned during his tour in India that, when amber was rubbed with silk, it acquired the property of attracting light bodies. There are time-honoured practices, which certainly presuppose a knowledge of the principles of electricity and magnetism. For instance, we find that (1) Iron or copper rods are inserted at the tops of all temples; (2) Mindulies (metallic cells) made of either gold, silver or iron, are worn on the diseased parts of the body; (3) Seats made of either silk, wool, kuśa grass, or hairy skins of the deer and tiger, are used when saying prayers. Those who are well acquainted with the principles of electricity will be able to account for these practices. They know that the function of the rod or the triśūla (trifurcated iron rod) placed at the top of the Hindu temples is analogous to the lightning conductor. The mindulies perform the same functions as electrical belts and other appliances prescribed in the electrical treatments of diseases. The golden temple of Viśveśvara at Benares is really a thunderproof shelter. Professor Max Müller recommends the use of a copper envelope to a gunpowder magazine to exclude the possibility of being struck by lightning. The woollen and the skin—āśanas (seats) protect our lives during a thunderstorm from the action of a return shock, and keep our body insulated from the earth.

Referring to the subject of "Not to lie down Northward," the learned writer (Har Bilas Sarda) says that sleep is necessary not only to enjoy sound health but to keep the body and soul together. The question now is, in what way one should sleep to derive the greatest benefit from this necessary operation of Nature. Its solution by the ancient Hindus not only proves them to have been masters of the sciences of magnetism and Electricity, but also shows the spirit of Hinduism, which cannot be commended too highly for its readiness at all times and in all directions to adopt and assimilate the teachings of science. Every Hindu is instructed by his or her mother and grandmother to lie down to sleep with the head either eastward or southward. Mr. Sarda quotes the following extracts from an interesting, instructive and informative article on this important subject, contributed by Babu Sita Nath Roy to the Ārya Magazine (December 1881) with the true scientific instinct.

Mr. Roy cites the ślokas (stanzas) noted below from the Śāstras (Scriptures) which enjoin the said practice:—

(1) The Āgniika Tāttra, a part of our Smṛti Śāstras, says:—"The most renowned Garga Rṣi says that man should lie down with his head placed Eastward in his own house, but if he longs for longevity, he should lie down with his head placed Southward. In foreign places he may lie
down with his head placed even westward, but never and nowhere should he lie down with his head placed northward”.

(2) Mārkaṇḍeśa, one of the much revered Hindu sages, says that man becomes learned by lying down with his head placed eastward, acquires strength and longevity by lying down with his head placed southward, and brings upon himself disease and death by lying down with his head placed northward.

(3) The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says:—“Oh King! it is beneficial to lie down with the head placed eastward or southward. The man who always lies down with his head placed in contrary directions becomes diseased.”

I may add to the above the following:—

(1) The Asarakkovai (by Peruvoyin Mulliar) in Tamil—one of the Eighteen Books which received the approval of the Kadai (last) Saṅgam Academy of Madura (about 100 A.D.), has the following stanza which, when translated, runs thus:—“When one goes to sleep, he should not lay his head Northward or towards the corner.”

(2) The Varuṣadi Nīl: “Sleeping eastward is good; sleeping southward prolongs life; sleeping westward and northward brings ruin, etc.; and sleeping pointing to four corners brings also ruin.”

(3) The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana Parvam, Chapter 161, 51st Sloka): “It is forbidden to a learned man to sleep northward and westward; he should sleep eastward and southward.”

Besides these, there are proverbial sayings in Tamil to the same effect:—“ஏற்று ஏற்று அறியும் மனிதனுக்கு பால் பூச்சியமைத்தே” (Even in the heyday of sudden fortune, one should not lie with his head to the north): “அன்றியும் மனிதனுக்கு பால் பூச்சியமைத்தே” (Even the head of a dried fish should not be placed northward).

The following notes were culled from the Short History of Aryan Medical Science by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, K.C.I.E., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.C.P.E., Thakore Saheb of Gondal:—

Caraka says that one should not sit to dinner facing the north.

Manu’s dictum on this point is somewhat different. He says that one desiring longevity should face the east while having meal; one desirous of fame must face the south; of wealth, towards the west; and one desiring true knowledge, should sit looking towards the north (ii-52).

It is further stated in the book as follows:—

One should not sleep with the head towards the north. Sleeping with one’s head towards the south prolongs life. One passes a dreamy night by keeping his head towards the west, and gets wealth by keeping
it towards the east. The surgical operations are performed on what are considered auspicious days; the patient is made to sit or stand with his face to the east, the surgeon before him with his face to the west.


"It is also desirable that, especially for children, the head of the bed should point to the north; for there are electrical currents constantly passing from north to south, with which our nervous systems are in some mysterious manner connected and which it is not well for the body to oppose."

Here an English doctor and an Indian Rishi differ somewhat. But as regards children, there might perhaps be some divergence; for in the Short History of Aryan Medical Science, it is found that the medical works of the Hindus refer to certain rites on the occasion of sucking the child for the first time; the mother has to sit facing the East; the infant is then taken by the mother on her lap, its head being kept towards the North, and nursed gently.

Adverting to the subject of "Not to lie down Northward," I quote Babu Sita Nath Roy: "That the body of the earth on which we live is being always magnetised by a current of thermal electricity produced by the sun. The earth being a round body, when its eastern part is heated by the sun, its western part remains cold. In consequence a current of thermal electricity generated by the sun, travels over the surface of the earth from East to West. By this current of thermal electricity, the earth becomes magnetised and its geographical north pole being on the right-hand-side of the direction of the current, is made the magnetic north pole, and its geographical south pole being on the left hand-side of the same current, is made the magnetic south pole. That the earth is a great magnet requires no proof more evident than that by the attractive and repulsive powers of its poles, the compass needle, in whatever position it is placed, is invariably turned so as to point to the North and the South by its two ends or poles. In the equatorial region of the earth, the compass needle stands horizontally on account of the equality of attraction exerted on its poles by those of the earth, but in the polar region the needle stands obliquely, that is, one end is depressed and the other end is elevated on account of the inequality of attraction exerted on its poles by those of the earth. Such a position of the needle in polar regions is technically termed the dip of the needle."
ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM IN ANCIENT INDIA.

It has been found by experiments that the human body is a magnetisable object, though far inferior to iron or steel. That it is a magnetisable object is a fact that cannot be denied, for in addition to other causes, there is a large percentage of iron in the blood circulating throughout all the parts of the body.

As our feet are for the most part of the day kept in close contact with the surface of that huge magnet—the earth, the whole human body, therefore, becomes magnetised. Further, as our feet are magnetised by contact with the northern hemisphere of the earth where exist all the properties of north polarity, south polarity is induced in our feet, and north polarity, as a necessary consequence, is induced in our head. In infancy the palms of our hands are used in walking as much as our feet, and even later on the palms generally tend more towards the earth than towards the sky. Consequently south polarity is induced in them as it is in our feet. The above arrangement of poles in the human body is natural to it, and, therefore, conducive to our health and happiness. The body enjoys perfect health if the magnetic polarity natural to it be preserved unaltered, and it becomes subject to disease if that polarity be in the least degree altered or its intensity diminished.

Although the earth is the chief source whence the magnetism of the human body is derived, yet it is no less due to the action of oxygen. Oxygen gas, naturally a good magnetic substance, largely distributed within and without the human body, helps the earth a good deal in magnetising it.

Though every human body is placed under the same conditions with regard to its magnetisation, yet the intensity and permanence of the magnetic polarity of one are not always equal to those of another. Those two properties of the human body are generally in direct ratio to the compactness of its structure and the amount of iron particles entering into its composition.

Now it is very easy to conceive that, if you lie down with your head placed southward and feet northward, the south pole of the earth and your head,—which is the north pole of your body, and the north pole of the earth and your feet, which are the two branches of the south pole of your body,—being in juxta-position, will attract each other, and thus the polarity of the body natural to it will be preserved; while for the same reason if you lie with your head placed northward and feet southward, the similar poles of your body and the earth being in juxta-position will repel each other, and thereby the natural polarity of your body will be destroyed or its intensity diminished. In the former position the polarity which your body acquires during the day by standing, walking or sitting on the ground, is preserved intact at night during sleep; but in the latter position, the polarity which your body acquires during the day
by standing, walking or sitting on the ground is altered at night during sleep.

As it has been found by experiment that the preservation of natural magnetic polarity is the cause of health, and any alteration of that polarity is the cause of disease, no one will deny the validity of the slokas which instruct us to lie down with our heads placed southward, and never and nowhere towards the north.

Why in those two slokas the eastern direction is preferred to the Western for placing the head in lying down, is explained thus: It has been established by experiments in all works on medical electricity that if a current of electricity passes from one part of the body to another, it subdues all inflammations in that part of the body where it enters into and produces some inflammation in the part of the body whence it goes out. This is the sum and substance of the great principles of anelectrotonus and catelectrotonus, as they are technically called by the authors of medical electricity.

In lying down with the head placed eastward, the current of thermal electricity which is constantly passing over the surface of the earth from east to west, passes through our body also from the head to the feet, and, therefore, subdues all inflammation present in the head where it makes its entrance. Again, in lying down with the head placed westward, the same current of electricity passes through our body from the feet to the head, and, therefore, produces some kind of inflammation in the head whence it goes out. Now that a clear and healthy head can easily acquire knowledge, and an inflamed or, in other words, congested head is always the laboratory of vague and distressing thoughts, the venerable sage Mārkandeya was justified in saying that man becomes learned by lying down with his head placed eastward, and is troubled with distressing thoughts by lying down with his head placed westward.

After offering my namaskāras to Babu Sita Nath Roy for his elucidation in the long extract from his article, which I have quoted supra, I may, with pride and pleasure, say, with the learned Har Bilas Sarda, that the advice "Not to lie down Northward", does the highest credit to the practical wisdom of our Hindu Sages and to their scientific advancement and application of science to life.
ANCIENT INDIAN CHEMISTRY AND ALCHEMY OF THE CHEMICO-PHILOSOPHICAL SIDDHĀNTA SYSTEM OF THE INDIAN MYSTICS

BY

MR. C. S. NARAYANASWAMI AIYAR, SHIYALI.

Many have been the intellectual men of both the East and the West who have ardenty worked into the many spheres of human thought of Old India, whether they were placed into such sphere of research and enquiry by man, or naturally adapted with the ardent desire of acquiring knowledge for its own sake. They have, to a great extent, explored through to their own credit, invariably with the result, that all men on whom honour has been thrust and work has been paid for, have belittled and decried, and men of zeal, who have delightfully worked, have brought out unsullied credit to the ancient lore and to the work and to themselves. But, the branch of the world-old-cult of the ancient Indian mystics namely, Chemistry and Alchemy, has never been attempted by any, much less, probed through up to now. In the words of Dr. P. C. Ray, "it has bailed the attempts of any" and also many, and it will ever be so unless they are initiates. (Vide Turba-Philosophorum by A. E. Waite and the Rosiorucians by Hargrave Jennings).

In the European Continent, M. Berthelot, the past permanent Secretary of the Chemical Society of France has left septic voluminous records in his "History of Chemistry during the Mediaeval ages in Europe" after a life-long practical work of long and large failures and another author Mr. A. E. Waite, an Englishman, who has taken the pains to dive only through the literature of the mystics of the west of by-gone ages, has bequeathed a series of publications as he himself was not proftited by the cult, decriyng the ancient science and art of his own ancients, the mystics of the West, as a weapon of attack in the hands of ignorant and arrogant man-made philosophers of now-a-days, to his personal profit by book-making alone. The pick of the intelligentia among all the nations of the Earth were given entirely to alchemy and have bequeathed to us a monumental literature, which the ignorant ridicule, both the art and its adepts. And in India, the ancient mystics, who are called the "Siddhas" have left us vast literature. In the north, in Sanskrit, the problem of soul, both "universal and human," i.e., (Paramātmā and Jīvātmā) and the spiritual side of man, have been masterfully solved in the grand superb Vedas and Upaniṣads; and in the south, the Immortal Mystarious Siddhas, who are rightly and befittingly called the mystics, have left a vast literature in
Tamil in a succinct fashion, with humane intentions to the progeny so that they may also become so, if worked through; and here in this literature, the problem of man, matter and soul put together, i.e., Prakrti and Jiva, has been solved to the entire satisfaction of the whole world, only when they care to know it.

What has all the above got to do with chemistry and alchemy when the whole world is in great eagerness of grasping and grappling with gold and gold alone! The answer is as follows:

The end and aim of Ancient Chemistry was the study by man of MAN and of the Universe and GOD, stage by stage, at last to realise the Light of God, deposited innately within him and attain Jivanmukti, i.e., final beatitude, for all of which, as man's natural age was only a short span of a century, as said in the Vedas, within which time so many of the problems cannot be solved and realised, each for himself, by himself and not by deputy, for which man has first to make his body impervious to the attacks of rampant diseases, ravages of age, and dire self-consuming incessant wants, so that he may outlive any period with competence, rather until the end of his own SELF-REALISATION, for which, i.e., to accomplish a life of no disease first, to exist with long life to any period, second, man's frail frame, as without which, Soul in him cannot exist, after dissipated and waning life of tirahastha-rana had to be reviviscated and rejuvenated and the matter-side of man has to be replenished with such chemico-metallurgical medicines, made and manufactured by himself to become absorbed and assimilated in the very cells and tissues, to fossilise his physique and turn out into a mercurial body to resist the attacks of age and time. This was called the Kuyasiddhi-process, without which one cannot attain either Juna or Moksuddhis, an exceedingly costly course of 12 years, within which time, the Pranayama-practice has to be practised incessantly, until the internal concentric vision becomes a refulgent centre, ever self-acting with no effort, and co-existing, which is called the Anandamaya-stage of a Jivan-Mukta. Ancient medical science, based upon the old synthetic chemistry was perfected with this paramount object in view, and alchemy to supply the needs and wants of a Juna and Yogi. Alchemy (Rasavada) was perfected to supply the worldly wants and also towards the Yogic end of beatitude which is explained below. Rasavada in Sanskrit means transmuting by Rasa and transmuting of Rasa, and also with Rasa, i.e., Mercury; and in Tamil, killing mercury. Mercury is first killed and transmuted with the double-fold object of inducing the finest colour, i.e., Su-Varna in baser metals, i.e., thereby proving that alchemy is only a Science of Colour in metals, (Vide Vemanna) and also to make mercurial phallusses, i.e., Rasa-Gulkas or Rasa-Manis of different potential powers, to induce on the faded-internal-concentric God-deposited-vision in man, once more, to throw out in
relief and ablaze by keeping and adjusting these phalluses as positive and negative poles in the body. Alchemy goes by the name of Cāmiśkara Vidyā in Sanskrit, from which the word alchemy in Arabic should have been derived most probably. This real science and art as the only one giving both real Bhukti and Mukti was devised to such perfection and left to us both in records and by tradition by master minds and intellectuals, namely the Siddhas, in such language to be seen and understood in such nakedness and transparency by the initiates alone; and it is a heartless literature to the worldly great men of materialistic tendencies, and to the wicked a worthless trash to be eschewed, shunned, derided and decried by them. (Vide Jñāna Verri and the "Rosicrucians" by Jennings) because, the plain dictum in easy language though, is such that it cannot be understood by laymen unless informed by the Guru. The subject is hidden no doubt in such masterful fashion, quite deftly and secretly all over the world by all the mystics, in any language and in any clime, so that none but the initiates can understand and take up the work of redeeming and resurrecting himself, (Vide Flammel's Interpretation of "Abraham the Jews Book" called the "Philosopher's stone" published in 1624 in England for private circulation only: "Vaughan's Magical Writings" and Turba Philosorum and the Holy Testament Oid). With sufficient cause for excuse of the mystics, and because the standard and depth of our education of the lay-world is not being shaped to extend to the extent of understanding these erudite authors, even after the subject matter is freely divulged to us in a self-contained literature giving also the clue to it imbedded in plain language, we are left at large to gape with watering open mouths when we hear of gold and alchemy mentioned in our ears!!! And this vast literature has been left to us and handed down scattered and collaborated also in many languages, I say this after comparative study of the subject in four languages and in the translations of some others also in English, and only in Tamil, it is succintly given which can only be seen by an analytic and constructive brain and also mutilated and scattered in Sanskrit but quite deftly hidden.

When I say this to the surprise of many as a Brahmin, I solicit to be excused by the admirers of Sanskrit who are too many. The ancient Tamil authors, three illustrious among them, namely Mahāśis, Sattyanātha, Bhūna, and Kūkāṇa, who have left complete records after their own comparative study of both Sanskrit and Tamil, which are independent sister languages of India, say in their writings that the authors in Sanskrit have written in very abstruse diotion highly delusive so that, neither head nor tail could be made out of their chaotic literature. Unless we are initiated and trained in their trammels, it is quite impossible to dive to the bottom even by a practical initiate unless he is an adept in the practice of chemistry. The eager and earnest desire of the late
M. Berthelot, the illustrious French savant and the Doyen of the modern chemical section of the West can be amply satisfied if he is now with us to review or to incorporate with his "History of the Chemistry of the Middle Ages in Europe" which I present the world with just now, what I have unearthed, unravelled, and collated as below after my study and practical research in chemistry for the last 23 years to the chemical section especially to their wonder and astonishment of the ancient Indians' advanced scientific systematic knowledge even in science in the synthetic Chemistry of the Siddha School which is being very much mistaken, very irreverently, by the half-starved Indian himself whom they call a Paśu, as it is viewed by a Tāntric also. The internal evidence of the literature shows that they were written and composed at a time when the God-Head of the Composite Universe called Bhuvanas was taken to be the Śakti or Parā śakti, or Parāparāi, i.e., the She-element of the Universal Parabrahmam or Śiva-Śakti anterior to the male element of the same Parabrahmam under Śavisim or later on by Vaiṣṇavism had become established, and when that it was the patriarchal Religion of the Universe as peculiarly defined and understood by the extreme Western Asians in their own times, which differs no doubt from that which prevailed here and in the western portions of Asia, which can be traced and proved to have existed from all ancient Cha'dean, Egyptian, Armenian, Assyrian, Arabian, Chinese and Japanese literatures, (vide Thrice Great Hermes Trismagistis and occult Sciences by A.E. Waite). It talks of a Government rather Principalities which were republican in spirit under the great Patriarchs, who were called in India Mahārṣis, Gotrakārins and Maṭhādhipatis in the Indian Tongues. I may humbly claim, on behalf of this now more or less defunct real Siddha school that this Chemico-Philosophical Literature should be said to be the mystic fountain-head of all the later day six Indian and of the four Grecian Schools of Philosophy and of the religious philosophies of the new technical systems of Dvaita, Advaita and Vaiśeṣika-vaita, subtle and controversial in words, which seem to be simple overgrowths only of long ages, to prove the Unity of God. In their books, they allude to the two schools only which existed contemporaneously always, viz., (i) Advaita jūna-school of the Suras and Devas of the Devayāna-Mārga, (2) Dvaita, Siddha, Rākṣasa-school of the Siddhas of the Vajrayāna-Mārga, and to the six religious systems which existed within their own country, viz., Śākta, Śaura, Gāṇāpathya, Śāiva, Vaiṣṇava and Bāddha, and to the other six religious systems outside their own continent.

Coming to the portion of the Science proper, all the old sages have divided the subject of chemistry into 18 branches, by the names of limbs or aṅgas of Chemistry and alchemy as under:—

(1) Alloys or Kalāṅkas ... 551 kinds.
(2) Sulphides or Sīndhūras ... 1,010 .
(3) Major-Oxides or *Gura Bhasmas* ... 705 kinds.
(4) Viscidular or waxlike Unguents (*Meñugu*) ... 307 „
(5) Medical solvent waters (*Jaya Nir*) ... 105 „
(6) Acids ... 66 „
(7) Metallic oxides or *Navaloha Bhasmas* ... 51 „
(8) Organic Unguents ... 7 „
(9) Inorganic oils ... 7 „
(10) Mercurial Phalluses or *Gultkas* ... 1,020 „
(11) Alkalies ... Endless.
(12) Binding Agents ... infinity.
(13) Colouring agents in Metal ... 3 classes.
(14) Destructive colouring agent ... one only,
(15) Allies (*Mitra*) ...
(16) Enemies (*Satru*) ...
(17) Maserating and oxidising agents (*Sunnams*) ... numerous.
(18) Melting Agents ... few.

Under these heads, from the Presidential Agastya, down to many of the numberless Siddhas have dealt with very ably and conclusively, some mingling organic chemistry also. Koñkaṇa says that he has dealt with under 19 aṅgas and Sattyanātha Mahāmuni under 21. Two among them Bhoga and Sattyanātha have left keys to this vast literature as a clue to the whole cult with philanthropic motives so that men and the creation may outlive like themselves and attain the immortal beatific end. Why the scientific portion, especially chemistry, should be included among the philosophical systems and the bearing which this has to it will be seen later on in the introduction. This science was called in Sanskrit as I said above in ancient days as "Cāmikāra Vidya, Vāda, Rasavāda, and Hemavidyā" all with different import and connotation and pregnant with meaning.

INTRODUCTION.

In dealing with this comprehensive subject of this ancient Vidya which combines within itself both Brahma and *Hema vidyās* (i.e.) the Synthetic Chemico-Philosophical system, one has to handle under four different divisions of the same subject, not only allied to but also, commingled and intermingled, with each other, namely, (1) Vāda (Alchemy) (2) Vaidya (*Healing Art*), (3) Jñāna (*Wisdom*), (4) Yoga (*Magic*). In ancient ages, this knowledge of the science in the first two branches have been made a necessary handmaid of the latter two. All the South Indian authors have all in unison subjected alchemy to be so blended and interwoven together as it were to attain a certain end and aim of theirs, i.e., Mokṣa which means literally liberation, derivatively, salvation, to be attained in the lifetime of one's own living period, with consciousness within himself, by his mind centred in his refugent vision, *viz*.,
Jivan-mukti, which is the Ānandamaya-stage of the Yogi or the inertness in the activity of the life of the Jñāni and the Nirvāṇa of the Buddhist, and not in the modern popular sense of after death.

Firstly, as to its language and style they are all written in the easy, fluent, colloquial spoken language, rhetorically not hard but in long and varied metres. And these are said to have been composed after they attained their Samādhi stage as said above, i.e., after their existence of the first 120 years. The popular notion of imputing that they were written in abstruse enigmatic language and fashion is simply incorrect because we have to remember that their language is a too colloquial one and the sense, import, and connotation, of their significantly pregnant words have become changed in meaning in our own times and there is no study of words available written then or now. The language is said to be hidden, because, we have neither the training, nor the depth of knowledge in that particular branch, nor have we the patience to dive indefatigably to the bottom to the deep sense imbedded in words, which some noviates among themselves have remarked as the "heartless language of the Siddhas." Before going into the subject, I have to explain the bearing of the one on the other and to the following three:

1) Vāda or Alchemy is the distinct and separate portion of the Chemistry which deals and treats of transmuting and transforming in all its varied branches of changing baser metals to higher by the help of minerals, vegetables and by animals.

2) Vaidya is that of the healing art of Medicine by Chemistry and chemically prepared medicines for the ailments of man.

3) Jñāna is the study of nature, of matter, soul, man and human society and the scientific modulation of man with the universe and the universal God.

4) Yoga is the practice of Brahma-Vidyā or Rāja Yoga to attain the summum bonum of their ambition, mokṣa which means transforming themselves and also remaining in elemental bodies until Sāmipya alone physically, psychologically and spiritually, at last to be submerged in Parabrahmam, i.e., Sāyujuvan. By keeping this final end of theirs in view, we can best understand them, i.e., to give the gist in a nut-shell, they have classified the ills and diseases of human kind to be 4,448 in all. For these variant maladies to which man’s flesh is heir to, about which it will be dealt with under the head of medicine elaborately, the remedies have been devised and manufactured with very effectual and radical cures and further preventives and to sustain the human frame as long as they wanted. They as a first step effectuated this and made themselves a proof against diseases and were not afraid of death under this head of ills. Secondly, they fortified their physique against the ravages of age by the extra proof of strong chemico-metallurgical
medicines and thus knitted and unified the soul and matter together (the meaning of which will be explained later on.) And thus, extended their lease of life to any long period to study man, creation and the universe, step by step and to attain, their final stage of beatitude, by their simultaneously practising Prāṇāyāma. For all the above, they have classified Vāda and Vaidya under the head of Hemavidyā, jñāna and Yoga under the head of Bhrama-Vidya. The latter means a tranquil pensive work which also means expensive course. For all this knowledge of one's own transforming to be attained by any ambitious soul, to undergo the whole course, i.e., to maintain and sustain oneself to this end, Alchemy was as a necessary corollary to the course and it has been devised and perfected to help such beings, as subservient or basic knowledge to their ultimate goal. The whole literature of this school of men has been written after their aim has been achieved from that mental plane, in the language of that particular school, as it was at that particular period of the world's age. And they are accused uncharitably by us through our ignorance of their environments and comparing this with the present day destructive common knowledge of worldly gross materialistic nature of worldly age, they can be excused of their seemingly selfish nature which is unseemly presumed by us. The classification of this school of the universe is as follows:—

(1) Dhātu—Mineral Kingdom.
(2) Mūla—Vegetable Kingdom.
(3) Jiva—Animal Kingdom.

The one evolving from the next lower from mahat or magnum limbus or śūnya, or chaos and not the reverse order as is taken to be by new-fledged scientists. Again each of the above three classes is subdivided into six major divisions, and each of them again is subdivided as said under:

DHĀTU—INTO.

(1) Salts, of which there are 25.
(2) Pāşānas or Arsenics—into 64.
(3) Uparasas into 112.
(4) Metals or Lobhas into 9.
(5) Mercury or Rasa, Harahindu (King of minerals).
(6) Sulphur or Gandhaka (queen of minerals).

Mūla or vegetables—into six classes as per their natural tastes, of which there are six in number namely:—salts, pungents, astringents, saccharines, biters and sour. Plants have one or more, or a combination of more than one of the above tastes in various degrees, each ranging from one to thousand and eight degrees in their intensity.

Jiva or animal kingdom is subdivided into six classes, as per their originating seeds and germinating faculties, i.e., under bindu-nāda
order. These are the ever-present and everlasting 18 things in this known universe as long as it exists. This is being misapplied and misstated in many ways as it suits the fancy of any smatterer, as if all the siddhas were only 18 in number, instead of the ever-existing (Siddha) things.

DHĀTU.—(MINERAL).

The universe is composed of 5 primordial elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether. They have taken salt as the basis of the Earth and creation and as the earth-crust formation of the universe, and they first chemically treat the same to stand the test of fire, to be melt as any metal, and then alkalise the same. Their test and mode of testing all the different minerals was by natural agencies alone, namely of water and fire, and not by acids got of salts and sulphur as it is in modern analytic, (rather DESTRUCTIVE) science which will be explained later on) namely (1) salt is that which is soluble in water and volatile in fire, having at the same time the innate nature of cracking, smoking and burning; (2) Pāśāna is that which smokes in fire and nonsoluable completely in water; (3) Uparasa is that which is neither soluble in water nor smoking, volatalising and burning in fire; (4) Metals are those which melt in fire and last fixed and insoluble in water: (5) Mercury (Rudravīrya) is that which is being atomised, vapourized in the smallest degree of calorific heat and nonsoluble in water and is said to possess also 7 kinds of epithelial-like drossy matter covering its molecules, and of 40 kinds of its innate powers latent in it and is called the king of minerals, with mainly procreative powers in itself; (6) Sulphur is that which smokes, burns and volatalises in fire and insoluble in water, is the female life-sustaining and life-productive element and is called the queen of minerals.

By changing and transforming the inherent created nature in each, and by making the things acquire a developed power higher than its already innate power, the properties of the things are transformed from one to the other. This was their aim chemically, and the ultimate end is to alkalise all the above said 212 things of the universe, i.e. turned into a bhasma or suṇna, the reason why they should do this is first to make the things physiologically assimilable in human system by the digestive process for which everything has to be made soluble and it is to that they are reduced to, to assimilate them in human physique with which we are born as perishable and to make them last, and last longer, and impregnable to diseases and indestructive against the ravages of age, as the physique is the repository of the evanescing soul.

MŪLA.—(VEGETABLES).

The vegetable kingdom which evolves out of the mineral kingdom is divided into 6 classes of trees, shrubs, creepers, milk-giving, juicy and
juiceless plants; having one or more or a combination of more than 2
tastes they have been classified under 3000 genera, of from 1 to 1008
degrees under each taste.

JĪVA.—(ANIMALS).

Animal kingdom from ant and flea (the smallest) upwards to
elephant and whale are classified under 84,00,000 of jīvarāsīs or species
generated under 4 kinds of nāda-generative receptacular female organs
and under 6 classes of procreative seedy elements of the male bindu
order. Out of all the creation man is the highest evolved and fully
developed being, out of the above 2 kingdoms with all the senses and
faculties, holding the essence and prototype of the UNIVERSAL GOD
within himself, and capable of self realising the same for himself, as
quite an indistinct being in the creation and to understand the existence
of a higher life of himself and of greater soul of the universe namely
PARAMĀṬMĀ, though the conceited and arrogant materialists may
call this the dreamy spirituality of the orient. As such the whole
Universe which emanated from the very thinking of the Parabrahmam,
i.e., from the magnum limbus is a full and a whole life matter and not a
nebulae as supposed by the scientists of the western destructive science,
with its intolerant dogmatism and assumptions.

The principle of evolution of GODLY MAN from the infinite seed
in the embryo to the adolescence, man, and godly-developed man after
the universal mode, is described scientifically, early in this literature of
the Indian mystics by way of exemplifying. I quote below some Vedic
principles, viz., 1. "That if one was born he should not die and before
he dies should not take birth once more" as also 2. "ĀTMĀVAI
PUTRA NĀMĀSI" i.e., one-self becoming born once more under the name
of son on a kṣetra of the woman. For this dictum to be understood we
have to take ourselves to the pre-Buddhistic eras and of Tāntric ages
of human thought, rather times anterior to the karma doctrine which
was established on karma basis by Buddhhas themselves and it is
said that there were 24 such Buddhhas before the last Gautama
Buddha (vide Buddhist Śri Cakra Sambhara Tantra by Mr. A. Avalon);
corroborating this dictum, we see from the internal evidence of
the Christian scripture that God has ordained us not to taste the
forbidden fruit; though it may be taken and understood by the
materialistically erudite many in very many ways, yet as a religiously
dying Hindu I take it in the old mystic siddha sense of the URDHVĀ-
Rathas that we should not be dreaming, soaring, drowning and annihila-
ting ourselves in the Edenic garden of women. By this our physical
frame is exhausted of the vital fluid which is wasted and we become
descrepts and prematurely old even within half the period of man's span
of the Vedic time age of 100 years. If we roam or taste as against this and beget children by planting the seed of man in the womanly soil we are said to be born once more on a Ḳṣṭra, (compare Vamanṇa,) i.e., once more. This has been the primitive idea of the rebirth born as son of man in the Vedas which is being interpreted in diverse ways as per the notions of each SAMAYĀCĀRYA or religious interpreter to suit his own strain of thoughts and whim and fancy. The whole siddha religion was the religion of the universe of the highly intelligent few or religion of the cultured few only in each nation among many nations of many millions in each of the millennia of ages. And such broken down constitution has to be resuscitated and rebuilt if a man aspires to become an adept Siddha. The word SIDDHA means ever sure and true, ever ready and ever lasting derivatively. To fortify the body as the container of the soul which could not last naturally and could not be seen without it, once broken down, to extend the life with no fear of death even by disease or old age or destruction by the five natural agencies, the Siddha has perfected the ancient pharmacopoeia, chemistry, metallurgical medicines, and alchemy, to his own needs and wants in his aims to attain and achieve his beatific end of PRÂNÂYÂMA YOGA, without which it ends in many diseases to the already drained physiques. The elaborate course of Kāya siddhi (Kāya means body and siddhi means making sure) has to be undergone by an ambitious soul for 12 years or 2 cycles of 6 years each, within which period not only the tissues with which we are born from the mothers' wombs is being changed but also the very nerves are transformed tendinous and the bones converted and fossilised like ivory (as in Mahārshi Daśāhrai and Vāli) for which or within which time the human frame is turned out into mercurial bodies by the chemico-metallurgical medicines, indestructible by the five Bhuṭas of Earth water, etc., as a finis. To attain all these potential powers with the double-fold object as said below, they have taken mercury which is a thing of the mineral kingdom called otherwise rasa, the essence or Hara-bhinda which is the essence or the semen of Hara, who is the presiding deity among the Trinity of functionary deities of the universe, which was taken to be of the order of male procreative agency, treated the same, changed the inherent nature in it, to stand the test of fire and melt it like a metal and assimilate the same to become assimilated into the very tissues, like salt to enter and permeate into the very human cellular system. To exemplify and to learn whether this would change his body or not, the same on being administered to a base metal while being melt should change the same to a higher and finer one or convert, transform and transmute into the superior metals of gold or silver. This was the theory and practice. Now we can realise why this was called the science of Rasa-Vāda and why this was kept a profound secret by all the mystics of the different nations of the earth under different names in each country, by even the modern rosicrucians of the mediaeval ages in Europe.
The science of making gold or alchemy was promulgated to enable the ambitious soul who was called the Rāi, to sustain himself and to maintain his followers who were retained for his own convenience, so that he may not beg, rather not waste his time in begging of men, for sustenance and support, but to utilise his time in the all-absorbing study of matter, soul and the universe. To achieve this end many chemical philosophers have worked in chemistry in diverse ways to the selfsame goal which is chiefly as follows:—In the following order raising step by step in minerology from the next lower to the higher namely salt, calomel, tale or yellow arsenic, plumbago or graphite, maksikom or pyrite (gold and copper). Navakāra or sulphate of ammonia, copper sulphate, gold, and lastly mercury, bind each in the order said above, rather transform its innate nature and alkaliise each into caustic lime, so that it may change mercury to their double fold object of changing both baser metals and human body; and they have risen in making such medicines higher and higher in potentiality, utility and intensity in its transforming power of one in ten, hundred, thousand, ten-thousand and so on until they made Sparśa-vedi, i.e., that which transforms by the very touch and Nūda-Vedi i.e., transforming by the very sound, which means that which changes or transmutes by the mere touch and sound and by the very breath also respectively. And by assimilating such medicines in their physiques of transforming power internally they were able to transform by their mere command of breath and word, (Vide Koikana and Vemanna). This was called their Sapanugraha Śakti in its broader sense of acting even upon inorganic matters a which we may laugh as incredible in our grossest ignorance (Vide Yoga Tattva Upaniṣad).

The other utility of binding the Rasa or Mercury was towards their selfrealising end. It is thus performed. Firstly by turning the unstable and volatile mercury into mobile viscous butter, then into immobile solid metallic substance, melting the same and then adding by one after the other the essences or rather extracts in the shape of metals and Sattvas taken out from each of the 211 things of the mineral class and then by the process of chemical re-action to liberate the same, keeping to the original weight of mercury itself by re-actionary process and agents, to create higher power and potentials, in the same way by repeating the above process of assimilation and liberation, which was called the course of Jarana in Sanskrit and Saranai in Tamil. Repeating this a given number of times as prescribed by them in their literature, in this way they are raising the potent powers of mercury, when lastly they add equal amount of transformed gold, i.e., gold itself converted to acquire the colour of the evening refulgent sun which is given the technical name of gold-copper and an equal amount of copper extracted from out of the insect or worm by the name of Bhunaga which they say takes its birth in and from lightning. This the modern scientist in his daily
struggle for existence would not believe, but when a westerner like Alexander Smith avers that certain birds' feathers and the cuttle-fish give copper, he gapes with a cowed-down eye. This was called the Rasagulika or the mercurial phallus which they preserved with exceeding care like themselves, with highest regard and sanctimony. Various Rṣis and some of them made only 2, and great many, three, or more of these phalluses, one to be tied in the hand as positive pole and the other to be kept in the mouth as negative pole, the third to be tied in the wrist as support if any differential potency is produced, to help the Siddha in concentrating the monkey-like restless mind, rouse up the Kuṇḍalini from Mūlādhāra, through the Saḍāra Cakras to Sahasrāra Cakra in himself, until the internal vision becomes radiant as refulgent of a thousand suns put together, make the whole body itself enmeshed and engulfed in this non-searching fire lit ablaze round the physique itself (Cf. Jesus appearing in radiant light and the other such emblematic evidences given in Indian purānic literature). This was called the practice of Samādhī (Vide Kōkāṇas and Zoraster’s and Jenning’s & Avalon’s Tāntric Literature). This led him to the final beatitude of realising and centering himself in his internal vision which is called the Ānandamaya-stage, of becoming one with Sat-Cit-Ānanda Śiva, i.e. the dance of the Ānanda-Nāṭeṣa as represented in Chidambaram which is emblematically deified and preserved and depicted to us. There were twelve such mercurial phalluses of extreme high potency which were at the head of the minor thousand and eight kinds of the same. They are named as follows:—Surabhi, Kamalini Astamasiddhi, Akāṃdāsvarūpi, Kāmadhenu Bhogi, Sandhāni, Aksayi Ākāśi, Vidya-Dipi, Sparśa Vedi, and Nāda-vedi. Each had its unique power, e.g., when Surabhi is put into or they let down into the sea, allege that sea-water becomes clear out or cut asunder, surface dried and parched up when this has been let down and when Kamalini is added to it, the water which has been cut in twain exposing the earth becomes joined once more such as it is alleged in the Mahābhārata in the episode of Nitya-Utpāvāśi, when Satyabhāma crosses the flooded river. Thus the Siddhas declare they have re-canted and re-dacted from what is said in the Vedas, the whole knowledge of micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic universe and how far we can realise from the Vedas the above facts, is the work of the versed great Sanskrit Pāṇḍitas and Mahāmahopādhyāyas to explore the fields of old learning and find out from them what they say after so much light is thrown out by me from the literature after a good amount of time and labour. And to say after such conclusive evidence of such all-comprising literature that the ancient science of alchemy in India is scanty, such that it cannot be given the name of literature, when such stupendous monumental evidence of an original kind, even quite distinct from western mysticism which has not been cared for by any to explore, it will not only be simple folly but innate jealousy and
impenetrable bias to give the credit to the Indo-Āryan, if done by any
foreigner. And in the same literature it is said that once at a time the
whole Asiatic Continent was a Siddha-Bhumi, peopled by Siddhas and
Devas and that there were 64 such centres called mathams or Siddha-
Ālayas extending from above the Meru or the Himalayan Table-lands to
the Asiatic Archipelago. Each such centre was presided over by a
Svarūpa Jñāni, surrounded by his disciples, followers and laymen. Two
presidential lodges called Siddhamandalas, there were, one in the north of
India at Kailāsa presided by Lord Śiva, and the other in the south at
Agastya-Kūṭa, presided over by Dakṣipāmbūrti or Agastya Mahāmuni.

All the different Mathādhipatis of the other 62 Mutts were to be
passed over and certified to as Siddhas in the south by Agastya and
in the north by Śiva. In Kandahar there was the Gandharva Ānanda
Yogi; in the Chinese Tableland Kalangi (who may be their Confucius);
in the Indian continent Visvānanda Yogi in Benares, Soma
Ānanda in Guzerat, etc., and there were too many such mutts of
illustrious names, and of their disciples too many to mention. In the
south Indian Archipelago it is said by Koṅkaṇa and Bhoga that there
was a colony of Śiva Canas or followers of Śiva to protect the five
Mercurial wells, after a run of 6000 yōjanas in the midst of the ocean,
wherefrom the Siddhas are said to have obtained their indent and supply
of mercury. This may be the present Bali-island where there are yet
dilapidated evidences of the Indian temples and architectural relics
of ancient thought and Indian civilisation. These Tamil Siddha authors
say that each mutt or Āśrama which was called a Siddha-Ālaya
i.e. the abode of the Siddha, until he attained his Laya meaning
absorption, had its own Śāstras compiled and written for the use of
their own heads and disciples. The prominent among both the Kailāsa
and Śrī Mūla Paramparās say that they have left complete records with
keys to their literature and cult, with humane intentions so that others
may follow and avail themselves of the advantage offered by them
towards their beatific end. Two such keys, extant books available
to us are of the compilation of Satyanātha Mahāmuni and Bhogaṅgi.
They, in their book, allude to the following who have left records
before themselves namely that Nandi-deva and Śaṅkara Mahā-
muni have written in Sanskrit Chandas in very difficult abstruse,
enigmatic diction and language incapable of being understood and of no
use to the laity, but to the disciples trained in their traditional ways
and arts in their own mutts; and that Vemaṅga in Telugu has said for
which the exact meaning and import of his words are incapable of being
understood, and Bhoga has given equivalent Sanskrit names in his key;
Ghorakṣa, Mataya, Agastya, Patañjali, Kāśyapa, Śiva Yogi, Gautama, Śrī
Mūla, Śiva Vākyya, Roma, etc., all these have very ably dealt with, but
in a mazy language not capable of being understood by ordinary men.
(Vide also Turba philosophorum and Flammel’s writings of the West). Some of these and prominently Agastya, Parasurama, Roma, and Dhanvantari have combined the Tantrika art also in their literature which has to be taken in its later day sense and not originally. The import of the word Tantra in their works seem to be different from what we understand now-a-days. In Tamil it means “One’s own capability.” In Sanskrit it meant “Taking care of and protecting the body” which is the root sense. The knowledge of organic and inorganic chemistry when it becomes combined in one man, the chemist under the combined category becomes quite a adept man and an adept very soon. Such Siddha accomplished his aim very deftly and successfully. Hence the deterioration of the word Tantra to black magic has undergone very many changes in sense. In wrongly construing in the absence of real knowledge and really knowing, man himself has been all over the world all the same throughout the different ages in any clime, country or time”.

At the same time the men who are said to have written plainly are Satyanatha Mahamuni, Pataanjali Mahamurti, Sundara-Ananda and Mayuranaanda Yogis whose works are not obtainable now and all the above-said authors unanimously say that Nandideva, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanat Kumara, Siva Yogi, Pataanjali, Vyaghra Pada, and Janaka were all their elders and antecedents. The various heads of the mutts had their own phalluses (Guilikas) for themselves and for their tri-fold object of samadhi Yoga transforming, and satisfying every other requisite such as also the sanctifying of the very many edible things brought in contact through the illuminant rays from these phalluses within a prescribed radius for being electrified and transformed, as nivedyas in their daily pujas. (Compare the effect of radium rays in charging other metals when brought within a certain range of distance and radius). They have made chemically potent refractile lingas and vigrahbas or idols capable of giving Kaya Siddhi efficacy for their followers and laity out of the transformed metals and mercury. They have left them in the possession of their disciples so that they themselves were to be left undisturbed for their meditative work. Hence they were called by other surrounding nations in the absence of their real knowledge and knowing nothing about the Indian and the Asiatic Continents, that the Indian was a phallus worshipper, which deteriorated to the wrong sense and misapplied wrong meaning, and that their followers have become idolaters and the old Siddha-Alayas have become Alayas or temples all over the continent.

From the same literature we can deduce in the same fashion an explanation for the very many intricate questions of now-a-days, and as to why we came down to be idolaters from the world-old nirguna Worship of the universe, why at a time when the Indian, rather Asiatic civilisation was at its zenith, why the pick of the nation was sacrificed at the
old battle-fields one in Ceylon and the other in Kurukṣṭra as per Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, why there were so many invasions over India from the west from the time of the Great Alexander to the innumerable Mahomedan invasions; and to the division and sub-division of this universe and many such universes under various planetary systems and to the 12 such solar divisions, which would not allow me to discuss in detail here. In their category this universe, comprised of the five bhūtas all put together, was called an akhand, meaning that which cannot be split, hence derivatively also, broad and expansive. The imperceptible impersonable untouchable abstract essence which underlies pervades, permeates, co-existing and co-evalent something which is the unknowable in all the five comprised composite bhūtas was called the universal spirit. And they say that there are thousand and eight Akhandas, called together by the name of a Brahmanḍa and 254 such Brahmanḍas together is called a Bhuvana and 84 such Bhuvanas was called a Padam. The presiding deity over the Padam is the Parā Śakti. This deity is represented in the microcosm of man, as internal visionary energy in him and in the macrocosm as Śukla or Sukra and the broad expanse of Ākāśa, i.e., space, chaos or Śunya in the universe is called the open space of Śiva or Akhaṇḍa of Sadāśiva. As the creation is evolved and sub-divided we find in man his tattvas are divided and sub-divided as a collaborate evidence that the man is created after the model of the universe. From this we see that God is an impersonal being to be found nowhere else in concrete shape, but in the man’s abstract thinking and realising of Him as Jyotis within oneself and in the expansive universe, to be joined as Ātma Drṣṭi with the universal light (vide Zoroastar). That above man no other creation exists and in him the model of God ie impressed, imbedded, and un-sheathed and the Ānanda Maya stage of the Jñāni is only the end and aim of man i.e., Jivannukti, the Nirvāṇa goal of the Buddha; but when man arrogates the power of God to himself like Śūra Padma, and Hiranya, he has to be extirpated for his un-Godliness in the interests and well being of the world and of the human society. The Samayācāryas have improvised and shaped the nirguna religion of the olden days to the improving of and the enlargement and up-keep of the society of different ages to suit the convenience of the humanity as per their determined principles of culture. Thus far only about mystic spiritual culture or spirit alchemy which means the transformation of Jivātmic soul and becoming one with the Paramātmic spirit.

Passing over all these I give below as examples and samples some recipes from the ancient chemistry as regards the treatment of minerals, acids, mercury, and alchemy by the adept Siddha towards the efficacy of all the above.

Chemistry.—1. Take rock salt and bind it with the help of two other salts which in its turn will bind each of the following things in its
next order of succession below; borax, alum, pottassium chloride, sulphate of ammonia, corrosive sublimate, sulphate of mercury, yellow arsenic, sulphur, pyrite of gold and the gold. All the ten are the steps of the Daśa Dikṣā.

2. Bind and alkalise rock salt and do the same with regard to each of the following in succession, one with the help of the next above, viz., pottassium chloride, sulphate of ammonia, borax, camphor, sulphate of copper, calomel, yellow arsenic, corrosive sublimate, mercury, gold pyrite, and this will become a boat to cross the alchemical sea.

3. Acidōs.—(a) Lohadravaka.

1. Roasted copper sulphate ... 10 Weights.
2. Bound pottassium chloride. 10 ,,  
3. ,, carbonate of soda ... 20 ,,  
4. ,, alum ... 10 ,,  
5. ,, sulphate of ammonia. 5 ,,  

Total ... 55 parts.

Divide the above into five parts, extract acid from the first part, and pour this over the second part, dry it in the sun, extract acid in the same fashion and by repeating the same 5 times over, take the concentrated acid of the fifth time, and keep it in lac bottles, lest it should corrode or eat away any other bottle (note the sense of concentrating.)

In this acid any mineral, metal etc., even the rock and mountain will become soluble, any uparasa will give its metallic essence or extract if melt, serviceable for the purpose of jaraṇa for mercury as said above,

(b) Mahādravaka.

1. Roasted copper sulphate ... 14 parts.
2. Pottassium chloride ... 28 ,,  
3. Bicarbonate of soda ... 85 ,,  
4. Corrosive sublimate ... 4 ,,  
5. Ammonia sulphate ... 8 ,,  
6. Alum ... 8 ,,  
7. Alkali of apāmārga ... 2 ,,  

Total ... 148 parts.

Powder the whole, mix, roast and fry the same with the above said Lohadravaka and dry the same in the sun and divide it into seven parts and extract acids, as described above by pouring the acid of the previous distillation over the succeeding part and thus concentrating the same by repeating the process seven times and keep the same in lac bottles. This extraction process of this acid cannot be done by an ordinary man but by
one who has attained the Kāya Siddhi, if not the ordinary man’s body will become split up. Administer one drop of the same to a viss of mercury, it will become expanded into ashes of lime. With 1/64th part of it you can alkalise any metal and fuse any uparas, and this mercury ash will swoon 100 times as much more mercury, to facilitate the end of making mercurial phallusses.

(c) With this concentrated acid above mentioned in (b), sulphuric acid and acid from the corrosive sublimate is extracted which is not capable of being done by any ordinary man without Kāya Siddhi, i.e., to have all these done to oneself, old Chemistry of the Indian Siddha School of Agastya, Nāgārjuna, Patañjali etc., which has all been for so many ages of the world a guarded and protected science has been kept as a holy art in various Āśramas of Rṣis has to be understood and it was useful for them.

(1) to keep themselves a proof against diseases,
(2) to prolong their lives to any period they like,
(3) to make their bodies (jādas) ever-existent i.e., until the time they wanted to have, like their own soul and
(4) to keep themselves above wants.

This is also the old western mysticism of Devayāna mārga which is not understood by the whole western continents just now, with the exception of one or two like, the Hartmans of Germany and Mr. Spence Louis the president of Rosierusian Society of U.S.A. i.e. it evidently borders on ancient alchemy which is an exploded science in the west. (So far safe, because these mystics save themselves from the molestations and aggressions of friendly enemies). Again to go to the root of this it goes to the hidden portion of the whole science of Physical Alchemy i.e., *The Philosopher’s Stone*, which is “the despised stone” because of its not being had and obtained and hence, despised. It had and it has necessarily to be protected from the purview of the laymen because human society would cease to exist by wars, because self entices any to become greedy. The Vedas and any Scripture gives evidences of these, because this has become the sole secret of a few always and all over the world, who would not freely divulge the secret, unless to the chosen initiates, e.g., The Deva-Asura wars of India and of the driving of the Israelites from Palestine, making the whole nation of the Jews for their proverbial riches from Patriarch Abraham’s time downwards as Homeless even up to now as a politically undecided question. Thus we see that there are two divisions of the question of ancient Alchemy viz.,

(1) Spiritual Alchemy
(2) Physical Alchemy.
i.e., one belonging to the spirit side of Man in transforming his spirit and soul to become one with the Paramatmic soul of the universe, which is not a teachable art of readymade Colleges, but which is an art of practical practice in transcendentalism by every man to himself, which results to him as a corollary in transforming and transmuting anything with which he may come in contact, which has been followed by the Spiritual mystics or Jñānis of the Deva School and called Deva-Yāna-Mārga of the Rṣis (Vide Yoga Tattva Upaniṣad and cf. Western Mysticism). The other Physical Alchemy followed by the Siddhas, the real Alchemists who have taken special care to protect their own tabernacles (Ghātas) as receptacles of their souls, at the very first with their chemico-metallurgical medicines by transforming minerals and metals, and therewith transforming themselves, physiologically and psychologically towards the attainment of their goal of developing their psychological transcendental interior powers of their soul towards illuminiam of Jīvan Mukti. This was called the magic rather Magician art of the Siddhas of old, of Hermes, vide the system followed by the Agastyā School of men in the East and the Hermetic School in the West.

Note.—The wealth of information contained in this interesting article has induced the Editors to publish this contribution, in the author’s own style.
IS ARTHASAstra SECULAR?

BY

MR. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.,
DIP. ECOM., MADRAS

Since the discovery and the publication of that great work, Kauṭalya's Arthasastra by Dr. Shama Sastrī of Mysore, a large volume of critical literature has grown up on both the method and the scope of the text. A host of western scholars of oriental studies and also some Indian scholars believe and want us to believe with them that the Arthasastra in question belongs to one of the secular schools of political thought current in ancient India in the early centuries of both before and after Christian era. In this noble category of savants, Professor Winternitz, Dr. Otto Stein, Mr. Bottazzi, Dr. Jolly, and Dr. Ghoshal figure prominently. An endeavour is made here to examine the various criticisms offered by these scholars in the light of the Dharmaśāstras.

It can be shown clearly that Kauṭalya formulates all his theories on the sound and basic principles of the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, with instructions in sufficient detail to carry on at once an effective and successful administration. In this respect he takes a legitimate place with the great Śrīvatsikartas, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada. Before entering into a detailed examination of the various issues connected with this, it would be well if we clear the ground by explaining what we mean by such high-sounding terms, religion and morality. In the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is only one word which answers exactly to these terms and this is the word "Dharma". And what is Dharma? Manu defines that whatever is ordained in the Śrutis or the Vedas and the smṛtis or the Śāstras is Dharma, and adds that whoever follows them, leads a life of glory and happiness not only in this world but also in the other world.1 Hence ethics, morality and religion are all to us, the Hindus, whatever is ordained by these great authorities only. And, therefore, whatever is found in them is moral, religious and ethical to us. Judged by these conceptions Kauṭalya never falls low in our estimation, especially of these great law-givers. He seems neither to overstate or Understate the rules and regulations laid down in the Śāstras. On the other hand he follows them with keen perception and lofty insight, all Kauṭalya's own.

Dr. Ghoshal in his recent book entitled "Hindu Political Theories" gives us a rather surprising statement thus: "The Arthasastra, however,

---

1. ध्रुतिस्मृतिवर्ग चर्ममूलप्रत्येक्ष धार्मिक: ध्रुवान्।
   इति कौन्तितमवार्तिते प्रेय चातुर्वस्त्र अस्मि || Manu. II. 9.
did a distinct service to the cause of political theory by ruling out the Purohita from the list of prominent factors of government... the Purohita is conspicuous by his absence in the list of seven-elements". Both the Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstras agree in the main about the seven elements of the state. We will presently show how the Purohita is in, though not of, the seven elements. Commenting on the passage of Manu where mention is made of these elements, the celebrated Kullukabhaṭṭa comments the second element 'Amātya' as maṇḍārī meaning ministers and others. By using the word आदि evidently he seems to include the Purohita in the ministry group. For the same note is struck by Śaṅkara-rāya in his commentary on verses 30 and 31 of the IVth Chapter of Kāmandaka Nītisāra

पुरोहितस्यायामायविशेषत्वात् वैशेषिकं अभावकार्यभिवाह-तथादिः
पुरोहिते नियुक्ते दश्याष्टेश्यु इति पुरोहितः।

Again the Kural, a great Tamil work on polity, speaks of 'Amātya' as 'அம்மத்யா' for which the celebrated commentator Parimēlalakar gives a happy explanation, 'அம்மத்யா', meaning, those who are always by the side of the king. A further evidence is that frequent references are made in the Maṇimēkalai and Śilappadikāram to 'இம்மத்யா'—of the king. The commentator of Śilappadikāram explains who these ministers are, the Purohitā, the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and government- emissaries whom the king was bound to consult on all occasions. In the same text there is, besides several, one typical passage which also indicates how the Purohita formed an integral part. This occurs at the time when the king Ādupōrcēliya-Pāṇḍyan was dead in the palace and the city was in flames due to the curse of Kannaki, wife of Kōvalan, who was unjustly executed by the said king. These important bodies of officers, who are supposed to be by the side of the king always assembled together and stood dumblike seeing the recent occurrence. It was these only who could take the line of action with regard to the installing on the throne, and deputing other officials to their work. We find expression of these terms also in the well-known work the Maduraikāṇci

1 Hindu Political Theories (Pp. 88 & 89).
2. क्षाम्यमायाय पुरे राज्य कौशलः सुहृद्या।
   जसमसक्तयो हेतुः: सतांश राज्युपचाये॥ Manu. IX. 294.
3 Kāmandaki (Trivandrum Series) P. 56.
4 Śilappadikāram, Ch. 5.
5. உண்மையன்னி அவர் குமார் குளிமண்டி
   குமாரமுரசித்தல் etc. Śilappadikāram Ch. 32.

I am obliged to these two references to Mr. K. Ramarathna Ayer, B.A., Madras.
believed to belong to the second century A.D. Further in an apparently later work Kambaramāyana, occur stanzas ¹ in which the Emperor Daśaratha's ministers are described and these strongly support our point. Thus the transmitters of tradition show that the purohita formed an integral part of the group Amāṭya although not mentioned separately. So also in the Arthasastra group (VI, 1) ². At any rate there is no justification for the statement that he is not included in the group Amāṭya. Kauṭalya then proceeds to enumerate the qualifications and functions for this official ³. A Purohita, of great and good family, reputed for high learning, well-versed in the sacred scriptures, the science of astrology, and the theory of polity, and who knows how to propitiate the planets by various rites prescribed in the Atharva Veda, so as to ward off calamities, providential or otherwise, that may befall the king or the kingdom, may be appointed by the king. Him the king should follow as a disciple his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master. The previous line before 'पुरोहितं' ends with the phrase 'अमात्यकर्म' and in continuation of the same idea the sentence quoted above follows. Thus also Kauṭalya takes it for granted that the Purohita is an amāṭya for all practical purposes. It is certainly interesting to draw parallel passages here from the Yājñavlakhyāsmṛti, conveying the same sentiments or ideas.⁴ The second verse in itself seems a comment on the term 'Vipra' of the preceding stanza. Yājñavlakya categorically states what Kauṭalya has stated regarding his qualifications. Manu expresses the same ideas in different words:—

सर्वेऽथ न विशिष्टेऽन्न ब्राह्मणेन विपाधिता।
मन्त्रेश्वर परम मन्त्रि राजा वाधकृष्णसंयुक्तम्॥
नियं तरिमुन समाजावः सर्वकार्यांणि निश्चिते॥
तेन सार्थं विनिष्क्रियं कथि कर्म समाप्तेऽ॥
अन्यानिपि प्रकृति श्रविन् प्राणा वस्पितान।
सम्यगर्षयेण माहत्तुम अमाध्यासपरिभक्तितान।॥ Manu. VII, 58—60.

¹ Ayodhyā Kândam, I, 6, 7, 8, 9.
² Arthasastra text, VI, 1.
³ पुरोहितमुद्गोदितकुञ्जिः, चढ़े च चढ़े देवे निषिद्ठं द्रष्ट्रनां च चात्मिनित्व-मात्रं देवानित्वांश्च विषयच: सन्पादितां प्रतिकर्तां क्रुद्ध। तत् आचार्य शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो च: स्व: स्व: स्वनिमित्वावत्तत्। 1, 9.
⁴ समाधिन: प्रकृति प्रायम्य स्थिरार्थुच निषिद्ध: स्वं गम्य। ते: तदेऽथ निषिद्धात्म निषिद्धाय तत्: स्वं गम्य। I—312.
पुरोहितेऽन्न कृत्ति देवानित्तिततः॥
द्रष्ट्रनामास्पद्यां अस्थियोऽद्यश्रूयन्ते तथा। I—318.
78
The words सर्वेषा, अन्वयापि, indicate obviously that the Purohita is one among the mantrins or amātyas. The phrase निर्विधं तस्मिनं समावस्तः answers well to the statement of Kautilya, as a son to his father, or a servant to his master. Again ‘सर्वव्यायां निर्विधेऽपि तेन साध्वें विनिधित्वः’ is explained by Kautilya in his own felicitous way, when he says, 1 that the king should consult his ministers and the Purohita, before appointing officials and also in sending out commissioners on various purposes. Yājñavalkya gives expression to the same idea also 2.

Kautilya mentions these and more. When he says that the king should behave like a son towards his father, he seems certainly to imply what Dr. Ghoshal expresses as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Purohita as the one half of the Kṣatriya or the king, and the active providence guiding the destinies of the king and the kingdom. The well-written verse of Kautilya means nothing more than this. 3 Here ब्राह्मन is commented on as पुरोहित in the Srimulam commentary. The verse then means that the energy of the Kṣatriya backed by that of the Purohita, and well-deli berated by the ministers, following the precedents laid down in the Sāstras, leads to unquestioning success. Gautama-emṛti again rules to the same effect.

Not only Kautilya makes the Purohita, of his Arthaśāstra, a duly qualified man, invests him with the powers of ministering to the spiritual needs of a king as well as the kingdom by sound advice and guidance, bestows him with a rank even above the king by saying a student his teacher, or servant his master, but makes him the highest paid official only equal to minister, commander-in-chief, crown-prince, or the king’s mother, and queen. 4 Thus the Purohita has not at all fallen from his old pedestal, either as found in the Brāhmaṇas or the Dharmaśāstras. He continues to be the same official occupying a front rank, and an enviable position. He is mentioned as one of the eighteen departments of government or तीर्थ of Kautilya. The various propitiations, and other ceremonies recommended throughout the text, for preventing calamities, providential or otherwise, it needs no mentioning, are done by or through the Purohita. He follows, again, the king to the battle-field, encourages soldiers at the commencement of the battle thus

1. मन्नित्वरोहितसः सामाचैवाभिषेकः उष्णसिवधः अमालासः धार्शयेन तू I-10.
2. प्रस्त्रे तत्स्तहरानु स्वेतम् बान्येसु सादरम् I, 392. क्रुद्धविनिविष्ठार्जः योक्ष्याभावमिश्रित: II.
3. ब्रह्मांनित्वं क्रष्ट विनिमित्वमस्तितम् जयविशिष्यमतर्य शास्त्रगतसिद्धितम् II, 9.
4. Text, 5, 3.
infusing fresh spirit into their minds. It is thus evident that the Purohita has not been ruled out of the Arthaśāstra. A further evidence in its favour is that Kāmandaka's Nītisāra, a latest book on polity, has a distinct reference to this official as the dominating and directing force in the administration 1. By this we should not be carried away with the impression that the Brāhmans were only a priestly class, or formed a ministry of religion like that of the Christian Church and dominated the whole situation as the uncrowned monarchs of all they surveyed, thus keeping under their thumb the king or the kingdom. On the other hand they never became a professional religious ministry and did certes take up various secular callings. But the high status they gained was entirely due to their learning and character 2. This tradition alone has been kept up without break, as is gathered from inscriptive evidence. 3 Some conditions for membership in the village assemblies in the 9th century A.D. in South India are that those who have studied the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, and one Dharmaśāstra at least those who have critically studied a whole Veda with its Pariśīktas..." Though a telling force in the administration the Purohita was not above any law or any punishment whatsoever. Conformably to Manu's dictum, 4 Kauṭalya enjoins punishment of the Purohita either by imprisonment or banishment, when he transgresses his svadharma and is found guilty of grave treason (9-31).

The other charge that is laid at the door of Kauṭalya is that his attitude towards religion is complex, 5 and his mentality is clouded by a vision well-distinguishable from the code of ethics. This amounts to saying that he has sacrificed wholesome principles at the altar of tactics and tricks. In support of this statement some examples are quoted as typical ones. One such is the territorial aggrandisement recommended by Kauṭalya. This is far from truth. He has, nowhere, to our knowledge supported aggrandisement of foreign territories. But he is certainly out to break the back of the enemies at any cost, but only in conformity with the Śāstraic injunctions. He is for conquest, but not for conquests for conquest's sake. Gautama lays down constant readiness and exertion for conquering alien countries as one of the bounden duties of the king. 6

2. Prof. K. Sundararama Iyer ably discusses this in a leading article of the ' Hindu Message ' for May 22—29, 1934.
4. पितास्यायं सहोदरायां भायो पुत्रः पुरोहितः।
   नादवृश्चेन्यानाम राहस्यस्त । राजस्वेन न तिष्ठति || Manu. 8, 395.
5. Hindu Political Theories, p. 150.
6. रक्षयुधायं संश्लेषे रक्ष्यायस्मिन न दोषोऽहिसायां आहवे || Ch 10.
Further the true purpose of the idea is well brought to light by an inscription 1 on one of the coins of Samudragupta.

राजाधिराजा पृथ्वीम् अवजिय दिवं जयति अप्रतिवायंवीरः ।

This says that a king conquers only to attain heaven. Surely the motive for conquest seems religious at the bottom, and not secular as is believed by some critics.

While still on this topic we can well explain what 'Mantrayuddha and Kūtayuddha of Ka ntālya mean. Mantrayuddha is circumvention or more definitely, superior skill in circumventing an enemy and not 'treacherous fight' as is translated 2. This has been commented on by Mr. Ganapatī Sastri in the III part of his edition of the Arthaśāstra thus:

मन्त्र: प्राचीक्र्यं तेन युद्ध मुन्युत्त्वादनाधिना शत्रोवेश्यन्म ।

The following verse 3 may be usefully recalled here from Mudrārākṣasa put in the mouth of Cāṇakya, who values his वृद्धि or intelligence, over great armies. 4 Kūtayuddha may mean battle by spells and charms. These kinds of warfare find a legitimate place in the Rājadharmā of the Hindus, though not in the Rājarṣidharma of which we will speak later on.

Manu says:—

बकवत् चिन्तयेद्वर्तनूर सिंहवच वराक्रमेत् ।
बकवतवचावलम्पेत शशवच विनिष्पतेत् ॥ VII. 106.

A conqueror should not use māyā at the first instance, but should be on the lookout for the māyā of the enemy. 5 How to find this out is explained by Ka ntālya through the system of secret spies. Kullukabhaṭṭa comments on

सिंहवचः—संघयायुथवादनांसंय: सर्वेशक्या सत्रु हन्तु आक्रमेत् ।
बकवतै—कर्षिणेतु यामादमासाय यवापादयेत् । शशवचः—कर्ष्यनिर्दिश्यामोह-
माधायगुणवत्साधिवान्तर्य संप्राप्यंगुपपर्यपर्येत् ।

1. I am obliged to Dr. B.K. Aiyangar for this information.
2. Dr. Shama Sastri's Translation Bk. 7. 13.
3. एका केवलमेव साधनविशाल सेनाशतेभिः सिसिसलुभिः

नन्दोनीमूढनहिंसायमाहिः बुद्धस्मागाशम ॥
4. Dr. T. Ganapatī Sastri drew my attention to this.
5. भ्रामायेव वर्तेन न कर्षिणन मायाय

इद्येतारिप्रगुष्ठाः च मायाः निलं स्वसंज्ञ: ॥ Manu, 7. 104.
Thus even the law-giver Manu concedes other means of fighting out the enemy if it is impossible to quell him by open warfare.

It is wrong to speak of Kauṭalya’s recommendation of immoral warfare. To remove this misconception it is well to give his views categorically on the question. First of all, Kauṭalya prefers peace to war, as the latter involves much loss of men and money, and above all sin. Again between Mantrayuddha and Prakāśayuddha or open fight, Kauṭalya certainly prefers open fight and says even at great sacrifice the enemy should be humbled. Does not the Lord say in the Gītā about the Śvadharma of Kṣatriya to fight and fight only. Only failing this he could hit upon the use of skill and diplomacy. Even as regards Kūṭa-yuddha, his attitude towards religion is well defined. He says, “Do not use fire, if you could succeed by any other means. For it offends both God and man” (13-4). When he speaks of fire, poison, and other like-methods, he simply explains what is meant by such kinds of warfare, and these could not be taken in any way as recommendatory especially in the face of his above quoted statements. Again when he gives expression to the various magical tricks to extirpate the enemy, he says such things must commence on the day of the star Puṣya to ensure their success, thus indicating his abundant faith in the working of the planets. More of this later on.

But it must be remarked that one could have recourse to the unrighteous or treacherous kind of warfare if it could be styled so only in the last resort. By overcoming the enemy by any means whatsoever, the king ensures protection to his people, and to their social and religious institutions. By this he is enabled to enjoy both here and hereafter. Again when once the enemy is pulled down to death his property or family members should not be touched and the near relative of the slain king should be installed on the throne. (VII, 16). Further in the matter of breaking treaties and alliances Kauṭalya recommends these only in the case of the wicked. दुष्युं संधि द्वुपदेत् (VII, 14).

In his opinion peace is immutable both in this and the other world. These several kinds of warfare are mentioned as having actually taken

---

1. संधिविषयः: दुष्यायां इदो संधिविषयः।
2. कुमारविषयः: श्रवणयोगसमायः।
3. गद्यः: युद्धसमायः।
4. भवनित। 7—2
5. कुमारविषयः: श्रवणयोगसमायः।
6. होक्यायसंधि।
7. संधिविषयः।
8. श्याज्ञ:। VII-17.
place in both the epics the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata which are according to tradition authoritative Dharmic texts also. Judged by these standards Kauṭalya seems, in our opinion, to stand above any charge of advocating immoral warfare.

The main issues raised by Dr. Ghoshal to taboo the Arthaśāstra as a 'secular' text, would have been answered if the question of the conduct of a prince towards the King and that of the King towards the prince is also examined. The regulations referred to by Kauṭalya for observance by the king seem to the learned Bengal Doctor as framed beyond all moral comprehension and ethical considerations. What Kauṭalya says is that if the prince were to be unruly and of wicked nature, which could be rectified in the long run, he may be placed under restraint. If he happens to be the only son and heir-apparent he may be reconciled by a conciliation through the queen or special commissioners. But if his character is beyond all rectification whatsoever, he may be punished by banishment and especially so, when there are more than one son to the king. Manu gives expression to the same sentiment, namely, if the prince casts off his 'Śvadharma' and behaves in an unbecoming way he deserves to be punished. Orthodox opinion centres around the fact that the traditions contained in both the epics are simply illustrations of Vedic truths, and hence, are, as already mentioned, as much an authority as the Smṛtis themselves. In this connection one of the oft-quoted stanzas of the Mahābhārata comes to mind.

एकेन कुरुवे क्षेमं कुलस्य जगतस्थायी।
त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थं प्रामस्यार्थं कुलं त्यजेत्।
प्रामं जनपदद्वारे आत्मार्थं पृथिवीं त्यजेत्॥

Ādiparva 129 82-83.

In the Rāmāyana again, when Śri Rāma was ordered for forest-life, Sumantra asked Kaikeyi the reason of the recent unjust order served on Śri Rāma. Some of these lines may be quoted with advantage.

राम: किमकेरोताप्यं येनेवमुपर्यह्यते॥
अदुख्यवं हि संत्यागं: सत्ये निरतस्य च।
निर्देहज्ञस्य शक्तिः युतं धर्मनिरोधनात्॥

Ayodhya 37, 26 & 29.

1. Text 1-18.
2. पिताचार्यः भुद्रमाताः मार्गा रुपम् पुरोहितः।

नादश्यो नाम संहोस्तित यः खचमें न तिः॥ VIII-335.
I have quoted these two passages from the respective Epics as they throw the much-needed light on Kauṭalya’s and thus prove the futility of our critics’ arguments. Despite banishment if the prince continues to be the source of still further trouble, it is one of the precepts of Rājadharma to take away his life also. The soul-stirring lines of the Rāmāyana again न पापां वै धर्म के पापें विचारे शासनम् (Sundara 52-11)—one of the accredited and avowed precepts of Rājadharma, comes to our rescue and fortifies our ideas of the Arthaśāstra. It is interesting here to recall the story of Udayakumāra son of the Cola king described in the extant Tamil work called Manimēkalai. When the prince was told that Manimēkalai was in the woods alone, he entered the same with the object of enjoying her imbibed with the evil spirit of lust. There he was killed by a hunter. When the news reached both the king and queen, they did not regret it, but it even earned their approval, though he was their only son, to the effect that it is the king’s duty to get rid of the sons of wicked nature 1.

As the settlement of this ‘secular question’ is a matter of much moment we shall also examine some criticisms advanced by the western scholars. In the course of a lengthy introduction to the new edition of the Arthaśāstra, 2 Dr. Jolly writes “The general tendency of the Arthaśāstra is thoroughly realistic and worldly as opposed to the vague idealism and strictly religious principles of Dharmaśāstras”. Already in the previous pages it has been shown that such general statements are unwarranted. Mahāmabhopādhyāya Gaṇapati Sastrigal of Trivandrum writes to me in the course of a letter “Kauṭalya has only improved upon the Arthaśāstra of his predecessors who are authorities in polity as Maṇu and Yājñavalkya in Dharmaśāstras and he also refers to them often in his works. It is idle to take these authorities cited by Kauṭalya as fictitious as Dr. Jolly does. For actual quotations from the Arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa who are predecessors of Kauṭalya, are found in the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Subscribing entirely to what the learned Pandit and scholar has said I shall proceed to examine the various statements 3 of Dr. Jolly one

1. परमेश्वर (M) अवसरं ये धर्मावधारिणी हैं।
   मृत्यु योगालयम् संसाराभ्यां हैं।
   प्रत्येक संसारे तत्त्वधारिणी हैं।
   (Maṇi, Ch. 32 lines 206 ff.)

2. The Punjab edition Vol. I by Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt.

by one in the light of the Dharmasāstra texts. First the Arthaśāstra declares wealth to be the first and most necessary of the three objects of human life Dharma, Artha and Kāma, while the Dharmasāstra rules that in a conflict between rules of Dharma and rules of Artha the former should prevail. But this must not be taken to mean as Jolly does that the Dharmasāstra has ruled the Artha out. For Artha is the means and Dharma the end. Does not Manu say 'वक्ष्ये जन्तुस्मिति अर्थान' 1 and can we on this statement assert and affirm that Manu is wrong in his ruling. Certainly it is arguing the other way round. Without Artha how could a king discharge his duties towards himself and his subjects? It is interesting what Kautilya says in another place 'काह्रिस्त्ते धने दया' (XII-1), meaning what is the use of the wealth which is after all perishable? Neither could he be said to be inconsistent in his statements nor the passage quoted an interpolation'. The fact remains that the Artha is essential to carry out Dharma, that is, enforcing the civil and the moral law. It is still more necessary for a king whose function it is to maintain Dharma.

Secondly Ānvikṣikī philosophy in the Arthaśāstra includes the materialistic system of the Lokāyata, whilst Manu condemns the study of the rationalistic treatises. The verse cited 2 means that person who, adhering to rationalistic studies, disregards the Vedas and the Sāstras, is an infidel and deserves excommunication by the learned men. Evidently Dr. Jolly has misunderstood the text. Manu has not condemned the study of such treatises but those unbelievers such as the cārvākas. Further it is irrelevant, for the law-giver is not speaking about the king in that chapter. But as the lord of both the believers and unbelievers the king is expected to be versed in all sciences and branches of knowledge. It is interesting here to read what M. M. Ganapati Sastri has to say. In his opinion, not of course unwarranted, the Ānvikṣikī of the Arthaśāstra means the न्याय system of Indian philosophy. 'Vide Śrīmūlam commentary Vol. I, p. 27.) Another plank in the programme of his studies is Vārtā or economics. It may be contended why this finds a place in it. Śūdraka, the celebrated dramatist includes Vaiśiki-vidyā as a science to be learned by the king. Arguing this way would be twisting the point too far. Here is the case of one who neither disrespects the Smṛti nor the Šruti for his faith in the scriptures is unmistakable when he says, that the state when ruled in accordance with the rules laid down in the Veda, ever progresses and never stagnates. 3 Besides it must be remembered that both Yajñavalkya

1. Manu, 7, 106,
2. वैशार्मेयेन ते मूचे देहुधार्मायाह्याहिः:।
   च साधुविभेदमायाहयो नास्तिको वेदविन्दुः:॥ २ ॥ II-11.
3. लक्ष्याद्वै रक्षिताः लोकः प्रतीद्धति न रूपद्वां:। -8. (text),
and Manu certainly include the Ānvikṣiki, to be studied by the king, of which Lokayata is only a sub-division.

Thirdly the Arthaśāstra denounces that foolish fellow who consults the stars too much while Yājñavalkya recommends the worship of the planets. The idea underlying the verse quoted 1 is that all the available sources of wealth should be regularly tapped. The king must not be sitting idle inquiring into the movements of the stars as to his rise or fall in the teeth of obstruction to acquisition of wealth. It would be something like Nero fiddling when Rome is burning. So after discussing the various stumbling blocks in the way of acquiring wealth, Kauṭalya concludes that for a king entire reliance in the working of the planets would not do. He should be full of that spirit of enterprise (उद्योग) to which he has drawn attention to more than once; and he must endeavour his best to overcome such seeming obstacles by repeated exertions.

This interpretation of the verse would, I think, meet with approval. When interpreting we should take the time and the circumstance into consideration also. For instance Kauṭalya says in one place 2 that the king should protect his person more than that perishable wealth. From this it must not be concluded that he condemns the acquisition or amassing of wealth. The point is that compared to the one, the other dwindles into insignificance. On the other hand there is warrant enough to demonstrate his advocacy and faith in planet-worship. Mention has already been made of his recommending this to begin the various devices to quell the enemy on the day of the star of Puṣya, auspicious for the same. Again in Ch. 24 of Book II, it is explained that the planets Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), and the Sun, influence agricultural crops a good deal. The first causes the growth of the plants, the second gives shower, and the third the fruit of the seeds. Also in various places in the text, frequent references are made to prayers and oblations to Gods, so to avert calamities. In this respect the Arthaśāstra is quite in keeping with Yājñavalkya who says that one should try and offer prayers to that planet which seems offended with him. 3

The fourth argument of Dr. Jolly is that the Arthaśāstra encourages immoral practices like the secret murder of high officials, and confiscation of their property. I suppose this is one of the unsavory methods in politics of Kauṭalya according to Prof. Winternitz also. At the

1. नष्टमयति पृष्ठन्तं बालमयांतित्वति ।
   अर्थों हर्षस्य नक्षत्रं कि कार्यायति तारकाः ॥ 19-4 (text).  
2. रक्षेत् स्वेदेष ैथ घनं का मानियो घने द्या । XII.1-(text)  
3. वष्ण वष्ण कर्म कुस्ति सं ते यज्ञन पुष्यत । I-907.
outset it may be said without fear of any contradiction that confiscation of property is applicable only to दुष्प्रकाण्ड; or culprits and disloyal seditionists. Such persons could be certainly punished in secret if it were impossible to get rid of them at all. Towards this end no other method could be more effective. If they are openly attacked, surely they would set up the standard of revolt with the resultant consequence that it would be scorching the snake and not killing it.

Manu says excellently well that the thorns in the path of progress of the state must be cleared off at any cost. We should carefully note the closing sentences of the para dealing with the various deceptive and secret plans to put an end to these wicked ones एवं दृष्टे पुरुषों अधाराधिकारिणों च वते } नेतरेषु { ५ । २। Thus resort to these methods is only in exceptional cases, and not applicable to the case of the righteous. Does not Manu rule that व त is the King's duty to afford protection to his subjects and consign the accredited accomplices to punishment leading to death also. Yājñavalkya reaffirms this statement of Manu by saying that getting reliable information through the special commissioners as to the good conduct or otherwise of the officials, the king should honour the good and punish the evil minded.

Again it must be said in all fairness to the great author of the Arthaśāstra that he was alive to the fact that unnatural and adharmaic methods of punishments would lead to impoverishment of the country and discontent among the people and hence ought not to be indulged in । The same ideas, were more or less familiar to the compiler of the Rāmāyaṇa, undoubtedly an older text and a moral-insculcating one, where occurs:

उपायकुशलं वै यथं भूतासंडौद्धं रत्नम् ।
शृङ्गेश्वर्यकामं च यों न हुनित स कच्यते ॥

1. रक्षादायिष्ठानां कण्डकानां च शोभनात् ।
नरेिज्ञानिष्ठिन्तं यान्ति प्रजापालनतंतपरं ॥ IX-253.
2. Since writing this I noticed with pleasure this point brought out by Mr. N. N. Law in his able reply to Prof. Winzenitz (vide Bep. 1944 Calcutta Review).
3. रक्षृनं धर्मं भूतानि राजा कथायां गायत्रम् ॥ VIII-306.
4. ये राजाधिकारात्तेषां चारे: भावा विस्तेितं ।
साधृष्टं संपत्तेवं राजा विपरीताःर्द्ध गायत्रम् ॥ I 339.
5. अश्रेष्ठेन श्रि सताः अश्वत्तं अभ्यूद्ध च ।
अव्वलानां च भूसतानि अभ्यूद्धां प्रवत्तने: ॥
अभितनां चतितान्य घामिष्यानि निवर्तते: ।
अर्थांश्य अश्रेष्ठेन धर्मेनाध्यायमेण च ॥ VII ५ (text)
Thus it is enjoined on the king to extricate himself from the undesirables lest he should be landed in troubles of all kinds.

Another charge that is laid at the door of Kauṭalya is his unscrupulous means of collecting taxes under various pretences. Really this is overstating the fact. For does not Kauṭalya say beautifully well that taking of revenues in improper seasons like the plucking of fruits when unripe should not be resorted to, as the very source would be perilously affected. The same is interpreted, according to Mr. Ganapati Sastri’s commentary, that any person could be deprived of the dishonest sources of income but not the dharmaic sources, lest it would create trouble among the people. Anyway the interpretations serve well our purpose. Surely a statesman proceeding on this wholesome basis could hardly recommend taxes of oppressive nature. The main principles of lawgivers अनादेयं नानदीत, न श्रीनिवासकर्मेऽ, etc. are followed both in letter and spirit. No wonder then when he says that a king should not have recourse to iniquitous imposts. For it is giving a handle, as it were, to the enemy. In the light of these, it would be nothing short of absurdity to charge Kauṭalya with any act of immoral practice. Kauṭalya is distinct when he expresses the special means employed to collect taxes or benevolences only in times of acute financial distress. Setting up sacred spots and imputing mysterious powers to them, giving some miraculous remedies for snake-bites, etc., or running other public-shows or exhibitions to swell the treasury by attracting the wayfarers, travellers, and what not, are some of the means advocated. These are legitimate in the sense that they do not give even the slightest room for discontent among the people.

Again to deprive goldsmiths, merchants and other traders, of their illegitimate gains especially when financial troubles actually stare the state in its face, could not be pronounced as unjust. It is pleasant to read how Manu characterises these classes as deceivers in open daylight and dishonest in their dealings. Surely this is an effective method of punishing their dishonesty. Under these circumstances to treat these taxes, if they are taxes at all, as oppressive or immoral, is,

1. वषैं पत्रत्वमिवारमतः फलं राज्याद्भाष्यन्यात्।
   आत्मच्याचेत्वादमव वर्जयेतु कोषकारक्यम्। II V-9. (text)

2. अद्यादौ देयानां देयानां च साधने।
   अश्चर्णेऽन्तो रूरळोंतं च परिवेष्णे।
   विरजायन्यामितम् वा भंतां द्रवित वा द्रव्यम्। VII-5. (text)

3. प्रतुसुप्पर अर्ध्यपुष्पू। II V-9. (text)

4. प्रकाशवचकः। II IX-257.
in our opinion, to misread the text. At the most they answer pertinently
enough for the modern capitation tax, levy on capital, etc.

Similarly it is said that the Arthashastra recommends judicial torture
for persons suspected of crimes whilst the Dharmaashastra administers
ordeal in doubtful cases. The fact is that ordeal of fire, water, etc., were
used only for serious crimes and seditious acts. 1 Again its use was
restricted to cases of transactions of not less than 1,000 pana. Instead of
ordeal for doubtful cases, Kautilya recommends the more healthy
method of inquiry and trial on evidence. When the accused could prove
his innocence he must be acquitted. 2 And punishment shall be ordered
after the guilt is quite proved and he quotes the classic instance of
Mandavya. 3 Action would be taken only in cases where the guilt is
fully established beyond any shadow of doubt on the foundation of strong
evidence. 4 Consideration in the same chapter is shown towards women,
children, the aged and the afflicted. There was no indiscriminate punish-
ment meted out. The eighteen methods of punishment under the general
heading 'Karma' are certainly agreeable to Manu. He says 5 that
limb of the body that was responsible for the guilt may be cut off in the
interest of the kingdom. Again in inflicting punishments of banishment
for Brahmin-culprits in the same chapter, he follows Mandaka-Dharma-
ashastra, where it is said अश्वत त्र ब्राह्मणं च जेतु VIII, 124.

To our knowledge then Kautilya seems nowhere to have recom-
manded torture of any kind to 'suspected' persons. True it was used
after the establishment of the guilt or when the culprit was caught in the
act. Perhaps Dr. Shama Sastri's translation of वाक्यालनियतयथायोगी —the
heading of the Chapter 8 of Bk. IV as "trial and torture to elicit con-
fession," might have been partly responsible for such unwarranted state-
ments. A proper and more apt rendering would be "examination on
evidence and action to be taken thereon." There is no mention in any
place in the chapter under discussion where torture is used to elicit
confession, but on the other hand, to advert to what has been said already,
its application was only to avowed culprits. This is something akin to the
modern practice of the jury pronouncing guilty or not-guilty (वाक्यालनियतयथायोगी)

1. नासूत्स्रावं न विषं न बुङ्ग लया ।
नृपंत्याधिकारियों न वनेयुः: हृदयः सदा ॥ V-11-101.
2. शास्त्रिनिदेश्याययुक्तमलस्यायहृदयवृत्तकरणमित्यधयायोगी । text-IV-3.
3. तत्सामस्थास्थानोऽयमन्येत । (do)
4. आस्तेवर्ष कर्मकायेत । (do)
5. वेन वेन सत्याङ्ग स्पनन तथ विष्णु विष्णुत।
तत्सादेव हरेरस्य प्रत्यादेशाय परिष्यः ॥ III-384.
and the judge deciding on the nature of punishment on the merits of the case. (कमोकुस्योग)

The next point raised by the learned German doctor equally falls to the ground when tested by the torchlight of the law-books. It is about the management of slaughter-houses in general. It is said that Manu has condemned it. But the truth is that Manu condemns not the management but the receiving of gifts by kings from such dealers.¹ Yājñavalkya, it goes without saying, strikes the same note.² The very fact that Manu draws attention to this shows the existence of such institutions, though adharmaic, prior to Manu at least. This premise granted, it is certainly open for the state, the custodian of the public health,—to bring them under its control and impose restrictions for their working lest they would be misused. A great statesman as he was, he realised its importance as affecting public weal and hence framed certain measures as befits a treatise on Arthaśāstra. It may be pointed out that in the matter of distinguishing good meat from bad offered for public sale, he is in line with Yājñavalkya who prescribes regulations to sell forbidden meat on pain of heavy penalty.³

The eighth argument given is that in the family law the Arthaśāstra allows divorce on the ground of mutual dislike of husband and wife whilst Nārada has a ruling to the effect that it is sinful for a married couple to separate for that reason. This is also misrepresenting the author’s view point. A careful reading of the text lays bare the truth and throws the argument overboard. It runs thus:

परस्यं दैवत् मोक्षः कृतिप्रकाराद्व  पुरुषश्चेत्यमोक्षश्चेत्य नास्ये यथाग- हीतमयै दैवत् । पुरुषश्चेत्यमोक्षश्चेत्य नास्ये यथा दैवत् । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानाम इति ।

The last sentence "Amokṣa Dharmavivāhānam" certainly implies that the previous sentences have only application to cases of Adharmaic marriages which are four in number out of the eight forms given. With regard to Dharmic forms there is no divorce (अमोक्षो). This explicit statement is certainly a thoughtful commentary on the ruling of Nārada which Dr. Jolly mentions.

1. दशसूत्राश्राणि यो वाहयति सौनिकः ।
   तेन तुव्रस्तो राजा योगस्त्रयतिमयः ॥ 14-36,

2. प्रतिमक्षे सूतिकक्षावज्जेयानाशिपि ।
   दुष्ध दशस्यै पुज्जातं पुज्जावतिसे यथोत्तरम् ॥ 1.111.

3. कृत्स्वर्णव्यवहारोपमातस्य  च विबोधः ।
   व्यासाश्रीभन्नं कर्तव्यं दाय्यपौत्रसामासम् ॥ 2.300.
One more minor point and the last in that category of criticism is that the Arthaśāstra allows remarriage of women in the case of protracted absence of husbands, but it is repudiated in the majority of law-books. Important writers whose opinions are valid and authoritative, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc., have sanctioned this. This remarriage, if it could be so called, is with a younger brother of her husband, and failing him, with a sapinda or a sgotra. Kauṭalya concludes this portion of the text with the pregnant sentence आत्मापदेशाः । एष एव कमः । meaning thereby that this has been so ordained by the Śruti kartas of old. (III, 4). ¹ But it would not be out of place to mention in passing that such rulings as these have been prohibited in the Kaliyuga Dharma by the revered sages and seers of yore lest the confusion of evil become worse confounded.

Thus I have endeavoured to expose the arrant criticisms that are rapidly gaining ground both in this country and in the West to spoil the fair name of a moral-abiding statesman. We would be certainly doing a great injustice to that talented Pandit politician, (Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his appendix (C). P. 205, Part I of his latest work Hindu Polity discusses this point very ably), who has endeavoured his best to compile an Arthaśāstra from the scattered materials available during his time. In such a comprehensive study of every branch of administration, the beauty is that the great author has not swerved even an inch from the already beaten track of Dharmaśastras. Kauṭalya is not concerned with any particular method but views the Rājadharma in all its aspects. A student of historical literature could make a distinction between Rājadharma and Rājārṣidharma. The latter is purely idealistic and based on the very letter of Śastras. The former may sacrifice the letter to a little extent but never the spirit. A typical example of a Rāja and a Rājārṣi would make this manifestly clear. Duryodhana was a Rāja and Yudhiṣṭhira was a Rājārṣi. Śri Rāma was aware of this when he speaks of Rājadharma as Adharma but partaking also of the character of Dharma.² Thus the charges framed against Kauṭalya, though in appearance Adharma, are really Dharmic in the light of that immortal verse of the Rāmāyaṇa. Uniformly the author has shown that he is not only a ‘pandit’ but something more. This tradition of pandit-

¹ देवराज्ञी सपिष्टाण्य बिषयांवंशिन्युच्यया ।
प्रवेषिताचिन्तण्य शंतातोष्ण परिक्षेयं || 1X-59 (Manu)

² क्षत्रियांमई लक्ष्ये वधमचे धम्मसंहितम् ।
स्मृत्युश्रवेषा: तुष्ट्येव सेवितं पाक्षमभजः || Ayod.:109.30.
statesman continued to very recent times. We meet them often in the Gupta inscriptions and still later we have Hemādri, a pandit and at the same time a foreign secretary, to the Maharatha king, Yādava Mahādeva.

In conclusion we would say a few words about the views of the Italian critic and scholar G. B. Botazzi. In his work Kauṭalya is said to have been spoken of as the Macchiavelli of India. According to Dr. Winternitz, Dr. Kalidas Nag repudiates the comparison of Kauṭalya with Macchiavelli in his recent work "The Diplomatic theories of Ancient India and the Arthaśāstra", in French. Dr. Winternitz takes the other view and thinks that "the designation of Kauṭalya as the "Indian Macchiavelli" seems perfectly justified in so far as both of them teach political methods from an amoralistic point of view." (Vide Viśvabhārti Quarterly, October 1923). Those who have studied the theories of both Macchiavelli and Kauṭalya would not but resist the conclusion that Kauṭalya stands no comparison with the western political theorist. First our distinguished author is no originator of any new system of political science. He himself admits that his work is a compilation of the various and varied works of his predecessors, and as such claims no originality of his own, except giving definite shape to the multitudinous conflicting systems existing. ¹

Secondly Kauṭalya’s study is not narrow, limited and confined to certain aspects of polity as Machiavelli’s undoubtedly is. It displays a wider range of study of every possible aspect of public administration. Limitations of any kind do not embarrass our author. He is free in his explanations, and catholic in presenting his views. In fine his treatise leaves nothing to be desired. Thirdly, the ideal in Kauṭalya is not territorial aggrandisement but conquest with a higher aim in view. The Hindu ideal has all along been that the conquest of the earth was the means towards the realising of the end, namely the attainment of heaven. This has been demonstrated by the author in season and out of season. Lastly Kauṭalya has nowhere sacrificed religious or moral principles towards his one end, namely, public welfare. The myth of immoral state-craft and the illusion of unscrupulous methods in politics have been disillusioned by examining the unjust attacks made by scholars of both the East and the West. With Mr. Ganapati Sastri we conclude "it is evident that Kauṭalya was indebted to the Smṛtis and his position in respect of the Smṛtis was that of a commentator".² Thus Kauṭalya was not Machiavelli in any sense, nor his treatise, the undying work of Arthaśāstra, a ‘secular one.’

¹ संवेदनार्थस्यनुसरण्युक्तः प्रयोगात्युक्तम् च।
कौटल्येऽनेवदेवेऽशासनस्य दिपौल: स्मृत: II.10 (text)

² Introduction to Part I of Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra (Trivandrum series).
X.—Sociology, Ethnology and Folklore.
GOTRA AND PRAVARA AND THEIR INCIDENCE ON MARRIAGE.

BY

PROF. K. RANGACHARI, M.A., B.L., VIJAYANAGARAM.

A very interesting sociological fact connected with the Hindu society is the division of the dvija castes into groups called Gotras. Following the dvija castes, the other communities notably the Śudras have followed the same practice; these Gotras do not indicate the descent, as is alleged in the case of Brahmans from a Rṣi-ancestor, but simply are the names of plants or objects like plough, scythe, etc. The Gotras of the Śudras according to some sociologists indicate the existence once of totemistic divisions amongst them which have been readily converted into Gotras, based on Brahmnical practices. The Gotra of the Hindus corresponds to the gens of the Romans, indicating similar practices amongst the races of the Aryan family. The tracing of descent through the male ancestor seems to be the foundation for the institution of the Gotra. Pāṇini says “अपलं पौर्णप्रयत्तिगोत्रम्.” But this definition seems to have undergone much modification in the course of ages.

Baudhāyana defines Gotra thus:—

सप्तनां ऋषीणाम् अगस्त्यश्रमानां यद्पत्यं तद्रेत्त्रम्।

"The offspring of the seven Rṣis with Agastya as the eighth is called Gotra". The Saptarṣis are:


The commentators explain:—

एषां यत्वन्त्योद्विचारपत्येहितां तत्पुर्वप्राविभाविनां अन्ततरभाविनां च गोत्रामिलः।

ब्रह्मवेदियां मन्त्रद्राष्ट्याः।

[प्रवर्मनबः]

"The sons and grandsons and previous and succeeding generations of a Rṣi form a Gotra. A Rṣi (for this purpose) is one who is a "Mantradraṣṭā". Thus the families of certain great Rṣis came to be known by their names and these Rṣis became Gotrakārins. Gotra according to this text then means a family just like Kula. The Brahmans like others were proud of their ancestry and like the peerage of England the Brahmin peerage of India was formed. The Aryan Brahmans thus
showed the love of their ancestors and their pride in them by perpetuating their names as those of founders of families or Gotrakārins (गोत्रकारिण:). The outcome not only of this legitimate pride in their great ancestors but of certain practices connected with the Vedic ritual, was the perpetuation of the names of certain Ṛṣis. This remarkable peerage based not on possessions or wealth but the authorship of Vedic hymns was not exclusively confined to the Brahmins but included the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas.

Gotra perhaps in very early times depended on community of blood; but it is certain that later on this community of blood became fictitious. Apart from these eight Ṛṣis above-mentioned two others have attained to this high eminence that of Gotrakārins, viz., Bṛggu and Angirasa. In accepting these two Ṛṣis as Gotrakārins it is observed:—

बोधायनोक्तिं अनुवादत्वात् उपलक्ष्यं तेन भृगक्षिणोगेशु सत्तर्शोभ- व्रेपि अधिकारास्वत्वस्य

"The saying of Baudhāyana, being a repetition of what others have said is not exhaustive but illustrative. The Bṛggu-Angirasa groups even though they do not belong to those of the Saptarṣis and are not included in them, have attained recognition (like those of the Saptarṣis mentioned above.)

As I have said before, by a fiction a man was permitted to acquire a Gotra. Thus we find,

अथ अस्मात्वात्वः आचार्यमूल्यायणमनुपवत्ति || आचार्यप्रवर्त- 

व्रृणि || (प्रवर्तप्रवरी)

and further.

गोत्रस्वापरिष्ठाने काश्यपं गोत्रामिह्यते ||

[प्रवर्तप्रवृणम्]

"When the relations are unknown (i.e., when the Gotra is unknown) a man may adopt that of the Ācārya". "If the Gotra is unknown, Kāśyapa Gotra may be adopted." A famous case was that of the son of Jābāla, mentioned in Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Satyakāma was the son of Jābāla. He approached Gautama with a request to take him as his disciple. On being questioned by Gautama as to his father and not knowing him he asked his mother Jābālā about his father. She replied that she was free in her amours and that she was not sure of his progenitor. Satyakāma declared this fact to Gautama who being pleased with his truthfulness initiated him and gave him his own Gotra. Baudhāyana observes:—
GOTRA AND PRARVARA AND THEIR INCIDENCE ON MARRIAGE. 637

"Those who are begotten by him, those who receive their initiation at his hands, those who receive their Vedic instruction from him those at whose sacrifices he officiates, then those are his (begetter’s, initiator’s, teacher’s or sacrificer’s) sons."

Thus by this fictitious extension of sonship, people were permitted to adopt the Gotra of an Ācārya, purbot, etc. Not birth only but discipleship also was then one mode by which a man acquired a Gotra.

The other term that demands explanation is Pravara. It is defined as follows:

आहुवनीयस्याः हृद्यवाहनान्नः सत्यरीणां अगस्त्याद्यां अपत्यसम्बन्धेन तत्साहंसम्बन्धेन वा प्रकर्षण वरणानि प्रार्थनानि प्रवराः।

इत्योज्जताः नादृश्योऽध्यनौ ॠषीनूः सहस्रेष्ठेऽदृश्येऽदृश्यं तदविद्वित नत्साहसम्बन्धेन आहुवनीयं वृणिनां इत्यथे॥

तथ्य अन्तःरहुवनीयस्य प्रकर्षण प्रार्थनानि तैत्तिरिमिरेनक्तिनिप्रबस्रूर्यनिविशिष्टानि एकांप्रकर्षणः प्रवराः।

प्रवराः: हृद्यचते॥

In Vedic sacrifices, Agni (Havyavāhana) is the carrier of libations and therefore when the sacred fire is to be consecrated he must be invoked. After the consecration of the sacred fire the Hotā and the Adhvaryu declare that the Yajamāna or the sacrificer is as worthy as his famous Rāṇī ancestors to offer sacrifices to Gods and thus they invite Agni or Havyavāhana to carry his libations just as he did those of his great Rāṇī ancestors and this invocation came to be called Pravara. That the invitation is not to the ancestors but to Agni must be borne in mind; and that the ritual connected with Vedic sacrifice is the cause of Pravara is certain.

The names to be included in the initiation may be one, two, three or five but not four or greater than five.

एकं वृणितः, द्वीपं वृणितः, त्रीन्द्रति न च चतुरं वृणितं पञ्च वृणितं न पञ्चविलिकृतः॥

1. The following are from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which go to show that Pravara found its application in Vedic Ritual.

अध्येष्यं प्रवराः। यावथेष्येष्येष्ये नवेत्लस्य साहवियः चो यथा प्रवरयति।

तत्साहं वृणितः॥ परस्त्रात्रप्रवरः॥ परस्त्रात्रप्रवरः॥ प्रजाः।

प्रजायते। ज्ञायस्तथविभेषं उष्णेबनं निहितं हि रुतिवच्चेद्य पुष्टः परस्त्रायस्य।

परस्त्रात्रप्रवरः॥ इति॥ का १॥ अ ३४॥ सू ३४॥
Bahudhāyana, Āpastamba and most of the Smṛtikartas say this. But Jaimini differs from them and he says

अन्यायेष्यस्य हानं स्वादिष्कारात्

The Adhvaryu recites backwards from the descendants to the ancestor and the Hotā from the ancestor to the descendants, viz.,

भार्गवच्यायनानाभानोजापमदम्यति होतारणांति जमद्ग्रीवूर्ववद्ध्वानाभावनववद्धुमध्ववद्ध्वयुः

The use of the suffix is an indication that Agni is asked to look upon the Yajamāna or sacrificer as Jamadagni or Urva or Āpnavāna or Cavyāvāna or Brugu, those famous men of his family who were Mantrakartas. But there seems to be a solitary exception to this, for it is said:

कात्यायिनिष्ठार्यापश्वम्मूष्ठां होतामितिलेख्य्यें वरणम्

Mr. Vaidya wonders whether there is any connexion between the number of sacred fires (as Tratāgni or Paṅcāgni) and the number of Rṣis included in invocations to sacred fire, i.e., Pravara. Whether a man is an Ekārṣeya or Dvyārṣeya or Tryārṣeya or Paṅcārṣeya if he is a Somayāji must maintain the Tretāgni and if he enters upon the Vānaprasthārama, he should maintain five sacred fires. There seems to be no connexion between the number of Rṣis a man has in his Pravara and the number of sacred fires he has to maintain and sacrifice in as the latter solely depend upon the sacrifices he has performed and the stage of life which he embraces. But according to Āpastamba we learn that there is some connexion between the number of Rṣis in a man’s Pravara and the number of Śikhas he wears upon his head. For in the Ācārya’s Grhyasūtra we find:—

अवरणशमिष्ठार्यापश्वम्मूष्ठां शल्यया त्रिभिर्वृद्धपुश्चितेः शशालोकः

The Commentary runs thus:—वयस्कम् यावन्त ऋष्यस्वप्नवे तावर्तिषिवानिदधाति एकवेयस्येकशिखा यापेयस्य हृ इत्यादि

So far we have considered the meanings of Gotra and Pravara and then the question about their inter-relationship arises. What then is the connection between Gotra and Pravara? It is made clear by Baudhāyana thus:
GOTRA AND PRAVARA AND THEIR INCIDENCE ON MARRIAGE.

एक एव ऋषियोऽवपूण्यभरते
तावसमानगोत्र्यज्ञन्यः भृगुवाक्षिणणात्
श्रीयमाणातथावपि सत्यवाचसन्तनम्
एकत्र देस्यते यत्र तद्वायृं तत्व सुचये

With the exception of the groups of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras in the rest the commonness of even one Rṣi between the Pravaras of two persons of different Gotras, makes them Samānagotras. But with regard to these two exceptional cases we find:

पद्यानां चित्तु सामान्यादविवाहाधिषिधु हुयो:।
भृगुवाक्षिणणेव शेषेभकाशावारेतु॥

Amongst the Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras groups, the commonness of one Rṣi amongst the Pravaras of persons belonging to two different Gotras, if such be Tryārṣeṣyas, does not make them Samānagotra. Also two common Rṣis between the Pravaras of persons belonging to two different Gotras do not make them Samānagotras if they be Pañcārṣeṣyas. The commonness of one Rṣi between the Pravaras of persons belonging to the eight Gotras named after the eight Rṣis, Viśvāmitra, etc., brings in Samānagotratvam. But in the case of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras groups it is different as is shown above.

There is another curious fact concerning Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras. Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras are not included among the eight Gotrakārins. Jamadagni, a descendant of Bhṛgu takes his place and Bharadvāja and Gautama, descendants of Aṅgiras occupy his place. But there is Purānic tradition to show that Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras were once Gotrakārins. In the Matsya Purāṇa we find

मन्नन्तरोपसिस्मप्रातः पूर्वं वैवस्वते तथा।
अश्रवसे चुनवते ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिन:।
महादेवक्ष्य शापे वत्तेदेहान्त्ववच ततः।
अष्टयते सुमृत्वा हुते श्रुतं यथेच्छया।
देवानां मात्रों देवा देवपत्यस्वत्वेः च।
स्कं श्रुतं महाराज ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिन:।
तत्तुर्ताव ततो श्रद्धा ततो जातो हुताशनः।
ततो जातो महातिर्हा भृगुश्च तपसानिधिः।
अश्रवश्चिरा जातो शार्यिम्योऽविन्स्तयेव।
Thus according to this tradition the following seven Brahmarshis came into existence at a sacrifice of Brahma.


With regard to Brāgu and his descendants in Matsyapurana we find the following genealogy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Brāgu.} \\
\text{Cyavana.} \\
\text{Āpravāna.} \\
\text{Aurva.} \\
\text{Jamadagni.}
\end{align*}
\]

In reference to An̄giras we have two Rṣis taking his place amongst the now current eight Gotrakārins. The connected genealogies as declared in Matsyapurana are

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{An̄giras.} \\
\text{Bṛhaspati.} \\
\text{Bharadvāja.} \\
\text{Garga.} \\
\text{Amahīya.}
\end{align*}
\]


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dirghahatamas.} \\
\text{Gotama.}
\end{align*}
\]

or

Gautama (one of the Saptarṣis.)
In the Matsyapurāṇa we find:

मरीचितन्याराजन्युर्यानामविष्णुता।
भायी साधिन्योदेवस्तम्या: पुत्रा दश्स्तम्या। इ
अल्मा ह्यायुभनो दृष्टो दृष्ट: प्राणस्थैर्य च।
हविभमांश गविभाश कटुस्तव्य ते दृष्ट।
इल्लेतांक्ष्यस्तो नाम देवा वै सामगायिनः।
सुरूपा जनयामास ऋषीनवेश्वरानानिमान्।
हृदस्पति गोतमं च संवरं च महाकर्मिः।
अयास्य नामदेवं च उच्चवयस्विनं तथा।
तेषां गोत्रस्मुत्रकान्यो ग्रोतकारातिरिक्त्वाई:।
उच्चध्यो गोतमस्थैव नैतेशोभित्तत्वः।

With regard to the former, we have:

आङ्करातू महातेजा देवाचार्यों हृदस्पति।
भार्द्ध्वास्तथा गर्भस्तैन्यव भगवानुवः।

Marici.

Kāśyapa.

Avatsara.

Asita.

Rebha. Nidhruva.

Mr. Vaidya refers to another tradition, that of the Mahābhārata. He writes, "But a very curious but important śloka in the Mahābhārata states that originally the Gotras were four only, viz., Bhrgu, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa and Āṅgiras. This and the next śloka are as follows:—

मूलोगुणानि चतवरि समुपवानि भारत।
अङ्करा: कर्षयक्षेत्र वसिष्ठो भूपुरेव च।

Then between the seven Brahmarṣis of Matsyapurāṇa and the four according to Mahābhārata, Bhrgu, Āṅgiras and Vasiṣṭha are common. Marici in the one corresponds to his descendant Kāśyapa in the other. Atri of the Matya list remains amongst the Gotrakārins. With regard to Pulaha and Pulastya, it is observed in Matsyapurāṇa.
Here again is a curious fact. Pulaha and Pulastya having adopted sons of Agastya, are now counted amongst the Agastyas.

There is an important fact which demands mention, viz., the practice which once obtained in relation to the formation of the Pravara of a Dvāmausvāyana. It is observed by Kāryāyanalaukgasīlpa.

The origin and the acquirement of Brahminhood we will explain. Thus the Brahmanas are born in three ways: they are Upastikulina, Sāmantakulina, and Dvāmausvāyana. Those whose descent through males is unbroken are Upastikulina. Those who for seven or five generations are born of well-born mothers possess learning and are of
good conduct and those who are on either father's or mother's side connected with Ṛṣis, those are known as Samhata-śulinás and they are fit for the duties of a Ṛtvik. Those like the Kṛtrimas, Dattaka, Kṛtaka and Purtikāputra, who by being taken away by others, lose the Pravaras of the families into which they are born, are called Dvīmuṣyāyaṇaḥ; for instance, Śrūgaśaśiśi, Bharaśvājñādamegha and Logākṣi and some others like these have their Pravaras as given above. In the case of Dvīmaṇyaś, the first is due to the begetter's and the other to the fictitious father in the case in which the Pravaras are three (of the fictitious father) and three (of the begetter) the same should be followed only observing that the number of the Pravaras does not exceed five."

But this practice does not seem to be uniform, for it is said:

"All the Āśāryas who wrote on Pravara, amongst all Dvīmaṇyaśa Gotras like Śrīga and Śaśi mentioned only those two and gave only their Pravaras and not of any other; they declare for the rest the Pravaras of the (fictitious) father only."

The following have been famous amongst Dvīmaṇyaśa Gotras. Matsyasurpaṇa says:

"I will now declare those who are born of Dvīmaṇyaśa Gotras. They are:—Aunāṭhyaś, Abhikuraṇa, Tāṇyaś, Rājavanaṇyaś, Sairasīś, Rodabarīś, Sairandhrīś, Rūpavisaktīś, Sāmrākīś, Sadrupākṣīś, and Sajātambīś. They are of Vasistha Gotra during the day time and of Kaśyapa Gotra during the night time." What exactly this fact signifies it is not easy to see. But there is the curious fact itself.

We will now examine the Pravaras of Kṣatriyas and Vaisyaś, the remaining two sub-divisions of dvijas. It is a notorious fact that amongst them there is a confusion about the Gotras and Pravaras which time has worked to make them only more confounded. In very early times,
Kṣatriyas were also founders of Gotras, and it is clear that they have become the Gotras and Pravaras of Brahmanas.

In the HARIVAMŚA, we find that Dunaka, descendant of Purūrava, and that Mitrāyuv, Mudgala and Kaṇva, descendants of Duṣyanta, founded Gotras and were accepted as Brahmarśis.

काश्शशशशशशश द्वाविसत् तथा गुस्मद: प्रभुः ||
पुत्रो गुस्मदेष्यावि ज्ञानको तस्य शौकका: ||
भाणः क्षत्रियाश्रैव बैच्याशुद्धरास्ते पुत्र: ||
पुत्र: पथिरथवासीत् कण्वसमस्मवन्दुप ||
मेघातितिधिनस्तस्य यस्मात् काण्यायना द्विजा: ||

In the same Purāṇa, we find that the Bāleyas whose Gotra has been given by all Pravarācāryas were descended from a Kṣatriya.

महायोगी स तु बलिः: भभुव नुपरिति: पुरा।
पुरानुपाद्यामास पश्ववंशकरान्मुवि ||
अन्धः प्रथमतो जगो बुद्धसुद्धस्ते पुत्र:।
पुण्डः कलिङ्गव तथा बालेयं क्षत्रमुहवे।
बालेया: भाणाश्रैव तस्य वंशकराभुवि ||

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa we find that Aṅgirasa was descended from Māndhātā, a Kṣatriya.

अस्तरीशष्य मान्यातूनम्नयुज्यायनम् पुत्रो भवत्।
तस्माहृतिं:।
यतोऽविग्रहसोहरिताः ||

Āpastamba declares:

अथ क्षत्रियाणां गरु ह स्वान्तिते एक एवेषां प्रवर: मानवेदवोहरव-सेति।
एवामु ह मन्त्रकतो न स्यु: स्पुरोहितप्रवर: ते प्रवरीरनौ।
अथ एवेषां
स्मर्पुरोहितप्रवर: ते सपुरोहितप्रवराश्वायने।

"Thus to the Kṣatriyas who invovke through their own Rṣis, there is only one Pravara, viz., Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa: those who have no Mantrakartas (in their family) they have the Pravara of their Purohits. Even those whose Pravara is not that of their Purohits they even by the same reason have the Pravara of their Purohits." The reason above-referred to is explained by commentators like this:
"What then is the reason referred to? The following is declared. All of them have Purohits for without them they have not the right to perform Vedic rites. With regard to the question of their own Pravara, on account of the same Pravara, marriage becomes impossible is the reason".

Baudhāyana declares:—

क्रियायां व्यष्टिहि भवति | मानवेल्पौठिरसैनि होता पुरुषोऽदिनसानुविद्यत्वादः ॥

"The Pravara of the Kṣatriyas consists of three Rṣis" Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasā." thus invokes the Hotā; "like Purūrava, like Aila, like Manu", the Adhvaryu invokes."

Āśvalāyana declares:—

पुरोहितप्रवरो राजास्य ब्रज यदि साद्र प्रस्तुतानान्मानवेल्पौठि ॥

"The Kṣatriyas have the Pravara of their Purohits or priests. But if they invoke the (sacred) Āhavaniya fire (through their own Rṣis) they do it chanting "Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasā."

Kātyāyanalaukākṣ observes:

पुरोहितप्रवरो राजास्य |—यदि स क्रियायां प्रस्तुतानान्मानवेल्पौठि सैनि भूव्याति ॥

The Pravara of Kṣatriyas is that of their Purohits. If a Kṣatriya invokes the sacred fire through his Rṣi, he should say Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasā."

Though we find Purānic tradition declaring strongly that a respectable number of the Gotra Ṛṣis were of Kṣatriya parentage, yet by the time that these works were written, these Kṣatriya founders of Gotras were accepted as Brahmins. By the time then of these Sūtras, the Gotra and Pravara tradition must have been so far altered as to have forgotten the Kṣatriya founders of the Gotras. Also the Pravara that is entirely composed of Kṣatriyas is Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasā. With regard to the Pravara of Vaiśyas we find many confusing statements made by the Gotrācāryas. For instance Baudhāyana declares:
"To the Vaiśyas there is only one Tryārṣya-Pravara, viz., Bhālandana, Vātsapri and Māṅkila."

Āpastamba on the other hand observes:—

एकार्ष्या विशिष्ट वातस्मृति ||

"The Vaiśyas are Ekārṣya or have one Rṣi-Pravara, viz., Vātsapri."

It is declared by Kātyāyanalaukākṣi that

पुरोहितप्रवरो राजां एतनेव वैद्यप्रवरो व्याख्यात: ||

"The Kṣatriyas have the Pravaras of their Purohits and so is the case of Vaiśyas."

Further Baudhāyana and Āpastamba declare

मनुवरित्त सर्वोष गोत्राणां मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति च विज्ञायते ||

अथ तांदिन एक्षार्ष्यं सार्ववर्णिकं समासान्ति मानवेरि होता मनुवरित्त: ||

Thus there is one view according to which all members of the three regenerate castes are of one Pravara, viz., Māṇava. Kātyāyanalaukākṣi explains away the opposition between the declarations of the Ācāryas who talk of different Pravara and the same Pravara as existing for members of the three regenerate castes by saying

अपि हैः मानवेरि मनुवरित्त्वकमार्यं सार्ववर्णिकं प्रजानि || काय्य-हेतोरिति मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति तदे-वत्रोपपति || न देवनेम मनुववर्षार्यं प्रजानि ||

तद्वदन्यन्त्र ब्राह्मणक्षिप्रत्याचाराभ्यामितरसां प्रजानासुनकं भवतीति ||

that the Māṇava Pravara belongs to people other than Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

We have explained so far as explanation is possible, in a cursory manner Gotra and Pravara. We will now examine the incidence of Gotra and Pravara on marriage.

Manu declares that the bride should be

अस्त्रिण्दा च या मातुरागृहा च या पितुः ||

सा प्रजास्त्रा द्विजातीनां दार्कर्मविणि मैथुने ||
"And who is not a Sapinda of his mother, who (is) not also of the same tribe as his father; such an one is approved for twice-born men for marriage duties and intercourse."

Gautama declares:

असमानप्रवारेष्विवाहः । उष्ण समानाङ्गविपिलथुपः ॥

"A marriage may be contracted between persons who have not the same pravaras."

"(and) who are not related within six degrees on the father's side, "or on the side of the begetter"

"nor within four degrees on the mother's side.

Āpastamba declares:

समात्राय द्वारितरं न प्रवचनं ॥
मातृः योनिसमष्ट्वेयः ॥

"He shall not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (Gotra)

"Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's or (the father's) side.

Yājñavalkya declares:

अविन्यत्रत्रत्रचयों ज्ञात्स्प्यां भिष्यसुधेतं ।
अन्यपुरविकां कान्तां अस्पष्टं यवियसीम ॥
अन्तर्गतिः असमानार्थगोत्रजाय ॥

"He who has not lost his Brähmancarya, let him marry a girl of good parts, who has not been accepted or enjoyed by another, who is attractive in his sight, who is not a Sapinda of him and is a junior; who is free from irremediable disease, who has brothers, who is descended from some whose Gotra and Pravara are different from his; and who is removed five degrees on the mother's and seven on the father's side."

Viṣṇu declares:

न समानार्थप्रवरां सार्यं विन्देतु । मातृत: आपस्मानायुपातः
पितृश्चासमातां ॥

"No one should marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra or descended from the same Rṣi ancestors."
Vasiṣṭha:

गृहस्थो विनितकोषोऽयो गुरुवानुसारः सत्या असामानार्थां श्रुतं यथार्थस्य सदस्यस्य भावः बिन्देत्। प्रचरी मातृवन्याः समर्थः पितृवन्याः॥

“A householder, banishing anger or joy, being permitted by his preceptor and having bathed (on the termination of his studentship) should marry a maiden who has not the same Pravara, who has not known a male, who is younger, and of the same class, and who is (not within) the fifth (degree) on the mother’s and the seventh on the father’s side.”

Śaṅkha declares:

बिन्देत विधिवद्धार्थी मसामानार्थो गोत्रजाम्।
मातृत् प्रचरी चापि पितृवन्यावच सलमीम्॥

“One should marry a maiden according to proper rites who has neither the same Pravara, nor is of the same Gotra, and who is (not within) the fifth degree on the mother’s and the seventh on the father’s side.”

Bṛhat Parāśara declares:

पितृयन्त्र समोत्रतवं मातृयथपति सपिण्डता।
न च तात्खलकः दारकमण्यानादताम्॥

“A maiden who is a Sagotra of the father, and who is a Sapinda of the mother should not be married, she not being accepted (as available) for marriage.”

Thus it is clear that marriage is prohibited between persons of the same Gotra and Pravara. Baudhāyana enjoins:

सगोत्रां गव्य चाद्रायणं जुयोत। श्रेष्ठं परिनिधित्वं शाणा न न्येत।
मातृत्वं भगिनीवत्। गम्यं न दुस्यति। कश्चिं इति विजायते॥

“Having had sexual intercourse with a maiden of the same Gotra, one should perform Cāndrayana penance. One should not abandon the Brāhmaṇ woman if the Vrata is complete. He should treat her like mother or sister. The issue (of such a union) is not condemned. It is of Kāśyapa Gotra.” In the Abhinava Mādhavīya it is declared:

मोहात्म्यं प्रतिगमं चरित्रायणं ब्रतम्।
गम्येतु ज्ञायोपयं स्यात् भाराजोऽवशं भवेत्॥
"Having had sexual intercourse through error with a girl of the same Gotra and Pravara one should perform Cāndrāyana. If there is offspring (in consequence of such intercourse) then it becomes of the Kāśyapa or Bhāradvāja Gotra."

In the same strain the other Rṣis declare. We should now consider the antiquity of these prohibitions.

According to the writers on Sacred Law, these prohibitions hold with regard to the members of all the three regenerate castes. From the writing of Pravarācāryas it is clear that Kṣatriyas had at one time only one Trayārṣya Pravara of their own as recognised by the Śūtra-kāras and they were permitted to have the Pravara of their Purohits, the reason being given that otherwise marriages would have become impossible. The Vaiśyas also had one Pravara of their own, as Āpastamba says in no uncertain terms. Seeing then the difficulties that would arise in connexion with marriage, on account of Samānapravaratvam for all Vaiśyas, later Pravarācāryas, declared that the Vaiśyas also should follow the Kṣatriyas in having the Pravaras of their own Purohits. Thus there must have been a time, during which these restrictions on marriage due to Pravara and Gotra considerations did not exist in respect of relatively large numbers of members of regenerate castes.

Further then before the classification of all Gōtras and Pravaras as we find at the present day took place, there were according to the Purānic tradition only a few Gotrakāras, amongst whom there was Angirasa. Bhāradvāja and Gautama were descendants of Aṅgirasa, and marriages between persons of these Gotras have never been prohibited.

There are also the statements of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba that all people are of the same Pravara, viz., Māṇava. There is thus a statement of ancient Pravarācāryas which would simply declare all marriages invalid and impossible amongst persons belonging to the three regenerate castes. To declare then that there is a Vaidika Pravara and different Laukika Pravara for persons would simply mean nothing for originally Pravara conception rose out of and for the purpose of Vedic rites. Difficulties and contradictions cropped up only when these divisions which once had nothing to do with marriage but solely with Vedic rites came to be applied to marriages also:

In the Vājasaneyaka we find,

तस्माद्राजसमानान्वेंवपुष्पानु अवालगुष्का जायते । उत्तुलीये सक्कुञ्जावहः
चतुर्भ सक्कुञ्जावहः ॥

82
"From the same man are born both the enjoyer (male) and the enjoyed (female). They say to each other 'counting from the same ancestor we shall unite either in the third or in the fourth degree.' This text is utilized by Mādhava in his commentary on Parāšarasmṛti, to justify the Southern practice concerning the marriage of a person of the Dvija caste, with his maternal uncle's daughter. It is not clear from the above text that the Kūṭastha or the common ancestor spoken of is one on the mother's side only. Why it does not refer to the paternal ancestor is not clear. The author of Daśānirṇaya also quotes as from Parāśara-mādhaviya.

||

The gift of a maiden into the same Gotra is also seen in other countries." It may be contended that the reference is to the practice of Mahomedans and Christians, but we submit that it has never been the practice of our Nibandhanakartas to refer to the customs of non-Hindu races. The prohibitions of marriage between persons of the same Gotra or Pravara do not seem to be Vedic but are relatively of more recent origin. Nor has the practice of marriage between members of the same Gotra amongst Brahmans disappeared. Dr. Fick mentions that Sagotra marriages do take place amongst the Sārasvat Brahmans of the Punjab and another Brahmans sect of the Central India, such marriages being perfectly valid amongst them.

At the close of the essay, we cannot do better than quote the author of the Pravara-muni who declares that the subject is full of inexplicable difficulties.

अह हि मानवेऽपरवर्काण्डे सूत्रकाराणामभिन्नः पूर्वपरीवरोधातु परस्पर-बिरोधाषु अव्यन्तरवर्त्तमा इवावभिभ् | कथमतिच्छत् । वोभवेतेन तावैवर्म सार्वविषिका प्रवरसुक्लवा न प्रतिष्ठितः | वैशिकः प्रवरः | कात्यायनाविभिः सार्वविषिकः प्रवरः वृत्तिस्वात्यविवेचनं उपकृतः | आपस्तम्बायस्तु दशसूचिस्मा-स्योरिध वैशिकप्रवरानुक्त्वा अन्ते सार्वविषिक प्रवरसुक्लवा न प्रतिष्ठितं इति।

"In the Mānavaprakārākṣa, the opinions of Sūtrakāras on account of self-contradicting and mutually contradicting statements appear to be very difficult to understand. If it is asked how? Baudhāyana after declaring Mānava Pravara as common to all Varnas, does not declare a different Pravara to the Vaisyas. Kātyāyana and others condemning the theory of a common Pravara to all, interpret it as applying only to Vaisyas. Āpastamba and others after mentioning
special Pravaras in connexion with Darśapūrṇamāsa at the end declare a Pravara common to all Vānas and do not prohibit it."

It is seen that in the works of the ancient Pravaraśāryas state-
ments are found that all men have the same Pravara viz., Mānava. It
has not been possible for even the learned author of Pravaramaṇi to
explain away the contradiction between this statement of Āpastamba
and others with their other statements which mention different Pravaras.
Kātyāyanalaukāki declares that Pravara (Mānava) belongs to the
Vaiśyas alone while a different Pravara is given to them by Āpastamba
and others. The tradition concerning Gatra and Pravara as found in
Matsyapurāṇa differs from that of Mahābhārata and these two differ from
the very widely prevalent tradition and practice of the present day.

It is curious to learn that there are Brahmin families who count
seven, eight and eleven Rṣis amongst their Pravaras even though
all Pravaraśāryas definitely declare that under no circumstances there
could be more than five Rṣis in a Pravara. How this practice has grown
up we cannot say. But it is not surprising that Pravara which once
found its use only in vedic sacrifices should later on lose its significance
when most of these practices were given up, thus giving rise to practices
which are in diametrical opposition to Śāstraic injunctions. A very
systematic and close study of facts concerning Pravara as they obtain
throughout this extensive land is sure to give us a good deal of interesting
information about the division of divijas into these sub-groups with
different Pravaras which leave an important learning on marriage
regulations obtaining in the Society.
XI—Persian, Arabic and Urdu.
THE HUNS, WHO INVADED INDIA; WHAT WAS THEIR RELIGION?

BY

DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C. I. E.

This is the third paper, I am writing on the subject of the Huns. The first, I had the pleasure of writing for the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume under the title of "Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi." The second was read before the B. R. A. Society on 25th August 1916 under the title of "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia." In the first of these two papers, I have referred, at the end, partly to the subject of this paper. The object of this paper is to speak at some length on the subject of the Religion of the Huns who invaded India.

I.

From where came the Huns who invaded India?

Before determining what the religion of the Huns who invaded India was, it is necessary to determine from where came the Huns to India. As said by Mr. Deguignes, the History of the Huns is a history "of a nation almost ignored which established, at different times, powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa... They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, illustrious emperors, legislators and conquerors who had given rise to considerable revolutions." It is the history of a nation which has "contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, ravaged France, Italy, Germany and all the countries north of Europe, ruined the empire of the Khalifs and possessed the Holy land." Their Empire at one time extended in the West to Western Europe and in the East to China. They had relations with Chinese, Roman, Persian and Indian Empires."

The Origin of the Huns.

We will, at first, see who the Huns were. Like the name Turks the use of the name Huns is not definite or limited. "The first Turkish people men-


3. I translate from the "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autre Tartares Occidentaux &c. avant et depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'a present", par M. Deguignes (1756), Tome Premier, partie premiere, Preface page V.
tioned by the Chinese are”, as said by Prof. M. Th. Houtsma, “the Hiong-Nu, who wandering to the West, occupied the country south of the Altai mountains, and expelled (about 177 B.C.) the former occupants of those regions, the Yue-chi, Kangoi and Usun (U-ssun)-tribes of unknown nationality, but possibly also Turks. The Hiong-Nu were identified by Degenues with the Huns, this denomination being used in a political or collective sense, and including, besides the Huns proper, the Ephthalites, or White Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Khazars, and Petchenegs, who are styled by several scholars Hunnic or Scythian people. The Hiong-Nu are so to speak proto-Turks and the History of the Turks proper begins with the Tu-kiu, the Chinese equivalent of the word Turk.” It is these Tu-Kiu who entered into friendly relations with Byzantium in the time of Justin II. Sinjibulus (Arab Sinjibu) their ruling prince at the time, destroyed the Empire of the Ephthalite or Hailait tribe in the time of Khosru I.

The mythical Afrasiab the Afrasiab of Firdousi’s Schāhnāme was believed to have belonged to the Karluk section of the Turks. There were a number of “the so-called Afrāsiāb kings or Ilekhvans.” Some kings of that name ruled at Kashgar even in the 10th Century A.C.

We thus see that there were Western Huns and the Eastern Huns.

Then, the question is: Who were the Huns, who invaded India? Were they the Huns of the East or the Huns of the West? From what particular country they came? Our reply is that they were the Huns of the West They came from the direction of Persia. We will examine this question.

References to the Huns in Indian Books and Inscriptions and in a Chinese book.

We have reference to the Huns in two Indian books and several Inscriptions. The books are: (1) The Viṣṇu Purāṇa and (2) The Raghuvamsa of Kālidāsā. The Inscriptions are: (1) The Bhitari pillar of Victory of Skandagupta. (2) The three Inscriptions, bearing the name of the Hun king Toramana. (3) The two Inscriptions of Yasodharman at Mandasor, known as rāya-stambhas i.e. Columns of Victory in war.


2. “The Hiong-Nu of Chinese historians have often been described as a Turkic race yet it is significant that Professor de-Lacouperie on investigating the point, came to the conclusion that the Hiong-Nu seem to have been a race not a racial unity. (See Western origin of Chinese Civilization, p. 223, The Tarīkh-i Roshidi, by Elias p. 87.)
The Huns and their Religion.

The Reference in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

There are two references to the Huns in Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the third chapter of the second book.1 (a) In the first, the writer while describing the Bhāratavaṃśa (India) speaks of some principal nations, "in the extreme west." Among these nations, he includes the Huns. This reference shows, that they were Huns, not from the direction of China in the East, but from somewhere in the East. Wilson says, that they were "the White Huns or Indo-Scythians, who were established in the Punjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era as we know from Arian, Strabo and Ptolemy confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins."2

(b) The second reference is in the list of "ferocious and uncivilized races among whom he names "Hūnas and Pāraśikas."3 The Pāraśikas are Parsees of Persia. Thus, when we find the Huns mentioned with the Pāraśikas of Persia, we have reason to take it, that the Huns, who are mentioned with the Parsees, were Huns from the direction of Persia where the the Pāraśikas lived.

Reference in the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa.

Kālidāsa refers to the Huns in his Raghuvamśa (Canto IV 68). Here the hero Rāghu is represented as marching "against the regions of Kubera" and fighting against the Huns who were accompanied by their queens. Mallinātha, the commentator of the Raghuvamśa, says, that Kālidāsa meant to represent Rāghu as marching against the country of the Huns. Here, we have no direct reference or allusion to guide us to determine who those Huns were and from where they came, from the East or the West. But the previous reference of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa leads us to say that the Huns referred to by Kālidāsa were also from the East, from the direction of Persia.

Two Invasions of India by the Huns in the reign of Skandagupta.

The reference to the Huns in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa may be taken as unauthentic in the sense of not being identified with any historic period or historic personage. Irrespective of the question of the particular period to which the Huns referred to in these books belonged, we are not certain of the dates of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and of Kālidāsa. But when we come to the references to the Huns in later inscription, we are on surer and more authentic grounds.

2. Ibid. p. 177, n. 6.
3. Ibid. p. 194.
The First Invasion referred to in an Inscription.

The first authentic reference to the invasion of India by the Huns is that in the reign of Skandagupta. The period A.D. 330 to 450, about a century and a half, is spoken of as "the Golden Age of the Guptas"—the Guptas who were known as the "Early Guptas" as distinguished from the later Guptas of Magadha. With the death of Kumārgupta I, in 455 A.D. this golden age ended. Skandagupta who next came to the throne, would have continued this golden age, had it not been for an invasion of his country by the Huns who came from the steppes of Central Asia, via the North-Western mountain passes. Skandagupta boldly and victoriously kept them off for a time, but ultimately he was defeated. He takes a note of his early victories in an inscription 2 on the above-mentioned "Column of Victory" erected at Bhārārī in the Ghazipur district of the North-Western Provinces. The inscription records "the installation of an image of the God Viṣṇu.......... and the allotment to the idol of the village.............in which the column stands." 3 In this inscription, Skandagupta makes an allusion to a terrible whirl-pool joined in close contact with the Huns. 4 The victory seems to have been gained, as suggested by Dr. Smith, 5 by Skandagupta at the very beginning of his reign, in about 455 A.D. This date is inferred from Skandagupta's another inscription, the inscription on the rock of Asoka's edicts at Junagadh at the foot of Girnār. 6

The Second Invasion referred to by a Chinese Traveller.

A few years after the above repulse, the Huns invaded India again in or about 465 A.D. The Chinese traveller Sung-yun or Sing-yung, who travelled in India in 520 A.D., refers to this invasion. 7 He speaks of these Huns as belonging to Ye-tha tribe. According to Beal, "They were in fact the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers." Their king was Lei-lish, whom Cunningham thinks to be the father of Toramana. Skandagupta was, in the end, defeated by these Huns.

1. For his predecessor and successors, vide my above-mentioned paper on the Huns. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II p. 336 n. 2.
2. Vide "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta kings and their successors" by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888) pp. 52-56.
3. Ibid. p. 53.
4. Ibid. p. 56.
The Invasion of India by the Huns under Toramana.

The defeat of Skandagupta referred to above, seems to have emboldened the Huns. A few years after, in about 500 A. C. they again invaded India under Toramana, believed to be the son of Lei-lish, referred to above, who settled himself in Malwa. Following the Persian kings, who called themselves Shahan-Shâh and Malikân Malik, Toramana assumed the similar Indian title of Mahârâjâdhirâja, i.e. the Raja of the Mahârâjâs. He is known to have struck coins in his name. Three inscriptions are known in which his name occurs.\(^1\) He had established his rule in India. He was succeeded by his son Mihirkula.

Now, who were these Huns, who, under the leadership of Lei-lish and his son Toramana, invaded India in the time of Skandagupta (455-80 A. C.) and who in the time of his successors his brother Puragupta (480-85) and Puragupta’s son Narsihmagupta Bâlîditya again invaded India? They were the Huns who had come from the direction of Persia. The Sassanian kings Behramgore, his son Firouz and then Kobad, Neshirwan, Hormaz and Khusrro Parviz all had to fight, with more or less success against the different tribes of the Huns known as Hastalites, Khazars, &c. Now and then when they were defeated by the Persian kings, or when flushed with victory against them, they turned towards India for their inroads. On the defeat and death of Firouz (484 A. C.) at their hands, the Huns had grown more powerful. So in about 500 A. C., led by Toramana, they brought stronger assaults on India.

In the second of the three inscription, bearing Toramana’s name—the inscription at Kura in the Salt range, which is now in the Lahore Museum—Toramana is spoken of as “Shâbi Jau........” (शाही जाई). I have shown in my paper on the Huns\(^2\) that this “Toramana Shâhî Jau...” is the Hunni king Faghanish (فاناشش) of Firdousi who speaks of him as Shâh-i Hattal (پیمان) and also as Chagâni Shâhî (چغاني شاهي). The title Shâhi of the Indian inscription of Toramana is the same as the title Shâhi of Firdousi. The history of these wars\(^3\) with the Sassanian kings, the above identification of their titles, and the fact that Toramana’s son Mihirkula bore an Iranian name, all these show that the Huns, who invaded India in the time of the above referred to Guptas, were Huns from the West from the direction of Persia.

---

1. For an account of these inscriptions, vide my paper on the Huns. Vide my Asiatic Papers Part II. pp. 339-40.
3. For a brief account of these wars vide my paper on the Huns in my Asiatic Papers, Part II. pp. 318-338.
Now, we come to the subject proper of our paper viz. What was the Religion of these Huns who invaded India?

The Huns had come into contact with the Persians from very early times. But coming to later more historical and authenticated times, we find that a tribe of these, the Hsiutâtes or Ephthalites had settled firmly in Transoxania in the beginning of the 5th century. So, the natural presumption is, that their religion was likely to contain elements common to the Iranian religion. But laying aside this natural presumption, we will proceed to produce other stronger evidence to show that their religion was more akin to that of the Iranians.

The Iranian religion before the time of Zoroaster was known as the Mazdayasnân religion. So, the Huns of those early times also were Mazdayasnân like the Iranian. After the time of Zoroaster, the Iranian religion became Zoroastrian, or, more properly speaking, Mazdayasnân Zoroastrian. Even now, a Parsee, while reciting and declaring his creed or confession of faith, speaks of himself, first as a Mazdayasnân, and then as a Mazdayasnân Zoroastrian (Mazdayasnânumi, Mazdayasnâ Zarathushtrish, Yašna, Ha XII). On the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians followed his new creed, which was not altogether a new creed, but the old creed, well reformed. But the Huns continued to follow at least for some time, their old form of Iranian religion; it seems that latterly, after a long stay on the frontiers of Iran, and after coming into a continuous close contact with the Iranians, they may have taken into their faith many of the elements of the new reformed religion of Zoroaster.

I will divide my subject of evidence on this point under two principal heads.

1 Evidence from Iranian sources.

II Evidence from Indian sources.

Under the first head I will produce evidence from the following:

1. The Avesta Writings.

2. The Pahlavi Writings.

3. The Persian Writings. Under this sub-head I will also refer to some Arab writers of Persia.

THE HUNS AND THEIR RELIGION.

III

I. Evidence from Iranian sources. The Avesta writings.

We have two sets of passages in the Avesta, wherein Hunus or Huns and their kings or leaders are referred to.

A. The first set of passages refer directly to the Huns. The Huns are distinctly named there.

B. In the second set of passages, they are not named distinctly, but we infer from other collateral evidences that they are referred to there.

(A). The first set of passages wherein the Huns are referred to distinctly by name is formed of the following.

1. Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 53-55.
2. Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 57-59.

Out of these six passages, the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th are of use to us for the purpose of determining the religion of the Huns.

B. The second set is formed of the following passages.

2. Ābān Yasht. Yt V, 112-114.

All the above passages, both of the first set and the second set, refer to the Huns as a hostile people with whom the Iranians were at war. In the first set, the cause of continued hostility seems to be tribal. It is something like blood-feud, the usual war between two neighbouring nations. In the second set, the cause is religious. They had at first well-nigh a common religion. But, as the Iranians accepted the reforms of Zoroaster, the Hunus or Huns or Hyons or Khyons opposed them.

(1) Vide for the passages in Transliteration and Translation, the Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume pp. 68—74. Vide my Memorial Papers pp. 128—135.
We find references in the Avesta to two great wars between the Iranians and the Hunus or Huns. The first war was pre-Zoroastrian or one before the time of Zoroaster. The other was co-Zoroastrian or one in the time of Zoroaster himself. The second war was one, which, according to later writings, was advocated by Zoroaster. The Abān Yasht passages refer to both these wars.

**The Abān Yasht passages referring to the first war**

The earlier passages of the Abān Yasht refer to the first war. We read there (Sections, 53-55).

Tām Yazata takhmō Tusō rathaeshtarō barshaeshu paiti aspānām zāvarā jaidehyantō hitačibyo dravatātem tanubhō pouru-spakhštīm ābīšhantām paiti-jaittīm dushmainyunām hathrānvīšūm hamerethanām arvathanām tbiyeshtantām. Āat him jaidehyat avat āyaptem dazdi me vangubi sevishtē Ardviūra Anāhitič yat bavānī aimi-vanyāo aurva Hunavō Vaesakaya upa dvarem khalthrō-saoker apanotonem Kanghaya berezantaya ashavanaya yatha azem nijanāni Tuiryanām dakhyanām panchasagnāi satagnāishcha satagnāi hazangragnāishcha hazangragnāi baeverggnāishcha baeverggnāi ahānkhshtagnāishua. Dathat ahmāi tat at avat āyaptem Ardviūra Anāhita hadha zaothröbarāri aredrai yazennāi jaiideyantāi dāthrīsh āyaptem.

Translation:—The brave warrior Tusō invoked her(Ardviūra), riding on horse-back and praying for strength to his horses, strength to (his own) body, great watchfulness over those who annoyed him, power to strike his enemies, power to run down his foes, adversaries and annoyers. Then he asked of her. O Good beneficient Ardviūra Anāhita give me this gift, that I may be the overcomer of the brave Hunus of Vaesaka 1 at the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khshthrōsaoka of the high and holy Kangā, 2 (and) that I may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the innumerables of (the people of) the country of Turān. (55) Holy Ardviūra Anāhita granted the desire of him who carried offerings, gave gifts, made invocations (and) sought the fulfilment of desires.

(b) We may then read in the Abān Yasht (57-59).

Tām yazenta aurva Hunavō vaesakaya upa dvarem khshthrō-saoker apanotem Kanghaya berezantaya ashavanaya sate rō aspānām arshnām

1. Dr. West seems to be wrong in translating "Hunavō Vaeskaya" as the 'Hunus Vaeskain' and thus taking Vaeskaya to be the name of a place (Legends relating to Kershisp, Pahlavi Texts Part 11 S.B.E., XVIII. p. 371 ss. 4.

2. Firdousi places the fortress of Kang (Kangdez) at about a month's distance from China. Macoudi (Traduction de Babter de Meynard II, P. 151, ch. 21) also places it in China. He calls it Kang-dar.
hazangrebavêreanumayânâm. Aat him jaidhyen avat āyaptem
dazdi nó vanguh sevishto Ardvisûra Anâhite yat bavûma ajwa-vanyào
takhmem Tusem rathocshârem yathâ vaem nijanâmairynâm dakhunam
panchasagnû satagnaischâ satagnûi hazanghragnaischâ hazanghragnûi
baevaregnaischâ baeverengûi ahankshagnaischâ. Noit aeyyaschit dathat
tat avat āyaptem Ardvisûra Anâhita.

Translation.—The brave Hunus of Vaësaka invoked her (Ardvisûra) at
the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khathrô-sâaka of the high and holy Kangra,
with one hundred horses, one thousand oxen, (and) ten thousand lambs.
Then (thus invoking), they asked of her: “O good beneficent holy Ardvisuras
give us this gift; that we may be the overcomers of the brave warrior Tusa
(and) that we may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the
thousands the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the
innumerals of (the people of) the country of Iran.” Ardvisûra Anâhita
did not grant this gift to them.

We find from the above passages of the Abân Yasht, that a war was
fought by the Iranians under the commandership of Tusa against a Hun
tribe led by Vaësaka. We note in the above passages of prayer, that in the
case of the prayer of the Iranians, the worshipper is one, namely Tusa and
the verb (yazûta), used with his name as the nominative, is in the singular
number. In the case of the prayer of the Huns, it is not one person who is
mentioned as worshipping and opposing the Iranian hero Tusa, but a clan or
tribe the Hunwî Vaëskayâ, i.e., the Huns of Vaësaka. The verb used is
plural (yazûnta). So the war was with a particular Hun tribe or clan, the
clan of Vaësaka. This clan or tribe seems to have derived its name from
Vaësaka, the Visak of the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XXXI. 16, 17). He
was one of the ancestors of the later Turanians, an uncle of Afrasiah and the
father of Piran, who was the Nestor of the Turanians in the court of Afrasiab
just as Godrez, the father of Tus, was the Nestor in the court of Persia. The
cause of the war was tribal.

The ceremonial form or Ritual referred to in the Aban Yasht.

Now, let us look to the ceremonial form or ritual with which Ardvisûra
was prayed to by the Huns. The form as given in the above passage is
“Satee aspânâm hazanghre gavâm baevare anumayânâm” i.e., “with one

1. In the Pahlavi Bundehesh (ch. XXIX, 6), he is spoken of as Naadarân, i.e., of the
   family or clan of Naadar.
3. For this Vaesak, vide my Dictionary of Avaela Proper names, p. 130.
4. For the reason, why these two families or clans were specially hostile, vide my
   paper in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 70.
hundred horses, one thousand oxen (and) ten thousand lambs." This is the typical form in which we find several great Iranian personages praying to Ardvisûra. In the case of a few personages who pray to the goddess, we do not find this form of ceremony accompanying their prayers. But, we can explain why their cases were exceptions. The explanation seems to be this. The ceremony required a long leisurely celebration with all religious apparatus. When the heroes prayed to Ardvisûra, in the very midst or thick of a battle, or on an emergency, or in some such exceptional circumstances; they could not perform the accompanying long ritual. Thus, Tous, the Iranian hero, prayed in the midst of a battle from his very saddle (barašaṣṭha pāṭi aspānām) lit on the back of his horses. (53) Similarly, Vīfro Nāvāz prayed on an emergency: when he was suddenly made to fly high in the air (Uscha uzdvânayat veretirajjō takhmō Thraetaohe mereghâhe kahrpa kahrkāsah Sec. 61). Vistaurush of the nãṭar family (yo Naataryaw) prayed on an emergency: when he found his way closed by an intervening river and found himself unable to cross (s. 76). Zarathushra's prayer to Ardvisûra also was an exception (s. 104), perhaps because, he was above the necessity of any long expensive ritual. 2

We find the above typical Iranian form of ceremonial offering, not only in the Āhān Yashht, but also in the Gosh Yashht.(3)

These two facts, viz., (a) that the Iranians and the Huns prayed to the same goddess Ardvisûra Anāhita and (b) that the Hunic form of ceremonial offering was the same as that of the Iranians, show, that both the nations had a common religion, if not exactly the same, well-nigh the same.

The Second Great War.

Now, we come to the second great war between the Iranians and the Huns,—the war which took place in the time of Zoroaster himself, and

2. We are not in a position to say with certainty, what this ceremonial prayer ('with one hundred horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 lambs') was. Did it mean any actual sacrifice of so many animals? Some kind of animal sacrifice undoubtedly there did exist in those olden times, but it does not seem that the sacrifice was of such a large number of animals. There may be a sacrifice of a few animals, but the large number as mentioned, seems to represent the estimate of a great ceremony valued in animals which measured a man's wealth at a time.

The mode, as mentioned in the Avesta, seems to refer to a great royal ceremony, for example, one like that of the Asvamedha of India. It required a long leisurely celebration. This is evidenced by the fact, that, as said above some heroes, though they are represented as praying to Ardvisûra are not represented as praying with the accompaniment of this mode of ritual ceremony.

a. Yt. IX, 3, 8, 13, 21, 29.
which, as said in some later books, was recommended by Zoroaster himself, as a war against the evil-minded.

For this purpose, we well examine the Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, wherein the Huns are not referred to directly but indirectly. The war is between the Iranian Vishtāsp and his army and an enemy Arjāsp and his army. But in these passages the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned. So let us first determine it.

The Nationality of Arejataspa or Arjāsp,

Though in the above passages of the Ābān Yasht, the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned, there are other passages of a similar prayer by the Iranian King Vishtāsp which point to Arjāsp being a Hyaona (Hun) or Khyona.

(a) The Gosh Yasht (Sections 29-31) contains a similar prayer of the Iranian King. (b) Again the Ashishvanga Yash (Secs. 49-50) also contains a similar prayer, both of these Yashts, Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp is spoken of as Khyona, which name is the same as Hyaona another form of Huna. (c) The Zamyād Yasht (Sec. 87) speaks of "Arejataspa or Vrjāsp (2) as one of the wicked Khyaonas. We read there, Dravantemcha Arejat-asem uta anjrāeschit agha dzvandravō Khyoanāoughhō i.e., the wicked Arejataspa and other similar sinful notorious Khyaonas. "Thus, we see that Arjāsp is included in the class of wicked Kyaonas or Hyaonas.

The Pahlavi books also, as we will see later on, speak of him as a Khyona (Arjāspa Khyoanān khudāi, i.e., Arjāsp, the king of the Khyona). All these references show that, though the nationality of Arjāsp is not given in the above Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, other passages point to him as being a Khyona.

Again, in the Gosh 3 and Ashishang Yashits, (4) where the Iranian king Vishtāsp prays for having a victory over Arejataspa and other heroes of his clan, he prays as well that he may be victorious over the country of the Khyona and that he may be able to spread goodness in the country of the Varedhakas and the Khyona. He prays: "Uta azem fraourvaesayeni humaya Varedhakanāmcha Khyoanyebecha danghhāvō uta azem nijanāni Khyoaninām dakhyaunām."

---

1. Yt. IX, 3, 8, 13, 21, 29.
2. Arjāsp is the later Pahlavi and Persian form of Av. AKEJATASPA.
4. Yt. XVIII 51.
Translation.—"I may introduce good law in the countries of the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas and I may smite (the people of the Khyaona countries.)"

Thus, this reference also shows that Arejat-aspa who fought with the Iranian king Vishtâsp was a Khyaona by nationality. This word Khyaona corresponds to the Chionitae. Darmesteter thinks, though with some doubt, that they were the same as Hyaonas (identique aux Hyaonas, Le Zend Avesta III Index II p. 241). But there seems to be no reason for this doubt. H and Kh are often seem to be interchangeable. In the later Pahlavi, the same letter can be read both as vast kh. So there is no doubt that the words Khyaona and Hyaona or Huna refer to the same people. In the Pahlavi Dinkard, Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the words (read as Khyaodân pl. i.e. the Khyaonas) as Hinavân. I will refer to this matter later on.

The Ābân Yasht passages referring to the Second Great War.

Now, having shown that Arejatspa who fought against the Iranian king Vishtâsp, was a Khyaona, Hyaona or Hun by nationality, and that the Khyaonas were the same as Hyaonas, Hunus or Huñas, let us turn to examine the Ābân Yasht passage of the second set. In this examination, we find, that here also, the "Iranian Vishtâsp and his brother Zairivairi on the one hand and the Hunnic kings on the other (a) pray before the same deity and (b) with the same form of ceremonial offering, viz., with 100 horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 smaller animals like sheep. We read in the Ābân Yasht:

Tām yazata berezaidhishe Kava Vishtâspō pasne āpem frazdānāom sateē aspanam arsnām hazanghre gavām baevāre anumayanām, Āat hīm Jaidh-yat avat āyaptem dażdi me vanghuhi sevishte Ardivisūra Anāhitē yat bavāni aimi-vanγao Tāntravantem duzdānem peshanemcha daevayasnem dravantemcha Ārejat-aspen ahmya gaethē peshanāhu, Dathat ahmāt tat avat āyaptem Ardivisūra Anāhita (ss. 108 110.)

1. For example, we have both hvar and khar for to eat, drink; franghuharaithi and kharaitt.
4. Dr. E. W. West also identifies the Khyaonas of the Pahlavi books with the Khyaonas or the Huns of the Avesta, mentioned in the Ashishang and Zamyād Yashts (S.B.E, XLVII p. 68 n. 1)
THE HUNS AND THEIR RELIGION.

Translation.—The great Kava Vishtâspa invoked her (Ardvisûra) on the other side of the waters of (lake) Frazdanava, with hundred valiant horses, thousand oxen and ten thousand animals of moderate size. He then asked of her: O good beneficent Ardvisûra Anâhita! give me this boon that I may be victorious in the wars of this world over Tânthryavanta who professed a wrong faith, Peshana who worshipped the daëvas and the evil Arejet-aspa, Ardvisûra Anâhita granted him his desire. In similar passages of the Āhān Yasht (ss 112-114 Zairivairi) Zarir of the Pahlavi book and of Firdusi’s Shãh-nâmeh), the brother of King Vishtâsp also invokes Ardvisûra and asks for a boon similar to that of his brother (ss. 112-113) but, with this difference, that his place of prayer is different from that of his royal brother. He prays on the banks of the river Dûti (pasue āpo Dâityayâho) 1.

Then Arejet-asp or Arasp also invokes the goddess Ardvisûra and asks for a well nigh similar boon. We read (Sects. 116-18).

Tâm yazata Vandaremainish Arejat āspō, upe zayo vourukashem stâtē aṣpaṇâm arshûm hazanghrem gavām bævare anumayānâm. Āat hîm jaidhyat avat āyaptem, dâzdi me vanghuhi sevishte Ardvisûra Anâhite yat bavâni awii-vanyâo takhmem Kâraem Vishtâspem aspâyadho 5 zairivairish, yatha azem nijanâni Aeryanâñi dakhyanan panchasagni satagnâishcha satagnâi hazanghragnâishcha hazanghragnâi bævâ-ohnâ ishcha bævareghnâi ahkâshthaghnâishcha 6 Noit ahmāi dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvisûra Anâhita.

Translation.—Arjet-aspa of Vandaremma invoked Ardvisûra on (the shores of, see Vouruksha with one hundred valiant horses, 1000 oxen and 10,000 head of cattle)

1. Berezaïdîsh corresponding to Persian buland. Lit. seeing high above (berez and di Sanskrit धी to see, to think.)
2. Arshân. It is used to designate that the horses were male horses and not mares or female horses.
3. Anu-maya. Anu Sans. Gr. Ana, moderate, proportionate and मास Lat me-liri Fr. mesurer, Germ. messen, to measure. The word is used for small animals like sheep, lambs or goat.
5. Here Zairivairi is spoken of as aspâyadho, i.e., one fighting on a horse. Many a warrior fights from the back of a horse. So, why should he have been specially mentioned as “One fighting on a horse.” I have explained the reason at some length in my Iranian Essays……… Part I, pp. 156-59, and shown that it is a special reference to a famous horse which he possessed.
6. Ahâukhshâlaghâishcha, from Av. a Sans ο Gr. A, negative and khya, स्प to speak. Hanyakhya sum, Gui संख्या to number. Hence innumerable.
animals of moderate size. He then asked of her, "O good beneficent Ardvīśuṃ 
Anāhīta give me this boon, that I may be victorious over valiant Kava 
Vishtāsp and over Zairivairi who fights from the back of the horse, and that 
I may smite fifties and hundreds, hundreds and thousands, thousands and ten 
thousands of people ten thousands and innumerable of Iranian countries, 
Ardvīśuṃ Anāhīta did not grant him that boon.

We find from these Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, that they also 
treat of a war. It is the war between Kava Vishtāsp, the Iranian royal 
patron of Zoroaster and his brother Zairivairi (Zain) on the one hand and 
Arejat-aspa (Arjasp) of Vandaremna on the other. We also find, that the 
Iranian and the Hunnic kings observed the same ceremonial in their prayer 
before Ardvīśuṃ, thus showing, that they had, if not wholly, in many 
respects, a common religion.

Again let us note the wording of the last portion of the prayers of the 
Iranians and the Hunnic kings. The Iranian king in the Gosh Yasht (Sec. 31) 
and Ashishang Yasht (Sec. 51) prays for smiting the Huns by fifties and 
hundreds and thousands and ten thousands and uncountable numbers. The 
same is the form of the prayer of the Hunnic king who wants to smite the 
Iranians similarly. This in itself is a small matter to show similarly between 
the religions of the two nations, but with other facts it lends strength to my 
view.

The other passages of the Avesta.

Having examined the long principal passages of the Ābān Yasht referring 
to both the wars, we will now examine the passages of the Farvardin and 
Zamyād Yashts which (a) not only speak of the Huns by name, but (b) also 
point directly to a schism or war on account of religion. In the Farvardin 
Yasht (Secs. 99—100), while invoking the holy spirit of king Vishtāsp, the 
king is spoken of thus:

Yo tāzusheha upastacha visata anghhao daenayāo yat Āhūroīsh Zarathush 
trōish yo hīm stātam hitam haitim uzvazhat hacha hunnivyō.  

Translation.—Who (Vishtāsp) became the arm and support of this 
Ahoramazdi religion of Zoroaster (and) who separated the strong holy 
eexisting religion from the Huns.

1. He seems to be the same as Anderman of the Shah-namah of Firdousi (Mohl. IV p. 
382).

2. Darmsteter, in his translation of this passage (s. 100) very properly says of the word 
"Hunus", that it is a name of the people called elsewhere Varedhaks (Yt. IX 31 ; XVII 51) 
or Khyænas (Ibid and XIX 87).
This passage clearly points to the above war with Arjāsp as that with the Huns. Again the most important words are those which speak of separating the existing religion, i.e., the religion which was common to them, from the Huns.

This passage, occurring in two Yashts, then shows, that up-to the time of Vishtāsp and Zoroaster, the religion of the Iranians and the Hunus was one and the same or well nigh the same. But, on the advent of Zoroaster, Vishtāsp the royal patron of Zoroaster, under the instructions of the prophet, separated or differentiated the Iranian religion from that of the Huns. The Huns and others adhered to the old orthodox Mazdayasna religion, but the Iranians under Vishtāsp admitted the reforms suggested in the old creed by Zoroaster. Upto the time of the advent of Zoroaster the Iranians and the Huns referred to in the above passages followed well nigh the same religion, the old Mazdayasna religion which took thoughts of men from Nature to Nature's God. But Zoroaster, basing his religion on the groundwork of the old religion, as all prophets generally do, and preserving the elements which were good, and rejecting those which had degenerated and became bad, introduced new elements, mostly from a pure monotheistic and ethical point of view. He appealed more to pure morals and less to forms and ceremonial. The Huns who lived in the frontiers of the then Iran proper, did not like any innovations, and hence arose a split or schism.

Thus we find from the above long examination of the references to the Huns and their king Arjāsp in the Avesta, that while the previous great war or a set of wars between the Iranians, and the Huns before the time of Zoroaster was more or less a tribal or national war, a magnified form of a great blood-feud, the second great war of the time of Zoroaster was a kind of religious war. In the advent of Zoroaster Vishtāsp learning his reformed form of the old Mazdayasna religion, adopted it and separated his religion from that of the Huns. This separation was the cause of a great war.

IV.

The Pahlavi Writings.

We will now turn to the Pahlavi books, which contain references to the war between the Iranian king Vishtāsp and the Khyaona or Hyaona (Hunnic) king Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp—references suggesting that the religion of the Iranians and the Huns was well-nigh the same. These are the following:

1. The Dinkard (a) Book V, Chapter III. 1
   (b) Book VII, Chapter IV. 77
2. The Yadgar-i-Zarirān  
3. The Zādsparam.  
4. The Jāmāspi.  
5. The Bahman Yasht.

*The Pahlavi Dinkard*

The Dinkard, in its 5th, 6th and 8th books, refers to the religious war between the Iranians under Vishtāsp and the Hyonas or Huns under Arjāsp. We will briefly refer to this.

(a) We find a reference to the victory of Vishtāsp over Arjāsp in the fifth book of the Dinkard.1 There the writer refers to "the victory of Kai Vishtāsp, the Iranian over Arjāsp and Hyaonans and other non-Iranians" of innumerable kinds (Pirujih-i Kai Vishtāsp-i Airan madam Arjāsp va Hyaonan va avārik an-Airān-i anushmār āininak).

The word Hyaona in singular or plural occurs more than once in the Dinkard and Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the word here as Henavān Hyaonān, though he has erroneously taken it to be a common noun in the sense of the Avesta ‘haena,’ i.e., army which word also when written in Pahlavi can be written in a similar way. Dr. West has similarly translated this word, which occurs in the Bahman Yasht,2 as "army," but has very properly added in the foot note: "But another possible reading is Khyōn, (Av. Hvyoana), the old name of some country probably in Turkistan (as Arjāsp, the opponents Vishtāsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyōn in the Yadgar-i-Zarina'."

(b) Then there are several references in the seventh book. The first reference3 to the war is in the matter of a previous event of the religious war—the arrival of two messengers4 (paētāmber) who came to the court of

---

4. According to the Pahlavi Yadgār-i-Zariran, they were Vidatafsh and Shamkhast. Vide my transliteration and Text of the Yadgai-i-zariran. They were the Bidafsh and Namkhast of the Shan-nāme.
Vishtâsp from Arjâsp, to dissuade the Iranian king from adopting the religion of Zoroaster. Here, the Holy Fire is represented as encouraging the Iranian king not to be frightened by Arjâsp's messengers. We read:—

Avash goft pavan zak-i virân gobashnâhīh Ātash-i Ohrmazd âigh al tars memanat lâ madam tarsashna burzâvand Kai Vishtâsp la-at valmân tarsidan mat homand ashte avarkâr pactâmbar-i Arjâsp; avat lâ valmân tarsidan mat homanand, do Khyaona-i Arjâsp mun sâk va bâz bavihund Translation.—Then the Fire of Ohrmazd told him (Vishtâsp) in a bold (encouraging) way, that “Do not fear, O great king Vishtâsp! you have no (cause of) fear. No fear will come to your house. The messengers of Arjâsp are powerful (and) business-like. The two Khyonas of Arjâsp who ask for tribute and have not come to let any fear reach your house.

We learn from this passage that the first move from the side of the Hinnics was as it were peaceful. That this was the case appears from Firdousi also. We learn from his Shâh nâmah also that, at this time, the Iranian king was paying tribute to the Hunnic king. The words used by Firdousi for “tribute” in his account are bâz va sâvâr. These are the same as the “Sâk valbâz” of the above quoted Pahlavi passage of the Dinkard. According to Firdousi also, the first message of the Hunnic king was comparatively friendly (dustvâr)2. This word of Firdousi corresponds to the word peaceful (ashte) of the Dinkard3.

(c) From the second reference in the 7th book of the Dinkard4, we learn that the Iranians met at first with a heavy bloodshed (khun rizashna) at the hand of Arjâsp, the Khyona Hyona or Hun, and then they gave him a defeat (Pasgirasa).5 This ended in Vishtasp’s victory over Arjâsp and his Khyonas (pirojih-i-madam Arjâsp va Khyona).6

(d) A little further on again, we read of the collapse of the power of Arjâsp and his Khyaonas, and Zoroaster’s name is associated with this result. In this third reference of its seventh book, the Dinkard associates

3. Vide the above passage.
5. Ibid. Lit. Subsequent weeping or calamity. Pers. Girastan to weep.
Zoroaster with the victory of Vishāsp over Arjāsp, the Khyaona, and other non-Iranians (*Pirājih-i-Vishāsp madam Arjāsp Khyaona va avārik anairan*).

(e) Then there is another reference to the war in the 8th book of the Dinkard. In its account of the contents of the tenth Nask, Vishtāsp Sāsta, it refers to this war and associates it with the new religion of Zoroaster. It says, that it was intended to show "hostility to Zoroaster." (*paityārdārih-i Zartush*).1

All these references in the Dinkard simultaneously point to the fact, that the war was for the sake of the new reformed religion, which Arjāsp, who wanted to stick to the old faith, did not like.

**The Pahlavi Yadgar-i Zariran.**

The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zariran distinctly refers to the split. According to that book,2 when Vishtāsp with his sons, brothers, family members and courtiers accepted (from Zoroaster) the new Mazdayasnān religion, Arjāsp the king of the Khyaonas, or the Hyaonas,3 did not like it; so he sent two of his generals, Vidarafsh4 and Shamkhat5 as messengers to Iran to persuade the Iranian king not to adopt the new religion and to adhere to the old faith. We read the following letter sent by the Hunnic king to the Iranian king.

"Āigham ashnūt āigh lekûm bēgān denman dīn avīzēh, Mazdayasnān min Auharmazd makīrūnt va at lā zārī yekhūnīt amat leman gerān zyān va dūshkhvārih azash shāyād yehvūntīn Barā at lekûm bēgān madammunīt denman dīn-i avīzēh shedkūnīt levatman leman hāmkīsh yehvūnīt ādīntān pavan khudāih parasīm adīntān yehbūnīm shant pavan shant kabad zahbā kabad aīmīn va kabad susyā nyōk kabad gās shatrūḥā; va at denman dīn barā lā shedkūnīt va levatman leman hāmkīsh lā yehvūnīt ādīntān madam yāmtūnim."6

Translation:—"I have heard that your Majesty has accepted from Oharmazd the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But if it please your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king. and then we will give you

---

1. For details, vide my translation of the Yadgar-i Zariran.
2. The Pahlavi word can be read both as Hyaonan or Khyaonān (The Pahlave Text by Dastur, Jamaspji, p. 11 1. 8).
3. Bidarafsh of the Shūh-nameh (Mohb. IX. p. 368);
6. Vide Translation of the Yadgar (1899) p.5.
from year to year, plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of good horses and the sovereignty of many places. But if you will not give up this religion and will not be of the same religion with us, then we will come to attack you.”

This message clearly shows that before the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion. When the Hunnic Arjāsp says to the Iranian Vishtāsp that “harm and unhappiness may result to us from that new religion” and when he asked the Iranian king to be of the same religion with us (levatman lanman hamkīsh yehvunin), the inference is clear that up to then both had a well-nigh common religion. Were it not so, and were the religion of the Hunnic king Arjāsp different from that of the Iranian king Vishtāsp, where was then the necessity of Arjāsp trying to dissuade Vishtāsp from adopting the new religion? The two kings followed well nigh the same creed and so, Arjāsp did not like that his brother-king of the neighbouring Iranian country should change their common religion. Vishtāsp’s reply also points to their religion being common before their advent. He says—“Levatman lekum hamkīsh la yahvūnim” (s. 18), i.e., We will not (continue to be) of the same religion with you.”

The account of the war, given further on, in this Pahlavi books says that there were large armies of about 1,440,000 men on both the sides. The result of the war was that the Huns were defeated and the Hunnic King Arjāsp was taken prisoner by Astanuyar the son of Vishtāsp. One of his hands, legs, and ears were cut off, one of his eyes was destroyed, and he was allowed to go back to his country on an ass whose tail was cut so that all the Huns of his country may know what the result of the war was.

3. The Pahlavi Zadsparam.

The Pahlavi Zadsparam speaks of the war of Vishtāsp and Arjāsp as occurring in the 30th year after Zoroaster’s revelation of his religion. We read:—

Punvunis sah kām taud Khyan vel Airan matmayan, i.e., in 30 years the Khyaons arrive in the country of Iran.

4. The Pahlavi Jamaspi.

The Pahlavi Jamaspi which speaks of these Huns as White Huns refers to this war with the Hunnic king. Here, three wars are mentioned as the

---

1. Ibid p. 311.
2. Ibid p. 49.
The Text of Zadsparas by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 91, Chapter XXV-3.
Zoroaster with the victory of Vishāsp over Arjāsp, the Khyaona, and other non-Iranians (Pirājih-i Vishtasp madam Arjāsp Khyaona va avārik anairān),

(e) Then there is another reference to the war in the 8th book of the Dinkard. In its account of the contents of the tenth Naek, Vishtasp Sāsta, it refers to this war and associates it with the new religion of Zoroaster. It says, that it was intended to show "hostility to Zoroaster." (paityārdārih-i Zartush).1

All those references in the Dinkard simultaneously point to the fact, that the war was for the sake of the new reformed religion, which Arjāsp, who wanted to stick to the old faith, did not like.

The Pahlavi Yadgar-i Zariran.

The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zarirān distinctly refers to the split. According to that book,2 when Vishtasp with his sons, brothers, family members and courtiers accepted (from Zoroaster) the new Mazdayasnan religion, Arjāsp the king of the Khyaonas, or the Hyaonas,3 did not like it; so he sent two of his generals, Vidarafsh4 and Shamkhast5 as messengers to Iran to persuade the Iranian king not to adopt the new religion and to adhere to the old faith. We read the following letter sent by the Hunnic king to the Iranian king.

"Āigham ashnūt āigh lekām begun denman din avizeh, Mazdayasnān min Auharmazd makirūnt va at lā zarāi yekhūnīt amat leuman gerān zyān va dūshkhvārīh azash ehyād yehvūntan Barā at lekām begun madammūnīt denman din-i avizeh shedkūnīt levatman lenman hamkīsh yehvūnīt adīntān pavan khudāiyi parastim adīntan yeḥbūnim shant pavan shant kabad zabā kabad aīmin va kabad susyā nyōk kabad gās šatrūrūs; va at denman din barā lā shedkūnīt va levatman lenman hamkīsh lā yehvūnīt adīntān madam yāmtūnīm."6

Translation:—"I have heard that your Majesty has accepted from Ohar-mazd the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But if it please your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king, and then we will give you

1. For details, vide my translation of the Yadgar-i Zariran.
2. The Pahlavi word can be read both as Hyaoman or Khyaonan (The Pahlave Text by Dastur, Jamsāpī, p. 11, 8).
THE HUNS AND THEIR RELIGION.

from year to year, plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of good horses and the sovereignty of many places. But if you will not give up this religion and will not be of the same religion with us, then we will come to attack you.”

This message clearly shows that before the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion. When the Hunnic Arjāsp says to the Iranian Vishtāsp that “harm and unhappiness may result to us from that new religion” and when he asked the Iranian king to be of the same religion with us (levatman bunman hamkisch gehvanit), the inference is clear that up to then both had a well-nigh common religion. Were it not so, and were the religion of the Hunnic king Arjāsp different from that of the Iranian king Vishtāsp, where was then the necessity of Arjāsp trying to dissuade Vishtāsp from adopting the new religion? The two kings followed well nigh the same creed and so, Arjāsp did not like that his brother-king of the neighbouring Iranian country should change their common religion. Vishtāsp’s reply also points to their religion being common before their advent. He says—“ Levatman lekum hamkisch la yahrunin” (s. 18), i.e., We will not (continue to be) of the same religion with you.”

The account of the war, given further on, in this Pahlavi books says that there were large armies of about 1,440,000 men on both the sides. The result of the war was that the Huns were defeated and the Hunnic King Arjāsp was taken prisoner by Asfandyar the son of Vishtāsp. One of his hands, legs, and ears were cut off, one of his eyes was destroyed, and he was allowed to go back to his country on an ass whose tail was cut so that all the Huns of his country may know what the result of the war was.

3. The Pahlavi Zadsparan.

The Pahlavi Zadsparan speaks of the war of Vishtāsp and Arjāsp as occurring in the 30th year after Zoroaster’s revelation of his religion. We read:—

Pavinsi sade yam tund Khyan val Airan matayan. i.e., in 30 years the Khyaons arrive in the country of Iran.

4. The Pahlavi Jamaspi.

The Pahlavi Jamaspi which speaks of these Huns as White Huns refers to this war with the Hunnic king. Here, three wars are mentioned as the

1. Ibid p. 311.
2. Ibid p. 49.
The Text of Zadsparas by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 91, Chapter XXV-3.
greatest wars. 1 (kārizar-i-raba) The first is that which King Kai Kaus had fought with foreigners. 2. The second war is the war of Vishtāsp (Gushtasp) with the Hunnic king the magician the white Hyaoa or Khyoa whom they call Arjāsp for the sake of religion (Supit Hyain-i-yatu din rac kard munash Arjāsp karitund). 2 We see from this passage that the Hunnic king who fought with the Iranian king Arjāsp to oppose the reformed religion of Zoroaster was a white Hun.

5. The Bahman Yasht.

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (Chap. II, 49) is a book of prophecy in which Ahura-Mazda tells Zoroaster, what calamities will fall upon Iran. In the long list of such prophecies, we find a list of some foreign people, who, occasionally, will rule some part of Iran. We read.

"Khutāih va pātakhsāih val an-Aīrān bandagan rased, chegūnām Türk va a Tūr......va sapīd Khyoūn".3

Translation.—The sovereignty and kingship will arrive to non-Iranian slaves like Turk and a-Tur.............and White Huns.” Of the words at the end, Dr. West has taken the first word ‘sapīd’ with the preceding words ‘Karman rikht’ and translated “the white clothed Karmak”. Thus he seems to have taken the second word as ‘han’ because he has translated it as “then”. Dastur Kekobad has read the two words as Supīdō Khivo, and taking them together with the preceding word ‘rakht,’ translated them as white coloured Khivs. But the words are exactly like similar words in the Pahlavi Jamaspī, above referred to, and it seems to me, that there is no doubt, that the second word is Hyaoa or Hyao and that the two words refer to the inroads of the White Huns, who are also referred to in the Jamaspī, which also is, like the Bahman Yasht, a book of prophecy.

Thus, all the above passages of the five Pahlavi books refer to the second great war between the Iranians, and the Huns—the religious war due to the advent of Zoroaster. They point to the fact, that Vishtāsp’s Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion, but that Zoroaster’s advent brought about a reform which Arjāsp, the Turanian Hunnic king did not like, so he first sent two messengers to the Court of Iran to dissuade Vishtāsp.

1. Vide my Text and Translation of the Jamaspī, p. 91-5 of the Text, Chapter II, and pp. 36-37 of the translation.
2. Ibid.
from accepting the new faith. Why should Arjâsp the Hunnic king, do so? To understand the matter clearly, take the case of any to modern powers and their religions. If a Christian State adopted a new faith, opposed to Christianity or introduced new reforms in Christianity opposed to the Orthodox faith, no Mahomedan State would ever remonstrate. But a Christian State can remonstrate against any innovations in the old Orthodox faith. We had a case of this kind among European Christian powers, due to the new form of the Protestant faith. The State which followed the old Orthodox Christian faith fought against the states which adopted the reformed faith. Just the same thing occurred in our case. This then points to the conclusion, that the faith of the HUNS was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians before the advent of Zoroaster.

The Persian (and Arabic) Writings.

Under this head, I will refer to the books of (a) Firdousi, and (b) Tabari, whose Arabic has been rendered into Persian and (c) Macoudi.

Firdousi.

(a) According to Firdousi, the Sassanians had frequent wars with the Huns who were known, in different parts and at different times, under different names, such as Euthalites, Ephthalites, Haitalites, Naphthalites, Atelites, Alatites, &c. Oriental writers, and among them Firdousi, speak of them at times, under the general head of Turks. We find from Firdousi and other writers, that the Sassanian kings from Behramgore down to Noushirwan had frequent wars with them. I will refer my readers to my paper on the Early History of the Huns for a brief history of the wars.

Firdousi's account of the war in the time of Behramgore of Iran, provides with evidences, that the Huns who fought with him, and who belonged to the various tribes known as the Chaghâni, Khalti &c, were partly Zoroastrian in their faith.

(b) They paid reverence to Fire, observing the old Iranian sacral ritual of Bâj and Barsam. We learn, that these Hunnic tribes, after the final victory of Behramgore over their Hunnic king, who was taken prisoner, paid tribute to the Iranian king and observed the above Zoroastrian ritual. We read,

\[
\text{چگانی و ختلی و بلخی روان}
\]
\[
\text{بختی و ازخر چگان موندان}
\]
\[
\text{برفاعنگ با بازو و بیستم بیدست}
\]
\[
\text{تهایش کنان یهش آتش پرست}
\]
Translation,—The Chagānis, the Khatlīs and the Balkhī chiefs, the Bokhāris and Mobads from Garchgān, they all went before the (sacred) fire for worship, observing Baz and holding Barsam in their hands.

Now we know, that the observation of Ḥāj and the holding of Barsam are Zoroastrian religious ceremonies. So, the observance of these ceremonies by the above Hunnic tribes shows, that they were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrian in their faith.

Tabari.

(b) We learn from Tabari's account of the war of Behrām with a Hunnic king, that the queen of the Hunnic king had fallen a prisoner in his hands. Behrām sent her as a state prisoner to the great Fire-temple of Āzer Gushasp to serve at the temple. Tabari says: i.e. He sent the royal wife (khātun) of the Khakān to serve at the Fire-temple. This shows, that the Hunnic queen must be Zoroastrian in her faith; otherwise, she could not have been sent to the great Fire-temple which was held in great reverence in Iran for several centuries.

It seems from Firdousi and other writers that like the temples of the early Greeks and Romans, the Fire-temples of Iran served various purposes. They had institutions attached to them which served the purposes of our modern Bank Houses of Correction, libraries &c. So, the Hunnic queen was sent, as it were, as a state prisoner to state religious House of Correction.

Macouidi.

(c) That the enemy with whom Gushtasp fought were some tribes of the Huns appears from Macouidi who refers to Isfendīār, the son of Gushtasp and says that he had built a fortress in the Caucasus to withstand the Alans who were a tribe of the Huns. He says.

"Entre le royaume des Alans et le Caucase, il y a un château et un point construit sur une rivière considérable. Le château est appelé château

1. Mecan's Calcutta Ed. VI, iii p. 1518.
4. Vide my Iranian Essays Part II for an account of these Fire-temples pp 98-128.
The Huns and Their Religion.

II. Evidence from Indian Sources.

Now, we will turn to Indian sources to see that the Huns who invaded India followed the ancient Iranian religion.

Just as in the history of Persia, we find two sets of references—one which may be called semi-historical referring to the old Kianian times and the other historical or authentic referring to the Sassanian times—so, also in the history of India, we have two sets of references. The set of references in the Viṣṇu Purana and Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, may be taken as semi-historical and the other set, referring to the times of the Guptas as historical and authentic. It is the second set that helps us to say, that the religion of the Huns who invaded India was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians.

These historical references or evidence can be divided under three headings.

(A) Inscriptions.
(B) Writings.
(C) Coins.

1. Inscriptions.

The authentic history of the times of the Guptas places the later Hunnic invasion of India in years 457 to 500 A.C. I will not enter here into this history but refer my readers to my paper on the History of the Huns. This history shows that the Huns who invaded India had come from the direction of Persia and that both, their victories and defeats in Persia, drove them towards India. At one time, the growth of their power on being victorious near Persia encouraged them to "pastures new" in the direction of India. At another time, defeat and dearth or wants turned them towards India.

The first Hunnic king referred to in, what may be called the authentic history in Taranuma who had settled in Malwa a few years before 500 A.C. He had assumed Indian title Mahārājādhirāja, i.e. the Rāja of the Mahārājas. He had struck his coins in India, and we find his name in

1. Ibid. p. 43.
Indian inscriptions. The defeat and the death of the Iranian king Phiroze (457-454) seems to have made him powerful enough to turn to India for fresh victories. He had a son named Mihirkula. Mihirkula is the Golas of the monk-writer Cosmos Indicopleustes who wrote in 547 A.C. The last part Kula or Kola of the name of Mihirkula has given the form Golas. This writer speaks of him as a king of the White Huns. It is the Indian account of Mihirkula that helps us to say, that Toramana, Mihirkula and their clan were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrians in their belief. There are several facts that lead us to say so.

We have an inscription of the time of Mihirkula, inscribed in the 15th year of his reign. It was found “built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India.” The inscription, refers to the worship of the sun. The inscription is by one Matricheta, who said that he had built the temple and dedicated it to the Sun “for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and himself”. Mihirkula’s father, Toramana, is spoken of in this inscription “as a ruler of great merit”. Mihirakula himself is spoken of as a man of unequalled powers, Lord of the Earth. I think that the donor Matricheta himself may be a Zoroastrian in his belief. His reference to the sad dharma seems to me to be a reference to the Zoroastrian Mazdayasni religion which is often spoken of in Parsee writings as the good true religion (Veh din, behdin). The eulogistic way in which this donor, who seems to be a zoroastrian, speaks of Toramana and his son Mihirkula, in a temple dedicated to the sun, on whose light Mithra presides, leads us to infer that these Hunnic kings also were Zoroastrian.

B. Evidence from Historical Writings. The Rājatarangini.

Coming to books, the most important evidence is that from Rājatarangini: Mihirkula the son of Toramana was finally defeated.

1. Dr. Fleete’s Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings p. 163 No. 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Fleete’s Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings No. 37, p. 162.
6. There had been for some time a discussion, as to who defeated Mihirkula and thus put an end to the Hunnic rule in India. Some said, it was Bahladitya and others that it was Yas’odharman. In my paper in the Hunas in the Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume, I have given my view in favour of Yas’odharman. Prof. K. B. Pathak, also has in his learned paper, entitled “New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirkula” in the same Volume shown that it was Yas’odharman who gave the final defeat.
The Huns and Their Religion.

Now, in the final battle, which led to the defeat, Mihirkula was taken prisoner and sent away to his capital at Sakala (Sialkot). But, having found, that his brother had, taking advantage of his defeat in the South, usurped his throne, Mihirkula went to Kashmir, where he was hospitably received by the king of the country. But, later on, he abused his host's hospitality and raising a revolt, seized his throne. Now Kalhana, the poet historian of Kashmir, refers to Mihirkula and his rule over Kashmir in the Rājatarangini, his well-known work on the history of Kashmir, which is taken to be the first historical work of its kind, in India. There are several statements in his account which point to Mihirakula's religion being somewhat the same as that of the Iranians of Persia. We will refer here to these.

(a) Firstly his very name Mihirkula is Iranian. Mihr or Meher is the later form of the Avestan Mithra (Indian Mitra).

(b) He is spoken of as having founded at Shrinagar a temple of Mihir (Mihireswar and the city of Mihirpur).

These names show they bore the name of Mihir, the Iranian Yazata (Mithra), presiding over the light of the sun. One may say that Mihir is the Indian word for sun, so there is nothing unusual or un-Indian in the names. But, when we know that Mihirakula was a non-Indian or a foreigner and that names of cities or temples bearing the name Mihir are otherwise scarce, it seems, that the names have an Iranian tinge in them.

(c) Immediately after the mention of these two places, bearing the name of Mihir, we find a mention of Gandhāra Brāhmaṇas. They are spoken of as (a) Brāhmaṇas of Gandhāra, (b) of being the last of the Dvijas (c) of undoubtedly having the same dispositions as that of Mihirakula (d) and of coming from various agrahāras.

Now as to the Gandhāras, I will quote here, what I have said in my paper on Kashmir and the ancient Persians.

"The references to the Gandhari by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandhari. It appears that the Gandhāras, referred to by the author of the Rajatarangini, were not the same, as those referred to by Herodotus, as Gandarians and as a

2. Troyer translates as "un santuaire a Mihira" Vol. II. Translation pp. 33.
people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire. They were the same, who, with the Sogdians 'having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians', formed a part of the army of Xerxes. They are the same, as those referred to by Pliny, as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad. Thus, the Gândhāra Brāhmīns, referred to by the Rājatarangini, as being preferred to the Brāhmīns of the country, and as having won the favour of Mihirkula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Môpars, appears from the description given in the Rājatarangini. 2

These Brāhmaṇas or Môpars are spoken of as having the custom of the next-of-kin marriage. It is the custom referred to by some Greek writers also. Modern European scholars connect it with the custom of Khetyodath referred to in Parsee books. I have spoken on, and explained elsewhere, the subject. However Kalhaṇa's reference to the alleged observation of this custom by the Brāhmīns, newly brought by Mihirkula to India, shows, that the Brāhmīns were some Zoroastrian priests. Thus the fact of the Hunnic king Mihirkula, who bore an Indian name, bringing to Kashmir foreign Zoroastrian Brāhmīns, who were alleged to have been observing the custom of the next-of-kin marriage attributed to some sects of Zoroastrians, leads to show that Mihirkula's faith also was, if not wholly, at least partly, Zoroastrian.

(d) Then, the Rājatarangini says, that the coming of Mihirkula and his army could be known by the people by the fact of their being followed by falcons, crows and other flesh-devouring animals. Perhaps, the writer seems to say that wherever he went there was a slaughter of armies, &c., and therefore a number of flesh devouring creatures followed his army. But, I think that here is also a subtle allusion to the Iranian custom of the disposal of the dead. If so, this allusion also points to the Hunnic king Mihirkula as following the Iranian faith.

C. Numismatic Evidence.

The coins of the Hun kings in India also show that they followed the religion of ancient Iran. The coins of the Hun king Toramana and Mihirkula bore Fire-altars like those on the Sassanian coins. Their coins served as intermediate models for the later Gadha coins, known as Gadhya Paisa, known in Indian literature as Drāmass. I have referred in my paper, entit-
ed "A Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S., from a Parsee point of view" to Dr. Condrington's plate, in which he has arranged 20 coins of the type known in Gujarat as Gadhia coins and in Kathiawar as Gadhaiya coins. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji has described the plate, and, as said by him, the coins in the plate are arranged in a way as would easily give to one looking at them "the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former (Sassanian coins), into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhiās) coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhīās are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of about the 6th or 7th Century A.D." 2 Now in this series, the coins of the Hun kings occupy an intermediate place. As said by Mr. Browu "the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing Sassanian types into India." 3

Mr. Brown refers to a coin bearing the name Shāhi Tigin with the Nagari legend "King of India and Persia." I think this Shāhi Tigin is the Shahi Chagān or Chagān Shahi of Firdousi (Meyn's Calcutta edition of the Shahnameh, Vol. III p. 15/89 e.g. The name is a title and not the name of the king.) The name of this particular king was Faghanish and he was a Hunnic king of the Hailalite tribe, spoken of by Firdousi as Shahi-Haital.

Of course, the mere fact, that we find fire-altars in the coins of the Hunnic Kings of India, standing alone, would not, suffice to show, that they paid reverence to fire and were Zoroastrians in belief, but together with other evidences referred to in this paper, it presents a very strong presumption of their following the religion of Iran.

**The view of M. Deguignes principally based on the authority of Chinese writings.**

Mr. Deguignes has written an excellent History of the Huns under the title of "Historie Generale des Huns." He speaks of his work, as a work principally drawn from, or based upon, Chinese books (Ouvrageire des Livres, Chinois." He has also drawn from other Oriental sources. In this history, he speaks in two places on the religion of the Huns. At first, he speaks of

3. The coins of India (The Heritage of India Series) by C. I. Brown (1922) p. 51.
5. Ibid pp. 375-77 Livre, V.

86
their religion under the head of "Histoire des Anciens Huns." 1 This account is of the ancient Huns other than the White Huns, who lived in the frontiers of Persia and who now and then invaded Persia, and who, in the time of the Sassanides invaded both Persia and India. He again speaks of their religion under the head of "Les Turcs Orientaux." 2 These Turks were the Huns who had come into a long contact with the Persians, and had invaded Persia and India under the Sassanides. He thus speaks of their religion. 3 "As to other religion, the Turks have much respect for fire, air, water and earth. They worship one God whom they regard as the author of the Universe. They sacrifice to him camels, oxen and sheep. Their priests claim to have the gift of prophecy.... ...But there existed in their neighbourhood a religion celebrated in olden time, I mean that of Zoroaster, which, a part (tribe) of Turks, had embraced, principally those who lived in the direction of Persia and in Transoxonia." Then, describing the religion of Zoroaster on the authority of Hyde, M. Deguignes adds: "But probably the Turks had not adopted the sublime ideas of the Persian religion." 4 We see that Deguignes' account of the offerings tallies with what we have said above about the ceremonial offering of animals according to the Yashts by the Vaesaka Huns and by the Huns of king Arejataspa or Arjasp.

2. Ibid pp. 375-77 Livre, V.
THE NURBAKHSHI SECT.

BY

MR. MOHAMMAD SHAHI, LAHORE.

Side by side with the growth of the Mughal power in India there were growing certain unorthodox sects in Islam mostly of foreign, particularly Persian origin, and greatly resembling each other, though orthodox Islam was, as a rule, the state religion of the Mughal Empire.

The Roshna'is.

There had risen, for example, the Roshna'is or Roshaniis, the followers of Bāyazīd Ansārī, an Afghan, who was a Panjabi by birth, but whose family removed to Wazirastan after Bābār had defeated the Lodis at Panipat: Having come under the influence of an Ismā'īlian at Kalinjar, Bāyazīd later on founded a sect, which combined communistic doctrines and pantheistic beliefs with the Ismā'īlian doctrines such as the mystical interpretation of the Koran and Hadith and the view that Fīr was the highest divine manifestation, in whose obedience lay salvation and whose disobedience (according to Bāyazīd) was punishable by death. His teaching found favour with the Afghans in Tirah and Kurram, and for a time, also in the Yusufzai country. The great national revival caused by the new doctrine brought the Afghans in conflict with the Mughals and the war was carried on during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. "How far the doctrines of the sect survived is by no means clear: that they have greatly influenced Mohammedan beliefs in those provinces appears certain" 1.

1. Rose : Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province (Lahore, 1914) 113, 337. For an account of the sect see also Belieu, a General Report on the Yusufzai (Lahore, 1864) p. 68 seq., Encyclopaedia of Islam I. 686 and bibliography given there. None of the works of Bāyazīd is known to exist, except Maqūd-al- Momin, of which I possess an indifferent copy, transcribed in A.H. 1224. The size of the paper is 9" x 6", ii 24 ff. 95 ; written in ordinary Indian Nastaliq. The work is in Arabic and my copy has also an interlinear Persian translation. It has 21 chapters. The author, who calls himself "Bāyazīd Ansāri b. Abdullah Qazī", explains in the preface that he wrote the work at the request of his son 'Sheikh Omar' to serve as an admonition for his sons and other members of the family, "based on the Qorān, Hadith, sayings of the Waliis and his own arguments." The header of the first Chapter is : "A Discourse on Knowledge and Acquaintance with Admonition and Advice and the benefit thereof (إلاين الإسلام ومعرفة الوعظ والمصيحية ومنفعته) Every other heading begins with, the topics considered are such as 'This world', 'The next', 'The Law' 'The Reality', etc., etc.
Another curious sect known as Khafashanīs arose after the death of Aurangzib. One Syed Mohammad Hussain, an adventurer from Khurāshān came to Kābul, and was married to an adopted daughter of Amīr Khān, Governor of Kābul and the son-in-law of ‘Ali Mardan Khan’. After the death of Amīr Khān he came to Lahore, where he reached about A. H. 1118-1707. The news of the death of Aurangzīb, having reached him there all the hopes that he had of advancement at the court of that Emperor were shattered and he became a Faqīr. Fired with the ambition for power, and goaded with the hope of gain—at least so tells us the historian—he conceived the plan of founding a new sect. He set to work and in collaboration

1. For an explanation of the name see Tuhfat-at-'Alam (Bombay 1847) p. 498. It was the first word of a sentence, which was substituted for

2. I have followed the account of this sect, given in Siyar-al-Muta'akhhirin (Lucknow A. H. 1289) II 445-450 (written in A. H. 1194-95). The author got his information directly from the sons and the successors of the founder of the sect. The author of Tuhfat-at-'Alam pp. 491-9, writing about 20 years later (in A. H. 1216-16), who had met some followers of this sect in Murshidabad gives a brief account of the sect which differs from that of Ghulam Husain Khan only in some details. It also gives the pronunciation of some of the peculiar terms of the sect.

Mīr Taqī Mīr, the famous Urdu poet (d. in A. H. 1223) describes in his Dhikrī-Mīr (written in A. H. 1286), an interview which his father had with the founder of the Khafashānī sect in Lahore, thus:

بےعد از جنہیں بالپور رسوعد و ان درونش— ریاکر را دید کب زکربود کر کشی شہرت دارد نششت می سمان و عالمی را یااب می راکد (زینبی فریب می داد) بنام خشحال نوم میرعر ہن در میناء تا اچھی میں کسی اسی فهمیدا پیش او خطر بہنی کشیدہ (زینبی عزر، نمود)۔ گنت کہ میں کامگی کے معین اصلی میں کام کو دو جسمانی ومی دانندہ، پہرم بر آتشن و یوت کہ ای بی اتیر (زینبی پی ہیر) دیں پینہم ما محترمہ دوگی جو نندو نیست فهمیدہ بگوگہ اینجا نجی میں کشم نے کاتم شوی، آخر ایں اول ملاقات صحتی تروئی شد (بیمہ زینبہ شد) بشر ہن لوی اراتنا بجاشندت در تکرہ فقی، حبّت گذرئنی، جوئی سمجھ سالی ہد کہ این خبرات در امری پہرم میں گنت کہ جالسوردی ندارد ‘دیوز سالی (زینبی بی پریدہ) گنت کہ اکم انور سالی سرمھوں گفت’

3رما پرہ پرہ اک امری کا امریہ بی لطف اسیں بھر سرمھوں گفتہ کہ این کی اوتی (زینبی رسووا شوی)

(My Ma. f. 8 b. This copy was transcribed in A. H. 1231/1816.)
with a pupil of his, he coined a new language, mainly using obscure and absolute old Persian words modified by apocope, etc., into barbarous, unrecognizable forms. In this jargon he wrote his scriptures, which he called the Holy Āqūzā (أَقْوَازُ مُقَدَّسَةٍ). He claimed that he was the 9th and the last ‘Bīgūk,’ and as such held a position between the prophets and the Imāms. Mohammad, like other, great Prophets, was followed by nine dignitaries of this type. Ālī was the first, Imām Ridā, the 8th. Up to Imām Ridā the two functions met in the same individual; then they separated. Muhammad Taqī became the 9th Imām and he the 9th and the last Bīgūk. This was meant for Shi‘a consumption; for the Sunnīs a different enumeration was adopted. In fact he did not bother himself as to what the religion of a man was so long as he accepted his claim as a Bīgūk. He also claimed that he was a Mujaddid, and received revelation, sometimes through the eyes, by being presented with a sun-like disk, inscribed with letters of light, at others, through the ears by hearing words revealed to him. He had fixed certain days to be observed as festivals by his followers, and instituted three additional prayers, called by him Did (ذِي الْدُّيْد) at sunrise, midday, and at sunset.

From Lahore he moved to Delhi and gradually acquired a large following, numbering about 20,000 souls, including some of the Mughal nobles. He attracted even Farrukh Siyar, who personally called on him. In the reign of Mohammad Shāh 3 his Vizir Mohammad Amin Khan wanted to arrest him, but the sudden death of the voice only strengthened the cause of the Prophet still more. After the death of the founder, which took place within a year or two of the incident described above, his son succeeded him but dissensions arose among his followers and became a source of weakness for the sect. After the invasion of Nādir Shāh, the grandson of the founder acquired some influence with Muhammad Shāh but the invasion had really ruined the sect and killed or scattered its adherents. In the middle of the reign of Ahmad Shāh the remnants of the family of Muhammad Hussain removed to Bengal and lived there, under the patronage of Miran, son of Jāfar Ālī Khan, the Governor of Bengal. In the first quarter of the 13th Century, the sect had practically disappeared, after nearly a century, from its birth.

1. 'Fārsi-i-Qadi'm' in Siyar, 'Pahlavi' in Tuhfa, and 'Darī' in Mir Taqī. Apparently some Hindi words like Nimāna and Semitic words like i.e. were also taken.
2. r 1121/1718—1131/1719.
3. r 1131/1719—1141/1748.
4. r. 1161/1748—1167/1754.
The Nur Bakhshis.

We now turn to the Nur Bakhshis, who in point of time came into existence before the two sects described above, and to whom this paper is really devoted. After giving a biographical sketch of the founder of this sect and a brief account of some of his successors, I shall deal with the introduction of this doctrine in India than with the doctrine itself, and finally with the present-day-condition of the sect.

(a) The founder of the Sect.

The Nurbakhshis are the followers of Syed Muhammad Nur Bakhsh. His family came from al-Ahsa (also called Lahsa or al-Hasa), the district (also a town) in Bahrain on the Persian Gulf. This region exhibited Shi'ite tendencies almost throughout the history of Islam. It was in Lahsa that 'Abdullah, the grandfather of Nur Bakhsh was born. His father Muhammad was born in Quatif. The family is said to have possessed one peculiarity. Each generation produced some members, who possessed hail (or 'state' of the mystics), saintly individuals—who were either salihs (sane followers of the spiritual way) or Majzubs (lunatics), shewing clearly the neuratic tendency of the family.

1. The following abbreviations among others have been used in this article:—
   *Akbbär* i.e., Akhbär al-Akhyār, Delhi, 1280.
   *Arsr* i.e., Asrar al-Shuhād of Aṣφrī (Lahore, 1894).
   *Biddulph* i.e. Tribes of the Hindoo Kush (Calcutta, 1880).
   *E. I.* i.e. Encyclopaedia of Islam
   *H. I.* i.e. Haft Iqlim of Amin Ahmad Razi, quoted from Punjab University Ms, or from a summary of its contents in Ethes Catalogue of Persian Ms. in the Library of the India Office.
   *H. Khaflfa* i.e. Kashi al-Zunūn, Consantinopole, 1310.
   *Ma‘āthir, i.e.,* Ma‘āthir-i-Rāhimi of Muliā ‘Abdul Baqī Nahāvandi. Ed. M. Hidayet, Hussain (Calcutta, 1910)

2. The best account of the life of this Syed is preserved in the Mājjalis al-Mumīnīn of ‘Nārūllāh Shāhslarī (Tehrān, 1999), p. 318-15. He had access to a contemporary account (app. called- ۳۳۳٣) of the Syed by a disciple of his, Muhammad b. Ḥājī Muhammad Simārqi ‘andī by name. Nārūllāh gives a summary of the account. It relates roughly to the period of the life of the Syed between 826 and 841. I have collated the text with an excellent copy, belonging to Professor Mahmūd Shahrūnī of the Islamia College, Lahore, (called in the notes 'M.S.'), and transcribed in Jahangīrnagar (Bengal), in A.H. 1079.

3. Cf. Majalis 8. As late as 1157/1447 it gave birth to the founder of the Sheikhi sect of the Shias (see Encyclop. of Islam i. 268).

4. It was after him that the Syed is said to have used "Lai savi" as his poetical name, in some of his Ghaals. I have not seen any such Ghaal. See Majalis, i. 1.
His father, having decided to denude himself of his worldly possessions left his country and went into Khurāsān. After visiting the tomb of his ancestor the Imam ‘Ali b. Musa al-Ridā he settled in Qain and married there. Here Nūr Bakhsh was born in A.H. 795. He learnt the Koran by heart at the age of seven and in a few years. we are told, acquired profound knowledge of all the sciences. In later years he refers proudly in a letter, which has come down to us, to his achievements in various sciences, particularly in the linguistic, religious, mathematical and occult.

After completing his education he became a disciple of Khwaja Ishāq of Khuttalān, who himself was a disciple of Syed ‘Ali Hamadānī. The Mīr perfected himself, it seems, before long, in the practices of the mystics, and the Khwaja, his spiritual guide, presented him with the last mantle of Syed ‘Ali, robed him in it with his own hands, and seating him on the Masnad of spiritual guidance, placed him in charge of the affairs of the monastery and of all the novices. He also gave him the title of Nūr Bakhsh in accordance with a dream that he had dreamt. Nay, he himself took bai‘a with his former disciple and invited his other disciples to do the same. All responded with one notable exception.

1. The 8th Imam, who was poisoned by Mumīn in 208 (817) and who lies buried in Mashhad. Nūr Baksh was the seventeenth descendent of Musa al-Kāzim (Majalis 318 p. 27).


3. In a note by Iqbal Halder, of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Add. 7688 the letter in question occurs on P. 34 b.) In the following pages this work is brief referred to as "Murassalat". Also see Appendix.

4. See infra.

5. Nūr Bakhsh claims for the title a divine origin —

6. This was Shihabuddin 'Abdulrah Mashhadī. He was absent at the time and when the news of Khwaja Ishāq’s bai‘a reached him he is said to have denied the Khwaja who in his turn disowned him (Majalis 3148-12). On p. 319-19 he is represented to have claimed to be the Khilafah of Khwaja Ishāq. His followers were called Sufijas in the time of the Shuntariya name which seems to have been appropriated by the Nūr Bakshīya of Kashmir, in later times, and between the followers of Nūr Baksh and Khwaja Ishāq much difference existed as to the genuineness of the calim of Abdullah.
Evidently, the Khwāja had his designs against the Government of Shāhrukh and in the Mīr he found his man. The Mīr at first pleaded that they were not prepared to take the field against an Emperor like Shāhrukh, who held sway on “Iran, Turan and India, over Arabs and non-Arabs” and that they could afford to wait as the affair certainly was preordained by God and would ultimately take the desired shape. But the Khwāja was inexorable and cited examples from sacred history, of the prophets who had sallied forth against their enemies on similar occasions without any preparation. Ultimately the Mīr yielded. In the year 826/1423 the party raised the standard of revolt in a fortress of the distant province of Khuttalān, the great mountainous tract on the upper Oxus, west of Badakhshān.

Things were thus rapidly coming to a head, when the Governor of the province got news of the storm that was brewing. He acted promptly and firmly. Both the Khwāja and the Mīr were arrested, also a band of their leading supporters and having sent a report of the whole affair to Shāhrukh’s Court at Herāt, the Governor sent the prisoners in the same direction.

The second period of his life from C. 826 to C. 841.

This brings us to the second period of the life of the Mīr, covering over fifteen years, in which he was either in prison or under surveillance, in one part or the other of the Empire of Shāhrukh.

On receiving the report, Shāhrukh gave orders that all the prisoners be put to death, but a little later modified the order as far the Mīr was concerned. He was to be brought alive to Herāt.

---

1. The sun and successor of Timur. He reigned from 807/1404 to 850/1447.

2. According to the original “invited the people (to himself)”, which combined with the talk about Khurāj that had preceded, would mean little else than open revolt. The name of the fortress is given as كوك تبری in the printed text. The M.S. gives كوك نیزمی.

3. At the suggestion, we are told by the disciple and biographer of the Mīr, of Hakim Dīn, the Court physician of the Emperor Shāhrukh had a sudden attack of colic, which was relieved only by his withdrawing the death sentence against Nūr Bakhsh, a Syed, who was “peerless in asceticism, piety, learning, and ascetic practices and perfection, apparent and hidden” (Majālis I. c.)

4. Nūr Bakhsh refers to the incident in one of his poems, thus:

Poems f. 198 a.)
i. His first captivity.

Nūr Bakhshī was brought in chains to Herāt, and although he pleaded that he had not "plucked as much as one hair from the body of a Muslim, nor shot an arrow towards any man"1 he was imprisoned in the Fort of Ikhtiyyār-ud-Dīn2, and for the first eighteen days placed in a dark cell. Then he was sent in chains to Shirāz, the Emperor's own kinsmen being entrusted with the task of taking him to the frontier. He was thus taken to Bihbāhān8, on the border of Kurdistān and there for a time kept in durance, but finally set free by Ibrahim Sultan, the Governor of Shīrāz.

After regaining his freed m the Mīr went, through Shūstār and Başra, to Hillah, where he was well received by the inhabitants; thence he made for Baghdad, and after visiting the shrines there entered the Kurdistān province. His propaganda among the Bakhtiyāris and other clans succeeded exceedingly well. The chiefs and nobles of the place offered their allegiance to him and for a time struck coins and read the Khūta in his name.

ii. His second captivity.

Shāhrukh was then in Adhārbājān. As soon as he heard that the Mīr was in Kurdistān, he issued orders for his arrest. He was thus arrested a second time and taken to the Urdu or the Royal Camp. Being convinced that the Emperor, was bent on his destruction, the Mīr escaped the vigilance of the guards, and fled for his life. After wandering through snow-covered, trickles and mountains for three days and nights he reached Khūlkhāl. The ruler of that place however again arrested him and sent him back to Shāhrukh. This time he was again placed in a dungeon for fifty-three days and then taken in chains to Herāt. On a Friday, he was forced to ascend the pulpit and renounce his claim to Khilāfet and he had no alternative to obey.4 On Jumādā I, 840 (Nov. or Decr. 1435) his chain serv

1. MS: قصد يکهوي گوسفنده معی مسلمانی الیک

2. Situated to the north of the city of Herat, within its enceinte. So in Asfizar’s Rawdat al-Jannat; Punjab Univ. MS; also in Ferrers’s Travels to Central Asia, London, 1846.

3. In the Arrajān District, south of the Tāb river.

4. The biographer tells us that Nūr Bakhshī made the following speech on the occasion: This poor man is alleged to have said a certain thing We said or said it not, "O Our Lord! we have wronged ourselves and if Thou dost not forgive us and have mercy on us, we shall surely be of those who are lost 'Kor. 7: 22'. Then he recited the Fathā (or the opening Chapter of the Koran) and descended from the pulpit. (Majalis 1. c.)
taken off and he was allowed to teach the ordinary sciences, but he was not to mix with the masses nor was he to don a black turban.

iii. Transported to Asia Minor on 15. ix. 840 (24.3.1437).

Not long after this the Emperor again had misgivings about the Mir and sent him to Tibriz, the Governor of which place was to transport him to Rum (Asia Minor). After reaching Tibriz he got his freedom but we find him proceeding to Shirwan and thence to Gilan, instead of Asia Minor. In the latter place he engaged himself in devotional acts, without any let or hindrance and waited for the divine command. This brings us to the third period of the life of Nur Bakhsh. Shahrukh died in 850 (1447) and peace was restored to the life of this person, whom the Emperor had pur.

1. In MS the word  kayobad has been altered into  kubid; i.e., he was forbidden to teach the sciences.

2. Majalis p. 313 1-25. He wore black clothes, in the style of his Sheikhs. Even his disciples did the same. Cf. Ibid p. 317; The enemy who wore white clothes (see 1.4) refers perhaps to the Timurids. Black was the official colour of the Abbasides, which according to Ibnal-Mutazz, was adopted by them in mourning for Husain ibn Ali Ibrahim (al-Imam). See Z.D.M.G. vol 40, p. 578, verses 07 and 208. The Alid colour was, however, green. Apparently the wearing of black, was taken by Shahrukh as lending colour to the retention of the Mir as to the Gallipate. The explanation which Asiri is said to have given to Shah Isma'il, (r. 907-930) that black was being worn by him in mourning for Husain (Majalis 307, 1-23). The following from Risala-l-Imamiya (Mirtat, 1825) as to what the Khatib should do when leading the Friday prayers, is interesting:

3. Evidently those who had charge of him on the way to Tibriz performed their duty very carelessly, for the Mir all the way was carrying on his propaganda freely.

4. Here ends the summary which the Shastari has given of the biography of the Mir by his Smargandi disciple. To this period must be assigned, if genuine, the letter of Nur Bakhsh (to Shahrubkh?), quoted in muraasilat f 34 b, in which occurs the following: For twenty years that King has been persecuting the undesignated. Thrice hath he imprisoned him and twice confined him in dungeons. For a thousand leagues hath he made him go in chains, from one clime to another. That persecution hath not ceased even now, when his life and reign are coming to an end. He is still thinking of arresting the undesignated and putting him in chains. This is not to be, as revealed to those who receive revelations for the seers hay seen and the knowers known only three captivities. . . . . The first was for six months, the chains heavy, then there was also the sentence of death; the second was for four months, the chains light, but there was neither confinement in dungeon nor death sentence. It is expected now that the King would repent and beg forgiveness from God and no more design on the life of a descendent of the Prophet, for life and empire are coming to an end and the turn hath come of Mohammak's descendants.
sued so relentlessly for over twenty years. In this eventless period of about twenty-one years, we find him settled in the district of Ray-Shahryar, in which he founded a village and spent his time in devotions and guidance of his disciples. There he died in 869-1464. At about 9 A.M., on Thursday the 15th Rabī O. 8693 (Novr: 15th, 1464) at the age of 73 lunar months.

(b) The Successors of Syed Muhammad Nur Baḵsh.

Out of his lineal descendants, several of whom are mentioned as poets by Amin Ahmad Razi, the most important seems to have been Shāh Qāsim Fad Baḵsh. He succeeded his father as the religious head of the Nūr Bakhshīya, and owned considerable estates in the district of Ray-Shahryar and that neighbourhood. He and Syed Jafar, the eldest son of the Mīr, both went to Herāt during the reign of Sultan Husain Mīr, Syed Jafar could not be persuaded to stay there long and he went to Arabia, “where he spent the remainder of his life in pious meditations. Shāh Aassim, on the other hand, is said by the Shūstarī to have visited Khurasan at the special request of the Sultan, and enjoyed favour at his Court and won over to the Nūrbakhshī creed some of the princes royal, such as Mīrza Kijīk. After

2. Called سولانائی in Majalis but سولانان in Ms. H.I. seems to call it بیله‌الان.
3. The printed Text wrongly gives تسع ر شب یستین The MS. has تسع ر شب یستین which agree, with what follows.
4. In Haft Iqīm; see Ethic’s catalogue of Persian MSS. in India Office, col. 458 Nos. 1078-86, col. 469, Nos. 1203-04. The following genealogical table may be constructed from the account:

Nūr Baḵsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syed Jafar</th>
<th>Shāh Qāsim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shāh Shamsuddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shāh Qiwāmuddin Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shāh Qāsim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. See ‘Alam ārā-t-Abbās (Tehran edition) p. 188 E; India Office catalogue L. C., Majalis 315 seq.
6. Reigned in Khurfsan: from 878 to 912.
Kijik died, he returned to Ray and settled there. He must have been quite young at the time for he died in 981, fifty-one years, after the death of Shāh Ismā'il, the first Safvid (r. 907-930) who is said to have greatly honoured him and presented him with more estates than other Syeds. A son of Shāh Qāsim, Shāh Bahā-ud-dawlah by name, is also said to have found favour, first at the court of Sultān Husain Mīrzā in Herāt, and later, at that of Shāh Ismā'il, Shah Qiwāmūd-dīn, a grandson of Shāh Qāsim succeeded him after his death and made numerous disciples. He would appear to have been fired with ambition, similar to Mīr Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, for political power, for we are told that he had built a strong citadel for himself. Ultimately he came to trouble and in the reign of Shāh Tāhmasāp (r. 930-984) he was brought in chains to Qāzwin and died in prison. Several other members of the family are mentioned by Amin Ahmed but we leave them in order to notice a disciple of the Mīr, viz., Sheikh Shamsuddīn Muhammad Jilānī of Lahijan, poetically known as Asīrī who, in the words of the Shūstārī was "the best and most perfect of the Khalīfās of Nūr Bakhsh" and perhaps the greatest writer that the sect had produced. He was attracted towards him, it would appear through the efforts of a Nūrbakhshī missionary." He left Isfahān for Gilān where Nūrbakhsh then was, on Rajab, 842 and met on the way other people going in the same direction, showing the popularity the saint was enjoying in the the third period of his life. He served him in various ways for sixteen years, and then acted as spiritual guide of the novices under the direction of the Master at whose death he settled in Shīrāz, and founded a monastery (called the Nūriyya). The rulers of the district endowed the monastery and appointed the Sheikh, and his descendants as Mutawallis of it. There, under favourable circumstances, he carried on the work of the master till his death. We will now leave the activities of the missionaries of the sect in the country of its birth and see how the doctrines were introduced in India.

(c) The Nur Bakhshi doctrines introduced in India.

The earliest account of the introduction of the Nūr Bakhshī doctrines in Kashmir is given by Mīrzā Haider Dughlāt in the Tārifkh Rashīdī.  

1. Asrār 92 seq. Asīrī has left (ibid) an interesting account of his noviciate, for which see infra.

2. Asrār p. 94 l. 15  is obviously a misprint for.  

3. He was buried in the monastery. The date of his death is not mentioned. He commenced the Shāhī Gulshan-i-Rāz about 877/1473 see Maqālīs, 316 seq., which has a long notice of him. A son of Asīrī poetically called Fida'ī is mentioned by Amin Ahmad see the India Office Catalogue, col. 1469, No. 1202.

4. See the English translation by E. D. Ross (London, 1895), p. 484 seq.
According to him a man named Shams (ud-dīn) from Tālīsh in Irāq, came to Kashmir in the reign of Fath Shāh. He gave himself out as a Nūr Bakhshī, and "introduced a corrupt form of religion, giving it the name Nūr Bakhshī." He wrote a book, called *Figh-i-Ahwat* which does not conform to the teachings either of the Sunnīs or the Shi‘ās. Mirza Haider sent the *Ahwat* to the ‘Ulāma’ of Undustān, who condemned it as heretical and urged those who had the power to obliterate the book and extirpate the sect. If they persisted in their belief they were to be punished, and even put to death.

This *Fatwa* resulted in a persecution of the Nūr Bakhshīs and Mirza Haider triumphantly records "that at the present time (948-953) no one in Kashmir does openly profess this faith; but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnīs".

Abul Fadl writing about 1006, adds little to the above information in his article on Kashmir. All that he tells us is that in his time there were some Imāmīs and Nūr Bakhshīs in Kashmir though the majority were Sunnīs, and that all were perpetually at strife with each other. Also, that Mir Shams-ud-dīn was a disciple of Shāh Qāsim Anwar and he promulgated the Nūrbakhshi doctrine in the reign of Fath Shāh, "from which period date the dissensions between Sunnīs and Shias in this country." Leaving Fihishta (d. c. 1033), who simply copies the Tārīkh Rashidī, we come to Muhammad A‘zam Kashmirī, who in his *Vaqī‘at-i-Kashmir* (written between A. H. 1148 and 1160) gives us a few more facts. According to him Mir Shams "Irāqī," had an 'embellished exterior,' he was an eloquent person

1. The dates of Kashmir kings are uncertain according to Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig (J. R. A. S. for 1918 p. 451) Fath Shāh was reigning in 944 and again from 908 to 964.

2. The *Fatwa* is quoted in extenso in the T. Rashidī L. C.


4. Jehangir (Tuzuk, Allgarh, 1864, p. 801) adds that the merchants and craftsmen are Sunnīs and the soldiers are Imamiya.


6. Abul Fadl is apparently calling by this name the individual, commonly known as Shāh Qāsim Falz Bakhsh, see supra. So also in Maathir p. 223.


8. I am using a Ms: copy of the work, in my possession, transcribed in 1264.
and was acquatinted with the occult sciences. He came to Kashmir twice. His first visit, was as the envoy of Sultan Hussain Mīrzā (863-4-912) the ruler of Khurāsān. Sultan Hasan Shāh was then reigning in Kashmir, but he died soon after and the envoy lingered there for 8 long years, carrying on the Nūrbakhshī propaganda vigorously. He won the confidence of an influential Kashmir Saint Bābā Isma'il by name, and secretly converted some of his disciples and prepared the ground for further action. Meanwhile Sultan Hussain Mīrzā was probably pressing for the return of his envoy, for we hear that he returned to Khurāsān at this stage but being dismissed from service by the Sultān, who became acquainted with "this dishonesty and perversion," he again came to Kashmir, in the reign of Fath Shāh. This was a very favourable time for the missionary as political dissensions had turned the country virtually into so many hostile camps. Thus we hear that the Chak Chiefs, who not only held high offices, but were also connections of the royal house, were converted to the Nūrbakhshī faith and as the historian puts it "religious complications were added to the political ones and dissensions among the nobles were very much increased."

Shams-ud-dīn had founded for himself a monastery in Jādibal and, after the conversion of the Chaks gradually, through the activity of his disciples, the faith reached Tibet. After his death and during the supremacy of Mīrzā Haider (lasting for ten years) and in the reign of Nāzuk Shāh, the monastery of Jādibal was burnt down, as also the remains of Shams-ud-dīn. This author gives gruesome details of the persecution of the Nūrbakhshīs by the Mīrzā, who appears to have behaved in this matter in the right Mongolion fashion, and remarks that he made himself extremely unpopular by these measures. After the assassination of Mīrzā Haider in 957, the

---

1. Apparently some quarter of Srinagar.
2. i.e. Ladakh, otherwise known as little Tibet Muhammad A'zam tells us that it was the Shi'a faith that the 'Irāqī had introduced, and that he had nothing to do with Syed Mohammad Nūr Bakhsh, of whom the author speaks well. Cf, this with, the remarks of Mīrzā Haider, quoted above, who says that the Iraqī "gave himself out" as a Nūr Bakhshī; also with the account of the origin of the sect given to Biddulph in Baltistan 4.) Tshī (Tribes) etc. p. 12 last account also refers to a curious fraud of Shams-ud-dīn.

In Ladakh they seem temporarily to have usurped the throne of Iskardo, in the middle of the 18th century, See G. T. Vigne's Travels in Kashmir II 252.

3. Bābā Dāniylāl, a son of 'Irāqī' is said to have escaped to Tibet, for fear of Haider. He is called Sheikh Dāniylāl in Da‘awal-i-Sufya (Mccrut, 1318) p.57 and the list of his eight successors is there given, in order of sequence, thus :-
   i. Mīr Shams ud-dīn Rashīd.
   ii. Mīr Hasan Rāhnumā.
   iii. Mīr (or Sheikh) Dāniylāl Dānā.
Nurbakhshis breathed a sigh of relief and during the rule of Chak Chiefs, which followed soon after, the death of Nazuk Shah, they reached the height of their power.1

That Kashmir was not the only part of India where Nurbakhshi propaganda reached, is clear from Akhbar (p. 211) where Shah Jalal Shirari, (d. 944) a disciple of Asiri, is said to have come from Mecca and settled in Delhi in the reign of Sultan Sikander (Lodi; r. 894/1488-923/1517). He died in 944/1537 and was buried in Delhi.

Mention may also be made of the poet Fikri2 who was related to the family of Syed Nurbakhsh and who came to the Deccan in the time of Shah Tahir (d. 952 or 953 or 956 see Rieu 1393) It is, however, difficult to say whether or not he did any missionary work in the Deccan.

(d) The Nurbakhshi creed.

The Nurbakhshi creed seems to have passed through at least three stages of development. Firstly there was the form which Nurbakhsh gave it himself. Then there was the modification which probably took place when the Safvids came to power, and later when the faith had been introduced in Kashmir.

iv. Mir Abû Salîd Su'adâ.

v. Mir Muktâr akhyâr.

vi. Mir Najmuddin Thaqfb.

vii. Mir Mohammad Nûrânî.

viii. Mir Muhammad Shâh Makhduum al-Fuqarâ.

On p. 60, however Mir Jalâluddin Ma'sum is added after No. 5 and Mir Shah Jâfîr Syed al akhyâr after No. 8, raising the total number to ten. On p. 59 and 64 these, along with the spiritual predecessors of Nurbakhsh, are called Mashâikhu Siil Siilatidh Dhahab or “Saints of the Golden Chain.” Apparently Asiri was the first to use the term. Cf. Majalis 316 L. 21. Biddulph tells us that the “graves of Mir Mekhtâr and Mir Yahya, son of Shamsuddin, are still to be seen in Kiris and Shigar and it is probable that the complete establishment of the Nurbakhsh tenets in Baltistan is to a great degree due to them” (Tribes of the Hindukush p. 125). This Mir Mukhtar appears to be identical with No. 5 above, but I am unable to say that he is a son of Shams ‘Iraqi’.

1. Probably it was in this period that all religious grants and places of worship were made over to the sect and they destroyed Hindu Temples. cf. Firuzshah, Maqâla X, p. 350, Maâthir 224.

2. See Bodleian Catalogue of Persia MSS, col. 458, No. 1086.
Nürbakhsh appears to have claimed 1 that he was the Mehdi 2 the lord of his time (سیدی صاحب الزمان) and he calls himself the ‘the promised Manifestation’ (مظهر مرعود) and more often “the Most Perfect Manifestation” 3 of God (مظهر جامع). This last claim seems to have been greatly stressed in his letters and poems.

In a letter 4 or his (addressed to Shahrukh 7) he explains what he means by this claim. “In this age” says he, “if there is a Syed 5, in the whole world, deeply learned in religious, linguistic, and philosophic sciences, as also unique in the unveiling (of the divine mysteries), in observing (the same), in getting glimpses of the divine light as seen in His manifestations, deeds, qualities and person (تجليات آثاری و افغالي و صفاتی و ذاتی) and in discovering the truths about the Unity of God, Gnosis and Mysticism, and who has some fifty disciples...................who also see the divine light and know the Truth—that person is myself. This being the case it was obligatory (ولجعب) according to saints and scholars that the Muslim kings should love, follow, serve and obey him 6. “To most of the doctors of Islam, nay to all Islam” he adds “it is manifest that there is no one in the whole world, who so completely combines all the qualities enumerated above, as does the writer of these lines.”

1. I must admit at once that out of the original writings of Nür Bakhsh only a few are known to me (see Appendix c). Some of the views expressed in the following pages may, therefore, have to be modified when and if more material is forthcoming.

2. Cf. Poems:

ماهم چی خاطی الوالی وهم سیدی وی وادی ویدایی

See Appendix b. 1. His Messianic claims, which are rather equivocally expressed (see extracts in Appendix B), are apparently to be regarded as arising out of his Mehdihood.

3. Cf. his following verses:

اگرچه مزاه کامل کسی برد لیکن نمز و مظهر جامع برد پیدا احوال علی مقصور قابلشب رپر وی بناگا ویاپت بسده اقبال

کرم تست شفیق سپسی بپازن ول خال

4. See Appendix. A. 2.

5. The original has

سیدی

I read it

6. Of. with this, the following line of his, which shows that he undoubtedly had ambition for political power:

ثا سلیم شفیق شد مسلم دارم نسرینو و قاج کی هار
In another letter occurs the following:—All praise be to God for his manifest and hidden favours, for there are no noble qualities and perfections which He has denied me. I am a Quraishite and descendant of Hashim, of "Ali, of Fatima, of Hussein, and of Kazim." Then he speaks of his proficiency in linguistic, religious and mathematical, sciences, as also in the esoteric teaching of Ali which reached him through ‘Imām Jafar (علی بن میثم جعفر) in alchemy, simiya, etc., and in spiritual matters of the kind already mentioned. He calls himself ‘Imām of the Walis’, ‘Imām of his age’ urges all scholars who wanted to reach the mainspring of Truth, and gnostics who sought the knowledge of certainty to flock to him. He felt it obligatory to make known his affair, so that it may be a proof against the world, “and he who died without acknowledging the Imām of his time died the death of Pagans” 2 (See Appendix A for the Persian Text of the letter; also for some poems of his, where similar ideas are expressed).

Much else that he says in his poems agrees with the teaching of other great Sūfis, such as Iba ‘Arbi (d. 656) for whom he has great admiration (See Appendix b. 1.), Rūmī (d. 672) Awhadi (d. 738) Maghrībi (died 809), Hafiz (d. 791) and others—only a few examples may be given here, in order to illustrate this.

i. “I have become totally free from denomination, religion and sect. I am only a lover”.

ii. “Renounce the world and its vanities if you desire Poverty and unveiling (of the Divine Realities).”

1. Apparently he is referring to See E. I. Vol. I. 999 b; H. Khalifa I. 895, 11 48.

2. Claimed by the Shia to be a Hadith but see Ibn Taimiya’s Minhaj al-Sunna, (Bušār, 1931) Vol. 1 p. 26 (bottom), where this claim is denied.
iii. "Learning without love, leads one nowhere."

iv. "We have obliterated the traces of Not-He from the tablets of the Universe. We have seen a world where there is only (divine) Attributes and the Divine Essence."

v. A favourite theme with him is that the object of creation is to produce the Perfect Gnostic; e.g., in these lines.

Being a Syed, he naturally is proud of his descent from 'Ali and as a Sufi and Valf claims that the light of Sainthood has come down to him from 'Ali.

But in this and in the poems elsewhere there is hardly any deviation from the orthodox Sufi position.

The way in which he trained his distinguished disciples is very well illustrated by an ijaza which he gave to Asiri and in which he states fully his method.

In Asrar (p. 92 d seq.) Asiri has retold the whole story in his own words which supplements the statements contained in the ijaza. From these sources we learn that after Tauba or repentence for sins committed, the novice was taught the Dhikr-i-Khafi. He had to submit his will completely to that of his master 2

---

1. Quotedly Asirfi in his Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Raz from which it has been copied in Majalla p. 315 L. 24.
2. Asfir 96 L. 12, 97 L. 3.
Then he had to undergo a long course of service, solitude, meditation and companionship". For Aṣḥaf, this period lasted for sixteen years and the service consisted in his own words of what follows:—

Then he began to see the divine light, receive revelations, "walk and fly into the worlds of angels and spirits", and passed through the stages of Fana (annihilation) Bāqa (subsistence) Manifestation, Jnān of the realities of unification, and acquisition of divine qualities. Ultimately he reached the stage when he could train other novices, under supervision.

It is clear from the above that in the main, the movement in the time of Nūrbakhsh, was mystical, but the teaching or discipline did not differ in any marked degree from the orthodox teaching or discipline of the monasteries.

Soon after the death of Nūrbakhsh, however, the Safavids came to power, so the system must have come under the Shi'a influences and like the rest of Persia, they also must have been converted to the Shi'a faith. How else can we explain the fact that all their missionaries who appear in this period in Kashmir are described by the Sunni writers as Shi'as, and that the essential character of the religious literature of the Nūrbakhshīs of Kashmir is Shi'a.

Finally, when the Nūrbakhshī creed spread beyond the Zojila into Laddakh, the missionaries encountered difficulties in converting the obstinate Sunni population, so a compromise had to be affected between Sunnism and Shi'ism. The result is thus described by Mirza Haider:—The Nūrbakhshīs he tells us "revile the companions of the Prophet and Ayesha as do the Shi'as", but contrary to the Shi'a, look upon Nūr Bakhsh as the Lord of the Age and the promised Mehdi'. Shams, "introduced many impious practices and infidel beliefs". The Mirza had met the Nūr-Bakhshīs in Varsak 9 (in Badakhshan) and "discovered that outwardly they follow the

---
1. Ibid 97 L. 19.
2. So in the Punjab Univ. Ms of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi (A.P.C.I.9) Rose omits it.
precepts of the Prophet and hold with the Sunnis”. But of the Nurbakhshis of Kashmir he has drawn a very unfavourable picture. “The Sufis”, he says, “know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. They consider that piety and purity consist in night-watching and abstention in food; yet they take and eat whatever they find, without ever considering what is forbidden or what is lawful”. They, one and all greedily appropriate Waqf property, against the law. “They are for ever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen, information regarding either the future or the past 2. They prostrate themselves before one another3 and together with such disgraceful acts, observe the forty (days of retirement) 4. They blame and detest science and men of learning; consider the Holy law second in importance to the true ‘way’, and that in consequence the people of the ‘way’ have nothing to do with the Holy Law.”

(c) The present day Nurbakhshis.

Biddulph, writing about 1880, gives some interesting details how the mixed character of various religious forms and beliefs has been presented to our own times by the Nürbakhshis;— “In winter” he says, “the Nürbakhshis pray with folded arms, like the Sunnis, in summer with the hands hanging down, like the Shia. Like the Sunnis they pray together, and observe Juma Prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying and

1. This seems to be the sense of the sentence as given in the Ms: referred to in the preceding note. Ross has a different version.

2. The founder himself may have been responsible for these tendencies. Cf. extracts from his letters in Appendix A. Risāla-l-Itiqādiya (Lahore, 1341) p. 38; Majālis 318 l. 29, 319 l. 11.

3. Cf. the following verse of Bannā‘ī addressed to Asīrī:—

بیشن رخ ذر سجده نبو جهیزی پرداز کم همست دروی ظهو ز جهیز مجمع عابدین (majālis 317-8).

4. In one of his Ghazals, Nūr Bakhsh, addresses himself thus:—

آی دل بیا بکوی وفا خلتر تی گزرین در سلزک سالگان بیپ نشین از چرچی اورہم تمنا نما بدل وا نگم بحق نمای تولچو اجِل دین تجر بید شو زمر چریدیه ند ن سرخو است بمر آسان دوس م بسر آر ریک ار اریمین

“In order to gain purity, release the soul from the grip of the demon of self and see the light of Truth”, also cf. Majālis 317 l. 12, 318 l. 22 seq.
only perform the Mash like the Shia. In doctrine they give the first place to the Prophet and second to Ali, but they observe the Muharram, mourning for the martyrda sons of Ali. From the Muharram observances arises one of the chief causes of quarrel with the Shia. The Nurbakhshis maintain that the mourning should take place in the mosques which the Shia do not allow to be proper and occasional disturbances are the result. The Nurbakhsh call to prayer is "علي وصي رسول الله على ولی الله" instead of "علي وصی رسول الله" if the Shiias."

According to this writer, the number of Nurbakhshis in Baltistan about 1880 was over 20,000. But we learn from the Census Report of Kashmir for 1911 that their numbers are rapidly dwindling.

Most of them have passed over to Shi'aism and the rest are becoming ahl-i-Hadis, "because their beliefs and practices conform so much to Sunnism and are so different in material points from Shi'aism. The Nurbakhsh for example, does not believe in the Mal'afa form of marriage, says his prayers in congregation (ba Jamaat) and says them five times with his hands raised to the breast, bathes and performs ablution in Sunni style, believes in the Khilafat of the first three Caliphs of the Prophet, as well as of Ali performs obsequial ceremonies like the Sunnis." "They are confined to Chorbat, Khapalu, Kiris, and Parkuta Ilaquas and to a few villages in Kargil Tahsil, and even there are found sparingly.

**APPENDIX**

(a) Extract from the British Museum manuscript add. 7688A 34 b seq

1. Biddulph, Tribes, etc., p. 125.

2. Separate figures are not given for them in the Census Report for 1911. Along with Sunnis they are said to number 43,574 in Laddakh Ibid Pt. 1. p. 105 note. The Postmaster of Khapalu, writing to me on 3rd October 1924, estimates the Nurbakhshi population as 30 to 35 thousands. Hundreds of Nurbakhshis, according to him are living in Simla, Massooree, and other hill stations, mostly as labourers. Communications with trans-frontier Nurbakhshis, if there are any such, has long ceased.

3. Ibid P. 105.
Extract from another letter of Syed Mohammad Nur Bakhsh.

... و أُبرِجْ جَاهِد التَّشِيْحِ فِي قَوْمَهُ كَلَّمَهُ فِي امْتِدَادِ نُفْسِهِ يَوْمًا يَوْمًا مَّضْرِعًا
صداقتً، وَعَنَّاهُمُ زَمَانٌ وَحَجَّ جَمِيلًا أَنْ جَرَّ سَدِّيِّ (سُعَيْدِيْ) فِي وَجَافٍ فَنْوْنُ عَلَمٌ

(Ibid. f. 34 b.)

(2)
شروع وادب و حکمی منتبر و دید اگر کافی و صفاینامه و مشاهدات و سهیلات و
و تجربه در آثار و افلاطون و صفا و ذاتی و حقیقی توحید و صرف و
و تصویر معجز و منفرد، و از مریدان صاحب کمال تریب هنگا صاحب
حال داشته بنزن کم در ریاضت و جوابات و خدمت و عزلت ترجمه تمام
[باینی] صاحب تجلی و محقق باشند ابن مظهر ابست و نژد مرشدان
صدامی و علماء ریاضی معجم و اراده و مالکیت و اطاعت چنین صاحب
کمال بر پادشاهان اسلام از جمله واجبات ابست و بر اکثر علماء اسلام بلکه
خواص و عوارم چند است که غیر کتاب ابن حروف در چه عالمه که چیکسن
بیجامتن ابن صفاء مصطفی دهست.

(ب) Extract from poems of Syed Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, (B. M. Ms. No. add. 16779 ff 166 b 181a)

(1)
(c) Some Nurbakhsh Literature.

1. The writings of Syed Muhammad Nurbakhsh.

Only a few of these are known to me to exist, viz., (a) His poems preserved on the margin of 34 pages of the British Museum Ms. add. 16,779 (See Rieu 825 a. IV.) This is undated, but was written "apparently in the 16th Century (Rieu). The number of poems is 53 (470 baits in all). They are mostly Ghazals, but there are also some Mathnavis (the longest contains 167 baits), rub'ai's, and Qasidas. A Qasida of his is also to be found in the Bodleian Ms. No. 1208 (Etche's Catalogue col. 733). Some verses are also found scattered in Persian Tadhkiras.

(b) The Shüstari quotes two passages from an Arabic Risāla-i-Aqīda "which is ascribed to him" (majālis 415). The first and part of the second are found in a work lithographed in Mathra in 1333 entitled كتاب لاجواب فهم امام محمد نور الخدماrena بشرح الإسلام showing that the Arabic portion of the two works is identical. The work covers 620 folio pages and contains the Arabic text, with a running Persian Commentary.

(c) A pamphlet called Kitāb-al-l'iqādiya (Lahore, 1342) which also contains an arabic text and a Persian Commentary, is similarly ascribed to Nurbakhsh, but is different from the above, and is much smaller (only 96 pages.)
THE NUR BAKSHI SECT.

(d) His two letters included in the Murāsāl, referred to in the article above.

(e) His ijaza, quoted by Asīrī. See supra.

It may be added here that Mīrzā Haider speaks of a Risāla of the Mīr which was shown to the Mīrza by a son of the Mīr and from which he quotes a passage but he does not name it. (See Ross's tr. of T. Rashīdī p. 435).

Abdul Haq quotes in his Akhbar (p. 2931) a work called Silsilat al-Dhahab of Sheikh Muhammad Nur Baksh. This appears to have been in Arabic, but, as on page 211, Asīrī is probably the author being referred to.

2. The writings of Asīrī.

(a) Sharḥ-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz. Has some relevant passages.

(b) His Dīwān, in Ms. See Rieu 660 a.

(c) His Asrār al-Shuhūd. This was published in Lahore in 1894, and wrongly ascribed to Attār, from a wrong note in the colophon. The poet refers to himself on page 10 thus:

हर दिग्दी के दोर गुँडु जनियत जॉन असिरी दीड़, आदय जानियत

(3) To the above may be added:

(a) Da'awāt al-Sūfiya (Arabic and Persian), lithogr. in Meerut in 1325, and

(b) A Risāla (Persian) in Ms. containing two chapters, one on Usūl and the other on Furān. This I have still to examine.
ASSEVERATIONS AND OATHS IN HEBREW AND ARABIC.

BY

DR. A. S. TRITTON, ALIGARH.

The statement of the grammarians that in such sentences as —
لاني لا آتهم بواقع النجم
the ل is superfluous, is unsatisfactory. It is not an explanation, only a statement of fact. It is inconceivable that the negative should lose its whole force; as is demanded by this interpretation. If ' no' can mean 'yes', language ceases to have any meaning. An explanation must show that the negative once had its full significance and must trace the steps by which it has reached its present anomalous position.

There are cases in which ل is superfluous; but they are not parallel to the one we are considering as they begin with a negative; e. g. (Qur. 57:29.).
ما من دل اذ رأيتهم ضلوا ان لابيني
Here the presence of ل is due to the general negative character of the sentence. Another example is:—
إني لا أرجو ان لا يكون من هؤلاء (الباحث الجليلين)

Very similar is the construction 'in French of verbs of fearing; where the thing feared is introduced by ne not.

It would be natural to regard ل in this sentence as a variant of ل but the Arab grammarians give no warrant for this assumption; so it must be ruled out. We must assume that ل means 'not' and find a reason for its apparent loss of meaning.

The investigation had best start with Hebrew. There is a common oath that takes this form:—David said; May God do so to me and more also if I leave of all his family one male till the morning. (1. Sam. 25:22.) This is only one example among many. This formula however is often abbreviated; the imprecation is left out and the condition alone remains. As an example of this stage of development, where the meaning is inferred from the words rather than contained in them, we may quote:—The people said to Saul: Shall Jonathan die who has wrought this great deliverance for Israel? Nay, as the Lord liveth, if a hair of his head shall fall to the ground. (1. Sam. 14:45.) The meaning is; Not a hair of his head shall fall to the ground. Another example is:—By thy life and the life of thy soul, if I do this thing. (2, Sam. 11:11.) Here the Syriac version translates according to the sense:—
I will not do this thing.
Thus a positive conditional sentence:—or rather the protasis of one—comes to be a negative promise or threat. Conversely, a negative condition takes on the sense of a positive threat or promise. An example is:—Art thou Gilced to me or the head of Lebanon? If I do not make thee a desert, (Jer. 22.6.) The meanings is:—I will make thee a desert.

Such constructions seem to be entirely lost in Syriac; except as word for word translations from the Hebrew.

We find in Arabic constructions similar to the fuller form of the Hebrew oaths and also to the shortened form. An example is:—

\[\text{ناذذك لدك و شافاتك} \] (Beladho)

The same construction occurs with \[\text{لا} \] in place of \[\text{لا} \].

\[\text{انذذك لدك سل عملام في الهية لين اختي} \] (Tab. 2) This is use, rather more freely in Arabic than in Hebrew. Again (Nishwārul Muhādarad) اساك دالد الاخذت ما شاطم مدة 165 This would be translated into English: 'I beseech you to take', Ibn Yaish says that in such a sentence \[\text{لا} \] اخذت equals \[\text{لا} \] اخذت, or \[\text{لا} \] एँ न एँ, but offers no explanation how this meaning is obtained. (The substitution of the Arabic perfect for the Hebrew is due to the normal action of the rules governing conditional clauses.)

A negative asseveration is introduced by \[\text{لا} \] ان كان عرف خبر ابي منصر ر

(Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate. 3.97.)

A further development is the omission of the conditional particle. Two examples are:—

\[\text{والله اسع ماجيحين بهاالك الا بكيم اقسمت بالله استصمها} \] and \[\text{و إشرها} \] حتى تفرق ترب الأرض اوصالي. As far as I know, this construction occurs only in the affirmative form and negative meaning.

The use of \[\text{لا} \] in rhetorical questions, and in exhortations where the general sense is positive, may have helped to weaken its force as a negative; as in such phrases as:—

\[\text{لا انهم هم السفاهة} \] Verily they are the fools.

\[\text{لا قبح الله و رجوك} \] May God disfigure thy face.

\[\text{لا تصنف كدانيا} \] Compose a book.

Even in the modern dialect of Egypt \[\text{لا} \] is used to introduce a positive request.
Anoint my left eye.' This is pronounced:—Illa tekahhilni ennesh-shmāl. So far the process is clear. By the omission of the apodosis of a conditional sentence, a negative protasis first suggests an affirmation and later becomes a direct wish. Conversely, a positive protasis suggests the desire to avoid some evil and then becomes the expression of a fear. Then the conditional character of the phrase is lost and the presence of an oath is enough to show that an apparently affirmative sentence is really negative. Then by an absolutely unwarranted extension of this construction a negative is put before the verb of swearing, without depriving it of its positive character. The sentence with which we started:—لا أقسم بمواقع النجوم والله أسمع is not the correlative of the quotation from Hassan ibn Thabit. There is a gap between the two that we cannot bridge. Language has made a jump which is grammatically indefensible.

This suggestion is only an hypothesis; an attempt to show how י may have lost its force under certain conditions. At first י keeps its negative power, though other causes make the general effect positive. Then by a mistaken analogy י is put where it has no right to be.
XII—General.
THE TANJORE MAHĀRĀJA SARFOJI’S SARASYATĪ MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE

BY

MR. P. P. S. ŚÄSTRI, B.A. (Oxon), M.A., M.R.A.S., MADRAS.

This ancient and famous library which is described by Dr. Burnell "to be perhaps the largest and most important in the world" and which Dr. Bühler says "contains a great many useful and a number of very rare or nearly unique books many of which are quite unknown or procurable only with great trouble and expense" was till recently the private property of the Rājas of Tanjore.

The earliest beginnings of the library must have been about the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the rule of Telugu Nāyaks who collected Sanskrit Manuscripts written in Telugu character. In the 18th century the Mahārattas conquered the country and since that date the library has been increasing. By far the greater portion of the collection was made by Sarfoji Rāja during a visit to Benares during 1820—1830. Sivāji his successor added a few. There has practically been no addition of any value till very recent times. A good number of Sanskrit Manuscripts including rare and valuable manuscripts representing the collection of generations of a family of scholars, known as the "Jambhunātha Bhat Landagai collection" was added to the Library in 1921. In 1922, the Library received other valuable collections of rare interest, known as the "Kagalkar" and the "Pataṅga Avadhūta" collections.

The attention of the Government of India and through it of the Government of Madras was directed in 1868 to the importance of the examination, purchase or transcription of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Indian Libraries and the framing of printed lists or catalogues of the same. (Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Public), No. 4338-48, dated Simla, 3rd November 1868).

In respect of magnitude as well as the range of subjects dealt with, not to speak of the diversity of languages employed, the Tanjore Library is probably second to none among Oriental Libraries in India.

In December of the same year, the Government of Madras asked Mr. Pickford, Professor of Sanskrit, to carry out the instructions of the Government of India. He commenced to catalogue the manuscripts at Tanjore but he fell seriously ill and had to return to Europe in March 1870 and never came back to India. It is not known how much he had done as his unfinished catalogues could not be found. (Letter from the
Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated Madras, 23rd May 1876, and Letter No. 1560, dated Madras, 7th June 1876, from the Director of Public Instruction Madras, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.)

Thereupon Dr. Burnell, District and Sessions Judge, was appointed in G.O. No. 71, dated 16th March 1871, to catalogue the Sanskrit Library at Tanjore. That learned Scholar devoted a great deal of research and labour to the task and his catalogue which he styled "A classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore," was published in three parts between 1878 and 1880 in London. This is now the chief key to the huge Sanskrit collection in this Library. But unfortunately a great many manuscripts, about 4,000, seem to have been omitted and his catalogue cannot be said to be complete.

During the course of his preparation of the catalogue Dr. Burnell wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras from Bangalore on 6th August 1873 as follows:

"It may perhaps be asked if the Library is worth the labour spent on it. I can answer unhesitatingly that it is. It is now a recognised fact that nearly all Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore Library is unrivalled in this respect; it contains several good manuscripts of all the most important ones known as yet, including a few that are new........... The Tanjore Library, however, contains additional manuscripts of most of the works which I had discovered elsewhere, and this is a matter of great importance.

I believe that this library must, sooner or later eschew to the Government. The preparation of this catalogue will therefore protect property of enormous value. Sanskrit Manuscripts have long been very dear and the cost of making proper transcripts is now very heavy. As far as I can judge, it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £50,000 but many manuscripts are unquestionably unique."

The Tanjore Mahārāja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library is now a public library in the full sense of that term, the Government of Madras through the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments, being responsible for its administration. The collection belonged to the reigning princes of Tanjore—the Mahratta Mahārājas. When the last of them died leaving no direct male heir and after the death of the last surviving Rāni this collection together with the other properties formed the subject of litigation in civil courts. There was a rumour a few years ago that the collection had attracted the attention of some wealthy patrons of learning from Overseas. And it would appear that arrangements were very nearly ready to sell the whole collection outright at an assessed value, when public attention was focussed on certain remarks of Dr. Burnell to the effect that "it would not be possible to form a collection like that at
Tanjore at a less cost than £50,000". The parties concerned had perforce to wake up and the deal was not immediately concluded. The public of Tanjore also began to interest themselves in the affair adequately. It was rightly considered as a question of National pride. The parties in O.S. No. 26 of 1912 on the file of the Subordinate Judge of Tanjore agreed that it was eminently fit that the Library should be preserved and maintained as a public Library in trust for the public and removed the Library and one lakh of rupees to provide for its upkeep, from the subject-matter of the suit. The Government of Madras in G.O. No. 1306 Home (Education), dated 5th October 1918, accordingly took possession of the same under the Charitable Endowments Act and have framed a scheme for the management of the same.

Since the Library became a public trust there has been a marked improvement in the reception accorded to it by the public. Various liberal and generous-minded benefactors have come forward with magnanimous offers. The Library has been enriched with three very fine collections of manuscripts, every one of them rare, valuable and very interesting. The Kagalkar collection, Jambunātha Bhaṭ Landagai collection and the Patanga Avadhūta collection—all these three alone number 2181 manuscripts.

The manuscripts are either on palm leaf or on paper. They are of very different value and come from very different sources. A large collection of these are recent Nāgari copies of Manuscripts in South Indian characters and are at least a century old.

These manuscripts are in more than eleven distinct alphabets being from all parts of India. On the whole, one may easily say that the total number of manuscripts now in this Library is likely to exceed 25,000.

Besides these manuscripts there are also a number of books and Manuscripts in almost all the Indian and European languages and on almost all branches of human knowledge. Special mention may here be made of the books and manuscripts in Telugu, Tamil, Mahrathi and English on account of their number and importance.

Dr. Burnell issued what he modestly styled "A classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore," between 1875 and 1880. Between 1880 and 1918 for very nearly forty years, the Library has been the victim of many an outrage. Those who were in possession gave out on loan very many manuscripts which were never returned. And many more somehow or other, found themselves into Libraries other than at Tanjore. Dr. Burnell's catalogue is very useful to us to trace out lost manuscripts, which are never likely to come back to us. Our losses are probably far more: for even Dr. Burnell's admirable catalogue was by no means a complete catalogue of all that existed. His cataloguing must have been done in haste and with unreliable assistants.
For, where he mentions a single work in a bundle, we are able to-day to trace two or more works in the same bundle.

The committee appointed by the Government of Madras took charge early in 1919. Since then they have been busily pushing forward the work of revising and preparing a fresh catalogue of all the works now in the Library according to the latest scientific methods. Each work is described in detail in a card-index-form which contains all the necessary particulars.

In 1920 a catalogue of printed books in French, Latin, Italian and Greek was published. In 1925 the first two volumes of a catalogue of Tamil manuscripts in the Library were published. These are now on sale and can be had from the Secretary of the Library. As regards the Sanskrit Manuscripts 12,000 slips have been prepared. The work of preparing slips for the other manuscripts is going on. The cataloguing of Mahrathi manuscripts and books is also in progress.

From an academic point of view the library possesses some very interesting specimens of literary and artistic importance.

These have been roughly classified as—

(I) Objects of interest on paper.
(II) Illustrated paper manuscripts.
(III) Oldest paper manuscripts.
(IV) Drawings and pictures believed to be Indian.
(V) Palm leaf manuscripts.

Short notes under each of the above items are appended herewith.

From this short survey, it would be clear that this Library is probably one of the best preserved among Oriental Libraries in India. To Oriental Scholars in particular the Library is of inestimable value in that it contains the richest collection of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts.

The funds at the disposal of the committee are not adequate to meet the necessary demand of printing and publishing the various catalogues that are now in course of preparation. The Government of Madras and the Madras University as well as all Oriental Scholars have a duty to discharge, to wit—to see proper and adequate arrangements made at an early date for the necessary publication of the various catalogues.

I.—OBJECTS OF INTEREST ON PAPER.


3. *Bhārata*. Vana Parva. Fine Indian Paper. Page 181 (a) of the Index. No. 1102 D. ff. 445. Vana Parva (3) Dr. Burnell does not give the date but the manuscript purports to be written in Samvat 1667 which corresponds to 1610 A.D.

4. Letters formed solely with microscopic letters of the word "Śiva". A paper manuscript in Marathi. The words of the text and all ornamentations are formed with the word Śiva written in microscopically small letters.

5. Paper manuscript made up in the shape of Palm-leaf manuscript. Āloka, a commentary on the Cintāmani of Jayadeva Miśra. Page 117 (a) of the Index. No. 10865. Kashmir leaves 220 on long slips of thick paper, with a string passed through a hole in the middle.

6. Paper cut into ornamental shapes and mounted on violet paper.

II.—ILLUSTRATED PAPER MANUSCRIPTS.

VEDA.

I. ṚG VEDA. *Samhitāpātha*. Illuminated borders and pictures.—Page 1 (a) of the Index. No. 2341 to 2348 D. Aṣṭakas I to VIII. The manuscript (written about 1830) is accented throughout in red. The borders are illuminated with gold and flowers:—on the first page of each chapter is a picture from Modern Hindu Mythology. All these ornaments are beautifully executed. This manuscript is in the Veda section, Bundles 1 and 2.

II. ĀśVA ŚĀSTRA. The Science of the Horse.—This illustrated book embodies the teachings of sages Śālihotra, Dīnapti, Garga, Nakula, Gaṇa and others.

Horses originally are said to have had wings which at Indra's request Śālihotra cut off and made them serviceable to God and man.

Eight chief characteristics of horses are described under the following heads:

(1) The cast of the body. 82 parts of the body are described at page 24.

(2) The natural dispositions. Satva.

(3) The colour.

(4) The motion or gait.

(5) The voice. The neighing.

(6) The smell.

(7) The brilliance or lustre.

(8) The curl or knot of hair.
The life of a horse is said to be 32 years. It is divided into 10 periods, each of 3 years 2 months and 12 days.

Ten chief parts of the body are then described and then follows in extenso a description of the various marks on the body. At page 8, the eight chief marks are illustrated; at page 48, twenty other marks are illustrated.

Illustrations of the colour of horses are given at pages 54 to 73 et seq.

Horses that neigh at sight of particular objects are classed as lucky or unlucky. Pages 86-89.

The smell of horses is then described. Pages 89-90.

Then follows a description of the gaits of horses.

Pages 105-119 describe and illustrate unlucky horses, first in respect of their physical features, such as having a horn, three ears, two hoofs to a foot etc., then in respect of the shape or form of their eyes such as those resembling the eyes of a mongoose, buffalo, vulture, cat, etc., and thirdly in respect of the hair, such as the hair being matted, grass-like or having dividing lines, etc.

Pages 119-133 describe about 54 families or stocks, those that come from different countries.

The age of horses is said to be ascertained with reference to their hoofs, hair, teeth, movements of the limbs, neighing, excreta, urine, etc. Pages 134-137.

There is at page 137 a Sanskrit verse stating the ripe and full age for:

| (1) Man     | ... | ... | 130 years |
| (2) The elephant | ... | ... | 100 "  |
| (3) The cow   | ... | ... | 24 "  |
| (4) The ass or camel | ... | ... | 25 " each |
| (5) The dog   | ... | ... | 16 years |
| (6) The fox   | ... | ... | 25 "  |
| (7) The worm  | ... | ... | 7 days |
| (8) The fly   | ... | ... | 14 "  |
| (9) The horse | ... | ... | 32 years |

Pages 154-159 describe the features which indicate longevity or otherwise of horses.

Directions as to the posture to be adopted by the rider are given at page 165.

At the end of this book illustrations apparently unconnected with the horse are given of
A bird called Śārika.
The figure of an elephant composed by 9 women.
The figure of a horse composed by 5 women, and
A bird called Cakora.

III. Gaja Śāstra. The Science of the Elephant.—The authorship of
this work is attributed to Pālabāpyamuni who is said to be the offspring
of Samagayanamuni and a female elephant. The Sanskrit text is given
on the upper halves of pages and on the lower halves, a metrical trans-
lation in Marathi of the text above.

Most part of the work is mythological but the following matters
may be noted:

Pages 96-127. The growth of the infant elephant from its first
to the eleventh month is described; it is said that in the first month,
the infant cannot suck its mother’s milk. Then the development from
the first to the tenth year is described. The animal is said to attain
maturity in the tenth year.

The age of the elephant is given as 120 years which is divided
into 12 periods of ten years each, each period being called a “daśa”.
The condition in each daśa is described. Pages 128-135.

Then follows a long description of the elephants of each of the
old divisions of India, Kāmbhoja, Pulinda, etc. The names of the coun-
tries are given at page 135.

Five modes of capturing elephants are then described from pages
136-145:

1. Varibandha.—Penning the animals in an enclosure about a
   square mile in area planted round with trees and round
   which a moat is dug up. The enclosure should be plant-
   ed with sugarcane and other vegetation to attract the
   beasts.

2. Vasabandha.—Capture with the help of 7 or 8 female ele-
   phants. The riders cover themselves with foliage and
   carry ropes with nooses and the animals are securely
   fastened with the assistance of the trained animals.

3. Anugatabandha.—Capture by enticing the male elephant
   with the help of a trained female elephant which leads
   the former into captivity.

These three modes of capture are recommended while the two
following methods are deprecated.

4. Āpathabandha.—Capture by making the elephant fall into
   a shallow pit covered over with foliage, etc.
5. The same method as the above, but the pit being very deep. Elephants are classified according to their colour. A number of colours and the combinations are illustrated. White, Black, Red, White and Black, White and Red, Black and Red, etc.

The smell of elephants, their cries, their marks, and stature, etc., are then described.

The illustrated book is apparently incomplete as will be seen from the last pages, some of which contain pictures only without the text, and some contain only the preliminary pencil sketches.

IV. A book on omens in the Nāgarī character (manuscript in big bold letters) on divination by animals, etc., with pictures of the objects. Page 80 (a) of Burnell's Index, No. 4246. D.

V. Bālabodha Muktāvali. A Marathi translation of Aesop's Fables, with beautiful illustrations in colours. The book was composed under the orders of Mahārāja Sarfoji in Saka 1728 which corresponds to 1806 A.D. After each fable, is added a note in Marathi on the obvious purport of the fable and one or two verses in Sanskrit about the fable and its lesson.

The translation is by one Subaji Sesbo, and the Sanskrit verses by Śivarāma Śāstri. The name of the artist who drew the pictures is not given.


VII. Science of birds. In Marathi, A bound foolscap size manuscript with a beautiful illustration of Baja, a bird which was purchased from the Nawab of Udayagiri for Rs. 1,233 for Mahārāja Sarfoji by Bhujangarow Harirow when he was sent to Hyderabad (Deccan) for the purchase of horses. This bird was brought to Tanjore on 29th January 1803.

III.—Oldest paper manuscripts.

There are paper manuscripts written in the 15th and 16th centuries and later.

15th Century.

The oldest paper manuscript in this library more than 450 years old is in Sanskrit.

Bhāmati or A commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya by Vācaspati Mīśra.—Page 87 (a) of the Index No. 6298. D. ff 28 a iv. Written Samvat 1525 (which corresponds to 1468 A.D.) in N. India. The manuscript says it was written in Kāśi (Benares). Though more than 450 years old, the paper continues to be in fairly good condition. This manuscript is in the Vedānta section bundle No. 8.
16TH CENTURY.

I. Vāmanapurāṇa.—Page 192 (b) of the Index No. 1584. D. ff 262. Written Samvat 1578 (which corresponds to 1531 A.D.) This manuscript is in the Purāṇa section, bundle No. 21.

II. Tatvavādyottavivarana, by Jayatīrtha.—Page 106 (a) of the Index No. 5938. Devānāgari ff. 51, complete, but a little injured by damp at the beginning. The date is not noticed by Dr. Burnell but it is found in the colophon that it was written in Śaka 1479 which corresponds to 1557 A.D. This manuscript is in the Madhvamāta section, bundle No. 22.

III. Kālanirnaya from Hemādris Pariśesakhanda.—Page 129 (a) of the Index No. 508. D. ff. 147 of which ff. 1 and 19 are wanting, written in Śaka 1497 which corresponds to 1575 A.D. About 4,820 grāmhas. This manuscript is in the Dharmaśāstra section, bundle No. 101.

IV. Bhārata—Bhiṣma Parva.—Page 182 (b) of the Index No. 1274 D. ff. 155. Dr. Burnell does not give the date but the colophon says that the manuscript was written in Bānāres in Samvat 1642 which corresponds to 1585 A.D. This manuscript is in the Bhārata section, bundle No. 49.

V. Bhārata—Gudā Parva.—Page 181 (b) of the Index No. 1185 D. ff. 86. Written Samvat 1646 (which corresponds to 1589 A.D.) This manuscript is in the Bhārata section, bundle No. 24.

IV.—DRAWINGS AND PICTURES, BELIEVED TO BE INDIAN.

1. Three volumes. Indian Plants. South Indian.
   Vol. 1 begins with अपवर्तक and ends with ब्रह्मवीरणीय (Hemp). 21 Plates.
   Vol. 2. begins with इलाइयमल Nutmeg, and ends with अन्तः खल्लम Pholomes Indica. 61 Plates.
   Vol. 3. begins with अमलकी (Flower of the plantain) and ends with .................(name not known.) 10 Plates.

2. Pictures of Birds. 26 sheets. On the last sheet are pictures of 4 butterflies and a bat.

3. Pictures of certain Palace Horses. 30 Plates.

4. Ethnological drawings and sketches in colour. 14 sheets.

5. Pictures of Tanjore Military Costumes. 17 Plates.

6. Pictures of Palanquins. 5 Plates.

V.—PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS.

It is only a very few palm leaf manuscripts that bear any date or that are assigned any date.
The oldest Palm-leaf manuscripts in this library, according to Dr. Burnell are:—

IN SANSKRIT.


2. *Phalāvatī, a vr̥tti to Jaimini sūtra*. Page 82 (a) of the Index. No. 9594 Gr. leaves 97-216. A few leaves are missing but as most of the leaves have the numbers broken off and are much injured, it would take a very minute examination to decide which are lost. This manuscript contains a VI-X 4. At page 41 of his South Indian Palaeography Dr. Burnell says "The oldest manuscript I have been able to discover is Tanjore 9594 which must be about 1600 A.D." The manuscript itself does not bear any date.

3. *An interesting palm leaf manuscript*. A marvel of scriptory art. Rāmāyaṇa: Lines 24 to 29 to a leaf in grantha character. Page 178 (a) of the Index. No. 11,678. Gr. leaves 239. 1-6 Kāṇḍas very minute hand.

IN TAMIL.

1. *Jivakacintāmaṇi*. Tamil Kāvyā No. 145. By Tiruttaka Tevar. (A Jain) with a commentary by Nacchinārkkiniyar. (A brahmin.) The copy purports to be made in Śaka year 1625 which corresponds to 1703 A.D., from an original which was itself copied in Śaka year 1550 which corresponds to 1628 A.D.
Index.
INDEX.

A

Abhinavabhārati, commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra, 85.
Ānandavadhanā, author of Dhvani karikās, according to, 85, 86.
Abhinavagupta,
differentiates Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra, 85.
does not quote from the Swapnava-savadattam, 82.
Abhinavamādhavīyam, 648.
Academy, Telugu (Andhra Sāhitya-pariṣad) 215.
Advayayavraj, 131.
Advayavojrasamgraha, 136 f.n.
Adīyārakkunalla, 229.
Ahura, a pre-zorathustrian monotheistic deity, 154.
Ahura Mazda.
identical with Varuṇa, 113 f.f.
monothestic of, 124.
Ajanta, 247.
Akalanika, 225.
Akālavarna, King, 305.
Akanānūru, 205.
Akbari quarterly, 77.
Aksobhya, a Buddhistic deity, 257.
Alaṅkārakaustubha, 545.
Ālauddin, 310; 316; 317; 320; 328.
Alberuni, 103.
called Āmikaravidyā, 599.
eighteen branches of 600, 601.
relation to philosophy, 602-607.
treatment of, by the Siddhas, 611-613.
varieties of, 613, 614.

Altindish Gott Varuṇa nach den heiden
des Rg Veda, 116.
Altindishes Lebeu, 264 f.n.
Amāṭya, same as Purvita in Artha
śāstra, 617.
Kāmandesaka Nitisāra, 616.
Kural, 616.
Manusmṛti, 616.
Ambādeva, King, 270.
Amesha Spentas, 121, 122.
Amitābha, Buddhistic deity, 257.
Ammapāmalai, caves at, 277.
Amshaaspand of Iran, 121.
Amoghavāra, Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, 305.
Amoghāsiddhi, Buddhistic deity, 257-259.
Aṃśuvarman, King, 149.
Ancient India, description by Megas-
thenes and Arrian, 261 f.n.
Āṇgira, geneology of, in the Matsya-
purāṇa, 640, 641.
Annam, Hindu Kingdom, 344.
Apratiṣṭhā Prakāśa by Nāgārjuna, 546.
Araṇakesari, 209.
Āraviṇu dynasty of Vijayanagar, 329
330, 331.
Architecture, Indian, styles of, 243 f.f.
Cāukuṇya, 246-248.
Drāvīda, 244; 246.
Indo Aryan, 247, 248.
Nāgara 244; 248.
Vesara 244; 249.
Arctic Home in the Vedas, 74 f.n.
Ariṣadvarga, referred to by Kauṭilya,
and Kālidāsa, 9.
Ārjikā, river, 72.
Artha Pañcakam in Vaiṣṇavism, 563, 564.

Artha Śāstra.
Āṅvikṣikī, in, 624.
ariśadvarga, reference to, 9.
divorce, in, 629.
explanation of the term, 3.
fines for criminal offences in, 5.
immoral practices, not encouraged in, 623, 626.
king, a constitutional sovereign, 5.
Kūṭayuddha, Manrayudha and Prakāsayuddha, in 621.
one-sixth compensation from the people in, 12.
political theories, in 616.
publication of the, 2
Purohita in, 616, 617.
Saptāṅgas of the state, reference to, 4.
secular text or not, a discussion, 615, ff.
slaughter houses in, 629.
time-table for kings in, 6, 7.
Āryajānguli, Buddhistic deity, 259.
Asaṅga, Buddhist teacher, 130.
Āścarya Cūḍāmaṇi, a drama, 82.
Asitamasā, a city, 252.
Āśoka, 7.
date of the coronation of, 232.
Asseverations and oaths in Hebrew and Arabic, 707, ff.
Āśvaghōṣa,
author of Saundarāṇanda, 135.
explanation of 'Nirvāṇa' by, 135.
Āśvapati, 7.
Ātharvaveda, 72.
Ati-rātra, a sacrifice, 74.
Ativarārāma Pañḍya, 309.
Aucityaviccāracarā, reference to Kunteśvaradāvaiya of Kālidāsa, in, 63, 87
Aurangzeb, history of, 369.
Avantivarman, a Cāḷukya King, 306.
Avanti Sundarī, a quotation from, 80.
Avesta, younger, 121.
Āvīmāraka, a drama, 81.

Āḷagarmalai, caves at, 277.
Ānāmalai, 276.
Ānandagiri, reference to Drāmidāsārya by, 470.
Ānandavardhana, author of Dhvanyāloka, 85.
originator of Dhvani theory, 86.
reference to the Upaskāras of, 88.
Āṇḍra dynasty, 387.
beginnings of, 412.
Āṇḍras, 413.
raids of, 413.
Āṅvikṣikī.
explanation of, by Manu, 624, 625.
explanation of, by Yājñavalkya, 624, 625.
in Ārthaśāstra, 624.
Āpastamba, 226.
Ārgeya Upaniṣad, 17, 18.
text of, 31 ff.
translation of, 33 ff.
Āryadeva, 136, f.n.
author of Citra Śodhanaprapakaraṇa, 141.
Vajrayāna writer, 141.
Āryāvarta, land of the Seven Rivers, 72, 73, 74, 74 f.n. 75, f.n.
Āryāvartic home, 73.
Āśvalāyana, 98.

B

Bacon, 591.
Bāḍarāyaṇa, 52.
Bahman, son of Astendiar, 104.
Bāhudanti, author of Ārthasāstra, 3.
Balāki and Ajātaśātru, story of, 54.
Bālapūjāna, a kind of Vāmasāra, 130.
Bāṇa, 4.
Bhaṭṭa, 407, 411.
Vāmana Bhaṭṭa 68, 69.
Banhra Caste, 141, f.n.
Bapak, Artakshir, 103 ff.
Bappa Bhaṭṭi, 224, 225.
INDEX.

Barkut Inscriptions by Barua and Sinha, 251, 252, 253.
Bartholomaeus, 115 f.n.
Bāgkala Mantropaniṣad, 17, 18.
text of, 19 ff.
translation of, 23 ff.
Bāgkala Samhitā, 17.
Beames, Jhon, 161, 162.
Beudall Cecil, translator of Śikṣā Samuccaya, 144.
Bureauaucray, imperial.
in Delhi, 321.
grades in, 322.
of slave kings, 326, 327, 328.
origin of, 325.
titles of, 322, 324.
Bhadanta, Buddhist Title, 254.
Bhadraghoṣa, 411.
Bhagavad Gītā, 51; 422.
Bhagavadajjuka, a drama, 81, 82.
Bhairavisakāra, 402.
Bhartrī Prapāṇa, author of a Bāgya on the Brhadāranyaka, 439.
extracts from the Bāgya of, 440-450.
monism, the doctrine of, 439.
practical teachings of, 440.
thereotical teachings of, 439, 440.
Bhānakas.
Buddhaghoṣa's account of, 255.
canons of, 255.
Bhānumitra, 411.
Bharadvāja, leader of a school of thought, 3.
Bhartṛhari, author of Vākyapadiya, 97; 476; 477.
Bhāsa, dramas of, 79 f.f.
Bhāsarvajī, a Naiyaśikā, 583.
Nakulīśa Pāśupata, the Darśana of, 585.
status of, 585.
theism of, 585.
works of, 585.

Bhaṭṭākalka, founder of the Hoysala Kingdom, 223; 225, 226.
Tradition about, 225.
Bhaṭṭanāthaśurī, a Vaishnava Saint, 227.
Bhaṭṭāṅghriṇeṇu Śuri, Vaisnava Saint, 227.
Bhaṭṭikāvyā, 63.
Bhattoji Dikṣīṭa, 37.
Bhavanātha, author of Nāyāviveka, 474.
Bhagavardhana, a city, 252.
Bhoja, author of Śṛṅgāra Prakāśikā, 6.
King 7; 92; 224.
of Kānyakubja, 224.
Bhojakatha, a city, 252.
Bhuvaneswara, temples at, 248.
Bible Daus L'inde La, 73 f.n., 75, f.n.
Bloomfield, 125.
Bodhāyana, 465-468.
identified with Upavarga by Veçānta Deśika, 467.
identity of, with Vṛttikāra, Bōlāyana of Kalpasūtra, Bhavadāsa, discussed, 466.
presupposed by Rāmānuja, 465.
extracts from the work of, 465.
Vedāntin of the pre-Śankara period, 465-468.

Bodhicharyavatāra of Śāntideva, 132; 144.
Bohnenberger, k. 116 f.n.
Bohrlingk, 41.

Boudyas, identical with Budha, 264.
identical with Budha Saumayana, 263.
reference to, in Arrian's Indika, 264
son of Dionysus, 265.

Brade von, 116 f.n.
Brhadāranyaka, 41; 52; 59.
Brhadrathas, the, 379.
different from the, Mauryas, 380.
origin and end of, 332, 383.
Byhajhālī Upaniṣad, 58.
Bṛhaspati, author of an, arthaśāstra, 3.
Bṛhati by Prabhākara, 475.
reference to Vākyapadiya in, 477.
Bṛhatkathā, 209.
Bṛhatsamhitā, 243.
Brahmakītaī, 210.
Brahmasūtra Bhāsya, 424.
Browne, 104.
Brugmann, 160; 169; 190-193.
Buddha, life of, 232.
mahāparinirvāṇa of, 129.
Buddhism, Manual of, 130, f.n.
Buddhist canons 255.
Buddhist deities,
Aṅgolīya, 257.
Amitābha, 257.
Amogha Siddhi, 257, 259.
Ārya Jānguli, 259.
Ekajāṭa, 257; 259.
Marici, 257.
Ratnasambhava 257.
Vairocana, 257.
Buddhist Iconography, Indian, 129.
Buddhist Image, unidentified, 257.
Buddhist logic, 133.
Buddhist pantheon, 137.
Buddhacandra, a Jain scholar, 223.
Budha Seumāyana, reference to in the Tāṇḍyamāhābrāhmaṇa, 266.
Bühler, Dr. 282, 283, 284, 285.
Bundahism, 103.
Burma upper, Kaśatriya rulers in, 341, 342.

C
Caitravardhna, a commentator on Kālidāsa's poems, 2.
Caldwell Bishop, 153; 158, 159; 165;
167; 169; 172; 174; 184;
185; 189; 191; 195, 197; 198.
Cālukyaśas,
Avanivarman, king of 306.
of Bāḍāmi, 223.
Cālukyan,
styles of architecture, 246-249.
temples, 247.
Cambodge,
another name for Cambodia, 343.
origin from Hindu, 342.
origin from Kaundinya, 342.
Sūryavansha kings of, 343.
Cambridge History of India, 408.
Camā, 337.
Gauḍa princess, queen of, 341.
Cāṇakya, another name of Kautilya, 3;
5, C.P.C.
Cāṇḍāla Rāmāyaṇa, 82.
Candragnātha;
date of, 232; 268.
reference to by Kāmandaka, 3.
Candragnātha II, 6.
assumes the title of Vikramaditya, 6.
Candraka, a dramatist, 80, 81.
Candravāloka, 209.
Cārūdatta, a drama, 81.
Caste System in Islam, 404.
Chāgalyā, 17.
earlier than Kaṭha, 18.
Chāgaleyopanisad, 18.
text of, 25 f.f.
translation of, 28 ff.
Chāndogya, 52; 55; 59.
Chenigkhan, 324.
Chitthoor, Rana of, 322.
Chronicles,
of Ceylon, 232; 253.
Java, 338.
Padmanabhaswami Temple, 356.
Cikkaḍevarāya, 370, 371; 373.
Cikkaḍevarāya Vaṁśāvali, a historical work, 371.
Cittasodhana Prakaraṇa, attributed to Āryadeva, 141.
eextracts from, 141.
Sandhyābāṣā language of, 141.
Cittravibhara, 149.
INDEX.

Coin names of
  Agathocles, 414.
  Basta, 412.
  Demetrius, 414.
  Minander, 414.
  Purâṇio Kings, 412.

Coins,
  of Agnimitra, 410.
  Ayuvetessa, 411.
  Bhadraghoṣa, 411.
  Bhānūmitra, 411.
  Mitra, 410.
  Puṣyamitra, 411.
  Sūryamitra, 411.

Coins (Gold).
  of Dānava Murāri Banḍara, 271, 272.
  Desapata, 270.
  Eruva Pallava Bājula, 270, 271.
  Rayana Gaja Keśa, 269.
  South Indian, 269 ff.

Cokkanātha Nāyaka, 371, 372.

Cola.
  Karikāla, 232.
  Rajendra, 396.
  Vikrama, 223.

Colas.
  Campaigns of, 396-399.
  Imperialism of, 395-400.
  Results of the Campaign of, 399, 400.

Cola Kings, 272.

Colonization.
  Indian, early beginnings of, 343, 344.
  in the far east, 337.
  Roads for, 337-339.

Cora Śāstra, 411.

D

Dāmaka, a prabhsana, 80-84.

Dana, James, Dr., 70 f.n.

Dāndiyalikāram, a Tamil work, 209.

Dāṇḍin.

extracts from the work of, 4; 80.
reference to Bhāsa by, 209.
Dantidurga, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, 226.
Dara Sheko, 403.
Daraśukoh, 17.
Darmesteter, author of Ormazd et Ahri-
man, 113 f.n. 111 f.n. 122.
Das, Abinas Candra, 75 f.n.
Daśakumāracaṅkita, 4.
Daśakūṭa, a dvaiti school, 360.
Daśānirṇayi, 650.
Daśārṇa, or eastern Malva, 340.
De, Dr.
  Ānandavaradhana not the author of
  Dhavanikārikās, 85.
  interpretation of Abhinavagupta’s
  passage by, 87.
  interpretation of Upaskāra, by, 87.
  readings of the Dhavanikārikās, by,
  85.

Delhi, 72.

Delhi Emperor.
  administrative duties, of, 311.
  four ministers, of, 314.
  imperial Council of, 312.
  imperial Court of, 313.
  position of, 309-311.
  regent of, 319.

Delhi Empire.
  administrative system 324, 325.
  in the early middle ages, 309 ff.
  Central Government of, 322.
  Department of Admiralty in, 321.
    Agriculture in, 321.
    Justice, 319, 320.

Emperors, 309.
  imperial.
    bureaucracy, 321-323, 325, 326.
    Council of, 313.
    Court of, 313.
  ministry in, 314.
  territorial states of, 322.
Deśika, Vedānta.
identifies Bodhāyana with Upavarga, 467.
refers to Dramidācārya, 469.
Deśya, 212, 213.
explanation of, 216.
Deussen, Prof. 53.
Devavāna, 451 ff.
explanation of by A. C. Das, 453.
the ancients, 453.
Tilak, 451, 452, 453; 459.
Geographical interpretation of, 462.
in Atharvaveda, 451.
Bhagavad Gīta, 452.
Brahmasutra Bhāṣya, of Śaṅkara 456, 457.
Brhadāraṇyaka, 452.
Chāndogya, 452; 456.
Nirukta, 458.
Ṛg Veda, 451.
Upaniṣads, 451: 455.
later signification of, 461, 462.
not open to men, 453.
open to mortals, 453.
or Aroirādimārā, 451.
or Uttarāyana, 453.
original signification of, 455.
stages, in, 456, 457.
winter solstice, the beginning of,
453.
Yogic interpretation of, 462.
Dhamat religion and Buddhism, 537 ff.
worship of Dharmarāja in, 537.
Dharmapada, 93.
Dhanabhūti, King, 251.
Dhanuvveda, 7.
Dharma cult.
Bambha nibbāna, the goal of, 541.
essence of, 541.
Dharmarāja.
worship of, 538.
mantra of, 538.

Dharmasamuccaya.
compendium of Buddhist law, 143.
dharmaparaparyāya, 147, 148.
discovery of, 142.
main contents of, 145, 146.
names of compilers of, 148, 149.
not Dharmapada, 147.
number of verses, in 145.
sources of, 143.

Dhūrtavita, a drama, 82.
Dvānākārikās, authorship of, 85 ff.
Dhārayini Buddhī, 257.
Dictionary
component parts of, 212.
Dravidian, 215.
English, Offord, 210 212-217.
Standard, 217.
Kannada—English, 215.
of Hindu Architecture, 241 f.n.,
245 f.n.
Pāli by Childer, 171.
Sanskrit, Standard, 215.
Telugu (Śabda ratnakara), 216.

Diodorus, 262, 267, 268 f.n.
Dionysus
in Magasthane, 261 ff.
not identical with Śiva, 261, 262,
263.
Dipavamsa, a Ceylon Chronicle, 232.
Dīpikā, 211.
Divyaśūrtisara, 227.
Divyāvatāna, 407, 408.
Domācārya, 538.
Dramidācārya or Dravidācārya.
Bhāṣyakara, 468.
identical with Tirumālaiśi ālvār,
472.
not identical with Nammālvār, 471,
472.
referred to by Ānandagiri, 470.
Deśika, 469.
Rāmānuja, 468.

Vedāntin of pre Śaṅkara period,
468.
Drávida Architecture, 243, 244, 245, 246.

Dravidian Languages.
Comparative Grammar of, 153.
Demonstrative letters, genesis of, in, 157.
Tense Signs in, 155.

Drink and Drugs, 77.
Dupperron, Anquetil, 17.
Dūrenidāna, contracts of, 297.

E

Eggeling, Julius, 70 f.n.; 71 f.n.
Electricity and Magnetism in Ancient India, 591 ff.

Emperor of Delhi, see Delhi Emperor.
Empire of Delhi, see Delhi Empire.
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 76 f.n.
Epigraphia Carnatica, 272 f.n.
Erode, Battle of, 371.
date of 372.

F

Fa Hien, 139.
Franische Altertumskunde, 114 f.n.

Feminine sign in the Dravidian
l, 183, 184, 185.
di, 185.
ti, 185.

Ferishta, 404.
Firoz Shah Tughlak, 311-317-319; 402, 403, 404, 405.

Fick, author of Social organisation, 62 f.n.

Finot, Prof. 344, 345.
Firdusi, Author Shah Nāmāh, 103, 105.
Fituhat-i-Firoz Shahi, 402.

Folklore, uses of, 220.

Fou-Nan, 341, 342.
conquest of, by Indians, 343.
Somavamśa rulers of, 343.


Further India.
art and architecture, 347.
conquest, cultural, 345, 346, 347.
political, 345.
religious, 346.
social, 346.

laws of, 346.
literature of, 346, 347.

G

Gaṇapati Sastri, Dr. T., 80.
Gaṇḍapāda, 424, 425.
Gaṇḍa bandha, 224.
Gaṇḍhāra, another name of Yunnan, 339.

Gaṇḍāpatīsa, 67.

Garbe, 53.

Garvga Samhitā 407, 408, 409.
Gārgyānācittra, a teacher, 54.
Gayabāhu, King of Ceylon, 232.

Gazetteer.

Bombay, 305, 306.
Imperial (Burgess), 241 f.n., 247, 248 f.n.

Geldner, K. G., 113 f.n., 144.

Gerini, 338-340, 341.

Gbāznūn, Moḥammad, 317, 323 f.n.

Ghiauuddin Tughlak, 309.

Balban, 327.

Ghori, house of, 326.
Shahabudin, 326.
Gingi, nāyaks of, 330, 331-333.

God.

Immanence of, 582.
leader of souls, 580.
nature of, 590, 581.
Gotra and Pravara.
and Roman gens, 635.
Dvāmaṇusāyaṇa, explanation of by Bodhāyana, Pāṇini etc., 635.
in Mātsyā Purāṇa, 643.
in origin of, 636.

Gotrakārins.
Aṅgiras and Bṛghu, 639.
in Mātsyā Purāṇa, 640.
list of, 635, 636.

Government of Delhi, 324.
classification of, 324.

Govinda, 224, 225-227.

Govindaḥbhagavatpāda, 425.

Grammar.
Avesta by Jackson, 190.
Avestan by Kaṅga, 160, 176.
Comparative, of the Dravidian Languages, 158.
Persian by Platt, 161, 199, f.n.
Sanskrit by Whitney, 169.

Grammarians, Aindra school of, 205.

Grhya Sūtra, reference to Bharata and Mahābhārata in, 98.

Grundriss der Iran, 122 f.n.

Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, 114 f.n.

Guṇabhadra.
pupil of Jinasena, 224, 225.
teacher of Govinda, 224.

Guṇāḍhya, 209.

Gundert, Dr., 170-174 ; 191, 352.

Gupta, Das, Prof., 53.
Abbayakar, 132.

Guruparampāra prabhavā, 227.

H

Hālāśya Māhātmya, 209.
Haug, Dr. 71 f.n. 73.

Haradattācārya, a Śāiva Saṅgha, 223, 226, 227.
Haradattōpakhyāna, 226.

Haraprasād Śāstri, 131 f.n., 134 f.n.,
135 f.n., 141 f.n. 142.

Harasola grants, extracts from, 303 f.n.
reference to Kaṭaka maṇḍala in, 306.

Yogarāja in, 305.


Harivamsa, 224-225.

Harṣa Carita, 407-411.

Hargavardhana, king, 7.

Hastimalla, 224.

Havell, E.B., 71 f.n.

Hayagriva Upaniṣad, 58.

Hemādri, 3 ; 288.

Heraclés, identified with Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, 261.

Heretiks, Muhammadan, 401 ff.

Hero-worship, 237.

Hertel, 41, 42.

Hvejra, a Vajrayāna deity, 131.

Hieun Tsiang, 377.

Hildebrandt, 70 f.n.

Himaśītala, king of Kāṇci, 225.

Hinayāna, a form of Buddhism, 129.

Hindu Gods, 76.

Hindu settlements in the Far East.

Annam, 344.

Brahmaputra to Tonkin gulf, 340.

Laos, 340.

Nan-Chao, 339, 340.

Ta-Tsin, 340.

Yunnan, 339.

Hindu Superiority, 592.

Hiruka, a Vajrayāna deity, 131.

Historia Naturalis, 267.

Hoernle, Dr. 191.

Hopkins, 98.

Hoysala Dynasty, 295.

Hoysaleśvara, 247.

Hultsch, Dr. 365.
INDEX.

Huns

Homes, original of, 655.
Invasions during the reign of
Skandagupta, 657.
first, 658.
second, 658.
under Toromana, 659, 660.
origin of, 655, 656.
References to in
Raguvamsha, 657.
Visnu Purana, 656.

Religion of

Avestan Sources
Aban Yasht, 662, 663, 666-668.
Farvardin Yasht, 668.
Gosh Yasht, 664.
Zamyad Yasht, 669.

Indian Sources
historical writings, 678-680.
inscriptions, 677, 678.
umismaticos, 680, 681.

Pahlavi Sources
Bahman Yasht, 674
Dinkard, 670-672.
Jamsapi, 673, 674.
Yadgar-i-Zariran, 672, 673.
Zadsparan, 673.

Persian Sources.
Firdusi, 675, 676.
Maenudi, 676-677.
Tabari, 676.

I

Ilaungovaiyadigal.
author of Silapadikaram, 229.
brother of Saikuutta, 229.

Imperial Gazetteer, of India, 76 f.n.
India, Linguistic Survey of, 153, 154.
Indian Antiquary, 167; 186; 236; 305; 364.
Buddhist Iconography, 258.
Historical Traditions, 263.

Indica of Arrian, 264.
Reference to Boudyus, Kradeans, Spatembas, 264.


Indra III, king of Manyakhet, 305.
Indrabbhuti,
founder of Vajrayana, 130, 133; 135.
God-father of Padmasambhava, 134.
King of Orissa, 130.
Uddiyana, 130.
Works of, 134, 135

Inflectional increment in Dravidian, 192, 193.

Inscriptions, of
Alagarmalai, 299, 300.
Anamalai, 294, 295.
Arittapaati, 289-291.
Asokan, 196.
uses of, 220.
Barbut, 251-253.
Bhaskara Ravivarman and Kula-
sekhar Kovil adhikarikal, 354, 355.
Brabmi, 283-286.
Hatigumpha, 413.
Hattimuttur, 241.
Indian, in the 2nd century, B.C.
407.
Indukodai, 353.
Karungalakkudi, 295.
Khavvela, 414.
Kilur and Kilvalavu, 294.
Koongarpuliyangalam, 295, 296.
Kottur, 240.
Marugalalai, 287.
Muttupaatti, 293.
Namaqhat, 409.
Narecal, 241.
Sanai, 292.
Sanskrit words in, 286.
Siddharmalai, 298.
Sitaqvasal, 296, 297.
Tirupparaqangaram, 288, 289.
Travancore, 349; 351—356.
Updankal, 299.
Vatitluttu, 277, 280.
Jābāla, a teacher, 51.
Jābāsi upanisad, 58.
Jackson, Williams, 114; 122; 190.
Jacobi, Prof., 85; 419.
Jacollot, L., 73, f.n., 74 f.n.
Jagaddala, monastery of, 140.
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, 41.
Jalaludin Khilgī, 327.
Janaka
  King, 7.
  Teacher, 51.
Janaka and Budīla, story of, 56.
Jānakiḥaraṇa, 98.
Jānaśrutī and Raikva, story of, 60.
J. A. O. S., 41.
J. A. S. B., 245 f.n.
Jātakas.
  reference to trade roots from Broach, 338.
  Voyage between Campā and Suvāṇṇa-bbūmi, 337.
Java,
  chronicles of, 338.
  colonization by Hindus, 338.
Jayamangalā, 99.
Jayavarāma, King of Śūrasenas, 224.
Jinasena, Jain Scholar, 223.
  author of, Harivamśa, 224, 225.
Jīva,
  conception of, according to Rāmānuja, 555, ff.
  Advaitic and Dvaitic, 567, 568.
Jīvakacintāmāni, 208.
Jñāna-deo or Jñānanātha,
  avidyā, examined by, 498, 499.
  author of Siddhānṭavada, etc., 499;
  doctrine of devotion of, 498.
  Premabhakti of, 500, 501.
  Scholar and Yogi, 495.
Jñānasiddhi, contents of, 137, 139.
J. R. A. S., 73 f.n.
Judd, J., Prof., 71 f.n.

K
Kādambari, reference to Kauṭilya in, 4.
Kaiyālopaniṣad, 58.
Kaiyyatā, 96.
Kale, R., 2.
Kalohuris of Kalyāṇ, 272-273.
Kalhaṇa, 407 f.n.
Kālidāsa,
  reference to ariṣádvarga, 9.
    one-sixth compensation, 13, 81.
  Vyāsasana, 10.
  relation of the works of to Artha Sāstra, 2-16.
Kālisantarpaniṣad, 58.
Kaiulkīkai, 164 f.n., 205.
  extracts from, 206, 207.
Kalugumalai, caves at, 276, 277-279.
Kāmançaka, 3.
Kāmasūtras, 99.
Kamba Nādar, 209.
Kāmikāgama, 244 f.n.
Kaṅga, 160, 176.
Kaniṣka, 129.
Kaṇṭhiravā Narasa, 369, 370.
Kaṇṭhavāya Dynasty, 387, 411-414.
  decline of, 412.
Kaṇṭahāra, a drama, 81.
Kaṇṭhāvyūha, 129 f.n.
Karna, 105.
Kaṇṭapūra, 545.
Knowledge four-fold, mentioned by Kautilya, 3.
Koṇaṇaṇar, 231.
Krađanas.
probable identity with Purūravas, 265.
reference to in Arrian’s Indica, 264.
Kriyāsammuccaya, 132.
Kṛṣṇabrahmānanda.
author of Śankaravijaya, 225.
Kṣatriya rulers of Upper Burma, 341, 342.
Kṣemendra.
author of Āucitya vicāra cacā, 6, 98.
identifies Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra, 87, 88.
Kuḍayar, 231.
Kūnānar, Dr, 91.
Kulapakṣa, 223.
Kumāradāsa, a quotation from, 98.
Kumāragupta 1, 6.
Kumārasambhava, extracts from, 2.
reference to the Śaktis, 12.
Kumārila.
and, Vṛttikāra 528, 529.
author of Bhṛṣṭikāra, 523 ff.
known works of, 475.
missing works of, 475.
references to by Prabhākara writers, 524, 525.
referred to as author of five works, 826, 597.
Kumāripūjana, a kind of vāmācāra, 130.
Kūnaya Mūppa, a king of Rāmagiri, 269.
Kuntaka, identifies the Dhvanikāra with Ānandavardhana, 87, 88.
Kuntala, 82.
Kunteśvaradātuyā by Kālidāsa a quotation from, 6.
Kurjak, 168 f.n., 208.
Kurukṣetra, 72.
Kusroukhan, 310.

INDEX.
L
Lalitāsana, 257.
Lamaism, 132.
Lang, A, 123.
Laos, formerly known as Mālavadeśa, 340.
Lehrbück der Religens Geischiste, 114, 144 f.n.
Levi, Sylvan, 97, 142.
Lexicography.
Dravidian, drawbacks of, 212.
English, 212.
Lexicon.
Tamil, Madras University, 214.
Telugu, Śūrya Rāya, 215.
Ligor—Foundation of, 338.
Linguistic Survey of India, 153, 164, 176, 183.
Livros des monоеes, 329.
Loḍi, Sikkhander, 404, ff.

M
Macdonell, 71 f.n., 72, 76, 98.
Machiavelli, 4.
Mādhava-yajña-Miśra.
commentator of Čaṅkya, 82.
Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī, 553 f.n.
Mādhavamāvyāyoga.
Nāṇi i-verse of, 84.
Madramahīvijaya, 224.
Mādura.
date of the burning of, 233.
kings of, 223.
Pāṇḍyan capital, 229.
Magadhenses.
Indica, 261.
reference to Dionysus and Heracles, 261-264, 265-267, 268.
Māgahāvyāya, 67, 96.
Mahābhārata, 3, 15, 51, 53, 54.
date of, 98, 205, 206, 209.
trimeter verses of, 90—95.
Mahākāla, a Vajrayāna deity, 132.
Mahāpadma Nanda, 3.
Mahāsukavāda, doctrine of, 130.
Māhātmya.
Hāḷāṣya, 209, 223.
Setu, 209.
Mahāvamśa, 232, 280, 292, 300.
Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, 129.
began with Nāgārjuna, 129.
Mahendra.
author of Bhagava-dajjuka, 82.
son of Sīhma viṣṇu, 82.
Mahendra Vikrama, a dramatist, 80, 81.
Mahimabhaṭṭa, identifies Ānandavardhana with Dhvanikāra, 87.
Mahomed Bin Tughlak, 319.
Ghazni, 317 f.n. 323.
Meykandar, author of Śivajñāna-bodham, 570.
Maine—Sir Henry, 315.
Maitreyanātha, 130.
Majjhimanipīkāya, 488.
reference to in Ānguttaranikāya, 488.
Upāskas and Bhikkus criticized, 491.
Mālavadeśa, another name of Laos. 340
Mālavikāgīrinītṛ, 2.
quotation from, 7, 409.
Malcolm, 105.
Malik Kafir, 310.
Malladeva, Cālukyan king, 271.
Mallaideva, King, 270, 271.
Mallinātha, 2, 63, 64, 65, 67.
refers to various authors, 66.
Mallīśena, 209.
Malwa, Paramāra rulers of, 303 ff.
Māmāndūr, inscription of, 81.
Māmball plate, 353.
Mammatā, identifies Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra, 87, 89.
Mānasāra, a treatise on architecture, 243, 247, 248, 249.
varieties in style explained, 243, 244.
INDEX.

Mānavas, a school of in the Arthasastra, 3.

Mandalopāyikā, 132.

Mandaramiśra, 54.

author of Brahmasiddhi, 480.
not Sureśvara, 481.

Māndeva King, 149.

Māṇḍūkya Kārikās.
commentator on, 419 ff.
Extracts from, 419, 420, 423.

Maṅgayarkarasi or Maṅgaraśi, 223

Maṇi-mekulai, 208, 229.

Maṇjava, a name of Soma, 72.

Manu;

describes Rājadharma, 3.
Extracts from, 59 f.n., 61 f.n., 78.

Manuniti, 82.

Mātra.

Buddha's antagonist, 436, 437, 488.
Buddhist conception of, 483 ff.

Maraiyor, 205.

Maratha people, History of, 76.

Marriage, general rules of; 648, 650.

Masculine sign in the Dravidian, 180, 181, 182.

 présence of, 103.

Matsya-Purāṇa

genealogy of Bhrgu in, 640.
reference to Brhad-ratha in, 378-385.

Mattavilāsa, a prahasan, 81.

Mauryan empire decline of, 407.

Māyā

Asuramāyā in Rg-veda, 118 f.n.
Tamil explanation of the word, 578.

philological equivalent of Mōdhas, 115.

McCrimble, 261 f.n., 262, 263 f.n., 264 f.n., 267, 268.

Me Nicol, Dr., 531.

Medhātithi, story of, in Rg-Veda, 17.

Memorial Stores in Bombay, 237.

inscriptions on, 240, 241.

Milinda-pañña, 18.

Mimāṃsā Nyāyakāśa,
a Prabhakara work, 474.

extracts from, 474.

Mithra, does not occur in the Gāthās, 121.

Mitra coins, 410.

Mitra, Rajendra Lal, 70 f.n.

Monarchy of Delhi, 310.

Monuments, Pāṇḍyan country and their inscriptions, 275 ff.

Mudrārākṣasā, Kūṭilamatiś in, 4.

Madrās.

Abhaya, 257.

Bhūmisparśa, 257.

Dharmaśakra, 257, 253.

Samādhi, 257.

Varada, 257-259.

Muir, Dr., 72-74. (f.n. 1 g.).

Muir, G. S., 77.

Mūla Deva, author of Cosā-Sāstra, 411, 413, 414, 415.

Muktika Upaniṣad, 58.

Muktikopaniṣad, 423 f.n.

Mundaka Upaniṣad, 57, 58-93.

Mūnjavān's mountain, 72.

N

Naccinārkiniyar, 206, 310.

Nācoiyär—Ursur, 227.

Nāga—Kumāra Kāvya, 209.

Nāgārjuna
founder of Mahāyāna, 129; 135, 136.
probably author of Dharmasaṅgraha, 136.

Nāgāśa, 97.

Naidadam, 209.

Nairūtārdevi (Śūnya), 137 f.n.
other names of, 137 f.n.
Naisadha, 67; 209.
Naksaka Rajah, 104.
Naksha Rustim, 104.
Nakuliśapāpasūpadarāsana
heirarchy of the cult, 586, 7.
ritual, 586.
theology, 586.
Nalābhuyadaya
a drama, 80.
author unknown, 82.
Nālanda, monastery of, 140.
Nalavespā, 209.
Nanchayovo, or Tali, a Hindu Kingdom, 339, 340.
Nandasa, overthrown by Caṇakya, 5.
Nāmarasa, 205.
Namūl, 158, 158 f.n., 159; 181 f.n.
Naśik, a city, 252.
Nāthapanthiya siddhas.
religious and philosophical reforms
of, 497.
teachings of, 495 ff.
Navakarmikā, a Buddhist title, 255.
Navasāhasāṅkaracṛsta, 305.
Nayasaena, a Jaina scholar, 223.
Nayaviveka, extracts from, 525.
Neduṇ beneficiation, a Pañḍya King, 229, 230.
Neduvelikangam, 231.
Nepal catalogue, 133 f.n.
"Never lie down with head northward"
scientific explanation of, 591, 592.
Prāpas on this point, 593.
Nilakanṭha, author of Saunganāhikā-
paharaṇa, 82.
Nirukta, 78.
Nirvāṇa.
explained by Aśvaghoṣa, 135.
Nāgājuna, 135, 136.
Nispannayogāmbaratantra, 132.
Nitisāra, 3; 8.
Nitiwākyāmyta, a treatise on political
science by Somadeva, 3.
Nominative, a parallelism in the
termination of the Masculine
Gender, 176, 177.
Noses, the wars of the, 370.
Novum Organum, 591.
Nṛpa Kāma, a King, 226.
Nūrbakshi Sect, 683 ff.
Nyāśyakośa, extracts from, 524, 526; 474.
Nyāyomaṇjarī, 525.
Nyāya-sūḍā, 475.
extracts from, 527, 528.
Nyāyaarattākara, quotations from, 529.
O
Odentapuri monastery of, 140.
Oertel, 41.
Oldenburg.
avtor of die hymnen des Rg-
Veda, 90.
R eligen des Veda, 113; 122.
Ontological Problem in Chāndogya, 557, 558.
Oppert, Gustav, 65.
Oriental Conference, First, Proceedings
and transactions of, 118 f.n.
Ormand et Ahriman, 113-116 f.n.
Osteranische Kultun in Altertum, 114
f.n.
P
Padamaṇijari a grammatical work, 226.
Padīruṇgappattu 182 f.n.
Padmanabha-tīrtha, 359.
Padmaprābhātaka, 82; 408; 414.
Padmasambhava, 132, 133.
Pañamoli, 207.
Pallavamalla, 288.
Paṇḍavamalamai, mountain caverns
of, 275; 276, 288.
Paṇcatantra, 207.
Pañḍya.
Sundara, 223.
INDEX.

Pānigim letters, 329.
Pānini, presupposes Mahābhārata, 98.
Parakāla.
Paramāras, 303.
    genealogy of, 304.
    revised genealogy, 307.
Paribhāṣā Sūtras of Āpastamba, 226.
Parimelikar, 208; 210.
Paripādal, 205; 207; 210.
Parivrajkā, definition of, 2.
Pargiter, 263 f.m., 378; 407; 411.
Parker, 291, 292, 294; 296.
Parsi Religion, 71 f.n., 73.
Participles, relative, 173, 174.
Parvānaka-vidyā, 41 ff.
Pāṭaliputra or Patna, 251, 252.
Patañjali, 95.
    author of Yōga-Sūtras, 428.
    date of, 383.
    extracts from the work of, 96.
Pattupättu, 205.
Pavanandi, a Tamil grammarian, 285.
Periplus, 338.
Peronesia—Captain general of Meliapur
    (San Thome), 329, 331; 334, 335.
Persia—history of, 104, 105.
    literary history, 104.
Philip III of Spain, 330.
Philosophy,
    Budhāh, 572, 573.
    Cārvākā, 572.
    Christian 576.
    Indian, 517.
    influence of on life in India,
        519, 522.
Mahomedan 576.
Nāya, 573, 574.
Pāncarātra, 575, 576.
Parākṣa, 573.
Śaiva, 571, 572.
Śaṅkara, 574, 575.
Śaṅkhyā, 574.
Systems of, 571.

Pisehell, 113 f.m. 114, 217.
Piśūna—leader of a school of thought, 3.
Pitṛyāpa.
    deterioration in the conception of,
        461, 462.
    development in the conception of,
        455.
    in Atharvaveda 451.
    Gītā 452.
    Nirukta, 458.
    Rg. Veda, 461.
    Upaniṣads, 452, 455.
    Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, 453.
    interpretation of
        ancient's, 453.
        A. C. Das, 453.
        geographical, 462.
        Tilak 451; 459.
        Yogic 462.
    original signification of, 455.
    stages in, 457.
Platt, J. t. 161; 199.
Plural sign-m'kal etc., probable source of, 189; 200.
Polytheism in Purāṇas, 123.
Prabalavēdu, a village, 269.
Prājñāpāramita, 129.
PrājñopāyavīnŚcaya Siddhī, 140.
Prabhākara, 474.
    author of Brhati, 475.
    refers to Vākyapaḍīya, 477.
Prabhāṣikacarita, 224.
Prakarana pañcikā, extracts from, 478; 523.
Prākṛta Prakāśa, 171.
Pravāthaha, a Vaishnava Saint, 227.
Prāśna Upaniṣad, 69.
Prasthānabhedha, 1.
Prataparudrādeva, a King, 270.
Pratijñā-yagamandharāyaṇa, 82.
Pravāhana Jaibali, a teacher, 51; 54, 55,
    56; 61.
Pravara.
    explanation of, 687.
    of Kṣatriyas and, 643.
    Vaiśyas, 644.
Pravaradarpanam, 636.
Pravaramanjasri, 635, 636; 650.
Pravarasena, King, 7.

Pronouns.

Demonstrative.
in Aryan vernaculars, 161-162.
Dravidian, 155-156.
Aryan sources, 162-165.
Number signs in, 200-201.
Iranian, 160-161.
New Persian, 161.
Sanskrit, 159-160.
Summary of, 200.

Dravidian.
Aryan affinities of, 153, ff.
Classification of, 155.
Interrogative, 165; 173.
Origin of, 167, 170-172.
Number and gender signs of, 175-176.
Personal and reflexive, 185-186.
Reflexive.
Dravidian, 185-185.
Indo-Aryan, 195-196; 201.
Relative-Interrogative, 200.

Ptolemy, 338.
Pugalendi, 209.
Puhar—Cola capital, known as Kaveri pumppattinam, 229.

Puranas, 209.
Brhadaharivamsa, 223.
Mention of five tribes in, 264.

Matsya.
on Brhadhratha dynasty 379-381; 383; 385.
Date of Puṣyamitra, 382.
Mauryas and Śunagas, 378-379.
Skandopana, 206; 227.
Sūnya, 540-542.
Śvāyambhu, 540.
Vāyu, on Brhadhratha chronology, 380-82.

Purānānūru, 205.
Purika, a city, 252.
Purobiita, see Amātya, 616-618.
Puṣyamitra or Puṣpamitra, 377, f.f.
Bāpa on, 377.
Date of, 382-383; 385-386.
Horse sacrifice of, 388.
killed Brhadhratha, 379; 408-409; 411.
king of Vidiśā, 385.
Mālavikāgnimitra on, 385.
Matsya-Purāṇa on, 378.
Pataṇjali on, 383-385.
Position of, 388.
Successors of, 386.
Śunaga king, 377
Vāyu Purāṇa on, 380.

R
Raghunātha triumphant, 359.
Raghuvaṁśa, extracts from, 4.
Reference to the Śaktis in, 12; 209.
Rāgozin, ZA. 70 f.n.
Rājadharmar and Rājarṣidharma, 630-631.
Rājaśekhara, 291.
Rājasa-Sihma, a title of the Pallavas found in Avantisundari, 82.
Rājāvali-Kathā, 223, 224, 225.
Rājput, anarchy in mediaeval India, 321, 322.
Rajwade, V. K. 118 f.n.
Rāmadeva.

Conception of Jiva, according to, 545, ff.

Refers to Bodhāyana, 465.
Dramidācārya, 468; 469.

Rāma Rājya, 331; 368.
Rāmāyaṇa, 205; 207; 209.
Rāmāyaṇa, trimeter verses of, 90 ff., 91, 92, 93; 94, 95.
Rāṣṭra Kūṭa Kings, 305.

Expansion of Empire of, 392; 395.
INDEX.

Relative construction, in Dravidian and Sanskrit, 174, 175.
Religion Arische, 114 f.n.
Religion, Dharmat, 537; 543.
Republice-Tribal, in North India, 413.
Ṛg Vedic India, 75 f.n.
Ṛg Veda, extracts from, 70, 71; 77, 76, 78.
Ṛjuvimalā, extracts from, 479; 523; 525.
refers to Vārtikakāra, 474.
Roe.—Sir T. 401.
Roshnīis, 684.
Rājasrīga, 95.
Rudradeva, Raja, King of Nepal, 149.
Rudrākṣajābāla Upnīṣad, 58.

S
Śabdārṇava, lexicom, 65.
Śabda-Kaustubha, 97.
Śabdāratnākara, Telugu dictionary, 216.
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXVI, 70 f.n.
Śādguṇyas, references to by Kauṭiyā, 13.
Śākṣā, Kāliḍāsa, 14.
Śādhana-mālā, 131, 258.
Sahasranayana, Kauṭiyā’s explanation of.
Śahrdyālōka, another name of Dhvanyālōka, 86.
Śaktibhadra, another of Āścarya-cūḍā-
manī, 82.
Śakti-samagā-tatra, 133.
Śakunā-carcanā, 82.
Śakuntala, extracts from, 7.
Śākyas, set of professional players in Malabar, 83, 84.
Śālikanāthā, author of Ṛjuvimalā 474.
presupposes Māṇḍana, 480.
pupil of Prabhākara, 480.
Samāsam, 214.
Samhitā, Sūta, 209.
Samhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, 287.
Samkṣepasāriraka, extracts from, 421.
Samudragupta—King, 7.
Sandhyā-bbāṣā, language of the fol-
lowers of Indrabhūti, 130.
Śangam age, 210.
Śāṅgama, works, 349.
Śaṅjivani commentary on Raghuvamśa, 63.
Śaṅkara, 419-425.
Śāṅkara-Cārya, 54, 55, 224, 227.
date of, 225.
Śāṅkara-Vijaya, of Kṛṣṇa Brahmā- nanda, 225.
Sanskritic elements in Dravidian lite-
rature, 205 ff.
Sanskrit Literature, History of, 72.
Śaṅkarākṣita, 133, 133 ff.
Śaṅtideva, author of Bōdhicaryāvatāra etc. 144.
of the Nālanda, monastery, 130, 132 & 132 ff.
Saptāṅgas, references by Kauṭiyā, 4, 5, 8.
Saṅta Sindhabhāv, 72.
Śaunḍarāṇanda, of Āśvaghoṣa, 135 ff.
Śāradā-śāsya, Alāṅkāra writer, 83.
refers to Svapnavasavadatta, 83.
Sarasvatī, a river, 76 f.n.
Śātrikabhāṣya, 419, 421, 425.
quotations from, 421.
Sarvadarśana Kaumudi, of Mādhava- Sarasvatī extracts from, 475-
477, 526.
Śāryaṇāvat lake, 72.
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 41.
Śatārātra, a sacrifice, 74 f.n., 1 d.
Śati, definition of, 238.
Śaṭi-memorial stone, 239.
Satyakāma, teacher, 51.
Satyakāma Jābā, story of, 56.
Satyakāma Śāibya, teacher, 51.
Śaunaka, 17.

Upnīṣad, 18.
text of, 36 ff.
translation, 38 ff.
Schmidt, W, 122 f.n., 123.
Schrader, Otto, Dr., 17, 18.
Schwanbeck, Prof., 261, 262, 263.
Seikutṭivan, a Cera king, 229, 231.
Shahabuddin Ghori, 326.
Shah Baroard G, 77.
Shah Jahan, 17.
Shah Nāmā, 103.
Shama Sastri, Dr., 2.
Sham-i-Sirāj Aziz, 402.
Shamsuddin, 327.
Sher Shab, 317 f.n.
Shufism, affinity to Vaishnavism, 403, 405.
Siddhānta, philosophical synthesis of, 535, 536.
Siddhānta, Śaiva.
merits of, 577 & 578.
metaphysics of, 569.
Siddhārmati, 276.
Siddha sena, Jain teacher, 224.
Śīkā samuccaya, 132.
translation by Casel—Bendett, 144.
Śilappatikāram, 157, 207.
date of, 229.
extracts from, 208, 210, 230-232.
story of Kövalan and Mādavi, 229 ff.
Śihma-Viśṇu, Pallava King, 82.
Sirkar, Jaśunāth, 369.
Śiṣṭapāla-vadha, 96
Śittanavasal, 278, 280.
Śiva, Bacchic character of, 231.
out, 261.
Śivātivarataneśvaracaritam, a, historical work, 368.
Śivādhamottaram, 210.
Śivājaṅnabodham, 210, 570.
Śivalinga Bhūpa successor of Kūna Pāṇḍya, 226.
Śiyaka,
plate of, 305.
grants of, 304, 305.
Paramāra king, 304.
Śkāndapurāṇam, 209.
Slave Kings, Bureaucracy of, 326, 327, 328.
Śīkavārtika, from, 475, 479.
extracts, 528, 529.
Smith-Vincent, A, 316, f.n.
Socrates, 51.
Somadeva, author of Nītīvardhī, 3.
Soma juice, not liquor, 70 ff.
Soma Worship, dissertation on the, 73.
Śoul, explanations, 579, 580.
nature of, 581.
Spiegal, F., 114.
Śptaembas, 264.
philological equivalent of Śvetāmbaru, 265.
probable identity with Dionysus, 265.
Śridhara, a commentator on Mahābhārata, 51.
Śripāḍarāja,
ascended the throne of Vījayanagār, 360-361.
ascetic, 360.
author of Vāgāvāra.
date of, 359.
founder of Daśkūṭa.
Śripati Gaṇapati—King, 270.
Śriputra—a port, 252.
Śri Raṅga III, 365 ff.
accession of, 365, 366.
alliance with Mogul emperor, 369, 370.
caracter and life of, 374-375.
early life of, 365.
last days and death of, 373-374.
life of, after 1659 A.D. 370-373.
misfortunes of, 367-368.
policy of, 375.
problems of, 366.
progress of, 368-369.
struggles with Deccan and Mogul sultans, 366, 368.
INDEX.

Śrī Vallabha, King of Kāñci, 227.
Śṛṅgāraprakāśikā, 6.
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Alāṅkāra work, 6.
Swapnavāsavadatta explained in, 82, 83.
Śrūta Kīrti, Jaina, Sobolar, 223.
Statuette, of an Indian Museum, identification of, 257 ff.
Sten Konow, 123; 153; 176; 178, 179; 183; 185, 186, 186, f.n. 191; 913.
Śūpa of Barbař, by Cunningham, 251-253.
Sudarśanāṣārya, commentator on Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtras, 226.
Śūdraka-dramatist, 80.
author of Padmāprabhātaka, 82.
Vinayavādatta, 82; 408, f.n. 414.
Śūka Sandeśa, extracts from, 350.
Sukhāvatavyuha, 129 f.n.
Śūkrānti-sāra, 1.
Śuṅgas, 251, 252.
capital of, 410.
Suṣrāhedāgama, quotations from, 243, 244.
Śūrya-mitra, 411.
Śūryapurāṇa, extracts from, 542 f.n.
Susan—father of Artakṣar, 103.
Sugomā—river, 72.
Śūtra-samucoya, of Śaṅtideva, 144.
Suṣāmanātaka, quotation from, 297.
Swapnavāsavadatta, quoted as Bhāsa's by Rājaśekhara, 82, 83.
Śrētakatu, story of, 54-56.
Śvetāvatara, 51, 55.
Śvetāvatara Upanisad 57.
Suṇapa Cūṇi, 397.
Śrīyambhu-Purāṇa, a Mahāyāna work, 540.

Syed Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsb, 686 ff.
capitol of, 689, 690.
creed of, 695, 700.
transportation of, 690.
successors of, 691, 695.
Syke, Prof, 104.
Jabari, Arabian Historian, 103.

T

Tadbhava, 212, 213.
explanation of, 216.
Tattvīrinya-Upanisad 57.
Tāja (touc), 354, 355.
Tāmralipi (Tāmluk) 338.
Tāṇḍāya-Māha-Brāhmaṇa, Quotations from, 265, 266.
Tāṇṭra Ciṇḍamāṇi, 526.
Tāṇṭrīc doctrines, 402.
Tāra, Khaḍravaṇi, 257.
Mābhārī, 257-259.
Tārānātha, 130.
Taritībi, Firoz Shahi of Shami—Shira—Aft, 402.
Tarka, Pariṇāṣadā, 211.
Sangraha, 211.
Tatsama, 212, 213.
verbs and their treatment, 215.
Ta-tsin a Brahmin Kingdom on the border of Assam, 340.
Tattvāprakāśikā, otherwise known as Śrutasūktimāla, 226.
Tatvānagraha Śāntarakṣita, 133 ff.
Telugu "niḍu" as arising from the Indo Āryan-'hti ', 179, 180.
Tilak-B. G. 73, 74 (f.n.)
Timūrāyā, 329 ; 333.
Timūrilīd, Princes of Delhi, 401.
Timūr, 401.
Tīrttas—āṣāḍāsā,
reference by Kauṭilya, 15.
Kālidāsa, 16.

Tirumalaināyaka.
relations with Veṇkata I, 366.
Śrīraṅga's enmity with, 369.
last years, 370.
Tirumangaiyălvār, 210 ; 227.
epoch of, 223.
Tirujiñāsa Sambandhar, epoch of, 223 ;
236, 227.
Tirumālēśaśīlvār, 472.
Tirumūlar, Saint, 570.
Tolêjuthu molji, 168 f.n.
Tolkāppiam, 158 ; 158 f.n., 159 ; 205.
quotation from, 206 ; 210 ; 214.

Traiśikrama.
a drama, 80.
summary of, 81, 82.

Travencore.
Assembly and its constitution, 351.
mediaeval popular Government in,
349.
quotation from copper plates in,
351.

Trīṣaṭi purāṭānacarita, of Kubja-
pānuḍa, 223.

Tuglaks. 309.
Giasuddin, 309.
Fersou shah, 311 ; 317 ; 319.
Kutbuddin, 311.
Mahāmad Bin, 319.

U

Udbhayābhīṣīrīkā, a drama, 82.
Udayanāśīrīya, 89.
Umesh, commentator on the Bhāvanā-
viveka, 480.
pupil of Kumārila, 481.

Upadesa Kāṇḍam, 209.
Upaniśads, teachers of, 51 ff.
Upavarṣa, reference by Śaṅkara etc.
466, 467.
Ur sprung der, Gottesidee. 122 f.n.

V

Vaiśaśupatī, 428.
Vaiḍi-raya, 209 ; 306.
Vaiṣṇava, a Śaiva Saint, 223 ; 227,
Vaiṣṇava, C.V. Criticism of, Mahābhārata,
93.

Vaiśrayanti, a lexicon, 65.
Vaiśishta, Paramāra King, 305.
Vaiṣṇava, Paramāra deity, 132.
Vaiṣṇavabhi, Vaiṣṇava deity, 132.
Vaiṣṇava, glimpses of, 129 ; 138.
Vaiṣṇavā, other names of, 138.
sup-divisions of, 138.
Vaiṣṇavīḍīlī, Vaiṣṇava deity, 132.

Vaiśpatiśūla, data of, 305.
Paramāra King, 304, 305.

Vaiśpatīrāja, 224.
Vālmīki, 81
Vāmadeva-King, 149.

Vāmana, refers to Svapnavasavadatta,
82.
Vaiñoi—Cera capital, 229, 231, 232, 233.
Varāhamihira, reference to Kauṭilya, 84.

Vataruoi, dramatist, 80.
author of Udbhayābhīṣekā, 83.
death of, 386.

Varichiyur, cave at, 277.
Varuṇa, monothelism of, 124.
Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda, identity
between, 113 ff.


Vataṣrāja, King of Avanti, 224.

Vātasyāvana, author of Kāmasūtras, 99.

Vāyupurāṇa, on the Bṛhadāraṇāya chronology, 380, 381, 382.

Vedaṇa, cudamani, 210.

Vedaṇasūtra, 52.
reference to Jaimini etc., 52.

Vedic Index, 75, 114 f.n.

Vedic India, 70 f.n., 72.

Vedic mythology, 71, 114.

Vedische studien, 113 f.n.

Viraśikhamantī, 276.

Venkaṭa, I, 330, 331.

Venkaṭa, II, contemporary writers on,
329.
predecessor of Śrīraṅga III, 365.