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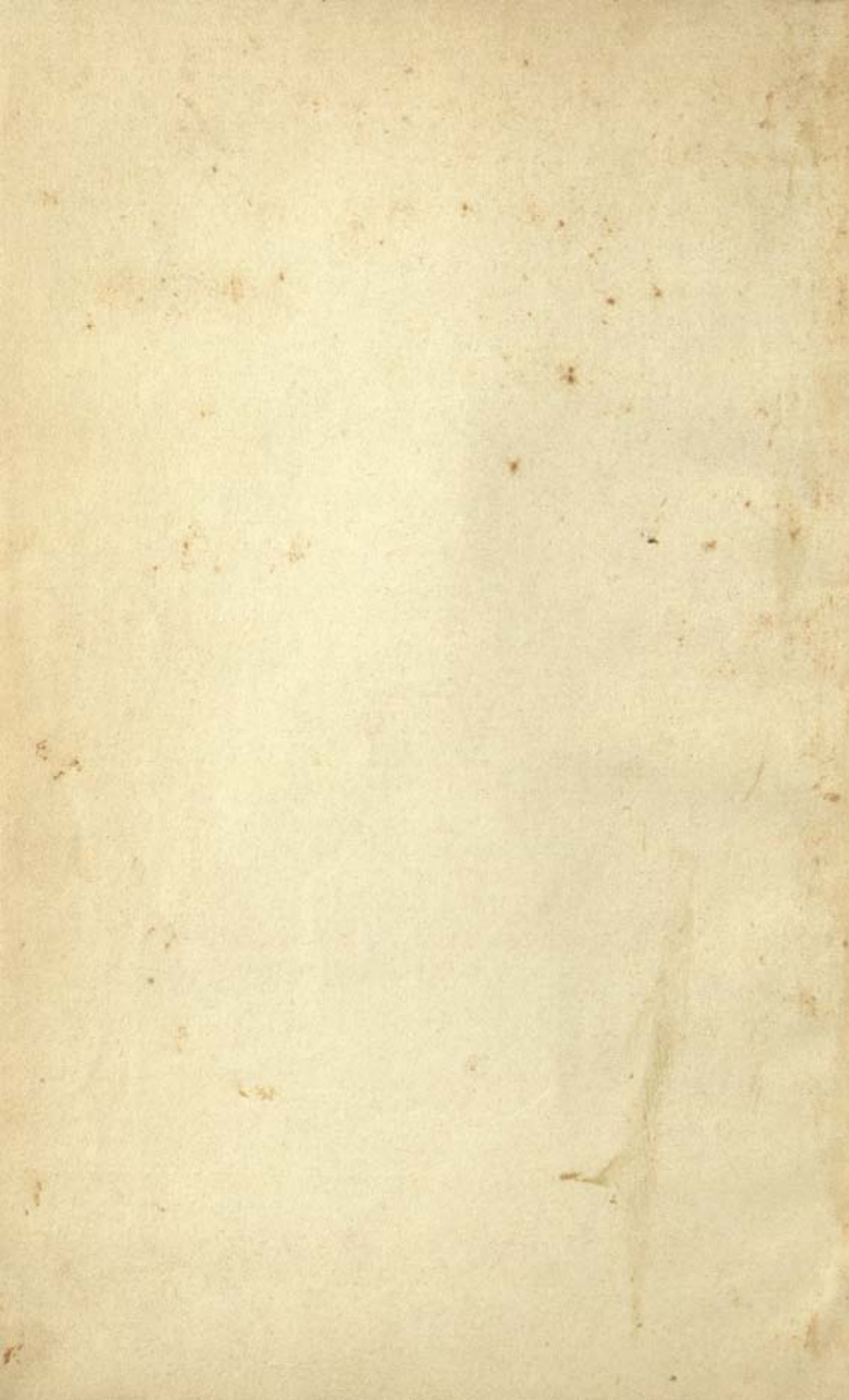
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ON THE STUDY AND METROLOGY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

By

D. D. KOSAMBI, Poona.

The purpose of this essay is to attempt a statistical analysis of the silver punch-marked coins, mainly those found in two hoards at Taxila, and described in the *Archæological Survey of India Memoir* No. 59 (3), by E. H. C. WALSH. It is unfortunate that this *Memoir* should be the foundation of the present study, because it is full of errors and oversights; in any case, it is the only description of large, approximately dated, hoards available to me, and I advise prospective readers to use it with caution and with my commentary on it (4). Weights as well as classes are taken from App. XI, XII of the work; where these contradict statements made elsewhere in the work, or contradict themselves, the evidence of the plates in the volume was used. So far as I know, this statistical method (5), though quite well known to professional statisticians, has not been employed for the study of punch-marked coins. Probably, it has not been used in numismatics at all, because the peculiar and so far insoluble problems raised by the punch-marked coins do not present themselves in connection with coinage systems in general.

For the coins here investigated no method except the statistical one will give anything like a definite result. The reader should not be misled by the superficial resemblance of statistical terminology to the language of the race-course. Even for the most accurate scientific measurements, say atomic weights, a probable error has to be given; the *t* and the *z* tests would have to be used in much the same way as in this work to determine whether two distinct sets of such measurements were compatible.

In the first section, I review the usual discussion of the symbols on the coins, and add my own pennyworth to the existing welter of conjecture. The second deals with the present knowledge of their weight system. Then follow other sections of primarily statistical content, well diluted with guesswork and a final one giving a very brief note on the mathematical theory and methods underlying the work.

I—POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MARKS.

"Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa"

—DANTE, *Inferno*, III, 51.

The wide distribution and the great antiquity of punch-marked coins was known to the very first scholars who turned their attention to Indian numismatics. For the rest, there is hardly a detailed statement about their nature and the interpretation of the marks stamped on them that does not

contradict itself or is not contradicted by the statement of someone else. In all these utterances, one can, or is at least tempted to, read more about the writer's psychology than about numismatics; the motives seem to range all the way from an ingrained contempt for native craftsmanship to an intense Indian patriotism. CUNNINGHAM saw "no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1000 B.C." (1, p. 6.)

D. R. BHANDARKAR wants to push it further back: "coined money must be considered to be existing in India as early as the middle of the third millennium before Christ" (6, 71). ALLAN finds no evidence that coinage in India is older than the Nanda period, and states, "The period of circulation of punch-marked coins may therefore be put at the third and second centuries B.C.; that they continued in circulation later is most probable, and that they go back to the fourth century B.C. is possible" (2, lviii). These statements span the limits of human credulity, in view of the fact that no coins have been found at Mohenjo-Daro; and that the earlier of the hoards I mean to analyse was closed about 300 B.C. and contains many very badly worn coins.

The main difficulty in dealing with these coins arises from the fact that if their symbols represent a legend, no one has succeeded in reading a single one, except perhaps the Taurine as the *Brāhmī ma*; at the root of this is the absolute lack of relevant documentation. In the three authorities I take as the best (ALLAN, DURGA PRASAD, WALSH) one can find evidence adduced from finds at Mohenjo-Daro, the *Jātaka* stories, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa. But the *Jātakas* are written a few centuries after the period they are supposed to describe, a period not less than two thousand years after the rise of the Indus Valley civilisation; the *Arthaśāstra*, taken as a document relating to the Maurya empire, is not less than seven hundred years older than the *Visuddhimagga*. In all these cases, a single word or phrase of doubtful import is the sole evidence, if any, for supposing that we have anything to do with punch-marked coins.


Any person who attempted to follow the varying fortunes of the Roman *solidus*, through the Italian *soldo*, down to the French *sou*, without the use of a single contemporary historical document, and indeed without any knowledge of European history, would have a task similar to that which confronts the Indian numismatist and archæologist in general. PRINSEP's assignment of phonetic values to the *Brāhmī* script, surely the brightest spot in ancient Indian numismatics, was possible only because the equivalent of such evidence existed in the way of Greek legends on the same coins describing known rulers. Medieval European coinage as compared to that of classical antiquity will show that a cruder technique does not always indicate priority in time. The use of the Maria Theresa silver coins in Abyssinia (at least down to 1936) will illustrate the danger of connecting the history and the currency of primitive localities without supplementary data. Even now, scholars puzzle over the fact that the Gothic monarchy in Italy ends with a king whom documents call Totila, and who issued coins inscribed Badila; I have seen no satisfactory explanation of this, in a large mass of speculation; and the un-

fortunate ruler's real name is still a matter of choice for the individual scholar.

Beginning with the unhappy conjectures of CUNNINGHAM, THEOBALD, and SPOONER, the systematic classification and study of the coins has proceeded, quite naturally, according to the punch-marks themselves. In this, DURGA PRASAD, ALLAN, WALSH, may be said to have succeeded in putting the subject upon a sound footing. The analysis of these marks requires long application, years of patient study, superior eyesight, and a powerful imagination.

But when it comes to the meaning of the marks, the state of affairs is far from satisfactory. The coins were generally issued with blank reverse, and such reverse marks as occur in the earlier coins are ignored altogether by ALLAN, and treated with scant respect by DURGA PRASAD. Moving a little ahead of the older opinion that even the obverse marks were "shroff marks", i.e. testing marks put on by silver-and gold-smiths on mere pieces of metal, we have dogmatic statements of opinion as to locality-marks (WALSH, 3, 18-25), ancient Hindu religious symbols (DURGA PRASAD), designation of officials (2, lxxii) and in general, propitiatory, votive, dedicatory, tribal, and totem marks. Now, these various interpretations need not contradict each other, but by themselves, they and the punch-marks are of as little use as the mere names of Catholic saints would be in determining a calendar and a system of dates, if nothing were known about the Christian religion or its measures of time. DURGA PRASAD does cite the description of the marks in certain *Tantra's* (1, 17 *et. seq.*) following PRAN NATH, who first saw that tantric descriptions fitted Mohenjo-Daro signs. Unfortunately the symbol can remain unchanged over three thousand years, without retaining anything like the original significance. /

The persistence of symbols from Mohenjo-Daro on our punch-marked coins signifies less in this country than a similar survival would in any

other land. We get the  symbol of the Indus valley seals on wayside

temples to-day, interpreted as the *trīśūla* of Śaiva practice; but the crescent on the reverse of punch-marked coins has now a definitely Islamic connotation which it could not possibly have possessed in those days. We see, for example, traits of Etruscan origin in the paintings of some Italian Renaissance artists, say Luca Signorelli; and some Renaissance sculptures could easily fit into Graeco-Roman classical antiquity. Only an accurate knowledge of the provenance of most pieces, without parallel in India, keeps us from confusing European work over a thousand years apart. Yet, Indologists seem to ignore the evidence of change in other countries, and take a leap of centuries without the least hesitation. A modern Hindu like DURGA PRASAD should think twice before ascribing Hinduism, of any variety recognizable to-day, to antiquity. Between Mohenjo-Daro and the tantric works which he cites lie at least two great epochs of entirely different type. One of a less cultured population, probably after the Aryan conquest, in which the deities

were Indra and the *vedic* gods and wealth measured in cattle. The second, of Buddhist (and Jain) influence, which wiped out the worship of the *vedic* deities, and was superseded by a Hinduism that Durga PRASAD would acknowledge without hesitation as the genuine article. The caste system and the development of a fundamental unity in the country belong to the first of these periods; *ahimsā* comes into Hinduism during the second which also sees the development of the ideal, "universal monarchy". The beginnings of tantric literature, as far as we can trace them to-day, are an integral part of *mahāyāna* Buddhism, whatever their real origin or significance. While the Jain literature has a continuous tradition antedating the Buddhist (whatever its reliability), our numismatists and students of antiquity usually ignore it. Add to this the fact that here is hardly a classical document available with a critically edited text, and certified chronology, and it will be seen that we have very little choice except pure conjecture; an admissible procedure if it is advanced with caution, and in a tentative manner. The only inscription that I know of which is supposed to belong to a period between Mohenjo-Daro and the Mauryan age is that at Vikramkhoh; and I have seen only one (unpublished) reading of it, a dubious one by Pran NATH, who ascribed it to a warrior king Kaṃsa or Śaśāṅka!

Let us revert, then, to the punch-marked coins themselves, and regard the symbols a little more closely. The sun-symbol (interpretation disputed by Durga PRASAD, 1, 21) and some variety of the wheel, usually with six spokes, come on all the coins. There are three other marks on the obverse, of varying nature, to make up a constant total of five. The interpretation, as usual, is a matter for conjecture, the least possible being BHANDARKAR'S (6, 102), to the effect that "one set of symbols is certainly the seven *ratnas* or treasures"; these certainly did not include the sun, and in any case seven could not be expressed in five symbols. That the wheel is also found at Troy signifies little to some people, among whom I enroll myself. The "sun" might be auspicious, a symbol of the *agīras* clan, or signify descent from the sun *sūryavamśa* (as before Egyptian royal cartouches). The *śaḍaracakṛa* is, with much greater likelihood, a symbol of royalty; its various forms might denote separate rulers or dynasties. The larger Taxila hoard has 25 forms, (3, plate I; also p. 8) and taking later coins as well, Durga PRASAD identifies (1, 40) 32 different types. Even if each were part of the seal or monogram of a king, and they had ruled in succession, the older Taxila hoard would not have gone back more than three centuries, unless several kings had used the same monogram. This conjecture of mine need not be taken as disputing the putative "great antiquity" of the coins, because, as I shall show later, the Taxila hoard implies a relatively stable type of society over a reasonably wide and prosperous area. For the rest, the conjecture that the *śaḍaracakṛa* represents a king is supported by the fact that in the very few cases where it does not appear, it is with few exceptions replaced by homo-signs (1, 41; 2, 21-24), which might represent the issuing authority as an oligarchy, or a council of some sort, perhaps for an interregnum, or regency. The mystical

significance of the *cakra* given by Durga PRASAD in his otherwise excellent work need not be taken very seriously, as the wheel can also represent the Buddhist *dhammacakka*. I can hardly imagine it to have portrayed Buddha in a period when—as for the older Taxila hoard—Buddhism was not a universal religion, and had not the sanction of state authority. I only give the illustration to show that the wheel was capable of many and varied functions.

What the three remaining obverse marks represent is open to still more speculation, not to speak of the far more numerous varieties of reverse marks. I claim to have shown that, for the period of the earlier Taxila hoard, the reverse marks represent some sort of periodic checking (5, and here in section IV). Both the obverse and the reverse types persist in later coins and inscriptions (8, clxxiv-clxxvii and almost any of the plates), as is well known; but this furnishes no hint as to their meaning at any date or period. The so-called *caitya* symbol appears before the *caitya* could have become common or revered, and persists after the *caitya* went out of fashion.

I have nothing to say about these details, but there still remain possibilities to be explored. The suggestion has already been made that some of the symbols on the obverse could represent time marks (5), though what the actual time might be: date of issue of the coin, or of the ruler's birth, or accession, would again have to be worked out. This conjecture was founded on the fact that some of the zodiacal (*rāśi*) symbols are to be found among the signs, taking of course the name and not the abbreviated sign of each *rāśi*. It is considered, however, that the present Indian *rāśi* scheme was borrowed from external sources, perhaps Greek; this is borne out by the fact that the names of the *rāśi* list exactly correspond to the European zodiacal names, except that *makara* = *capricornus*; moreover, the Indian astronomers do mention their debt to *yavana* scholars, and other Greek names can be traced in our astronomical works. On the basis of these considerations it is generally believed that the ancient Indian astronomical tradition is entirely based on the *nakṣatra* (= asterism) system dividing the zodiac into twenty-seven instead of twelve parts. Recent discoveries, however, show that the twelve-part scheme is older than supposed.

There is still extant the Sino-Tibetan cycle of twelve years, each represented by an animal; in order, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, hog. This was known to have been borrowed from India, and the matter finally settled by LÜDERS (10) in his characteristic masterly fashion. A Central Asiatic document discovered by STEIN on the site of the ancient city of Caḍoda and worded in a *saṃskṛta* dialect which was the local medium of intercourse in the opening centuries of the Christian era, gives the animal list: rat or mouse, cow or ox, tiger, hare, serpent, reptiles (or worms = *jandunam*, apparently a nominative plural of the equivalent of *jantu*), horse, sheep or goat, cock, ape, dog, hog. The most interesting quality of these beasts is not their persistence over a large area—they can be traced with minor variations throughout eastern Asia—but that in the document under consideration, they are labelled *nakṣatra*'s and not associated

directly with any period of time. This makes it doubtful that the oldest *nakṣatra* scheme comprised twenty-seven, and a case could easily be made out, even on internal evidence deduced from their present nomenclature, that their number has been expanded at a later date.

Almost every Indian almanac (*pañcāṅga*) contains a familiar table, the *avakhaḍācakra*, which gives correspondences between the *rāṣi* and *nakṣatra* scheme. Each of the 27 *nakṣatra*'s is divided into four sections (*carāṇa*) and each *rāṣi* covers nine of these, beginning with *mēṣa*=*aśvinī*. Far more important is the fact that for every *carāṇa* there is a letter of the alphabet; all consonants except *śa*, *ba*, are represented (these can be replaced by *ṣa*, *va*), and for most of these, the five major vowels, *ā*, *e*, *ī*, *o*, *ū* are given. There are quite regular gaps (*stambha*) where the consonants are given without the full complement of vowels; otherwise, the number of 108 letters cannot be completed. The name *avakhaḍa* is palpably the alphabetical order, beginning with *kṛttikā*, the Vedic initial asterism; this has a foreign or antique flavour, and reminds one of Greek or Kharoṣṭhī; but I have been unable to trace the scheme beyond the *Samarasāra* of Rāmacandra Somayājī (or Vāja-peyī), an author of the 15th century as far as our tradition goes. The whole subject belongs to the "science" of astrology (*phalajyotiṣa*) as distinct from the more rational astronomy (*jyotiṣa*), and is neglected even in this country except by quacks; hence, tracing anything becomes impossible. But it has an important aspect for our coins because in the same table as published to-day (though not in the manuscript of the *Samarasāra*) we have an animal (*yoni*, 14 in number, probably derived from the Buddhist *nidāna*) associated with each asterism, and also a tree of worship (*ārādhyavṛkṣa*). The origin of these latter is not to be traced from available sources. But the importance of the scheme is obvious, if tree-signs and animal signs can be associated with letters of the alphabet. In orthodox Brahmin families, the initial letter of a child's name must be the *carāṇākṣara* of the time of his birth; when some other name is given for any reason, the child gets a name with the proper initial for *sandhyā* purposes. Of course, the scheme has degenerated now, and often the initial is taken as the first letter of the *nakṣatra* name. The symbolism would not be unambiguous, but its origin would be very interesting, whatever its application to the punch-marks. I might add that the nine rain-asterisms (*parjanya-nakṣatra*) have vehicles (*vāhana*) which are, in rotation: horse, fox, frog, ram, peacock, mouse, buffalo, ass, elephant.

This brings us to the last of our possibilities: that many of the symbols on our punch-marked coinage, identifying the trees more closely than the present "tree-with-railing" or "tree-with-fruit", can represent the initials of the rulers in question. I offer this for what it may be worth, without excluding other and even simultaneous interpretations. The *śaḍaracakra* and the sun-symbol being omitted, we should have to interpret three variable symbols as initials of names. Logically, these would be the name of the king issuing the coin, that of his father, and that of the founder of his line. In that case, for a reasonably prosperous and enduring dynasty, the king who ruled longest

would have his symbol occurring oftenest : on his own coins and on those of his son or sons. As the common ancestor is fixed, we should have only one variable symbol out of the five, for a considerable group of the coins : the symbol that represents the king's father, and one or more sons who succeeded him. In some cases, this *might* account for the variable fifth symbol (3, 7). The founder, or dynast, could get along even on four symbols. Inscriptions of contemporary Persian kings show a similar custom : *adam Dārayavaus... Vištāspahyā putra, Hakhāmanišiyā* (on the Nakš-e-Rustum inscription ; at Behistūn, the whole genealogy is given).

A part of this conjecture can be given a firmer basis than most others of the sort by a document that has already been used for the purpose of historical reconstruction : the Buddhist tantric work *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (28, 29, 30). Here, many names are cited by the initial alone, such as king Udāyi (29, 324), *Vidyārājā Ukārākhyā* (28, 284) and a series of monks (30). In fact, JAYASWAL was able to identify many of the known later Gupta kings by their initials (29, 53 et. seq.), and to make an ingenious guess equating Budha Gupta with a *Prakāśaditya* known through his coinage. The connecting link was the initial *U* on the coins and a king with an initial *U* in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (29, 38-9). For our purpose, it is enough—in spite of the millennium separating the earlier punch-marked coins from the later Gupta issues—that the custom of placing a single initial on coins existed and is represented by more than one example (29, 60).

It is natural, in view of the fact that tantric documents are an untapped source, and that Buddhist tantras are the earliest known, whether or not they contain an earlier tradition, to see if the work mentioned gives other information that might be useful for the interpretation of our obscure symbolism. We see in fact, earlier in the work, a reference to a monosyllabic king or emperor : *ekākṣara cakravartī* (28, 289, 289), the *cakra* having twelve spokes, *dvādaśāraṇ* ; Buddha is meant here, but the symbolism is surely transferred from royal usage and terminology to Buddhist iconography. The *akṣara*, by the way, is the famous *om*, or its equivalent, *muṃ* etc. (28, 284....). Now the word *mudrā* occurs very often in the text, but usually as a posture or more particularly as a position of the hands, used in conjunction with certain *mantra*'s for achieving success of various kinds, and gaining control over superhuman beings. But there occurs one brief passage in which other *mudrā*'s are mentioned, as popularly known. These are symbols of various sorts, and I quote the first three relevant *śloka*'s as an example (28, 430 ; also 28, 53, 91) :

द्विहस्तपादयोर्मूर्ध्ना एकहस्ताङ्गुल योजना ।
 सर्वं तं मुद्रमिति प्रोक्तं आदिबुद्धैः पुरातनैः ॥
 कलशं छत्रं तथा पद्मं ध्वज पताकं तथैव च ।
 मत्स्य वज्र तथा शङ्खः कुम्भश्चकस्तथैव च ॥
 विविधा प्रहरणा लोके यावन्तस्ते परिकीर्तिता ।
 उत्पलाकारमुद्रं च सर्वे ते मुद्रानुमण्डले ॥

The rest of the page goes on in the same manner, though not always in an intelligible language. The *svastika* is mentioned as an Aryan symbol :

दिव्यायौ च कुलौ मुख्यौ श्रीवत्सस्वस्तिकौ लिखेत्

Clearly, these refer to accepted usages of Mahāyāna iconography, but the *praharaṇā* referred to above are familiar enough to students of punch-marked coins, some being in fact components of the *ṣaḍaracakra* itself, which has for its points "arrows", i.e. *chatra* marks ; sometimes the fish, the oval = *kumbha* or *kalaśa* and others. The *ḍamaru*, which occurs on several varieties of Taxilan *ṣaḍaracakra*'s is important in tantric literature of the later period, but not mentioned in our source (28). The *vajra* I take to be the principal part of WALSH's symbol 21 (3, pl. i), and ALLAN's unidentified symbol of 2, xxxiv, PRINSEP's *jayadhvaja* (see also 2, 301). The curious use of the word *praharaṇā* in the passage quoted deserves mention. It cannot mean weapons, as would be the common meaning ; I fail to find any mention of our heroes, however archaic, fighting with water-pots, fish, flowers ! The inclusion of *dhvaja* and *patākā* makes it clear that here *praharaṇā* is to be taken as insignia, just as "coat-of-arms". If, however, the original sense of the root, to strike, be retained, these marks would be *praharaṇamudrā*, marks to be stamped, punch-marks. This meaning would seem too good to be true, so neatly does it fit in with our needs for the coinage problem. Yet, after these lines were written, Dr. V. V. GOKHALÉ pointed out to me that the word itself actually occurs earlier in the work (28, 46) *padmaṇi vajraṃ paraśu-khaḍga-triśūla-gadā- cakra- svastika- kalaśa- mīna- śaṅkha- kuṇḍala- dhvaja-patākam pāśa-ghaṇṭāka-dvāraka-dhanur-nārāca-mudgara etairvivi-dhākārāpraharaṇamudraiḥ*. (Also, 28, 408-9).

Of course, nothing is said in the text about stamping them on coins ; but that they had mantric connotations is quite obvious. Not only do many of these occur on the coins, but they are still used in connection with the *sandhyā* ritual, at least by some *vaiṣṇava* Brahmins. The *mudrā* is made of copper, and used to imprint the mark in *gandha*, or even to brand it, on the worshipper's skin. In my own collection of such *mudrā*'s, there is one which is also punched on Golakhpur and Paila coins (1, plates III, IV), as an obverse mark, besides being a reverse mark in later periods ; none other than the Pythagorean hexagram formed of two equilateral triangles, with a dot or small circle at the centre.

Because I have to make use of the *AMMK* later, a few words as to its reliability might not be out of place here. It carries the account to a much later period than the purāṇic lists which have, taking only the common part, been edited in the third century (27, xiii). Again, the earlier purāṇic kings are not mentioned at all, not even Ikṣvāku, who is known to Buddhist *pāli* tradition as Okkāka. The pre-Buddhist kings, i.e. before Bimbisāra, are hardly considered except the Brahmadatta of the *Jātakas*. But for all later dynasties, the account would seem to be more sensible—where it is not carried away by religious prejudice—than the purāṇic text. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to use these royal names with extreme caution, if

at all, for the purpose of identifying punch-marked coins. But inasmuch as there is little else available, I have been forced to make use of the purāṇic and the cited tantric document, in a later section. I need not point out that although the purāṇic chronology can be reduced to a shorter and more sensible duration of the reigns by taking certain alternative interpretations as suggested by PARGITER (27, xxiii-xxv for example, *śatāni trīṇi* as "hundred and three", not as "three hundred"), and that RAPSON found (8, xxv-xxvi) the evidence quite useful for the history of the "Andhra" dynasty, extraordinary mistakes can be made by relying on such evidence alone. For example, the so-called Andhra kings were rulers of the Andhradeśa when the *purāṇa*'s were written, but their dynastic name is Śātavāhana, and their origin certainly not Āndhra, as was shown by SUKTHANKAR (31), and yet, the "Andhra" kings and their progress to the west (when they actually advanced in the opposite direction) appear in histories like that of Vincent SMITH. As another example, K. P. JAYASWAL inserts English headings in the historical portion of the text of the *AMMK* collated with the Tibetan by the Ven. Rāhula SĀṆKṚTYĀYANA. These have to be used with caution: we find after śloka 320 of the text, the heading Śaisunākas, whereas the word itself occurs nowhere in the source, and is undoubtedly derived from the *purāṇa*'s. JAYASWAL believes the famous minister Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya to have been mentioned twice in the account (29, 17), the first of these references (verse 454 ff.) is to Cāṇakya, and the second to a harsh, irascible, unforgiving Brāhmin (v. 963 et seq.), no name being mentioned at all! Viṣṇugupta does not occur here, and the purāṇic name is some form of Kauṭilya; I take it that the name Viṣṇugupta was derived from the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition, but there seems to be no excuse for actually putting it in *this* text as a heading.

In addition to explicit references to kings, there is little doubt that some real kings have been put in as demons by the Buddhist writer. Dr. V. V. GOKHALÉ points out that the reference, on pp. 18 and 452 of Gaṇapati ŚĀSTRĪ's text, to Nāga kings is supposed to indicate kings of the serpents, and yet contains names not usually associated with serpents (nor the *Nāga* tribe): Nanda, Upananda, Mahāpadma, Sāgara.

To revert to the punch-marks, I need not remark that some of the king-names as given in these accounts lend themselves very readily to direct representations by the symbolism of our punch-marked coins. For example *Śuśiga* means a fig-tree; the hare in a crescent or circular arc (33, pl. II, nos. 55, 56) could certainly be read as *Śaśāṅka*. The dog-with-puppy or hare-with-leveret mark on WALSH's group B. (e) 2 might symbolize *Śiśupāla*. JAYASWAL read the name of a "Śaisunāka" emperor as Vaṭa-Nandī (21, 95), identifying the statue as that of the purāṇic Nandi-varḍhana (27, 22), son of the king whom JAYASWAL calls Aja-Udayin. The combination Nandī+Vaṭa does occur on two of our coins, in fact on WALSH's group A.11, and another mark can be associated with the *Śiśunāga* line. Yet this is a particularly unhappy conjecture, because it is difficult to account for there being no more than two coins of that group. In fact, if we look a little closer at JAYASWAL's sources,

we find that Aja-Udayī is rather a doubtful form, there being very slender authority for the Aja (27, 22). And JAYASWAL fails altogether to give a satisfactory explanation for the Aja followed by Nandivardhana at the end of the preceding dynasty, the Pradyota (27, 19). But as these predecessors were kings of Avanti, their statues would not have been likely finds at Patna, and we are back at the beginning. Much as I admire JAYASWAL's ingenuity, lament his untimely death, it must be said that the lawyer in him sometimes overcame the scholar.

I shall make some use of one conjecture made by JAYASWAL on quite admissible grounds : that the "crescent-on-arches" mark is a sort of monogram first used by Candragupta Maurya, and then retained by his descendants on dynastic coins (*ī* ; 40 ; 3 ; 34 ; *JBORS*, 1934, 282-288). Its varieties are given here for comparison : Fig. A.

Now the curious thing about this is that wherever it occurs as an *obverse* mark, it is associated with only one form of the *ṣaḍaracakra*, to wit WALSH's 1. b. This can be verified by a glance at ALLAN's catalogue 2, 11-21, 25-32, 36, 40-41, 43-46 ; ALLAN's index 2, 298 omits some of these. It follows, therefore, that the particular *ṣaḍaracakra* with three *chatra*'s (arrows) alternating with three *ma* (taurines) is the dynastic *cakra* of the Mauryas, the taurines not being enclosed in ovals, in contradistinction to other types of the *cakra*. We now note that some punch-marked coins with this *cakra* carry a peacock-on-arches : Fig. B., it occurs on the obverse with Candragupta monogram ; in other cases, it occurs also as a reverse mark. For the coins with a Mauryan *cakra*, this can only be taken to mean Maurya, the name of the dynasty ; thus, the arches would signify "descent from", at least the five arches. The peacock is the name mark of the founder of the dynasty in some remote past, or the equivalent of a *gotra* (clan, totem) mark ; even further, it is likely that the monogram of Candragupta proclaims descent from the moon. A remark of Tāranātha (36, 2) can be so interpreted, and if the mark is not the one of such descent, it is difficult to explain why three varieties of it also occur on coins of Nahapāna and Śātakarṇī (*JBBRAS*, XXII 1908, p. 241, also, pl. I, row 4, pl. IV, rows 1, 2 and 3). The last variant of this mark given above, with an increased number of arches, would signify descent from a descendant of the moon, i.e. Candragupta. We have other marks of animals on arches : a hare (or dog) on WALSH's class A. 1, which would, if the argument be extensible, indicate descent from *śaśa* (or if the frisking animal be taken as a young puppy, even from *śiśu*), and the bull-on-five-arches, descent from *nandī*. WALSH calls these latter marks hare-hill and bull-hill respectively, but the argument that they were locality marks seems puerile to me.

The importance of the form of the *ṣaḍaracakra* is emphasized here, and can be tested. The *cakra* 1. b. does occur in the earlier Taxila hoard, supposed to be a pre-Mauryan deposit. But it occurs only on five coins, clearly on just two (3, 40), and indicates that the dynasty was then not more than a petty local rule if indeed it was the Mauryan dynasty. My suggestion, that

the *ṣaḍaracakra* form be made the basis of a classification, has one difficulty in its way : that the actual form is not easy to identify on just one or two coins. Not only do wear and damage conceal the type, but the entire wheel is rarely to be seen on a single coin, and as the "points" can vary a great deal, there is no way of determining the exact form except by reference to other symbols on the coin as compared in a group with other coins. Thus, the wheel 1. o given by WALSH can easily be mistaken for his 1. a or 1. c if only two points are decipherable. In fact, I think that this has happened in the case of ALLAN's class 2, Group VIII, var. c, d, e (2, 52-53). In particular, all three have distinct affinities with WALSH's class D, and I take them as actually belonging to that class, the *cakra* not having displayed all its points clearly.

Of course, the *cakra* of one dynasty may be adopted by some other, but it is unlikely unless the succession is by relationship ; in case of war, you do not expect the conqueror to fly the flag of the vanquished. A king might change the form of his *ṣaḍaracakra* in the middle of his reign, but that would be unlikely unless some extensive changes took place in the nature of his rule—say great conquests or great losses. It is quite possible that the types had names. Rājuvula labels his coins *apratihatacakrasa* (2, cxiv, 185), but as he does not stamp any form of the *cakra* itself, this leads us nowhere.

All the foregoing has been written only to point out some neglected possibilities, and also to show that as far as mere conjecture goes, a novice can compete with veterans. The problem of deciphering the symbols on these coins is at least of the order of magnitude of making sense out of medieval European coats-of-arms in the absence of any text on heraldry, any inscription on a tomb, as a guide. But it would not be fair to let the reader wade through this lengthy discussion without some indication of my own working hypothesis as to the meaning of the symbols. This I formulated as a tentative guide, after the statistical work of the memoir was finished :

The "sun" symbol is so universal as to be devoid of any particular significance, though its absence on coins with homo signs might indicate an association with personal sovereignty, rule by divine right. The *ṣaḍaracakra*, as has been said, is the particular mark of the dynasty. Of the three remaining marks, any that occurs on arches signifies descent, being a clan mark, or a totem symbol. There are four constant marks on most coin-groups, and the fourth I take to be the seal of the ruler under whose authority the coins were issued. The fifth "variable" mark is probably, in spite of my previous suggestion, not that of a son but that of the issuing authority, whether a subordinate princeling, a minister, or a mint master ; of course one person could hold two or more of these offices together, and even in his father's reign. But usually, the fifth mark is not repeated in the next group of coins. It is to be noted that the fifth mark is, in my opinion, the individual seal or monogram, and not the mark designating the particular office.

Occasionally, the same marks occur with two different forms of the *ṣaḍaracakra* (33, class II, gr. v). It seems to me, studying the individual

cases, that the lesser issue was by a subordinate dynasty or ruler under the general hegemony of the greater, such as the Mauryan; for homo signs, again in conjunction with one or two of the marks on the general coinage, some form of restricted tribal autonomy would be indicated. The usual number of five marks is surely derived from mantric tradition, which always mentions the *pañcamahāmudrā*.

II—PRESENT STATE OF THE METROLOGY.

The most important characteristics of the coins were undoubtedly the composition and the weight. Whereas the *Arthaśāstra* in a much-quoted passage gives the alloy of the coins: (A. II, 12, 30; MEYER, 9, 120).

लक्षणाध्यक्षः चतुर्भागांश्च रूपं तीक्ष्णत्रुसीसाञ्जनानामन्यतमं माषबीजयुक्तं कारयेत्
पणमर्धपणं पादमष्टभागमिति; पादाजीवं ताम्ररूपं माषकमर्धमाषकं काकिणीमर्धकाकिणीमिति ।

This alloy or its approximation is to be found only in later coins, such as the second Taxila hoard, which WALSH considers "debased". In addition, the poorer craftsmanship and increased variance of weights of this later hoard show that the life had gone out of the punch-marked system of coinage; in fact, the ability to alloy on such a scale without loss would also imply the ability to cast the coins, and contemporary Greek influence, if any, would provide additional impetus in the same direction. If, however, use is made of the constitution of the coin itself, it will have to be based on an assay of many samples of every group, preferably an assay of every known coin, and not a single representative. This means damaging the coin in some way, though a boring edgewise into the coin might do the trick with minimum harm. The assay of a single coin will tell very little, as also the rougher analysis giving "traces of impurities" such as lead, gold, etc. It is precisely these small impurities that accurately characterize the source of the metal, and if they were determined properly, one could indicate the locality from which the metal was imported, without relying upon the *Arthaśāstra* alone (II, 13, 31. MEYER p. 123: *Assam, the Tuttha mountain, etc.*), or a doubtful reference in the Bible (Jer. X, v, 9) which might have absolutely nothing to do with India. The assay and some test-drilling can decide with accurate density measurements whether the obscure reference above to *māṣabija* implies an alloy, as MEYER seems to think, or a core, as would seem likely from the mention of iron in the list of metals to be used. Dr. S. PARAMASIVAN (Archæological Chemist, Government Museum, Madras), is our leading analyst of numismatic material who will be glad to analyse any available coins.

This leaves us, then, with the most obvious quality of the coinage, the weight. The usual study has been based on two assumptions of unequal value: first, that the system of weights proceeds by the binary (dual) or quadragesimal scale; and secondly, that the basis of the system was the *rati-raktikā* = *kriṣṇalā* = *guñjā*, the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*. The first of these is very likely indeed, as Indo-Aryan linguistic survivals of the dual system rise to 8 units and we find it in use for all periods, from the Mohenjo-

Daro finds (7, Chap. XXIX) to the present day, when accounts are still recorded in the Indian market place by a quadragesimal notation, employing alternately horizontal and vertical strokes in place of numerals. Of course, the decimal system is also used conjointly, and the combination might be said to characterize the Indic civilisation, just as the use of the sexagesimal and the decimal system characterizes early Mesopotamia (CHILDE, 11, 112) in the fourth millennium B.C. It is the second assumption that leads to trouble.

All known ancient standards of currency and commercial weights can be assumed to have been based upon cereal grains or seeds (RIDGEWAY, 20), as is shown by philological survivals such as carat, grain, etc. for modern weights. In particular, the *rati* is still used by our goldsmiths and jewellers. But it is quite ridiculous to work back from the average of these to ancient times, and to expect our coins to tally. Yet, CUNNINGHAM's average of 1.86 grains is cited by our numismatists, who puzzle over the fact that even unworn punch-marked coins are several grains underweight. The obvious explanation, that the *rati* seeds vary enormously, and that the ancients had not the respect for CUNNINGHAM shown nowadays, seems not to have struck our experts. Durga PRASAD even makes the astounding statement (I, 13) "...the coins are Ardha Kārshāpāṇas weighing on an average 14 Rattis of 25.2 grains, having lost 3.4 grains by wear and tear". The coins might be half-*kārshāpāṇa*'s, but there is no evidence whatsoever that they ever weighed 16 of Durga PRASAD's variable *ratis*, and to say as he does in the same passage that a single coin has lost so much weight by usage from what it ought to have been had it been a *dvi-paṇa* of 32 doubtful *ratis* is a sad commentary on the procedure of at least one authority on punch-marked coins. In a single page of Durga PRASAD, the *rati* used works out at 1.43, 1.80, 1.85, 1.89 grains. WALSH (3, 15-17) is equally helpless in the matter. Weighing modern goldsmith's *rati*'s, he concludes, "It is therefore clear that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and CUNNINGHAM's 'full weight' is correct, and, on present practice, the theoretical and actual weight of these coins cannot be reconciled." Yet, four lines above, he says about his own experiments "400 average seeds weighed 673 grains, giving an average weight of 1.68 grains". Leaving aside the remarkable procedure of obtaining the average weight of the seed by selecting the average seeds first and then weighing them, it would have been found that 32 of WALSH's own *rati*'s would have come to within a grain of the average coin in his own tables. His touching faith in CUNNINGHAM is unfortunately of very little use; "present practice" is based on the fact that an honest goldsmith or jeweller will choose his seeds to conform to the measure of 96 per *tolā* (of 180 or 183.75 gr.). I submit the opinion that the *rati* was not used, even in ancient times, to weigh the coins, but rather the coins determined the choice of the seed, exactly as at present.

My opinion is based on the fact that, even now, the goldsmith uses only one or two seeds, in either pan of the balance, to make up the weight. This, one feels, would have been the practice in all but the most primitive times,

the *māṣaka* varied for copper, silver, gold ; and often, with the period and locality (8, clxxvii-clxxxii). Some help might have been obtained in these matters from Government reports, but the one I have been able to consult is (12) a most disappointing document, containing only the usual display of bureaucratic incompetence, mixed with great contempt for native usage. The committee making this report was more concerned with the status of the witnesses than with the actual weight observed and its variations.

Mr. A. S. HEMMY, former Principal of the Government College, Lahore, has devoted several papers to the study of weights and currency standards (7, 24, 25) of ancient India. Properly done, this work would have saved me a great deal of trouble, and enabled my principal conclusions to be set forth without this mass of extraneous criticism. Unfortunately, HEMMY's idea of statistics seems to belong to a school of his own, and his conclusions, when not absurd, can be obtained by mere inspection of the tabulated data, without any attempt at pseudo-statistical analysis. He starts with the "Law of Error", giving a distribution of measurements about a central or "true" value $y = ke^{-h^2x^2}$. This is rather an antiquated way of putting what is now called a normal distribution, and would not be wrong if only HEMMY showed some consciousness of the fact that for unit area, $k = h/\sqrt{\pi}$. But HEMMY estimates his constants in a strange fashion. First, he groups his data for coins by the rather large steps of one grain—(24, 10, 25, 672). This is permissible, and even sensible, but the next step is neither : he obtains a curve by *smoothing* the points out (24, 10). He then fits a probability curve, sometimes with a further imaginary allowance for loss of weight etc., but taking the k and h to suit himself, without being troubled by such a thing as goodness of fit. He is, finally, quite pleased that there is close agreement between theory and practice ! As a matter of fact, his grouping gives a histogram, and the rounding off is better applicable to a frequency polygon. Again, there are excellent methods for the estimation of statistical parameters (13, 14, and 15, 186 ff) ; and in any case, the central value for a normal distribution is better estimated by the observed average than by the maximum of a smoothed curve that HEMMY uses in all his work. In the work on weights of the Indus (7, 25) system, he uses the mean deviation, apparently the mean absolute deviation, with the average value ; but the median should be used if mean absolute deviations are to be taken (14, 32), or the average given with the standard deviation (or variance). If imposing technical terms are to be used to impress archaeologists and orientalists, at least the most useful ones should be taken, and an attempt made to use them properly. And there are, even for curve fitting, far better methods available than just smoothing coarsely grouped data. HEMMY's procedure is on the same level as "smoothing" the newspaper caricature of a celebrity and then expecting to get a photographic resemblance to the original. A strongly marked feature would survive, but the rest are more likely to be obliterated.

The consequences of this procedure are quite clear when one regards HEMMY's conclusions. When the sample is small, he is quite helpless, though

undaunted ; this is seen by his approach to the tribal and city coins (24, 16-24) ; and to the " aberrant " Mohenjo-Daro weights (7, 591) for which he discovered a system, about the the existence of which he began to have doubts with more data (25, 604). His analysis of the evidence for change (with difference of level) of system of weights at Mohenjo-Daro proceeds by comparing mean deviations and averages, and ignores the existence of the *t* and *z* tests (25, 605-6). He finds little in common with Mohenjo-Daro and contemporary Egyptian and Babylonian weights, but does not hesitate to state that some of the silver punch-marked coins have an affinity with the Daric standard (24, 25-26). Yet he found that most of the silver punch-marked coins are weighed according to the Mohenjo-Daro system, having a theoretical average weight close to 1/4 of the theoretical Mohenjo-Daro principal unit, (24, 10-12). This close correspondence between two fictitious quantities seems quite rational and conclusive to him. Not the most ridiculous of his conclusions is " The uniformity of distribution of weight in punch-marked coins, both silver and copper, shows that those conforming to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint. Their widespread provenance indicates the Mauryan Empire, and the uniformity of weight indicates strict and capable administration. This points to Aśoka." WALSH noted the futility of this notion (24, 293-304). As a matter of fact, the uniformity of weight is due more to HEMMY than to Aśoka ; the British Museum coins, which he lumps together in one lot, came from widely scattered regions ; a unified provenance, such as we have for our Taxila hoards, would have given him the conclusion, had he known of recent developments in statistics due to his own countrymen, that the Mauryan empire was less efficient than its immediate predecessor at least for the Taxila region. A method exists for analysing such data (19), but the weights speak very clearly for themselves, and I can draw slightly different conclusions from HEMMY'S. In the first place, the actually observed weights of his class *D*, even for the earlier Indus excavations, bracket the observed weights of most of the Taxila coins. The variances of the weights given in HEMMY'S first report (7, XXIX) were compatible by the *z* test with the first of the hoards, but not the later one. Inasmuch as the Indus system contains both decimal and binary multiples, it would be worth while to look for such fractions of the lowest weights found. In fact, a plausible conclusion is that the *raktikā* is the basis of the system. From the weighted averages of all groups given by HEMMY, except C, (25, 602), this is estimated to be about 0.106 grams, which is about 1.636 grains, and thus close to the experimental averages obtained by WALSH and MASKELYNE. If, now, decimal and binary multiples and fractions are allowed, we find almost all the aberrant weights that nonpluss HEMMY fall into place. In addition, his class C, (which he puts at the awkward fraction $\frac{8}{3}$ of unit A) is 20 *raktikā* in weight, approximately. The lowest weight found, 0.55 gm. is, in my opinion 5 *raktikā*, admissible inasmuch as it is a half of ten. HEMMY came very near to this conclusion (7, 596) when he divided the Group E weights by 60 and found : " the coincidence between the ratti and the dividend

by 60 is tempting, but as there is no evidence in favour of a sexagesimal system, I am more inclined to prefer the relation between the rice grain and the dividend by 200." While admiring his manly resistance of temptation, one is inclined to wonder why he assigned the weight $8/3$ to class C (there are at least two clear misprints in his table I, 7, 590, for that class), and why he did not divide by 64. I might add that rice had not then (and perhaps has not yet) been found at Mohenjo-Daro, though both wheat and barley occur (7, 586). For that matter, no *ratīs* have been found either, but these last are subject to borers and decay very rapidly, the oldest sample I have been able to obtain being not more than 50 years old, and mostly wormeaten. HEMMY's class A seems to me to be a *māṣaka* of 8 *raktikā* weight, and the later *māṣaka* description of 5, 6, 7, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *raktikā* standard would probably indicate local usages, and show not so much that the *māṣaka* varied as that at first people chose the *raktikā* to suit it, the *māṣaka* being fixed. The various standards for gold, silver, etc. could have developed this way. The *māṣa* bean of Sanskrit tradition is the *Phaseolus radiatus*, far too light for even the 5 *raktikā māṣaka*.

Before coming to my own work on coin statistics, let me add that the "best estimate" of the *raktikā* on the basis of the χ^2 test would be somewhat higher. If u be the unit, a_{ij} the i th weight of the j th group, n_j the number in the j th group, r_j the expected multiple of the group, in terms of u ,

$a_j = \frac{1}{n_j} \sum_i a_{ij}$, its average or mean value, and $x_{ij} = a_{ij} - a_j$, the residual, we can formulate χ^2 as

$$\chi^2 = \sum_j \sum_i \frac{(a_{ij} - ur_j)^2}{ur_j}$$

The estimate of u that makes this a minimum is immediately obtained by a simple application of the differential calculus as

$$u^2 \cdot \sum_j n_j r_j = \sum_j \left(\frac{n_j a_j^2}{r_j} + \sum_i \frac{x_{ij}^2}{r_j} \right)$$

This u can be calculated even for a single group, and used in place of the average or median, though the weighted mean is theoretically better. For Susan weights, which "form a very complex series running almost continuously from .95 gm. to nearly 90 gm. before the first real break" (25, 675), the method used by CRAMER (19) in determining a Mayan unit of linear measure would be applicable, with the caution that linear dimensions are not so likely to depreciate as weights. I hope that an analysis of the Mesopotamian weights will be made by this last scheme, as also one of the units of measurement at Mohenjo-Daro.

D. R. BHANDARKAR (6, 120), finds that SPOONER's Peshwar coins tell a strange tale: "they reveal a gradation of weights, each gradation marked by 1.83 grains, i.e. exactly by half a *Māsha*." This is suspicious enough, and suspicion becomes deeper when we consult his chart of the hoard (6, 123). There, for example, we find no less than twenty-one coins weighing exactly

45.75 grains. Even to have a single coin honestly weighed twenty-one different times on the usual laboratory scales and to have weight come out the same each time to a hundredth of a grain would be a nice piece of work. To find in an ancient hoard of coins originally "badly corroded" (32, 150), 21 coins weighing the same to a hundredth of a grain would be a superior miracle. Here, BHANDARKAR is not to blame for the data, only for his gullibility in accepting it. Turning to SPOONER'S report, we find an imposing table (32, 159) of conversion from *rati*'s and *māṣa*'s (= 8 *rati*) into grains, at 1.83 grains per *rati*. Nothing whatsoever is said as to how the coins were actually weighed, but the weights are given by *māṣa*+*rati* and also to the hundredths of a grain, on pp. 160-164. If SPOONER had them weighed by the *māṣa-rati* scale, he should at least have said that he had checked them to see that the weight was accurately transferable to grains. If he weighed the coins to a hundredth of a grain, he surely rounded off the weights to fit the *māṣa* scale.

I wrote to the Director General of Archaeology in India, at his own request, asking for accurate information about discordant Mohenjo-Daro weights, and the actual weights of suspect coins. The reply, dated Nov. 18 (to my letter of July 12, 1940) contained a painstaking report on 4 by the Curator of the Taxila Museum, giving among other matters the corrections to 19 misprints in the published weights of WALSH's App. XI-XII. None of the coins having been actually reweighed, and the information I needed not being available, it was not possible to make full use of the revised data, particularly in view of the fact that this paper had already gone to press. But all figures given in table I and those in table III for group D. 2 and B(e)2 were recalculated in haste. Thanks are due to Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT and to his Curator at Taxila for the trouble they have taken.

III—MAJOR GROUPS ; THE KĀRṢĀPAṆA.

We come now to the coins themselves. By methods explained later (or well known to those who can read 13, 14, 15, 16, 17) I calculate the necessary statistics, taking as basis the weights entered in 3, App. XI, App. XII. However, the hundredths of a grain weight has been ignored except in the case of the minute coins. The notation is, n =number of coins in the group, m =mean or average value of the weight in grains, s^2 the variance. The general unreliability of WALSH's work (4) is not likely to make any serious difference in the weights, as the weighing was, apparently, not done by him (3, i. : "the examination was made from the photographs of the coins").

TABLE I : GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COINS.

Group			n (number)	m (mean)	s^2 (variance)	median
Long Bar Coins	...	...	33	175.6	4.5657	175.9
Minute "	...	...	79	2.639	.037389	2.68
Double Obverse	...	...	64	49.47	1.5903	49.6
Earlier <i>kārṣāpaṇa</i>	...	...	995	52.63	1.6354	52.9
Both above classes	...	...	1059	52.44	2.1983	52.8
Later Coins (3 App. XII)	...	...	162	52.71	5.6752	52.4
(Separate coinage) "	...	...	5	49.56	4.393	50.0

The long-bar coins have to be compared to Persian sigloi, and will involve a study of Persian hoards. BHANDARKAR's identification of this type with the *śatamāna* (3, 3 : 6, 56-58) seems doubtful to me because the measure (*māna*) is not specified (see BÖHTLINGK & ROTH s. v. *dharāṇa*) ; if the *rati* was meant, it should have an average weight of 1.757 gr., which is more than $1/32$ *kārṣāpaṇa*. There is no weight of this *śatamāna* standard in the Indus finds.

The minute coins, the small change of the day, are taken by WALSH (3, 3) to be the *paṇa* of two *rati* weight. But he quotes the *Arthasāstra* to give a *dharāṇa* of 16 *māṣa*, which would not be heavy enough on the average given in table I. It is to be noted that WALSH says, on the same page, "their weights vary from 2.3 to 2.86 grains", which is definitely wrong ; App. XI gives coins 40, 48, 49 as not less than 3 grains. If these coins represented two *raktikā*, the average *raktikā* would be slightly lower than the Indus standard, though by no means impossible, being close to Sir William JONES's average ! But then the main coinage would represent a multiple of twenty small ones. For this multiple, there is also documentary evidence, as we have the *Nārada Smṛti*—whatever its date—saying : माषो विंशतमो भागः पणस्य परिकीर्तितः The variances are such that twenty of these coins would not, unless carefully selected, give accurate approximation to the main coin, to within the ancient limits of observation. But it must have been relatively much more difficult to mint the smaller coins to weight, and they might have been more worn, having more circulation than the larger ones ; both factors would increase the variance. I call them $1/20$ *kārṣāpaṇa* and let it go at that.

The main body of the coins of both hoards have been called *kārṣāpaṇa* in my table, though their actual nomenclature is doubtful. The *Arthasāstra* uses *paṇa* for (silver) coinage in general, and by the time of our present recension of the *Manusmṛti*, the coins had become archaic : *purāṇa*. The term continued as literary usage, and we get the traditional description : कर्षापणास्तु विज्ञेयस्तान्निकः कार्षिकः पणः This can be translated as *kārṣāpaṇa* = "copper coin one *karṣa* in weight", and our lexicographers (see in particular the *Amarakośa* with Maheśvarabhaṭṭa's comment) give *karṣa* = 16 *māṣaka*, which removes the question to its final stage of insoluble doubt : what was the weight of their *māṣaka* ? The other interpretation of the above passage (I exclude the more fantastic ones) would be *kārṣāpaṇa* = the farmer's copper coin. There is a bit more to be said for this interpretation than would appear. We never find copper *kārṣāpaṇa*'s in the oldest hoards—whether because there weren't any, as I incline to think, or because they were not considered worth hoarding then, or because our archæology is still in its initial stages, the fact remains that the earliest hoards are of silver coins. But we begin, later on, to get debased and plated coins with much the same sort of marks. Finally, we have the billon coins replaced by copper, perhaps the "peasant's copper coin". We also hear that the coin was practically worthless : वाचस्पत्यम् : कार्षापणैकमूल्या हि दरिद्राणां प्रकीर्तिता । and this is supported by our *pāli* tradition. The one explanation

that fits all this is that our coin repeated the history of the Roman solidus and denarius (C. OMAN, 22, 37-60). To trace it through undated and uncritical literary sources would be difficult, as can be seen from the example of what happens to a known coin, the *dināra*, which is considered to be a Kuṣāna adaptation of the contemporary Roman denarius. The *Siddhānta Kaumudī* gives : दीनरः । दीनारः सुवर्णभरणम्; a commentator gives the etymology *dīn* + *ināra*, and the *Vācaspatya* : *dī ārak nuḥ*. A glance at the dictionaries shows that the coin is of varying weight and import, being equivalent, among other things, to a *niṣka*; and is often taken as an ornament, not a coin. Because of this, we should not be surprised at anything said of the *kārṣāpaṇa*. From the commentary of Maheśvarabhaṭṭa to the *Amarakośa*, we can work out the equation *kārṣāpaṇa* = 16 *paṇa* = 64 *kākiṇī* and a *kākiṇī* is not only the *guṇjā* but also the cowrie shell. That is, the lexicographers do not always give a weight equivalent, but slip off into values in terms of small change. Maheśvarabhaṭṭa's comment of *paisā iti khyātasya* for the copper and *rupayā iti khyātasya* for the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* shows that he carries out the general tradition of assimilating an ancient name to coins in contemporary circulation. The Pāli tradition is summed up in a letter from my father, Prof. Dharmānanda KOSAMBĪ : "...The description of a *kahāpaṇa* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (cf. Vin. iii, 294) is older than that in the *Aṭṭhasālinī*. There, *rajata* is given to mean *kahāpaṇo*, *lohamāsako*, *dārumāsako*, *jatamāsako*. On this, the *Samantapāsādikā* comments : *kahāpaṇo ti sovaṇṇamayo vā rūpiyamayo vā pākātiko vā*, *lohamāsako ti tambalohādīhi katamāsako*; *dārumāsako ti sārādārunā vā veḷupesikāya vā antamaso tālapaṇṇenapi rūpaṃ chinditrā katamāsako*; *jatamāsako ti lākhāya vā niyyāsena vā rūpaṃ samuṭṭhāpetvā katamāsako*... *antamaso aṭṭhimayo pi*, *cammamayo pi rukkhaphalabijamayo pi samuṭṭhāpita rūpo pi asamuṭṭhāpita rūpo pi*. This shows that *kahāpaṇa* means coin in general. Nevertheless, the term was particularly used for gold and silver coins. *Māsaka* means a small coin. *Lohamāsaka* means coins of copper or other base metal. The wooden *māsaka* was carved on pieces of *sāra* wood, bamboo, or palm-leaf. Bones, leather, seeds were also used. Cowries are not included in the list. That is, their value was even lower than one *māsaka*, and they were not counted as coins... The *Jātaka*'s have this *gāthā* :

saddhassi sigālassa surāpītassa brāhmaṇa
sippikānaṃ satam natthi kuto kaṃsasatā duve [Jat. i, 426].

'he hasn't a hundred cowries, how could he have two hundred bronze coins?'

Those who examined coins were called *herañṇika* [saṃs : *hairanyika*], *herañṇika*'s are described in the *Visuddhimagga*, 14, 4....

The comment on the *gāthā* quoted above : *kaṃso iti kahāpaṇo* shows that the *kārṣāpaṇa* had been debased by that time.

After going to press, I obtained access to a magnificent paper in the finest tradition of German scholarship, by H. LÜDERS : *Die Säkischen Mura* (Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1918-19, pp. 734-766). It would have saved days of work for me had it come to hand earlier. The reader

cannot do better than to consult it himself, as it is surely the profoundest discussion to date of all aspects except the mantric one of the word *mudrā*.

To revert to table I, it is clear that the double-obverse coins which WALSH describes as greatly worn, are much lighter than the others. Assuming the *t* test (13, 177; 14, 131-5) applicable, we have here for the 64 double obverse as against 995 *kārṣāpaṇa* $t=19.17$. This indicates a negligible probability that the double obverse coins were meant to represent the same weight as the main *kārṣāpaṇa*'s of the earlier Taxila hoard. The double obverse lot can therefore be taken as much older, and is significantly below the standard weight. The ancients must have recognized this difference, as it is (dealing with mean values only), of the order of two *raktikā*'s. Perhaps, this much was allowed for in the current market value of the coins, and the second obverse is a mark of this. Against this last conjecture is the fact that the heaviest of these, No. 838, weighs 52.1 grains, which overlaps the lower range in standard *kārṣāpaṇa* weight. I shall also suggest, later on, a political reason for the second obverse. The variances of double obverse and *kārṣāpaṇa* coins are not significantly different according to the *z* test. That is, the general method of manufacture and allowances must have been about the same for both.

The difference between the *t* test and the *z* test becomes clear when we consider the case of the later coins as compared to the *kārṣāpaṇa*'s. The difference of means is .0745 gr., which signifies absolutely nothing; both coinages could represent the same unit of weight. But the variances are significant by the *z* test, and the chances are much less than one in a thousand that the two lots were weighed by the same system. The later people were very careless, or had a rougher set of scales, or allowed more legal variation; with the debased alloy and rougher punches, the evidence towards a cruder technique seems to accumulate. Now if we take the five coins of a separate coinage in the later hoard, the difference of means seems to be large, when compared to the 162 just preceding. As a matter of fact, by the *t* test, we find a value of $t=2.917$ approximately, which again carries us to a level of significance that gives less than one chance in a hundred of the two means belonging to coins chosen at random from the same general lot; but by the *z* test, the difference is not significant at all, *z* for these two groups being 0.12805, which gives better than one chance in five that the two are weighed according to the same system. That is, the five coins of a separate coinage belong to the later period, but are of earlier manufacture, and have been longer in circulation.

To extend this a little further, consider ALLAN's British Museum list (2). On pp. 11-15, he gives details of a set of coins that he indicates by Class I, Group I, Variety *a*. My calculations for this lot give the statistics: $n=58$, $m=53.34$, and $s^2=7.9476$. By mean values alone, if we ignored the punch-marks themselves, this might belong to the period of either of the two Taxila hoards. But the difference of variances shows clearly that if it belongs to either, it must belong to the second group. Applying the *z* test to the British Museum sample and the later Taxila hoard, we see $z=0.16837$, approx. and

that the value is just not significant at the 5 per cent level. Had coins 52 and 19 not been present—they are 44.3 and 46 gr. respectively—the difference in averages and variances would have been negligible. It is plausible then, that the coins belong to a period and manufacture comparable to that of the later Taxila hoard. This is not quite the same conclusion as that which could be reached by study of the marks alone, as a glance at the plates given by WALSH (3, pl. XLII-XLVIII) and ALLAN (2, pl. II) will show that the British Museum coins show better workmanship. They should have shown less variance also, but for the fact that the later Taxila hoard consisted more or less of newly minted coins (3, 32). We can say, by the system of weighing, as well as by the archaeological evidence and the marks given by WALSH and ALLAN that both belong to the Mauryan period.

If, however, we try to extend this to the older Taxila hoard, the method fails altogether, and shows the limitations of statistics. The largest number in common with the British Museum is their class 6, Group III, Var. c. which WALSH (3, 28) puts in his own class A. 1. These are the most numerous class of coins of the older hoard, and in fact characterize the older punch-marked class by their substantial proportion in finds throughout India. But our statistical analysis will show a significant difference in weights and variances. The reason for this is not that the British Museum coins were originally different, but more probably that they had a decidedly different history. The Taxila hoard was underground for over two thousand years, without use or wear. The British Museum coins of the same style (2, 66-69) were gathered by various people in widely scattered localities, and have not a common provenance. The minimum weight is 30 gr. (no. 16, 2, 67) and the maximum 52.8 (nos. 22 and 27), which shows that the coins were much more worn on the whole. The British Museum Class 1, Group I, variety *a* could be dealt with only because almost all the coins come from the Swiney collection, and have presumably just the unitary provenance needed.

I trust that this shows the usefulness of studying *groups* (not individual specimens) of ancient coins by weight. The primary condition is that their history should be as nearly the same as possible. For this purpose, hoards closed at an early date are the best, and it is for this reason that I have chosen WALSH's memoir, in spite of its defects (4). If there are small errors in weighing, they will disappear in the group statistics; for a large number of coins, even a comparatively serious error, or an occasional coin having an aberrant weight will make no significant difference. It is the small sample that needs much more careful handling, as I shall show in the next section. If my study of the coin weights is valid, it follows that the people of Mohenjo-Daro and the older Taxila hoard had weights and balances comparable in quality, and that they were pretty good; better, at any rate, than those of the Mauryan period. What the reason is I do not know, but the chances are that the wider extent of the Mauryan empire allowed a greater latitude in weighing, and perhaps that the older coins themselves began to be taken as standard weights, instead of the neat stone weights of the Indus valley. The

various standards of the *raktikā* and the *māṣa*, which had probably been localized before, must also have tended to cause a greater variation. The point cannot be discussed properly without analysing many more hoards. For all that, the weights even in the later period were fairly good. D. R. BHANDARKAR attempted to explain the greater variation as a deliberate deceit practised upon the people of the empire (6, 116). His method was to blindfold people and ask them to estimate weights, by which procedure he arrived at the conclusion that "the ordinary human hand... cannot unaided detect a difference of even 15 grains." This would do nicely as a parlour game, but is of doubtful value in assessing the currency standard of a bygone age. The difference between the lightest and heaviest coins of the older Taxila hoard is something like twelve grains, and the light coins are suspect for reasons that will appear later.

The weight of the coins, before (Mauryan?) debasement of the alloy set in for the sake of saving wear on the coins, or to relieve the shortage of currency in a country that had to import its silver, or on the Athenian (Solonian) model to relieve the debtors—the weight, I say must have been the important characteristic. There can hardly have been any such thing as legal tender, except that the coin represented a certain value of metal. As silver was then relatively much rarer than now (MEYER 9, 319, line 26), people would have been more likely to weigh their coins than in a later age; and we have seen that for the best part of three millennia B.C., they had rather accurate sets of weights. Even as late as a hundred years ago, I feel convinced that an Indian goldsmith or moneylender (the professions were not seldom combined) would have, when a customer presented a coin of the older Taxila hoard, valued it by taking a streak of colour on his touchstone and weighing the coin; and accepted it for payment accordingly. The marks would have signified nothing. Even today, British Indian coins are current in states like that of Hyderabad, which has a coinage of its own that is not accepted in British India. Still better, British rupees are legal tender, or at least current in the market-places, throughout Portuguese Indian territory. I remember seeing in the summer of 1916 or 1917, in the till of a single village shop in Goa, Portuguese and British Indian coins, Australian half-crowns, English shillings, American cents, and in a word the small change of almost all the world. Both shopkeeper and customer accepted the coins as equivalent to the nearest Indian coin in appearance and weight, and this helped to relieve the currency shortage caused by the war of 1914-18. The variety of coins was unusual for India, but to be explained by the fact that a large number of Goanese found employment on ships that sail to all corners of the world, and brought back the local currency with them. Incidentally, bank-notes were accepted only if British or Portuguese-Indian issue, and the notes of lower denominations issued for Goa as small change were not willingly accepted at all. This procedure I take to be typically Indian, and the reader can draw his own conclusion as to the ancient period. At the shop mentioned, I used to find an occasional copper coin of low denomination, of the rough hand-

cast type, but they all belonged to the Portuguese period, were not very old, were comparatively rare; no such silver coins turned up.

I am told on quite reliable authority that even in so important a centre as Poona, cast silver coins of the Peshwa period were accepted in the marketplace at an exchange rate of their own, down to the eighteen nineties. I myself remember the cowrie shell in use as small change in Poona during the opening years of the first world war. In fact it was the pressure and the industrialisation of that war which ushered in a modern attitude towards currency, at least in the larger cities.

IV—LESSER GROUPS; THE REVERSE MARKS.

The distribution shown in fig. 1 raises our first serious difficulty, that the coins are not normally distributed as regards weight. But the t and the z tests apply only to normal distributions (but see 26 for the contrary), and a purist would at once raise a theoretical objection as to our conclusions. One way of settling this would be to work out the theory of such tests for abnormal distributions and then to show that in the present case (the distribution being platykurtic and skew negative) no substantial difference will be made. But if this be possible at all, the gain in the way of new results is not likely to be commensurate with the labour involved. A simpler method would be to chop off the long tail of the histogram and frequency polygon in fig. 1, as it is this that causes all the trouble here. This procedure is statistically unjustified, particularly as we do expect more in the range of worn than in the range of overweight coins.

The third way out of the difficulty, whether it succeeds or not, is more reasonable and attractive: to analyse the structure of the group a little closer. We have put all sorts of coins together, without regarding the evidence of the classification by marks, and might have lumped together too many coins with a decidedly aberrant history. The numismatists' analyses of hoards I have seen are perfunctory, and lead to rather strange conclusions. Not the strangest is ALLAN's (2, lvi) that the similarity in the structure of the hoards "suggests the period of the Maurya empire—which ruled all the regions mentioned and suddenly collapsed everywhere at the beginning of the second century B.C.—for the issue of these coins." This is definitely ruled out by the fact that our older hoard must have been closed at about the time Candragupta Maurya's coronation; and I am inclined to take references in the *pāli* canonical literature (not including the *Jātaka* legends) as authentic mention of a system of coinage contemporary with or preceding the Buddha, say at least the sixth century B.C. ALLAN (2, lxxi) thinks it "very possible that the idea of a coinage came to India in the late fifth or the early fourth century B.C. from Achaemenid territory, being suggested by the sigloi, although its character is entirely Indian." This smacks of prejudice, being just one step removed from the mind that sees everything of any value in India as having been introduced by the Greek conquests. As a matter of fact, Darius I ruled, in 522 B.C., a territory extending some distance inside the Indo-Afghan frontier (*kambujiya*, *gandāra*, *hinduś* in the Nakṣ-e-Rustum inscription), but that would not ac-

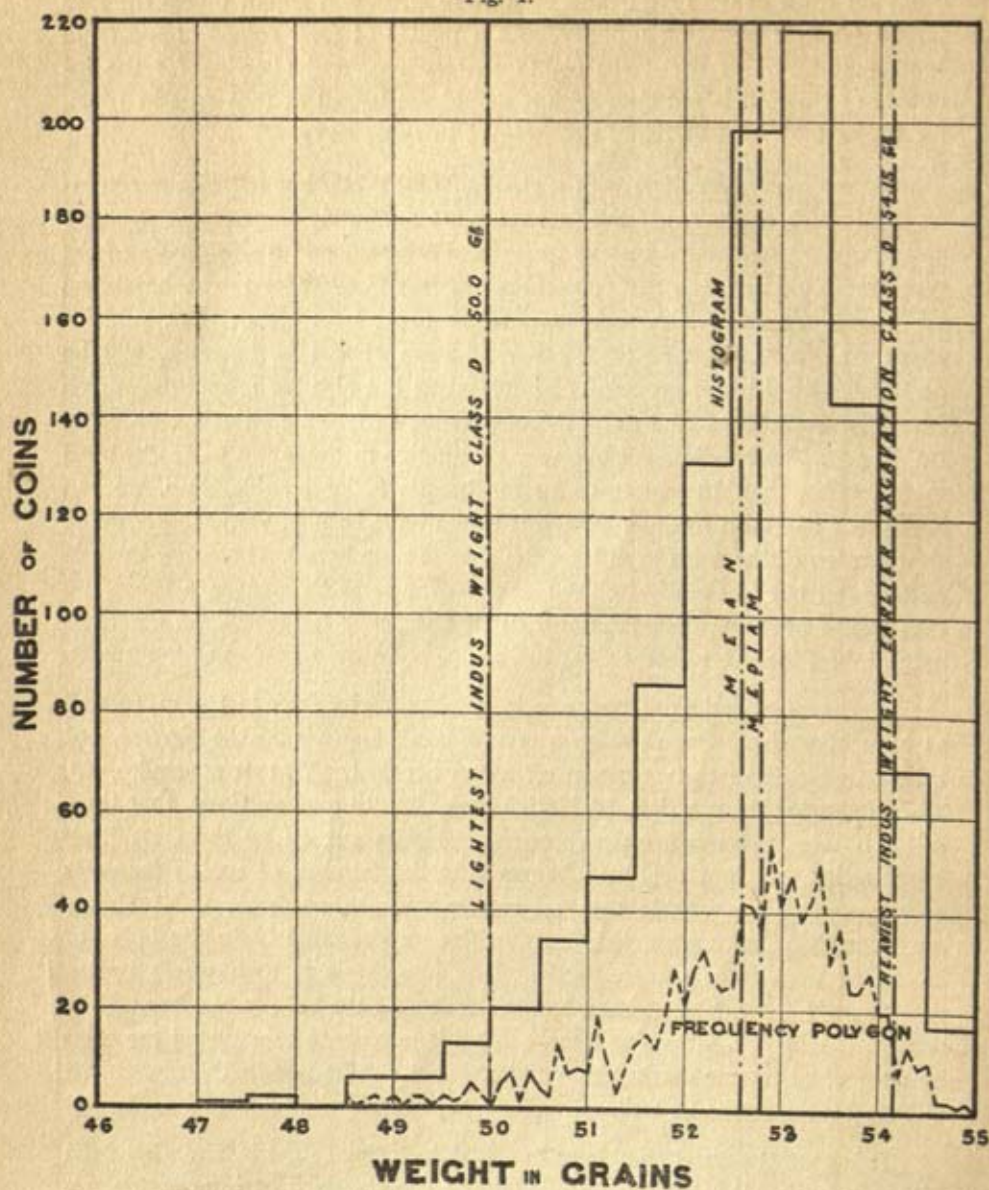
count for coins at the time of the Buddha in U. P. and Bihar, unless the idea caught on with alarming rapidity. As a matter of fact, coinage appears in Ionia and China at about the eighth century B.C., and allowing for the influence of trade, it is not clear why it should not be put at that date in India, for the country was certainly not isolated in those days.

Something could be done with a chart of find spots, but not in the accepted dilettantish manner. If the find spots are accurately marked with groups, and the *numbers* counted instead of just the occurrence of a single coin of the type, we could make better conjectures. Age and distance might be shown by loss of *average* weight, and the numbers or at least proportion would increase as one approached the locality of issue. For this, however, will be needed not only better grouping of information but also far more information from new excavations and more thorough-going surface collections. CUNNINGHAM's genial and well-meant but very destructive methods are to be deplored in this connection. In any case, for the hoards under consideration, we can hardly use any such method, though it would have been of value to know the stratification of the coins in at least the older Taxila hoard. Therefore, there is nothing left but to classify by the marks on the coins themselves, a procedure that would have been followed without the slightest hesitation, as the most natural, had there been some clear knowledge as to the meaning of the marks.

The reverse marks are far more in number, and lighter in stamp, as well as of smaller size. Occasionally, a reverse mark appears on the obverse, but this is rare enough to be written off as an accident. WALSH concludes, (3, 25-7) following the practice of "Native States" until modern times, that these might be the marks of money changers or marks put on by the state itself after testing. It is (roughly) obvious that the number of marks increases with age, and the weights decrease correspondingly, as 3, App. XI shows, the coins there being arranged and numbered approximately in the order of increasing number of reverse marks. The hypothesis is then worth testing that there is some relation between the number of the reverse marks and the drop in weight—i.e. increasing wear. For this purpose, I retabulated the coins by number of reverse marks alone, neglecting the difference in the marks and in the obverse marks as well.

This gave the usual trouble to be found in trying to get information from WALSH's work (4). Taking App. XI to be the standard of information, we occasionally find some coins mislabelled, even without the possibility of reverse marks on the obverse: no. 320 is given simultaneously as blank, with one indistinct mark! No. 474 has 2 against it in the column headed number of reverse marks, but only one mark, no. 111, is given in the adjoining column; similar contradictions arise with coins 526, 599, 661, 749, 865 (a double obverse) 1115, 1124, 1120, 1149, 1150, and a few others. I have tried to settle the discrepancy in each case by reference to the plates, and have taken the rest of WALSH's statements as authoritative; but his work ought to be thoroughly recast by some competent numismatist.

Fig. 1.



WEIGHT DISTRIBUTION OF COINS IN THE EARLIER TAXILA HOARD.

Fig. 2.

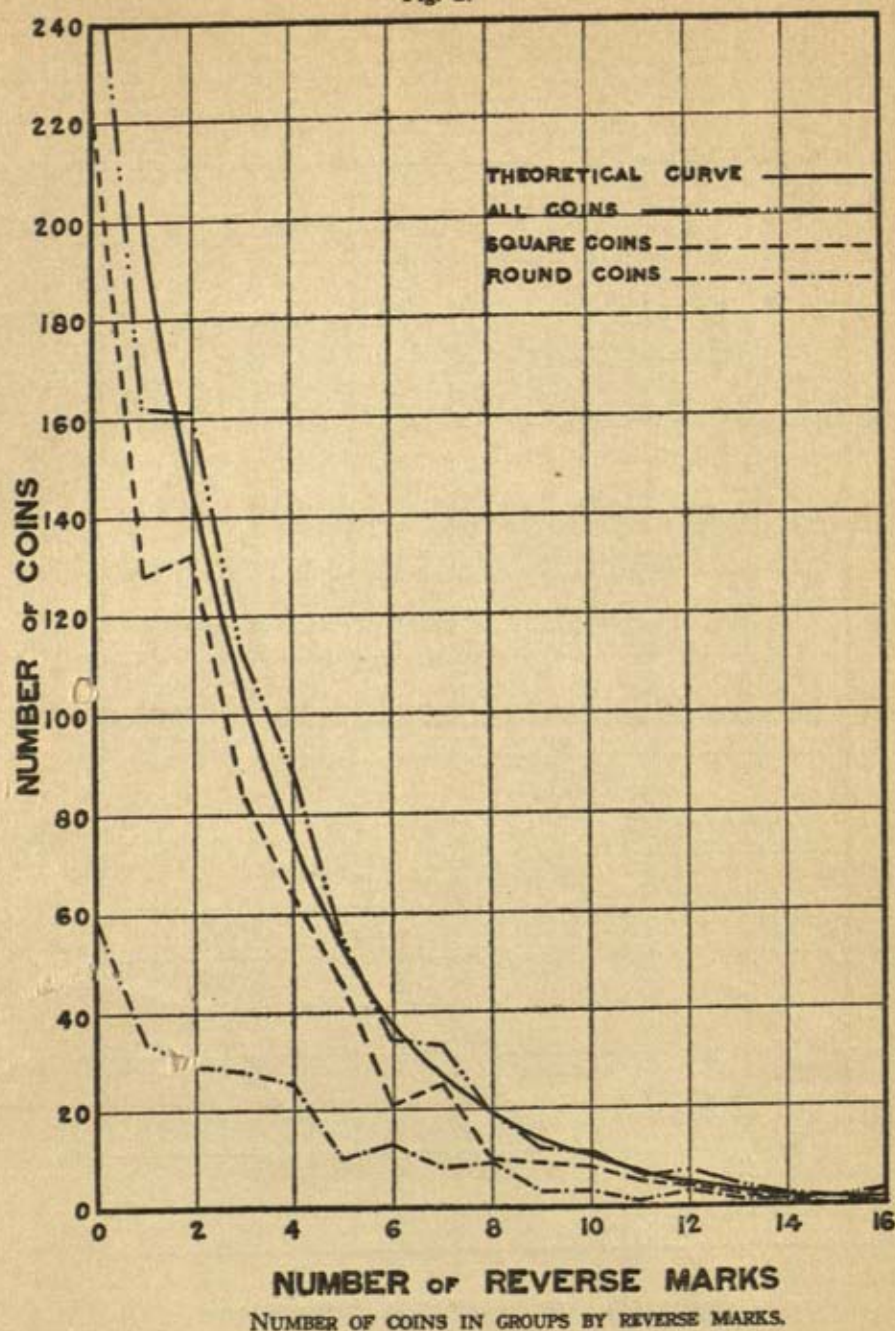


Fig. 3.

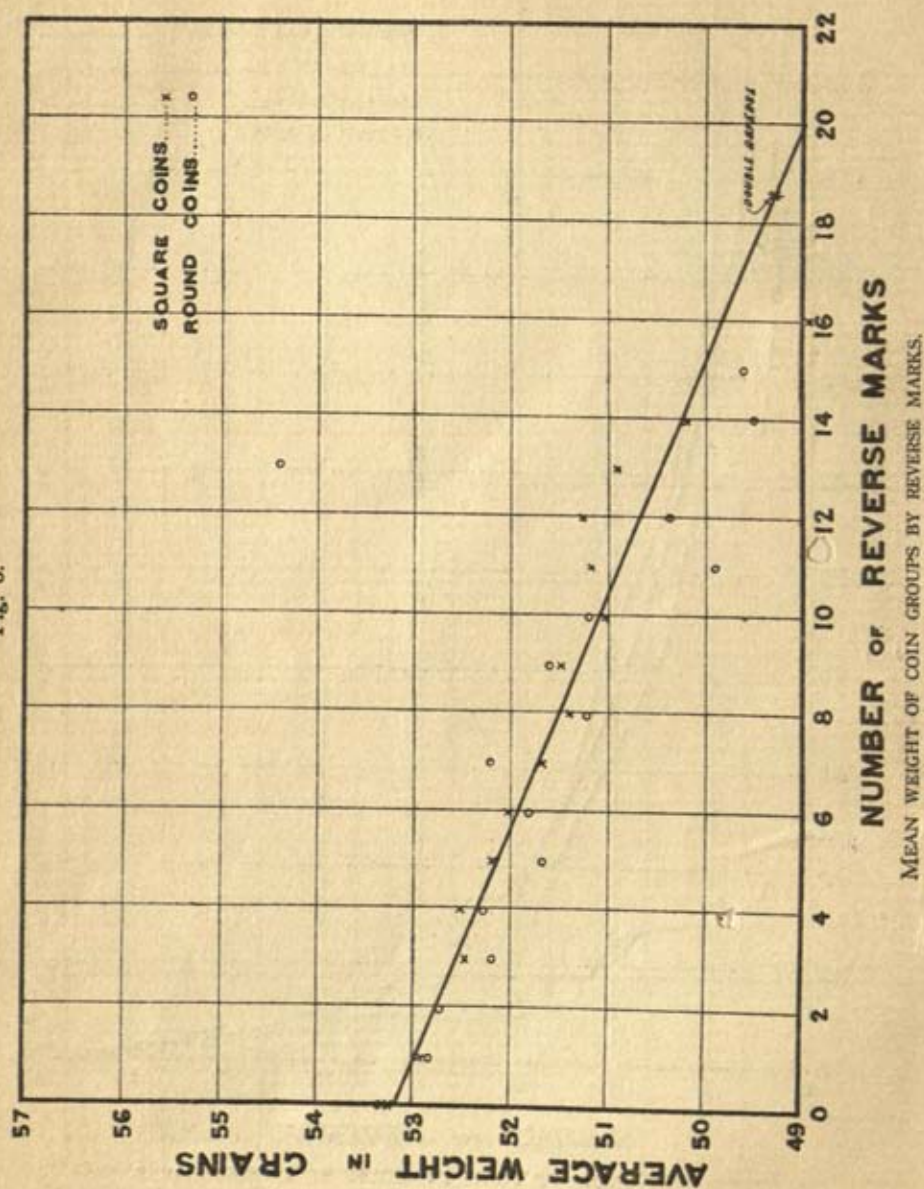
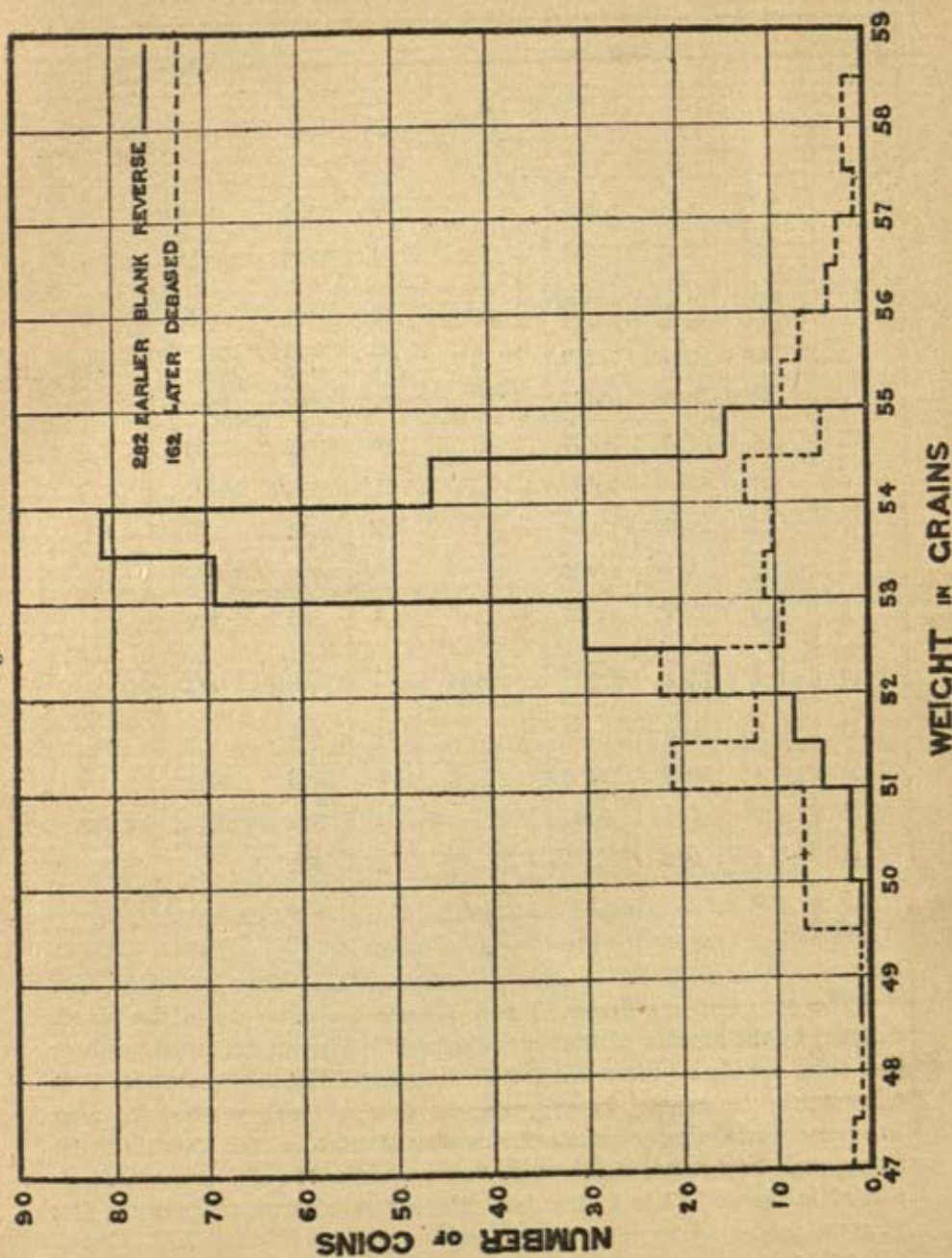


Fig. 4.



COMPARISON OF THE BLANK COINS OF THE EARLIER HOARD, WITH THE LATER HOARD.

On my tabulation, then, I find the following results, keeping the square and the round coins separate :

TABLE II : CLASSIFICATION BY NUMBER OF REVERSE MARKS

No. Rev. Marks	Square Coins				Round Coins			
	n	m	s ²	No. of suspect coins	n	m	s ²	No. of suspect coins
0	224	53.26	1.1043	...	58	53.35	.6618	
1	128	52.93	0.5953	...	34	52.84	.7519	
2	{ 131 132	{ 52.78 52.74	{ 0.7395 0.9370	558	29	52.75	59.26	
3	85	52.47	0.6673	...	{ 27 28	{ 52.21 51.90	{ 1.3623 3.8967	1075
4	64	52.53	0.7092	...	25	52.29	1.6399	
5	46	52.17	1.1575	...	10	51.67	1.2534	
6	21	52.03	1.1973	...	13	51.82	0.5947	
7	25	51.67	1.8364	...	8	52.23	1.6536	
8	10	51.4	1.6556	...	9	51.23	1.0550	
9	9	51.47	1.0725	...	3	50.1	0.7200	
10	{ 8 9	{ 51.01 50.17	{ 0.5670 6.1644	890	3	51.20	0.21	
11	5	51.16	0.188	...	1	49.9	...	
12	4	51.25	1.2633	...	3	50.37	1.4034	
13	2	50.9	0.18	...	1	54.4	...	
14	1	50.2	...	...	1	49.5	...	
15	0	...	...	...	1	49.0	...	
16	3	48.93	10.6	...	0	...	...

The accompanying figures, 2 and 3 make the structure of the hoard, analysed by the number of reverse marks, clear. The suspect coins are those that differ considerably from the rest of the group. But they make very little difference in the means. In any case, the data is hardly worth using after 10 reverse marks, simply because the number of coins in each class thereafter is too small to give reliable averages and variances. So, the regressions calculated in figures 2, 3 to fit the data observed were computed from the first 11 rows, only.

The first point that strikes us (5) and is quite clearly illustrated by fig. 3 is the remarkably steady drop in average weight particularly for the square coins. The differences of means in the classes are hardly significant for any

neighbouring pair, but what is significant is the relative steadiness of the drop. The curve that follows this best—technically the line of regression—can be fitted accurately enough by eye, and the equation is given by $y = 53.22 - 0.212x$, where y is the average weight in grains and x the number of reverse marks. The best explanation of this phenomenon would be that the marks were not put on haphazard, but at regular time intervals. It is known, in fitting such lines of regression, that the possible errors in y would not make much difference, if only they balanced out on the whole, as is to be expected. But any error or omission in x (the number of reverse marks) or in the regularity with which the reverse marks were put on, would be serious, and would affect the line of regression much more, even to the extent of destroying its linearity altogether (13, 135). This inclines me to the opinion that the reverse marks were periodic, and regularly placed in time. The departure from the straight line, in the range $x = 0$ to 10, is not serious (13, 261-263) as compared to the sampling errors. The only awkwardness is in the fact that the variances themselves do not increase steadily with x , but this is to be explained by sampling errors, the presence of suspect coins, and for the blank reverse class by the fact that the (almost unused) class contains many distinct issues, which we shall look into later, that had not had time to get worn down to a common level by circulation. From the fact that an occasional coin with blank reverse occurs in the oldest groups, it is clear that the system of reverse marks applied only to coins in active circulation, and perhaps in a limited region.

A further proof, in so far as statistics can furnish one, is to be had by considering the numbers of the coins in each group. These decrease, as is seen in fig. 2, in a fairly steady manner, taking the natural logarithms of the numbers of all the coins [it is clear that on the whole, there is no essential difference between round and square, for any x , as regards weight] in each class, we can obtain the formula for the number y as $y = 283.86 e^{-x/13}$. This is a just tolerable fit, and indicates that on the whole, a constant proportion of the coinage was absorbed during every interval between reverse marks; a proportion between $7/10$ and $3/4$ of all the coins existing at the time of the preceding check by marks. Had the marks been put on by money-changers whenever a strange coin appeared and passed through their hand (made an unlikely hypothesis *a priori* by the fact that the same mark can appear twice) we should have had a random distribution of the marks, and expected a Poisson distribution (13, 56 et seq.) to fit. But this is not at all even a possible fit, and the conclusion I have given above is still further strengthened: the reverse marks indicate a system of regular checks on the coinage. The disappearance of the coins would be due to the fact that the coins might be used as a source of metal by the general population; to hoarding, loss, damage; also to the export of currency. Lastly, the proportion of round and square coins in any one category is about the same, which might indicate that the round coins were made by gathering the scraps left after the square coins had been cut out of a plate, and melting them down into pellets (or a cylinder). There is

every danger here of guessing too much, but it is usually accepted that the square and the round coins were respectively cut out of plates and punched on a ready-cast piece of metal, the latter showing no signs of trimming as do the former. As a result, the line of regression fits over square coins much better than the round. For the rest, at a first glance, it is clear that the square coins are not square, and the round coins not round !

It is to be noted that these remarks and statistical findings apply only to the earlier Taxila hoard. For the later hoard, and the coins I ascribe for the greater part to the Mauryan age, the method cannot be used. The reason is that we do not get so many reverse marks in the later period. They had become an extension of the obverse, a sort of head-and-tails affair ; their regularity and comparative lack of variety attest this. They might have been the marks of local satraps, or other issuing authority. That is, the bare difference of 70 years (between Philip Arrhidaios and Diodotos : cf. 3, 1) marks an enormous change in the fundamentals of the coinage system, keeping in mind the cruder technique and the greater weight variance. With the greater stability to be expected from a universal monarchy, we have a decaying system of striking the coins ; perhaps, because the stage was set for casting coins, though this would seem a lame explanation.

The question now arises, who did the checking, and far more important, at what intervals of time ? Where was it done ? Taking into account the coins with double obverse, we can say that the hoard contains coins of approximately 19 or 20 intervals earlier. There is no way of determining the rate of wear. The coins would have been of varying alloys (even from the natural incidence of other metals in native silver ; whence my contention that every coin should be analysed), though reasonably uniform in the earlier period. The circulation would be very much less than now, but if the touchstone were used (A. II, 13, 31 ; 9, 124) the coin might suffer more. For modern Indian currency i.e. the British rupee, the rate of loss is not more than one grain per sixteen years. The surest method would be to analyse weights of similar coins found in some other hoard of different but known date, and compare the losses in weight. The trouble here is that dated hoards cannot be had to order. I only point out that in the *Arthaśāstra*, there appears to be mentioned an official whose business it is to check the currency. What happened in the older, more accurate, and relatively stable period, can only be a matter for conjecture. That the period was—whatever its duration—relatively stable can be seen from the fact that the currency was being obtained and lost by Taxilans at a more or less constant rate, as is shown by fig. 2. In the time of the Buddha, according to sources like the *Anguttaranikāya*, we can see a lot of petty warring kingdoms eternally quarrelling with each other, and a movement towards the formation of larger states, say of the later “universal monarchy”, first realized for the eastern end of the Gangetic plain by *Ajātaśatru*. Even in warring states, a comparative stability can be built up, if according to the immemorial Indian custom, the general population were quite indifferent to the strife of small princely armies, the trade of weapons being

the monopoly of the *kṣatriya* caste.

To revert to the *Arthaśāstra*, we find an official mentioned in several places, who might have done the checking (in spite of the lack of reverse marks of the older type on later coins) : the *rūpadarśaka*. The most relevant passage runs as follows : (A. II, 12, 30 ; 9, 120)

रूपदर्शकः पणयात्रां व्यावहारिकीं कोशप्रवेद्यां च स्थापयेत्—रूपिकमष्टकं शतं; पञ्चमं शतं व्याजी; पारीक्षिकमष्टागिकं शतं; पञ्चविंशतिपणमत्यर्थं चान्यत्र कर्तृकृतविकृतपरीक्षितभ्यः

As MEYER reads and Shama SASTRI punctuates it, the taxes are clear enough : the 8 p. c. *rūpika*, special or individual tax (I should have translated it currency tax, but MEYER shows that *rūpika* is also applied to a salt tax, and it is not likely that salt was a form of currency) ; five per cent. unfair profits tax (*vyāji*), testing fee of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and a net penalty of 25 *paṇa*. This last is to be remitted for those who made, bought, sold, or examined coins ; I take it that the last class, the coin dealers, were not government officials, but a class sanctioned by the state with some sort of inspection to see that they kept a legal currency in circulation ; their presence might account for the pejoration of coinage in the Maurya period. The *rūpadarśaka* is to establish or adjust the *paṇayātrā*, or circulation of currency (MEYER : *Geldkurs*), and his peculations are carefully regulated in a later chapter (MEYER, 9, 319). The whole question so far as we are concerned is : does the expression *paṇayātrām vyāvahārikīm kośapraveśyām ca sthāpayet* indicate that he was to stamp any reverse marks on the coin, in token of having assessed the taxes, or checked the coinage for fair weight ? There seems to be nothing to indicate this, although the officials of the book have to pay, in general, special attention to the seal for octroi or customs (A. II, 21, 39) pass for breaking the curfew order (A. II, 36, 56), and permits of all sorts. The old system of many small reverse marks vanishes for the Mauryan period. One would expect that the *rūpadarśaka* would have some method of showing whether a coin had been examined or not by him. Beyond this I cannot go here, though it is conceivable that the functions of a *rūpadarśaka* as distinct from the unofficial examiner of coinage (*parīkṣit*) might be traditional, and affect the period of the older Taxila hoard. We note in passing that BHANDARKAR, interprets (6, 157-158) the three taxes as levied on the four classes of dealers in coins, a rather fanciful interpretation of a passage that is not intrinsically very clear.

The tax that does not explain itself is the *vyāji*, which is defined elsewhere as the royal levy upon the profits made by the trader by unfair means : short weights and measures, price-fixing and raising, etc. How this could be made out of currency is not at all clear, unless coin-clipping is meant ; and as this was forbidden by law, and inhibited by the *rūpadarśaka*, the one chance of increasing a hoard of cash would be by charging interest. Here I am slipping further into the realm of pure conjecture, but unless interest be regarded as one of the unfair practices, it is difficult to assign an etymology to the modern vernacular term for interest : *vyāja*, which is the *sanskṛta* for cheating.

"Interest" in the classical language is *vṛddhi* = growth, from which the

modern word cannot be derived ; in fact, the Hindi dictionary prepared under the auspices of the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā derives it from *vyāja*. It is unfortunate that the *Arthaśāstra* is not critically dated, and that we have no proper manual of an older age. But the merchant (*vaiśya*) comes only above the *śūdra* in the caste system, and if the taxes are an indication, he had not a very happy time of it under the *Arthaśāstra* code, whatever might have been the value of an empire in maintaining law and order. His status in the times of Buddha seems to have been somewhat higher, and if this speculation has any real basis, it might also help account for the crudities of the Mauryan period, as compared with the earlier Taxila hoard epoch, which has, at least in its weight system, clear survivals from an ancient and predominantly trading age ; an age when the *kṣatriya*, backed by the theoretical support of the *brāhmaṇa* and his monopoly of the art of war, had not as yet imposed himself upon the means of production of the country ; at least, not to the extent of regulating the currency.

What was the period of the assessment ? It could hardly have been one year, unless there was a veritable hoard of tax-gatherers in those slow-moving days. The longest unit of time mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* is the *yuga*, the lustrum of five years (9, 165, 168). Even this seems rather short for the examination and taxation. I should have thought that the Roman indiction of fifteen years would have been a fairer period, whatever the Maurya empire and the Taxilans actually practised. Perhaps, the twelve year cycle was used. With the smaller period, our coin-checking system would go back not more than a hundred years, say to 417 B.C. For the twelve year cycle, we should get something like 500 B.C. for the beginning of the systematic checking of coins. I am unable to account for the tremendous number (nearly 400) of the older reverse marks, and the precise nature, purpose, and operation of the system is still a puzzle which we cannot discuss here. It seems to me less likely that all coins were checked every so many years than that a coin checked once was again checked after the lapse of the set period. MILNE (22) thinks all the reverse marks on the Persian sigloi, (although many of them occur in the Taxilan reverse marks) due to Levantine traders.

It should once again be made clear that the drop of 0.2 grains per indiction (I use the term, without specifying its measure, for the period of checking or stamping on the reverse marks) would be too small to be detected in the old days. There is considerable overlapping in the distributions of weights. But there is every likelihood of the worst coins having been withdrawn at the time of the indiction.

Mr. T. STREENIVAS has given the description of silver punch-marked coins found in the Karimnagar district of Hyderabad state (23). It might have been possible to determine the average loss of weight from this data had the grouping of the coins been in conformity with that of ALLAN or WALSH, and had some effort been made to date the hoard. The weights given (23, 43-66) are rounded off to the nearest grain, which would not make it impossible to calculate fairly reliable statistics, but some of the coins are described as

"encrusted," and there is no analysis of the provenance ; the description of the marks is perfunctory. Mr. STREENIVAS uses CUNNINGHAM's non-existent average of 58.56 grains, and gives an undocumented and unproved estimate of the loss of $1\frac{1}{2}$ gr. per century. I am unable to see how he terminates the period of circulation of the coins at "about 150 A.C." (23, 43). But his estimate of the loss, if it applied to our earlier Taxila hoard, would give the indiction as between 12 and 15 years. Without any evidence, I must confess to a predilection for the 12-year indiction.

THE HUN INVASION OF HINDUSTHĀN

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The early history of every country abounds in myths and legends, and it is the task of historians to sift the nucleus of facts embedded in them. Some historians prefer to throw away the baby with the bath, and begin their histories with historical periods. But myths and legends are not peculiar to prehistoric periods. They have often grown in recent times, and historians themselves have sometimes contributed to them. One such instance in Hindu history is the myth of the Hun invasion of Hindusthān, which has been laboriously built up by oriental scholars by wrong identifications and the uncritical mixing up of various sources. The object of this paper is to discover if possible the nucleus of facts underlying the mosaic myth of the Hun invasion of Hindusthān.

The accepted account of the Hun invasion may be summarised in the words of Tārā CHAND (*A Short History of the Indian People*, pp. 97-98):—

“Candragupta was succeeded by Kumāragupta I, who ruled from 415 to 455. He successfully maintained the unity of the empire, although he had to face serious troubles during the concluding years of his reign, which threatened to put an end to the empire. His successor was Skandagupta, whose reign witnessed the first irruption of the Huns into India. The Huns (or white Ephthalites or Yethas) were a barbarous people who inhabited the steppes of Asia, and who migrated in search of pasture lands towards the Volga in the west and the Oxus in the south. They overthrew the Kushan rulers of Kabul and poured into India. Their first inroads were repelled by Skandagupta in A.D. 455, and till his death in A.D. 467 the Huns did not again disturb the tranquillity of the empire. During the next ten years three emperors ruled in quick succession, but in A.D. 476 Budhagupta became emperor. He ruled till A.D. 500. The Huns now returned to India in greater force, conquered Gandhāra, and made raids into the Gupta dominions. Their leader, Toramāṇa, established his power over Western and Central India and his son, Mihirakula, made Śākala (Sialkot) his capital. The successor of Budhagupta lost Mālva, but his successor Bālāditya, expelled the Huns from Central India. Their final overthrow was achieved by a confederacy of princes led by Yaśodharman of Mandasor, about A.D. 528. Mihirakula was forced to retire to Kashmir where he died.”

The same account is found in greater fulness in V. A. SMITH's *Early History of India* (1924, pp. 316, 317, 326-341, 425-429). But SMITH shows less caution, and his appetite for details is so immense that he supplements the accounts of Mihirakula's cruelty found in Kalhaṇa and Hiuen-Tsang with

extracts from Gibbon and others relating to the Huns of Turkestan and Europe. His chronology is also more incorrect and his sequence of events more incoherent. Thus he places the early Hun incursion at the end of Kumāragupta's reign, and their second and more successful raid in Skandagupta's own reign. Again, while in one place he makes Mihirakula the king of Gandhāra at war with Kashmir for three years, in another context Mihirakula becomes the King of Kashmir, who attacked and killed the King of Gandhāra.

No one has so far cared to enquire on what sources these various accounts are based. Every historian of Hindusthān has been content to copy them with only minor variations. But they involve two assumptions—(1) The Huns invaded Hindusthān, (2) Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Huns. Let us examine each of these in detail.

The Hūṇas are mentioned in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (ii. 3.) among the frontier tribes of ancient Hindusthān and are supposed to have been the same tribe who are known in Chinese History as the Hiung-nu, in Europe as Huns, in the *Avesta* as Hunus, and in Persian history as the Ye-tha. As early as 75 A.C., the Hiung-nu are found near Kashgar to the north of Hindusthān besieging the Chinese general Keng Kong (*Heou Han chou*, ch. xlix, p. 6). In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv. 66-68), Kālidāsa mentions Hūṇas among the northern tribes conquered by Raghu. We do not know when they conquered Gandhāra. But in 520 A.C. the Chinese traveller Sung-Yun found ruling there Lae-Lih whom the Yethas set up as king two generations before (c. 470 A.C.). He is said to have been an anti-Buddhist and for the last 3 years to have been at war with Kapin (S. BEAL : *Si-yu-Ki*, vol. I, pp. xcix-c). Kapin (Kapiśa) has been wrongly identified with Kashmir. We find further information regarding the Huns in Gandhāra in the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. This work must be dated 535 A. C., as it refers to the death of Timotheus the younger as a recent event, and to Theodosius, Bishop of Alexandria, as resident in Constantinople (Tr. McCRINDLE, pp. 351-353). Cosmas writes :—"Higher up in India, that is, farther to the north, are the White Huns. The one called Gollas when going to war takes with him, it is said, no fewer than two thousand elephants and a great force of cavalry. He is the lord of India, and oppressing the people forces them to pay tribute" (*ibid*, pp. 370-371). This passage has been deemed to support the current account of the Hun invasion of Hindusthān. But Hindusthān in ancient times included Gandhāra, and a King of Gandhāra might be plausibly called the lord of Hindusthān. That the Hun rule did not, however, extend east of Gandhāra is made quite clear by Cosmas himself, when he writes later on "The river Phison separates all the countries of India (lying along its course) from the country of the Huns" (*ibid*, p. 372), and the identity of Phison is revealed in another passage. "The river Indus, that is the Phison, which discharges into the Persian Gulf, forms the boundary between Persia and India" (*ibid*, p. 366). It is thus quite clear that the Huns were in 535 ruling Gandhāra, but not east of the Indus, and their King Gollas must have been the successor of Lae-Lih (520). But oriental scholars have without reason

identified Lae-Lih with Gollas, and Gollas with Mihirakula, apparently on the bare similarity in sound between Gollas, and the latter part of Mihirakula.

Before enquiring into the identity and history of Mihirakula, we may see what evidence is available for the Hun invasion of Hindusthān. The undated Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta (J. F. FLEET : *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13) states that the earth shook when Skandagupta joined in battle with the invading Huns. It is evidently this same battle that is referred to in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the same king and the Gupta years 136-138 (*ibid*, no. 14), which says that even his vanquished foes in Mlecchadeśa, their pride humbled to the root, sang his praises. It is therefore certain that as early as G.E. 136, the Huns attempted to invade Hindusthān. But Skandagupta inflicted on them such a decisive defeat that they had to retreat to their own country.

The Huns are also mentioned in the undated Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman (*ibid*, no. 33), which says in poetic language :—"Yaśodharman ruled over lands that the world-conquering Guptanāthas never won, and that did not recognize the suzerainty of the Hūṇādhipas, whose edicts were obeyed by many Kings. His sway extended from the Brahmaputrā in the east and mountain Mahendra in the south to the Himālayas in the north and the sea in the west. His head bowed to none save Śiva ; his shoulders protected the Himālayas like a fortress, thereby making it insuperable to invaders ; and even King Mihirakula bowed at his feet. That King Yaśodharman set up this pillar of victory." Thus Yaśodharman claims to have ruled over the whole of Northern Hindusthān, including lands that had never owned the sway of Guptas and Huns, and to have subdued even Mihirakula. The reference to Guptas and Huns is separated from the reference to Mihirakula by the mention of the extent of his realm. This inscription therefore not only fails to support the theory of Mihirakula having been a Hun, but seems to indicate clearly that Mihirakula was neither a Gupta nor a Hun. Unlike the Guptas and Huns, Mihirakula was a powerful contemporary King. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman dated Mālava year 589 (532 A.C.) informs us that Yaśodharman was the founder of his own family (ātma-vamśa), that he was also called Viṣṇuvardhana, and that he acquired the titles Rājādhirāja and Paramēśvara by conquering many eastern and northern Kings (*ibid*, no. 35). But it does not refer to his western conquests, the extent of his realm or to his victory over Mihirakula. These latter achievements must therefore be dated after 532 A.C. There is no indication in either of these inscriptions that the Huns ever succeeded in conquering lands east of the Indus. The only other inscription that refers to the Huns is that of the later Gupta Ādityavarman (c. 650 A.C.), who speaks of the elephants of a Maukhari King as having overthrown the Hun army in battle (*ibid*, no. 42). This Maukhari King, was probably Śarvavarman (553 A.C.), who might have helped Yaśodharman in an expedition against the Huns of Gandhāra. The evidence of the inscriptions therefore points only to one attempted Hun invasion of Hindusthān, resulting in their severe defeat at the hands of Skandagupta.

It may be asked, if the Huns never ruled east of the Indus, who were Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Let us examine the evidence on this point. We have two inscriptions of Toramāṇa himself and one of Mihirakula. The first is the Eraṇ inscription of Toramāṇa's first regnal year (*ibid*, no. 36), which records that Dhanyaviṣṇu, the younger brother of Mātrivishṇu, who was dead, built a temple of Nārāyaṇa. The terms in which Toramāṇa is mentioned are noteworthy 'famous and resplendent Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Toramāṇa.' Nothing in this inscription indicates that Toramāṇa was a foreigner, much less a Hun; and the fact that in his very first year he is found to have been King of Eraṇ (C. P.), in the heart of the Gupta empire and so far from Gandhāra seems indeed to indicate the contrary. His predecessors in Eraṇ were Budhagupta and Bhānugupta, as their inscriptions of Gupta years 165 and 191 are found there (*ibid*, nos. 19 and 20). In fact, the former records that in Gupta year 165, the Dhanyaviṣṇu mentioned above and his elder brother Mātrivishṇu who was then living erected a dhvajastambha to Janārdana. The interval, therefore, between Budhagupta and Toramāṇa could not have been more than the period of a man's lifetime. The second inscription of Toramāṇa was found at Kura in the Salt Range (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 1, no. 29). It records the erection of a vihāra for the benefit, among others, of Rāja Mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaūvla and his sons and daughters. This indicates that neither Toramāṇa nor his sons were persecutors of Buddhism, even if they were not Buddhists themselves; and the titles Rāja and Mahārāja together with Shāhi and Jaūvla indicate that he was a Hindu King of Persian origin, like the Śakas and Pahlavas, and not a Hun. The two inscriptions taken together lead to the inference that Toramāṇa ruled from Punjab in the west to C. P. in the east. The only inscription of Mihirakula (*Gupta inscriptions*, no. 37) was found at Gwalior in Central Hindusthān and is dated in his 15th year. It refers to Toramāṇa as a famous king, full of good qualities, truthful, charitable, valiant and just; and to Mihirakula as his son, of unequalled valour, famous, a credit to his lineage, a remover of others' woes and a bull among kings. These complimentary references and the post-Gupta period of these inscriptions lead us to identify this Mihirakula with the famous king who was Yaśodharman's contemporary; and it is certain that Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula were neither barbarians nor tyrants like the Huns. The evidence of their numerous coins only confirms these inferences. One of them is dated in Toramāṇa's 52nd year (E. J. RAPSON : *Indian coins*, pl. IV. 16). He must therefore have had a long and peaceful reign, and, as the Gwalior inscription indicates, he left his realm intact to his son, who ruled for at least 15 years. He cannot have hence come as the leader of a savage horde of Huns.

The place of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in Hindu chronology is determined by the facts that, on the one hand Toramāṇa's first year is later than the Gupta year 191, when Eraṇ was still in the hands of the Guptas, and that, on the other Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman. Let us see if we can determine their dates more closely still. In the Jain *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* composed by Jinasena in Śaka 705 = 783 A. C. (ch. 66, st. 52), the Guptas are said to have ruled altogether for 221 years, that thereafter Kalkirāja ruled

for 42 years, and that he in turn was succeeded by Ajitanjaya, who ruled from Indrapura (Indore) (*ibid*, ch. 60, st. 491-492). Guṇabhadra, in his *Uttara-purāṇa*, composed before Śaka 820=898 A.C. (ch. 77, st. 35) gives further details regarding Kalkirāja. He appeared in the year 1000 after Vīra-nirvāṇa, in Pāṭaliputra, as the son of King Śiśupāla; he was also known as Catur-mukha; he ruled over the whole earth; and he lived for 70 years and ruled for 40 years; his son was the wise Ajitanjaya (*ibid*, ch. 76, st. 397-401 and 428). Kalkirāja is also said to have oppressed the people; but the only instance of his oppression, given by Guṇabhadra, is his refusal to exempt Jain monks from taxes; and we are not convinced that Kalkirāja was therefore a bad king. Kalkirāja is definitely placed in the year 1000 after the Vīra-nirvāṇa, which Jināsena dates 605 years 5 months before Śakarāja, i.e. in 528 B.C. (*Harivamśa*, ch. 60, st. 551). Kalkirāja must therefore be dated in 1000-527=473 A.C. He is said to have directly succeeded the Guptas, and to have ruled long. But from inscriptions we have seen that it was Toramāṇa who almost directly succeeded the Guptas and ruled long. Toramāṇa may therefore be reasonably identified with Kalkirāja, and he must have been the son of King Śiśupāla of Pāṭaliputra. Śiśupāla was probably the general of the last Gupta king, who used his military power to usurp the Magadha throne, like Pushyamitra Śunga; and we do have an inscription of Śiśupāla at Pahladpur (U. P.), which says that he was famed for his victories, the protector of Kshattradharma, and the general of the King's army (*Gupta inscriptions*, no. 57), and was therefore issued before he became king.

If it is accepted that Toramāṇa was the son of Śiśupāla, it follows that he cannot have been a Hun. The Jain chronicles, which dilate on the wickedness of Kalkirāja, would not have failed to allude to his Hun origin, if he had been a Hun. The Pahladpur inscription refers to Śiśupāla as Pārthivāṇika-pālah (the protector of the King's army). In this epithet, Dr. FLEET saw a reference to his Parthian origin, taking it to mean 'The Parthian general'. If this interpretation is accepted, Śiśupāla and his descendants could not have been Huns. If it is not accepted, there is in this inscription another epithet of Śiśupāla 'Kshattrasaddharma-pālah' (the protector of Kshattriyadharma), which can apply only to a Kshattriya Hindu or a Parthian, never to a Hun. The Parthian military governors were called satraps (Kshattrapa). There is in fact no evidence of any kind that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Huns.

It may be argued that Hieun-Tsang and Kalhaṇa do attribute fiendish qualities to Mihirakula. But even they never once hint that he was a Hun King; and there are reasons to think that the Toramāṇa and Mihirakula they mention are different from the Toramāṇa and Mihirakula of Yaśodharman's time. Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājatarangīnī* (1148 A.C.), says of Toramāṇa that he was the son of Śreṣṭhasena (also called Pravarasena I and Tunjina), and the younger brother of Hiranya, King of Kashmir; that Toramāṇa was only yuvarāja under Hiranya; that, for stopping the circulation of Hiranya's coins and issuing dīnāras in his own name, he was imprisoned

by his brother and died in prison ; that, when Hiranya died without issue, Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya Śākāri, Emperor of Ujjain, sent Mātrigupta to rule over Kashmir ; that when Śrī Harsha died 5 years later, Mātrigupta abdicated in favour of Toramāṇa's son Pravarasena II, who had been living in exile ; and that Pravarasena II, after conquering many kings, reinstated Śīlāditya Pratāpaśīla, son of Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya, who had been expelled by his enemies (iii. 97-330). Thus Toramāṇa of Kashmir was only a yuvarāja and never ruled as king over Central Hindusthān for 52 years, and his son was Pravarasena II of Kashmir, who reinstated Śīlāditya Pratāpaśīla, son of Śrī Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and not Mihirakula of Gwalior, who was defeated by Yaśodharman of Mālva. Kalhaṇa's Toramāṇa was therefore different from Toramāṇa of Central Hindusthān. CUNNINGHAM pointed this out as long ago as 1893, and in reply Smith could only say, "I confess that I feel sceptical as to the existence of two contemporary Toramāṇas in North India in A.D. 520." (*JASB*, vol. 63, pt. 1, p. 196). But there is no evidence to date the Toramāṇa of Kashmir in 520 A.C., even if Kalhaṇa's date (90-120 A.C.) for him is not accepted.

Kalhaṇa also mentions a Mihirakula of Kashmir, whom he places not in 520 A.C. but long before in 705-635 B.C. Of this Mihirakula, he says that he belonged to the Gonanda dynasty ; that he was the son of Vasukula and grandson of Hiranyakula ; that he conquered all Hindusthān as far as Simhala in the south and Lāṭa in the west ; that he built the Mihireśvara temple at Śrīnagar, and founded a city Mihirapura ; that he gave agrahāras to Gandhāra Brāhmins ; that he was very cruel and killed 3 crores of men, women and children ; that at the end of his life he repented and re-established āryadharma in a land over-run by Mlecchas and burnt himself (*Rājatarangīnī*, i. 288-313). This Mihirakula was the son of Vasukula and not of Toramāṇa, and was king of Kashmir and not of Central Hindusthān. He also lived several centuries before Yaśodharman. He was therefore different from Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula. But he too was not a Hun, but a Gonandīya.

Let us now see what Hiuen-Tsang has to say. In his *Si-yu-ki* (Tr. S. BEAL, i. 167-172), we are told that 'some centuries ago', King Mihirakula ruled over Hindusthān from Śākala (Sialkot) ; that he subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception ; that he issued an edict throughout the five Sindhus to overthrow the law of Buddha ; that Bālāditya of Magadha thereupon refused to pay tribute and retired to an island ; that Mihirakula pursued him, but was taken captive in an ambush ; that, at the request of Bālāditya's mother, Mihirakula's life was spared ; that, as meanwhile, his brother had usurped the kingdom, Mihirakula took refuge in Kapin, whose king received him with kindness ; that Mihirakula repaid this kindness with ingratitude by stirring up revolt against him and usurping his throne, after killing him ; and that he then killed the Gandhāra king, destroyed stūpas and sanghārāmas, and slew 9 crores of men on the Sindhu river. This Mihirakula seems to be identical with Kalhaṇa's Mihirakula. Both were kings of Kashmir (Sialkot is on the borders of Kashmir and might have

formerly belonged to it), both lived some centuries before c. 640 A.C., and both were great conquerors and persecutors, killing crores of men. The additional details given by Hiuen-Tsang might have been handed down by authentic Buddhist tradition. But Hiuen-Tsang's Mihirakula could not have been the son of Toramāṇa, who lived only one century and not several centuries before Hiuen-Tsang, and who, according to the Kura inscription, was at least a patron of Buddhism, even if he was himself a Śaiva, as the bull symbol and 'Jayatu vriṣaḥ' legend on his coins indicate. Anyhow there is nothing to show that Toramāṇa's son persecuted Buddhism. It has been argued that the words 'some centuries ago' in Hiuen-Tsang's account of Mihirakula might be a mistake. But WATERS has proved (*On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, i. 288-290) that it is not a mistake. He has cited other Chinese authorities to confirm the correctness of this statement. In *Lien-hua-mien-ching* (translated into Chinese in 574 A.C. ch. 2, no. 465), Mihirakula is said to have persecuted Buddhism and to have been succeeded by seven Buddhist devaputras in Kapin. These seven devaputras of Kapin are evidently the later Kushans, who ruled in Gandhāra and Kapiśa, and called themselves Devaputras. Mihirakula must therefore have been a later Kushan himself and lived seven generations before the later Kushans became extinct in c. 400 A.C. He may therefore be safely dated in c. 250 A.C. His persecution of Buddhists in Kapin is confirmed by *Fu-fa-tsang yi-yuan-ching* (translated into Chinese in 472 A.C. ch. 6, no. 1340). If a work translated into Chinese in 472 A.C. mentions Mihirakula as a persecutor of Buddhists, it would be absurd to date him 50 years later in 520 A.C. The *Chih-yu-lu* (ch. 3) gives the exact date, when Mihirakula beheaded the 23rd Buddhist patriarch Simha, as 259 A.C., and this agrees with the date already arrived at.

It is therefore certain that the Mihirakula of Kalhaṇa and Hiuen-Tsang was not Toramāṇa's son and that he lived in c. 250 A.C. and not in c. 520 A.C. But he is said to have been defeated by Bālāditya of Magadha; and, because Narasimhagupta, who ruled between the Gupta years 148 and 154, bears the title Bālāditya on his coins, Hiuen-Tsang's Bālāditya has been identified with Narasimhagupta; and there is a controversy among oriental scholars as to whether Yaśodharman or Narasimhagupta is entitled to the credit of defeating Mihirakula. SMITH supposed a confederacy to defeat Mihirakula. FLEET thought that Mihirakula was defeated on two separate occasions, by Yaśodharman and by Narasimhagupta. But Hiuen-Tsang's Bālāditya lived 'some centuries ago' and could not therefore have been Narasimhagupta. In his passage relating to Nālandā, Hiuen-Tsang says (*Si-yu-ki*, Tr. S. BEAL, ii. 168-170), that not long after Buddha nirvāṇa, a former King Śākṛāditya built a sanghārāma in Nālandā; then his son Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Bālāditya, his son Vajra and then a king of Central Hindusthān built each a sanghārāma in Nālandā. Hiuen-Tsang's disciple Hwui Li in his *Life of Hiuen Tsang* (Tr. S. BEAL, pp. 110-112), places Śākṛāditya 700 years before his own time, i.e. in c. 50 B.C. This date may not be correct. But Bālāditya,

who was Śakrāditya's 3rd descendant could not anyhow have lived only 200 years before Hiuen-Tsang. Again supposing Narasimhagupta was the Bālāditya of Hiuen-Tsang, how could he have ruled between only the Gupta years 148 and 154, and at the same time have defeated Mihirakula, who could not have begun to rule before the Gupta year $191 + 52 = 243$, nearly a century later? Lastly, if Bālāditya is identified with Narasimhagupta, with whom are Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta and Vajra to be identified? It has been proposed to identify Śakrāditya with Kumāragupta I, Mahendrāditya and Buddhagupta with Buddhagupta. But the Chinese transliterations for Buddha (*avatār*) and Budha (planet) are different; and, accepting the proposed identifications, the order of the Gupta Kings would be Kumāragupta I, Buddhagupta, X, Narasimhagupta and Y, while the order ascertained from Gupta coins and inscriptions is Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, Puragupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Buddhagupta and Bhānugupta. Another point to be noted is that the Guptas were mostly Vaishnavas, while the kings mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang were all Buddhists. Bālāditya of Hiuen-Tsang must therefore be a pre-Gupta King, who ruled not later than c. 250 A.C.; and the King of Central Hindusthān who succeeded his son Vajra, was probably the first Gupta King. This date for Bālāditya, it will be seen, agrees with the date already arrived at for his contemporary Mihirakula, the famous persecutor of Buddhism. We may therefore conclude that Yaśodharman and Bālāditya defeated two different Mihirakulas, that the Huns invaded Hindusthān in Gupta year 136, but were decisively defeated by Skandagupta and never ruled east of the Indus, and that Toramāpa and Mihirakula were not Huns but Parthians or Kshattriyas.

REVIEWS

Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya, edited by Dharmanand KOSAMBI, with a Foreword by K. M. MUNSHI; Part I : Text (Bhāratīya Vidyā Series, Vol. I). Royal 8vo xviii, 512. Price Rs. 12-8-0. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Andheri, Bombay, 1940.

As the President of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mr. MUNSHI, in his Foreword introduces this Volume under review as the first of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Series on which the Vidya Bhavan has embarked within two years of its career. It is doubtful if any Series could have been inaugurated with a more worthy or a better edited text in or outside India; it is indeed a fortunate circumstance that the Board of Editors of this Series could get the co-operation of so eminent a Pāli scholar as Prof. Dharmanand KOSAMBI in the publication of *Visuddhimagga* which he has made his own after a life-time's activity on its study and interpretation. It is doubtful if a better text of *Visuddhimagga* could be established with the material at the disposal of the Editor; for even after preparing a critical edition in Roman characters for the Harvard Oriental Series Prof. KOSAMBI has utilized fresh material from Burma and Siam. Of course the full evaluation of the critical methods employed in the editing of the text must await the critical apparatus and the full variants of a significant character promised in the second volume with an accompanying commentary. Prof. KOSAMBI's main contribution will essentially be in this commentary wherein he will utilize his unrivalled knowledge of Pāli sources.

The main features of the present edition consist in the numbering of paragraphs, identification of quotations as far as possible, use of punctuation, and preservation of manuscript usage as far as feasible. In a learned Preface the Editor gives us an account of the Life of Buddhaghosa which appeared previously as an article in the journal *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (I, 113-119) and among the facts established is that Buddhaghosa could not have been a Brahmin, that he was originally an inhabitant of the Telugu country, and probably a farmer.

The excellent printing and the neat get-up go a long way to establish the present series as one of the best produced in this country, and both the Editor and the Editorial Board are to be congratulated upon this fine achievement in Indian scholarship. We look forward to the publication of the second volume which will really give us the critical part of the Editor's work. The interpretative aspect of scholarship which is rightly stressed by the President of the Bhavan, though an essential part of critical scholarship, may at times be purely traditional, divorced from its true historical perspective. Modern scholarship has to steer clear between the western type which sacrifices tradition at the altar of history and the orthodox Indian type which sacrifices history at the altar of tradition. The golden mean between the two extremes is perhaps the ideal aimed at even by Lord Buddha in his rational-intuitive approach to Life's problems, and it is hoped that the Editor of this Volume will combine within himself the Pandit's knowledge with the critical methods of the Western Scholar to give us an authoritative interpretation of this *Visuddhimagga* which has been the mainstay of Buddhist thought in the Hinayāna system. This first volume of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Series augurs well for the future of the Bhavan and the Board of Editors will be hard put to it to keep up the standard of scholarship established by Prof. KOSAMBI.

S. M. KATRE

D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, edited by Bimala Churn LAW ; Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktalla Street, Calcutta, 1940. Royal 8vo, xxx, 382.

It is rare in the history of Indian scholarship that both father and son should not only distinguish themselves in certain branches of Indology and particularly History and Archaeology, but also receive the graceful tributes of their fellow scholars all over the world in the shape of presentation volumes containing choice papers of research value from some of the most eminent scholars specializing in different but allied spheres. Professor Devadatta BHANDARKAR has nobly followed in the footsteps of his truly great father, the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR, and it is in the fitness of things that he should receive a Volume of Indological papers on the occasion of his 60th year. But this is perhaps the first occasion in India when the son succeeds the father in receiving this most coveted honour which scholars can confer on any individual. Edited by Dr. LAW and printed by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta, the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* is indeed one of the best Festschrifts produced in India, and is worthy of the scholar to whom it is presented by his admirers, friends and pupils.

The initial article describes BHANDARKAR as a scholar, as an archaeological officer and a University Professor. Having passed his B.A. in the Deccan College, Poona, in 1896, his attention was drawn to the Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize in the Bombay University for the year 1897 for which the topic assigned that year was 'A brief Survey of the Ancient Towns and Cities of Mahārāṣṭra country in the pre-Mahomedan period, i.e., 1000 A.D.' This was the beginning of his interest in History and Archaeology. In 1904 he joined the Archaeological department as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor and took charge of the Western Circle in 1911 as Superintendent. About this time the well-known journal *Indian Antiquary* was passing through a difficult period, and the co-editorship which was thrust upon BHANDARKAR was not only a sign, in those days of anti-Indian feeling in all lines of scientific activity, of recognition of Indian merit, but proved also a means of galvanizing it into activity and bringing it to a higher standard of efficiency. He continued in this capacity till 1922. In 1912 he was awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and thus became the first Indian and the second scholar to receive so great an honour, his predecessor being Sir Aurel STEIN. In 1917 he accepted the invitation of Sir Asutosh MOOKERJEE to join the University of Calcutta as the first Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in which capacity he retired in 1936. The stopping of the publication of the *Indian Antiquary* was greatly felt by BHANDARKAR and his attempts to revive those activities resulted in the foundation of the *Indian Culture* and the Indian Research Institute. It is therefore all the more fitting that the Indian Research Institute should be instrumental in bringing out this Volume under the able editorship of Dr. B. C. LAW.

There are altogether fifty contributions commencing with the short paper of MM. Dr. Ganganath JHA. Epigraphy is represented by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta SASTRI on the Tribhuvanam Sanskrit Inscription of Kulottunga ; Prof. K. CHATTOPADHYĀYA on Epigraphic Notes ; Dr. KONOW on a new Charsadda Inscription and BARUA on the Edicts of Aśoka, to mention a few only. Archaeology and Art are represented by HERAS on a proto-Indian representation of the Fertility god, Hiranand SASTRI on an old Hero-Stone of Kāthiawād-Gujarāt, ACHARYA on Art and Science of Architecture. Principal among the European contributors are Prof. LÜDERS, KEITH, PRZYLUCKI, and F. W. THOMAS. Among other subjects included in the papers are chronology, philosophy, rhetorics, literary criticism and history, in fact all those wherein the learned Professor has made some distinguished contribution during his long scholarly career. The volume is in every way worthy of both the Professor and the Editor and amply justifies the standard of presentation which

we have learned to associate with the Baptist Mission Press and the Indian Research Institute. It contains within itself suggestions which will require a life-time of work, and this is truly its great value; we hope that Prof. BHANDARKAR and his circle of friends, admirers and pupils will themselves pave the way to a better understanding of India's cultural heritage and just appreciation of her greatness. It was the late Sir Ramakrishna who was responsible for the interest now shown in Sanskrit studies in India on modern scientific lines, and it is no less true that his son has been largely responsible for the placing of Indian history on scientific lines. We have thus a tradition connected with the name of BHANDARKAR, now associated with the Institute in Poona; let us hope that Prof. BHANDARKAR will amply justify the expectation raised by this comparison and live to fulfil the many cherished dreams of his scholarly career for the full hundred years of the ancient R̥sis of India. We must not fail to congratulate Dr. LAW on his magnificent efforts and the fine volume which has resulted from them.

S. M. KATRE

The Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali with the commentary Dhavalā of Virasena: Vol. I Satprarūpaṇā, edited with introduction, translation, notes and indexes by Hiralal JAIN, assisted by Pandits PHOOLCHANDRA and HIRALAL Shastri, with the co-operation of Dr. A. N. UPADHYE and Pandit DEVAKINANDAN. Super Royal 8vo, 10, iv, 96, 410, 28. Jain Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund Karyalaya, Amraoti, 1939. Price Rs. 10/-.

Professor JAIN needs no introduction to the scholarly world; he is one of our chief authorities for late Middle Indo-Aryan literature and founder-editor of two series wherein some important Apabhraṃśa literature has found a place. It is therefore a memorable event that at last we have in print one of the most important and voluminous works for which the only manuscripts in existence were at the Jain pontifical seat of Mudbidri in South Kanara, carefully preserved and guarded even from the Jain scholars themselves. It was principally due to the interest shown by the late Seth Manikchand of Bombay since his visit to this place in 1886 and the generous response of the Jain community to defray the expenses of making copies of the manuscripts under the stringent conditions laid down by the pontifical authorities that such copies were at all available. The story of this venture is narrated by the Editor in his Hindi introduction and the main actors in this important drama are Seths MANIKCHAND and HIRACHAND, BRAHMASURI Sastri, GAJAPATI Sastri, LOKANATH Sastri, Pandits DEVARAJ, BRAHMAYYA and NEMIRAJ, VIJAYACANDRA and SITARAM.

According to the Digambara tradition the only surviving pieces of the original Jain canon of twelve Āṅgas are preserved in the trilogy entitled *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā*. The *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* summarising the teaching of the fifth Āṅga *Viāhapannatti* and the twelfth Āṅga *Diṭṭhivāda* as known to Dharaśena was reduced to writing by two sages known as Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali in Sūtra form; Puṣpadanta composed the first 177 sūtras embodied in the present edition of Satprarūpaṇā while Bhūtabali wrote out the remaining of the 6000 sūtras. The date of Dharaśena lies between the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian Era according to the findings of Prof. JAIN.

There are altogether six commentaries on *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama*, the last being *Dhavalā* and the first being *Parikarma* by Kundakunda. The remaining commentators are, according to Indranandi's statement in his *Srutāvatāra* Sāmakunda, Tumbulura, Samantabhadra and Bappadeva. None of these is now available, although traces of the earlier five are seen in existing literature. Taking Kundakunda's period to be the 2nd century A.D., Prof. JAIN assigns the period of the 3rd to the 6th centuries to the four intervening commentaries.

As regards Virasena Prof. JAIN is of the opinion that a careful study of the

corrupt colophon suggests the completion of the work on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the Śaka year 738 or 8th October 816 A.D. Thus the *Dhavalā* must have been composed in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. The volume of 60,000 ślokaś took about 21 years to complete, since Virasena's pupil Jināsena mentions at the end of *Jayadhavalā* that he completed that commentary in the Śaka year 759. Virasena and his pupil Jināsena were both prolific writers, the first completing his philosophical prose writing amounting to 92,000 ślokaś in the course of 31 years and the second writing the *Jayadhavalā* in 40,000 ślokaś, the beautiful poem *Pāśvābhyūdaya* and the Sanskrit *Adipurāṇa*.

The language of *Dhavalā* represents according to the classification of PISCHEL Jain Śauraseni. It is unfortunate that this important text had to be edited from a stolen transcript and several copies made from this transcript while the only old and authentic text lies inaccessible to scholars at Mudbidri. Prof. JAIN has had ample opportunities of studying the science of textual criticism from these modern copies made from the single transcript and his observations on such divergences would be welcome in succeeding volumes.

The magnificent Hindi introduction deals with the history of the publication of works like the *Dhavalā*, description of the transcript copies utilized in editing the *Dhavalā* of which ten are mentioned, peculiarities in the orthography of these mss., the authorship of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, the hierarchy of the ācāryas, the determination of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, the author of *Dhavalā*, earlier commentators, the literature available to *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā*, introduction to the topics dealt with in *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, special introduction to *Satprarūpaṇā*, the language of the text, and conclusion. This in brief summarises the main findings of the Editor.

The importance of *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* cannot be overestimated for our understanding of the original Jain doctrines and for a study of Middle Indo-Aryan as utilized by Jain sources. It is a singular coincidence that Prof. JAIN who has been responsible for publishing many Apabhraṃśa texts in critical editions should now offer to the public this first volume of what may eventually be regarded as the greatest discovery in Indian scholarship within the Middle Indo-Aryan field although the mss. evidence is not quite conclusive as regards the actual forms. For a proper survey of Jain doctrines, whether Śvetāmbara or Digāmbara, before the schism took place, it will prove to be indispensable.

The utility of the text has been greatly increased by a Hindi translation and notes and commentary. Prof. JAIN has added considerably to the already great service he has rendered to Jain scholarship and particularly to Indo-Aryan linguistics. It is to be hoped that he will be given sufficient encouragement by the learned public to complete this major piece of work, involving great expense and time. We congratulate the Jain Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund Kāryālaya and Shrimant Seth Laxmichand SHITABRAI for undertaking this publication and presenting the first volume in such beautiful print. No scholar of either Middle Indo-Aryan or Jain doctrines can afford to miss this text.

S. M. KATRE

Excavations at Harappa, by M. S. VATS. The Government of India Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 50/6- or 77 s.

Mr. Madho Sarup VATS is a senior member of the Archaeological Survey in India. He has written two sumptuous volumes on the work he has done at Harappa in the District of Montgomery in the Punjab. The prolific ancient site of Harappa was first attacked by the late R. B. Daya Ram SAHANI but it eventually fell to the lot of Mr. Madho Sarup VATS to explore it on a large scale and for a fairly long period. He has done his work very successfully bringing credit to Indian archaeologists. There will be no exaggeration in saying that he has succeeded in justifying the trust the Imperial Government had placed in Indian scholars when entrusting

to them the difficult work of exploring the pre-historic sites in India on scientific lines. There was a time when Indologists from the West used to say that Indians were not capable of excavating ancient sites scientifically nor were they accurate epigraphists and editors. There are die-hards even now. But thanks to the achievements of some of us including Mr. VATS these charges have been falsified. I have personally seen Mr. Madho Sarup VATS at the site digging with his own hands by his large knife, not the merciless dagger of a butcher ready to disembowel the entrails of a slaughtered animal, but the blunt and still sharp knife of an explorer opening the relics of the hoary past from the womb of the mother earth. The gold ornaments were taken out by him in my presence in 1929. How careful an excavator he is he has amply proved by the finds he made not only at Harappa but at Mohen-jo-Daro as well. At Harappa he had to work quite independently. He worked with laudable zeal and with remarkable success. The two volumes before us amply testify to his capacity for excavating old sites on scientific lines.

The first volume describes the excavations and the finds in detail while the second gives the illustrations shown in one hundred and thirty-nine plates. The illustrations are excellent and do credit to those who produced them. The selection of photographs and the arrangement of specimens in the plates are commendable. A glance at them will enable us to form a good idea of the advanced culture of the pre-historic inhabitants of the Indus Valley. The lucid account which Mr. VATS has given of the various antiques which he and his collaborators recovered from the extensive and fascinating ancient site, the exploration of which fell to his lot, will suffice to show what Harappa has contributed to the study of the Proto-Indian Civilization. The torso of a nude male figure in red sand-stone would alone suffice to illustrate the 'acme of perfection' in plastic art which was reached by the *śilpīns* in ancient India. The structural remains are very few in Harappa. This is chiefly due to some of the brickdiggers employed by certain contractors for getting readymade ballast. The great granaries which luckily escaped these foes of archaeology have been fully described and illustrated in these volumes and the account given will prove of immense value to archaeologists in understanding similar structures outside India.

One is not sure how far the observations regarding burial customs are correct. Burial in large urns continued in Southern India even in the 8th century of the Christian era. In my excavations near Amreli in Kathiawad I found evidences of it in the Kshatrapa period of Indian history. I excavated human skeletons buried along with Kshatrapa coins. Charred bones in large earthen pots were also found along with such coins. The seals, however, found at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro in large numbers will set at rest all doubts *re.* the age of these burials which must be treated as chalcolithic. The remarks made about the *liṅga*-worship are like repeating his master's voice and one can reasonably expect experienced archaeologists to proceed further. The Asuras we know were called *Śiśna-devas* or the worshippers of *Śiśna* i.e. 'liṅga'. But are these pieces really *liṅgas*? I doubt very much if they are. Similar remains were found from much later sites, like that of Kauśāmbī near Prayāga but they are weights and not phallic symbols. They do not resemble a male organ even if we think of children or the four 'Kumāras' of the Hindu mythology. The holders of the *Śiśna* theory usually think in terms of that symbol only. Witness the case of the mile-stones set up during the Mughal rule which are taken to be gigantic phallic symbols by such theorists merely because of their curious shape! If the Indus civilization is un-Aryan and the people were really *Śiśna-devas* one would expect traces of circumcision which according to Vātsyāyana was an *anārya* or un-Aryan custom. But in spite of all these considerations Mr. M. S. VATS has done his work splendidly and is to be congratulated for this achievement.

ON THE STUDY AND METROLOGY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS*

By

D. D. KOSAMBI, Poona.

V—CLASSIFICATION BY OBERSE MARKS ; INDUS WEIGHTS.

There still remains the classification by obverse marks, and the hoard can be made to give a little more information this way. I accept WALSH's classification of the earlier hoard, but the list given in Table D (3, 50-71) is worthless except as a rough guide to App. XI. I have had to take App. XI again as the final authority, and retabulate the omissions and misclassifications of the lists copied first from Table D. From the classification of the last section, it is possible to conjecture too much : that if the abnormalities in the number of coins as plotted in fig. 2 are significant, then an unusually large number of coins reached Taxila at periods of 2-3 and 7-8 indictions before the hoard.

WALSH's classes A.1, C.1, D.2, D.3, are prominent in the table, the rest being represented by comparatively few specimens. Amalgamating the data for round and square coins, A.1 is found to contain 207 coins, the distributions being (by number of reverse marks, starting with blank coins), 29, 45, 39, 33, 23, 16, 7, 9, 2, 2, 2. That is, these had been checked at Taxila over a long period, and were the commonest currency of the region. Now C.1 has, according to WALSH's only 70 coins, the distribution by reverse marks being 14, 11, 16, 5, 12, 5, 3, 2, 2. Class D. 2 has 88 coins, distributed as 63, 16, 9. These are from WALSH's Table D, uncorrected. Keeping in mind the fact that coins not issued by the rulers of the territory would be quite legal, it would seem that the A.1 currency was in general use, but that its day had already begun to pass ; that C.1 was also a currency of trade but less common. Both of these were more distant in time—and therefore, possibly in space—than D.2 (D.3 has much the same characteristics), which seems to be a fresh and perhaps a local issue. I should like to go deeper into this, but not on data as printed in WALSH's memoir. I should have taken the *ṣaḍaracakra* as the first criterion, whereas his classes A.1—A. 34 contain several forms of this, C.1 has the same *cakra* as A.1 but the other marks differ. Finally, D.1, 2, 3, 4, are given with a different royal symbol, this makes me so bold as to conjecture that the difference in structure of A.1 and C.1 is less significant than with D.2, which is really a different issue, indicating, perhaps, a new dynasty, or a change of government.

The complete analysis of a single type of currency found in a hoard like the older Taxila hoard would be of the utmost interest. But for the present, I shall have to abandon it, because it would mean a careful reclassi-

* Continued from p. 35 of Vol. IV.

fication, checking of data, particularly reweighing the coins, and also, alternative regrouping and recalculation, just to see which of several hypotheses fits best. All of these are beyond the scope of the present memoir, and as matters stand just now, beyond the means of the present writer. It would be, however, worth while to look closer at the coins that have, as far as possible, the same history. For this purpose, I select the following classes with blank reverse : A.1, A.19, B.(e)2, C.1, D.2, D.3 ; and several A.1 with various reverse marks. In this, I have had to examine WALSH's table D. more closely, and assign several coins to different groups, on the basis of the plates and his own classification as in App. XI, in particular, Nos. 237, 146, 247, 212, 648, 355, 370, 526, 607, 624, 636, 770, and a few others. It would have been more convenient to pool round and square coins, but as they have "different histories" at least at the time of manufacture, they are kept separate in spite of the resulting smaller numbers and less conclusive statistics.

TABLE III : SELECTED GROUPS

Group	Square				Round			
	n	m	s ²	numbers suspect	n	m	s ²	numbers suspect
B(b) 1. D.O.	13	49.0	2.6	...	9	49.6	.785	
Un. 3 <i>blank</i>	5	53.2	.615	...	...	...	...
D. 2 "	51	53.83	.1407	corrected	14	53.9	.1754	
D. 3 " {	21	53.7	.1695	...	5	53.34	2.348	958
					4	54.0	0.2267	
C. 1 "	7	53.46	.5229	...	6	52.93	.5387	
B(e)2 "	13	54.03	.1123	corrected	5	53.88	.362	933
					4	54.13	.0825	
A 19 "	10	52.32	.7907	...	6	52.78	.2857	
A. 1 " {	21	52.43	3.7986	{ 114,269 291,300 291,300	8	53.09	.3384	
	19	52.95	.5161					
	17	53.18	.2441					
A. 1, one rev. mark {	35	52.77	.4552	381,435	10	52.9	.14	
	33	52.87	.3098					
A. 1 2 marks	30	52.75	.3957	...	9	52.58	.8344	1045
					8	52.83	.325	
A. 1 3 marks	20	52.67	.4845	...	13	52.06	.7492	1040
					12	52.22	.4761	
A. 1 4 marks	17	52.53	.75	636	6	52.67	.5707	
	16	52.75	.392					
A. 1 5 marks	12	52.79	.4917	777	4	52.35	.2567	
	11	52.96	.1505					

The complete table for class A.1 would be useless because the numbers are far too few, and the suspect coins therefore become of great importance. I have already given a few for the larger numbers in table II, and briefly explain the "method" here, leaving the technical terms to be explained later. We calculate the mean m and the variance s^2 for any sample of the coins, taking them as given in the data. Then we make the *-unproved-* assumption that the distribution should be normal, and that the variance estimated for the sample is close enough to the actual value for our purpose. Now it is known that standard deviation (square root of the variance) being s about $1/22$ of the total number in a normally distributed lot should differ from the average by $2s$ or more; about $1/370$ exceed $3s$, and $1/17000$, $4s$. If more than the proper number fall outside the ranges, particularly the $3s$ and $4s$ range, there is good ground for suspicion. We can then reject the suspected coin or coins, and recalculate the statistics. The mean will rarely differ by much, but the variance will usually be reduced in a marked fashion. The greater this reduction, the better the ground for rejection. On this basis, coins 1075 and 890 should certainly be rejected in table II, as the recalculated variance would make the adjusted group incompatible even with entirely independent groups having the given numbers and variances; the same can be said of coin 958 in table III, at a lower—5%—level (in all cases testing compatibility by the z test as for independent groups). That is, these coins have been treated in an entirely different manner from the rest of their group, and have a distinct individual history. I might add that the only way of testing a single coin for loss of weight can be by reference to its group. In particular, No. 890, weight 43.46 grains, has been reweighed (with four other suspects) for Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR by the Curator of the Taxila Museum, and found to be correctly entered. It is the lightest coin of the hoard, and shows no sign of having been damaged in any way, hence its loss of weight must have occurred in antiquity. On the other hand, coin 212 of the blank D.3 group, weighs 54.1 instead of 51.1 as entered in WALSH's tables, and though it was not a bad suspect, the mistake was discovered by the method outlined at the beginning of this paragraph; so, I recommend it to the attention of numismatists—in spite of the fact that it involves some circular logic in reducing a non-normal class to normality by brute force, and that it can easily be overdone. I have had to use it without reserve in one case, the analysis of Mohenjo-Daro weights.

Ignoring HEMMY's "theoretical" conclusions, and taking only the weights as actually found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa that come near the *Kārṣāpaṇa* weights, I construct the following:

TABLE IV "CLASS D" INDUS WEIGHTS (IN GRAMS)

3-03	3-313	3-38	3-405	3-43	3-48	3-554	3-780
3-12	3-329	3-381	3-414	3-43	3-484	3-556	3-90
3-24	3-343	3-39	3-418	3-44	3-49	3-604	3-93
3-24	3-362	3-39	3-422	3-44	3-51		3-96
3-30	3-367	3-394	3-424	3-465	3-520		

These weights were obtained from HEMMY's tables (7, 591, 596-8; 25, 602, 607, 677-8), but not without trouble. The figures to two places of decimals are from the earlier report (7), and the rest from the later one (25), which should have simplified checking, being given that the final table (25, 676-8) is supposed to give values of all Indus weights found. Unfortunately, only two weights of 3.44 grams can be traced, namely DK 1428 and HR 2191 (7, 597) although three of these are given in succession in 25, 678. To make up for this, weight 3.367, numbered DK 4973 in 25, 607 is left out altogether in the final table of 25, 678. There are two weights of 3.24 gm. in both the earlier report and the final table, but one of them has clearly been counted as 2.24 in Table III of the first report (7, 591), to give a fictitious class C, which also appears in the later reports, always with the extraordinary label of $8/3$ times the class A weight; in addition, class C is given in the same tables as with 2 weights, while in table I (7, 590), it is given as with 9 weights! I have accepted both the 3.24 gm. weights. HEMMY ultimately breaks off his class D at 3.24-3.780 gm. but I have had to take all weights in the 3 gm. class, and as there is a large gap above and below those I have chosen, these would be sufficient for the purpose of analysis. It would have been helpful to know what processes had been used to clean the weights, (if they needed cleaning) and whether they are likely to have gained or lost by the long burial which has impregnated so many of the other finds at Mohenjo-Daro with salt and made them subject to decay upon excavation.

In the reconstructed table of weights approximating to those of our coins, we notice some gaps; between 3.12 and 3.24, and after 3.604. The first two weights, and all the weights of the last column, are therefore suspect *a priori*. For ease of calculation, we round off the last place of decimals. Calculating the mean and variance, we find: $m = 3.45$, $s^2 = .03728718$ approximately, which gives $s = .1931$ gm., and gives four weights, when we should not get more than two, in the class differing by more than $2s$ from the mean value. We can repeat the process, discarding the two worst, i.e. 3.93 and 3.96 or even the latter, and repeat the process. This procedure finally leads us to discard the first two and the last four weights, although HEMMY retains 3.780. The final result is $n = 31$, $m = 3.417$, $s^2\% = .007353$, $s = .08566$ in gram units. As I have said before, one of the 3.24 weights is confused, and might be mis-entered; I am inclined to suspect 3.604 also, because it is given (25, 607, DK 7161) as being made of paste, which would not seem so likely to remain unchanged as chert or other stone. But I must let that pass too.

In grain units, this is $m = 52.73$, $s^2 = 1.7511$, approximately. We compare this with the data of table I: comparing with the 995 *kārṣāpaṇa*, we find $t = .398$, $P > .6$, with the 162 later coins, $P > .9$. In neither case is the difference at all significant. That is, so far as the mean values go, both sets of coins could have been meant to be the same as the Indus class D weight. But the z test tells a different story, and we find the corresponding

values of z as $\cdot 03417$ and $\cdot 58795$. The first is not significant, even on the 20 per cent. level, i.e. there is more than one chance in 5 that the Mohenjo-Daro system persisted till the time of the first hoard; the second is significant even on the 0.1 per cent. level. This means that there is every likelihood of the earlier Taxila hoard being weighed on much the same kind of balances and by much the same sort of weights, as at Mohenjo-Daro some two thousand and more years earlier; but there is about one chance in a thousand that the Mauryan hoard was so weighed, though its average weight is actually closer to my Indus average than for the earlier hoard. Whether due to the fact that we have a hoard of very poor workmanship, or more probably (recalling the SWINEY collection analysed in section III) because the Mauryan period developed rougher standards of accuracy, can be decided only after comparing the data for several other hoards. This information, obtained after comparing weights actually found in the Indus excavations with the Taxila find of coins seems to me more conclusive and useful (in spite of the curious story it tells of Mauryan crudeness) than HEMMY's result, that the theoretical weight of the *kārṣāpaṇa* of whatever period and locality, was about a fourth of another theoretical weight approximately four times as much, and that all the coins came from Aśoka's mint!

Table III gives us little new information on averages, as the significantly low group is B(b).1, which is a double obverse group, and expected to be well below the standard weight. If we retain No. 270, and test 13 coins of B(e)2 against the ten blank coins of A.19 we find $t = 6.4$, which is significant. That is, the two sets did belong to different times, or systems of weighing, in all probability. We have tested the extremes, however, of the square blank coins of Table III, and the explanation would be quite simple: the new coins would, being all manufactured at the same time and the entire sample weighed against the same weight give smaller variances—due to the errors of weighing alone and not to the fact that different weights were used for different coins. These variances are very small, and in fact not compatible with the variance of the entire 995 *kārṣāpaṇa*, for which many distinct varieties have been pooled. The z test alone applied to the two variances, B(e)2 against A.19, would show a significant difference at the one per cent. level and almost at the 0.1 per cent.: that is, there is less than one chance in a hundred and just about one in a thousand that the two lots were weighed according to the same scheme. It is to be noticed that the variances for any one group with blank reverses are remarkably small. A modern sample of 208 freshly minted rupees was tested at the Bombay Mint, and I find the variance to be about 0.163, the sample being significantly skew negative, though the kurtosis is trifling. Of course, the rupee weighs 180 grains as against the 52-54 grain weights of the *kārṣāpaṇa*; but it is clear nevertheless that the ancients did a pretty good job of their coinage, at least for the earlier Taxila hoard. WALSH (3, 32) takes the later coins as all new at the time of deposit in their hoard, which would show an astounding carelessness on the part of the Mauryan coiners or regulators of currency.

To verify the theoretical conclusions by experiment, I weighed each specimen of a sample of 3000 current rupee coins taken out of circulation at random. The average weight was found to decrease with increasing length of circulation, with about the same regularity as found in our *square* coins. The average annual loss of weight is, from this relatively small sample, 0.06258 gr., which means, roughly, a grain in 16 years. The variances go up with age, but the samples of each issue are too small to make the estimate of any value. As for the rate of absorption, it could not be determined either by direct count of my individual issues, nor by the ampler figures of the Mint's special remittances. One reason is that the number of coins struck and put into circulation is not the same for each issue. When the number in the sample was divided by the number in the issue, it became clear that the ratio was approximately constant for all issues since 1903 (Edward VII, George V). But for the earlier coins, (Victoria Empress) the exponential rate of decline was clearly visible. This means that the rupee was not taken by the public as a token coin in the earlier period, but used as a source of metal. For the earlier Taxila hoard, the conclusions are that the Taxilans received their coins at a remarkably steady rate, and that they were absorbed with great regularity. The balance of trade must have been in favour of Taxila, and the form of society comparatively stable over the best part of two centuries.

Just as a matter of curiosity, the rather arbitrary process of discarding coins which differ by too much from the rest of the group on the basis of the variance of the group itself, can be applied to the classes as given in table II. The process is not unambiguous, but a justification of sorts can be found in that the weight even for a single coin would tend to vary according to the normal distribution, if many distinct observations were made (15, 174 *et al.*) ; again, all the coins discarded are invariably underweight, and many of them decidedly underweight ; certainly, the ancients would have been able to say that each of the coins I discard varied from the rest in its group, though they would have been likely to discard a few more, which I retain on the grounds that I should apply only my own *s*-criterion for rejection. The "improved" table II now reads :

TABLE V : ADJUSTED GROUPS BY REVERSE MARKS.

x =	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
n =	275	161	159	111	88	53	34	31
m =	53.39	52.93	52.79	52.44	52.51	52.23	51.95	52.02
s ² =	.5497	.5798	.6677	.7252	.7952	.8704	.9533	1.10

The round and square coins have all been put together, and groups with eight or more reverse marks ignored only because the numbers are then

too small. It will be seen that only eighteen out of 930 coins have been discarded, some of which have most probably been clipped in the good old days; and a couple might have been misweighed or entered with a misprint in WALSH'S memoir. Yet, with this trifling adjustment, we have the means generally going down; the variances now go up steadily, and even quite regularly, as expected. It is the occasional badly underweight coin that conceals the character of a group. In case the reader wishes to know of somewhat more impressive and decidedly more complicated methods of selection, he will find them in text books (17, 125-129), or *Biometrika* XXVIII, 1936, 308-320.

The real objection to discarding coins, or to any form of selection—as for the Patraha hoard (33, i, ii)—is that our tests are likely to be invalidated at the very outset. Statistics takes its data and hypotheses in the bulk. We test, by compatibility or otherwise, at any level of significance, the chance that two lots of coins should have been selected at random from a general "population" of coins whose weights were distributed according to the normal law. Insignificant difference or ratio means that all this is likely to be true; by a significant deviation, we mean that this is not likely to be true, to within the probability imposed, but in the latter case, we do not know what portion of the hypothesis is contradicted. For selected hoards, it is clear from the very outset that randomness has gone by the board. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that out of the 3000 rupee coins I weighed, just ten were suspect by the method given, of these, eight were counterfeit, and two mint-defectives.

VI—COMPARISON WITH OTHER FINDS.

Before any general remarks can be made, it is necessary to see what other hoards can tell us. The information available can be put in another table:

TABLE VI: OTHER HOARDS.

Reference	Description	n (number)	m (average wt. in grains)	s ² (variance)
22, 2-4	Milne's Sigloi	52	84.95	1.5504
" "	" Group A	14	85.12	0.2843
" "	" Group B	38	84.88	2.0211
21, 16-17	Golakhpur Find	102*	51.54	3.7063
21, 471-482	Gorho Ghat Find	58	48.72	3.7316
		57	48.86	2.5995
23, 43-66	Hyderabad Museum	412*	46.21	6.4745
24, 301	Paila Find	436	40.86	1.9701
32, 159-164	Peshawar Find	61	47.4	7.89

* Coins described as badly damaged or with missing pieces, were omitted.

SPOONER's weights for the Peshawar find are very doubtful. Weights are given by STREENIVAS for the Hyderabad Museum coins, and WALSH for 436 of the 1014 (originally 1245, cf. 3,7) Paila coins as rounded off to the nearest grain, without specification of the lowest weight distinguished. I have taken the weight given as the central weight for each class, and applied no correction of any sort.

The sigloi are most interesting for the problem of the long bar coins of table I. Clearly, MILNE's class A have a homogeneity absent from the rest, and the comparatively low variance shows that they are struck very accurately, and have all been used in the same way, i.e. are in all probability unused or less used than the coins of B. Coins 21-32 of group B (22, 3), do form a subgroup by themselves, but the variance is still large. A particularly interesting feature of these sigloi is the presence of small punch-marks (22, 5), which are reminiscent of the earlier Taxila reverse-marks, and make it likely that the coins, even if hoarded in Ionia, had circulated in a portion of the Persian empire not far from Taxila. For all this however, the double-sigloi would differ significantly from our long-bar coins. If both sets of coins were minted by weighing against fixed weights, the variances would be about the same, and the Taxila long-bar coins incompatible by the *z*-test with either of MILNE's groups. If we make the unlikely hypothesis that the long-bar coins were weighed against any two sigloi chosen at random, the variances for long-bar coins should come out to be four times those given for the sigloi, but in either case, the difference of means would be significant. That is, the long-bar coins are too heavy for the double-sigloi standard. Whether they are just a souvenir of Persian influence or represent the *śatamāna* standard I cannot say: probably the former.

The Paila coins form a distinct system by themselves, even in the way of fabric and punch-marks (the 4-spoke wheel and 4 marks, in place of the 6-spoke and 5 marks). The weights are certainly not of the *kārṣāpāna* standard. WALSH thought that his data "shows an actual standard of 42 grains" (24; 301), but as usual, it does nothing of the kind. If the find is to be taken as homogeneous, and WALSH's weights represent a fair sample, then the variances are larger than at Taxila, and the coins must have been somewhat more crudely trimmed—though far more accurately than in the Mauryan period—or have been used considerably. On the strength of the averages, the coins are a little heavier than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Taxila coins. They could, however, represent 24 to 30 *raktikā* in weight, or any other nearby standard, if the *raktikā*'s were selected accordingly. There seems to be no approximating weight among those hitherto found at Mohenjo-Daro. The grouping unit of one grain is much too coarse for these coins (13, 53, 79).

Of the remaining three finds, that of the Hyderabad museum contains, as nearly as can be ascertained from the meagre descriptions and unsatisfactory plates, coins of WALSH's group A, group D, and also of the later period, characterized by the "Taxila mark". The variance is of the later period; but the mean is far too low for either issue of punch-marked coins.

The conclusion is that the Hyderabad coins, found in Karimnagar district, circulated for a long time after punch-marked coins ceased to be issued, and that the earlier coins did not all disappear during or even after the Mauryan period, but extended their domain of circulation quite independently of an extension of sovereignty. If the rate of loss of weight is to be taken as comparable with that at Taxila for the earlier hoard, the circulation continued for not less than 33 indictions after Mauryan coins with the Taxila mark began to be issued. There is no evidence whatsoever that they circulated from 650 B.C. as STREENIVAS would have it.

The Golakhpur (Patna city) hoard is quite unsatisfactory. WALSH believes that it shows definite evidence of the weights of the coins having been brought up by pouring molten copper (or perhaps dipping them in it) over them: the baser metal has covered the punch-marks (21, 17). If this be so, then the attempt was extraordinarily successful, because the average has come up very well, and allowing for the loss of weight by corrosion and subsequent cleaning by archaeologists one would be inclined to think that the make-weight system had been miraculously good. Even now, if we omit eight of the worst coins (in addition to those described as broken, with missing pieces), the variances come up to the earlier Taxila standard. But this sort of argument is spurious, because we know that in this case the loss of weight by cleaning off the verdigris amounted to something like 12 per cent., most of which might represent the metal, not dirt. The "added" copper, however, must be due to decuprification, that is to the actual travel of the cupric portion of the original alloy to the surface of the coin, by electrochemical action of the surrounding medium. I am obliged for this information to Dr. S. PARAMASIVAN, of the Government Museum, Madras, who supplies the reference to FINK and ELDRIDGE, "The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and other Alloys", First Report, 1925; the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. Dr. PARAMASIVAN has found many such examples of decuprification in coins which he has examined himself. The coinage with this *ṣaḍaracakra* occurs in other hoards as well (33, class iii), and my interpretation is that it become a subordinate dynasty during the earlier period. The coinage might be that of Aṅga.

The Gorho Ghat hoard has a higher mean than that of the Peshawar coins, and a lesser variance. Nevertheless, the variance is too great for the earlier and too little for the later Taxila hoard. As I interpret this, the Gorho Ghat coins are a worn mixture of older and Mauryan coins. WALSH's description of the hoard is not accurate enough but he gives six different forms of the *ṣaḍaracakra* in his plate of marks, and only one of these is the characteristic Mauryan form, 1.b of the Taxila hoards. These coins appear to have circulated about 20 indictions.

The weights for the Peshawar coins, as given by SPOONER, are most unsatisfactory. But taking each group as having been "forced" or rounded off to the nearest *raktikā* (=1.83 gr.) and taking the weight given as central, I get the mean and variance given. The variance is clearly incompatible with any but the later Taxila hoard. If the coins are a mixture, they must

be predominantly of Mauryan fabric. This is substantiated by the form of the *ṣaḍaracakra*, as seen on the plates. A few of the coins (in particular plate B No. 1 of 32) might belong to or have affinities with the class D of our earlier Taxila coins. The means show that the circulation lasted about 25 indictions after issue, so that the Gorho Ghat hoard must have been buried the earlier of the two.

The coinage B (e) 2 might seem to be the freshest number of the earlier Taxila hoard—all coins but one blank—and the question will then arise as to why this is not the immediate predecessor of the Mauryan empire. The numbers are too small for this coinage to have been general. I take WALSH's *ṣaḍaracakra* 1. u to be the same as BHATTACHARYYA's 2. o of the Purnea hoard. In that case, it is clear that the dynasty (or king) survived in Mauryan times. It was prosperous enough to issue quite a few coins (33, 55-63, class II, group XI, var. b-h, coins 1073-1252). The coinage B (e) 2 of the first Taxila hoard is surely cl. II, gr. XI, var. f of the Patraha find. The latter find can be arranged in a *tentative* order of date as varieties : f, e, d, c, g, b, and h. But the characteristic marks of the last two varieties are duplicated under the Mauryan *ṣaḍaracakra* and the crescent-on-arches mark, in varieties a and i of the group. On my present hypotheses, this signifies that the dynasty or the king arose and enjoyed independence just after the death of Mahāpadma Nanda, and afterwards acknowledged the suzerainty of some Mauryan emperor. The *ṣaḍaracakra* is almost the same as the Mauryan, with a *ḍamaru* replacing one of the taurines. I do not know whether this indicates any close relationship between the two dynasties, either as to geographical or tribal origin. One other bit of information we get is that the heaviest standard of weight for the earlier Taxila period could not have gone much over 54 grains, as B (e) 2 would have suffered the least by circulation. Finally, in the Purnea coins, we note that with the change from varieties b to a and h to i, i.e. with transfer to Mauryan hegemony, the variances jump up suddenly : from 2.9654 to 5.1612, and from 1.6485 to 3.9922, respectively.

Let us sum up the addition to our knowledge—or at least to our conjectural store—that can be made by statistics. I take it that the absence of the "Candragupta" mark and the fresh coin of Arrhidaïos found in the older hoard (3, 1) date it approximately to a period just about the beginning of the Mauryan empire. The reign of Alexander's feeble-minded half-brother was brief, nominal, and turbulent ; for a coin of his to have reached Taxila in excellent condition under these circumstances implies rapid travel, WALSH's assignment of the approximate date 317 B.C. seems to me quite reasonable for the earlier hoard. The second hoard is similarly placed by a coin of Diodotos, at, say, 248 B.C. Both of these, therefore, provide very important starting points for a discussion such as the present. When other dated hoards are found, we shall be able to round out the conclusions.

We see, first, that the system of Mohenjo-Daro weights was applied for the earlier hoard, but that in the Mauryan period, although the average

remained the same, the variance increased enormously, showing a far cruder system. As I have said before, I am inclined to ascribe this to the rise of a new system of government, spread over large areas, and with a new type of ministry that handled the actual rule and took over many of the functions that must have been settled by common agreement by the traders of the older period. The system of reverse marks implies some sort of checking. Inasmuch as badly underweight coins occur in each group, this checking need not have been primarily for the purpose of weeding out light coins; more probably, the marks are a token of assessment. However, it is just possible that the occasional light coin lost its weight between checks. If the system were official, and fully developed at Pāṭaliputra, it is difficult to explain why it disappears with the Mauryan period. But if the system were local to the Taxila region or restricted to an unofficial practice, this disappearance is natural, inasmuch as Mauryan conquest ruined Taxila as a great city. The presence of many reverse marks of the earlier Taxila hoard on Persian coins (22, 5) is natural if the marks were peculiar to a region or community which had trade in common with both Persia and India proper.

We know that for the earlier period, Taxila was either part of a Persian satrapy, or in the Persian sphere of influence. Any coins issued there are likely—as in the case of the long-bar coins—to imitate a Persian standard or fabric. But the earlier hoard is in the main characteristically Indian, and identical coins are found as far to the east as Bihar, and to the south as Hyderabad. Therefore, it is likely that such coins were not manufactured at Taxila, but imported from the east, because of a favourable balance of trade. Silver in India, so far as we know, was imported from the *eastern* frontier, though only a thoroughgoing analysis of all coins for minor impurities such as lead could settle this point, when coupled with a statistical analysis of the assay variations. All known records show that there existed a powerful succession of monarchies, a fully developed civilization, in the Gangetic basin; it extended over a territory from Pāṭaliputra to Kauśāmbī, and at least from the time of Buddha onwards. A logical inference would be that these monarchies would strike silver coins that would gravitate towards Taxila, and that the silver that reached Taxila was much more likely than not to be in a minted form. Thus, the obverse marks would be eastern in origin, while the reverse marks would presumably come into operation after the coins reached the Taxila region or the hands of trade-guilds, and remain in effect only so long as they circulated there. I am inclined to believe, without being able to give direct proof, that this regulation system was broken up with the formation of the Mauryan "Universal Monarchy", and the Brahmanical regulations of the *Arthaśāstra*.

VII—DYNASTIES AND KINGS.

As I see it, the prime basis of the classification should be the individual form of the six-pointed symbol, the *ṣaḍaracakra*. Inasmuch as this has not

been made the principal characteristic of the classes given in the sources I use, the discussion by classes must always occasion difficulties. However, WALSH's A. 1, C. 1 and D. 2 are the most prominent classes in the earlier Taxila hoard, and analysis by reverse marks alone shows that D. 2 is the latest, A. 1, C. 1 being older. This is, significantly, also the order of increasing average weight for the *blank* coins of the three classes, as in Table III. It is significant that whereas the earlier class has quite simple marks, i.e. sun, *ṣaḍaracakra*, humped bull, elephant, hare (or puppy, or some such animal) on five arches, the class D has marks of far greater complexity: a more complicated *ṣaḍaracakra*, a tree with railing, and two symbols which are hard to describe (WALSH's 5 and 9 c); one of them contains a string of taurines (*ma* in Brāhmi) which would give it a tantric or mantric character. Dating these classes by means of the reverse marks alone is impossible, and even their duration cannot be ascertained. For example, A. 1 has coins with as many as 10 reverse marks, and at first sight it might appear that it was issued over 10 indictions, this would mean an indiction of not much more than five years if a single king issued the coins, or that a dynasty issued coins with the same five marks over at least 10 longer indictions. But if the coins were issued in the east and reached Taxila only in the course of trade, as I believe to have been the case, then a single king may have issued them, even at one time, and they could have reached Taxila separately over a long period, a period that would not coincide with that of the king's reign or the issue of the coinage. But, in any case, it would seem reasonably clear that D. 2 was newer than A. 1 and C. 1.



B.b.1. Śiśunāga II.

A.1. A Śaiśunāga.



C.1. Nandin.

D.2. Mahāpadma.

TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS

The "sun" symbol and the *ṣaḍaracakra* have been omitted. The latter is 1.0 for Mahāpadma and 1.a for the other three.

If the purāṇic lists are comprehensive and cover the Taxila region as well (which is doubtful, as they have primarily to do with the Gangetic plain), and in any case if the coins were issued in the east (which seems more reasonable because of their wide spread to the east and to the south), then an attempt to collate the purāṇic evidence as well as that of the *Ārya-maṇḍjuśrīmūlakalpa* with that of our coins would not be out of place. This is conjecture, not statistics, but after all a working hypothesis can always

be produced, to be modified by newer evidence. It seems to me, then, that A. 1 is a coinage associated with some of the Śiśunāga kings, and that D. 2 belongs to the coinage of Mahāpadma Nanda, or some of the Nava Nandas. This can be argued out in some detail. Certainly, D. 2 cannot be associated with any *known* king except (Mahāpadma) Nanda because it is immediately succeeded by and intermingled with Mauryan coins; this much cannot be contested, as far as I can see, on the evidence that we possess. If there were a large and powerful empire between D. 2 and A. 1 and C. 1, it would have interposed a group of coins of its own, of equal prominence. But there is no such group available, and it would thus seem highly probable that A. 1 belongs to the empire preceding that of the Nandas, i.e. to the Śiśunāga coins. This last point I mean to argue a little more closely on the strength of the coins themselves.

It has been shown before that A. 1 was a very large and general issue, but that its day was passing at the time of the earlier Taxila hoard (taking the hoard as fairly representative of the currency in circulation at that time, a plausible contention, as we have the minute coins and the long-bar coins included as well). The symbols are easy to interpret, except that of the "hare-hill" mark, or "puppy-on-five-arches". If we associate the coins with not too distant predecessors of (Mahāpadma) Nanda, the mark, which occurs according to WALSH's count on no less than 485 coins of the hoard, (while the particular form of the *śaḍaracakṛa* comes on 642 coins) must signify something important. But according to my interpretation of the three symbols (excluding the *śaḍaracakṛa* and the "sun"), this would be the mark of the founder of the dynasty in question. The *AMMK* says nothing on this point, but the *purāṇas* give the founder's name as Śiśunāga. *Śiśu* means child in Sanskrit, which is not admissible here, even if the elephant be taken as the equivalent of *nāga*. But if *śiśu* is taken with one of its subsidiary meanings, i.e. the young of any animal, and the animal in question as a puppy or leveret, then the mark can represent the king Śiśunāga. Alternatively, his name might have been falsely restored from the *prākṛta* which was the original source of our *purāṇic* lists (27, x-xi, 77-83), and could be read as *śaśa-nāga* (a variant that never occurs in the *purāṇic* or any other list I have seen), which would give the animal as a hare. If it is necessary to take the arches as a component of the name, we shall have to take them as the equivalent of *nāka* = heaven, or the firmament. This does not conflict with my conjecture that makes the arches a symbol of "descent from" the totem symbolized on top. For the rest, while we are exploring possibilities for the dynast's name, *śaśanāka* and even *śaśānika* cannot be excluded. We have a foreign king of Egypt represented by the consonants ś-ś-n-k whose Greek equivalent Σεσωγης would make his actual names something like *śaśānika*; this is not to be taken to mean that Śiśunāga or whatever his name was ruled Egypt as well, but that the name occurs among Aryan chiefs over a wide interval of time and space. I take, provisionally, my own reading of the "hare-hill" mark as "descendant of Śiśu."

The humped bull is surely to be taken as a *nandī*, and we find two purāṇic kings with this as a portion of their names : Mahānandī and Nandivardhana (27, 22), at the end of the dynasty in question. But as I take C. 1 as a latter successor to A. 1, and C. 1 has the same *ṣaḍaracakra*, with a *nandī* on five arches, it would seem likely that the kings at the end of the Śiśunāga line claimed descent from a Nandī or Nanda, and not from the remote ancestor. This would imply a break in the direct line, but not a conquest nor an entirely distinct family. Moreover, the Buddhist tantra does not give the same list as that of the *purāṇa*'s, which give the succession as Darśaka, Udayī, Nandivardhana, Mahānandī, with reigns of 25, 33, 40, 43 years : rather too long, I think, to be probable. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* seems to make Udayī the successor of Ajātaśatru, and then takes up other tales, to come back to the time and territory under consideration with entirely different king-names from those given in the *purāṇa*'s : Āśokamukhya, Viśoka, Śūrasena. I do not see how JAYASWAL'S identifications are to be justified, and I also think that there is at least the implication of an unfilled gap after Udayī. That is, the tail end of the Śiśunāga line could very well contain more than two kings, and kings who would claim descent from Nandī, whether due to a break in the direct line after Udayī, or for some other reason. This must not be argued too closely.

I state again as a working hypothesis, the following : A. 1 is a Śaiśunāga coinage. But C. 1 and similar classes are of a latter king of a related line who chose to claim descent from Nanda or Nandī. Finally, D. 2 is an entirely distinct reign, comparable in power with its two predecessors, without any other powerful intermediary. This, therefore, with other members of Class D, must be Mahāpadma Nanda's coinage. The class B. b.1 is older than any of these, having as many as 15 reverse marks, and occurring also on 22 double obverse coins.

The coinage D. 2 is obviously of a different character from its predecessors, in the complexity and mysterious nature of its symbols. In particular, the symbol 5 with its chain of five taurines and two extra marks seems mantric or tantric in character ; we actually know of a similar mantra : (28) ॐ म म म म ह्रं निः. King Mahāpadma Nanda was, in fact a different sort of king from his predecessors. He had been a wealthy minister who took over the throne (तद्धनं प्राप्य मन्त्री सौ लोके पार्थिवतां गतः 29, 434.) He was low-born *nīcamukhya* (ibid), and in fact supposed to have been a bastard of the last Nandi king (27, 25) according to the *purāṇa*'s which describe him as *Mahānandīsuta*, with the addition *śūdrāyām Kālikāmsajah* or *śūdrāgarbhodbhava*. Like Viṣṇudabha at the time of the Buddha, he wipes out the *kṣatriya* members of the old dynasty, and apparently goes further in cleaning out all the *kṣatriya*'s of his time ! Whether this was a form of revenge or for safety in the way of preventing a rival to his usurpation is not known, but he is definitely a landmark in what survives of our historical tradition : the *purāṇa*'s state explicitly that the age of darkness (Kaliyuga) came to flower with him (27, 74-5). It is, therefore, to be expected that his coinage would be distinctive in appear-

FIG. A.

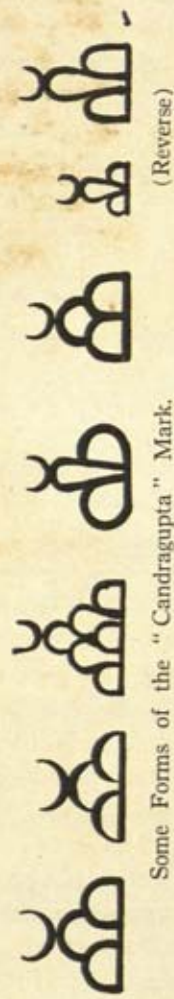


FIG. B.





ance. Finally, he has a mantric connection (however late the tradition) : he possesses a *mantra* of his own (29, 423) :

तेनापि साधितो मन्त्र पिशाचो पीडुनामतः ।

तस्य मन्त्रप्रभावं तु महामोगो भविष्यति ॥

which brought him his success. In addition, he has two Brahmin friends similarly equipped with *mantra's* : his minister Vararuci (29, 430, 433) and the great founder of *sanskṛta* grammar, Pāṇini (29, 437-438). The absence of ancestors to display, and the connection with *mantra* as a means to success seem to be reflected in the coinage D. 2. The chronological evidence is not bad : the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes Nandā (= Mahāpadma Nanda) the immediate predecessor of Candragupta Maurya, which agrees with coins bearing D. marks on the obverse and Candragupta's monogram as an issuing mark on the reverse. The paurāṇic account (27, 25-6) gives him the improbable reign of 88 years, with 12 years for his eight sons, of whom only one is given by name. This seems very unlikely, and I explain it as a confusion of *nava* (Nanda) = new (Nanda) with *nava* (Nanda) = nine (Nandas). The Nanda or Nandī dynasty would be the C. 1 dynasty, (or king) and *nava* Nanda would be the *usurper* Nanda, our Mahāpadma Nanda. The identification is generally confirmed by Plutarch's *Alexander*, which mentions a king who was "hated and despised for the viciousness of his life and the meanness of his extraction". But to trust Plutarch in detail would be folly ; it seems quite unlikely that the boy Candragupta (= Sandracottos or Andracattos) could have actually seen Alexander.

The purāṇic chronology is confused enough to be typically Indian, but there is a significant mention of astronomical details at the end of the account (27, 74-5) which should not be glossed over. From Parīkṣit to Mahāpadma is given as 1050 or 1015 years, and from Mahāpadma to the Śātavāhana king Pulomāvi as 836 years. This is not borne out by the location in the 2700 year precessional cycle, which gives the pointers of the Great Bear as passing through the nakṣatra *maghā* (No. 10) at the time of Parīkṣit, *pūrvāṣāḍhā* (No. 20), at the time of Mahāpadma, and in the 24th constellation at the time (termination?) of the "Andhras". As the time per *nakṣatra* is a hundred years in this cycle, we have about 1000 years from Parīkṣit to Mahāpadma Nanda, and 400 from his day to that of the Andhras, which checks very well indeed with accepted historical data, with an allowance for the fact that the scheme of dating does not allow smaller units than a century. It is a remarkable conclusion that the date of Parīkṣit, and of the Mahābhārata war would not go more than about a 1000 years before Mahāpadma, say 1400 B.C., and that would be the beginning of the Kali yuga, not to be reconciled with the usual beginning at 3101 B.C., a time coinciding with the Mohenjo-Daro period. What confusion lies here is beyond the scope of the present memoir to discuss, but one is reminded of the Mesopotamian "long-chronology" coexistent with a more plausible "short chronology". The "836 years" between Mahāpadma and Pulomāvi are probably to be explained by the sup-

position that the purāṇic redactor counted his *nakṣatra*'s from *kṛttikā* and not from *aśvinī*, and possibly, even with the extra *nakṣatra*, *abhijit*, thrown in for good measure. There are not wanting those patriotic critics (G. Bose on Andhra Chronology, *JRASB.* V) who maintain that the figure of 836 years from a doubtful Nanda to an unidentifiable Pulomāvī is exact and shows the general credibility of the Purāṇas. Whatever the value of this chronological particular, I do not find it possible to attach any great worth to an account which gives so little reliable information about the two most important dynasties of the "836" years, being unable even to report the Mauryan names properly, and mentioning the Guptas as a local dynasty that ruled along the Ganges, Sāketa, Prayāga, Magadha (27, 53, 73).

All the foregoing structure has been erected solely on the comparison of the *purāṇa* tradition as collated by PARGITER, and the mutilated text of the *AMMK*, which existed during the 10th century A.D., but is surely late enough. The *pāli* tradition claims to be older, and is certainly a good deal simpler, without the mystical accretions and prophetic style. The period of our punch-marked coins, i.e. from the death of Buddha to the rise of Aśoka Maurya was of extreme importance for Buddhism, and it is not a matter for wonder that the Buddhist tradition should be somewhat more reliable. We find even an occasional *pāli* line in the Purāṇas, (27, 78), and the inclusion of Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula in the Aikṣvāku king list (27, 11) is undoubtedly copied from a genealogical source used by *pāli* texts (35, 2 v. 20-24). Now the available *pāli* texts give the following list, with reigns; Ajātasattu (24 after Buddha's death); Udāyibhaddaka 16, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa 8, Nāgadassaka 24. The last of these is removed by the people, as the whole race is charged with parricide (*pitughātakavaṃsoyam*), and an official (*amacca*) Susunāga is put in his place, who rules 18 years. Then we have his son Kālāsoka 28, his sons, ten brothers (*dasabhātukarājāno*) 22, and then nine Nandas, supposedly brothers too, for 22; the last of these, Dhana-nanda being followed by Candragupta Maurya. The minister Cāpakya is also mentioned (34, 36).

This helps a good deal. The direct line of Ajātasattu came to an end with Nāgadassaka, the third after Udāyi. One Susunāga was then put on the throne. This probably indicates a member of another branch of the royal family, possibly a descendant of Śiśunāga I; at any rate one who could have the hare-mark for his coinage. The time of Kālāsoka is given by the tradition that the tenth year of his reign was the hundredth after the death of Buddha. The large number of variable "fifth marks" on coinage of class A is perhaps to be explained by the "ten brothers" who ruled after Kālāsoka. Now the chronology, though reasonable for the length of each reign, is twenty-five to a hundred years too short, if the ten brothers are at once succeeded by nine Nandas who rule 22 years to be followed immediately by Candragupta Maurya. The time of Kālāsoka we may take as reasonably accurate, as the second Buddhist council took place then, and formed a great event in the history of the religion; also, the lengths of the reigns from Ajātasattu add up well, though

this may be just a matter of design. Hence, the gap comes at about the time of the "Nine Nandas". My explanation of this, based on our coins is that when the direct line of Śiśunāga II came to an end, there was a peaceful succession of some other member of the same or related family. He continued same *śaḍaracakra*, but claimed descent from a Nanda or Nandī and struck the coinage C (though WALSH's C. 5, 2 coins is excluded, as having a different *cakra*), while the preceding kings had the coinage A (excluding A. 12, 4 coins; No. 205 of A. 21; A. 25-A 31, 24 coins). On my own hypothesis as to the meaning of the five obverse marks, there is no evidence for a Nanda dynasty, the coinage C with the bull-on-arches mark being then associated with just one king. The coins of Śiśunāga II himself might be the class B. (b) 1, which is mostly restruck on older coins, and contains the hare, but *not on arches*. Coins B (b) 1 are at least 15 indictions old, as some of them contain that many reverse marks; A. at least 10 indictions, and indicative of the rule of at least five monarchs. C. is roughly 8 indictions in age. Allowing for a 12-15 year indiction, and the time taken to reach Taxila, this checks approximately with our revised king-lists. The term Nava Nanda is to be taken as *new Nanda*, and refers to the coinage D. 1-D. 4, which is so fresh as to require very few reverse marks, as we have here only one coin each with 3 and with 4 marks. This is the coinage just before Candragupta.

The king-names I give are conjectural, because literary evidence is unsatisfactory, and shows at any rate that each king had more than one name. For example, the Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā* dated A.D. 488, has the reading Hsiu-hsiu-fo-na-ko, with a variant Hsiu-fo-na-ko, which would be equivalent to Suśubhanāga or Śubhanāga. The purāṇic variants are numerous enough, as can be seen from PARGITER's text. But I feel that on the strength of the archaeological evidence that we possess, we can say—by an application of quite elementary statistics—that the principal coinages were, in chronological order: B(b) 1, A, C, D, Mauryas. B(b) 1 not only precedes A but is re-struck on coins of an older issue. But these double obverse coins are as a group not less than 18-20 indictions old, say the time of Ajātaśatru and his descendants. And to my mind, the second obverse does not indicate that the coins had to be re-struck because of wear but that a dynasty was superseded, and coins in the treasury re-issued. A parallel would be coins of class D. 2 with Mauryan reverse marks.

I have made little use of the Jain material, which is, however, accessible in a rather uncritical encyclopedia, the *Abhidhānarājendra*. There, Bimbisāra is called Seniya; Ajātaśatru, Kūṇiya, Kūṇika, Koṇika. The nine Nandas are mentioned as beginning with the successor to Udāyi, about 50-60 years after Mahāvīra and displaced by Cāṇakya-Candragupta. This is not very helpful, and JAYASWAL's reading Ajātaśatru and Kūṇika *Śevāsi-nāga* on a Mathura statue (21, 550-551) makes matters decidedly worse. Yet it is not impossible to get some palatable conclusions by a careful and reasoned collation of extant records. For example, the purāṇic list of Śiśunāga kings ends:

ityete bhavitāro vai Śaiśunāgā nṛpā daśa
 śatāni trīṇi varṣāṇi śaṣṭi varṣādhikāni tu
 Śiśunāgā bhaviṣyanti rājānaḥ kṣatra-bandhavaḥ (27, 22).

PARGITER translates (27, 69) *kṣatra-bandhavaḥ* as "with kṣatriya kinsfolk". But surely, there is a chance here of confusion with the "ten brothers" who end the direct line of the king I call Śiśunāgā II; also, his displacing a predecessor (Nāgadassaka) might explain why the last king of the Pradyota line, displaced (according to the purāṇas) by Śiśunāgā I, is called Nandivar-dhana, a name that occurs again in the Śiśunāga list and perhaps corresponds to the king displaced by Śiśunāga II. For the rest, there is no evidence that Bimbisāra and his line were ever called Śaiśunāga, except of course the purāṇic list—which might have been miscopied as explained. So, "Śiśunāga I" might never have existed; I have let him stay, solely on the evidence of the purāṇic list, as the original founder of the line of Ajātaśatru.

The later Buddhist records separate Nanda from his son and *successor* Mahāpadma (36, 55). Bu-ston's king Nandin (30, 106) who comes 108 years before Candragupta could hardly be Mahāpadma. And there is no Mahāyāna tradition of nine Nandas. But Tāranātha puts Candragupta just after Mahāpadma (36, 58), and this must be the Nanda of the *AMMK*; a secondary confirmation is that the *AMMK* gives a description of the social evils of its Nanda's reign and this coincides very well with the purāṇic tradition that the Kaliyuga came to flower with Mahāpadma. We can proceed in this vein forever. The Dhanananda whom Cāpakya polishes off as the last of the Nava Nandas is capable of explanation; a wealthy Nanda. In fact the *AMMK* gives such references (29, 424 as preceding; 426-427): *teṣāṃ dāsyati taddhanaṃ* etc. It is unfortunate that the Chinese translation of the *AMMK* which dates from the tenth century, with two chapters from the eighth, should not contain the historical (prophetic) portion at all. Tāranātha mentions Nanda as the possessor of the Piśāca-Pilu mantra (36, 53), and the friend of Pāṇinī. But Vararuci is the minister of Mahāpadma (36, 55). With such sources it is impossible to identify the great king (or kings) who struck A.1 with its fifteen distinct issues and vast number of specimens.

For the Mauryan period, arrangement and identification are much less easy, although the literary evidence is far more satisfactory. The second Taxila hoard is worthless because the marks are almost unidentifiable. For the Purnea coins (33) the surrounding medium has caused a lot of damage, and there is no information available as to the extent of the decupification. Moreover, the hoard is mixed, coins of the earlier period also being present (A. 1 = Class III, gr. III, var. *b*; C. 1 = cl. III, gr. II, var. *b*; D = cl. II, gr. XII, var. *a, b, c*; B. b. 1 = cl. III, gr. VII, var. *a* etc.). Now the increase of variance between two comparable groups might be due to greater age, or the very reverse, to the sudden change from the older accuracy to Mauryan crudeness. The effect of age in depressing the average weight might also be reversed if BHATTACHARYYA has removed more copper from the later than from the earlier coins. However, on the dangerous assumption

that there would have been no substantial change of proportion among the coins found even if the entire hoard had been published, one can guess something from the numbers of the coins alone. That is, the longest and most prosperous reign should have the greatest number of coins, and also the greatest number of varieties of the fifth mark. This description fits the coins of the Purua coins Class II, gr. III, var. c, gr. IV var. a-k. Therefore, these coins must be the coins of Aśoka, and the "caduceus" (33, pl. III, mark 86, perhaps 87 also) must be his personal mark. With similar arguments, and a little support from the means and variances, I conclude that BHATTACHARYYA's class II, gr. I, var. a, b are coins of Bindusāra, and gr. II, var. a, b, the coins of Candragupta himself. This last contains the "peacock-on-arches" mark, as well as the crescent-on-arches whereas the rest only contain the crescent-on-arches. Moreover, the fifth mark on "Candragupta's" coins is (33, pl. 3, 104, 105) the one obverse mark that stands out among all the others as having the appearance of being composed of letters of the alphabet. The *mudrā* is more likely to be the alphabetic monogram of a minister like Kauṭilya than to be a "steelyard" (1, 52) even if something similar, the *bismar*, is to be seen in Egypt. I am unable to assign the rest of the coins to Mauryan rulers; but there are at least three more of them associated with the marks numbered, in BHATTACHARYYA's scheme, 102, 27, 124.

Only one prominent group, M, i.e. that with the rhinoceros mark, seems at first to contradict the findings of this memoir. As WALSH gives the *śaḍaracakra* in the form 1a, as M. 1 appears on the double obverse coins, has other members with as many as 14 reverse marks, and contains no less than 38 coins (3, 67), we should have a group comparable in age and importance with B. b. 1, apparently belonging to the same dynasty, but with entirely different marks, and without a successor. The explanation seems to be that at least in this case, WALSH's identification of the *śaḍaracakra* is wrong; in fact, both Durga PRASAD (1, pl. 10) and BHATTACHARYYA (33, 69-70) give a different form for the *cakra*, one with dots or taurines enclosed in trefoils, not in ovals; the divergence is unmistakable. One possibility would be that the coinage is to be associated with the final survivor of the older line, the last descendant of Ajātaśatru; or, it might represent some independent ruler who reigned at about the same time as Susunāga of the Pāli records and coinage B. b. 1 and whose prosperous but evanescent kingdom was later absorbed in the general Magadhan empire.

Statistics will give a respectable footing for conjecture. Surely, if mathematical analysis tells some watcher of the skies where to point his telescope that a new planet might swim into his ken, it is capable of rescuing a dynasty or two from oblivion. But to expect it to reveal the name of either planet or king is a bit too much. Of course, the names are not so difficult a matter of conjecture as what song the Sirens sang or what name Achilles bore among the maidens; but with our monstrous number of conflicting variants, even the Valentinian law of citations is useless. Only Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Udāyī, occur in all sources with the exception, again, of Tāranātha.

We have come far enough from statistics, but one question must be raised nevertheless. What was the epoch and the effect of the rise of this new form of government, associated with a *mantri* (as distinct from the official lieutenant, *amātya*)? What is the etymology of the word *mantri*? Does it not originally signify the possessor of a mysterious ritualistic formula for success? ALLAN notes that large clay seals of the type of Yaudheya coins occur (2, clii) with the legend "*Yaudheyānam jayamantradharaṇam*"; he (or Hoernle) translates *jayamantradhara* as "councillor of victory," whereas it should be, with a greater probability, "possessor of the formula (*mantra*) for victory." Contemporary *pālī* records show comparatively small kingdoms directly administered by the *kṣatriya*'s. But Susunāga is an *amacca*; and Jain records are more interested in the *mantri*'s of the "nine Nandas" than in the rulers themselves. Nanda (Mahāpadma) is a *mantri* himself who becomes king and has trouble with his own ministers: (29, 434, 435) विरागयामास मन्त्रीणां and विरक्त मन्त्रिर्वर्गस्तु. So far, we have not a Brāhmin of prominence, though mantric knowledge must have been the virtual monopoly of Brāhmins, the witch-doctors or medicine-men of a previous age. But with Cāṇakya, we have the minister towering (at least in theory and tradition) far above the occupant of the throne. The process culminates logically a couple of dynasties later in a neat parallel to the Peshwa usurpation: a dynasty of Brāhmin kings, the Kāṇvāyanas (Śuṅgabhṛtyas, 27, 33-35). The reference to a *mantri* Kaṇika in the Mahābhārata is spurious, and purged from SUKTHANKAR's critical edition of the *Ādiparva*. It is also significant that the detailed, even unpractical, regulations and penal theory of taxation of the *Arthaśāstra* are associated with Cāṇakya (Kautilya). Does this not mean a change of quality with a change of quantity: the spiritual and religious minister to a petty ruler transformed into a political minister when the kingdom becomes too large and prosperous for direct personal administration?

In the *AMMK*, *mantri* means usually the possessor of a formula: *evam mantri sadā grāmaṃ pravīśed bhikṣānujīvinah* (28, 99 also, p. 89). The work of Tāranātha, late and unreliable though it might be, contains an unexpected confirmation. We find that Aśoka (whether the Mauryan or the Śai-sunāga Kāśoka is immaterial) was under the influence of Brahmins of the *Bhṛgu* clan, and it is now known that precisely the *Bhārgava*'s were responsible for the rewriting of our most important ancient works, particularly the Mahābhārata (SUKTHANKAR, *Epic Studies VI, Annals of the BORI*, 1936). Such things have happened in other countries. From Geoffrey de Beaulieu, father confessor to Louis IX to his "Grey Eminence" Cardinal Richelieu overshadowing the throne of Louis XIII is surely a natural progression.

No exploration is done without a great deal of preliminary spade work, usually by others who take no direct part in the expedition. This is no exception. I have to thank my colleagues; officials of the Bombay University Library; the staff of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute; senior and junior officials of the Indian Meteorological observatory for the use of their library and calculating machines. But this work owes most to the help and criticism

of three friends. Dr. V. V. GOKHALE of the Fergusson College helped me with his knowledge of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and reinforced my hardly rudimentary knowledge of Sanskrit; he also read through the whole typescript in all of its several stages of growth. All Chinese and Tibetan references are due to him. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR of the Bhandarkar Institute helped by means of an extensive correspondence on my behalf, without which I should not have been able to obtain many of the books necessary, nor a good deal of the data given by various officials. Prof. John MACLEAN of the Wilson College, Bombay, also helped in the inspection of my bibliographical material; in particular, the reference to EDEN and YATES came from him; he was also instrumental in obtaining data from the Bombay Mint. The reader can blame Prof. MACLEAN for being the person who is responsible for my taking a holiday from tensor analysis to dabble in the intricacies of statistics; but otherwise, no blame attaches to any of these three for whatever I may have done or failed to do in this paper. My faults are my own, and should not detract from their reputation; but surely, if this paper represents any solid achievement, a good deal of the credit must go to them, and to my father, Prof. Dharmānanda KOSAMBI, who first gave me an interest in our classical antiquity.

The work of BHATTACHARYYA (33) came to hand too late for the fullest use to be made of it. It is, however, a fairly competent piece of work, publishing the find of the Patraha hoard on the model of ALLAN's British Museum Catalogue. One fault has been copied from the model: labelling the numerous small punch-marks of the earlier period as "various", instead of counting them directly. Though the author corrects ALLAN's readings wherever necessary, the memoir is by no means irreproachable. On page iv, we find all the metrological fables repeated trustingly: CUNNINGHAM's standard *raktikā*, the BHANDARKAR-SPOONER gradations "by the successive and regular rise of a $\frac{1}{2}$ *māshā*", and WALSH's molten copper poured over the coins, to make up for the weight. The "new" forms of the *ṣaḍaracakra* described on p. 5 have something in common with WALSH's: $2g = 1d$, $2o = 1u$ [probably], $2s = 1o$, and perhaps $2p = 1h$ or $1hh$. The statement at the bottom of p. v. "up to this time no animal turned to left has been found on punch-marked coins" is definitely not true, as we find such animals in Durga PRASAD's comprehensive work (1) pl. 3; 10; pl. 4, 64; pl. 5, 98-101; pl. 6, 4-5; pl. 8, 2; pl. 12, 39-40, etc. From my point of view, one of the most serious faults is that a selection of the coins has been made, so that statistical analysis becomes very difficult; in any case, the material would have been refractory, and as the author does not specify the amount of copper removed from some of the coins, the metrological value of the publication is low. In the preface by K. N. DIKSHIT, and again on the opening page of the author's introduction, we find that out of 2873 coins, 1703 pieces were selected. This statement might be true, but only in a very peculiar way. In fact, pp. 93-97 give an appendix which lists the coins by serial number and their classes. In this, coins numbered 589-602, 774-6, 815-16, are omitted. But they occur in the text; the coins being num-

bered 1-1703, with an extra coin 814-a, and with the single specimen of Class I not numbered at all, one expects the total to be 1705. But on closer investigation, it will be found that the text omits, though the appendix does not, coins 109 and 369, without any explanation.

It seems to me highly objectionable that two such technical works as those of WALSH and BHATTACHARYYA, appearing in the same press and under the same authority within a few months of each other, and containing so much that corresponds and must be compared, should contain different systems of arrangement, and two entirely different notations. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that our Archæological Survey can never be accused of rushing into print. The Taxila hoards were found in 1912 and 1924; the Patraha hoard in 1913.

I could have gone a good deal further but for the unsatisfactory condition of the data. As dated hoards are rare enough, and yet provide the only method of studying our punch-marked coinage, at least in the absence of literary evidence, I suggest that our numismatists and treasure trove officers pay more attention to numbers and weights, before and after cleaning. This does not mean that hereafter an archæologist must also know statistics; an acquaintance with the elements of arithmetic and of proof-reading would do.

VIII—THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It was my original intention to add a final section explaining the technique of statistical analysis. But the memoir has grown far beyond its initial conception; and any numismatist who is capable of understanding such an explanation would do better to consult the works cited, particularly 13-18 of the bibliography. A weak point of this paper is the omission of tabulated data for the coins in a form which would make it possible for any statistician to check my results. These tables have to be omitted not only to save space, but also because my sources are open to suspicion, and should be revised from new observations. I feel confident, however, that whatever the errors of calculation and even of observations recorded in my sources no important conclusion presented in the foregoing as definite will be upset by fresh study of the available material.

There remains, however, one point of some theoretical interest which I discuss here without preliminary explanation: Is the z test applicable to skew distributions? The question seems to be still open (26), and a theoretical discussion would not be superfluous. For any particular and specified distribution, the problem can be formulated—usually in a stupendously clumsy manner—as an exercise in the integral calculus.

Let $p(x)$ be a frequency function, i.e. have the properties:

$p(x) \geq 0$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} p(x) dx = 1$. The distribution function of the corresponding variate would be $F(t) = \int_{-\infty}^t p(x) dx$, and the characteristic function can be calculated as

usual: $f(x) = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} e^{itx} dF(x)$, the integral being valid, if it exists in the Lebesgue-Stieltjes sense, even when $p(x)$ is not continuous. Let us further assume that the mean value of the population is zero, i. e. $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} x dF = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} x p dx = 0$, which involves no loss of generality.

The distribution function of the square of the variate is easily worked out from the above. The probability is that $0 \leq x^2 \leq t$ is clearly the same as for

$-\sqrt{t} < x \leq +\sqrt{t}$, i. e. $\int_{-\sqrt{t}}^{\sqrt{t}} p dx$. But this integral is seen at once to be the

same as $\int_0^{\sqrt{t}} \{p(x) + p(-x)\} dx$. It follows, therefore, that the distribution of the square of the variate measured from the mean of the population is the same

as for a normally distributed population provided $p(x) + p(-x) = \frac{e^{-x^2/2\sigma^2}}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}}$.

The condition is both necessary and sufficient, as is obvious. It follows that mere skewness of the distribution does not affect the distribution of the sum-square, because the sum of n squares has a characteristic function which is the n th power of the characteristic function of the distribution of a single square.

If the function $p(x)$ can be written as $e^{-x^2/2\sigma^2} h(x)$, and the power series expansion of $h(x)$ has no even power of x except the constant term, we see that the distribution of the square and of the sum of n squares will be the same as for the normal distribution. Alternatively, we can state the result in the form that the expansion of $h(x)$ in Hermitian polynomials should contain, except for the constant term, only polynomials of odd degree. Except formally, the two statements are not the same, as the types of convergence are in general entirely distinct for the two expansions. In any case, all moments of even order must be the same as for the normal distribution.

The real difficulty of the problem lies in the fact that the variance calculated is never from the usually unknown mean of the population, but from the actual mean of the sample. For a normal distribution, this means only the loss of one degree of freedom, the resulting distribution function being the same as before with n replaced by $n-1$. [J. V. USPENSKY. *Introduction to Mathematical Probability*, 1937, pp. 331-336 contains the best derivation of this result]. In our case, this cannot be true; for the skew distribution, the

distribution of the mean, $m = \frac{1}{n}(x_1 + x_2 + x_3 + \dots + x_n)$ is not the same as for the original population; and $\sum x_i^2 = \sum (x_i - m)^2 + nm^2$. So, there remain two procedures: In the rare event of the "true" or population mean being known, calculate the variances of the samples from this (dividing by n instead of $n-1$ as usual) and entering FISHER'S tables of z with the degree of freedom

as the actual numbers in the two samples (instead of one less than the number, as usual). In the general case, however, when the population mean is not known, it is clear that the usual distribution of z will be closely approximated by all but the smallest samples. It might, however, be better—when the means of the two samples show only a trifling difference or when several samples have to be compared to each other as for analysis of variance—to calculate a general mean from all the samples present, which can then be taken as a reasonable approximation to the population mean.

For kurtosis, the general situation is decidedly not the same. The distri-

bution of the square of a variate with the frequency function $\frac{-x^2}{2\sigma^2} e^{-\frac{x^2}{2\sigma^2}}$ is again of the incomplete gamma function type. Now, because the characteristic function for the sum of n variates is the n th power of the characteristic function for a single variate, it follows that this "*cupid's bow*" distribution has the same behaviour with regard to the z test from the population mean as a normal distribution provided the number of degrees of freedom is multiplied by $2k + 1$. Let us, as an illustration of the procedure, consider further a leptokurtic distribution with frequency function given by $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{x^2}{2}} \{a + (1-a)x^2\}$.

This satisfies the conditions $p(x) \geq 0$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} p dx = 1$, provided $0 \leq a \leq 1$, and in that range of the parameter, gives us a whole variety from the normal to a dimodal frequency function; here, $\mu_4 - 3\mu_2^2 = -12(1-a)^2$. Of course, no generality is lost from the fact that the origin has been chosen as the mean, and the variance specialized. The question of skewness has already been settled. Applying the methods cited, it will now be seen that the net effect of using FISHER'S tables of z for two observed samples drawn from such a distribution will be to *underestimate* the significance of the result. That is, a ratio of variances that is just on the border line could be regarded as significant. And in fact, if we take the extreme case $a = 0$, it will only be necessary to enter the tables with three times the usual number of degrees of freedom. Now, inasmuch as the task of fitting such distributions has to be fulfilled from the samples themselves, the "true" or population distribution being unknown, it is not worth while here to go deeper into this matter, particularly as the methods of CRAMÉR reduce the entire problem to an exercise in integration. For platykurtosis, the opposite effect, i.e. over-estimation of the significance is to be expected.

Let the weight of a population of coins as it leaves the mint be normally distributed with mean μ_1 and variance σ_1^2 . Let the loss of weight per unit of time be also normally distributed, with mean μ_2 and variance, σ_2^2 . It then follows (18, 50) that the population t units after the time of issue has normally distributed weight with mean $\mu = \mu_1 - t\mu_2$, and variance $\sigma^2 = \sigma_1^2 + t\sigma_2^2$. This must hold at least to a first approximation as the usual law for coin-weights. However, inasmuch as the only possible gain of weight for a coin is by en-

crustation or the accumulation of dirt, both of which it is the practice to remove before weighing one would expect worn hoards to show more and more strongly marked skew-negative weight distributions.

In general, greater variance would be as much a characteristic of age as lower average weight. But in case the minting process changes suddenly, the problem becomes complicated, because the greater variance may be associated with the new process and hence indicate the later coinage. There is a curious parallel to this in modern times. Like the Mauryan *kāṛṣāpaṇa*, the new rupee coin, about to be issued for general circulation, contains much more copper than its immediate predecessor, is minted by an "improved" process, and is excepted to show a greater variance, perhaps to the extent of making it necessary to abandon the present legal remedy.

The theoretical coinage absorption curve (fig. 2; p. 31) was obtained for simplicity by fitting a linear regression to the logarithms of the observed numbers of the coins. But there are better ways of estimating the rate of absorption. Let $a \exp -r$ be the number expected, and y_r the number observed at the r th indiction, the observations extending from zero to n indictions. Then we must have

$$\sum_0^n a e^{-r\theta} = \sum_0^n y_r = N, \text{ or } a = N (1 - e^{-\theta}) / (1 - e^{-\theta(n+1)})$$

The likelihood (13, 312) is given by

$$L = \sum y_r (\log a - r\theta) = N \log N + N \log (1 - e^{-\theta}) - N \log (1 - e^{-\theta(n+1)}) - \theta \sum r y_r.$$

For the maximum likelihood, we set the derivative equal to zero, and obtain as the "best" estimate, the sole positive real root of

$$(n-s)x^n + (n-s-1)x^{n-1} + \dots + (1-s)x - s = 0, \\ \text{where } x = e^{-\theta}, s = \sum r y_r / N.$$

Using the notation of p. 17, the maximum-likelihood estimate of the fundamental weight unit would be given by

$$u = \sum_j \frac{n_j r_j a_j}{\sigma_j^2} / \sum_j \frac{n_j r_j^2}{\sigma_j^2} \quad (\sigma_j^2 \text{ the population variances})$$

The best estimates of the variances would be the sampling second moments calculated from the theoretical means $u r_j$. The complication due to the re-appearance of u may be avoided by using the ordinary sampling variances s_j^2 , which will make very little difference in practice.

In closing, it should be noted that there are other modern theories of statistical estimation than that of Fisher (13, IX and bibliography). The most prominent of these is that of J. Neyman and his collaborators (Phil.

Trans. Royal Soc. London, Ser. A. vol. 231, pp. 289-337 ; vol. 236, pp. 333-380).



The punch-marked coins have led us around the full circle from pure conjecture to pure mathematics. But I think the effort justified, however unreadable my paper might be. A Central Asiatic document (LÜDERS : Die Śākischen Mūra, 736-7) reports the Tathāgata as saying : " With these, once upon a time, have various beings performed significant actions ; for this single coin have men once destroyed one another. Numerous are the beings who have once falsified just one coin and even now find themselves in the state of painful transmigrations, experience diverse sorrows. Some gained merit for themselves towards the Buddha, the Order, or a preacher of the Law, and even now sit among the gods." The attitude towards currency has changed. Yet, these crude-looking bits of metal are the remaining drops of a stream that flowed, then as now, for the benefit of the few, and was kept moving by the bitter exertions, abject poverty, hunger, misery, toil, and bloodshed of the many. These pitiful remnants of a remote and powerful but obsolete civilization should not be without interest when our own is moving so rapidly towards obsolescence.

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THE POSITION OF THE DAUGHTER IN THE VEDIC RITUAL.¹

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The daughter after her Samskāra is entitled to perform the śrāddha rites for her parents. She cannot, however, in any case precede in her claim over her brother. The *Śrāddha-mayūkha* thinks as the wife precedes the daughter in her claim over the property, the former should precede in the śrāddhas too.² The *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī-kāra* also holds the same view.³ He also thinks that the unmarried daughter will have the right to perform the śrāddha in precedence over the married one as the Gotra of the latter has been changed.⁴ If the daughter is rendered a Putrikā, she precedes over her mother in her claim.⁵ Śūlapāṇi,⁶ however, thinks in case of absence of the 13 kinds of sons, the son of the Putrikā will be the proper person. As the Putrikā is really a substitute for the son, most probably Śūlapāṇi means, if the Putrikā is dead, her son should observe the rites.

Govindānanda⁷ particularly says that the daughter will have the right and not her father, in performing the funeral and śrāddha rites for her mother provided she is brotherless.

Just like the son, the daughter also is not entitled to be married within one year of her father's or mother's death, as the Vṛddhiśrāddha cannot be performed for her.⁸

So far as the Agnisamskāra is concerned, the daughter has the same right as the son.⁹ If the child does not exceed two years, it is not, as a rule,¹⁰

1. Position of the daughter in several other rituals, see my articles in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1938, March, 1939, etc.

2. P. 20, l. 1. The *Śrāddha-vivekakāra*, (F. 22a) however, mentions a long list after whom the daughter is to have her claim.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 462.

4. P. 465, l. 15f : Tad-abhāve sahodara ity atra duhitrabhāve'pi boddhavyam. Patni-duhitarāś caiva iti Yājñavalkyena patny anantaraṃ duhitur dhanādhikāra-pratipādanāt tasya copakārakāvyaṇyatvāt piṇḍa-dānādikāṇcopakārāḥ.

5. P. 22. 1.13.

6. *Śrāddha-viveka*, F. 22a.

7. *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, p. 464 ; also p. 469.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 358, l. 1f ; also p. 468, Putra-kanyā-samskāre kanyā-dānādhikāriṇyā jananyāpi, sva-kanyā-vivāhe vṛdhi-śrāddham kartavyam eva. Vācaspatimiśrādīnām api matam etat.

9. *Pārgs*, III, 10, 5, p. 361, Bom. According to Āpastamba (*Dh. S.* II, 6, 15, 7), the child is buried if it is below one. The parents as well as those who bury it take a bath (and are purified).

10. If the parents or other relatives like, the child may be cremated ; see Karka, Bom. Ed. of *Pārgs*, p. 363, 1.4 ; Jayarāma, *op. cit.*, p. 366, 1.5 ; *Śrāddha-viveka*, F. 22b.

entitled to have the Agnisamskāra i.e., to be cremated. Covered with an unwashed garment adorned with flowers and scented,¹¹ it is put in a pit. No water-libation is to be offered.¹²

If a daughter under two dies, the parents become impure for one day or three days only.¹³ According to some authorities, if she dies before the Cūḍā-karaṇa, the Aśauca (Impurity) passes away immediately;¹⁴ if after Cūḍā-karaṇa, and before marriage, it continues for three days.¹⁵ For the death of a married daughter, the parents need not observe any impurity. But if she dies in their house, they observe Aśauca for three nights.¹⁶

As the Vedic Authority is to supersede the Authority of the Smṛti, the daughter has the right to marry in her adult age at her discretion the person whom she loves most. Adult marriage seems to have been the rule even down to the Sūtra period. Against Prof. JOLLY,¹⁷ Dr. BHANDĀRKAR¹⁸ maintains that the passages in question, viz., Gobhgs., III, 46, Hirgs., I, 19, 2, and Gṛhyā-saṃgraha II, 17, do not go in support of the marriage of a "Nagnikā". The *Jaimins*.⁹ expressly say that the bride should be "Anagnikā : not one who has not menstruated, i.e., she should have puberty". The *Vārgs*.²⁰ says, the bride should be not only Anagnikā, but Asprṣṭamaithunā : "having no sexual experience"; the latter adjective signifies that the girl is married at an age when she is able to have had previous sexual experience. BLOOMFIELD also accepts the reading Anagnikā in ZDMG.²¹ Paṇḍit Satyavrata SĀMŚRAMIN accepts in his edition of the *Gṛhyāsaṃgraha* the reading "Anagnikā."²² Mahāmahopādhyāya C. TARKĀLAŅKĀRA in 1908 quotes the verse Gṛhyāsaṃgraha II, 17 in his edition of *Gobhgs*.²³ with the Nagnikā reading while the same learned author recants his old faith in his later publication (1910) of the *Gṛhyā-saṃgraha*²⁴ itself and supports the Anagnikā reading.

11. *Pārgs*, p. 377, 1.8; *Vaikhgs*, V, p. 82.

12. According to the *Śrāddhahivekakāra*, F. 22b, the girl after two is entitled to the Pūrvakriyā till her marriage. Her father or brother should offer this. By Pūrvakriyā, he means all the rites beginning from the cremation down to the end of the Aśauca, "Tatra dāham ārabhya aśaucānta-dina-paryantā kriyā pūrvā." In case she is cremated, the water-libations must be offered. For the offering of water-libation and the Aśauca, see also *Vasiṣṭha*, IV, 9-10; *Vasiṣṭha* cites the opinion of some who think the child should be cremated after the appearing of the teeth. Cf. *Gautama*, XIV, 34; *Viṣṇu*, XXII, 27-28.

13. *Pārgs*, III, 10, 2-4. Similarly in case of the son too.

14. See *Karka*, *Pārgs*, Bom. Ed. p. 363, 1. 1-2. *Jayarāma*, *op. cit.*, p. 366, 1. 2. For divergent opinions, see *Kullukabhaṭṭa* on *Manu*, VIII, 72, p. 192, *Nirṇayasāgar* Ed.

15. See *Karka* and *Jayarāma*.

16. *Viṣṇu*, XXII, 33-34.

17. ZDMG, XLVI, 413 f; XLVII, 610 f.

18. *Op. cit.*, XLVII, 143 f.

19. P. 19, l. 11. For our interpretation of Anagnikā cf. *Amara-koś* "Nagnikā anāgatārtavā", p. 125, 17.

20. P. II, Baroda Ed.

21. XXXV, p. 572.

22. P. 10-11, *Uṣā*, Ser. I, vol. 10.

23. Vol. II, p. 83.

24. P. 72.

The two verses RV. X. 85, 40.41—AV. XIV. 2, 3.4 are found in various Gṛhya-sūtras.²⁵ Here it is said that Soma, Gandharva and Agni are the three previous husbands of the woman and her human husband is the fourth one. Gobhilaputra says in his Gṛhyā-saṃgraha²⁶ that along with the indications of youth Soma begins to enjoy the woman, Gandharva with the development of breasts, and Agni after puberty. Now, if the human husband is to marry after Agni has enjoyed her as his wife, the Agni being the third husband, he is to marry her after her puberty.

The Vrata of the fourth night²⁷ is to be celebrated for solemnizing the marriage itself as without it the wife cannot be one with her husband in Piṇḍa, Gotra and Sūta.²⁸ This Vrata sanctifies the female body for all purposes and makes the wife same flesh and blood, heart and soul with her husband.²⁹ If the husband and the wife observe penance for one year, they are sometimes given the assurance of having a Ṛṣi son;³⁰ if they cannot restrain themselves, they may have sexual enjoyment after 6, 3, or 1 month or even after 12, or 6, or 3 days, or 1 day at least. As the authorities prescribe that they may enjoy sexually even after a day, the girl must be physically fit for such enjoyment. So in the Sūtra period the girl cannot be married before puberty. With the lowering of the age-limit in later times which came down and down so much that even conception marriage became a matter of great religious concern, the law-givers stick to the principle of the solemnization of the marriage by means of this vrata, but they speak no more of the vrata to take place within one year or after a few days, the reasons for which are obvious. Even those early law-givers who, unlike Manu, Parāśara and Nārada, think that widows should not be re-married even when they suffer from five forms of distress, admit that an akṣatayoni (having no experience of sexual intercourse) widow should, however, be re-married. While there is no scope in the old times for any such distinction, the later device is made as a concession to popular feelings, specially because Law-givers as well as their followers are still immensely guided by the influence of the Sūtrakāras.

Again, the marriage ritual in the Gṛhya-sūtras has no place in it for the girl's father after the Kanyādāna rite. The subsequent rite is entirely an affair of the husband and wife. The mutual promises and assurances of love, protection and obedience,³¹ presuppose a much greater capacity in both than can be attributed to them even in their adolescent period. The proper performance

25. *Pārgs.* I. 4. 16; *Hirgs.* I. 202; *Māngs.* I. 10, 10a.

26. II, 19.

27. *Gobhgs.* II, 5; *Khāgs.* I. 4, 12. *Hirgs.* I, 23, II; 24 and 25; *Āpgs.* 8.8 seq; *Bhārgs.* I, 19; *Pārgs.* I, II, 13; *Sāngs.* I, 18, 19.

28. See *Gobhgs.*, Bib. Ed.

29. Cf. the Mantras, *Pārgs.*

30. *Āsvgs.*; see the Commentaries of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta.

31. The wife: *Vārgs.*, RAGHUVĪRA'S Ed., p. 36, 1.8 ff; p. 43, 1.2 f, etc.; *Kāthgs.*, p. 90, 1.1 f, part. 1.14 f; p. 109, 1.8 f, 16 f, etc., p. 110, 1.15 f; p. III 1.4 ff; etc.

of the ritual requires that the wife must understand the mantras she utters;³² this also presupposes a reasonably advanced age. The Mantra-brāhmaṇa³³ expressly says the girl should be given in marriage only when she longs for a husband.

The Kāma-sūtra and Epics also upheld the discretionary power of the maiden in choosing her husband. The former³⁴ expressly says that the Gandharva, i.e., the Love-form of marriage is the best of all the eight; and it mentions various ways by which the maiden should capture the heart of her lover and the lover that of his lady-love. The Svayamvara³⁵ form of marriage of the Epics is well-known. Manu³⁶ also recognises the Gandharva marriage, the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover, as Dharma, sanctioned by Religion. He also recognises the discretionary power of the bride when he says the consent of the maiden would be necessary³⁷ if she is to be given in marriage to the younger brother of the person who has paid nuptial fee. The Vedic Samhitās, too, show that there is no parental control in this respect, though the parents help the girl to the best of their power in finding out her husband.³⁸ The maiden is anxious to leave her father's Gotra and family for ever and be permanent in her husband's family. If successful in love matters, the younger sister marries before her elder even; if unsuccessful, daughters grow old in the parental abode.³⁹ In order that the maiden may get the husband she wants to have, the AV. gives a series of Love-charms which pass under the name of Strī-kṛtya hymns.⁴⁰ Rival Lovers and Lady-loves perform malicious rites to win the hearts of the desired.⁴¹ There is a magical rite in the AV.⁴² in which the bride binds her lover with her hair; this symbolically means that the lover will be truly hers and hers alone. Various domestic rites⁴³ are also prescribed by the AV. to be performed by the Maiden; these are calculated to help in her love affairs. While the maiden, anxious for having her lover, takes recourse to various Love-charms and other domestic rites, the parents perform for her good the rites⁴⁴ named Rākāholākā, Kumāriyajña and the Saṭoddharāṇa. As to the interpretation of Rākāholākā,

32. The Upodghāta of Bhaṭṭoji Gopinātha Dikṣita, p. 44, 1.24. "Mantrārthajñāna- pūrvakam eva karma- kartavyatā-kathanam", also 1.27; Vyāsa, as quoted in the same, "Mantrārtham anusandhāya japa- homādikāḥ kriyāḥ".

33. 2, 1, 1.

34. Kāmasūtra, p. 233.

35. For absolute Love-marriages, cf. those of Damayanti, Sāvitri, etc. This, however, differs from the Svayamvara of the Smṛti in which the choice of husbands is conferred upon the girl if she is not married till three years after puberty; cf. Manu, IX, 90, etc.

36. III, 25; cf. III, 32.

37. IX, 97 "Yadi kanyā anumanyeta".

38. The parents take part in the rites which the girls perform for a happy ending of their love affairs; cf. AV. II, 36; VI, 60, etc.

39. RV. I, 117, 7; II, 17, 7, etc.; cf. AV. XVIII, 2, 47.

40. AV. II, 30, 2-3, etc.

41. AV. VI, 138; VII, 90; I, 14.

42. VII, 37.

43. AV. II, 36; VI, 30; VI, 82, etc.

44. These rites have not been mentioned by any other Sūtrakāra than Lau-gākṣi.

Devapāla⁴⁵ cites different opinions ; however, the rite is celebrated in the morning for the happiness of the maiden in order that the marriage of the maiden may draw nigh. Brahmadarśana⁴⁶ says Holākā is a famous rite in the Central Provinces as well as in Kāśmīra, wherein a fire is kindled near the gate of the house ; after the Ājyabhāgānta, the main oblation is offered with the Mantra 'yāste Rākā' etc. The Kumārīyajña⁴⁷ also is celebrated for the happiness of the maiden in the place where she dresses herself. After the Ājyabhāgānta, the sacrifice is offered with the Mantra "Indrāṇiṃ āsu nāriṣu", etc. The saṭoddharaṇa⁴⁸ is performed for a betrothed girl during the Sīmantonnayana ceremony of a pregnant wife. The symbolic meaning of the rite is, therefore, nothing but praying for similar fortune of the girl also.

In this rite the hair of the maiden is parted in a charming manner and anointed with cosmetics and adorned with sarvoṣadhi (a mixture of the different herbs) and saffron. Ādityadarśana says⁴⁹ herein the plaiting of the hair should be ceremonially performed with mantras ; during the Anavalobhana⁵⁰ (the rite for preventing disturbances bringing on dangers to the embryo) which is to take place together with the sīmantonnayana of the same pregnant wife, the hair of the maiden should be parted in a charming manner, but this parting should be hardly seen. Thus every tender care is taken that the maiden may get a suitable husband and be happy in marriage while she herself prays to Agni and other gods to win the heart of her lover or if she has none, to have a suitable husband.

Just as the mother is the highest object of veneration and the wife is of love, so the daughter is of affection and tenderness.⁵¹ Parents perform Kāmya-śrāddhas on the Dvitiyā tithis for having a daughter.⁵² Desirous of having a daughter, the husband touches all other fingers of the wife except the thumb during Pāṇi grahaṇa rite.⁵³ Hankering after a daughter, the bridegroom shows the bride after she has reached her new home the Dhruva and other constellations.⁵⁴ The parents deem it a favour of God if they can have their sons as well as daughters by their side during the performance of sacrifices.⁵⁵ The RV.⁵⁶ praises the father of many daughters. The daughter claims her support from parents not for nothing, but for her devotion for them.⁵⁷ They care for her as much as they do for their son ; or it may be said even more, as the father is found to worship the Kumārī as an emblem of Virginity, as an emblem of Purity, of Tenderness, and Devotion and what

45. *Kāthgs.*, p. 287, 1.23f.

47. *Op. cit.*, 1.9-13.

49. *Kāthgs.*, p. 133, 1. 20-21.

51. *Mamu*, IV, 185 "Duhitā kṛpāṇam param" ; *Āit. Brā.* VII, 13.

52. Gobhila- pariśiṣṭa, Śrāddha-kalpa, p. 186 ; *Pārgs.*, p. 538, 1, 21, Commentary of Gadādhara, 1.1.

53. *Āsvgs.*, I, 7, 4, Bom. Ed., p. 23, 1.II-12 ; *Āpgs.*, IV, 12.

54. See Devapāla on *Kāthgs.*, XXV, 45, p. 114, 1.1-2.

55. *RV.* VIII, 31, 6.

56. *RV.* VI, 75, 5.

57. *RV.* II, 17, 7.

not.⁵⁸ Just as the Matrkā-pūjā is to take place at the beginning of all Vedic Rituals, the Kumārī-pūjā is recommended to be performed at the end of them all. In the case of the former, different Vedic Schools have divined different Mothers; so it may be performed even when the Mother is dead. But the latter cannot be performed in the absence of a daughter as she is to be bodily present. The father wraps her up with (new) garments, entertains her with delicious dishes and walks round her. From her first year to the time of puberty, she is worshipped as different deities;⁵⁹ if she is one year old, as Sandhyā; if two, as Sarasvatī and so on. Thus as she grows, the father finds in her different Deities, different manifestations of the supreme soul—all blessing him with different kinds of blessings characteristic of them. The daughter is the embodiment of various blessings for the parents and the family.

Parents get her after much longing and penance as the Self of Blessing, and it is only natural that they would rear her up with as much care as the son.⁶⁰ The supposition of SCHRADER⁶¹ and others⁶² that the depositing of the cooking vessels during the final bath (Avabhṛtha) after Somayāga refers to the adherence of Vedic people to Female Infanticide is not tenable. In the Soma sacrifice the cooking vessels are considered as females and the wooden vessels named vāyavyas as males. Now, the Taittirīya,⁶³ Maitrāyaṇī⁶⁴ and Kāthaka saṃhitās⁶⁵ make similar remarks that as the sacrificer and his retinue carry vāyavya vessels, depositing the sthālīpātras in the bathing place, the daughter is deposited after birth while the son is lifted up. The difficulty arises in connection with the right interpretation of the word Parāsyanti. In his article in ZDMG, BÖHTLINGK says "As" 'As' with prepositions is used not only to imply 'to throw', but also to mean 'to place, to lay', we may very well translate "Parāsyanti" by 'put aside', perhaps among others also by 'hand (the child) over immediately to the person waiting for the child'.⁶⁶ As against "Parā-as" meaning 'to expose', the same scholar publishes the fragment of a letter from Prof. ROTH who regrets, on his reading DELBRÜCK's

58. Trivediya-kriyā-kāṇḍa-paddhati, p. 160. "Adyety-ādi amuka-devatā-pūjādi-karmaṇaḥ paripūrṇa-phala-prāpti-kāmaḥ śrikumārī-pūjana-karmāḥaṃ kariṣya iti saṃkalpya kumārīm āniya devī-buddhyā pūjayet".

59. Evaṃkrameṇa sampūjya yāvat puṣpaṃ na vidyate.

60. Kanyāpyevam pālaniyā śikṣaniyā cātiyatnataḥ—Mahā-nirvāṇa-tantra.

61. SCHRADER, *Reallexicon der Ind. Altertumskunde*, p. 52-53.

62. WEBER, *Ind. St.*, IX, 48; ZIMMER, *Alt. Leben*, p. 319 f; cf. also KAEGI, *Der Rgveda*, VI, 49; LUDWIG, *RV*, VI, 142; PISCHEL, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 48.

62. WEBER, *Ind. St.*, IX, 48; ZIMMER, *Alt. Leben*, p. 319 f; cf. also KAEGI, haranti, tasmāt striyaṃ jātāṃ parāsyanty ut pumāṃsaṃ haranti; see WEBER's Ed., p. 222-223.

64. IV. 6. 4 (85, 3): yat sthālīm riñcanti na dārumayaṃ tasmāt pumān dāyādaḥ stry adāyādā atha yat sthālīm parāsyanti na dārumayaṃ tasmāt striyaṃ jātāṃ parāsyanti na pumāṃsaṃ; the last sentence in 4, 7, 9 (p. 104, 20) also.

65. XXVII, 9: same statement as before.

66. For the original in German ZDMG, vol. 44, p. 495.

Die Indische Verwandschaftsnamen, that the seed of this error was planted by him in the Dictionary under As with Parā.⁶⁷ BÖHTLINGK also says that DELBRÜCK was pleased with, and had nothing to say, against his article.⁶⁸ JOLLY also accepts the view of BÖHTLINGK in his excellent work "Recht and Sitte".⁶⁹ The *Vedic Index*⁷⁰ also accepts BÖHTLINGK's view. SCHRADER,⁷¹ however, does not find satisfaction in the explanation given by BÖHTLINGK, and thinks that in common with other Aryan people ancient Indians also practised Female Infanticide. BÖHTLINGK⁷² is surely sentimental when he says "It hurt me to attribute to the ancient Indians such a piece of barbarism", but gives us sound reason later on. "Then I thought the matter in itself was very improbable, because without a girl the highest blessing of an Indian, viz. the begetting of a son, could not be achieved. As the lifting up of a boy after his birth is to be considered as an expression of joy, so is it easy to presume by Parāsyanti a corresponding expression of disagreeable surprise". There is no doubt that the verb "pārāsyanti" and "ud haranti" express contraries. Āśvalāyana⁷³ uses the verb "ud hr̥" in the sense of "to lift up" when he says "noddharet-prathampātram", etc; "Yadā vā tu uddhṛtaṃ pātram", etc; here, too, this verb in the passages in question means the same. The text in the Taittirīya clearly says the boy is lifted up (ut pumāṃsam haranti) and therefore as a contrary action the girl would be deposited, be kept on the ground and not thrown away; this is only in keeping with the comparison given—the Soma vessels are lifted up and as a contrary action the cooking vessels are allowed to stay on the ground and evidently are not thrown away. These sacrificial utensils are held as pure and are the last objects in the possession of the sacrificer to be thrown off.

The passage in the Maitrāyaṇi-saṃhitā seems to have been quoted by Yāska in his Nirukta.⁷⁴ Durga⁷⁵ in Rjvartha says expressly "atha yat sthālīm parāsyanti havankarmaṇo na tayā juhvati na dār-mayaṃ parāsyanti havana-karmaṇo dārumayenaiva juhvati tasmāt striyaṃ jātām parāsyanti parasmai prayacchanti na pumāṃsam". So as the cooking vessel is deposited, in the offering of oblations no offering is made with it and the wooden vessel is not deposited, in the offering of oblations offerings are made with the wooden vessel only,—the daughter born is given away to others and not to the son. Skandasvāmin⁷⁶ also gives a similar interpretation. Sāyana also understands by "striyaṃ parāsyanti" "Varakule parityajanti". The native commentators do all think that the daughter is given away and evidently, given away to her husband's family and this act is symbolically performed after the birth of the daughter by handing her over to a third person. In their opinion, female

67. *Op. cit.*, p. 1.68. *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

69. P. 78, 1.18-21.

70. Vol. I.

71. *Reallexicon der Ind. Alterumskunde*, p. 153.72. *ZDMG*, vol. 44, p.

73. See p. 2003, Trivandrum Edition, 1.8 and 10.

74. See p. 60, ŚARUP's edition; III, 4.

75. Durga's commentary on *Nirukta*, Bom. Ed., p. 255, 1.3-5.

76. Commentary, ed. by L. SARUP, p. 128, 1.

infanticide is out of the question. This *Parāsana* simply shows much anxiety, even from her birth, of the parents to do the best service to their daughter—to make her happy in marriage and nothing more than that.

It will also be seen in this connection that at the time and in the place where these Texts were composed females, probably, exceeded the males in number. The *Maitrāyaṇī*⁷⁷ qualifies the *Parāsana* of the daughter with the statement “*Striya eva atiricyante*”. The *Tait. Samh.*⁷⁸ says one man can very well have two wives but not one woman two husbands. How could the females supersede the males in number if female infanticide had been the custom?

SCHRADER'S⁷⁹ remark that the Greeks also practised exposition is distinctly opposed to the theory of COOK,⁸⁰ who fights out his cause to show that the current idea as to exposition is “totally unfolded.” SCHRADER⁸¹ again gives us an analogy in favour of his theory that the old were also exposed. Analogy is no valid proof. Moreover, the reference in *AV. XVIII. 2.34* is to the dead men, and not to the old; as regards *Praskanva* on whom *Pārśadvāna* took pity (*RV. VIII, 51, 2. Vālakhilya III, 2*) it is only to be supposed that *Praskanva* was expelled for some crime or other and in his exile he grew old and decrepit. The exposure of the old is quite incompatible with the repeatedly mentioned wish of the Vedic people to live the full extent of life (i.e. 100 years).

The *Nirukta*⁸² holds that the excellent Vedic Mantra “You are produced from each and every limb, you are born from the heart; verily, you are the Self named son, so may you live hundred years” is applicable equally to both the children and no distinction is to be made whatsoever. *Durga*⁸³ in his *Rjivārtha* says as the same rite is observed for the daughter as well as the son and they both are born from each and every limb and the heart, no distinction is to be made, i.e., they are equal. *Manu*⁸⁴ says the son is equal to one's self and the daughter is equal to the son and repeats the same view emphatically when he says the son's son and the daughter's son have no difference⁸⁵ with respect to worldly matters as well as to sacred religious observances and no distinction is to be made between them as the daughter's son is equally fit

77. *MS. 4. 6. 4* (p. 84, 1.4); 4, 7, 9 (p. 104).

78. *VI, p. 6, 4*: *Yad ekasmin yūpe (Hasc.) dve raśane (Fem.) parivayati tasmād eko dve jāye vindate; yan naikāṃ raśanāṃ dvayor yūpayoh parivayati tasmān naikā dvau vindate.*

79. *Reallexicon*, p. 153.

80. *ZEUS*, Vol. II, 2, p. 1229.

81. Cf. his article “*Alte Laute*”, p. 39, where he refers to *ZIMMER, Alt. Leben*, p. 328.

82. *II, 4*; p. 60, *SARUP*'s edition. The *Nirukta* quotes this verse in connection with Female Inheritance. This Mantra is recited by every Vedic school during the *Jātakarma* and the *Proṣyāgatakarma*.

83. *BHADKAMKAR*'s Ed., vol. I, p. 254, 1.5-7. *Tathaiva sati yathaiva pumān angād angāt sambhavati hrdayāc cādhi jāyate tathaiva duhitā api ity aviśeṣa upapadyate.*

84. *IX, 130*: *Yathaiva ātmā tathā putraḥ putreṇa duhitā samā*, p. 362, 1.18, *Nirṇaya-sāgara* Ed.

85. *IX, 133, op. cit.*, p. 263, 1.4; cf. *Yajn. II, 128*.

to save the grand-father (and therefore, the grand-mother too) in the other world like the son's son.⁸⁶

Thus we see that the daughter has in no way a less honoured or responsible position than the son in Vedic Ritual. The parents long to get her and perform all the Saṃskāras for her as for the son. She has the same rights as the son to wear family locks, to have the upanayana, to utter the Vedic mantras together with the Praṇava and to perform all the rites in relation to her parents. The son, has, no doubt, precedence over her in several rituals, particularly the Antyeṣṭi, but this is because she is to care more for her husband's family than her parents' and cannot be supposed to have as much privilege as the son. Moreover, she belongs to the *gotra* of her husband after the Caturthī-karma for which privilege and honour she prays to Agni and performs various domestic rites, the Mother-Instinct being supreme in her. This principle is pronounced remarkably in the fact that the younger sister has precedence over her if the former is unmarried. In case of her death before marriage, the same rights are performed as for the son; but if she is married, her own people do everything for her; still the ceremonial shows that her parental connection is also much cared for. In matrimonial affairs she is as free as the son and has the same rights as he. Nowhere does the Vedic Ritual ignore her importance. On the contrary, the unmarried daughter—Purity, Affection, Devotion and Bliss embodied—seems to be more important than the son with regard to the welfare of the parents. Anyway, the hypothesis enunciated by Manu and other authorities meaning "Putreṇa duhitā samā" remains true and declares the glory of the Creator who does not make any distinction between His sons and daughters.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Ait. Brā. = Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.
Alt. Leben = Altindisches Leben.
Āpgs. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra.
Āśvs. = Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra.
Bhārgs. = Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra.
Dhs. = Dharma-sūtras.
Gautama = Gautama-dharma-sūtra.
Gobhgs. = Gobhila-grhya-sūtra.
Gss. = Grhya-sūtras.
Hirgs. = Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra.
Ind. St. = Indische Studien.
Kāhgs. = Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra.

Khāgs. = Khādīra-grhya-sūtra.
Māngs. = Mānava-grhya-sūtra.
Pārgs. = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra.
RV. = Rg-veda.
Sāngs. = Śāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra.
Vaikhgs. = Vaikhāṇasa-grhya-sūtra.
Vārgs. = Vārāha-grhya-sūtra.
Vasds = Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra.
Viṣṇu = Viṣṇu-smṛti.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

86. *Manu*, IX, 139; p. 364, 1.10-11.

THE BUDDHISTIC AND THE ADVAITA VIEW-POINTS*

By

P. T. RAJU, Waltair.

One reading Buddhist philosophy, especially the Mahāyāna schools, cannot fail to be struck by the great similarity between it and the Advaita. Śaṅkara has often been called by the rival schools of the Vedānta a *pracchanna-bauddha*, a Buddhist in disguise. Bhāskara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*¹ speaks of *vicchinna mūlam mahāyānikabauddhaghatitam māyāvādam*. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya in his *Madhvavijaya*² treats the advaitin similarly. Śrīpati Paṇḍitārādhyā in his *Brahmasūtra bhāṣya*³ calls all the advaitins *pracchanna bauddhas*. It is well known that in the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* Śaṅkara is called so. This shows that many noticed even long ago that in the Advaita there are reflections of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Yet in spite of these accusations, the classical advaitin protests against the identification of his doctrines with those of Buddhism. All who have read Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* must have noticed that he refutes the Buddhist schools along with those of the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya etc. And almost all the followers of Śaṅkara take special pains to contradict Buddhism, not merely its religious side but also its philosophical doctrines. It seems really worth enquiring why the advaitins were so unsympathetic towards them.

The first reason that suggests itself is that Buddhism did not recognise the authority of the Vedas. It started as a purely ethical religion, and in course of time turned philosophical. It began with an indifference towards the ideas of God, soul, and revelation, an attitude opposed to the spirit of the Vedas. The advaitin with his insistence on the sanctity and infallibility of the *Śruti* or Vedas could naturally have nothing to do with Buddhism, and would disclaim every connexion with it.

But when the other Vedantic schools were accusing the advaitin of being a Buddhist, did he not think over his position? If not, why? Or is it simply for fear of being driven out of the orthodox fold that he denied the presence of the Buddhist doctrines in his system? Many have observed and rightly too, that Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍūkya Kārikas* owe much to Buddhist thought. But then is the advaitin ungrateful in not acknowledging? Or is the spirit of the Advaita different from that of the Mahāyāna Buddhism?

To the author of this article the last seems to be the reason why the advaitin fights every school of Buddhism. It is recognised by almost all competent thinkers that every system of philosophy can be developed out of every other

* This paper was read at the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, 1940.

1. I, 4, 25.

2. I, 51.

3. I, 1, 3.

system through constructive criticism. Even in the expositions of any philosopher we find difference between what he ought to have said and what he actually said. Taking an Indian example, we know that Appayya Dīkṣita interpreted Śrīkāṇṭha's philosophy as Śaivādvaita, whereas Śrīkāṇṭha himself declares in so many words that his view is Viśiṣṭādvaita. By collecting together certain statements of Śrīkāṇṭha which do not agree with his Viśiṣṭādvaita position Appayya Dīkṣita has been able to show that Śrīkāṇṭha's real intention was to expound Advaita, and that he should have said something else in some other connexion. Coming to Buddhism itself, we read that the two schools of the Mahāyāna were only developments out of the Sarvāstivāda school, nay, even out of the Theravāda school of the Hīnayāna. Not merely so, even the latest schools of the Mahāyāna claim to be the true teachings of the Buddha and assert that the earlier schools only imperfectly understood him.

Besides, when every line of thought is developed, and developed to the farthest extreme without doing injustice to any aspect of our experience, all converge and give the same result. As BOSANQUET has said, the conception of the Absolute is the highest watermark to which every philosophical speculation rises. There is another view of his, which is very significant when applied to philosophical speculation. It is also significant that it is he who wrote the book, *The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*, in which he points out how radical realism and the highest absolutism meet. The present point is one concerned with logic, but which can be applied with advantage to the logic of philosophising. He tells us in his *Essentials of Logic* that every individual starts with his private experience and in the systematic connexion he establishes between bits of his private experience he comes to realise an objective world. Whether it is true or not in epistemology, we may say that it is true in a sense in philosophising. Every philosopher starts with his own starting point, but in his attempt to include all aspects of experience he comes to a conception which is common to all philosophers. Hence when Buddhistic thought developed to the extreme, it is no wonder that it showed similarities to the Advaita. But the spirit with which it began and the method of its development may be different from those of the Advaita. Hence the latter's repugnance to Buddhism.

What now is the spirit of Buddhism which the advaitin dislikes? First, Buddhism was an unorthodox religion and philosophy which questioned the authority of the Veda. This point is certainly not of pure philosophical importance. Next, Buddha's silence when asked about the truth of the God and the soul has been variously understood. It is by almost all agreed that many of the earliest schools took his silence for denial, and preached the unreality of both. This was quite antagonistic to Hinduism. Further, the understanding of the world by Buddhism was mainly analytical. This point forms the fundamental difference between Buddhism and the Advaita. The Buddhistic doctrine of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, which is best translated by Dr. DASGUPTA's phrase "dependent emergence" is common in one form or

another to all analytical philosophies. Whenever the unity that is characteristic of the whole has to be explained, such philosophies say that the unity is a sort of entity or quality which emerges when a number of entities combine. The soul, according to Buddhism, is practically nothing but the combination of the five *skandhas* or aggregates. But this way of explanation is to catch hold of the parts and lose the whole and its unity. Or it is to explain the higher in terms of the lower. It is to deny the reality of the whole and affirm the reality of the parts. This is what the earliest Buddhist schools actually did. Certainly, later Mahāyāna Buddhism is interpreted by Japanese and Chinese scholars like SUZUKI, SOGEN etc., as affirming the reality of the whole and denying the reality of the parts. But this whole or *Śūnya* is an interpretation and a development of the unreality of the whole of the Hinayāna. We shall see later how this *Śūnya* differs from the Absolute of the Advaita. Here it is enough for us to see that the *Śūnya* remains a sort of negative idea with all its associations with the notion of unreality. Hence the reluctance of the Advaita to accept it. Certainly the *Ālaya* of the *yogācārins* is more positive and is like the *Brahman* of the *advaitin*. But it too developed like the idea of *Śūnya* and, SUZUKI⁴ tells us, is treated as *Śūnya*.

The spirit of the Advaita is not merely analytical. It never loses sight of the whole and its unity, and declares the parts to be only appearances of the whole. The soul is the truth, and the parts of the body come together only for the soul. It tells us that the soul or the self is identical with the Brahman, and, like the later Mahāyānists, says that the world is *māyā*. It is due to some metaphysical *bhrama* or illusion. But this *bhrama* is *sadadhiṣṭhāna*, that is, has a locus. Everything unreal presupposes something real as its basis. And this later is not a mental product but objective. But in Buddhism *bhrama* is *niradhiṣṭhāna*. The *Śūnya* can be the *adhiṣṭhāna* in the Mādhyamika philosophy and the *Ālaya* in the Yogācāra. But the *Śūnya* is not a *bhāvapadārtha* or positive entity; and the *Ālaya*, though more positive, is still *bhāvābhāvātīta*, that is, beyond the positive and the negative. That is, something positive cannot be the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *bhrama*.

Thus negation in Buddhism comes to be without a basis. There is thus a difference between the logic of the Advaita and that of Buddhism. According to the Advaita, every negation presupposes an affirmation. In short the *svarūpa* of *abhāva* is really the *svarūpa* of the locus, which is a *bhāva*, because negation has no ontological validity. There is thus something on which the *advaitin* can stand. But according to the Mādhyamika, even *bhāva* has no ontological validity, hence there is nothing on which he can stand and view the universe.

The *advaitin* denies the ultimate truth of the universe only to affirm the ultimate truth of the Brahman, because both the higher and the lower cannot be equally true for him. But the Buddhist seems to deny the reality of the

4. *Studies in Lankavatara Sutra*, p. 260.

world merely for the sake of denying it. What is the criterion of his pronouncement on this world? Is there a standard truth in the light of which this world has to be declared untrue? If that truth has no *sattā* or *bhāvatva*, how can it be a truth? Śūnya may be said to be truth, but has it *sattā*? The Mādhyamika denies *sattā* to it. His reason is : *Sat* is never seen without *asat*, *bhāva* without *abhāva*. The nature of *bhāva* is to be born and to die, that is, to pass away and become *abhāva*. But Nirvāṇa cannot have death and so is not *bhāva*. The Vijñānavādin's position appears to be different, but he too maintains that Nirvāṇa is Śūnya, and so naturally must be beyond *bhāva* and *abhāva*. And very often the Vijñānavādin speaks of his Ālaya as if it were phenomenal, as the store house of *saṃskāras* etc. But how can unreal things remain in whatever form in the Ālaya? Is it not the Ālaya itself that takes these forms? In fact, the word used by them here is *pariṇāma*, transformation or modification. But how can a real thing become unreal through *pariṇāma*? If the essential being of the Ālaya is the same as that of the phenomena, then either the Ālaya must be unreal or the phenomena must be real. Further this *viññāna* is usually identified with the *buddhi* of the orthodox systems, and the advaitin treats it as unreal. Hence Buddhism in general is often interpreted as holding that the world which is unreal is without a real basis.

But the important question of logic and method here is : Do *bhāva* and *abhāva* stand on the same ontological level? The Mādhyamika seems to argue that they do. But does *bhāva* presuppose *abhāva* just as much as *abhāva* presupposes *bhāva*? He does not follow this line of argument. He tells us that Nirvana is not *bhāva* because it has no death, and it is not an *abhāva* because no *abhāva* is found without *bhāva*. Anyway both *bhāva* and *abhāva* belong to the phenomenal world. But does not *bhāva* occupy a higher place than *abhāva* by being its presupposition? The Mādhyamika seems to think that even *bhāva* cannot occupy a higher place. The reason for him is that destruction is a characteristic of every *bhāva*, that is, there is no *bhāva* without one form of *abhāva* namely *dhvamsa*. But this is an unproved assumption for the advaitin. Some *bhāvas* may be destroyed, but not all. Every *abhāva* presupposes some locus which is a *bhāva*, and though one *bhāva* after another turns into *abhāva*, there must ultimately be something on which all the *abhāvas* can rest, and which must be a *bhāva*. The form of my perception of the absence of the pen on the table is really the form of the table, and the table is an existence without which the absence could not have been perceived.

But the question may be put : Is not the pen also ultimately unreal even according to the Advaita? If so, both *bhāva* and *abhāva* are unreal, and therefore cannot express the nature of Nirvāṇa or the Absolute. It is true that the Advaitin, after dismissing the snake seen in the rope as unreal, later declares the rope too unreal. But the rope is unreal relatively to the

Absolute, whereas the snake is unreal relatively the rope. That is, ontologically the rope occupies a higher position than the snake, and the Absolute the highest position. But the Absolute is not perceived by our senses like the rope. It is an ideal obtained by the application of the criterion of truth formulated at the empirical level. So the ontological unreality of the rope is with reference to the ideal truth and not the perceptual truth. That is, no empirical perception informs us that the rope is unreal. Hence so far as our perceptual experience goes, it remains a *bhāva*. But then when we reach the ideal truth our ideas of *bhāva* and *abhāva* have to be readjusted. Certainly *abhāva* is not the same thing as unreality or *Māyā*; yet the lower reality is absent in the higher, and the advaitin himself says that there is *prapañcaniṣṣeṣābhāva* in the Brahman. Just as there is the negation of the snake in the rope at all times, there is negation of the rope in the Absolute at all times. And just as the rope is the locus or support of all the *abhāvas* that can be perceived in it and of all things for which it can be mistaken, the Absolute too is the support of all the *abhāvas* that exist in it and of all things for which it can be mistaken. And either for unreality or for *abhāva* the support is always *bhāva*. The distinction between reality and unreality ultimately settles down into that of *sat* and *asat*.⁷ With reference to the snake the rope is *sat*. And we get the Absolute only when the criterion formulated in order to determine what is *sat* is idealised and when applied to the rope itself becomes inapplicable. Hence we go beyond the world to the Absolute. The idealised criterion of *sat* is applicable only to it. Thus it is our search for a complete and perfect *sat* that leads us to the Absolute. To say therefore that the Absolute is not *sat* is not only disappointing but also illogical. This readjusting of our idea of *sat* or *bhāva* is wanting in the Mādhyamika philosophy.

But it may be asked why not fix the concept of *bhāva* to the phenomenal things which are always becoming, and treat the Absolute as beyond *bhāva* and *abhāva*? Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS has been insisting upon treating *bhāva* as becoming and not as being and Nirvana as the objective of this becoming. But then according to her Nirvana must be a positive entity and not beyond the positive and the negative. And the Mādhyamika does not seem to follow her. He just treats the phenomenal world only as *bhāva* or existence and Nirvāṇa as beyond it. And this is a question of method. But the important point is, if we treat the phenomenal things as *bhāvas* then naturally our thought must rest satisfied with them. What then must spur it to go beyond the phenomenal world? If I have true existence in my hands I do not go elsewhere in search of it. Only because the phenomena do not satisfy the criterion of ideal *sat* or existence, do we proceed to the Absolute and treat them as unreal. And because the Absolute satisfies the criterion, it must be

6. STCHERBATSKY : *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, p. 32. Also McGOVERN : *An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 60 foll.

7. *Bhāva* is *sat* even according to the Buddhists. Cf. *Mādhyamika Kārikās*, P. 86. *Kārikā* 10, also, ch. v, 8.

regarded as *sat* or *bhāva*, and relatively the phenomena should be regarded as not *bhāva*. If we are not prepared to readjust our concepts, our thought becomes unsystematic and so far our philosophy will be defective.

It is for this reason that the *Śūnya* or *paramārthasatya* of Nāgārjuna, which is neither *sat* nor *asat* seems to be simply the *Māyā* of the advaitin. *Māyā* also is neither *sat* nor *asat* and the difference between it and *Śūnya* is only in name. Further, Nāgārjuna tells us that the world is *Śūnya* and there is no difference between the two.⁸ In the Advaita the world is *Māyā*, but it is not the same as the Brahman. True, it has no separate existence from the Brahman, only because it has no reality, not because the two are identical. The advaitin too tells us that every thing is the Brahman just as the Mādhyamika tells us that every thing is *Śūnya*, but the reasons for the two are different; for the former the reason is that nothing else exists, but for the Mādhyamika it is that nothing exists. The latter maintains that the world is *bhāva* but in its essence it is identical with the *Śūnya* which is neither *bhāva* nor *abhāva*. The advaitin too holds that we start with treating the world as *sat*, but when we enquire into its essential nature, we find that it is neither *sat* nor *asat* and is *Māyā*. So both treat the world alike saying that it is not real. But the advaitin goes further and points to something which is real, whereas the Mādhyamika is satisfied with simply pointing out that the world is not real. He certainly speaks of *paramārthasatya*, but that is for all appearance simply non-existence or to avoid a negative term, it does not exist. The tendency is in a piece with that of the early Buddhists according to whom *Nirvāṇa* is just the destruction of the combination of the *skandhas*. What the Buddhist is specially concerned with is an analytical understanding of the world in order to destroy it. The four-fold truth of *duḥkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha*, and *mārga*, is meant to show that the world is sorrow, and it being an aggregate the destruction of *duḥkha* can be accomplished by destroying the aggregate. In some earlier schools the simplest elements are regarded as eternal *bhāvas*, but the Mahāyāna does not so regard them. In spite of this difference what is wanted by both is a state where nothing can be known or experienced. This is achieved, according to the early schools, by destroying the phenomenal self which is nothing but a *saṅghāta* of the various *skandhas*, and according to the later schools, by realising that every thing is *Śūnya*. The later concept seems to be a purely logical development of the former. No wonder then that the advaitin could not accept this view. A little more constructive effort would have landed the Buddhist in the position of the Advaita.

The Mādhyamika *Śūnya* brings to mind the place of material substance in BERKELEY's philosophy, and that of the spiritual substance also in that of HUME. Both have analysed our ideal of substance, found that we can find nothing in it but our ideas, and so declared that it is unreal. Because BERKELEY admitted the truth of the spiritual substance, so far he may be compared

8. *Mādhyamika Kārikās*, ch. xxvi, 19.

to the Vijñānavādin and HUME to the Mādhyamika. Of course, the comparison ends there, for the differences in other points are overwhelming. But the general tendency of the Buddhist philosophers, like that of the empirical philosophers of Europe, is analytical; while that of the Advaita is rather rationalistic. But here we should be on our guard, for the advaitin never tries to deduce every thing from a single or a few first principles. He is, on the other hand, critical and his method is transcendental like KANT'S. His intention is to find out something which is beyond the contradictions of the world, but the Mādhyamika merely ends with pointing out these contradictions, and because he could not see anything beyond them, he maintains that nothing positive is beyond them. His philosophical vision seems to be limited to this world; he starts with the idea of the world as *bhāva*, analyses it into something which is neither *bhāva* nor *abhāva*, and stops there.

This paper discusses only the general tendencies. For, in Buddhism every type of philosophy can be found, and it would be easy to point out that Buddhism is realistic, idealistic, nihilistic, believed in the ātman and God, does not believe in them and so forth. But it is hoped that the general outlook of Buddhism and of Buddhism as generally understood by the Hindu is correctly represented in this paper. Reasons can be found in the discussion itself why the general Hindu thinks of Buddhism in the way he does. It is true that the Yogācāra philosophy and the Mādhyamika too with some additions and alterations can be turned into the Advaita. But these modifications and additions are so important that they change fundamentally both the outlook and method of Buddhist philosophy.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CINNAMON TRADE (1600-1661)

By

J. C. DE, Calcutta.

Among the various products of Ceylon which led the Europeans to resort to commerce, privateering and quasi-privateering, a most important place is to be assigned to cinnamon.

According to Father De Queyroz "Javira-Paracrama-Ban" "increase (ed) his treasures by trade, especially in cinnamon, which already in times past issued from Columbo to various parts of India and to the island of the Caiz in the Persian Gulf between Queixome and Cape Habaó on the coast of Lestan, whence it passed to Syria, now Suria, thence to Greece and the rest of Europe under the name of Caizligna".

Maetsuyker recommended that an extremely conciliatory policy must be pursued by the Dutch towards "the (Ceylonese) King" because, their "desire chiefly" was "that (they), should not be deprived of the cinnamon through which must come the payment of the great sum in which he is indebted to us".

Later on, Baldaeus says, "the Isle of Ceylon is very fertile in Rice and all sorts of Fruits It abounds also in Sugar-reeds, and Mulberry-trees, which produce a good quantity of silk ; as in Ginger, Pepper, Cardamum tobacco, wild Palm-trees affording vast quantities of a kind of Sugar They are stor'd also with Calabass Trees, Cotton trees, Areck trees long pepper" etc. "But the Helen or the Bride in Contest of this Isle is the finest and purest Cinnamon which growing only in this Island, no wonder if we (the Dutch) have disputed the entire possession thereof for so many years with the Portugueses".

The cinnamon according to Father de Queyroz was found "in great abundance" in Ceylon, and was "in quality the very best in the known World". A carack which arrived from Lisbon under the captaincy of Sancho de Faria da Silva was attacked by the Dutch led by Matijs Henricus Quast. Da Silva lost his life in the engagement, and Quast died a fortnight later of his wounds. "Much treasure", says Fremlen, the English President, "was not (however) found for the Company, yet the saylors got good pil-lage". "The caracks self they intend to Battavia, and have removed her from Goa to Ceiloan, where they have a fleete of 10 or 12 great ships, with which it is thought they intend to assault and (if they can) surprise Columbo before the expected peace bee published". "The V(ice)Roy hath on a Dutch vessel sent a gentleman of good quality to the Battavian Generall, so desirous the Portugalls are even to beg peace, or a cessation of armes at least untill it come confirmed from Europe".

One of the reasons why Colombo rose to prominence during these days lay in her central position relative to the cinnamon growing areas. Negombo was also important in this connection, and she is said to be "the chief place of the Seven Corles where the best cinnamon on the face of the globe grows, and in very great abundance". The Dutch used to pack their cinnamon in leather. But Van Goens points out that attempts were also made during our period of packing the bark in gunny. The collection of cinnamon in Ceylon was made, by a special caste on whom thus devolved the marketing of one of the most important products of the island, in those days. "Without them, (the Chjalias)" "says Maetsuyker, for example, "no cinnamon can be procured which nevertheless must be obtained by the Honourable Company who would also greatly be embarrassed as regards the transport of the collected cinnamon without the help of those "castes who are yearly enrolled for this purpose".

Negombo, we must also remember, was noted for its fishing industry, and the sailing qualities of the local people were of no mean order. Van Goens wanted to fortify it strongly. "(Otherwise)", he says, "we might easily lose this valuable place in course of time or during a sudden war with a European power, whereby we would not only be deprived of the best quality and not far short of the half of all the Ceylon cinnamon, but yea, at one and the same time lose all our profits, projects and designs". Among the numerous other references to Ceylon cinnamon areas in the Dutch documents of our period we may note, in passing, a passage from the Dagb Register of 1643-44 which says that the most fertile districts in which cinnamon of the best quality grew were found round about the country "between Colombo and Negombo which with the 23 miles under the Galle jurisdiction consisted of 34 miles of cinnamon lands" from which "great profit (was) derived".

The Asiatic skipper who had been carrying Ceylon products including cinnamon century after century viewed with natural distrust and jealousy the advent of De Albegaria off Colombo, while the gods watched with cynical amusement the bestowal of various concessions by another Asiatic—the Simhalese king—to him.

An arrangement was arrived at by which in exchange for an offensive and defensive alliance, 124,000 lbs. of cinnamon were to be supplied to the Portuguese every year.

With the crouch of a tiger preparing for a spring the Dutch took stock of the mature Portuguese commerce with Ceylon.

Patiently and tenaciously, deligently and earnestly, Dutch captains and traders developed commercial intercourse with the rich island, the first Dutchman to visit her shores being the tactful Joris van Spilbergen. He was granted an audience by Vimaladharmasurya. "The King speaking with him of the negotiations regarding the Cinnamon and Pepper, the General was not willing to agree to the price that the King demanded, so they let the talk of negotiations drop and came to other discourses". Finding the price ex-

orbitant, the crafty Dutchman pointed out with all the suavity of a diplomat that his primary business was to arrange a treaty of friendship between Orange and the King. "The General", says the Journal, "answered that he had not come there for Pepper or Cinnamon but simply to obey the command of His Excellency, which was to offer the King friendship on behalf of his Princely Excellency". The King (true to oriental tradition and culture) "took the General in his arms and raised him up saying", "All the Pepper and Cinnamon that I have given is given to you." Spilbergen by that one stroke won the battle on all points, and the King subsequently asserted, "See I, my Queen, Prince and Princess will help to carry on (our) shoulders the Stones, Lime, and other materials, if the States and his Pr. Excellency be pleased to come and build a castle here in my land".

Spilbergen further impressed the King presenting to him one of the three vessels filled with arecanut, Pepper and Cinnamon which the Dutch captured from the Portuguese. It was a "Galiot of about 40 lasts new and well made."

At the same time, "the Stones he brought with him from Ceylon" (according to Cornelis Jolyt's letter of 18th, November, 1602) "were estimated high. Part of the money that paid for these was obtained by selling the lading of one of the Portuguese prizes.

Ultimately, in addition to precious Stones and other presents, the Dutch chief received "60 Canasters of Cinnamon, 16 Bales of Pepper, (and) 4 Bales of Turmeric". "There was more Cinnamon, but the road (was) long", and "we could not stay there longer."¹

It must also be remembered that not only did the inhabitants of other parts of Asia come to trade with Ceylon by this time, there were a good many who became settled in Ceylon. In spite of Portuguese efforts to the contrary their migrations continued, and the Portuguese official became sometimes compelled to obtain their help for collection of merchandise. When however in 1625 the Portuguese expelled many of them from their spheres of influence, they colonised divers parts of Sinhalese Ceylon.

Spilbergh (Spilbergen) also captured a Portuguese ship in the seas of Atjeh, being helped in his privateering exploit by the English under Lancaster. Leaving Conelis Specix to manage commercial affairs, Spilbergh returned home. The era of disorganised Dutch trading in the East closed with this voyage.

When the V. O. C. came into existence, the enthusiasm for Ceylon products in Dutch minds continued unabated, and De Weert, the leader of its first voyage, reached Ceylon with three ships. Two of these were sent over to Atjeh, and then De Weert sought an audience of the king at Kandy, intent on getting supplies of Ceylon silk, pepper, cinnamon etc. to the exclusion of all other competitors. The king was ready at the interview to grant him

1. Selections from the Dutch records of the Ceylon Government (Reimers); *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. VI; Anthonisz: *The Dutch in Ceylon*; Piers: *Ceylon and the Hollanders* etc.

many a concession on conditions that he drove the hated Portuguese (preferably without their bag and baggage) out of the island. Actually, bales of Cinnamon and Pepper were handed over to him as presents from the king. Galle and Colombo were to be wrested back, and then all the Cinnamon that the island could produce would be his nation's. Elated with the prospect, the Dutch commander, an able sailor, proceeded to the Archipelago, got hold of five more Dutch ships, and came back to Ceylon. But his crew shot down cattle for food, a royal ambassador who had been a passenger on the Dutch fleet, was used with discourtesy at table, and the command of the Sinhalese monarch. Consequently, in spite of a royal letter which arrived in the meantime providing for an annual lading of 1000 cwt. of cinnamon, and the same weight of pepper to the Dutch, the interview which followed between the Dutch commander and the king ended tragically.

It is said that the drunken Dutchman made some insulting remarks about the Queen. "Sebald de Wreet", says Baldaeus, "being somewhat heated with strong Liquor, reply'd indiscreetly, That certainly the Empress could not be in distress for a Man, and that he was resolv'd not to sail to Gale, or to fight against the Portuguese, before the Emperor had done him the honour of viewing his ships". The king thereupon ordered his arrest. While resisting these orders, he was killed. Some followers of his also met with the same fate. The king went back to Kandy and wrote (in Portuguese) to the Dutch officers off Batticaloa, "Que bebem vinho nao he boa, Deos fes justicia, se quiseires, pas, pas, se quires guerra, guerra". The terse message could not however for the moment keep the Dutch in Ceylon, and part of the fleet sailed to Patani, and the rest to Banten. The second act in the Dutch cinnamon drama was over.

In 1612, Marcellies de Bosschouwer, a servant of the V. O. C., came to Ceylon, armed with letters from "De Edele Groot Mogende Heeren", the States-General, and "Prince of Orange, Earl of Nassan, Catzenellebagen", etc. The letters announced the Dutch Truce with the Portuguese and solicited for commercial facilities. The letter from the Prince significantly pointed out, "We did not think fit to stipulate in the said Treaty, that (the Portuguese) should be excluded from the Traffick of Ceylon, but left the same to your Majesty's Discretion". Negotiation with the king led to an agreement which promised a supply of superior cinnamon at a fixed price to the Dutch who were also granted other trade concessions by Senerāt. "His Majesty", records Baldaeus "engages to deliver yearly all the Cinnamon that is to be got to our Company, to be paid either in Money or in Merchandise, according to the usual Exchange". The envoy was created Migamuwe Rala and won a high place in the king's confidence. In 1615, he proceeded to Europe to conclude the alliance on behalf of the king against the Portuguese, and brought back, (as we have seen before) the Danes with him.

The Danish help however did not prove to be of much use in the war with the Portuguese who carried on a ding-dong fight with the Sinhalese, till Rājasingha came to the throne after Senerāt's death.

Rájasinha offered an offensive alliance against the Portuguese to Reyniersz, the Dutch Governor of Coromandel, to last as long as the sun and moon. This was a phrase which corresponds to the *ácandrârkasamakâlina* of the ancient Hindu Royal charters, and reminds us once again of the survival of unadulterated Hindu-Buddhist documental phrases in Ceylon during our period. The message, it is also noticeable, was sent by a Bráhmaṇa.

The Dutch Council of India eager for acquisition of Ceylon cinnamon jumped at the proposal, and Jan Thyssoon Pyaart was sent to the young and masterful king of Kandy. Reyniersz had provided his envoy with a letter pointing out that the Dutch were ready to aid the king with men and arms, if he would let them have a lading of cinnamon shortly, and promise them the monopoly later on. The letter further stated that Admiral Adam van Westerwold could be asked on the conclusion of a formal agreement to send ships to carry out the expulsion of the Portuguese and take away some cinnamon. "If your Majesty will be pleased", said the letter to the "Most Potent Emperor", "to allow us the Exportation of some Cinnamon, we oblige our selves to assist your Majesty with Musquets, Powder, Ammunition, and other arms; so that in case you will order two or more ships cargo's of cinnamon to be got ready for our use against May next, we either will pay ready Money for it, or exchange the same for Ammunition or other Merchandizes as your Majesty shall think fit".

The student must however bear in mind that this spice for a regular supply of which the European nations of our period were ready to go to any conceivable length, was not, as it has been fondly supposed to be by some scholars, the monopoly of Ceylon, in all senses of the term, during our period. It had certainly its competitors, for example, in the "cinnamon de mato" of the Malabar coast.

The cinnamon of Malabar did not escape the attention of Linchoten who says that it was known as "Canella de Mato or wilde cinnamon, and (was) forbidden to be carried into Portingale".

Cinnamon, according to a Swally Marine letter of 1648 was of two varieties,—the Ceylon product and "Coylon or false cynamon". The latter was also probably known as Trambone cinnamon, after the equivalent word *trampão* in the Portuguese language. The Surat Letter-Book says in 1660 that it was called "canella d(e) matto" at Cochin; "by us, cassia lignum or coarse cinnamon". Among Dutch documents, the Treaty of Westerwold with Rájasinha mentions "caneel de matte". It was not to be offered by the king to the Dutch. Later on, van Goens also refers to it in the passage:—"inkopen ende dat den wilden Canneel wort ingehouden" etc.

Maetsuyker also tells us that care should be taken "to see that no coarse or otherwise inferior cinnamon is delivered".

Baldaeus, the "Minister of the word of God in Ceylon" who left the island by the close of our period, and whose work on Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon saw light in Amsterdam a few years afterwards, says that there

were three "different sorts of Cinnamon" in "the East Indies", the first being the "Canel Fino" of "the Portugueses", "being the same that is taken from very young, or at least not very old Trees". The second was the "Canel Grosso", "taken from very thick and old Trees", and the third the "Canel de Mato" of Malabar. The last variety was very much lower in price, and "in no esteem".

"A voyage to Congo and several other countries chiefly in Southern-Africk" by Father Merolla da Sorrento "in.....1682", "made English from the Italian", again says, "Not many years since Cinnamon was first to be brought hither by the King of Portugal from the East-Indies..... (In) a Marsh belonging to" "the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus" "about four Miles from the City of Baia" "it has thriv'd to a Miracle". Though the Ceylon Cinnamon was (as we have seen above) according to Father de Queyroz "the very best in the known World" "it (was) also found in Malvar and Birna, an island of the Archipelago". An inferior kind was also apparently cultivated in the country round Goa. "This is" however "the spice that made the Island of Ceylon famous".

Secondly, it is apparent from some of the above statements (and also from other records) that all the cinnamon which grew in Ceylon could not be categorised into a single class, because the inferior commodity (used both as a substitute and as an adulterating agent) was grown in the island itself. The Fergusons tell us that there are ten kinds of Ceylon cinnamon, though four only are usually barked. Maetsuyker apparently alludes to these when he says, "The cinnamon which is right, good and fine, is found only in these low lands of Negombo, Colombo and Gale....But the best and the finest quality is found in the Negombo district or the Seven Corles".

We need not go here into technical botanical distinctions and differences. From our present point of view, it will be sufficient to note that Chinese cinnamon (*cassia lignea*) is to be distinguished from Ceylon cinnamon. The so-called Chinese cinnamon however grows elsewhere for example in the hills of Bengal, east of the Padmá Bāngálá proper. The Malabar variety (the Karuwa which is the ordinary Tamil equivalent to cinnamon) has been sometimes taken to be the same as *Laurus Cassia*, and sometimes as little different from the Ceylon product.

Pridham writing in 1849 points out that Malabar produced *Cassia lignet*, and adds that "the external appearance of the two varieties of the aromatic laurel, viz. *Laurus cinnamomum* and *Laurus cassia*, is very similar, and cannot be distinguished when growing except by the leaf, and then only by an experienced eye".

But the finer qualities of Ceylon cinnamon have to be distinguished from the Indian product. According to Rev. Cordiner efforts made to grow these on the Coromandel Coast later on, failed.

This writer also extols the value of cinnamon as an article of merchandise "which has long rendered the island famous, and still forms the chief article of commerce".

Thirdly, even in ancient times Ceylon does not seem to be the only country which grew cinnamon.

Regarding the karuwa (Malabar) and the kurundu (Ceylon), the Fergusons say, "The prepared bark of the karuwa is, according to good authority, inferior to the best Ceylon cinnamon. It is, however, allowed to be superior to the produce of the cinnamon trees which is found on the northern and eastern part of the island".²

The greedy merchant of this period had no scruple to pass the other commodity or variety (or varieties?) off as Ceylon cinnamon, (which came to the market in large quantities) because the Malabar kind was about 70% cheaper than the Ceylon product. Adulteration must have been frequent. To take examples. The cinnamon procurable at Cochin is definitely spoken of as being adulterated with cassia in a Swally Marine letter of 24th October 1650. The same document adds that the English hoped to obtain a supply apparently of the better kind from the Portuguese Viceroy. In 1650 it was arranged to send Goodyear in the Expedition to Goa for fetching the spice. But he was also asked to purchase in course of his voyage a quantity of cassia lignum, perhaps for purposes of convenient adulteration. It may be argued that if the English wanted to export the adulterated product, they could have bought it from Cochin directly, without sending for it, to Goa. But Cochin was further off, (as they themselves say in the letter from Merry and others on 24th October, 1650) than Goa, and the proportion of adulteration there might have been higher than what the Company would have cared to tolerate. At the same time, some (comparatively) pure Ceylon cinnamon could be also kept separate for purposes of sale, if a supply of the better quality merchandise could be obtained from Goa.

Adulterated cinnamon is apparently referred to in the record of the Court dated 30th September, 1643. Hall, the owner wanted a concession rate from the Company, and in part payment offered some ropes and powder on this occasion. Ryder who purchased some cinnamon from the Company, discovered "flags, dust and sweepings" present in the spice, and some reduction in price had therefore to be ordered by the Court in 1652.

In any case, an English trade in cassia lignum grew during the period under review. The Court Books say on 19th August, 1635 (for example that the Swan brought 300½ lb. of cassia lignum to Europe, on behalf of Richard Deane and John Pearson serving in that ship. Next year, one cwt. of cassia lignum was allowed to be carried free on behalf of Mrs. Jennings. Another widow—Helen Pickering—was granted a rebate of 50% on the freight of cassia lignum carried on her behalf, the same year.

Fremlen's letter of 13th February, 1638 points out to the Company that cassia lignum and red-wood were sent out to Persia from India in the Blessing. The Persian markets were favourable to sale of these. "Here the markets are

2. Linchoten's Voyage; *Selections from the Dutch Records etc.*; O. C. 2062; Baldaeus: *A Description of East India etc.*; Father de Queryroz: *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (Father Perera); Ferguson: *All about Spices etc.*

constantly very certaine, and so the Dutch finde them, who of all sorts of comodities vend infinite quanteties". By his time, Weddell is thought to have laded 7,349 lb. of the "cinnamon de mato" in the Planter, which was admitted to be of an inferior quality. (His ship also carried among other commodities 150,000 lbs. of Malabar pepper).

John Weddell, a rather notable figure in the English commercial history of these days, had reason to be dissatisfied with the "Old Company." He left their service, and sailed to the East in 1636 with a royal commission. He commanded six ships, one of which was the Planter with Edward Hall as her captain. On arrival off Goa, he wrote to Methwold in a characteristic way :—"I must take the like out of my just vexation to advertize you that your sugar hereafter bee as much as your gall in all your letters ; else I shall never hold your phisicke to bee well tempered." He was not pleased with Methwold all the more because Methwold's letter was "patched and cobled with Cobbes pranks, whome you likewise falsely taxe mee in your particular letters to have supplied beyond what was fitt". Cobb was accused as is well known, of some quasi-privateerings in Eastern Waters.

In 1647, it was proposed that the Hind should carry to Surat "black pepper, tortoise shells, cubebs, brimstone, long pepper, cassia lignum, and three parrots (which cost 26 rials of eight)". Cessia lignum and long pepper "received from Bantam" is also mentioned in a long letter of 6th January, 1648. It is not however to be preferred to piece goods for purposes of exportation. This letter also refers, we may note incidentally, to the declining trade of the Portuguese in cinnamon.

"From Goa there are this yeare designed three gallions for Portugall ; but will not carry such quantitys of cynamon as formerly, the Dutch, by enhancing the price, haveing drawne the greater part thereof unto them." The "Adventurers in the Second General Voyage" were sent some cassia lignum as a sample, in 1649. The record of the Court of Sales dated 3rd October of the same year refers to the sale of cassia lignum, cinnamon and ginger in Europe. This ginger was received from Bantam and China. Early in 1651, Swally Marine wrote that it had obtained sixty-three bales of cinnamon from Goa ; but cassia was not available, because the flotilla from Ceylon had not yet come in. Ceylon was possibly also exporting "cassia" at this time. Further on in the same document, the possibility of obtaining cassia lignum at Goa is referred to. Some of this commodity was sold in a damaged state in Europe, by this time, and Vendermarsh, the purchaser, had to be granted a reduction in price.

Cinnamon of course is a merchandise of first rate importance to the English trader throughout the period under review.

May in his, "Briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies begun the 10th of April, 1591" etc. says "We weyed anker in the moneth of November and arrived at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamonn, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make up our voyage ; whereof he conceived

great hope, by certaine intelligence which wee had receiued ; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and every day ready to go together by the eares...would not stay, but would needs go home".

"The best cinnamon" according to Fitch came from Ceylon where it "is pilled from fine young trees".

In "the Prices of Goods in India" of "Le 30 August, 1609" we find that "of Ceylon (cinnamon) a very great quantity might yearly here be had (at) about 7, 8 or 9 m. per maund". Lawrence Femell and High Frayne writing to "Sir Henry Middleton, Knight, abroad the Trades Increase" again says on "Nov. 15th 1610", "We told him" (a Turkish officer) "our cinnamon we fetch from Zelian, our Pepper from Acheen and Bantam where, we told him, we have our factories".

The "Avizo from Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton, in the Red Sea" speaks of the island's commercial possibilities thus, "At Ceylon you may buy cinnamon, pearls, rubies and some other stones ; for these you may sell fine calicoes, powder pieces, lead and tin".

The Court Minutes of 20th January, 1614 refers to cinnamon sold to Mr. Garraway which was "not to be garbled". Again on 31st of March the "request of Hugh Hamersley concerning the purchase of some cinnamon" was considered. Connock and Barker writing from "Jasquis" on 19th January, 1617, say that "for augmentation and increase of our capital in this place...we have writ to General Keeling, or to whomsoever shall be President at Bantame, to send us annually one ship's lading (of the burden of 400 tons or more) of spices, whereof two-thirds pepper and the rest in nutmegs, clove, mace and cinnamon, of each is equal proportion, which we are confident will sell here almost to as good rates as in England". Roe referring to "synoman" water, says that this essence (?) (of which he wants a "quart"), "two bottles of the oil", "a little cheese" and "four or five bottles of sack and red wine" will not fail to cheer him up, even when he is not in the best of health. We may also notice that cinnamon was being sold at "thirteen rupees per maund" at Agra in 1617.³

A quantity of cinnamon was procured by Robinson from Cannanore, some years later. By that time, Methwold writes to the Portuguese Viceroy to sell him pepper and cinnamon in spite of the restrictions that officer sought to impose on English trade.

In 1638, the Company in their letter to Surat of 16th March prefers the export of cinnamon to that of saltpetre, for example.

The Court refers on 24th January, 1640 to forty-eight "skynns or fardles" of cinnamon which were to be handed over to Methwold, and twelve to Bailly. On 27th January, 1644, an allowance of 20l. on account of freight

3. O. C. 2179 ; Ct. Bk. XIX ; XXIII ; C. M. ; Ct. Bk. XVI ; O. C. 1622 ; F. R. Sur. cii ; E. F. 1646-50 ; Letter Books I ; O. C. 1576 ; 2062 ; Ct. Bk. XX ; O. C. 2115 ; 2204 ; C. S. P. 682 ; Ct. Bk. III ; L. R. 437 ; 559 ; 581.

was ordered to be remitted to the Master of the Reformation, relative to the cinnamon he brought in as private trade.

William Broadbent was asked to pay freight for the cinnamon he had imported on his own account, in 1642. On 4th August, 1643, it was ordered by the Court of Committees that no private trade in black pepper, indigo, cotton goods and cinnamon was to be allowed. About a fortnight later, some special arrangements for sale of cinnamon and other commodities, effecting "a division" "of 20% in cinnamon at 3s. per lb." under certain conditions, were arrived at. A wholesale price (6m/s sight) of 3s. per lb. was fetched by this spice by the end of 1643. In the various Court of Sales records and elsewhere, many sales of cinnamon and pepper with their prices are referred to, that of 11th March, 1647, mentioning Jambi and Malabar pepper, mace and cloves. 1,900 bags of pepper were imported into England on account of the Fourth Joint Stock alone, by 1645.

We may notice incidentally that by this time (according to the Dutch Register) 12,570 lbs. of cinnamon, consisting of 290 parcels, 186 from Rájasingha and the rest procured from Negombo, were conveyed from Ceylon to the Archipelago by the Delfshaven and the Hasewint.

By the beginning of 1650, a meeting of several Committees comes to the conclusion that private trade in cinnamon, silk, cardamoms, pepper, mace, nutmegs, cotton goods, elephant's teeth, cloves etc. was to be discouraged. "None of us intend", they declared, "our private advantage before the general good". A few months later, it was definitely decided not to allow private merchants to export elephants' teeth and to import cinnamon, black and white pepper, cloves, cardamoms, indigo, etc. But facilities were to be given to the officers and crews of freighted ships to trade in cassia lignum, bezoar, diamonds, pearls, rubies, civets, ambergris etc., under certain conditions.

The same year, Jones was to be appointed to garble cinnamon and other commodities which would profit by such action. Cuttler who was a competing applicant was not given the employment. Cuttler, we may note, when faced with a demand for payment of a sum of money he owed the Company pointed out that the Company had not delivered him the cinnamon he paid for.

William Vincent bought some ungarbled cinnamon in 1650, and some concession had therefore to be made to him. Captain Ryder again had bought some ungarbled cinnamon for exportation. He was permitted to garble it at his own expense.

A General Court of Sales of 12th November, 1652, records the sale of garbled cinnamon (garbled), cloves (garbled), nutmegs (garbled) and white pepper.

Cinnamon was to be obtained by trade. But sometimes privateering and quasi-privateering as we have seen above, also supplied mercantile needs. The Portuguese were plundered of cinnamon, China roots and benzoin, for example, by 1619.

The Expedition seized two Portuguese vessels, and this cinnamon came very probably out of these. It was ultimately sent to Europe for sale. In this connection, we find a comment about the pepper trade also. "Pepper", says Surat to the Company, "is neathere so cheape as (some) factors wrote, nor quantity sufficient (if to bee had) to defray the charge in fetching" it from Calicut. "The Samorine of thatt country (was) so misserably poore as hee would be glad of occasion to eate on your stocke". President Bix of Bantam and others, again, point out on 20th June, 1628 that Slade succeeded in seizing two Portuguese ships with cargoes of cinnamon, "dried penang" (arecanuts) and cocoanuts.

In the period that followed the king of Kandy strove to attain his cherished aim, the expulsion of the Portuguese, with the help of the Dutch, and the bait that he held in his hand was largely made of cinnamon bark.

Even at the early age of about eighteen, as an Agarája (= agrarja = the first prince?) he made the Portuguese under DE SA feel the weight of his arm. The strategy of the Ceylonese prince was eminently successful, and the Portuguese decided on retreating from their positions in Sinhalese territory, for the moment. But the aggressors were not to be left off so easily. The Atapattu Guard stormed into them, and as the Sinhalese banners glimmered darkly in the forest, musket and bow took heavy toll of the enemy. The army of nearly 14,000 dwindled by desertion and panic-stricken by camouflaged attackers reeled, broke and fled, mostly to be cut down or captured by the forces of the relentless prince. The Sergeant Major and the Disawa (derived from *deśa*=country or territory) of the Seven Korales were made prisoners. But DE SA performed prodigies of valour, and with a handful of followers who clung to him to the bitter end accounted for a number of the enemy. His life was sought to be saved by the Sinhalese. He however scorned surrender and died a soldier's death with three arrows in his body. This happened in 1630.

It was eight years later that Rájasingha wrote to Admiral Adam Westerwold (Westerholt, of Fremlen's letter, and Westerwolt and Westerwoldt of others) who with Willem Jakobszoon Koster had left Batavia on 13th August, 1637, and was then before Goa, offering half of Bacticaloa in exchange for Dutch help against his inveterate foe. Westerwolt jumped at the offer, and sent Koster with three ships and a couple of hundred men to Ceylon. He himself followed his "vice-amerall" (as Thurston, a newly appointed English officer calls him) soon afterwards. The Portuguese in the meanwhile decided to attack the Sinhalese. They burnt the capital with its palace and temples, and felt confident that they had cornered "the little black". But the Sinhalese king outgeneralled the Portuguese under Dom Diego de Mello, at Gannoruwa. Their retreat to Senkadagala was cut off, and again from behind the trees the Sinhalese soldiers played havoc in the ranks of their foes. The supply of water was virtually cut off, and the encirclement of the Europeans and their Asiatic auxiliaries became complete. "They were not only harrassed", says RIBEIRO, "by the continuous firing of guns and foot-muskets which

the enemy kept up all night long...they also suffered from thirst". From under the shade of a tree the king directed operations in a masterly way. The jingals were brought to bear on the panic-stricken enemy, and De Mello sued for an armistice. No reply was however sent, and the Sinhalese attack went on in full swing. Many a Portuguese dropped down on their knees, crying piteously for mercy, but their solicitations fell on deaf ears. But Rájasingha's troops spared the Indian mercenaries and the king himself had given due warning to the Sinhalese in Portuguese service. It was another smashing victory, and scarcely a score and a half of the Portuguese were left alive as prisoners in the hands of the Sinhalese. Their poet sang gleefully and vigorously of the national achievement, and the Parangi Hatane (The Battle with the Foreigner) certainly deserves a passing glance.

The author in all fairness speaks in glowing terms of Portuguese bravery. "Like wounded wolves they stood at bay, those stout soldiers come from Goa, hemmed in and foodless but fighting still upon the mountain crest".

But the Ceylonese "cut and slash and stab and bind...wrench the muskets and pedreneiros from their hands to smash their bones therewith". "Our two hosts stood on either side and cut off countless heads, piling them up like cocoanuts when they contend in sport".

(To be Continued.)

ANŪPASIMHA AND SOME OF HIS FAVOURITE SCHOLARS

By

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Maṇirāma Dīkṣita, son of Gaṅgārāma, is the author of a smṛti work by name *Dharmāmbhodhi*. The work is better known by its other title, *Anūpavilāsa*, showing that it was written under orders from king Anūpasimha. This Anūpasimha, we know, was a Rāṭhor prince, who ruled over Bikaner in the latter half of the 17th century A.D. He was a generous patron of learning in almost all the branches of Hindu Science and Culture, and patronised many scholars, some of the important being Anantabhaṭṭa, Bhadrarāma, Bhāvabhaṭṭa, Maṇirāma Dīkṣita, Vaidyanātha and Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara. A close examination of the works attributed to Anūpasimha reveals the fact that the books concerned were actually written by scholars who were patronised by the King and then handed down to future generations in the name of the benevolent King. It is also possible to reconstruct some account, however scrappy it be, of the royal family of Bikaner from the account given in such works. An attempt has been made in the following pages to give a historical account of the descent of the Bikaner royal family up to Anūpasimha. An attempt has also been made to give descriptive accounts of the works of scholars patronised by the King and to note necessary details under each item. First, for the sake of convenience I shall deal with the Court Scholars and the account of their works and reserve to the end of the chronology of the rulers of Bikaner.

ANANTA BHAṬṬA.

Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Yadu Bhaṭṭa, was a scholar in Anūpasimha's Court. He was the author of a smṛti tract entitled the *Tīrtharatnākara*. The work deals with the important places of pilgrimage. Only a fragmentary copy of this work is available in manuscript form in the Palace Library of the Bikaner State. (See MITRA'S *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Bikaner*, No. 1025).

BHADRARĀMA.

Bhadrarāma is known to have written on ritualism. His work is named *Ayutahomalakṣahomakoṭihoma*, evidently giving directions for the performance of rites requiring oblations numbering ayuta (10,000), lakṣa (1,00,000) and koṭi (1,00,00,000). The Bikaner palace library contains a single manuscript of this work (see MITRA'S *Cat.* No. 788). Bhadrarāma, was surnamed Homiga. होमिगोपनामक भद्ररामेण, means by Bhadrarāma, surnamed Homiga.

AUFRECHT's assumption of the surname as Homigopa¹ is thus obviously an error.

BHAVABHAṬṬARĀYA.

He was the son of one Janārdana Bhaṭṭa and wrote a few works on music. They are *Anūpasanḡitavilāsa*, *Naṣṭoddīṣṭaprabodhakadhrauvapada-ṭikā*, *Muralīprakāśa* and the *Saṅgītānūpāṅkuśa*. The *Anūpasanḡitavilāsa* is otherwise known as *Anūpavilāsa* and is referred to by Bhāvabhaṭṭa himself in his *Anūpāṅkuśa*.² An incomplete manuscript of this *Anūpavilāsa* is available in the Bikaner palace library,³ containing only one chapter entitled the *ṇṭyādhyāya*. But recent searches made in the library show that some more portions of this work are available. The manuscript found begins from the third adhyāya and runs to the end of the seventh. The chapters are respectively named, (3) *prakīrṇakādhyāya*, (4) *prabandhādhyāya*, (5) *vādyādhyāya*, (6) *tālādhyāya* and (7) *ṇṭyādhyāya*. The first two chapters of the original missing in the mss. were named *Svarādhyāya* and *Rāgādhyāya*. For, a manuscript of a commentary on the *Anūpavilāsa*, found in the palace library contains these chapters and the colophons give their names as noted above. The commentary is called *Saṅgītānūpoddeśa* and was written by Raghunātha Gosvāmin, son of the famous Bhāvabhaṭṭa, author of the original, *Anūpavilāsa*. The colophon on p. 45 of the manuscript reads :

श्रीमद्राजोडकुलदिनकरमहाराज श्री अनूपसिंहप्रमोदित श्री भावभट्टात्मज रघुनाथगो-
स्वामिकृत-संगीतानूपोद्देशः समाप्तः ।

A slightly bigger colophon is to be found in another place :

.....मुद्रावच्छेदिनीमेदिनी...श्रीमहीमहेन्द्रमौलि...मण्डनसंगीतराजजनार्दनभट्टात्मज-
अनुष्टुप्चक्रवर्तिसंगीतरायभावभट्टात्मज-रघुनाथभट्टगोस्वामिविरचितसंगीतानूपोद्देशः समाप्तः ।

For the sake of convenience and better information, I shall reproduce below some extracts⁴ from the manuscript of *Anūpavilāsa*, recently examined in the Bikaner Palace Library. As has been said above, the original *Anūpavilāsa* is available only from the third Adhyāya. But for a connected account I shall give the extracts from the commentary of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa for the opening two chapters. The commentary begins :

तत्र स्वरगताध्याये प्रथमं प्रतिपाद्यते ।

शरीरं नादसंभक्तिः^{4a} स्थानानि श्रुतयस्तथा ॥ (See the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.)

p. 6 इति स्वराध्यायः ।

From this we know that the opening chapter of the *Anūpavilāsa* was called *svarādhyāya*. The contents of the first chapter are also mentioned, namely,

1. *Cat. Catalogoram* I. p. 396a.

2. *India Office Cat. of Mss.*, EGGELING, p. 547a.

3. MITRA : *Bikaner Cat.* No. 1091.

4. These extracts were lent to me by Dr. C. Kunhan RAJA.

4a. संभक्ति, seems to be the correct reading. Cf. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ānanda Edn.

the body of music, *nādasambhūti* (the origin of musical *nāda* or sound) *sthāna* or places of origin of the musical notes and śrutis. The second chapter entitled *Rāgādhyāya* deals with *rāgakrama*, the order of *rāgas* and their classification etc.

अथ रागक्रमं चात्र कथयामि समासतः ।

पञ्चमी ग्रामरागाः स्युः पञ्च गीतिसमाश्रयात् ॥

Chapter three is called *Prakīṛṇaka* and deals with miscellaneous topics connected with *rāgas* as also some particular schools of classifying *rāgas* and place-*rāgas*.

द्वितीये अभिहितलक्षणानां ग्रामरागादीनां स्वरूपसाक्षात्कारस्य गातुर्निर्मातृपरतन्त्रत्वेन तत्स्वरूपजिज्ञासायां तदादिलक्षणपरं प्रकीर्णकं वर्णयितुं प्रतिजानीते “अथ प्रकीर्णकम्” इत्यादिना ।

(Compare Kallinātha's commentary.)

Chapter 4 is called *Prabandhādhyāya*. It deals with some types of musical compositions as *gītas*.

स्वररागादिकं सर्वं गीतोपकरणं यतः ।

निरूपितं प्रधानत्वात् अथ गीतं निरूप्यते ॥

Then follows a definition of what is called a *gīta*, with its two-fold classification, namely, *gāndharva* and *gāna*.

रञ्जकः स्वरसन्दर्भो गीतमित्यभिधीयते ।

गान्धर्वं गानमित्यस्य भेदद्वयमुदीरितम् ॥ (See the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*.)

Chapter 5 deals with the instruments of music and is thus called *Vād-yādhyāya*.

Chapter 6 elaborates the timing in music, *tāla* and is called *Tālādhyāya*.

Chapter 7 called the *Nṛtyādhyāya* treats of dance and the application of music in dance.

A comparison of the above extracts with the corresponding portions of the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* shows that the Bikaner MS. contains the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* with Kallinātha's commentary also. Some portions are new so that it seems probable to suppose that Bhāvaḥṭṭa utilised both the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and the commentary on it by Kallinātha, in writing the *Anūpavilāsa*. It may also be conjectured that the *Anūpavilāsa* is only a commentary on the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*.

2. *Bhāvamāñjarī*.

This is the name of another work of Bhāvaḥṭṭa found in the Anūp Library, Bikaner palace. It begins :

जनार्दनपदं नत्वा क्रियते भावमञ्जरी ।

भावेन तत्त्वबोधार्थं न लघ्वी नातिविस्तरा ॥

3. *Anūpasanīgītavartamāna*.

This is still another work from the pen of the famous Bhāvaḥṭṭa. This consists of about 350 granthas. No colophon is found. However, the work begins with

श्रीगुरुं गणनाथं च बटुकं शारदाम्बिकाम् ।
 पितरं मातरं नत्वा ग्रन्थनमुत्तमम् ('ग्रन्थमेनमनुत्तमम् ? ') ॥
 क्रियते भावभट्टेन वर्तमानप्रवर्तकम् ॥

The title of the book is not found in the manuscript. Tentatively the name, *Anūpasanīgītavartamāna* is given above.

4. *Saṅgītānūpasāgara*.

This is another work of Bhāvabhaṭṭa. Two copies of this are to be found in the Bikaner Library. One is an extremely injured one which cannot be handled without further injury. The leaves are in disorder too. The manuscript ends with a long colophon towards the end of the 12th chapter. The 12th chapter is called *Śeṣarāgaprakāśana*. What is actually found written is *śeṣarāgaprakāśano nami*. Probably this is a corruption for *śeṣarāga-prakāśano nāma*. Altogether there are 104 sheets.

The second copy of this work is less injured than the previous one and consists of 167 pages. It begins :

वेदादिप्रणवसदृशमध्विलध्वनिविग्रहं यत्प्रसादात् ।
 शृण्वन्ति सूक्ष्ममलयः तमनाहतं शिवं नौमि ॥
 सर्वविघ्नहरं शान्तं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ।
 सर्वसिद्धिकरं देवं नत्वा ग्रन्थं करोम्यहम् ॥
 वैकुण्ठं प्रत्यहं यान्ति लक्ष्मीनारायणगृहे (?) ।
 रागाः सर्वेऽपि गन्धर्वैः सह सर्वमुखाप्तये ॥
 स्वस्वलीलां पुरस्कृत्य ते रागा रजनात्मकाः ।
 रञ्जयन्ति स्वरूपेण लक्ष्मीनारायणं प्रभुम् ॥ etc.

Towards the end is found

शेषरागप्रकथनो नाम द्वादशोऽध्यायः ।

5. *Naṣṭoddīṣṭaprabodhakadhrauvapadaṭikā*.

This is the title of another book on music by Bhāvabhaṭṭa, a manuscript copy of which is contained in the Bikaner Palace Library.⁵ The work deals with the theory and practice of the dhruvā type of musical compositions. In this work Bhāvabhaṭṭa mentions another work entitled *Rāgavibodha*, evidently on music, and introduces a new meḷa called the Mallāri meḷa.

रागविबोधे मल्लारिमेले उक्ता तीव्रतरा मृदुमतिव्रतराध (?).

Perhaps this *Rāgavibodha* is identical with the *Rāgavibodhaviveka*, attributed to one Somanātha or the *Rāgavibodha*⁶ of Soma, son of Mudagala.⁷

6. *Muralīprakāśa*.

Bhāvabhaṭṭa wrote also on the principles governing instrumental music. In his *Muralīprakāśa*,⁸ he gives instructions for playing on the flute.

5. MITRA : *Bik. Catalogue*, No. 1097.

6. *Ibid.* No. 1105.

7. *Cat. Catalogorum*, I. p. 499a.

8. MITRA : *Bik. Cat.* No. 1095.

7. *Anūpāṅkuśa*.⁹

This is the name of still another work from the fertile pen of Bhāva bhaṭṭa. This was written after the composition of two other earlier works by the same author, obviously on music. For, he mentions in the *Anūpāṅkuśa* that he composed the *Anūpavilāsa* and the *Anūparatnāṅkura*, prior to his writing the *Anūpāṅkuśa*.

स्तोकं मुद्रासुरीकृत्य सा(र्ध)वर्षत्रयात्मिका ।
 श्रीमदनूपसिंहस्याक्ष (३ ?) या ग्रन्थद्वयं कृतम् ॥
 एकोऽनूपविलासाख्योऽनूपरत्नाङ्कुरः परः ।
 अनूपाङ्गुशानामायां ग्रन्थो निःपाद्यतेऽधुना ॥
 श्रीमत्सङ्गीतराजेन तानयोगप्रवर्तकः ।

From the above we are also able to know that the *Anūpāṅkuśa* dealt with the topic called *tāna* in music.

In addition to these, in the Bikaner Palace Library is to be found a manuscript bearing no name. An examination of the contents leads one strongly to infer it as a work of Bhāvabhaṭṭa. Towards the very end is found a colophon which mentions its title as *Anūpāṅkuśa*. The beginning part deals with instruments of music and their classification.

आहताय च दानाय वाद्यभाण्डात्मने नमः ।
 यस्मादक्षरसंभूतिः ज (जा) यते घातयोगतः ॥
 वाद्यं चतुर्विधं प्रोक्तं रागाविर्भावकं द्वयम् ।
 शब्दाविर्भावकं तेषु गीतिद्वयविभेदनात् ॥

After this various topics as *śiṣyalakṣaṇa*, *pāṭa*, *saṁlekha*, *dakṣiṇāhastavyāpāra*, *Vaṁśikavṇḍa* etc. are dealt with. On p. 54 various types of drums are mentioned :

सेलुका फल्ली श्रा (?) णत्रिवली दुन्दुभिस्तथा ।
 भेरीनिस्साणतम्बक्यो भेदाः स्युरवनदगाः ॥

The colophon on p. 58 runs :

श्रीमद्राठोड etc. etc. विरचिते श्रीसंगीतानूपाङ्गुशे वाद्याध्यायः समाप्तः ।

Again on p. 59b towards the end is found *iti tālapraśaṁsā*. From the above it follows that the *Anūpāṅkuśa* also was a big work in more than one chapter and was more or less planned like the *Anūpavilāsa*. Thus we see that Bhāva bhaṭṭa was a very fertile writer on music.

MAṆIRĀMA DĪKṢITA.

Maṇirāma, son of Gaṅgārāma and grandson of Śivadatta Śarman, lived at the time of the Moghul Emperor, Shah Jahan. He was patronised by

9. See STEIN'S *Cat. of Mss. in the Raghunātha Temple*, Jammu, pp. 57, 267. The correct title of the book is *Anūpāṅkuśa*, as evident from the introductory verse. The entry as *Saṅgitānūpāṅkūśa* thus indicates the subject dealt with in the work.

Anūpasimha of Bikaner and at the request of Anūpasimha, he wrote a smṛti work called *Dhārmāmbhodhi*, an ocean of dharma, and gave it another name, *Anūpavilāsa*, in honour of Anūpasimha. *Anūpavilāsa* or *Dharmāmbhodhi* is divided into six chapters called *ratnas* : Ācāraratna, Samayaratna, Samskāraratna, Vatsararatna, Dānaratna and Śuddhiratna. All these are referred to by him in the introduction.

भूपानूपविलासोऽयं धर्मरत्नार्णवो महान् ।
 श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणीयवाक्यपाथःप्रपूरितः ॥
 भूपानूपविलासेऽत्र धर्माभो (ध्य) धावगाहिते ।
 षड् रत्नानि बुधाः सम्यक् प्रतीच्छन्तु यथासुखम् ॥
 आचाररत्नं प्रथमं समयाख्यं द्वितीयकम् ।
 संस्काराख्यं तृतीयं तु चतुर्थं वत्सराभिधम् ॥
 पञ्चमं दानसंज्ञं तु षष्ठं शुद्धयभिधं तथा ।
 एवमत्र तु विज्ञेयं धर्मार्थरत्नषट्कम् ॥

Maṇirāma quotes many previous writers on smṛti. In the beginning of *Śuddhiratna* mention is made of the *Mitākṣarā*.

मिताक्षरादिकग्रन्थान् दृष्ट्वा सत्संप्रदायतः ।
 मणिरामेण सुधिया शुद्धिरत्नं वितन्यते ॥

Among the later authorities quoted by him, mention may be made of the following :

1. *Ratnākara* (i.e. *Smṛtiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara).
2. Rudradharopādhyāya.
3. *Smṛtyarthasāra*.
4. Vyāghrapāda.
5. Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana—*Gṛhyakārikas*.
6. *Smṛtyartharatnāvalī* and
7. Vācaspati Miśra.

Maṇirāma wrote also on jyotiṣa. A work named *Anūpavyavahārasāgara* is said to exist in the Bikaner State Library.¹⁰

VAIDYANĀTHA.

Vaidyanātha, son of one Śrīnātha Sūri, wrote a work on geometry. It bears the title *Jyotpattisāra*. The author was patronised by Anūpasimha. A manuscript copy of this work is in the Bikaner Palace Library.¹¹

NĪLAKAṆṬHA CATURDHARA.

Nīlakaṇṭha is the famous commentator on the Mahābhārata and is well known to scholars. He was a son of Govinda Sūri, and Phullāmbikā and resided at Kūrpara, to the west of the Godāvarī in Mahārāṣṭra. He was a great tāntric writer and a paurāṇika and vedāntin as well. He was patronised

10. MITRA'S Catalogue No. 622.

11. *Ibid.* No. 611.

by Anūpasimha, in whose honour he wrote a commentary on the tāntric work, *Śivatāṇḍava* and named it *Anūpārāma*¹² after Anūpasimha.

RĀMABHAṬṬA.

Rāmabhaṭṭa (about 1675 A.D.) is another famous scholar favoured by Anūpasimha. He was the son of one Viśvanātha, and grandson of Mudgalabhaṭṭa Hoṣiṅga. He wrote the *Dānaratnākara*, which gives us some information regarding the family of King Anūpasimha. This I shall take up later on. Rāmabhaṭṭa mentions that the *Dānaratnākara* was written by him under orders of Anūpasimha :

तदाज्ञयासौ बुधरामभट्टो
विचार्य तत्त्वेन महानिबन्धान् ।
नवीनयुक्तिग्रन्थनप्रकारैः
एनं प्रबन्धं विशदीकरोमि ॥

This verse occurs in the introduction to the *Dānaratnākara* as verse No. 13. *Tadājñayā* means at the command of Anūpasimha and *enam prabandham* denotes the *Dānaratnākara* under question. Rāmabhaṭṭa mentions some of his earlier works. They are (1) *Anūpaviveka*, (2) *Santānakalpalatikā*, (3) *Anūpakutukārṇava*, (4) *Aṃṭamañjarī* and (5) *Cikitsāmālā*. All these were written under orders from Anūpasimha.

मया पूर्वं कृताः पञ्च ग्रन्था राजनियोगतः ।
चमत्कारकराः ते च यथा बुद्धयसितोज्ज्वलाः ॥
आद्योऽनूपविवेकाख्यः शालग्रामपरीक्षणे ।
ततो ग्रन्थोऽनन्यः पूर्वः सहस्रद्वयसंमितः ॥
सन्तानविषये सम्यक् नवसाहस्रिकोऽपरः ।
सन्तानकल्पलतिका तस्याख्यैव शुभप्रदा ॥
तत्संख्यया कौतुके च ह्यनूपकुतुकार्णवः ।
कृतो ग्रन्थः तृतीयोऽयं साधकानां हिताय च ॥
विषयवाधानिवृत्त्यर्थं उपायानां प्रदर्शकः ।
शिष्टानां संमतो नूनं अस्याख्यामृतमञ्जरी ॥
चतुःसहस्रसंख्यातः कृतो ग्रन्थस्तु पञ्चमः ।
चिकित्सामालतीमाला तस्याख्यान्वर्यकी शुभा ॥
एवं पञ्च कृता ग्रन्थाः नानाशास्त्रगताश्च ते ।

The above verses give some information on the subject on which the works were composed as also the extent of the respective works. The first work, *Anūpaviveka*,¹³ is on śālagrāma stones, their examination etc. Its extent is

12. AUFRECHT'S entry as Anūpārāma is a mistake. The correct name is Anūpārāma or Yantrāvalī as found in the N. W. Province Catalogue VIII, p. 50.

13. The Anūpaviveka, noticed as No. 10 in R. G. BHANDARKAR'S *Lists of Skt. Mss.* 1893, and on p. 227 of STEIN'S *Catalogue of Mss. in the Raghunātha Temple, Jammu*, is the same as the Anūpaviveka by Rāmabhaṭṭa Hoṣiṅga.

given as 2,000 granthas. The *Santānakalpalatikā* is a mantra-sāstra work in 9,000 granthas. The third work, *Anūpakutukāṇava* is also in 9,000 granthas (tatsamkhyayā) and treats of magic, jugglery etc. which delight one at the very first sight. For the cure of poison, resulting out of snake-bite etc. he composed the *Anṛtamañjarī* in 350 granthas. And the fifth, the *Cikitsāmālatīmālā* is on medicine in general and contains 4,000 granthas.

This practically finishes the account of works written under Anūpasimha's patronage. Apart from these, some works are directly attributed to Anūpasimha himself; but this ascription is to be doubted. STEIN in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Raghurāṭha Temple*, p. 67 notices a commentary on the *Gītāgovinda* attributed to Anūpasimhadeva. The commentary bears the title, *Anūpodaya*. Evidently the author was not the King, but some other poet of his time. The introductory verse¹⁴ 3, supplies the hint that the commentary, *Anūpodaya*, was written by some scholar for pleasing the king. See especially the words "भूपानूपविनोदार्थम्".

अथ श्रीजयदेवीयपदभावार्थबोधकम् ।

भूपानूपविनोदार्थं अनूपोदयमारभे ॥

There is another work on erotics, called the *Kāmaprabodha*.¹⁵ It closely follows Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. According to Rajendralal MITRA, the colophon found at the end of this work attributes it to Anūpasimha's wife.¹⁶ But the colophon itself does not speak of the real author. Nor is there any justification for reading the colophon as giving Anūpasimha's wife as the authoress. The colophon runs :

इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजानूपसिंहदेवीये कामप्रबोधे बाह्यसंभोगप्रकारविवेको
नाम नवमः प्रकाशः ।

The word '*Anūpasimhadeviya*' means only pertaining to Anūpasimha and does not imply the wife (devī) of Anūpasimha. Evidently the *Kāmaprabodha* is also the work of some scholar patronised by Anūpasimha. Who this scholar was, is unknown.

Another similar work, written by somebody and ascribed to Anūpasimha is the *Śrāddhāprayogacintāmañi* (MITRA'S *Bikaner Cat.* No. 1013).

Apart from these, again, there is to be found a manuscript, No. 78 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, comprising three different works named *Dvāra-vatīśīla*, *Śaṅkhaghaṇṭa* and *Rudrākṣalakṣaṇa*. The authors of these works are not known. In the manuscript the author is given as Anūpasimhadeva. It is not also possible to decide which of these works, one or all, were written or caused to be written by Anūpasimhadeva.

Another work attributed to Anūpasimhadeva is the *Karmavipākacandrikā*. (*Catalogue of Mss. in R A S B.* Vol. III, No. 2573). On one leaf of this manuscript, a colophon containing the name of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa as

14. STEIN'S *Cat.* Extracts. p. 281.

15. MITRA : *Notices of Skt. Mss.* No. 2554.

16. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 9.

the author and *Mahārṇava* as the title of the work is found as scored through and being substituted by a new colophon having Anūpasimha as the author and *Karmavipākacandrikā* as the title. This work also gives the genealogy of Anūpasimha. This account will be taken up later, towards the end of this paper. The work is complete in four Kiraṇas dealing respectively with प्रायश्चित्तविचार, परिभाषा, रोगसामान्यहरण and रोगविशेषहरण.

प्रायश्चित्तविचाराख्यः परिभाषाद्वयस्तथा ।

रोगसामान्यहरणसंज्ञकस्तद्विशेषकृत् ॥

इत्येवं किरणा ज्ञेयाः चत्वार इह निर्मलाः ।

अज्ञानध्वान्तसन्दोहतिरस्कारविशारदाः ॥

Having thus given an account of the works written by the scholars who were favoured by king Anūpasimhadeva, let me now proceed to furnish a historical account of the lineage of Anūpasimha. Anūpasimha was a Rāthor¹⁷ prince, ruling over the town Jodhāpura about 1673 A.D. He was a contemporary of Shah Jahan (1660 A.D.) and a general under Aurangzeb. Karmasimha of Bikaner died on June 6th 1674 A.D. and his son, Anūpasimha immediately succeeded him.¹⁸ From the evidence that Rāmabhaṭṭa Hosiṅga was patronised by Anūpasimha and that Rāmabhaṭṭa lived about 1675 A.D. we are in a position to fix the date of Anūpasimha somewhere about 1674 A.D. About his ancestry much cannot be definitely said. His forefathers were the direct descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Rāthods) of Kanouj who were in power during 1212 A.D. nearly 18 years after the over-throw of the Mussalmans. We get two accounts of Anūpasimha's descent, one in the *Dānaratnākara* and the other in the *Anūpaviveka* of Rāmabhaṭṭa. The first member, as far as we know from Rāmabhaṭṭa's account, was Rāvayodha who ruled over Jodhāpura in Maruṣaya (i.e. Jodhpur in Marwad). Historical records now available in the Bikaner Palace Library show that Jodha founded Jodhpur in 1459 A.D. Jodha had 14 sons. Bika was the sixth and Biḍa the twelfth. These two seem to have tried their chances of separate and independent living and sway further in the north. Jodha was succeeded by his sixth son, Bika.¹⁹ The proud Vikrama (Bika) seems to have left off his father's capital, Jodhāpura, and established his own at Bikaner. Bikaner city was founded in 1488 A.D. The original name of this city, Bikaner (बिकानेर) was, I think, Vikramnagar. The city owes its name to the King Vikrama. Subsequently it was changed into Bikaner, from Bika, the corrupt form of Vikrama. Following Bika, a long list of his successors is given in the *Dānaratnākara*. Bika (Vikrama) → Lolakarṇa → Jayasimha → Kalyāṇamalla → Rāyasimha → Sūrasimha → Karmasimha → Anūpasimha.

17. They belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Rāthod) dynasty of Kanouj which came to power about 1212 A.D. after the over-throw of the Mussalmans.

18. James BURGESS : *Chronology of India*, p. 118.

19. Bika seems to be a corrupt form for Vikrama.

A similar account of *Anūpasimha's* lineage is given in the *Anūpaviveka* also. Yodha → Vikrama (Bika) → Lolakarma → Jayasimha → Kalyāṇamalla → Rājasimha → Sūrasimha → Karṇabhūpa → Anūpasimha.

Another similar account of the genealogy is found in the *Karmavipākacandrikā*, which is attributed to Anūpasimha himself. Yodha → Vikrama → Lonakarma → Jayasimha → Kalyāṇmalla → Rāyasimha → Śūrasimha → Karṇa (Karṇasimha) → Anūpasimha.

Thus beginning from the first King Yodha or Rāvayodha, there were altogether 9 kings including Anūpasimha. Anūpasimha lived about 1674 A.D. so that the dynasty of Anūpasimha assumed ruling powers only some eight generations before. We also know that Jodha founded Jodhpur about 1459 A.D. This much alone can be said about the royal line at present. I shall append below the significant portions from the *Dānaratnākara*, *Anūpaviveka* and the *Karmavipākacandrikā*, giving details about the Royal family and bring this paper to a close.

Dānaratnākara.

विस्फूर्जच्चन्द्रहासप्रतिहतरिपुणा प्राज्यसाम्राज्यभाजा
 ख्यातं जोधापुरं तत् गुरुमुखविषये येन धात्रेव सृष्टम् ।
 वीराणामग्रगण्यः प्रबलभुजबलक्रान्तभूमण्डलः सः
 श्रीमान् सूर्यान्वयेऽभूत् नृपमुकुटमणी रावयोधाभिधानः ।
 तत्सूनुः प्रथितोऽभवत् पृथुसमो वीकाख्यया विक्रमो
 राजाऽऽजानुभुजोऽखिलक्षितिभुजां मान्यो वदान्योत्तमः ।
 पित्र्यं मानभरात् उपेक्ष्य नगरं यः स्वीयनाम्नाऽकरोत्
 वीकानेरमिति प्रतीतमपरं वास्तुं महाजाह्नले ॥
 तस्मात् श्रीलोनकर्णः समजनि विजयी शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रवीणः
 ज्ञाता दाता दयालुः दिशि दिशि कविभिः गीयमानोऽस्कीर्तिः ।
 छत्राधीशैरसङ्ख्यां दहत इव तनुं मन्त्रवन्नामवर्णान्
 आकर्ष्यार्क्यं कर्णे प्रतिभटभुजगैः स्तम्भ एवावृतोऽभूत् ॥
 जयसिंहस्तस्मादभवदवनीपालतिलको
 न कोऽपि स्यातुं यत्पुरत इह शक्तः किल रणे ।
 यदीये तेजोऽग्नौ ज्वलति परितो वैरिसुदृशां
 व्यवर्धन्तावर्थं नयनकमलेभ्यो जलसराः ॥
 रणोद्भटद्वेपि निशातशल्यः
 कल्याणमल्लः क्षितिपस्ततोऽभूत् ।
 कल्याणवान् येन समस्तधन्वा
 यो जागरुकोऽनिशमात्तधन्वा ॥
 ततो रायसिंहोऽभवत् भूमिपालः
 प्रतिस्पर्धिकालः प्रतापी करालः ।
 मतौ यो विशालः किलात्युच्चभालः
 सदन्तमरालः स्फुरत्कीर्तिजालः ॥

आसीत्तस्मात् विलासी प्रतिबलदलनः साहसी सूरसिंहः
 शूरः कूरस्वभावः किल सकलकलाकौशलं सन्दधानः ।
 पुण्यागण्यप्रभावा सुरसरिदिव यत्कीर्तिरच्छस्वरूपा—
 कूपरं संप्रायाता ह्यपरिमितमुखैः व्याप्नुवाना धरित्रीम् ॥
 सौन्दर्यादतिदानतोऽप्यनुगतामाख्यां समाख्यापयन्
 विख्यातो नृपतिस्ततः समभवत् कर्णो गुणार्णोनिधिः ।
 श्रीनारायणपादपङ्कजयुगाभ्यर्चाप्रभावस्फुरत्-
 साम्राज्यप्रतिनन्दितार्थनिबहः स्वातन्त्र्यमुखैर्भजन् ॥
 वादैः पण्डितमण्डलीविरचितैः काव्यैः कदाचित् कवि-
 प्रारब्धैः सरसैः तथा नटगणैः संगीतसङ्गीतकैः ।
 आलापैर्मिषजां परस्परमथ ज्योतिर्विदां चर्चया
 प्रीतिं नीतिपरोऽवहन् मरुमहीराज्यं स चक्रे महीम् ।
 तत एष महाननूपसिंहो
 मरुदेशाधिपतिः स्फुरत्प्रतापः ।
 अभवन्मतिमान् प्रभुर्मेनस्वी
 यशसा व्याप्तजगत्त्रयोऽतिशूरः ॥

Anūpaviveka.

अग्रे मनुवंशवर्णनश्लोकाः । अस्मिन् वंशे राठोडेति प्रसिद्धा भूपाः ।

आस्थानराजः

तस्मिन् वंशेऽतिविख्यातो
 योद्धाख्यो भूमिपोऽभवत् ।
 स्वनाम्ना येन विहितं
 ख्यातं योधापुरं पुरम् ॥

तत्पुत्रो विक्रमाख्योऽभूत्

× × × ×

बीकानेरपुरी येन निर्मिता भुवि विश्रुता ।

तं पतिं प्राप्य या नित्यं हसतीवामरावतीम् ॥

श्रीलोलकर्णस्तदपत्यरत्नम् × ×

तदात्मजः श्रीजयदेवसिंहो × × ×

तदङ्गजन्मापि बभूव राजा कल्याणमल्लः × ×

तदात्मजोऽभूत् भुवि राजसिंहः

तस्याभवत् राजकचक्रकीर्तिः

श्रीसूरसिंहो × × × ×

तस्मात् श्रीकर्णभूपः × ×

× × × × ×

तस्मात् श्रीकर्णभूपात् सुरपतिसदृशात् कामरूपः सुरुपो

राजा श्रीविष्णुसेवी समजनि विषये जाज्ञलेऽनूपसिंहः ।

क्षोणीनाथे हि यस्मिन् प्रतपति विषये कोऽपि नाभूत् दरिद्रो
नो पापी नैव दुःखी न च किमपि सतां द्वेषकृन्नैव मूढः ॥

Karmavipākacandrikā.

सहस्रांशोर्महावंशो जयत्यंशो रमापतेः ।
यत्पताकेव विमला गङ्गा लोके विराजते ॥

तदीयमुक्तामणिरद्भुतश्रीः
अशेषभूमीपतिमौलिमान्यः ।
राठोडसंज्ञः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
आसीन्नृपाणां गण इन्द्रवीर्यः ॥
तेष्विज्यसेनः खलु सिंहसेनः
समुद्रतः सिंह इवाचलेषु ।
चकार राज्यं किल कान्यकुब्ज-
धरामराधीश्वरतामवाप्य ॥

तस्मादभूदद्भुतशौर्यवीर्यं
आस्थानराजः किल कीर्तिभाजः ।
यो बाहुवीर्येण निजेन राज्यं
मरोर्जिगाय क्षपितारिवर्गः ॥

तस्यान्वये समभवत् **योधाख्यो** नृपसत्तमः ।
यन्नामाङ्गमभूत् ख्यातं श्रीमद् योधापुरं वरम् ॥
तत्सुतो **विक्रमो** जज्ञे त्रिविक्रमपराक्रमः ।
अमुक्तपूर्वमास्थाय **जाङ्गलं** प्रशशास यः ॥
वीकानेरिरिति ख्याता पुरी तेन विनिर्मिता ।
रराजामरराज्यस्य नगरीवामरावती ॥

तदात्मजः सद्गुणपूरुषपूर्णः
श्रीलोचनकर्णः क्षितिपो बभूव ।
यं वीरमासाद्य वसुन्धरायाः
विश्वंभराख्यार्थवती बभूव ॥

तत्सुनुरासीत् **जयसिंहदेवः**
श्रीमान् समस्तावनिपालमान्यः ।
न केवलं यक्षपतिं धनेन
वाचापि वाचस्पतिमाक्षिपत् यः ॥

तदात्मजोऽभूत् क्षपितारिमल्लः
कल्याणमल्लः किल तीक्ष्णभल्लः ।
यत्कीर्तिकान्त्या विशदीकृतापि
धरानुरागं भजते सदैव ॥

तत्सुनुरभवत् राजा **रायसिंहः** प्रतापवान् ।
येन सर्वे महीपालाः कृता गृहकुटुम्बिनः ॥

ततः समभवत् श्रीमान् शूरसिंहः क्षमापतिः ।

सूरेणैव पदाक्रान्तं येनेदं जगतीतलम् ॥

तस्मात्कर्ण इवाजनि क्षितिभृतो नाम्नापि कर्णः सदा

कर्णाकृष्टशरासनोद्गतशरासाराहृतक्षमापतिः ।

यस्मिन् दित्सति पञ्चतामुपगताः कल्पद्रुमाः कामधुक्

गोत्वं संश्रयति स्म विस्मयवशात् जाड्यं च चिन्तामणिः ॥

तस्मात्कर्णमहीपतेः समुदभूत् प्राज्ञः कलानां निधिः

शूरः श्रीमदनूपसिंहनृपतिः श्रीविष्णुभक्तः परः ।

येनानन्दवनोषिताखिलबुधस्वास्थ्यं समातन्वता

तद्वर्षाशनसाधनं धनमतिप्रेम्णानिशं प्रेष्यते ॥

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN

(July 8, 1850—February 20, 1941.)

We have to record with deep regret the death of Professor C. R. LANMAN, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in Harvard University, which took place at Boston on February 20 this year, a few months before he could complete his ninety-first year.

Born on July 8, 1850 at Norwich, Connecticut, he graduated at Yale in 1871 and was awarded his Ph.D. in 1873 for his studies in Greek and Sanskrit. Further research in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology followed during a period of four years spent at Berlin and Tübingen; during this period he came into contact with the most distinguished scholars of his time, the best known authorities among these being Professors ROTH and CURTIUS. During 1876-80 he held the appointment as Lecturer in Sanskrit at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, at the end of which he was elected to the chair of Sanskrit in the Harvard University. This post he held for fully fifty-six years, probably a record in Oriental Scholarship. During his tenure of this post, he travelled, in 1889, extensively in India with the chief object of studying at first hand the land to which he was spiritually related, and to the literature and culture of which he devoted himself largely. It was during this tour that he acquired a large number of books and manuscripts for the University Library. In the following year, on return to America, he delivered the Percy Turnbull Lectures at Johns Hopkins on Indian poetry: he also lectured at the Lowell Institute, Boston, on Indian literature and early history.

Professor LANMAN will be chiefly remembered in India as the distinguished Editor of the now truly famous Harvard Oriental Series, of which more than forty volumes have been published, and to which some of the greatest Orientalists in the world have contributed, the most important of which are BLOOMFIELD'S *Vedic Concordance* and the recently announced German Translation (with Index Verborum) of the R̥gveda by GELDNER. In addition to these editorial activities LANMAN himself published a number of works on Sanskrit and some of his papers are scattered all over the important journals of his period, the best known being on the 'Noun Inflection of the R̥gveda' (*JAOS* 10.327 ff.).

LANMAN was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of the American Philological Association and in 1890 its President. For some years he was Editor of the publications of the American Oriental Society, and served successively as its Corresponding Secretary, Vice-President and in 1907 and again in 1919 its President. He was a Corresponding Member of the British Academy, and among the numerous honours bestowed on him by various countries, special mention should be made of a gold medal on the occasion of the celebration in Japan of the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of the Buddha.

REVIEWS

Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, Vols. I & II, translated by Dr. M. I. BORAH, M.A., B.L., PH.D., (London), published by the Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian studies, Narayani Handiqi Historical Institute, Gauhati, Assam, price Rs. 10/-.

It is well known that Mughal rule in India produced a rich crop of historical literature, which throws a profusion of light on the emperors and their deeds. But Chronicles throwing light on the campaigns and sieges of the generals or on the life in the provinces are extremely scarce; the *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* however, being, as its subtitle indicates "a history of the Mughal wars in Assam, Kuchbihar, Bengal, Behar and Orissa during the reign of Jehangir", fills a serious gap in Muslim historical literature and claims a high place among the Muslim Chronicles, on account of its character and contents. This precious Persian Ms. was brought to the notice of the scholarly world by Sir Jadunath who wrote a short paper on it in *JBORS* 1921 and followed it by several invaluable contributions in the Bengali monthly "*Prabasi*" of 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329. This unique Ms., only one copy of which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, is apparently a minute and detailed record of the Mughal campaigns in north-eastern India, but in reality it is the memoir of a captain named Mirza Nathan (entitled Shitab Khan) who records his exploits incognito through the complicated military operations carried on simultaneously in distant parts under different generals. The author narrates his brave deeds, reckless charges and onsets, his skill and device in conveying the flotilla across shallow channels and his unbounded devotion and loyalty to the emperor; but it would be a mistake to consider it to be merely a rough soldier's diary, full of marches and sieges for the incognito writer affords us causal glimpses into this failings and virtues. He tells us how he completely outwitted the highhanded subahdar Islam Khan by turning into a Qalandar and tying chains round his feet. His followers, out of sheer devotion to him followed suit and caused a great sensation in the city of Jahangirnagar *alias* Dacca. In another place Nathan incidentally speaks to us of his strong feeling of indignation against the conduct of the soldiery who had seized four thousand women and dragged them into captivity. Nathan showed on this occasion a fine sense of honour by liberating these women and sending them off with necessary apparel and expenses for the journey. Though keenly sensitive and of easily inflammable temper, Nathan was a man of refinement and possessed a fine taste for poetry. During his stay at Kaggarghata, his house was the meeting-place of wit and learning. Maulana Urfi and the poet Aghai delighted the audience by reciting verses (*Baharistan*, Eng. trans., p. 138, Vol. II). Our author unfolds to us not merely his virtues but makes confession of his youthful vices and follies too. Thus he breaks the narrative of his march against Raja Parikshit Narayan by saying that when he reached Bajrapur (a village near Sherpur town Mymensingh dt.), he became impassioned to see his boy chum, Khwaja Mina, a eunuch of Islam Khan. At midnight he came out of the camp and decamped in two light pinnaces Khudadia and Jaltarang. The two boats shot through the water of the Brahmaputra like an arrow and Nathan after meeting the page at Tuk, which was at a distance of about 100 miles rejoined the imperial army within only fourteen *prahars*.

It is this utter frankness of the writer that lends a charm to this memoir and imparts to it a high authority. This aspect of the memoir has been entirely ignored by the present translator, in his introduction to this book, where he has not a word to say about the personality of the memoir-writer. The translator has not also

laid stress on the importance of this work as a source of information on the working of the administrative machinery.

Some of the annotations and identification of places are quite good, of the latter, a few appear to be rendered word for word into English from Sir Jadunath's notes in the *Prabasi*, e.g., *Alaipur & Budhan*. The annotator has, however, erred, when he has differed from Sir Jadunath's identification of *Bagha*. If Mahadpur Baghwan lay to the north of Krishnanagar as the translator says, *Bhaga* which was the next halting place could not be situated on the other side of the Tribeni in Hughli dt. (Eng. tran. II, p. 821). Again Sir Jadunath's identification of qilla *Tajpur* with a place of the same name, about 6 miles to the east of Bokainagar is not probable but certain (vide Revenue Thana map Iswarganj police station Mymensingh dt.) *Hassanpur* is not Haibatnagar, but Char Hassanpur in Iswarganj police station. *Dihiput* is Devakot, in Rajshahi dt.; *Chowra* is a village in Kaliganj P. S. Dacca dt., and not on the Ichhamati. The location *Putamari*, p. 357 Vol. I, to the south west of Dhubri Rennell's Map. No. 5 is grotesque.

If the haphazard identifications constitute a blemish of this book, its English rendering too leaves much to be desired. There are now and then sentences, nay passages whose meaning is fogged; a few illustrations may be given "The elephant overpowered Shajjat Khan along with his horse and putting one of his tusks under the curve of the saddle and the other through the pakhar of the horse, penetrated the space between the anus and tail of the horse to the depth of a span, (Vol. I, p. 187). Again "after preparing the floating bridge, the big boats.....were arranged like battlements. On the gangway of each of these boats, he *arrayed* wagons and on them he *arrayed* a series of towers and on each of these towers a red flag was hoisted. Tigers' and elephants' skins were spread over the wagons and on each of the *distinguished cannon*, skins of tiger were laid. Every boat was *covered with* a gold embroidered canopy. It was arranged in such a way that if it was desired to discharge the artillery, these wagons which stood like the wall of a fort on the boats extending from one side of the river to the other could all at once be made to lie flat on the boats, and when the dreadful cannon were discharged, by the time their smoke disappeared, these wagons could be raised to their former position" (pp. 48 and 49 Vol. I). There are other sentences whose significance flashed to us only after deep thinking. "The thumb of the right foot was rent asunder from its palm" (p. 217 Vol. I); what the translator probably means is that "the big toe was wrenched away from its socket" the sentence "the market of the angel of death became very brisk" occurs repeatedly; what the translator means is that the angel of death worked havoc (or exacted a heavy toll of life).

Another example may be given (p. 424): the conversation between the two generals, Abdul Baqi and Mirza Nathan, is thus rendered—"by God, stay here guffawing while I carry away the elephants along with the fleet and the artillery with a smile." What Abdul Baqi appears to have told Nathan is that "you stay here in good cheer while I row away merrily with the elephants and the artillery in my train."

It does distinct credit however to Dr. BORAH that he undertook and completed the herculean task of translating the Ms., of 600 pages though the specimens of his translation given below compared with the original would raise serious misgivings as to the faithfulness of his translation. One or two illustrations may be adduced. The passage on folio 205 of the Dacca University Ms., Vol. I translated into English would be

The siege dragged on and having prevented the conveyance of even a single grain of corn to the fort of Qasim Khan from every direction by blocking the approaches of ration supply he (Ibrahim Khan) beset the environs (of the fort). A body of

traders and merchants dictated by consideration of profit used to go there at night and sell rice at four seers per rupee.inspite of its cheapness in Bengal.... Notwithstanding the fact that the patrols roved about in every direction, they found opportunity at nights, smuggled the boats of corn quickly to the river bank and to the fort and supplied provisions. On the other hand, Dr. BORAH thus translates the passage "When the siege dragged on, all the passages of the supply of foods to Qasim Khan were blocked and not a single grain was allowed to come to his fort from any place. He was closely besieged from all sides. At nights the Beparis (traders) and merchants in consideration of their own profit, used to smuggle their boats of corn to the bank of the river on Qasim Khan's side. *Although a number of them were killed by some party of soldiers, yet they used to do so whenever they could get an opportunity. Because within the fort rice which is the cheapest produce of Bengal was sold at four seers per rupee*" (Vol. I p. 438).

Another illustration may be cited :—

"The fleet of the emperor and of the royal Zemindars had arrived and taken post at the mouth of the Bhagirathi. Though they put forth efforts, they could not approach the fort by moving up the river, on account of pounding by the artillery from the top of the fort. The river Bhagirathi which lay athwart the army of Ghiyas Khan was an obstacle to his advance but Mirza Nathan and Lachmi Rajput, attended by their followers, proceeded along the bank of the Kaggharghata and commenced onslaught. Forty horse men and ten elephants became struck in the mire; bullets and arrows poured like hail from above the fort, the Angel of death exacted a heavy toll and spread out the trap of death, yet he (Mirza Nathan), prompted by fidelity and regardless of life attempted to cross the river and advised his marines saying "When we effect the crossing of the river on mailclad elephants, you would push with the fleet up the river so that at the time of transporting the elephants, the enemy's fleet may not overpower us. In short, as soon as Mirza Nathan, with some of his devoted followers mounted on elephants plunged into the river directly opposite the fort, the mariners of Mirza Nathan dashed forward with the imperial flotilla and charged upon the fleet of Pratapaditya. The enemy, being diverted by the roar from the direction of Mirza Nathan could not render assistance to his fleet with the artillery and the imperial flotilla pressed the attack home on Pratapaditya's fleet. No sooner had Mirza Nathan crossed the river and brought his elephant's to the shore, than he set his face towards the fort of the enemy. All at once the admiral of the fleet who was devoted to Mirza Nathan shot with the imperial flotilla and moored it below the fort. The slain and the injured became piled up in heaps; yet, as it was the decree of destiny, Pratapaditya could not stand the fury and fled."

The translation made here brings into clear relief Mirza Nathan's strategy in the final encounter with Raja Pratapaditya. Space does not permit us to reproduce the inaccurate translation made in the volumes under review. We cannot conclude our remarks, however, without repudiating the remarks made in the editorial note about the respective part played by Musakhan and his allies Maohab Roy and others and Raja Pratapaditya. The translator's observation that heroes of indomitable spirit (Musakhan and his allied Hindu and Muslim chieftains) who sacrificed themselves and everything that they possessed for the freedom of Bengal have fallen into the background while men of lesser worth (e.g. Pratapaditya) have been idolised as the defender of the nation and the country is contradicted by the testimony of this manuscript. A brief summary of the main events of their respective careers may be given here.

When the Mughal navy entered the Ichhamati from the Karatoya, Musakhan came up with his fleet and resisted the Mughal advance with all his might, the brunt of the fighting in three successive assaults being borne by Musa Khan's lieuten-

ants, Madhab Ray and Binud Roy. When the repeated attacks bore no fruit, Musa Khan opened negotiations for peace and even waited upon Islam Khan. But the negotiations broke down and the hostilities were resumed this time. The Mughal navy in active co-operation with the army carried everything before it. He captured the fort of Jatrapur without much opposition (p. 64); the fort of Dakachara next fell before the imperialists, though a stubborn resistance was offered by the garrison. Musa Khan's *part on these occasions* is not known. Thereafter Kalakuppa and Patharaghata surrendered without absolutely any opposition. "As the enemy had not the strength to oppose, (at Kalakuppa)" writes Nathan "they took to flight without any battle (p. 61, Vol. I.)". "At Patharaghata although the enemy possessed fifteen boats and the imperialists seven, as soon as they saw the imperial boats, they lost courage and ran away. (P. 75, Vol. I.) Yet it is said in *JRASB* (ibid p. 451,) "Yatrapur, Kalakuppa and Patharaghata became centres of hot engagements". Expelled from these waters, the redoubtable Musa Khan retreated to the Lakshmiya and took his post on the site opposite Narayananj, a well known port in eastern Bengal. This was an excellent site for making vigorous war against the imperialists but the Khan's pusillanimity and half-heartedness allowed Nathan to take Katraba, Qadam Rasul and Bandar. Thereupon the valiant Khan slipped by the Bandar Canal to Sunargaon and thence to Ibrahimpur. The story of repeated retrograde movements and ignominious retreats on the part of Musa Khan is relieved only by a single instance of bold attack on the sluggish chief, Shaikh Ruknat Kudalia, (Vol. I, p. 87). Driven from outpost to outpost, deprived of his chief bases of power, Musa Khan offered to submit and after a period of captivity in the fort at Dacca, he entered the imperial service and capped his career by fighting on behalf of the emperor against the Kuch Chief Madhu Sudan, (p. 503, Vol. II.), the Raja of Tipperah (p. 511, Vol.), the Maghs of Arlacan, (p. 630, Vol. II.), and Bahadur Khan chief of Hijli (p. 636, Vol. II.).

On the other hand, Raja Pratapaditya, propitiated the viceroy Islam Khan, by sending his son Sangramaditya to Akbarnagar and later on by personally appearing before the august Khan at Shahpur. He promised also to aid the Mughal viceroy with his fleet in the latter's operations against the chiefs of Bhatti. But this was merely a feint to delude the Khan into a belief of his unswerving loyalty. The Raja was clearheaded enough to see that the subjugation of the chiefs of Bhatti would recoil on him and would lead to his own overthrow. He therefore withheld all assistance to the imperial army, in course of operations against Musa Khan and the sturdy warrior Usman but failed thereby to avert his doom. The power that was gradually engulfing the whole of India could not tolerate the existence of a semi-independent potentate. A mighty military machine, now reinforced by the fleet of the vassal Zemindars of Bhatti including that of Musa Khan was set in motion against Pratapaditya. Twice did the Raja hurl his navy against the powerful enemy, but the *Mughal army and navy acting in concert* shattered the Raja's fleet and stormed his principal stronghold. Thereupon Pratapaditya was brought to bay. The imperial navy beset his capital on two sides, while the Feringis (Portuguese) hemmed him in on another side. He was then called upon to make an agonizing choice between war and submission. At this hour of crisis, the Raja summoned his eldest son Udayaditya to his side and related to him pathetically "My darling, we are encompassed by the imperial army from two sides and as they will surge upon us, the *Feringis who never ceased even in time of peace to attack and plunder* the territory of Jessore, will become audacious and make greater attempts than before *to ruin our country. Nothing will be gained.* It is better, therefore that I should tender submission ("p. 137, Vol. I."). Accordingly, Pratapaditya, to save his people from the cruelties of the Mughal army of attack and the outrages of the Portuguese, decided to lay down arms. He waited upon Ghiyas Khan and was sent to Dacca, where he was accorded a place in the state prison. True it is,

Raja Pratapaditya did not die with sword in hand ; it would have been more thrilling and romantic. But the ultimate test of kingship is the good of the people and the cold blooded self-effacement which the Raja courted was a noble act of sacrifice. This noble exit has thrown a halo around his personality and woven a sheaf of legends round his name. With his captivity the curtain rings down upon the scene and Pratapaditya flits away from our gaze, but certain it is that he refused to tar his name by entering the imperial service like Musa Khan, Bahadur Ghaji, Raja Satrajit and the host of petty Zemindars, for nowhere in Nathan's narrative does his name occur in the string of loyal captains and vassals.

From a careful study of the part played by these Bengali chieftains it will be seen that the eulogies paid to Musa and his Muslim and Hindu allies are undeserved. Nor can the comparison of the deed of the Bengali Bhuiyas with those of Rana Pratap be regarded as just. Lamentation has been made that Rana Pratap's name is honoured from one end of the country to another, but the Bengal chiefs have fallen into oblivion (*JRASB.*, Vol. V, 1939, p. 445). We would only state that such comparisons between Rana Pratap and the Bengal Bhuiyas headed by Isa Khan are not only inaccurate but preposterous ; for Rana Pratap had the crusading zeal of a knight-errant ; on the other hand, our chieftains of Bengal adopted brigand's tactics and strategy. Patriotism should not be allowed to warp our judgment and sense of proportion, for truth is higher than everything else, even one's provincial pride. Modestly the translator has concluded his editorial remarks by a quotation, "Even the most imperfect book if it breaks fresh ground, may, though itself doomed to oblivion, prepare the way for a better". We hope Dr. BORAH's labour will not go in vain but it will prepare the way for a retranslation, worthy of this Ms., which is a veritable gem in Mughal historical literature.

Mymensingh.

N. B. ROY

Early Career of Kanhōji Angria and Other Papers, by Surendra Nath SEN, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India ; Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941. Pp. 225. Size : 5½" × 8¼."

Every student of Maratha history is now familiar with the valuable research work done by Dr. SEN in the field of Maratha history. In fact the work of Dr. SEN and Sir Jadunath SARKAR have created much interest in this field of research outside the confines of Mahārāṣṭra. Dr. SEN's earlier works like the *Siva Chhatrapati*, the *Administrative System of the Marathas*, the *Military System of the Marathas* and others have given good impetus to the study of the Maratha history in outside provinces of India. Side by side with the publication of valuable books Dr. SEN has been publishing numerous research papers on the subject of his study and the volume before us is a collection of 19 papers contributed by him to several journals from 1935 onwards.

Dr. SEN has been studying of late the history of the Angrias, which has not yet been studied scientifically in spite of the wealth of material regarding the Angrias, scattered in Marathi, Portuguese, English and other sources. We welcome therefore the inclusion of Dr. SEN's papers on Angrias in the present volume and await with interest his studies of the Angrias in a subsequent volume, specially devoted to this study. The defeat and capture of Tulaji Angria in A.D. 1756 by the joint expedition of the Peshwa and the English hastened the advent of the British power in India. It is rightly looked upon as a political blunder of the Peshwa but the background of this blunder needs to be painted in proper perspective by the historians concerned.

Now that Dr. SEN has devoted a special interest in the Angrias we feel confident that he will give us before long a special volume of the history of the Angrias based on all available sources at his command. As Keeper of the Records of the Government of India Dr. SEN not only holds the key to such study on his own account but promises by his amiable temperament and sympathetic understanding to pave the way for increasing reasearch in other branches of the Indian history.

Poona.

P. K. GODE.

Yoga Personal Hygiene, by Shri YOGENDRA, with a Preface by John W. FOX. Yoga Institute, Post Box 481, Bombay. 1940. Demy 8vo. Pp. 301, Price Rs. 7-8-0.

This is the second edition of Shri YOGENDRA's well-known work dealing with the modern interpretation of an ancient science of Physical Hygiene. That the second edition has become necessary within nine years of publishing the first indicates the importance of this science and the progress it has made in the intervening period. YOGENDRA is the founder of the Yoga Institute in America and in India where, on his return from America, he has been carrying single-handed the noble work of his Master in spreading Yoga culture among the educated Indians and the general masses. This book is profusely illustrated with the author's own poses throughout, and it is refreshing to find that he has spared no pains to make it as scientific as possible. Particularly interesting is the skiogram of the intestines indicating that the correct method of taking an enema is by lying on the *right* side, not the *left*.

The modern scientific spirit of investigation characterises the work of YOGENDRA in every aspect, and the book fills a unique place in the new publications on *positive health*. It is only to be regretted that this moderation has sometimes been broken while criticising other writers in the field. A few misprints do not deter from the external appearance of the book, and as a whole it is typical of the careful scholar who has devoted himself, in company with his life's partner, entirely to the cause of India's Healing Science. We wish the Institute and its publications all the success that they richly deserve.

Poona.

S. M. K.

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE FIG (*FICUS CARICA*) FROM FOREIGN AND INDIAN SOURCES

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

According to the history of the Fig (*Ficus Carica*) recorded in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹ it was probably one of the earliest objects of cultivation. There are frequent allusions to it in the Hebrew Scriptures. According to Herodotus it may have been unknown to the Persians in the days of the First Cyrus. Pliny mentions varieties of figs and the plant played an important part in Latin myths. This history of the fig testifies to the high value set upon the fruit by the nations of antiquity but it says nothing about its early existence in India or its importation to the Indian provinces known to the Greeks and Romans.

According to Dr. AITCHISON² the Fig or *Ficus Carica* was "probably a native of Afghanistan and Persia"³ and it is indigenous in the Badghis

1. Vide p. 228 of Vol. IX of the Fourteenth Edn. 1920. "From the ease with which the nutritious fruit can be preserved it was probably one of the earliest objects of cultivation.....antiquity." I may note here the points in the para noted above :—

- (1) Fig must have spread in remote ages over Aegean and Levant ;
- (2) May have been unknown to Persians in the days of the First Cyrus according to a passage in Herodotus ;
- (3) Greeks received it from Caria (hence the name *Ficus Carica*) ;
- (4) Fig, the chief article of sustenance for the Greeks—laws to regulate their exportation—Attic Figs celebrated throughout the East—improved under Hellenic Culture ;
- (5) Figs were used by the Spartans at their public tables ;
- (6) Figs were used as food for the slaves in Rome ;
- (7) Fig was held sacred to Bacchus—employed also in religious ceremonies—

2. Vide p. 347 of WATT : *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. III. (Calcutta and London, 1890). WATT records the vernacular names of the Fig :—*Angir* (Hindi) ; *Angir* (Beng.) ; *Kimri*, *ḡagu*, *ḡaguri*, *ḡagari* (PB) ; *Angir* (Bomb.) ; *Angir* (Guz.) ; *Anjura* or *Angjuri* (Kan.) *Tie-thie* (Burm.) ; *Angira* (Sans.) ; *Ten* (Arab) ; *Anjir* (Pers.). Dealing with the HABITAT of the Fig he states that it is cultivated in many parts of India : North West Provinces, Punjab, Western Himalayas, Sind, Baluchistan, Bombay, Madras, Burma, Andaman Islands etc.

3. According to a passage in Herodotus the Fig seems to have been unknown in the days of the First Cyrus (B.C. 559) as stated in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Herodotus the Greek historian and the father of history was born in B.C. 484 at Halicarnassus, a Doric Colony in Caria—Vide p. 260 of *Smaller Classical Dictionary*, Ed. by E. H. BLAKENEY, (London, 1913). Cyrus was killed in 529 B.C. (p. 178 of *Classi. Dictionary*).

country and Eastern Persia. According to DE CANDOLLE⁴ "the pre-historic area of the Fig tree covered the middle and Southern part of the Mediterranean basin from Syria to Canaries." He further mentions the fact that "leaves and even fruits of the wild *Ficus Carica* with teeth of *Elephas primigenius*, and leaves of plants, of which some no longer exist, and others like *Laurus Canariensis* which have survived in the Canaries" were found by PLANCHON in the quaternary tufa of Montpellier, and by DE SAPOTRA in those of Aygaledes near Marseilles and in the quaternary strata of La Celle near Paris. WATT records the use of the Fig in Medicine.⁵ Alexander FAULKNER refers to Figs in his *Dictionary of Commercial Terms*⁶ published in Bombay in 1856 but records no historical information in his note. Prof. H. P. PARANJPE⁷ in his recent book on the cultivation of fruits states that Southern Arabia is the original home of the Fig. He further states that there are many varieties of the wild Fig in India but the Fig used for eating was unknown in India up to the 14th century A.D.⁸

According to the recently published *Marathi Dictionary*⁹ dried figs are said to be imported into India from Arabia. The usage of the word *Anjir* recorded by this Dictionary is from a Sanskrit medical work called the *Yoga-ratnākara*¹⁰ which according to my evidence was composed in Mahārāṣṭra bet-

4. *Ibid*, p. 348.

5. *Ibid*, p. 349—The dried fruit of the Fig is demulcent, emollient, nutritive and laxative. It is however, rarely employed medicinally.—Sometimes used for relieving constipation—used also as poultice to effect suppuration—pulp of figs mixed with vinegar and sugar, useful in bronchitic affections in children—dry Fig contains 60 to 70 percent of grape sugar and unripe fruit contains starch—Figs are prescribed in consumptive cases—The Arabians place figs in their *Mobehts* or *Aphrodisiacs* and *Muzijat* or *Suppurantiā*—Smyrna figs are deemed the best.

6. Page 56—The vernacular and other names of Fig as recorded by FAULKNER are :—(Arab)—*Teen*; (Gujarati and Hindustani)—*Anjeer*; (Persian)—*Anjeer*; (Portuguese)—*Figos*; (Sanskrit)—*Udumvara*; (Tam.)—*Simi attie pullum*. (Tel.)—*Maydiṇḍoo*; (Cyngalese)—*Rata Attika*; "This fruit of a small tree (*Ficus Carica*) indigenous to the temperate parts of Asia and now cultivated in the fertile islands of the Mediterranean, in Spain, Italy, France and Greece. An inferior description of dried Figs are largely imported into Bombay from the Persian Gulf."

7. फलभाग, Poona, 1930, pp. 191-205.

8. *Ibid*, p. 191— "हिंदुध्यानंत रानटी अंजीर पुष्कळ आहेत तरी खाण्याचा अंजीर चव-दाव्या शतकापर्यंत माहीत नव्हता". As no authority is cited for this statement, I am unable to assess its exact historical value.

9. *Sabdakoṣa*, ed. by Y. R. DATE and C. G. KARVE, p. 517.

"अंजिर, अंजीर—योगरत्नाकर, १, ५२; वनौषधि-गुणादर्श १, १४ [सं. फा. अंजीर]
अंजिरी = पैठणी ("सरसाविलि अंजिरी" —कथाकल्पतरु by कृष्णयाज्ञवल्कि, ५.६.१३८)

10. Published in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, Poona, 1900, pp. 13-17—
अथ धान्यादिफल कन्दशाकगुणाः

"सुस्वादुपाकरसयोगुरु क्षीतलं च
श्लेष्मामवातकरमञ्जिरममिश्रान् ॥ ७४ ॥"

ween A.D. 1650 and 1720¹¹ or so. This work states the properties of the fruit under a section dealing with cereals, fruits, roots and vegetables but it quotes no earlier authoritative medical work for its statement.

Verthema in his *Travels*¹² (1502-1508 A.D.) states that he visited "Batha Cala" on 16th November 1504. In describing this city which is "subject to the King of Narasinga" (Vijayanagar Empire) Verthema observes :—

Page 49—"We begin here to find nuts and FIGS after the manner of Calicut.....In this country no grain, barley or vegetables are produced but other most excellent fruits usual in India".

"Batha Cala" has been identified not with Bhatkal but with Sadāshivgarh within Karwar Head close to Anjediva Island. As this city was on the west coast the FIGS seen by Verthema in 1504 may have been imported dried figs (p. liii).

Figs and guavas appear to have been current at Poona about A.D. 1730 and A.D. 1789.¹³ Baber in his *Memoirs* about 1525 A.D. refers to the fig.¹⁴ In the *Munta-Khabu-i-Tawarikh*¹⁵ "Figs of Paradise" are mentioned. Battuta in his *Travels* (c. A.D. 1326) refers to figs of Palestine and Syria.¹⁶ According to Thakore Saheb of Gondal the FIG was newly added to the Indian *Materia Medica* by Raja Madanapāla in his work called the *Madana-vinoda*¹⁷ which

11. My paper on the *Date of the Yogaratnākara* was read before the Bharata Itihasa Sams. Mandal, Poona in June 1940. It will appear after some time. The Anandashram, Poona, has published 2 editions of this work, one in 1888 and the other in 1900. There is also a Mysore Edition of the work, published in 1899.

12. Argonaut Press, London, 1928 (copy No. 486) p. 49.

13. Vide pp. 7 and 6 of पेशवाईचे सावलीत by N. G. CHAPEKAR, Poona, 1937—"अंजीर" and "पेरू" are referred to in the extracts from documents recorded by Mr. CHAPEKAR.

Vide also Letter No. 76 (*Peshwa Daftar Selection* No. 9) from Kashibai to her son Nana Saheb Peshwa. This letter was written between A.D. 1720 and 1740 and refers to Figs and Guavas as follows :—

"तुम्हाकारणें अंजीर सुमार ९ नव पाठविले आहेत हे घेणें तुम्हास अंजीराची आवडी असली तरी लेहून पाठविणें. येथून थोडे बहुत पाठवीत जाऊन..." "... तुम्हास तेथे पेरू मिलत असिले (स) थोडे बहुत बालास पाठवीत जाणे". These references to अंजीर and पेरू seem to suggest that these fruits were articles of luxury at the Poona Court about A.D. 1730 and not so common as we find them to-day in the Poona market.

14. *Memoirs of Baber* (Edited by ERSKINE, 1826 p. 318—Baber referring to a "yellowish blue monkey from some islands" states that "its colour is somewhat like the colour of the FIG." Page 326—"It (Guler) resembles the FIG."

15. Vol. II (Translated by W. H. LOWE) p. 360.

16. *Broadway Travellers*, Edited by GIBB, 1929 p. 58. "From Tyre I went on to Sayda (Sidon) a pleasant town on the coast and rich in fruit; it exports FIGS, raisins, and olive oil to Cairo".

17. Vide p. 120 of *Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896.

was composed in A.D. 1374 and not after Bhāvamīśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa* as stated by the Thakore Saheb.¹⁸ I have examined the MSS¹⁹ of *Madanavinoda Nighaṇṭu* of Madanapāla of the Tānkā race and find that they contain verses describing the properties of अंजीर or the Fig, which may be recorded here :—

MS No. 110 of 1873-74, folio 21 (फलवर्गः षष्ठः)

“अंजीरं मंजुलं मेहं काकोदुंबरिकं फलं ।
अंजीरं शीतलं स्वादु गुरुपित्ताश्रवातजित् ॥ १ ॥
तस्मादल्पगुणं ज्ञेयमंजीरं लघु तद्वृणैः ॥ २ ॥
अंजीर नाम० लोके ” etc.

MS No. 459 of 1895-98, Folio 48 (षष्ठो वर्गः) —A.D. 1616.

“अंजीरं मंजुलं मेहं काकोदुंबरिकं फलं ।
अंजीरं शीतलं स्वादु गुरुपित्ताश्रवातजित् ॥
तस्मादल्पगुणं ज्ञेयमंजीरं लघु तद्वृणैः ॥ अंजीर ॥ ”²⁰

MS No. 929 of 1884-87—(Folio 28)—A.D. 1705.

“अंजीरं मंजुलं मेहं काकोदुंबरिकं फलं ।
अराजी जीरभद्राकक्षा मंजरिकास्तप्यां ॥ ६२ ॥
अंजीरः शीतलं स्वादु गुरुपित्ताश्रवातजित् ॥ अंजीर ॥ ”

18. *Bhāvaprakāśa* was composed about A.D. 1550 as stated by Thakore Saheb on p. 36 of *Aryan Medical Science*, while *Madanavinoda* was composed in A.D. 1374, (This date is recorded in the work itself see Chronogram on folio 43 of B. O. R. Institute MS No. 110 of 1873-74), Thakore Saheb's statement “Bhāva Mīśra is followed by Raja Madanapāla” is obviously incorrect as the two authors are divided in point of chronology by no less than 200 years.

19. These MSS are available in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

(1) No. 110 of 1873-74 dated *Samvat* 1855 = A.D. 1799 see folio 21.

(2) No. 109 of 1873-74—Folio 26—“अंजीरं लघु तद्वृणैः अंजीर नाम गुणाः ”

(3) No. 459 of 1895-99—dated *Samvat* 1672 = 1616 see folio 48

(षष्ठो वर्गः)

(4) No. 929 of 1884-87—dated *Samvat* 1761 = A.D. 1705 vide folio 28.

20. Bhāvamīśra (c. A.D. 1550) in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* (B. O. R. I. MS. No. 454 of A.D. 1881-82 folio 168—आम्रादिवर्गः) repeats the lines of Madanapāla (A.D. 1374) as follows :—“ ॥ अथ अंजीर ॥

अंजीरं मेजलं मेहं काकोदुंबरिकं फलं ।
अंजीरं शीतलं स्वादु गुरुपित्ताश्रवातजित् ॥
तस्मादल्पगुणं ज्ञेयमंजीरं लघु तद्वृणैः ।
उदुंबरमेदो देशांतरे भवति ॥

Though the verses quoted above are written incorrectly they are sufficient to prove the fact of the existence of the अंजीर or FIG about 1350 A.D. in Northern India where Raja Madanapāla ruled.²¹

Mr. R. D. KINJAVADEKAR in an Appendix to his recently published edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*²² has recorded some texts on the topic स्वस्थवृत्त. He quotes the following verse in which अंजीर is referred to :—

Page 198— परिशिष्ट—३. पानकानि (drinks or beverages) चारोद्भवम्—पानकम्

“ ६६२—परुषांजीर चुक्राम्ल द्राक्षादाडिमजं तथा ।

एकैकं सम्भवं भिन्नं पानकं क्रियते बुधैः ॥ ”

No indication of the source²³ or chronology of this verse has been given by Pt. KINJAVADEKAR.

In the *Old Testament* of the *Bible*²⁴ we find references to FIGS brought unto Jerusalem on the Sabbath day. LIVY²⁵ the Latin Historian (59 B.C.-17 A.D.) refers to FIGS in the following quotation²⁶ :—

“ *Ficus ficus, ligonem ligonem vocal* ”.

(He calls figs figs and spade a spade).

21. The above extract is not found in a dated MS of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (Sāhvat 1797 = A.D. 1741 where it ought to be found on folio 93b after अमृतफल and before पीलु. This MS is No. 901 of 1887-91—Madanapāla is mentioned on folio 169.

22. Published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1940. If the expression “परुषांजीर” means “dried figs” we have reason to believe that the drink was prepared from the pulp of dried figs in the century to which the verse belongs. We have already noted that the dry fig contains 60 to 70 per cent of grape sugar and hence a drink prepared from it may taste more sweet and delicious.

23. I have traced the verse in the *Kṣema Kutūhala* of Kṣema Sarman composed about A.D. 1548 (“बाणाकाशयुते नदि (ये ?) वत्सरे विक्रमांकिते ” —folio 52 of MS No. 887 of 1880-91—B. O. R. Institute). On Folio 50 of this MS the verse reads as follows :—

“ परुषांजीर काचुका द्राक्षादाडिमजं तथा ।

एकैकं संभवं भिन्नं पानकं क्रियते बुधैः ॥

This verse is part of Chapter XII dealing with पानकs like नारंगफल पानक, जंबीर पानक, निंबूफल पानक, चारफल पानक etc.

24. *Holy Bible*, London, 1913, Page 561—*Nehemiah* Chapter. 13—“ 15. In those days saw I in Judah some treading wine presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses ; as also wine, grapes, and FIGS, and all manner of burdens which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath days ; and I testified against them in the day wherein they sold victuals ”.

In *Judges* IX olive, fig and wine are mentioned.

25. Vide p. 530 of *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations* by H. P. JONES, London, 1918. Livy or Livius is noted for his *History of Rome* (vide p. 310 of *Smaller Classical Dictionary*, 1913.)

26. *Ibid*, p. 44 (Latin Quotations).

BREWER²⁷ records the usages of the *Fig* in English language and literature such as—

(1) *Fig Sunday—Palm-Sunday* is so called from the custom of eating *figs* on that day.

The practice arose from the Bible Story of Zaccheus who climbed up into a *fig* tree to see Jesus.

(2) *Fig-tree*—It is said that Judas hanged himself on a *fig-tree*.

(3) *Figs*—I shan't buy my *attic figs* in future but grow them. Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.

It was Xerxes who boasted that he did not intend any longer to buy his *figs* because he meant to conquer Attica and add it to his own empire but Xerxes met "a signal defeat at Salamis and never loosed his sandal till he reached Abdira".

(4) "*In the name of the Prophet, Figs*"—A burlesque of the solemn language employed in eastern countries in common business of life. The line occurs in the imitation of Dr. JOHNSON's pompous style in *Rejected Addresses* by James and Horace SMITH.

The references to the *Fig* recorded so far do not clear up the question as regards its early existence in or its importation into India before A.D. 1000 during definite periods of history. The word अंजीर now current for the "*Fig*" and used by Madanapāla of Northern India in A.D. 1374 is not a Sanskrit word as stated by WATT in his *Dictionary* or by the editors of the *Śabdakośa*, who call it both Sanskrit and Persian. It is for linguists to record and prove its early usages from contemporary Indian sources. Obviously Madanapāla used this word as a loan-word in his verses quoted by me already.

The absence of systematic historical study of the present Indian flora and fauna leads to a hazy and incorrect knowledge of all aspects of Indian culture resulting in anachronisms. This absence of historical knowledge coupled with the prevalent uncritical methods of editing texts is responsible for *Figs* appearing in a Mahābhārata passage along with other fruits like mangoes, pomegranates etc. which can claim much higher antiquity in Indian

27. *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, P. 460. See also p. 696 of *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*—

FIG—ME [*OF*—*fige, figue*; *L*—*figus*]. In the East and West Indies the word *Fig* is applied to Banana also to the Cochineal Cactus (1582 A.D.); *Fig of Spain*, *Italian Fig* (A.D. 1691); The disease *Ficus* (pl.) (A.D. 1550).

—Vide p. 366 of BREWER'S *Reader's Hand-book*, London, 1911. '*Figs of Holvan*—Holvan is a stream of Persia and the Persians say its *figs* are not to be equalled in the whole of the world'

"Luscious as the *figs* of Holvan"—Saadi: *Gulistan* (13th Century).

—*Adam's Fig* = Plantain fruit. Vide Tavernier's *Travels in India*. London, 1889—Vol. I, p. 247 and Vol. II, pp. 4 n, 253, 283.

literature than their junior-most confrère the Fig (*Añjira*). In the Poona Edition of the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan) we find the following line²⁸ in which *Añjira* has been referred to :—

“मुञ्जतकांस्तथाञ्जीरान् दाडिमान्बीजपूरकान्”

Evidently the MSS on the strength of which the above line was first edited must have been late copies prepared during a period of history when अंजीर became a common article of diet and hence the copyist without understanding the results of his tampering with the text introduced अंजीर in the Epic text. Thence forward it became a circulating joke and even in the Marathi translation of 1915 by no less a scholar than Pandit Appa Shastri RASHIVADEKAR गुलाब and अंजीर imperceptibly found their way unchallenged. These instances are sufficient to impress upon us the need for critical Editions of Sanskrit texts and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will be thanked by all scholars not only of the present generation but of succeeding centuries for their herculean effort in the work of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The B. O. R. I. constituted text²⁹ for the line in the Chitrashala edition referring to अंजीर reads as follows :—

“अजतकांस्तथा जीरान्दाडिमान्बीजपूरकान्”

It was by a curious coincidence that Dr. SUKTHANKAR informed me about his rejection of अंजीरान् from the line in question. While studying the references to अंजीर I inquired of him if he has come across any references to it in Sanskrit texts. In reply to this inquiry he drew my attention to the line in the Chitrashala Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and his rejection of the reading अंजीरान् on the grounds of textual criticism. As *Añjira* is a loan-word in the Indian Vernaculars it is not found in early Sanskrit lexicons like the *Amarakośa*.³⁰ The earliest Indian Materia Medica viz. the *Dhanvantari*

28. *Mahābhārata* published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona, Vanaparvan Vol. III, p. 247— यक्षयुद्धपर्व १५८

In the Marathi translation of the *Mahābhārata* (1915) by Pandit Appa Shastri RASHIVADEKAR we find “अंजीर, डाळिंब” etc. in the translation of the above line on p. 320 of the Volume for *Vanaparvan*. He also translates “पाटलान् कुटजान्” as “गुलाब, कुडे.” It remains to be proved if अंजीर and गुलाब (Figs and Roses) were known to the authors of the *Mahābhārata* or to our ancestors of the Epic times.

29. Variants rejected by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata* are as follows : found on p. 519 of *Āraṇyaka parvan* (B. O. R. Institute, Stanza 40 of यक्षयुद्धपर्व) III, 155, 40—

K₃ B D (D5 om तथाञ्जीरा (DC °वा) न्)

T₂ G₃. 4 तथाभीरान्

30. The *Amarakośa* (Kāṇḍa II—वनौषधिवर्ग ४) mentions काकोदुम्बरिका :—

“काकोदुम्बरिका फल्गुमलपू (यू) जंघनेफला ॥ ६१ ॥”

Bhānuji Dikṣita in his comment. व्याख्यासुधा on *Amarakośa* explains :— “काकप्रिया

*Nighantu*³¹ which is said to be earlier than the *Amarakośa* contains no reference to *Añjira*.

BERNIER (A.D. 1656-1668) in his *Travels* refers to the fruit imported into India³² as also the variety of fruit sold in Delhi³³ but does not refer to *Añjira* specifically though it is possible to suppose that dried figs may have been imported into India along with other dried fruit specified by Bernier in his remarks.

Mr. APTE in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* records the word “अंजीरः—रं” as species of the fig-tree and its fruit but gives no usages of it, though he remarks that it is “perhaps a Persian word”.

In a treatise³⁴ on dietetics by Raghunāthasūri composed about A.D. 1675

उदुम्बरी.....चत्वारि ‘मलया’ ‘कदुम्बरी’ इति ख्यातस्य”. Madanapāla (A.D. 1374) appears to equate काकोदुम्बरिका फल with अंजीर perhaps on account of its similarity with अंजीर but Bhānuji Dikṣita (c. 1630 A.D.) gives the current names of काकोदुम्बरिका as ‘मलया’ ‘कदुम्बरी’ and not अंजीर. The fruit of the औदुम्बर (Marathi उंबर) tree is not identical with अंजीर fruit. In the धन्वन्तरिनिघंटु and राजनिघंटु (pp. 186-187 of Anandashram Edn. 1896) the properties of उदुम्बर and काकोदुम्बरिका have been separately given.—Sarvānanda (A.D. 1159) in his टीकासर्वस्व on Amara’s line “काकोदुम्बरिका” observes :— “काकोदुम्बरिकाचतुष्क कोट्टाडम्बर इति ख्याते.” (p. 116 of *Amarakośa*, edited by Ganapati SASTRI, Part I, 1911). क्षीरस्वामी in his commentary explains काकोदुम्बरिका as “काकप्रिया उदुम्बरी.” Can कोट्टाडम्बर mentioned in A.D. 1159 by सर्वानन्द be identical with अंजीर which Madanapāla mentions as “काकोदुम्बरिकाफल” in A.D. 1374?—*Pāiasaddamahannavo* (p. 296) mentions काउंबरी (काकोदुम्बरी) as औषधिविशेष (उप-१०३१ टी; पण ?)

31. Vide Intro., to *Kalpadrūkośa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1928) p. XLIX.

32. *Bernier’s Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 203-204 of 1891 Edition, Constable & Co., London. Cloves, nut-meigs, cinnamon, are supplied by the Dutch—Fresh fruit (from Samarkand, Bali (Balkh), Bocara and Persia) such as melons, apples, pears, grapes, eaten at Delhi during winter; also dried fruit such as almonds, pistachio and other small nuts, plums, apricots, raisins.

33. *Ibid*, pp. 249, 250—The fruit market contains dry fruit from Persia, Balk, Eekara and Samarkand. Bernier mentions the following fruit :—almonds, pistachios, walnuts, raisins, prunes, apricots; also fresh grapes (black and white) brought wrapped in cotton, pears and apples of three or four sorts, melons and water-melons.

Ambas or *mangues* are plentiful and cheap. The best come from Bengale Golkonda and Goa.

(Cf. Edward MOOR : *Narrative of Operations against Tipu Sultan*, London. 1794—p. 506. MOOR refers to Mazgaon mangoes, as finest grown in Bombay. Goa produces several fine species of this super-excellent fruit.)

34. *Bhojana Kutūhala* (1st Pariccheda) MS. No. 594 of 1899-1915. On folio 39A only the properties of औदुम्बर fruit are mentioned :

“औदुम्बरं कषायस्स्यात् पक्वं तु मधुरं हिमं ।

कृमिहृत्तिरक्तं मूर्च्छादाहृतृषापहम् ॥ उंबरे ॥”

many fruits are referred to but I fail to notice in this elaborate list any reference to *Añjira* in the MS of the work before me.

The Marathi Encyclopædia called the *Jñānakośa*³⁵ (1924) Vol. IX devotes a paragraph to the history of *Añjira* but the sources of this history are not indicated. Some points in this historical account may be noted here :—

- (1) South Arabia is the native place of the *Añjira*.
- (2) The *Añjira* may have migrated to other places from South Arabia.
- (3) Archaeological research has proved the cultivation of *Añjira* thousands of years before the rule of the Greeks and Romans.
- (4) Definite evidence regarding *Añjira* is found in works dating 700 years before the Christian Era.
- (5) It is from Arabia that *Añjira* migrated to Rome, Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, Portugal, France, Khorasan, Hirat, Afghanistan, China.
- (6) There are many varieties of the wild *Añjira* in India but the variety used in India for eating was unknown in this country up to the 14th century.
- (7) Dried *Añjirs* are imported into India from Smyrna in Asia Minor.
- (8) *Añjira* is called “इंजीर” in Asia Minor. The name *Añjira* is possibly a corruption of “इंजीर”.³⁶

The history of *Añjira* recorded in the *Jñānakośa* is practically the same as recorded by me from several other sources. It is for linguists to say whether the derivation of the word *Añjira* from “इंजीर” given above is historically correct.

If *Añjira* used for eating was unknown in India up to the 14th century as stated above it is impossible to find any references to it in Indian literature

The *Kṣemakutūhala* of Kṣemaśarma (16th century) gives the use of औदुंबर fruit in cooking :—

Folio 30 of B.O.R.I. MS. 887 of 1887-91.

“फलमौदुम्बरं बालमम्लतकेण स्वेदितम् ।
 वेसवारभृते स्वाज्ये पाचितं सैधवान्वितम् ॥
 शीतं कषायमधुरं रक्तपित्तप्रनाशनम् ।
 मूत्रकृच्छ्रहरं सम्यग्विवंधाध्मानकारकम् ॥”

35. Ed. by Dr. S. V. KETKAR, Vol. IX, pp. (अं ५०-५१)

36. Dr. KETKAR states that the cultivation of the *Añjira* in Mahārāṣṭra is found in the Purandar taluka of the Poona District. Some foreign species of *Añjira* are imported for cultivation into India but they have not fared well.

before A.D. 1000, much less in the *Mahābhārata* times and consequently it is an anachronism to insert it in the text of the Great Epic as we find it in the Chitrashala Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. If any scholar succeeds in proving the existence of either imported or cultivated *Anjira* on Indian soil before the Christian Era he will be justified in imagining its presence in the *Mahābhārata* text. So far I can see no a priori case made out in support of such insertion and I await more light in this matter from experts in the ancient Indian history and culture. For the present we must go by the text of the *Mahābhārata* purged of any references to *Anjiras* and *Gulābs*,³⁷ which are evidently late importations³⁸ into Indian history and culture. If *Anjira* migrated from the Mediterranean region to Greece³⁹ and Rome and then to the Eastern countries like Syria, Arabia, Persia (and lastly India) its history (say between the 1st century A.D. and the 14th century A.D.) is closely connected with the cultural history of these nations and it is the business of the historians of these countries and their culture to record definite chronological evidence regarding such history from the literatures of these countries, to any knowledge of which I can lay no claim. I would, however, feel satisfied if any scholar takes the history of the *Anjira* backwards from A.D. 1300 say by at least 500 years on the strength of definitely dated evidence, preferably from Indian or Persian and Arabic sources.

The following chronological table would give at a glance the chronology of the *Anjira* recorded in this paper :—

37. I propose to publish a historical paper on the *Gulāb* in India in the near future.

38. Though contact of India with Greeks and Romans is a matter of known history there is absolute absence in Indian literature of any reference to the *Anjira* in early works contemporaneous with the Greek and Roman history. In the study of Indian Plants and Animals known to the Greeks published in the *Indian Antiquary*, (Vol. XIV) 1885, pp. 274 ff. no reference is found to any species of the *Fig*, either wild or cultivated. Only *Pipal* tree seems to have been known to the Greeks. Though Prof. Franklin EDGERTON has found a reference to the city of Rome in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (*JAOS*, Vol. 58, pp. 262-265) no case has been made out for *Anjira* in the *Mahābhārata* either on textual or historical grounds. *Romā* is included among the cities conquered by Sahadeva (Sabhāparvan Book 2).

39. A. K. NAIRNE (*Flowering Plants of Western India*, London, 1894, pp. 304 ff.) deals with *Fig* and its Species which include *Vaḍ*, *Pipal*, *Kāl-umbar* (काकोदुम्बरिका ?) and *Anjir* (*Ficus Carica*—p. 303). He gives the following reference to the *Fig* in Book 8 of *Odyssey* :

"There (in the garden of Alcinous) grow tall trees blossoming, pear trees, and pomegranates and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet FIGS and olives in their bloom". Nairne further observes :—

"The figs grown in India must be placed far below those of England, and these again are in flavour nowhere near the Italian figs ; but the scientific cultivation of fruit in India must come in time."

<i>Chronology</i>	<i>Particulars</i> (F. = <i>Añjira</i>)
	Pre-historic evidence about leaves and fruits of wild F. (<i>Ficus Carica</i>) in quaternary strata near Paris and Marseilles.
1000 B.C. } or about 850 B.C. }	Homer refers to F in <i>Odyssey</i> .
" 559 B.C.	F unknown to Persians according to Herodotus.
" 484 B.C.	Birth of Herodotus who refers to F.
B.C. 485-465 B.C.	Xerxes, King of Persia with whom <i>Attic Figs</i> are associated.
From about } 330 B.C. upto 160 B.C. }	References to F in the <i>Old Testament</i> of the <i>Holy Bible</i> .
59 B.C.—17 A.D.	Livy, the Latin historian refers to F.
A.D. 23-79	Pliny, the Roman author refers to the varieties of F.
Between A.D. 200 and 800	In the Pahlvi ⁴⁰ work <i>Nirangastān</i> "juice of figs" is mentioned.
A.D. 1250	Figs of Holvan in Persia referred to by Saddi in <i>Gulistan</i> .
A.D. 1326	Batutta refers to figs in Palestine and Syria.
A.D. 1374	Reference to F in the <i>Madanavinoda Nighanṣu</i> of Madanapāla.
A.D. 1504	F on the west-coast mentioned by Verthema the Italian traveller.
about 1526 A.D.	Baber's reference to F.
" 1548 A.D.	F referred to in the <i>Kṣemakutūhala</i> of Kṣemasarma.
" 1550 A.D.	F referred to by Bhāvamiśra in <i>Bhāvaprakāśa</i> .
" 1691 A.D.	<i>Figs</i> of Spain and Italy referred to.
" c. 1730 A.D.	<i>Figs</i> sent to Nanasaheb Peshwa by his mother Kashibai.
" 1789 A.D.	F mentioned in the Peshwa period (at Poona).

40. Vide p. 333 of *Aērpatastān and Nirangastān* Eng. Trans. by S. J. BULSARA, Bombay, 1913. My friend Mr. M. F. KANGA of Bombay informs me that the word *Añjira* does not occur in Avesta literature. It is found in the Pahlvi language and literature, which flourished from 3rd to 9th century A.D. (Vide pp. 293-297 of *History of Zoroastrianism* by M. N. DHALLA, Oxford Uni. Press, 1938). Detailed Chronology of Pahlvi references to the FIG must be reserved for a separate study by Parsi scholars themselves as I have no first-hand knowledge of their sacred texts and other early literature.

P. S.—Studies bearing on the history of Indian culture require the cooperation of experts in the different branches of Indology. I am, therefore, extremely thankful to my friend Khan Bahadur Prof. SHAIKH Abdul-Kadir-e-Sarfaraz, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), for the following note on the history of the Fig, which was received by me after the composing of my paper by the press. This note fills in a gap in my Chronology for the Fig and thus enriches my present paper :—

1. MOLESWORTH says the word is Sanskrit or Persian.
2. In Persian (post-Islamic) the word is undoubtedly extensively used from very old times to modern. Sadi (XIII c.) used it; Nizami (XII) used it several times. Two forms of the word seem to have been in use "Anjir" and "Anjirah." There is an infinitive also, "Anjir-dan", which means "to bore a hole, drill, perforate". The word occurs in several compounds also, such as "Anjir-e-Adam", or "Anjir-e-Dashti", i.e. 'Adam's Fig', which is our 'Udumber', glomerous fig; "Bed-anjir", which is Palma Christi, or our 'Erand'. Long descriptions of the principal varieties of Anjir, the properties and the medicinal uses of it are given in Persian Pharmacopœias and medical books. Three principal varieties are mentioned: *Barri*, which grows in plains, *Kohi*, which grows on mountains, and *Bustāni*, which grows in gardens. Another variety called "Shāhi", 'Royal' is said to be specially delicious and quite suitable for eating; the blackish variety is generally used in medicine.
3. The home is said to be Syria or Asia Minor.
4. In pre-Islamic Persian or Pahlavi the word for "Fig" is not "Anjir" but "Tin".
5. In Arabic the word for "Fig" is "Tin". It is used in the Qur'ān, only once. There is a chapter of the Qur'ān, the 95th, which is entitled "The Fig", because it begins with the words "By the Fig." The commentators say that God swears by the fig, because "it is wholesome and of easy digestion, and physically good to carry off phlegm, and gravel in the kidneys, or bladder, and to remove obstructions of the liver and spleen, and also cures the piles, and the gout etc." (SALE's Transl.) The word "Fig" is also held symbolical, but there is a good deal of difference of opinion about the exact interpretation thereof. Some take it to stand for the Jewish or Mosaic dispensation which was to wither away like the Fig-tree in the Gospel; others say that it may stand for man's destiny. The word "Tin" used in the Qur'ān and in Arabic literature was well-known in Pre-Islamic Arabia. It is generally taken to be Arabic, but according to some (Western) scholars, borrowed from Akkadian "tittu", "tintu".
6. The word "Fig" occurs in the Bible in a number of places. See any concordance. In Mathew e.g., 20. 1, Jesus is said to arrive at a place called Beth-Phage, which literally means "the house of figs". It is stated in the Bible that when Adam discovered his nakedness in the garden of Paradise or Eden, he sewed fig leaves and made aprons. Now this garden of Eden or Paradise, according to Higher criticism is located generally on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.
7. The fig is said to have been introduced in England by Cardinal Pole (1500-58).

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CINNAMON TRADE* (1600-1661)

By

J. C. DE, Calcutta.

I may also note incidentally a few interesting points here though at the risk of some digression. The Portuguese took beef which was certainly shunned by the Hindu, and *go-khádaka* was an opprobrious noun by which they (and others) were known in India at this time. Buddhism in Ceylon seems to have also stuck to this old Hindu idea. The Parangi Hatane refers to the despicable eaters of beef, the Portuguese. "Our gentle herds of kine", it says, "were slain to fill the maw of these devouring ogres". We find in the same poem, "this beef-eating host" later on. Thirdly, the shooting down of cattle (apparently including cows and bulls) for food (was one of the causes which (as we have seen above) incensed the Ceylonese, and made De Weert come to a tragic end. (Thirdly, *Atapattu* may perhaps be derived from *átapatra* which means umbrella. The umbrella in question would be the symbolical *chatra*. *Sívájí* who rose to power in India shortly afterwards assumed the title of *chatrapati* equivalent to lord of the umbrella. Compound words like *ekachatrádhpati* and *ekachatrarāja* are familiar to any student of Hindu-Buddhist political institutions.⁴ "The *Atapattu Mantri*, pride of the *Saluwadana* family" is also referred in the Parangi Hatane.) Fourthly we come across another compound word which forms a parallel to *agarāja*—*agramahishí*—the chief queen—in Ancient Indian records.

A point of special interest to the historian of Bengal is the reference to the Bengali marines who fought against *Rájasimha*. Some of the Asiatic allies of the Portuguese in the campaign that was decided at Gannoruwa are described thus by the author of the Parangi Hatane :—"The worthless crowds of *Kaberis Kannúdis*, and *Jávas* steeped in *Kansa* and opium and witless with drink, the shameless *Simhalese* who accompanied them with the graceless *Bengalis* and *Parawara* sailors".

To continue the story of *Rájasimha*. The victorious monarch in the traditional Hindu-Buddhist manner offered the *naivedya* of his turban—a round cap resembling that worn by an officer of the French army with a triangular flap on each side, and surmounted by a coronet—together with his sword to *Dodanwala Devale* (= *deválaya* = temple).

De Mello's body could not be discovered. But his sword which had lain

* Continued from p. 93.

4. Other explanations are also admissible, viz., *hastaprāpte*. *Atapattu* may also be derived from the eight *pattos*.

for some time at the feet of Ceylon's king was ultimately presented to Westerwold to announce the victory of his ally in a fitting way.

"The king of Candea" "finding himself victorious at once hastened to come down in person" to Baticaloa which he reached on 14th May. The siege "by the two nations" (as de Queyroz puts it) compelled "Mancel Pinto a cassado of Columbo" to "surrender conditionally". "(He) was landed at Negapatam along with those who surveyed". Shortly after this success, Westerwold entered into a treaty with Rájasingha, the eighth clause of which laid down "His Royal Majesty of Ceylon and his subjects shall be bound, in terms of His Majesty's promise and the undertaking to His Excellency the Governor-General and the Honourable the Council of India, to pay the yearly expenses as well as to bear the cost of the present equipment and putting out of the ships, yachts, and other small vessels, and the crews, officers, and soldiers, the ammunition of war, and all else required which the Honourable the Directors of the United Chartered East India Company by direction of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India shall send through the Dutch Government for the service of His Majesty's lands of Ceylon, all which shall be recouped by His Majesty in cinnamon, pepper, cardamon, indigo, wax, rice, and other valuable products of his country, except caneels de matte." On 4th June, Koster succeeded Westerwold in the command of Baticaloa. Then on 2nd May, 1639, Caen and "the Chingala" captured Trinkomali (Triconamalai)—"The Belga", says Father de Queyroz, "on the 16th of February... gave sail for Ceylon and doubling the point of Gále fell upon the fort of Triquilemalé, and joined by the Chingalaz after 40 days of bombardment, forced it to surrender, for very small was the force with which Francisco Deça, a casado of Columbo, tried to defend it who however exacted the condition that each should go out with what he had, and that they should be taken to the Coast of Coromandel". The English documents are not however so complementary to the gallantry of the Portuguese as the reverend father. "On Zeiloan", says Surat (1639), "they have this yeare taken another fort by composition from the Portugalls called Tricnomela, and in it 50,000 pounds weight of cinnamon, 10,000 pounds weight of wax", and other booty.

"In liewe" of all this "they are to set free on sea shoare at Negapatam the base cowardly rascalls that well might and yet durst not keepe it". Among these there was hardly a pure Asiatic, because all Asiatic mercenaries were taken over into Dutch service according to the terms of capitulation.

In the meantime the prize was being appropriated by Rájasingha's doubtful allies. 570 packs of cinnamon, 87 "picols" of wax and 3059 lbs. of pepper were sent over to the Dutch Council at Batavia. But they remained unsatisfied, and wanted more and more of the Ceylon products, and the Treaty with Westerwold was invoked again and again. The Dutch complained shortly afterwards that Rájasingha was not supplying the victuals he had promised to the garrison at Trinkomali. He did not also co-operate with Lukaszoon's forces in undertaking operations against Colombo. But still the two powers

continued as allies, co-operating in the capture of Negombo on 9th February, some Portuguese being severely dealt with by the Sinhalese. Rájasingha wanted the fort to be demolished. He certainly did not want these strongholds to be merely transferred from one European power to the other. The Dutch refused, and the Ceylonese ruler had his first taste of what the future was to bring. An arrangement was however patched up, and the Dutch obtained their all-important footing at Galle on 13th March, 1640. This was another rude awakening, and Rájasingha probably informed the Dutch that he would be glad to be rid of their presence in the island. With their eyes blinded to the resources of Ceylon the Dutch naturally refused to oblige Rájasingha. Regarding the Dutch of these days, Father de Queyroz with an evident bias says, "Though even among them there are men of honour and of good nature, the knaves and common people are insufferable, and in the case of their greater folk we always found, greater hatred in the Zeelanders". The Dutch had swallowed the bait, but in catching them Rájasingha caught the proverbial old man on Sindbad's back. Koster chose this inopportune moment to seek a personal audience with the king. The Mudaliyars fanned the monarch's anger and irritation. No further supply of the coveted merchandise including cinnamon was obtained, and the Dutch chief left the Ceylonese capital in despair. On the way back, it is said that he was murdered. "It was known also", says Father de Queyroz, "that the Hollander Captain of Gále had gone to Candea, accompanied by 10 or 12 Hollanders to urge the Chingalá king to descend upon Colombo, and as the insolence of that nation was already great, and the King did not approve what he proposed, he without minding the place where he was, fell out in such a manner with the King and with those of his Council, that on quitting his presence, the latter ordered (his men) to spear him and the rest of his company". "At midday", says the Dagb Register of 1640-41 in a certain village named Nilegale where there are but a few small houses, His Excellency arrived at a certain low cottage to get something to eat and take a little rest. While stooping to enter through the door which was by no means too high, he was shot in a dastardly manner in the back with 41 arrows and stabbed with no less a number of pointed knives. This was perpetrated without the slightest warning, word of alarm or protest. He was overwhelmed, sprung upon by the aforesaid guests and finally cut in the throat".

Baldeaus remarks, "Koster (who was treacherously murder'd by the Cingaleses)...was succeeded by John Thyssen who is yet living".

The king however pointed out that he was innocent of any instigation, and the Dutch more eager to appropriate cinnamon, wax, pepper etc. than to avenge the murder of a hundred Koster meekly accepted the explanation.

By the beginning of 1640, the English at Swally Marine remark that the Portuguese 'will bee inforced to abandon some of their forts on this coast, the better to defend the remainder.... The Dutch call themselves lords of all India already. "They reckon", they added, "certainly upon the conquest of Seiloan and Mallacca.... In the seizure of Seiloan and Mallucca

(the Portuguese) China and cannamon traffique will be utterly extinguished".

The Portuguese also seems to have realised this, for by the end of that year taking advantage of the desertion of Walraven de St. Amant (in the Dutch service) they captured Negombo. A vast quantity of cinnamon fell into their hands.

They also kept the Dutch in Galle cut off from supplies, and on one occasion surprised and slaughtered twenty-seven Dutch officers and men. Eight hundred bahars of cinnamon collected by Rájasingha at Alicam for the Dutch were also seized, and only 165,720 lbs. of good quality cinnamon were actually received by Thysz as part payment for the future surrender of Batticaloa to the Sinhalese. Thysz at this time, wrote to the Council recommending that the districts round Galle, Matara and Alicam were to be exploited of their produce. In addition to cocoanuts and other merchandise, an annual supply of 4000 ammunams of arecanut was to be secured, in this way.

Early in April 1641 (according to the Dagb Register) 103 "bhares" of fine cinnamon were conveyed to the Archipelago by the "Cleyen Rotterdam".

The letter written by Rájasingha to the Dutch at Batavia in 1641, in course of the subsequent negotiations, says that he handed over to them 114 bahars of cinnamon, 44½ bahars of wax, 4½ bahars of pepper in May, 1638. Next year, he let them have in addition, seven elephants, 5,010 lbs. of wax, and 44,000 lbs. of cinnamon. In 1640, 11,400 lbs. of cinnamon belonging to a superior grade and 1142 1/3 ammunams of arecanut and 3,000 lbs. of wax were given. Some more elephants also seem to have been handed over by that time. A bahar which is also called "bhar" probably comes from the Sanskrit word bhāra meaning weight. It came to about 400 lbs. avoirdupois. But it differed according to commodities and localities. Both Father de Queyroy and De Couto take it to be equivalent to four quintals.

The Dutch had exported along with the king's presents, 10,030 lbs. of wax, 5,234 lbs. of pepper and three tuskens.

What is apparent from the records is that the Dutch did not desire payment in cash. They definitely wanted Ceylon merchandise, and without the help of the local king it was difficult for them to obtain their requirements. The treaty with Westerwold provided (as we have seen above), for payments (on account of Dutch military and naval help) "in cinnamon, pepper, cardamon, indigo, wax, rice" etc. The same idea is found imbedded in this letter of 1641 and other sources. In this letter, for example, we find that on the occasion of the handing over of Trincomali ten elephants were presented by the king who also promised (as we have seen above), 1,000 bahars of cinnamon for the cession of Batticaloa. The answer to Article 14 of the letter again complained plainly, "The Company does not want reimbursement in cash, but in merchandise; and this cannot be collected at once, except once a year".

Further the seventeenth article reads, "The Company desire that the King should supply them with the produce of his land at reasonable rates and also permit them to trade freely in his dominions." It may be noticed also

that the Dutchman and who was a trader firstly, secondly and thirdly also apparently desired to come to an agreement with the Sinhalese ruler by which these lucrative exports, were to be sold to them according to a fixed scale of prices. This demand would be consistent with similar ones made by them on Asiatic rulers elsewhere. Thirdly, of course in fixing these prices, the word of the Dutch themselves was to go a long way. When Ceylon's ruler suggested 110 xeraphyns for each bahar of cinnamon, about 3 larins for a lb. of tusks, and two for a lb. of wax, the Dutch shook their heads in dissent. Their official buying rate seems to be in the neighbourhood of 70 for a bahar at this time. The king we may note in this connection in his answer to the twenty sixth article points out in quite a dignified way that "no reference need be made to the profits derived by the Portuguese. The king is (however) prepared to treat with the Dutch for what they desire from his lands, and to sell for cash on favourable terms or to grant in a gracious spirit what he wishes." For the moment, the cinnamon (apparently of the superior grade), the king added, could not be supplied by him at a lower rate, because he could not or would not treat his villagers in the same coercive way as the Portuguese did.

The Dutch alleged that Matara used to supply annually 1500 bahars of good cinnamon, four tuskers and thirty elephants without tusks, to the Portuguese, and that a bahar of cinnamon was procurable at Galle for 15 asrafis and less.

In the year 1642, on the 29th of January, "the Treaty of truce made between Dom Michael de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, Viceroy of Goa, and William Methwold, President of the English in the East Indies" was agreed to "be continued and kept between the subjects of both Kings (Joao IV and Charles I) in the East Indies." I have discussed the results of this agreement elsewhere, and concluded that the obliteration of commercial jealousy and potential rivalry was not one of these. But whatever that accord might have led to, the one of the 12th June, 1641 (2nd June O.S.) between the Dutch and the Portuguese was not given effect to immediately in the East. The optimistic Dutch did not want to be baulked of the prey which seemed to lie somewhat helpless under their claws. The request of the Portuguese for a termination of belligerent acts was rejected by Batavia, partly because the monopoly of the traffic in cinnamon would not in those circumstances any longer remain theirs.

Goa was blockaded, and Negapatam was wrested from the Portuguese. The latter had to be ransomed for a huge indemnity. Pieter Boreel raised the "bloed olag" of war on failure of negotiations at Goa, chiefly because of his demanding Galle and vicinity, in Ceylon. He claimed 'the lands of Saffragão' . . . as well as those of Galle "on ground of their being mortgaged to us by the Emperor of Ceylon Rájasinha, for a large sum of money spent on His Majesty's behalf." These were valuable for the cinnamon areas. Rájasinha in his letter of February, 1643, had insisted on the Portuguese evacuating Saffregam and Matara. After failure of the preliminary negotiations, Boreel proposed that each nation was to receive one half of the cinnamon pro-

duced at a fixed price. The Portuguese did not accept the compromise.

"Maturé, Sofragão, Four-Corlas and Seven-Corlas are", says Father de Queyroz, "the best portions of the whole Island; and mainly in these does the cinnamon grow, and as much as one wishes to cultivate." The Portuguese sun shone weakly through the clouds, when they defeated the Dutch, killing and capturing more than 150 Europeans with all their battle accoutrements, near the village of Akuressa Aldea Curazza, and captured the Dutch ship, the Pauw laden with rich Iranian wares, at Marmagão. In another attempt, outgeneralled by de Motta Galvão the Dutch fell back on Galle, while the fortifications of Colombo frightened them off that port. But about twenty miles to the north of that town the Dutch under François Caron succeeded in storming the gates of the fort at Negombo, on 9th January, 1644. The projected attack on Colombo was however again stopped by Portuguese defences.

It is said that two impetuous Portuguese officers who rashly led an attack on the Dutch near Negombo and lost not only their own lives but also those of 300 men in the encounter which followed, were mainly responsible for the Portuguese defeat. Probably it would have been wise not to let the Dutch land at all.

Klaas Korneliszoon Blocq was negotiating terms for a settlement with Goa, the same year. But he had to sail away to Batavia. Taking advantage of his absence the Portuguese despatched reinforcements to Ceylon. Negombo was besieged. But the attempt to storm the town failed, and the Portuguese raised the siege, after suffering heavy losses.

Batavia then despatched Jan Maatzuiker, the future Governor-General, to negotiate for terms, and he succeeded after a couple of months in publishing the treaty of June, 1641 at Goa in November, 1644. This accord was supplemented by another relative to Galle in March, 1645, which among other things laid down that no cinnamon was to be grown by the Dutch, on condition that about thirty tons of that spice were supplied to them by the Portuguese.⁵

During this period again the control over the cinnamon growing districts was a cardinal consideration with the rival forces, and the usual complaints about Rájasingha's failure to supply his country's products in sufficient quantities took place frequently. On one occasion a Disawa of the king who was trying to collect the spice in the district round Matara was driven off by the Portuguese. By 1643, the Dutch chief informed Rájasingha that he had still to pay 473,589 reals in cinnamon and merchandise.

The document signed by sixteen personages among whom were John Maatzuyker and the Conde d' Aveiras laid down that "the products of the Country

5. Public Record Office : Dom. Chas. I, vol. cccli no. 30 ; Lisbon Transcripts : Doe Remett. bk. 40, f. 321 ; Ct. Bk. XVII-XX ; C. M. ; Ct. Bk. XXIII, XXI ; B. M. E. Ms. 2122, f. 1 ; Bal Krishna, Commercial Relations ; O. C. 1273 ; Hague Transcripts I, XII, no. 384 ; Lisbon Tran. D. R., bk. 48 ; f. 90 ; E. F. ; Father de Queyroz : Conquista ; Memoir of Joan Maetsuyker ; B. D. R. 1640-41 ; Pieris and Naish ; Ceylon and the Portuguese ; Anthonisz : The Dutch in Ceylon etc.

(were) not (to) be neglected, or lost, by reason of the Differences betwixt the Possessors." In order to prevent such loss, "it is agreed that the same shall be divided into two equal shares betwixt the Portuguese and the Dutch, . . . (and that) the Portugueses shall have full liberty to gather, without any molestation or hinderance, such Fruits as grow in one part of the lands in dispute, viz. that part which is next adjacent to their Fort, as on the other hand, the Hollanders shall enjoy the same freedom in gathering the Fruits in that half part adjoining to their Fortress." "The Labourers . . . called Schalias, employ'd in peeling of the cinnamon, shall have liberty to work with both Parties, yet not without the consent of that Party under whose jurisdiction they live." "All the Goods seiz'd (also) . . . shall be restor'd or else the Value thereof paid in Mony." The other agreement signed by Aveiras' successor Mascarenhas laid down shortly afterwards, that "the Countries betwixt Columbo and Negombo shall be divided into two equal shares, according to their several Districts (call'd) (Corles)", or "by sharing the Villages." "The Hollanders shall (also) every year in Harvest time send one half of these Labourers out of the Villages of Bili and Cosgure. . . . on the other side of the River Alican to assist as formerly the Portugueses in peeling of cinnamon under condition that the cinnamon thus peeled by them in the Portuguese territories, shall be laid up in a certain place upon the River Dandagan, to be divided once every year in two equal shares betwixt the Parties, provided that each Party pay the usual Price to the Schalias for the peeling of their share of Cinnamon." "Once they captured," says Father de Queyroz, "12,000 foreigners with whom they peopled the Country of Dolasdz-Corla, and from these, they say, are decended the Chaleaz who are obliged to get the cinnamon."

Regarding their payment, Father de Queyroz says, "Six leagues distant from Galle" lay "the lands of the Mabada" "whence came in recent times the greatest quantity of cinnamon. . . because the inhabitants of this district, called Chaleaz, were obliged to make one thousand and eight hundred bahars and without any other payment than thirty or forty cachas or as many patacoens instead, distributed and paid through their mayores.

And for all the rest of the cinnamon they are ordered to make "they gave them 800 reis for each quintal."

Further on, other passages throw a good deal of light both on the collection and the collectors. "At the season of making cinnamon it was the custom to distribute the King's money in the villages for making the mats in which it is wrapped; and for each mat they gave six bazarucos, giving one to four to each house. When the mats had to be delivered, "they had to feed" at their cost those who came to fetch them; and this entertainment cost them more than the price of the mats.

Those who had to bear the heaviest burden were the Chaleaz whom the Ministers of the Royal Fazenda sought unjustly to enslave. "It was quite a new custom for the bahar of cinnamon to be of four bales and each bale of 94 arratels, but as its price rose after the King made it a monopoly, the Ministers of the Fazenda of Ceylon settled that the bahar should be of 6 bales."

Though the picture given above seems to be somewhat over-painted in places, there is little room to doubt that the conditions under which the chalias of our period lived under their own kings, were iniquitous, when judged according to modern standards. But their lot was not very much improved even under the Portuguese and the Dutch. Rev. Cordiner, for example, says that in his days they remained extremely poor.

To come back to the agreement between the Portuguese and the Dutch, we notice that the English did not relish it, at all. One of the reasons lay in the fact that the Portuguese would be no longer willing to sell this aromatic bark of Ceylon to them.

"The cinnamon of Ceilon," as Surat says, "is to be equally reparted betwixt them, until the business shalbe determined in Europe; only in the interim the Dutch must deposit so much money as their shares may import." "The Dutch," they add, "in these parts only prosper and flourish; who by trying . . . infatigable paines and unalterable resolutions purchase what they please; by which meanes they have now added to their other spices half the cinnamon upon Ceiloan."

The Portuguese were forced to sell cinnamon to the English in the past, because their ports were beleaguered by the Dutch. But even then it had not been smooth sailing. The Dutch would not allow the English to carry on their trade in cinnamon, unmolested. According to the "Hollanders writeing given us before Goa" (1642); the Dutch accused the Hester of selling brimstone in exchange for cinnamon, to the Portuguese, and the Swan of carrying away 300 quintals of cinnamon, on pretext of watering at Goa. The Hester actually had "put off to the V. Roy, in barter of cinnamon at 50 Xera. the quent brimstone at 20 Xera. the quent."

The Aleppo Merchant was consequently prevented from entering Goa, and (though allowed to take away their merchandise by boat) was expressly forbidden to bring away any cinnamon. Knipe, the English "manager" however insisted on his rights, and at last the Dutch had to give way. "Wee were entertained," says Knipe, "with a mallapert message from Generall John Dirrick Galen where beeing come, (they) flattly (told) us (that there was) no synamon uppon any tearmes for us to bee had from the Portugall, and that their Generall of Battavia had so enordered them. . . .

I tould them I never yett knew the States of Holland have the bouldnes to order deniall of any the King of Spaines ports to any the King of Englands subjects (although Goa was not the Spaniards port) so long as wee brought not either municion or provicion." Regarding the Viceroy's attitude towards the delivery of cinnamon to the English, there was also "not any such reciprocacion as to connive at any mans particular synamon as might have byn so advantagious as expected," inspite of the fact that some carpets "from the Padries in Agra" which were his "propper goods, provided for him in Lahoar or Agra by the Jesuits there resident," (and very probably two more sent as special presents from the English factors) were handed over to him.

We must also remember that the king of Portugal had declared the com-

merce in cinnamon and other spices to be a royal monopoly by the close of 1642, and orders were subsequently received by the Viceroy not to allow the English to procure any cinnamon and other spices even from Cochin. There was, as Swally Marine says on 28th November, 1644 a "strickt inhibition received from Portugal not to alianate any of that spice." The orders were repeated in 1645 and 1646.

Want of funds weakened the hands of the Viceroy, but the effect was in some measure felt immediately by the English Company's factors.

One of the ways now open to the English was to obtain the merchandise indirectly through European agents, one of whom was "Lewis Riberio" who at least on one occasion actually brought cinnamon from Ceylon to Rajapur without hindrance. Secondly, they tried to cajole the Viceroy to issue licences of exportation for the spice bought "of particular merchants." He could not do so openly. But he was sometimes "content for the respect he bears unto you (the English Company) to connive therat."

We may note that by the end of 1643, the price of cinnamon in the European market was 3s. per lb. There was a margin of profit, but there had been, as we have seen already, better days.

Lewis Ribeiro or Lewis Soares was in reality one Lewis Roberts who had once upon a time served in the Blessing, and became afterwards settled in Goa. He was ready to be of service to the Old Company. By 1642, we find him sending a number of seed pearls and a quantity of cinnamon by the London to Europe, and four years later, again trying to procure cinnamon in accordance with Breton's instructions. We also hear by that time that in parts of country under Portuguese control, "there ware such severe punishments and lawes made against those that shalbe known to sell it that no man dare appear to own it."

A letter from Swally Marine, dated 3rd January, 1645, says, "Nor may wee encouradge you to designe any other ship hereafter (as the John now was) to Cocheene or the Coast of Mallabar, being it is most certaine that neither pepper nor cinnamon wilbe acquirable." Breton and others wrote from Surat referring to the same subject, on 3rd January, 1646, "Now that the Portugals have peace, (the Cochin trade) will also wholly fail you, neither cinnamon, pepper nor cardamom being at present procurable." Three weeks later, we are told that the Portuguese "either dare not, or will not be induced so much to treat with us in the business ; so that we shall not only at present wholly fail you therin, but even dispair of supplying you hereafter, if here be not a breach betwixt the Portugals and Dutch, which is much feared by the former and more desired by the latter." Cinnamon cannot, they conclude, be obtained.

We may now refer to Bowman's adventures. When the Achin factory was meeting with bad trade, it was decided to take Turner and others away from there. The Supply on her way back from Manilla was to bring them and some of the merchandise over there to India. Some of the factors thought that the Supply was not big enough to take away all the merchandise. So

they bought a small ship to convey the surplus. But it was found that the Supply could be laden with all the Company's effects, after all. The factors not willing to let the opportunity slip, an opportunity which in spite of their apparently whitewashed account they seem to have sought all the time, filled this newly bought frigate with a cargo on their own account, paid the money for its purchase themselves, and put this Bowman in charge of her. The wily skipper left the Supply off Cochin, and took his vessel into Goa, pretending that the weather prevented him from doing otherwise.

At Goa "meeting with ill company, Bowman first became a Roman Catholike, afterwards renounced (the Company's) service, and, with the frigatt and whatever her carga (zoon) produced fled to Ceiloan whence" according to reports received, "he intend(ed) to proceed for the bottome of the May of Bengala and there spend the rest of his misserably unhappy daies amongst the Portugez renegadoes." The Company's servants wanted to prevent this "by advices to the Vice Roy, of whom (they) desired warrant to attach him," if found "within his jurisdiction." Again, a despatch to the Company dated 26th February, 1647, records the receipt of a letter from Bowman at Colombo, "where, itt seemes, hee is resolved to reside (as wee heere), is suddainly to bee married, notwithstanding hee hath a wyfe and childe in England. Wee have earnestly solicited the Viceroy to returne him unto us; but whether hee will or can grattifie us therein, the Inquisition haveing taken him into there protection."

The reference here is to the letter written from Colombo on 26th November, 1646, where Bowman points out that as he had finished his covenanted period of service with the Company, he considered himself to be at liberty to seek other employment. In his letter, he also says "The Dutch in these parts are in as badd a predicament, haveing not above 500 soldiers in all Zeloan, and those the most part made off unpracticed saylors. Yet they hould out stiffe against the Portugalls....The (Portuguese) ambassador returned (from)" "Gally" "without effecting" the surrender of "Negomba" "he went for." Bowman therefore concludes, "So that its likely to be warres between the Portugalls and Dutch in these parts." Negombo, as we have seen above, had been retaken by the Dutch on 3rd January, 1644. Regarding the products of Ceylon Bowman writes, "The Dutch hath shipped off from Negombo and Gally 800 baharrs off cinnamon this yeare, and the Portugalls by the shipping bound now for Goa, baharrs for the Kings account. The principall commodities these parts yeeld is cinnamon which belongs onely to the King, except what merchants get by stealth: bettle nutts in great quantities, shipped hence twice a yeare for Cost Cormondell etc."

The agreement of 10th (N. S.) November, 1644 had left the town of Negombo in the hands of the Dutch. Rájasimha on the other hand was demanding its surrender. The Dutch were refusing it because they had not been handed over sufficient cinnamon etc. It seems from Bowman's letter that Maatzuiker was playing a double game. "Maetsugcker, General in Gally for the Hollands Company," says Bowman, "tould the (Portuguese) embas-

sador plainly that it was true they had order from the States and Prince of Orange to deliver Negomba to the Portugalls, but they were not servants to the Prince nor States but to the Company, from whom (they said) they had received no such order; nor when they shall receive such order from their Company, will they surrender it but by force." In August, 1646, the V. O. C. instructed Batavia that friendly relations with the Portuguese in the East need not be maintained, and Negombo be given up. Negombo owed its importance mainly because of the areas growing cinnamon, and Maatzuiker said plainly in 1650, "We are" "entitled" "by good and clear right" "to (the lands) of Negombo whenever we may be strong enough, and a favourable opportunity may present itself to bring them again under our subjection."

In 1647, it was proposed to send the Falcon "to rainge the coast and try if pepper may bee procured at Coylon" (Quilon) "or Pourcatt and cynamon at Cocheen and those adjacent places." She succeeded in obtaining a lading of pepper at "Pourcatt," and also 36 bales of cinnamon at Cochin. "The Dutch" at this time "by enhancing the price (had) drawne the greater part" of "quantitys of cynamon" (from the Portuguese) "unto" themselves. On 20th January, 1648, instructions were issued by Surat to buy Ceylon cinnamon at Cochin. But more than 48 bales could not be obtained. "Nor will it," lament the Company's servants in 1649, "wee beleeeve, hereafter bee worth the buying, the Dutch being owners of such vast quantitie that they have not only sufficient for Holland but supply all these parts."

But the English Company is as usual very keen on trading in it. On 13th February, 1650, (to take an example) they enquire anxiously about a probable cargo of cinnamon, cardamons and other spices coming by the Eagle. In obedience to repeated instructions, the factors in India make strenuous efforts to procure a supply. Swally Marine wrote to Cochin about it, and sent the letter overland. Then they enquired from their agent at Goa. When no reply was obtained to these missives, they sent the Eagle to Goa. None was procured. Disappointed, the captain of the vessel made his way to Rajapur and Kharepatan, but even at these places no cinnamon was available, though some pepper and cardamoms were bought. But merchants of the Hind and Seahorse returning from the Archipelago obtained 120 bales of cinnamon from Cochin, and the Eagle was at last laded with the much sought after spice.

English factors from Persia reported early in May, 1651 that the Portuguese carried "rice, ginger, turmericke, pepper and some cynamon," from "Goa and Damon" to that country. But they were "in these parts growne a most declyned misserable people, and not any wayes in our judgments in any capacitie of either vexinge you (the Company) or your servants." The English however still go to Goa to secure this spice. In 1652, for example, they report that they could obtain only 106 "quintalls" from the Portuguese who had promised them a larger quantity. The English President himself proceeded to Goa to obtain this commodity in exchange for ship's supplies. It could be obtained (according to another letter of the same year) from the Portuguese only in exchange for tar and ropes, and probably even then with

great difficulty.⁶ The factors also liked its taste. From Swally the President informed the Company by the beginning of 1652, that some of this spice was used for the factory from the stock on board.

This letter also refers to the exportation of two sapphires to Europe. Early in 1653, we are told that no cinnamon could be obtained through Goa. But we hear a few days later the *Love* had been able to leave Madras for Europe with cinnamon and ship's supplies as part of her cargo. This cinnamon seems to have been procured from the Coromandel coast. In 1654, we come across the complaint that in exchange for some lead, neither cash nor cinnamon could be had at Goa. In 1656, the Company fears outside English competition because of their failure to obtain the assent of Cromwell to their monopoly. "The said trade lies open and free for any persons to send shipping to India." Consequently, monopoly prices cannot be exacted from the European market for Eastern produce. The price of "cynomon" is down to "3s. 8d.", that of "pepper Mallabar" to "9d." that of Sarkhej (round) indigo to 2s. 6d.; of Sarkhej (flat) to 3s. 4d.; of cardamoms to 2s. 3d.; and of Lahore indigo to 4s. Two years later as noticed before we come across another instance of the Company's interest in cinnamon. "The particular commodities which wee have appropriated to ourselves and prohibited all others from trading in" include "cynomon," "cardamoms," indigo and "pepper black or white." The Dutch position in Ceylon and elsewhere by that time made it plain to the English that "now the Dutch have all the trade of cinnamon to themselves." Consequently English factors decided to export cassia lignum which they obtained from Cochin to Europe. On 31st December, 1657, "the Governour, Deputie and Committees for the new Joint Stock for India" asked the merchants in Bengal to export "without having any subordinacy to our Agent etc. at the Coast," cinnamon, sugar, silk etc. This cinnamon was to be acquired from the Dutch and others. The letter from the Company of 3rd January, 1659 again asks for cinnamon, but is doubtful if it can be procured. Twenty five days later, the same request is made in the despatch sent by the Madras Merchant. Some pepper and rice are also to be obtained. Bengal was again asked the same year to procure cinnamon without any limit, and other merchandise including sugar and rice. (Raw silk was also to be obtained from Kasimbazar.)

The desire to trade in cinnamon is still strong by 1661. The Committees emphasised the need for cinnamon "of any sort" in a letter of 28th January, 1661. The Sinhalese monarch was to be approached and a factory established in Ceylon, inspite of all possible Dutch opposition. Madras, however, wrote to them by the close of the same year that "the bad tidings...of the interception of the *Anne* or *Hope's* men at Cottiarro will bee some discouragement for setting in a factory in any part of Zeiloan; for nothing can bee there undertaken without a fortification and souldyers kept continually in guerrison."

6. O. C. 1901; 1796; 1808; F. R. Mis. XII; O. C. 1794; L. T. D. R. bk. 48, f. 309; O. C. 1787; 1970; 1905; 2023; 2028; 2009; F. R. Sur. CIIA; O. C. 2062; 2067; 2115; Letter Books, I; O. C. 2228; 2244; 2219; 2267 etc.

Moreover, "the Dutch though they have many fortifications on Zeiloan can gett but small quantitys of cinamon, for it never bore the like price in India as it doth now."

Some of the other motives that induced the English adventurer of those days to visit Ceylon were to use secure riding places off the coasts of that island, and to repair their ships with Ceylon timber. The document just now referred to, says, "But for a place for riding of shippes and comeing on shoare, neither the Dutch nor the Portugalls have the like in India as Cuttiarro" (Kotiyar-Trincomali Bay).

A letter dated 2nd September, 1661, however sought to restrict any expansion. "Wee—absolutely herby require you," said the Company, "not to settle any new factories—or to ingage us in any new discoveries, or in the buying or building of any shippes or howses, without our espetiall order." But pepper, cassia lignum, and cinnamon (specially among other spices) were to be procured for future return voyages.

The XIV article of the famous Marriage Treaty dated 23rd June, 1661, lays down:—"And if ever the island of Zeila (commonly called Zeilam) should in any manner whatever come into the possession of the King of Portugal, he binds and obliges himself by this Treaty to cede and transfer to the King of Great Britain the town and port of Galla...the aforesaid King of Portugal reserving, however, to himself...Colombo, but the common trade shall nevertheless be equally divided between the English and the Portuguese.

In the like manner, if ever the said island should come into the power of the King of Great Britain, he is bound effectually to restore and surrenderColombo to the King of Portugal, the trade of cinnamon being in the manner aforesaid equally divided between the English and Portuguese." It testifies to the importance of the cinnamon trade at the close of our period, and the desire of the English to obtain at least the port of Galle (in South Ceylon) for furtherance of their trade interests in the island.

Cinnamon oil is referred to in English documents, and was used by the factors themselves. The Dutch were distilling it in Ceylon. "But", says Maatzuiker in 1650, "in view of the large quantity of odd pieces and scraps which lie in the ware-houses—it would be best not to allow it to go to waste but to distil oil from it for the Company's benefit, as we have hitherto done, and your Excellency (Jacob van Kittensteyn) should take ap all possible precautions to see that the Company is not deprived of it."

Rev. Cordiner writing by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century points out that before his time "fragments and small pieces" were used for manufacture of cinnamon oil at Colombo. Referring to the bark itself, he points out that the East India Company was still interested in its export, and sent annually, 368,000 lbs. to England. A bale according to him weighed 92 lbs.⁷

7. O. C. 2254 ; 2297 ; 2311 ; 2399 ; Home Series, Mis. Vol. 32, 32 ; Commission to Wyche of 7th April, 1658 ; E. F. ; Letter Books Vol. II.

MISCELLANY

MUKUNDĀNANDABHĀNA AND ITS AUTHOR

Mukundānandabhāna is a one act play in Sanskrit edited by Pandit DURGA-PRASAD and Kasinath SHARMA and published by the Nirnayasagar Press in the Kāvya-māla Series as No. 16. In publishing this book, the learned editors have remarked that the poet is a southerner who does not belong to antiquity and nothing more is known either about his date or place.¹ In his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Mr. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR says that this play was first enacted at the festival at Bhadrāgiri, Bhadrachalam near Nūtanapuram probably in the Sircars. Prof. A. R. Krishna SASTRI suggests with a doubt, in his work *Sanskrit Drama*, that the poet might belong to the 13th century.²

An attempt is made in this paper to throw some light on the poet Kāśipati the author of the *Mukundānandabhāna*, his date and works.

The following are found at the beginning and concluding portions of the *Mukundānandabhāna* which give some information about the poet. Mr. KRISHNAMACHAR has perhaps depended upon the references made in the prelude of the drama for the information he has given in his work.

सूत्रधारः— अथ खलु फलितमामूलचूडमस्मदीयपुरातनपुण्यकल्पलताभिः । यतः इत एव नूतनपुरपरिसरालंकारभद्रगिरिचूडामणेर्भगवतः चूडेश्वरस्य वसंतोत्सवदर्शन-समुत्सकाः कल्याणमण्डपमध्यासते ।.....

(आकाशे कर्णं दत्वा)

किं ब्रूय । साधु भरताचार्यपुत्र । साधु । वयमपि चिरात्कस्यापि सरसकवेः सूक्तिमुक्तामणिग्रथित-मभिनवं भाणं अवलोकयितुमुत्कण्ठिताः ।.....

... .. अधुना विरलः
मिश्रभाणप्रचारः । विरलादत्र तथाविधाः कवयः । आर्य इतस्तावत् ।

नटी— एषास्मि को नियोग आज्ञापयत्वार्यः ।

सूत्र— आर्ये !

कौडिन्यवंशरत्नस्य कवेः काशीपतेः कृतिः ।

मुकुन्दानन्द नामार्यं मिश्रभाणः प्रयुज्यते ॥

नटी— आर्ये ! आश्चर्यमाश्चर्यम् ।

तर्के कर्कशवक्रोक्तिनिष्ठुरा तस्य भारती ।

जाता मधुरसंदर्भे काव्येपि मृदुलं कथम् ॥

सूत्र— तर्के कर्कशवक्रवाक्यगहने या निष्ठुरा भारती

सा काव्ये मृदुलोक्तिसारसुरभौ स्यादेव मे कोमला ।

या प्रायः प्रियविप्रयुक्तवनिताहृत्कर्तने कर्तरी

प्रेयो लालितयौवनेन मृदुला सा किं प्रसूनावलिः ॥

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1. कवेर्देशकालौ न जायेते । भाति चार्यं कश्चन द्विविधः । नातिप्राचीनश्च ।

2. *Sanskrita Nāṭaka*, p. 264.

वर्षन्तु कामं भुवि वारिवाहा : गोत्राद्गणेभ्यः कुशकानि संतु ।

हृष्यन्तु संतः सुकविप्रबंधैस्तेषां च शाम्यन्तु खलोपसर्गाः ॥

इति श्रीमत्काशीपतिकविराट्विरचिते मुकुन्दानन्दनाम भाणः संपूर्णः ।

It is evident from this introduction that the play was first enacted during the Spring Festival of Caṇḍeśvara, at Bhadrāgiri in the precincts of Nūtanapura. The poet is first known to the public as a logician of great fame as is evidenced from the conversations of *Naṭi* and *Sūtradhāra*.

During my study of some of the manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Mysore, I came across a work called *Śravaṇānandini* written by one Kāśipati. This is a commentary on a Saṅgita work *Saṅgita-gaṅgādhara* by Nañjarāja who was the *de facto* ruler of Mysore between the years 1739-1760. Nañjarāja was a great writer and a patron of poets and scholars. This is clear by the number of works he has written and the compliments paid to him by various writers of the time. Narasimhakavi, a contemporary writer, speaks of the way in which the poets of the time received encouragement at the hands of Nañjarāja, in the poem,

कल्पद्रुक्लपं शशिनः कुलीनं नञ्जितींद्रं मुधया सर्वैः । नवैः प्रबंधैरभिनंदयंतं कुबेरतुल्याः
कवयो भवन्ति ॥³

Kāśipati appears to have lived at the Court of Nañjarāja, as an honoured poet. His scholarship was recognised throughout the country and a compliment from him, was regarded as the most coveted honour by other poets. Narasimhakavi who calls himself Abhinava Kālidāsa speaks of this in his work *Nañjarāja Yaśobhūṣaṇa*, and says that his dramatic composition *Candra-Kalā-Kalyāṇa* had won the appreciation of Kāśipati.

अये किमिदं विस्मृतं भवता यत्किल कृतिनायकसमक्षमेव वर्णितं सकलकला-
कुशलमतिना सरसकविचक्रवर्तिना काशीपतिसुधीमणिना ।⁴

It is clear from the references made by Narasimhakavi that Kāśipati lived at the Court of Nañjarāja in the early part of the 18th century.

The references that are found in the *Śravaṇānandini* and the *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* give much information about this Kāśipati to prove the identity of the author of the *Mukundānandabhāṇa* with that of the *Śravaṇānandini*.

Bhadrāgiri near Nūtanapuram mentioned in the prelude of the *Mukundānandabhāṇa* is not the BHADRACHALAM in Sirkars as Mr. M. KRISHNAMACHAR suggests. It is near Hosur (*Nūtanapura* in Sanskrit) one of the Taluk Headquarters of the Madras Presidency situated on the border line of the Mysore state, which once belonged to the territory of Mysore. It is about 30 miles east of Bangalore. There is a hillock called Bhadrāgiri by the side of which flows the holy Dakṣiṇapīnākīnī. The temple on the hillock is dedicated to Lord Śiva. The God and the Goddess worshipped there go by the names of Cūḍeśvara and Marakatāmbā.

This fact is mentioned not only in the *Mukundānandabhāṇa* but also in other contemporary works. Bhadrāgiri was once a famous centre of Śaiva pilgrimage. Sardadhīhari Nañjarāja who had the destinies of Mysore in his hands in the 18th century, was a devotee of Śiva and he used to pay visits to Bhadrāgiri to worship Cūḍeśvara.

3. *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*, p. 162.

4. *Nāṭakaprakaraṇa* of the *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*, p. 89.

सामाद्युपायैः स्ववशोपनीतं राज्यं समग्रं सचिवे निधाय । चूडेश्वरं नूतनपुर्यधीशं
प्रणतुमागन्नागरान्नरैः ॥⁵

Not only was the hill the centre of attraction but also outskirts of Nūtanapura. The king when he reached the outskirts of the town Hosur (Nutanpura), remarked :

अये जांघिक नूतनपुरपरिसरमुपागता स्मः ।

तत्र ।

नभो विकषणोपलोलिखित हेमशृंगोच्चयः ।

पुरो नयनगोचरो भवति भद्रशैलो भृशम् ।

तमेनमभितो विभ्रान्त्यमितरत्नवातायन- ।

प्रक्षुप्तपथसंचरज्जलधराणि हर्म्याणि च ॥⁶

Kāśipati, the author of the *Mukundānandabhāṇa* makes the Sūtradhāra say that this Bhāṇa is a rare type of dramatic work and it was enacted during the वसंतोत्सव celebrated annually in honour of Cūḍeśvara on the Bhadrāgiri near Nūtanapura

सूत्र — यतः इत एव नूतनपुरपरिसरालंकारभद्रगिरिचूडामर्गेभगवतचूडेश्वरस्य
वसंतोत्सवदर्शनसमुत्सकाः सामाजिकाः ।⁷

Though composing Kāvya was a sort of hobby to Kāśipati, *Mukundānandabhāṇa* provides sufficient instances to exhibit the high order of dramatic skill he possessed.

The same logician-poet has written a scholarly commentary on the *Samgita-gaṇigādhara* of Nañjarāja⁸. *Samgita-gaṇigādhara* is a Sīvāṣṭapadī in praise of Srikantheśvara in 6 sargas and 24 aṣṭapadis sung in not less than 16 rāgas which are reported to have been in use in southern India during the eighteenth century. The aṣṭapadis describe the adventures of Siva with the wives of the Ṛṣis in the तरुचवन. Meanwhile the various moods of Nāyaka and Nāyaki, feminine graces of women, modes of their dress and ornaments, and their desires and ambitions have been very nicely portrayed in the poem.

Kāśipati's commentary on this is a masterly one. Before he begins to comment upon the work he invokes Gaṇeśa in the Verse

वंदे वंदारुमंदारमिदुचूडस्य नंदनं ।

अमंदानंदसंदोहबंधुरं सिधुराननम् ॥

Compare this with the invocatory stanza of the *Mukundānandabhāṇa*.

वंदे वंदारुमंदारमिदुभूषणनंदनं । अमंदानंदसंदोहबंधुरं सिधुराननम् ॥

Next he offers his homage to Gauri and Siva, the parents of the universe.

श्रीहर्षप्रदया कटाक्षधुबिया सानंदमुत्पादिताः

सद्यो मन्मथकोटयो धुरि यया जेतुर्मनोजन्मनः ।

5. *Ibid.*, 92.

6. *Candrakalākalyāṇa* by Narasimhakavi.

7. *Mukundānandabhāṇa*, p. 2.

8. i Summary of papers read at the 8th All India Oriental Conference—by Dr. A. N. NARASIMHAIA, p. 30.

ii No. 1116. Tylor, I. 86.

iii *Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Madras, iv. 7596.

iv 4422, Mysore Oriental Library.

सा गौरीवरदेवता स च शिवो देवो महान्स्तावुभौ
विश्वानन्दविधायिनौ वितरतां श्रेयांसि भूयांसि नः ॥

In the next few verses he gives some information about his own self and the composition of his commentary, on *Saṅgītagaṅgādhara*.

श्रीमत्परमहंसैद्रकरांबुरुहसंभवान् ।
महादेवैन्द्रयोगीन्द्रपूज्यपादानहं भजे ॥
प्रौढस्याप्रतिमस्य विश्रुतमहीश्वरस्य विद्वत्प्रभोः
श्रीमत्कृष्णमहीभुजो नरपतेः विद्वत्प्रधानाग्रणीः ।
श्री नंजक्षितिपालकेन रचितं संगीतगंगाधरं
तत्प्रोत्यै तदुदीरतो विवृणते काशीपतिः पंडितः ॥
येन शब्दमणिव्याख्या नयकल्पतरुः कृतः ।
मुकुन्दानन्दनामापि भाणोऽभाणि रसोज्ज्वलः ॥
एष श्रीनंजराजस्य प्रबंधो रसबंधुरः ।
कथं मंदरधीरस्य विवृतस्यां धुरंधरः ॥
तथाप्यनेन स्वकृतौ ये ये भावाः प्रकाशिताः ।
कृती भवामि कृतिषु तानेवाहं प्रकाशयन् ॥
श्रवणानंदिनी नामा कविभावप्रकाशिका ।
श्रवणानंदिनी भूयादशेषविदुषामयं ॥

The following is the last stanza of the commentary.

इमां श्रवणानंदिनीं रसविदो बुधा ये मम
प्रसन्नहृदया दया जलधयो बहू कुर्वते ।
तदीयपदपद्मयोरयमयं प्रणामांजलिः
सरोजमुकुळाकृतिश्शिरसि संततं न्यस्यते ॥

Compare this with the last stanza of the *Mukundānandabhāṣa* which runs as :—

कृतिं लसदलंकृतिं रसविदो बुधा ये मम
प्रसन्नहृदया दया जलधयो बहू कुर्वते ।
तदीयपदपद्मयोरयमयं प्रणामांजलिः
सरोजमुकुळाकृतिश्शिरसि संततं न्यस्यते ॥

The concluding portions in the final colophon of the *Śravaṇānandini* runs as :—

इति श्रीकौण्डिन्यकुलतिलकश्रीमदुमापतिमुधीतनयकाशीपतिपंडितविरचितायां संगीत-गंगाधर-
व्याख्यायां श्रवणानंदिनी समाख्यायां षष्ठः सर्गः ।

From the above it is evident that the author of the *Mukundānandabhāṣa* is identical with that of the *Śravaṇānandini*. From these references we also get the information that (1) Kāśīpati is the son of Umāpati of the Kaundinya Gōtra and adorned the court of Nāñjarāja in the 18th century ; (2) he was a great logician and a poet ; (3) he had Mahādevēndra Yogīndra, a sanyasin, as his guru ; (4) he wrote three great and important works,

- i. *Mukundānandabhāṣa*, a rare type of one act play in Sanskrit;
- ii. *Śravaṇānandīnī* a commentary on *Śaṅgītagaṅgādhara* by Nañjarāja, at the request of its author;
- iii. a commentary on the *śabda* portion of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*⁹ of Gaṇeśa Upādhyāya called *Nayakalpataru*.

From the stanza येन शब्दमणिव्याख्या नयकल्पतरुः कृतः। of Kāśīpati it is clear that he has commented upon the *śabda-khaṇḍa* (verbal testimony division) which forms the last chapter of the *Maṇi*, a work which serves as a basic one, for the modern Nyāya literature. Unfortunately, this book *Nayakalpataru* is yet to be traced. Since a number of thought measuring formulas are used by Gaṇeśa in this *Śabda* division of *Maṇi*, it is certain that the commentary *Nayakalpataru* of Kāśīpati, when unearthed, will prove a good guide to the students of logic.

The definitions of Kāvya, the division of Guṇas and Doṣas, the description of the nature of Rasa, given by Kāśīpati in his *Śravaṇānandīnī* do really deserve our attention. This work of his contains profuse quotations from many recognised and authoritative works on rhetorics in Sanskrit, and he quotes from about a dozen important works on music such as *Svaramēla-Kalānidhī*, *Kōhala*, *Śaṅgītaratnā-kara*, and *Śaṅgītacūḍāmaṇi* etc. in defining and explaining the nature and use of various Tālās and Rāgās. The language he has employed throughout the commentary is simple and graceful. He is an eminent member of the galaxy of literary stars who adorned the Mysore court in the 18th century.

Mysore.

M. P. L. SASTRY

9. This famous book is popularly known by the name *Maṇi*.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

We have had an occasion to announce in an earlier issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* that a Festschrift Committee of representative scholars in India was organized in April 1940 with a view to prepare a *Volume of Studies in Indology* in honour of Prof. P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M. for being presented to him on his 61st birthday, 7th May, 1941. The Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary*, who had undertaken to edit the above volume were able to complete the publication of the volume before 7th May, 1941 but owing to the absence of Prof. KANE from Bombay in the early half of May, 1941 the presentation ceremony had to be postponed to 28th June 1941 when a special function was held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Mr. R. P. MASANI, M.A., the popular Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, presided at this function. Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR M.A., PH.D. the Secretary of the Institute gave an account of the work of the Festschrift Committee and the successful work of the Editors and Publishers* in bringing out the Volume, consisting of no less than 74 papers from scholars in India and outside. He also announced on this occasion the publication by the Institute of the Second Volume about 1300 pp. of Prof. KANE's *magnum opus* viz. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, the First Volume of which (about 800 pp.) was brought out by the Institute in 1930. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D. the Chairman of the Festschrift Committee then read out the address to Prof. KANE which appears in the above Volume and which refers to the meritorious services of the Professor to the cause of Indology for over 35 years culminating in his monumental work the *History of Dharmaśāstra*. After the reading of the above address the Vice-Chancellor presented the Volume to Prof. KANE amidst cheers of numerous scholars from Bombay and Poona that were present on the occasion. He paid a glowing tribute to Prof. KANE's scholarship and life-long industry as a servant of Sarasvatī. Such honour as they were doing to Prof. KANE was of a more lasting character than the honours conferred on individuals by Governments and States as scholarship and its appreciation by scholars have an abiding value. In reply Prof. KANE thanked the Festschrift Committee and other scholars from different parts of India who had contributed to the Volume. While thanking all those who had gathered there to do honour to him and others who had associated themselves with this memorable function, Prof. KANE gave a brief account of his literary career. Though he wanted to be a Professor of Sanskrit circumstances necessitated his abandonment of service in the Government Educational Department. He decided to earn his living by resorting to the legal profession but side by side with his work as a practising lawyer he maintained his Sanskrit studies in tact and has thus been able to contribute his quota to these studies. Though the correct estimate of a scholar's work must be left to the posterity he considered himself fortunate to see his work appreciated and admired by his colleagues and co-workers in the field of Indology who had co-operated in the presentation of the Festschrift, which he received with all humility and gratefulness. He further promised to complete his *History of Dharmaśāstra* by bringing out its Third Volume during the course of the next decade so that he will have the satisfaction of completing about 3000 pp. of a work which he had planned single-minded and two-thirds of which he had carried out single-handed.

Dr. R. P. PARANJPYE, M.A., D.S.C. ex-Minister of Education, Bombay, thanked the President for having presided at the unique function in honour of Prof. KANE, who was an ornament to the Bombay Presidency and who richly deserved an honorary

* The Oriental Book Agency, 15, Sukrawar Peth, Poona. The Volume consists of about 560 pp. (Price Rs. 15).

Doctorate from the University of Bombay in recognition of his services to the advancement of learning. Dr. PARANJPYE'S suggestion was hailed with cheers by the audience and the function terminated.

REVIEW

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas (in Lower Deccan) by Dinesh Chandra SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., University of Calcutta, 1939, Pp. xv + 417. Size :— $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The early history of India has ever remained a subject of exceptional interest to historians perhaps on account of the paucity of material which makes historical reconstruction difficult, if not impossible. Eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, have exerted themselves continuously to give us a reasonable and readable account of the early dynastic and cultural history on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence so far available. Much churning of the available inscriptions has already been effected and as a result of this incessant labour the bare outlines of history have been made visible. The pioneer work done by scholars like Bhandarkar, Fleet, Rice, Debreuil and others in the field of the early history of Peninsular India has been inspiring younger scholars like Dr. D. C. Sircar to further efforts in the field and as a result of this we have before us the present volume in which the author tries to develop in a strictly scientific manner the views expressed by him in his monographs and papers bearing on that "blank in history" between the last great Sātavāhana (Andhra) ruler and the first Pulakeśin. The Volume is divided into two Parts, *Part I* dealing with the Eastern Districts (the Andhra region) and *Part II* with the Western Districts, (the Karpātaka region). To reconstruct a back-bone from the dry bones of epigraphs is not an easy job, especially in a field where many of these bones are likely to remain "bones of contention" between one expert and another. The author has given in this volume not merely a survey of research but has added to it some new points (vide p. 5 of *Intro.*) for the consideration of responsible scholars. We have, therefore, no doubt that his work would be useful to every student of Indian history who cares to interest himself in the exploration and investigation of the dark recesses of the history of the Deccan in the widest sense of the term. We await with eagerness the Second volume of this work (in the course of preparation), dealing with the dynasties that succeeded Sātavāhanas in the Upper Deccan.

P. K. CODE.

NANDĪPURĀṆA

By

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to what constitute the genuine *upa-purāṇas*, though on the analogy of the major *purāṇas*, their number is also usually given as eighteen. In the list of *upa-purāṇas* given by the *Matsyapurāṇa*, the third *upa-purāṇa* is thus described : "The *purāṇa* in which the greatness of Nandā is described by Kārtikeya is popularly known as *Nandipurāṇa*"¹ Nandā is one of the names of Pārvatī, and a fanciful etymology for it is furnished by *Devīpurāṇa* : "Devī is remembered as Nandā because she lives happily in the world of Gods or resides in the garden of Nandana on the holy Himālaya mountain."² The *Varāha-purāṇa* gives an equally fanciful explanation of the name : Devi came to be known as Nandā because she had been delighted (*nanditā*) by the Gods who established her on the Himālayas after she had destroyed Mahiṣāsura.³

If this *upa-purāṇa* is named after Nandā, it is not clear why it should be styled *Nandīpurāṇa*. There has apparently been another *purāṇa* in which the principal interlocutor was Nandī or Nandikeśvara. The explicit statement of the *Matsyapurāṇa* that the interlocutor in *Nandīpurāṇa* was Kārtikeya might justify the presumption that the two *purāṇas* are different. The *Matsyapurāṇa* does not explain why a *purāṇa* of which the subject was the glorification of Devī and the interlocutor Kārtikeya was named after Nandī.

AUFRECHT⁴ has identified *Nandīpurāṇa* with *Nandīśvarapurāṇa* and *Nandikeśvarapurāṇa*. He goes further and attributes the alternative designations to the quotations from *Nandīpurāṇa* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on *Parāśara-smṛiti*, and Kamalākara's

1. Ch. 53, sl. 61. नन्दाया यत्र माहात्म्यं कर्तिकेयेन वर्ण्यते ।
नन्दीपुराणं तल्लोकैराख्यातमिति कीर्त्यते ॥

2. नन्दने सुरलोकेषु नन्दने वसतेऽथवा ।
हिमाचले महापुण्यं नन्दा देवी ततः स्मृता ॥

Nandā-devī is the name of the Himālayan peak in Almora district, the highest in British India, (elevation 25,661 feet). "The Hindus regard the clouds of smoke blown off the summit by the wind as smoke from the kitchen of the goddess Nandā." (*Imp. Gazr.*, 1908, XVIII, 349).

3. एवमुक्त्वा ततो ब्रह्मा सर्वे देवाश्च पार्थिव । यथागतास्ततो जग्मुः देवीं स्थाप्य हिमे गिरौ ॥
संस्थाप्य नन्दिता यस्मात् तस्मान्नन्दा तु सा भवेत् ॥

4. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 276(a) and the references in it to the *Oxford Catalogue*, 80(a) 81(b), 101(b) and 270(b).

Nirṇaya-sindhu. He alludes to citations from this *Upa-purāṇa* in *Ācārādarśa*, *Devībhāgavata* and *Śaktiratnākara* of Raghunandana. I have been able to trace all the quotations referred to by AUFRECHT, except those from *Devībhāgavata* and *Śaktiratnākara*. Mādhavācārya appears to distinguish between *Nandīpurāṇa* and *Nandikeśvara-purāṇa*. Two verses in praise of the worship of Śiva (*Śivārcana*) are attributed to Nandikeśvara⁵ but a long extract of eight and a half *śloka*s on *karmavipāka*, is definitely cited as from *Nandīpurāṇa*.⁶ Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's *Ācārādarśa* has a solitary quotation from *Nandīpurāṇa* in the section on *atithipūjā*.⁷ This verse occurs in a long extract on *amādāna*. This has been reproduced by Hemādri from an earlier citation in the *Dānakāṇḍa* of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*. As Śrīdatta quotes frequently both Hemādri and the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, and there is no other citation from the *upa-purāṇa* in *Ācārādarśa*, it may be validly presumed that his citation is second-hand.

This *upa-purāṇa* appears to have been regarded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. as a high authority. Lakṣmīdhara, who deliberately omits to cite many major *purāṇas*, which were freely laid under contribution by later writers like Hemādri and Mitramiśra, shows a partiality for four *upa-purāṇas* of which *Nandīpurāṇa* is one. Sectarian partiality cannot be thought of as the cause of the selection; for, three out of the four, viz. *Devī-purāṇa*, *Kālikāpurāṇa* and *Nandīpurāṇa* glorify Devī, while there is evidence that Lakṣmīdhara was a devotee of Viṣṇu⁸. These works must have been selected for citation because in his days they enjoyed a high reputation as inspired authorities. This is shown by the many quotations from the same four *upa-purāṇas* that occur in the commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti by Lakṣmīdhara's contemporary Aparārka, who, on strong grounds, has been identified with Aparāditya I (circa 1115-1130 A.D.) of Konkan.⁹ So far as I have been able to ascertain these two writers are the earliest to cite *Nandīpurāṇa*, just as the earliest known citations from *Kālikāpurāṇa* are those in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*¹⁰, the reference to it in Nānyadeva's *Bhāratabhāṣya* being only by name.¹¹

Three of the *upa-purāṇas* quoted by Lakṣmīdhara have been printed. They are the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which has been printed in Bombay and

5. Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 375 (ed. V. S. ISLAMPURKAR).

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 242-243.

7. Fol. 59(a), Venkateswar Press edn., § 1826.

8. The fourth is *Narasimhapurāṇa*.

9. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 333. Aparārka's quotations occur on pages 296, (उभयतोमुखीदानं), 379 (सुवर्णदानं), 366 (आरोग्यदानं), 396-403 (विद्यादानं), and 408-9 (कूपवापीतटाकविधिः), Ānandāśrama edn.

10. Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, 'the Kālika (upa) purāṇa' in *Journal of Oriental Research*, XII, 1959, p. 332 and p. 335.

11. *Ibid.*

Calcutta, the *Narasimhapurāṇa*, which has been printed in Bombay and *Devīpurāṇa*, which has been printed in Calcutta. *Nandīpurāṇa* has not been printed. Practically every quotation from *Narasimhapurāṇa* in *Kṛtyakalpataru* has been found, with occasional textual variations, in the printed edition to which I am giving references in my editions of the different sections of *Kṛtyakalpataru*. Only a few of the quotations can be localised in the printed *Devīpurāṇa*: and it has been even more difficult to find any of the quotations from *Kālikāpurāṇa* in any of the printed editions of it. The existence of *Kālikāpurāṇa* in more than one recension, and the radical differences between rival versions of it, might justify the suspicion that we do not now possess it in the form in which it existed in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The difficulty of localising the quotations from *Nandīpurāṇa* is due to a different reason. Manuscripts of it are extremely rare. The Bodleian Library apparently possesses a manuscript of a *Nandikeśvarapurāṇa*, which runs to 102 folio, and the colophon of it is said to give the name of the work as *Nandīpurāṇa*. Dr. V. RAGHAVAN recently drew my attention to two manuscripts of *Nandikeśvarapurāṇa* in the Tanjore Library.¹² As this institution does not lend its manuscripts, I had the two manuscripts examined on the spot, to see if either of them contained any of the 200 verses from *Nandīpurāṇa*, which I had collected from the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. I have now received a report from the scholar who examined the two manuscripts to the effect that they are both fragmentary, and that not even a single *śloka* from the large number cited by Lakṣmīdhara, can be found in either of them. It is thus clear that the manuscripts do not represent the *Nandīpurāṇa* known to Lakṣmīdhara and Aparārka.

Attention has to be drawn to another circumstance in regard to *Nandīpurāṇa*. There is reason to believe that it was rare even in the 12th century, and that only incomplete copies of it were available even to influential personages like Aparārka, and, in a smaller degree, to Lakṣmīdhara. This conclusion is suggested by a comparison of the quotations in the works of these two writers. Every *śloka* from *Nandīpurāṇa* cited by Aparārka is found in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, but in continuous passages of many *ślokas*, occurring in the works of both the writers, there are many gaps in the quotations made by Aparārka. These gaps cannot be explained as deliberate omissions, as, in some cases the *pūrvārdha* of a *śloka*, from which the lacunae begin, is attached to the *uttarārdha* of another *śloka* coming long after it. Two *ślokas* on *abhaya-dāna*, which are quoted by Aparārka (p. 385) and Hemādri (p. 867) are not to be found in *Dānakalpataru*. Since every quotation from the *Nandīpurāṇa* in Hemādri is to be found in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, which Hemādri freely borrows from, often to the extent of scores of pages at a time, it may be presumed that Hemādri did not have the original of *Nandīpurāṇa* before him, but, as was his habit, he took the extracts straightaway from the *Kṛtyakalpa-*

12. They bear in the new Catalogue the numbers 10582 and 10583.

taru. A comparison of the same quotations from this *upa-purāṇa* in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and the *Dānakāṇḍa* of Hemādri has disclosed textual variations of a minor character. These differences can be explained. The textual variations are not greater than those presented by different manuscripts of either the *Kṛtyakalpataru* or the *Dānakāṇḍa*, and they may be due to Hemādri's having had access to a text of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of which no copy is now available. This would also explain six *ślokas*, cited by Hemādri as 'Nandiprokta' on p. 842, and as from *Nandipurāṇa* on pp. 831, 834 and 842 of *Dānakāṇḍa*. They relate to miscellaneous gifts (*prakīṇadānāni*). It is possible that manuscripts of *Kṛtyakalpataru* contained these *ślokas*, though they are not to be traced in those which I have been able to gather for my edition.

It may be noticed that one of the citations by Hemādri is headed—"as spoken by Nandin". The context in which the passage occurs shows that the quotation is from *Nandipurāṇa*, but the traditional description of this work makes the interlocutor Kārtikeya and not Nandin. I am unable to resist the feeling that this *upa-purāṇa* had gone out of view even at the time of Hemādri (13th century). The scope of Lakṣmīdhara's work is comprehensive. It embraces *all* the activities of an incarnate human soul from conception (*garbhādāna*) to release (*mokṣa*). If one of his familiar authorities had any relevant passages on any topic, he would generally use it. I have been able to discover quotations from *Nandipurāṇa* in only *two* sections of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, viz., the *Dāna-kāṇḍa* and the *Naiyatakāla-kāṇḍa*. *Upapurāṇas* do not deal with *all* aspects of life, in the way in which the major *purāṇas* do. Caṇḍeśvara has two quotations from *Nandipurāṇa* which I have not been able to find in *Kṛtyakalpataru*.^{12a} One of these is a half-verse on the food to be given to a *Yati*, and the other consists of three *ślokas* advising the avoidance of meat-eating at least on some days. Caṇḍeśvara plagiarises wholesale from Lakṣmīdhara's work. I doubt if these two passages were not in the text of *Kṛtyakalpataru* accessible to him in the fourteenth century.

The quotations from *Nandipurāṇa* in the works of Aparārka, Lakṣmīdhara and Hemādri relate to the following topics :—

What may or not be given as a gift ; the gift of a living cow ; *Ubhayatomukhīdāna* ; *Bhūmīdāna* ; *Svarṇadāna* ; *Ārogyadāna* ; *Annadāna* ; and *Vidyādāna*. There are also citations on 'miscellaneous gifts', planting of trees and the excavation of wells and tanks. The longest quotation is on *vidyādāna*. It is of interest as reflecting the attractions of different branches of learning eight or nine centuries ago.

Kamalākara has six *ślokas* from *Nandipurāṇa* on *Alaṅkāradāna*.¹³ The passage may have been formerly part of the genuine *Nandipurāṇa*, which appears to have specialised on the commendation of gifts.

12a. Caṇḍeśvara's *Gṛhastharatnākara*, p. 305 and p. 390.

13. *Nirṇayasindhu* (ed. Nirṇayasāgar Press), pp. 128, 243 and 307.

Mādhavācārya cites two *śloka*s on the worship of Śiva.¹⁴ Kamalākara has a *śloka* on the worship of Devī, and another on *pūja* to a *liṅga* made of earth (*Pārthiva-liṅga-pūjā*).¹⁵ Neither of these occurs in the *pūjā* section of *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*. It is noteworthy that those quotations are made by Mādhvācārya and Kamalākara from *Nandikeśvara purāṇa*, and only the verses on the merit of worshipping a *liṅga* made of earth are attributed to *Nandīpurāṇa*.

The disappearance of *Nandīpurāṇa* is one of the unsolved riddles in Purāṇic history. It is not unlikely that it has been absorbed in some *Purāṇa* or *Upa-purāṇa*. To discover if this has been done is a formidable task. But the custodians of our great Manuscript libraries might, in the meantime, pursue this elusive *Upa-purāṇa* with the clues furnished by over 200 *śloka*s from it, which are available in Lakṣmīdhara's great digest, that is approaching publication.

14. *Parāśaramādhaviya*, I, i, p. 375.

15. P. 243.

A NOTE ON THE INDIA OFFICE RĀGA-MĀLĀ COLLECTION

By

H. N. RANDLE, London.

The publication in 1934-35 of O. C. GANGOLY'S two volumes *Rāgas and Rāginīs* was an invitation to re-examine *rāga-mālā* albums in the light of this most valuable source of information. The India Office Library has a collection of some 450 *rāga-mālā* drawings (representing some 65 themes), of which 40 have been reproduced by GANGOLY, and a few in Ivan STCHOUKINE'S *La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929), A. K. COOMARASWAMY'S *Rajput Painting* (O. U. P., 1916), and L. HEATH'S *Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924* (India Society, London, 1925). Volume 30-37 and 39-45 of the 67 "Johnson Albums", purchased in 1807 from Richard JOHNSON (E. I. C. Bengal Civil Service, 1770-1799),¹ and "Oriental Album 68", contain the bulk of the *rāga-mālā* drawings²; scattered examples are to be found in other albums.

Published reproductions of India Office *Rāga-mālā* drawings are as follows :—

Subject			India Office Album and folio	Reproductions [references to Gangoly unless otherwise stated]
<i>Āṣāvārī</i>	...	...	37-30	LXII-D
"	...	...	39-7	Stchoukine LXXIX
<i>Behāg</i>	...	...	37-28	CVI-D, with mistaken reference to 43-28.
<i>Bhairava</i>	...	...	37-5	III-A
"	...	...	"	Stchoukine LXXXIII
<i>Bhairavī</i>	...	...	"India Office." Not traced.	IV-A

1. See *The Library of the India Office: a historical sketch*. By A. J. ARBERRY. (London, 1938), pages 37 and 85-6; and Sir Thomas ARNOLD'S note on the Johnson Collection in *Rūpam* (No. 6, 1921, pp. 10 ff.), where a portrait of Johnson is reproduced.

2. GANGOLY'S statement (Vol. II p. ii) seems to imply that only Vol. 37 is an exclusively *Rāga-mālā* album. But in fact there are a dozen *Rāga-mālā* albums. His list of his own reproductions of India Office drawings (p. ii, section x) is incomplete, and some references require correction. Johnson Album 38 is purely calligraphic.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>India Office Album and folio</i>	<i>Reproductions [references to Gangoly unless otherwise stated]</i>
<i>Bhairavī</i>	37-35	IV-C and Heath XIV.
<i>Desakārī</i> [or <i>Vitāvālī</i> ?]	37-13	LXXV-A. Again XXXVIII B, as (<i>Vitāvālī</i>)
<i>Dīpaka</i>	37-29	Coomaraswamy XIII-B
<i>Dhanāsri</i>	33-14	Stchoukine LXXV
"	37-20	LVII-B
<i>Gurjarī</i>	33-16	LXXII-C
<i>Hindola</i>	37-11	XXX-B
<i>Kānaḍā</i>	37-18	L-B
<i>Kavajrī</i>	37-4	CVIII-E
<i>Kambhāvālī</i> ...	"India Office." Not traced.	XXXVI-D
<i>Kedāra</i>	37-10	XLVI-C
<i>Lalita</i>	37-8	XXXVI-A
"	43-4	Stchoukine LXXIV
<i>Madhumādhavī</i> (see also <i>Paṭamañjarī</i>)	37-32	LXXXIII-B
<i>Mālaśrī</i>	37-12	LVI-B
"	43-7	LIV-D, with wrong ³ reference to 37-12
<i>Mālavakausika</i> (<i>Mālkausa</i>)	37-36	XIV-D
<i>Mālavī</i>	37-27	LXXX-A
<i>Mallārikā</i> [A] ...	37-21	LXVII-A
<i>Mallārikā</i> [B] (perhaps <i>Śrīrāta</i>)	37-24	LXVII-B
<i>Megha</i>	37-17	LXXIX-A, as <i>Naṭa-Nārāyaṇa</i> .
<i>Naṭa</i>	37-16	XLIV-C
<i>Naṭa-Nārāyaṇa</i> , See above <i>Megha</i>		
<i>Paraj</i>	37-9	CVII-B
<i>Paṭamañjarī</i> (really <i>Ma-</i> <i>dhumādhavī</i>)	35-26	LXXXIV-A
<i>Paṭamañjarī</i> ...	37-7	XL-C

3. Also (with the correct reference) in *Rūpam* No. 29 (Jan. 1927) page 33.

Subject	India Office Album and folio	Reproductions [references to Gangoly unless otherwise stated]
<i>Pārvi</i>	37-2	CIX-B
<i>Śaīkarābharaṇa</i>	37-14	CX-D, with wrong reference to 43-14
<i>Sārāṅga</i>	40-1	LXL-C
<i>Sāverī</i>	"India Office." Not traced.	LXLVII-A
<i>Śrīrāga</i>	30-21	LIII-C
"	37-23	LIII-A
"	44-16	CXI-A
<i>Sārāṅga</i> (Suratā) see above <i>Mallārikā</i> [B].		
<i>Śyāma-kalyāṇa</i>	37-26	CIX-D, with wrong reference to 43-26
<i>Toḍī</i>	39-29	XV-C, with wrong reference to 29-29
"	42-29	CXI-B
"	43-10	Stchoukine LXXIV
<i>Vasanta</i>	34-28	CXI-C
"	37-6	LX-C
"	"	Stchoukine LXXXIV
<i>Vibhāsa</i>	37-3	LXXXVII-C
<i>Vīṭavālī</i> , See above. <i>Deśa- kārī</i>		

ALBUM 30 :

34 pictures $6\frac{1}{5} \times 4\frac{1}{5}$ inches, or with *hāshiya* $7\frac{3}{10} \times 5\frac{7}{10}$ on gold-dusted mounts $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. A gold line close to the edge of the mount forms an external frame. This album was acquired by JOHNSON in February 1779.

One example (No. 21 *Śrīrāga*) is accessible in a reproduction (GANGOLY LII. C.). It is a composite album, of two series ([A] and [B]) in contrasting styles, with two pictures (Nos. 5 and 10) which have no affinities to either [A] or [B]. Identifications on the reverse in Persian script are often very incorrect. The drawing of *Śrīrāga* reproduced by GANGOLY belongs to the longer series [A], characterized by the use of a very dark green ground contrasting with vivid colours. Female figures are charming, and very much alive, their activity communicating itself to their full skirts and draperies. Flesh tints are red and white. Male costume is exemplified in GANGOLY's reproduction. It is hardly possible to determine the classification followed.

In the other and very different series [B] (of 8 pictures) quiet colours are harmoniously balanced, figures are static but graceful, flesh tints grey or ivory, and drapery smoothly decorative. The contrasting style of the two series comes out in Nos. 30 (Style A) and 28 (Style B), both drawings of *Vilāvati*. In No. 30 artist "A" starts with his usual ground of dark green, and puts to the right a very badly drawn piece of pink pavilion with a gold and vermilion bed in it. This gives him the peg on which to hang a bright orange red canopy with yellow valance which projects nosily into the upper part of the dark green ground. On the left edge he puts a perfunctory date-palm or banana tree, and adds a domestic touch by introducing a black and white cat into the bottom right corner. All this is just 'properties', in which his sole interest is the startling colour-contrasts. He now puts down a solid square of gold into the lower half of the green ground, on which to pose against a gold and vermilion bolster one of his delightful *rāgiṇī*-figures. She is altogether admirable, with orange skirts and white frill flung abroad in a pose which is the reverse of statuesque, seizing with one hand the mirror held up by a tolerant attendant on the left, and pulling her *sārī* over her head with the other: all the while watching intently the effect in the mirrored reflection.

In No. 28 artist "B" seems almost to be expressing his disapproval of such vivid and vigorous methods. His placid *rāgiṇī*-figure sits on a white platform in front of a small pavilion, in red skirt and yellow bodice, against a blue and gold cushion, adjusting an ear-ornament and observing her image in a mirror held up by a kneeling female attendant. The attendant wears a dark silver skirt with a design of red flowers and a diaphanous *sārī* of dull yellow-green. On either side of the pavilion are the slender branches of a leafless tree with white blossoms, and at the foot of the picture is a lotus-pond. The colouring is quietly harmonious, the figure restful.

ALBUMS 31 AND 32.

These are curiosities. The former is a set of small transparencies ($2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches) on skin, on which colours are occasionally indicated for the convenience of the journeyman artist. They are not works of art, but implements of the artist's trade. They name the season to which each *rāga* (with its five accompanying *rāgiṇīs*) is appropriate:—1. *Bhairava* (*Śārada ṛtu*); 2. *Mālkaus* (*Śiśira*); 3. *Hindola* (*Vasanta*); 4. *Dīpaka* (*Grishma*); 5. *Megha* (*Varshā*); 6. *Srīrāga* (*Hemanta*). (*Vasanta*, as a *rāgiṇī* of *Dīpaka*, does not belong to the spring, as might be expected, but to the summer season). Album 32 is without merit, consisting of ugly monochrome drawings made by an inexpert hand—perhaps Johnson's own hand—from the transparencies of Album 31. The classification is that of Series A in Album 33 and of British Museum MS. Or. 2821.

ALBUM 33.

The drawings, now numbering 34 in all, belong to two series ($10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ -7, and $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches). The longer series [A] (now comprising 26 drawings

apparently of the Bundelkhand school) follows, with minor differences, the classification found in the British Museum *Rāga-mālā* MS. O. 2821.⁴ The Hindi verses found in the British Museum are cited on the broad upper yellow panel of these drawings, which resemble those in the British Museum album, sometimes very closely. GANGOLY reproduces a number of the latter, and (Plate LXXII. C) No. 16, *Gurjari*, from the present album. The classification is as follows :—(See GANGOLY, op. cit., Vol. I, appendix h).

- 1-6 *Bhairava*, with *Bhairavi*, [*Naṭa*], *Mālaśrī*, *Patamañjari* and *Lalita*
- 7-12 *Mālkaus*, with *Gauḍi* [*Khambhāvati*], *Mālavī*, *Rāmakaḷi* and *Guṇakaḷi*
- 13-18 [*Hindola*], with *Vilāvalī*, *Toḍi*, *Deśākhyā*, *Devagāndhārī* and *Madhumādhavī*
- 19-24 [*Dīpaka*], with *Dhanāśrī*, [*Vasanta*], [*Kānaḍā*], *Vairāṭi* and *Deśa-Vairāṭi*
- 25-30 [*Megha*], with *Gurjari* [*Gauḍa-mallāra*], [*Kakubha*], *Vibhāsa* and *Baṅgāla*
- 31-36 *Śrīrāga*, with *Pañcama*, *Kāmoda*, [*Seta-mallāra*], *Āsāvārī* and *Kedāra*

[Square brackets indicate pictures not now included in this series in Album 33]. The 8 pictures of the other series [B] in Album 33 are *Suhā* [?], *Bhūpālī*, *Mālkaus*, *Pūrvī*, *Aḍānā*, *Barwai* [?], *Megha-mallāra* and *Khamāchi*. Four of these are more or less rare drawings, though the India Office collection includes another example of *Aḍānā*⁵; the setting of which is a house on the bank of a river, in which the *nāyaka* (usually on the roof) listens to music while the *nāyikā* awaits him in a lower chamber. *Pūrvī* here is quite unlike both the drawing in Album 37 (No. 2, reproduced by GANGOLY CIX. B) and the very characteristic *utkaṇṭhitā nāyikā* shewn in GANGOLY LXLIV. B-F. The characterization given in the *dohā* on the label of the present picture runs :—

*Jaḷājuta māthela, saikra motina kī mālā,
Bhasma aṅga driga śānti rasa Pūrvī nāma udāra*

The picture shows a shrine containing a *liṅgam*, a standing female figure holding a *vīṇā* in one hand, the other arm raised and extended, addressing the

4. This is the classification of the "S. 2" series of COOMARASWAMY's article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIII (1923), pp. 396-409, "Hindī Rāgmālā texts". Fifteen of these "S. 2" drawings are Nos. II-XVI in COOMARASWAMY's *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (1926); and the classification is given by him at page 71. It differs from the classification of the present album only in the substitution of *Pūrvī* for *Deśa-Vairāṭi*.

5. In Oriental Album 68 (not a Johnson album), of which some account is given below.

female *rāgiṇī*-figure, who wears the ascetic guise and top-knot. She is seated beside a tray of pearls, with a necklace of pearls in her hand. The longer series [A] in this album may be judged by GANGOLY's reproduction (LXXII C) of No. 16, *Gurjarī*, or by STCHOUKINE'S reproduction (Plate LXXV) of *Dhanāśrī* (No. 14 in this album). There are perhaps some traces of archaism in the drawing of profiles; but the features are rounded (e.g. the tip of the nose). Mutton-chop side-whiskers and a small drooping moustache characterize male figures; female figures are 'dumpy', but alive.

The shorter series [B] is very different in style, showing statuesque female figures with long limbs and voluminous skirts. Features are more finely modelled and contoured; backgrounds are in general light green 'tufted' with plants, under a dark blue sky. Architecture takes up much less space than in Series A.

ALBUM 34.

A uniform series of 35 drawings which follow Hanumān's classification (as detailed in the case of Album 39, below) except that *Māruā* takes the place of *Mālavi* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Śrīrāga*. The colouring has not been completed, but is indicated. The pictures measure $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches framed in blue and gold lines on gold-dusted border with an outer framing of gold and blue lines. The missing drawing must be *Paṭamañjarī* of *Hindola rāga*. Each drawing is headed with a description in Persian; the first eighteen are inscribed as the work of Adūt or Awadūt Singh, the rest as the work of Mohan Singh. One of the latter is reproduced by GANGOLY (CXI. C), who cites and translates the Persian inscription.

ALBUM 35.

Another uniform series of 30 drawings, following Hanumān, apparently, although *Vibhāsā* replaces *Saindhavī* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Bhairava*, and some other *rāgiṇī* has its place taken by a drawing (No. 19) of a *nāyaka* on an elephant conversing with the *nāyikā* at an open window by night. The title given is *Khambāyatī* (not *Khambhāvati*, which is No. 21 the four-headed Brahmā worshipped by the *rāgiṇī*). The pictures are framed in a narrow black edge set in a black and a white line on a red surround. On the reverse of each are descriptive formulae in Sanskrit, Hindi and Persian, with titles in Persian characters. GANGOLY (LXXXIV. A) reproduces as *Paṭamañjarī* No. 26, which however (as he points out) is really the pictorial representation of *Madhumādhavī*.

ALBUM 36.

This fine album contains 36 *rāga-mālā* drawings of the Kāngrā *kalam*, measuring $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or including the decorated margin (*hāshiya*) $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, now mounted on folios measuring $18\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the reverse of each drawing the title, time and season of the *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* in Persian, and verses descriptive of the picture and music pattern in Hindi, are

embodied in elaborate pictorial designs⁶, of the same dimensions as the *rāga*-drawings, the *hāshiya* of each *verso* corresponding with that of the *recto* of the following folio. The presentation of the theme follows Harivallabha, whose verses are always cited on the reverse of the pictures, and whose classification is substantially that of Hanumān. Albums 36 and 37, which are incomparably finer than any other *rāga-mālā* pictures in the India Office collection, contrast strongly in conception and method. Album 37 is unapproachable in its splendid use of gold and colour, its unerring instinct for composition, and the perfection of its craftsmanship. The present album, less lavish in effects of gold and colour, and very much less certain in composition and drawing, tends to rely upon contrast between dark landscapes in subdued tones of green and brown, and the high lights of architectural white and grey. There is no obtrusive colour, the decorative effect of female figures depending upon gold relieved by draperies of mauve or yellow or white, or small areas of red or orange, which are never vivid, while in male figures there is a constant preference for white or pale garments, relieved with gold. The artist almost always draws the ivory-hued face in profile, with contours moulded by shading, the eye somewhat elongated and lifting into a slight upward curve at the outer corner, with the long arch of the eye-brow emphasized. Broad white architectural surfaces provide contrasts for gold and colour and sombre landscapes; but the buildings are often structurally unintelligible. It is landscape that gives the albums its characteristic interest. The countryside here has a reality which is lacking in the clever background landscapes of the next album (No. 37). In Album 37 landscape in perspective is handled with a high degree of technical skill and imagination; but it lacks the intimacy of a countryside in which the artist has lived. The landscapes in the present album, on the other hand, are indigenous, circumstantial and convincing. Treatment in concentric contours under a high sky line, and restriction to subdued tones, are constant characteristics, and most of the pictures present an unlit upland with the sun behind it. There are of course no shadows, and no contrast of light and shade; but only tone-contrasts.

Reproduction is impracticable at present⁷ and for reasons of space I must content myself with describing one remarkable picture from this Album, —No. 13 *Kedāra*, the fifth *rāgiṇī* of *Dīpaka*. This is a picture of the rising of the Ganges from Siva's matted locks amid the peaks of the Himālayas. Its name is given in the Persian title and in Harivallabha's verses cited on the reverse. *Kedāra* or *Kedārikā rāgiṇī* is elsewhere represented, not as *Gaṅgā-dhara-Siva*—Siva the bearer of the Ganges—himself, but as an ascetic (usually female) absorbed in the contemplation of the god (*Gaṅgādhara-dhyāna*-

6. One of these designs, the *verso* of No. 11 (*Āsāvārī*), introduces ships which are plainly meant to be European vessels. Figures on the decks are in European costumes, several of them smoking long pipes. It was exhibited at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924, together with a number of pictures from Album 37.

7. The albums are temporarily inaccessible. This note is based on descriptions which I made before the war.

nimagna-cittā, in Hanumān's verses). The face and beautifully moulded body of the god in this picture are definitely female; and it seems probable that the *nāyikā* is thought of as having become one with the deity, in the intensity of her contemplation—*devo bhūtvā devaṃ yajet*.

Between a dark slate-grey sky, which shows a dull metallic moon, and a narrow foreground formed by the spreading out of the thin downward stream of the Ganges into a leaden (rather than silver) stretch of water, a broad band of multi-coloured rocks makes a patch-work of blue and buff, red and purple and gold, right across the picture. In the centre the *rāgiṇī*-figure is seated cross-legged on a tiger-skin in the attitude of contemplation, the lower limbs clad in pink decorated with gold, the grey body naked above the waist but marvellously garlanded and jewelled. A hooded snake is looped like another necklace over the shoulders but rises high above the head. A transparent gold halo frames the head, with the hair tightly drawn upwards into a braided knot from which the Ganges rises in a slender curve and falls down the rocks to form a broad stream in the foreground. The figure has Śiva's third eye in the forehead; and Śiva's emblems—the trident, drum, bowl, and a peacock-plume—lean against the surrounding rocks. The highest rocks are crowned with the rounded tops of dark trees, and similar trees appear among the lower rocks some of them, by a peculiar use of perspective-diminution applied to *nearer* objects (which is found elsewhere in this album), being reduced to the dimensions proper to distant objects. Closer examination reveals, what is not obvious on a first view, that the rocks are alive with numerous creatures drawn on the minutest scale,—elephants, tigers, boars, deer, apes and jackals. The birds perched on the trees are more obtrusive, as lighter specks against the dark foliage. As a composition, the whole is a restless patchwork of detail which distracts the eye from the still perfection of the figure, and the decorative landscape lacks the intimate reality which distinguishes other landscapes in this album.

ALBUM 37

It is no accident that, of the 44 India Office *rāga-mālā* pictures of which reproductions have been noted, no less than 29 are taken from *Album No. 37*; but it is a regrettable accident that no reproductions from *Album 36* appear to have been published. A curious feature of *Album 37* is that ten of its drawings⁸ are either identical with, or very closely resemble drawings in the Government Art Gallery at Calcutta and other Indian collections which are reproduced by GANGOLY. Thus no less than 33 of the 36 pictures in Johnson *Album 37* have either been reproduced, or are closely represented by published

8. Nos. 5 (*Bhairava*, GANGOLY III); 10 (*Kedāra*, XLVI); 11 (*Hindolo*, XXX); 15 (*Sārangi*, LXXXIX); 17 (*Megha*, GANGOLY identifies it as *Naṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa*, LXXIX); 22 (*Toḍī*, XVIII); and reproduced in COOMARASWAMY'S *Rajput Painting*, plate XII. B); 25 (*Gauḍī* [?], XXII); and reproduced by COOMARASWAMY, op. cit., XIII. B); 31 (*Deva-Gāndhāra*, LXLI); and 33 (*Gond-Mallār*; Gangoly *Kund-Mallār*, CV.).

reproductions. The three exceptions are 1. *Rāmakalī* (*Mānavatī*); 19. *Deśākhyā*; and 34. *Khambhāvātī*. COOMARASWAMY refers the pictures in this album to the Jaipur school. But the artist sophisticates traditional themes in the "Mughal" manner. He does not hesitate, for example, to replace the *rāga*-figure in *Vasanta* (37.6 = GANGOLY Plate LX. C) by a prancing Mughal prince; and the *motif* of *Kavajri* (37.4 = GANGOLY CVIII. E), which should be that of the *Dāna-līlā* of the Kṛṣṇa legend (when Kṛṣṇa stops the *gopīs* and demands a gift of curd) is vulgarized into the amorous adventure of a Mughal youth with a milkmaid. The drawings are not in any intelligible order, and in the absence of inscribed titles identification of themes is sometimes conjectural. Since this album has already attracted so much attention I confine myself to the observation that no photographic reproductions can convey the splendour of its coloration.

ALBUM 39.

36 drawings, in the Bundelkhand style, $8\frac{3}{5} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or with the plain red border $9\frac{4}{5} \times 7$ inches, following Hanumān's classification except in the substitution of *Naṭa* for the very different *Naṭikā* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Dīpaka*. (In this instance, instead of Hanumān's verses, the top panel bears a citation from the *Samgīta-darpaṇa*, given by GANGOLY XLIV: and the drawing of *Lalita*, which diverges from Hanumān's formula, bears verses which differ widely from the text of Hanumān). The classification is:

- 1-6 *Bhairava rāga*: with *Madhyamādi*, *Bhairavī*, *Baṅgālī*, *Varātī* and *Saindhavī*.
- 7-12 *Mālkaṣ*: with *Toḍī*, *Khambhāvātī*, *Gauḍī*, *Guṇakārī* and *Kakubha*.
- 13-18 *Hindola*: with *Vilāvātī*, *Rāmakalī*, *Deśākhyā*, *Paṭamañjarī* and *Lalita*.
- 19-24 *Dīpaka*: with *Kedārī*, *Kānaḍā*, *Deśī*, *Kāmodī* and *Naṭa*.
- 25-30 *Śrīrāga*: with *Vasantī*, *Mālavī*, *Mālavaśrī*, *Dhanāśrī* and *Āsāvārī*.
- 31-36 *Megha*: with *Mallārikā*, *Deśakārī*, *Bhūpālī*, [*Dakṣiṇa*]-*Gurjarī* and *Taṅkā*.

As in Album 33, each picture has the sulphur-coloured top panel, regarded as characteristic of the *Bundela* school (N. C. MEHTA, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay 1926, p. 42) on which descriptive Sanskrit couplets and Hindi *dohas* are inscribed in black, as an integral decorative element in the picture. Composition is simple, and in horizontal panels (much more clearly defined here than in Album 33). Use of outlining in gold is characteristic, clouds being so outlined in the narrow band of blue sky which always forms the second panel. Descriptive formulae are carried out with prosaic fidelity. Figures are "dumpy", as in Series A of Album 33, and other

stars are simple white crosses, characters both of which are illustrated in STCHOUKINE's reproduction (Plate LXXIX) of the only vigorous picture in this rather dull album—that of *Āsāvārī*. Another drawing from this series *Toḍī*, is reproduced by GANGOLY XVC (with a mistaken reference to Album 29). Descriptions on the reverse of the drawing are normally in Persian, but it is noteworthy that in a few cases the descriptions are stated to be *ba zabān Panjābī*, and in one case in Braj Bhāshā : while two lines embodied in a Panjabi description on the reverse of *Vasanta* are characterized as being in Marwari.

ALBUMS 40, 41, 42, 44, 45.

These I must at present pass by with the remarks that :—

40.1 ("*Sāraṅga*") is reproduced by GANGOLY LXLG, who points out that it is a representation of *Gajendra-mokṣaṇa*, which the Mughal artist depicts as occurring in the local atmosphere of the royal elephant stables at Agra.

42.29 (*Toḍī*) is reproduced by GANGOLY CXI. B., who cites the Persian inscription stating that the version is "according to the treatise of Thākurdās,"

44. (*Śrīrāga*) is reproduced by GANGOLY CXI. A, who points out that this usual representation of the theme is an obvious copy of the pictorial formula of British Museum Or. Add. 21934 (reproduced by him, LII. C) ; and that it is signed, although the artist's name is illegible.

ALBUM 43.

These 25 drawings, 7×5 inches, in primitive "Rajput" style,⁹ are certainly the most archaic of the India Office *rāga-mālā* drawings, resembling in formal coloration and figure-drawing pictures reproduced by COOMARASWAMY from his own collection of "23 *Rāgiṇīs*" (*Rajput Painting*, Plates I-III). Male figures have drooping moustaches, female costume has the characteristic detail of black tassels or balls dependent from the wristlets and from bracelets on the upper arm. The staring black and white of the eye exaggerated in size ; the shape of the profile from a receding forehead to a projecting nose ; the very limited range of colour without gradations ; the use of a single stiff formula for foliage (a mass of indigo outlined and bespattered with globules of green) ; the representation of clouds by curls of dull blue on a white background—all these characters may indicate that this is the remains of a genuinely old *rāgā-mālā* series. COOMARASWAMY describes his own "23 *Rāgiṇīs*" as "*Rājasthānī* mid-16th century",¹⁰ while STCHOUKINE, who reproduces Nos. 4 (*Lalita*) and 10 (*Toḍī*) of this album (*op. cit.*, Plate LXXIV) dates them in the middle of the 17th century.

9. Reproductions of three of these drawings have been published : *Lalita* (STCHOUKINE LXXIV) ; *Mālśrī* (GANGOLY LIV. D) ; *Toḍī* (STCHOUKINE LXXIV). The drawing of *Mālśrī* has also been reproduced in *Rūpam*, No. 29 (Jan. 1927) p. 33.

10. In "Notes on Rajput Painting" contributed to *Rūpam* (Nos. 15-16, July-Dec. 1923, p. 73) he is prepared to date them around 1600.

Descriptive Hindi doggerel¹¹ on the back of the drawings gives the classification, which differs from that of Books 31-33 in two substantial points: *Pañcama*, here the fifth *rāga*, becomes a *rāgiṇī* of *Śrīrāga* in Books 30-33, while *Megha* [-*mallāra*], here a *rāgiṇī* of *Śrīrāga*, becomes the fifth *rāga* in those books. Other differences are:—*Mārū*¹² for *Naṭa* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Bhairava*; *Kalyāṇa* for *Mālavi* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Mālka*; *Kokila* [?] for *Kakubha* as a *rāgiṇī* of the fifth *rāga*; *Sāraṅga* for *Gauḍa-mallāra* as a *rāgiṇī* of the fifth *rāga*; and *Suddha-mallāra* for *Seta-mallāra* as a *rāgiṇī* of *Śrīrāga*.

The album is inscribed "...at Benares by Ibrāhīm Ali Khan for Mr. R. Johnson" and bears two dated seal-stamps one of Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān 1174 A.H., the other of Qāsim 'Alī 1170 A.H. (= 1756-7 A.D.) JOHNSON however cannot have acquired it until at least ten years after Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān put his seal upon it, since he did not go out to India until 1770. In any case the pictures can hardly have been made less than a century (perhaps a century and a half) before Qāsim Alī had them mounted and bound in 1756-7. They obviously had no mounts originally; for the edges (with rounded corners) are frayed, like the edges of COOMARASWAMY'S "23 *Rāgiṇīs*".

ALBUM 68.

24 uniform drawings, $7\frac{1}{10} \times 4\frac{9}{10}$ inches, with an arrow-pattern border of silver and dark orange. The top panel is a narrow violet label inscribed with the title in Nāgarī in yellow. An owner has written identifications in English, using the word "long" in the sense of *rāgiṇī*: "the long Sarung", "the long Kulean", and so on. It is not possible to determine the classification followed. The collection includes *Sāraṅga*, *Kalyāṇa*, and *Aḍānā*; and the martial version of *Mārū*, in addition to the martial *Naṭa*. But "*Kalyāṇa*" (here so called) has in fact the pictorial motif of *Vibhāsa*, and "*Sāraṅga*" shows a prince listening to two musicians, of whom one is a *Kinnara*. This is the *Śrīrāga* pictorial formula. But a picture of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* listening to two female musicians is labelled *Śrīrāga*. *Dīpaka-rāga* here tends to become a picture of the festival of lights (*dīpāvalī*); as it does still more definitely in a stray *rāga-mālā* picture in Album 56. One picture of female, lilac in hue, naked above the waist and with loose hair,

11. It seems worth while to cite samples of the doggerel:—

Mālasirī Mārū Lalita Paṭamanjari chārī
Pachai kahiye Bhairavī, ye Bhairav ki nārī

Again:

Meghamalāra Kāmōda au Asāvārī nām
Sudhamalāra Kedāra, ye Sīrī ki bhām

12. Here a battle-scene, as might be expected in a substitute for the martial theme *Naṭa*. When *Mārū* replaces *Mālavi* the conception of it is quite different (see GANGOLY LVII). But see Album 68 below.

seated with her *viṇā* on a black buck skin, remains unidentifiable. These pictures, like those of Album 36, have the enamelled surface which is said to indicate the Kāngrā *kalam* (and in both albums one or two of the pictures have lost small patches of pigment in consequence). The album has distinct merits, in spite of the fact that the artist is incredibly careless in the matter of putting right hands on left wrists, and *vice versa*. There are no vivid colours, and the general effect is sombre, though gold (and silver) are freely used, and colours are smooth and firm. The artist makes candles burn smokily not with the usual clearly defined gold flame. Flesh-tints are ivory, sometimes lilac, and the eye is elongated, with the outer corner slightly inclined upwards, characteristics found also in Album 36. Peculiar to Album 68 is a high coiffure which gives an unusual cowl-like outline to the fall of the *sārī* over the hair.

MISCELLANEA

THE LANGUAGE OF NAKKĪRAR*

Nakkīrar was a poet of the third Sangam Age. That is to say, he lived somewhere before the third Century A.D.¹ There are several verses of his collected in the compilations of the period: 'Puṇānūru, Akanānūru, Naṟṟinai and Kuṇṭokai. In the Ten Idylls or Pattuppāṭṭu also there are two poems from his pen: Tirumurukāṟruppaḍai and Neḷunalvāḍai. Other poems ascribed to his authorship are those that are found under his name in the eleventh Tirumuṟai of the Saivaites. They are Tiruveḷukūṟṟirukkai, Peruntēvapāṇi, Kōpappirasādam, Kaṇṇappadēvar-Tirumaṟam, Kailaipāṭi-Kāḷattipāṭi-antādi, Inḱōymalai-Yelupatu, Kāreṭṭu, Pōṟṟittirukkalivenpā and Tiruvalaṇṇi-ḱū-mummaṇikkōvai. These nine pieces, though collected in the same book, may have belonged to different times. The general tenor of the eleventh Tirumuṟai is such as not to preclude this possibility, for within that collection are found poems of persons that lived between the dawn of the Christian era and thousand years hence. Nambiyāṇḍārnambi, the compiler, seems to have lived about the tenth century A.D.² If it could be shown that some works attributed to Nakkīrar's authorship were not written by the ancient poet of that name, the mere fact that these are all found collected in the same book by the same compiler should not stand in the way of acceptance. Not that difference in the language employed is alone proof to show that there were more hands than one; but that this will also generally help in deciding the authorship of poems. Unless there is an unhappy intention on the part of the writer to foil all research and to prevent us from knowing the truth, the language employed by great writers may be safely relied upon to give us an index of the particular time in which a work was probably written. This would apply in greater measure to the language of the ancient writers than to the language of the modern.

Bearing this in mind, if we draw a conclusion from a comparison of the language employed in the works of Nakkīrar mentioned before, it would not be wrong. We shall therefore compare the language of these various works.

In the poems of Nakkīrar collected in Puṇānūru, Akanānūru, Naṟṟinai, Kuṇṭokai and Tirumurukāṟruppaḍai the inflexional base of the second person singular pronoun *ni* is found to be *niṇ*. E. g.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Ariyavum uḷavō niṇakkē. | (<i>Puṇānūru</i> St. 56—1. 16). |
| 2. Niṇ vāy. | (<i>Akanānūru</i> St. 126—1. 1). |
| 3. Niṇvayir piriyalam. | (<i>ibid.</i> 205—1. 3). |
| 4. Niṇmāṭṭup—pētṭurraṇṇal. | (<i>ibid.</i> 310—1. 5). |
| 5. Niṇṇiḷal Kaḷippi. | (<i>ibid.</i> 340—1. 2). |
| 6. Niṇakkē cāntu aṇikuvam. | (<i>ibid.</i> 1. 18). |
| 7. Nī niṇ pāṇa-
ṇoḍu. | (<i>ibid.</i> 346—1. 12). |
| 8. Niṇ maṇṇal. | (<i>ibid.</i> 369—1. 11). |
| 9. Niṇpārāṭṭi. | (<i>ibid.</i> 389—1. 8). |

* A Paper presented at the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupathi.

1. K. Srinivasa Pillai: *Tamil Varalāru*, Part II, p. 4.

2. These are exclusive of a verse of Nakkīrar found in Tiruvalluvar-mālai and a few stray stanzas attributed to him.

3. K. Srinivasa Pillai: *Tamil Varalāru*, Part II, p. 203.

10. Niṅ Katuppiṅ. (*Narṇṇai* 197—1. 5).
11. Melliylarivai niṅ. (*ibid.* 367—1. 7).
12. Niṅ pasappē. (*Kuṇṇutokai* 143—1. 6).
13. Niṅṇaṇṇarital. } *Tirumuruṅṇāṇṇuppaḍai* 11. 278-279.
14. Niṅṇaṇṇi ulḷi vantaṇam. }
15. Niṅ vaṇ pukaḷ. (*ibid.* 1. 285).

Over against this we find the use of uṇ in *Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar-tirumaṇam* :—

1. Uṇṇatu kēṭṭaruḷ uṇṇaṇṇaku alaḱā (1. 79).
2. Eṇṇum uṇṇaṇṇaku iṇitē. (1. 87).
3. Aviyē ita eṇṇaku ; uṇṇaku kēṭṭuvaṇ (1. 113).

That "niṅ" was the inflexional base in *Tolkāppiyar's* time is evident from his following rule⁴ :—

"Niyēṇ oruṇṇeyar neḱumutal kuṇṇukum
 Āvayēṇ ṇakaram orṇākummē".

Similarly, "num" and not "um" was the inflexional base of the second person plural, as is evident from his following rules⁵ :—

"Nummeṇ iṇṇuṇi iyaṇṇakai yāḱum".
 "Nummiṇi tiripeyar viṇṇāviṇ peyareṇṇu
 Ammuṇai iraṇḱum avaṇṇiyal piyalum."

Whereas "um" is not found in any of the poems of *Nakkīrar* occurring in *Puṇāṇṇūru*, *Akanāṇṇūru*, *Narṇṇai*, *Kuṇṇutokai*, *Tirumuruṅṇāṇṇuppaḍai* and *Neḱunalvāḱai*, it is found in *Kailaipāṇṇi-kāḷattipāṇṇi-antādi*. E.g.

"Um Āvitannaik kuḱaintuṇṇa eṇṇiya" etc.⁶

It is not by means of straight corruption of num that um had come into being. It looks as though it was out of a mistake that it came into use. Some people probably fancied that there was an um where there was a num. It is plain that the consonant ṇ + num would become ṇum by rule.⁷ Once ṇum is formed it could be split into either ṇ + num or ṇ + um. Some people who came after the time of *Tolkāppiyar* do not appear to have seen where to divide rightly. I shall enforce this point by citing a striking passage which I have discovered in *Puṇāṇṇūru*.⁸ "Iṇṇuṇ kēṇṇiṇṇummiṇṇai vāḷiyavē" occurring therein, is capable of being divided into "iṇṇuṇ kēṇṇiṇṇ nummiṇṇai vāḷiyavē" or into "iṇṇuṇ kēṇṇiṇṇ ummiṇṇai vāḷiyavē." It is probable that instead of the former course the latter was adopted. That explains how "um" sprang. This should have by slow degrees spread largely into literature. This therefore is a parallel to what we find in the history of the English Language which furnishes an illustration of this kind in the word "adder" which is said to have been born out of a mistaken division of "a nadder" into "an adder."⁹

Thus if "um" was obtained from "num", the derivation of "uṇ" from "um" on analogy affords the next step. The mind of certain people should have been prompted by the instinct of analogy¹⁰ and thus it is that even as there are taṇ and eṇ the reflexive and the first person singular inflexional bases corresponding to the plurals tam and em, "uṇ" should have been formed corresponding to "um" in

4. *Tolkāppiyam* : *Eluttatikāram*, § 179.

5. *Ibid.* § 187 and *Colladikāram*, § 143.

6. *Kailaipāṇṇi-Kāḷattipāṇṇi-antādi*, St. 3.

7. *Narṇṇai*, § 210.

8. *Puṇāṇṇūru* verse. 58.

9. Vide. J. PEILE : *Philology*, p. 10.

10. Cf. VENDRYES : *Language* pp. 156-157 and L. R. PALMER : *An Introduction to Modern Linguistics*, p. 65.

the plural. It is easy therefore now to see that what was not in vogue in the earliest times crept into use in the pre-medieval period and that it spread widely in use later on. This will explain the presence of "uṇ" in Tirukkappadēvar-tirumaṇam and its absence in the works of Nakkirar of the regular third Sangam period.

Another point in which there is difference between the language of the works of the regular third Sangam period and that of all the works of Nakkirar except Tirumurukāṇṇuppaḍai contained in the eleventh canon is that in the former set "aṇ" occurs as an expletive more or less between the past tense-infix and the neuter singular termination in "ru". E.g.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. vaṇṇaṇ koṇḍaṇru kollō. | (Akanāṇṇūru 57—1. 13). |
| 2. kal cērntaṇre palkatir nāyiṇru. | (ibid. 120—1. 5). |
| 3. Nutal pasantaṇrē. | (ibid. 227—1. 1). |
| 4. Nōtakaṇrē. | (Kuṇṇutokai 78—1. 4). |
| 5. Virintaṇru. | (Tirumurukāṇṇuppaḍai 1. 92). |
| 6. Koḍuttaṇru. | (ibid. 1. 94). |
| 7. Vēṭṭaṇru. | (ibid. 1. 100). |
| 8. Kūtir niṇṇaṇru. | (Neḍunalvāḍai. 1. 72). |

This usage is not found in the other works of Nakkirar collected in the eleventh Tirumūṇai.

Thirdly, there is difference in the employment of epicene plural terminations. According to Tolkāppiyar, ar, ār and p were the plurals employed in the third person of the high class.¹¹ Double plurals such as arkaḷ and ārkaḷ had not arisen then. By constant use as honorific plurals of the third person, ar and ār probably became weak as regular plurals and hence it is that double plurals came to be employed in their stead in later times.¹² Thus, whereas we do not find any double plural in the works of Nakkirar of the regular Sangam period we come across some double plurals in certain works of his included in the eleventh Tirumūṇai. E.g.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Kaṇṇavarkaḷ. | (Kailaipāti-Kōḷattipāti. St. 2). |
| 2. Pattarkaḷaik kaṇṇāl. | (ibid. 86). |
| 3. Tēvāsuraṇkaḷ. | (Pōṇṇittirukkaliveṇbā. 1. 12). |
| 4. Pōrukanta Vāṇavarkaḷ. | (ibid. 1. 14). |
| 5. Vāṇavarkaḷ tāṇkūḍi. | (ibid. 1. 18). |
| 6. tāṇavarkaḷku āṇṇātu | (ibid. 1. 31). |
| vāṇavarkaḷ vēṇḍa | |
| 7. Niṇaintu niṇpārkaḷ . . attaṇaḍi | (ibid. ll. 44-45). |
| cērvārkaḷ. | |
| 8. Amararkaḷ tāḷaivaṇai. | (Peruntēvapāṇi 1. 15). |

Not that there was no opportunity for using plurals in the poems of the first period but that because double plurals had not then come into being, Nakkirar did not use them. Witness for instance the following places where double plurals, if they were in use, might have been employed :—

11. Vide Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram, § 206 :—

ar, ā, p eṇa varūm mūṇṇum
pallōr maruṇkiṇ paḍarkaḷaik collē.

12. Cf. Cildru (Anglo-Saxon plural) and children (the modern English plural). See also L. R. PALMER : *An Introduction to Modern Linguistics*, p. 69.

1. Vaḷaṅkeḷu *kōsar*. (Akanāṅṅūru St. 205).
2. Kaḷaṅkoḷ *maḷḷar*. (*ibid.* 227—l. 11).
3. Toḍaittār *maḷavar*. (*ibid.* 249—l. 12).
4. Vāḍāppūviṟ *Koṅkar*. (*ibid.* 253—l. 4).
5. Kaiyaṅ *chōḷar*. (*ibid.* 369—l. 13).
6. *Ḥaiyaṁ cūdi vantaṅar*. (*Narṇṇai* 367—l. 10).
7. Nōyṅṇiyaṅṇa *Yākkaiyar* (*Tirumutukāṇṇuppaḍai* ll. 143-145).
- . . . Avirtaḷir *puraiyum*
 mēṇiyar Poṅ-
 ṇurai Kaḍukkun *titalaiyar*.
8. Irukōṭṭu *Aruvaiyar*. (*Neḍunalvāḍai* l. 35).
9. *Yavaṅar iyaṅṇiya pāvai*. (*ibid.* l. 101).
10. *Āḍavar Kuṟukā aruṅkaḍi* (*ibid.* l. 107).
- varaippu*.

The next point of difference we notice is in respect of the employment of the sign of the present tense. Whereas in Tolkāppiyam there is no rule enjoining the use of *kiṟu* or *kiṇṇu* or *āṇiṇṇu* as the present tense-infix, the medieval grammar Nappūl¹³ speaks of these all. The author of Nappūl, who lived somewhere in the thirteenth century A.D.¹⁴ speaks of them because he has seen them occurring in abundance in the literature of his period as well as in that of the period preceding his. Nakkīrar in the accredited works of the regular Sangam period has nowhere employed any of these three infixes to denote the present time. On the contrary, in *Īṅkōymalai-eḷupatu*, *Kailaipāti-kāḷattipāti-antādi* and *Tiruvalaṅcuḷi-mammanāḷkōvai* there has occurred *kiṇṇu*. E.g.

1. Poḷutu *kaḷikkīṇṇār*. (*Kailaipāti* St. 12).
2. Talaiva *taḍumāṇṇuḷiṇṇēṇ*. (*ibid.* 16).
3. Kāṇātu *alakkiṇṇār*. (*ibid.* 18).
4. Veḷḷelumpu *pūṇṇiṇṇatu*. (*ibid.* 51).
5. Palavāki *niṇṇiṇṇāṇ*. (*ibid.* 67).
6. Ceṇṇiṇṇa *tiviṇṇaikaḷ*. (*ibid.* 74).
7. Pōḷiṇṇa *māmukilē*. (*ibid.* 75).
8. Oḷiṇṇiṇṇatu *eṇṇāvamē*. (*ibid.* 76).
9. Tīṅkai *aḍuḷiṇṇa kāḷatti ālvāy* (*ibid.* 96).
- Paṇiṇṇiṇṇa vaṇṇam paṇi*.
10. Paiyappō *eṇṇiṇṇa*. (*Īṅkōymalai-eḷupatu* St. 12).
11. Āḷiṇṇa *aṇṇal*. (*Tiruvalaṅcuḷi* St. 3).
12. Kāṇavar *Vāḷiṇṇa cēṇṇi*. (*ibid.* St. 12).

Nakkīrar had opportunities to use *kiṟu* or *kiṇṇu* the present tense-infix if he liked or if he knew it. For instance, in *Narṇṇai* verse 340 there was an opportunity for him when he said "puraḷum ciṟukuḍi", for he might have very well said "puraḷuḷiṇṇa ciṟukuḍi". Again in *Narṇṇai* verse No. 358 there was an opportunity, for instead of saying "kākkai nāḷirai peṇṇum vaḷuti maruṅkai" he might have equally said "kākkai nāḷirai peṇṇiṇṇa vaḷuti maruṅkai". Thus we see that the probable reason why "kiṇṇu" is not found in the poems of Nakkīrar occurring in *Puraṇāṅṇūru*, *Akanāṅṇūru*, *Narṇṇai*, *Kuṇṇutokai*, *Tirumutukāṇṇuppaḍai* and *Neḍunalvāḍai* whereas it is found in certain poems collected in the eleventh *Tirumūrai* is that the former pieces were given by a Nakkīrar and the latter by another.

13. *Nappūl*, § 143.

14. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai: *History of Tamil Literature*, (1929 edn.) p. 210.

Tested in these four ways, Kāreṭṭu, Tiruveḷukūṟṟirukkai and Kōpappirasādam do not definitely come under either the earlier set of poems or the later set. To say that they were of a late period merely because of the occurrence in them of Sanskrit words such as *vācaka*, *gīta*, *pāda*, *nīthi*, *īsa*, *mūrti*, *gñāna*, *mūṛgha*, *pāsūpadha*, *ādī* would be superficial, for we find ever so many Sanskrit words in Nakkīrar's poems of the definitely earlier period too. For instance, in *Puṇanāṇūru* we come across the *tadbhavas* of *jāma* and *jaṭa*. In *Tirumurukāṟruppaḍai* have occurred the *tadbhavas* of *dēva*, *tilaka*, *Kaliṅga*, *bali* etc. And in *Nedunālvaḍai* are found words such as *dasanāṅku*, *rōhiṇi* etc. Thus it is evident that the mere occurrence of Sanskrit words is not enough by itself to prove the late origin of any work. But taken together with other materials it might probably throw some light on the question when a work might have arisen. Since however we have found that this is not a sure and satisfactory test, let us put aside a detailed comparison of the Sanskrit words that have occurred in the various poems of Nakkīrar. Judging therefore purely from the points of view outlined above, Kāreṭṭu, Tiru-ēḷukūṟṟirukkai and Kōpappirasādam cannot be placed in any definite age, for there is no use of *uṇ* or *arka* or *kiṇṟu* in them. *Tirumurukāṟruppaḍai*, though occurring also in the eleventh *Tirumurai*, has the distinct merit to be regarded as one of the poems of the ancient Nakkīrar by reason also of the fact that it finds a place in the *Ten Idylls* or *Pattuppāṭṭu*. There is no usage in it which will drag it to a line with the remaining six pieces of the eleventh *Tirumurai* namely, *Peruntēvapāṇi*, *Tirukkannappatēvar-tirumaram*, *Kailaipāti Kālatti-pāti-antādi*, *Tiruvīrkōymalaiyeḷupatu*, *Pōṟṟittirukkaliṇṇbā* and *Tiruvalaṅcuḷi-mummaṇikkōvai*. These six poems might go to prove that they were of a later date. Verses of Nakkīrar in *Puṇanāṇūru*, *Akanāṇūru*, *Nāṟṟiṇai* and *Kuruntokai* as well as the long poems *Nedunālvaḍai* and *Tirumurukāṟruppaḍai* may be taken to have arisen in an age when the inflexional base *uṇ*, the present tense-infix *kiṇṟu* and double plurals such as *arka* had not come into vogue.

Annamalainagar.

A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIYAR.

A NEW COPPERPLATE GRANT OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN ; 12TH YEAR

The grant, which is edited here for the first time, forms an heir-loom in the family of Achwe Hebbars. It is said to be found underneath the plinth of their house at Kuntaganī village, which is about 20 miles to the north-east of Sanikatta or Gokarn and 50 miles north-west of Banavāsi,¹ North Kanara District.² The writer is thankful to Dr. S. M. KATRE and Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR for kindly handing it over to him for editing and to Mr. M. N. KULKARNI for securing it.

The grant is inscribed on three copperplates, which are secured together by a ring. To this is attached an oval seal, 1.2 inches long by 1 inch broad, having a countersunk surface, on which is an indistinct animal,³ with his foreleg raised and facing the right. The ring is almost circular, 2.5 inches in diameter. Each plate is about 6.4 inches long by 1.9 inches broad. The plates together with the seal weigh 46½ *tolas*. The first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The engraving is deep and

1. The writer is indebted for this information to Mr. V. G. NADKARNY.

2. The place is shown in the Survey Map No. 48 J/10. There it is spelt as Kuntaganī.

3. From other and better specimens this is supposed to be a lion.

visible even where the layer of green patina has corroded the upper surface. In spite of this the letters do not show on the other side of the plate.

When the plates were received by the writer they were thoroughly coated with a patina of green rust, and at some places, plate I, line 2, right hand side, plate II, lower edges, plate III, some part of lines 1 and 2, the inscribed portion had flaked off, while plate I and particularly plate II a, line 2, and plate III were incrustated with thick layers of rust. This made the decipherment very difficult, but with patience most of the inscription was read from the plates before cleaning.⁴

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of imprecatory verses the entire grant is in prose.

With regard to script and orthography there is nothing much to say. The former belongs to the 5th-6th century South Indian Brāhmī, in which most of the early Kadamba grants are recorded. In particular it resembles the script of the Halsi grant of Ravivarman. Initial *a* occurs in line 5, plate II a (*annādi*), and the sign of *upadhmāniya* in line 2, plate I, between *putra* and *pratikṛta*. *T* is uniformly of the curvilinear type, whereas one instance of looped *n* is found in the conjunct *annādi*, just mentioned above. There is one instance in which the end letter is written below the line, *mi* of *blūmi*, line 3, plate III. The labial nasal is used instead of the anusvāra, *carcām kadambānāmmahārāja*, line 3, plate I; *puṇyārtham pūrva*, line 5, plate II b; there is occasional disregard of Sandhi rules, *nivarttanam* and *annādi*, line 2, plate II a; and frequent doubling of consonants preceded by *r* and complete absence of punctuation marks.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant by *Mahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba (dynasty) to a (brāhmaṇa), Bhavasvāmin,⁵ who was of Dhaumya gotra, and well-versed in the Vedas, of a field (*kṣetram*), of (grains, giving) food etc., measuring 20 *nivarttanas*. This field probably belonged to Yomkāryadeśvara(?), and was situated on either side of a dam or a tank, which was previously built by Ravivarman in the village of Variyakā. The grant was made on the full moon day of Śrāvapa (July-August) in the twelfth year of the king's reign.

As no general era is mentioned, the record cannot be dated definitely. It would therefore belong to the 6th century in which king Ravivarman is supposed to have reigned (c. 497-537 A.D.).

The grant is not of much historical value, for it does not give us either an earlier or later date than the previously known dates of the reign of Ravivarman, who we know ruled till at least the 35th year of his reign. Nor does the record inform us of some definite conquests or give us any details about the king's family. It is therefore more brief than a grant of the 35th year of his reign.⁶

The record is, however, important from the social, geographical and to some extent religious points of view. The name of the donee's gotra viz., Dhaumya, has not been mentioned before in the Kadamba records or records of other contemporary

4. It may be mentioned here that the best method of cleaning and preserving rusted copper antiquities is to clean them according to the instructions given in H. J. PLENDERLEITH'S *Preservation of Antiquities*, London, 1934, pp. 38-56. In the present case the plates were washed four times in 5% solution of sodium sesquicarbonate. In order to remove the thick layers of incrustations diluted sulphuric acid was used. But each time care must be taken that only distilled water is used and that in the entire process only glass materials are used and the skin is not allowed to come into contact with soda or acid. After the plates were cleaned they were washed in flowing water and impregnated with kerosene oil. If this is not done immediately, fresh rust will again appear on the plates.

5. A brāhmaṇa with this name occurs in a Gaṅgā record, of about the same period, of Mādhava II. *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1930, p. 120.

6. *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 264 ff.

dynasties of Karnāṭaka. Its mention here therefore seems to be a distinct addition to our knowledge of the brāhmaṇa *gotras* of the region.

The commemoration of the occasion on which the gift (*dāna*) is made is also interesting. It is called the ceremony of (the giving of gifts) for celebrating a number of victories (*anekavijayasantarpaṇa dānavidhi*). The writer has, so far, not come across such an expression, specifying the nature of the gift.

Most noteworthy is the name of the place whence the grant is issued. It is called Vijayapaṅktipura. If this were to be identified with Vaijayantī⁷ or Banavāsi of the earlier or contemporary inscriptions it would be an unheard of and totally new name of that place. Could it be another name of Vijayapura, which occurs only once in an inscription from Amarāvati?⁸ As far as Kadamba inscriptions are concerned, Vaijayantī is mentioned 9 times, usually as *Vijaya Vaijayantī* and thrice in the records of Ravivarmā himself. So probably Vijayapaṅktipura might be another form of Vaijayantī.

Variyakā, the place-name mentioned in the inscription, the writer is unable to identify. For the inscription supplies no other data for identifying the place, whereas no such place-name having its modern derivative Varje, Barje, Variye or Bariye⁹ is to be found in the vicinity of Kuṇṭagaṇi, where the plates were unearthed.¹⁰

TEXT

PLATE I

11
स्वस्ति विजयपट्टिपुरे स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानु
12 13 14
प्याताभिषिक्तो मानव्यसगोत्रो हारितीपुत्र प्रतिष्ठतस्वा
15
प्यायचर्चांम्कदम्बानाम्महाराज श्रीरवि [व*] म्मा वरियका

PLATE II a

16 17 18 19 20 21
ग्रामे ताटकबन्धं कारयित्वा तस्योभयपार्श्वे योकाप्पपार्श्व --- [विज*] ति

7. In all the earlier Brāhmī inscriptions it is either mentioned in its Sanskrit form Vaijayantī or Prakrit Vejayanti. See LÜDER'S *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times*, E. I., Appendix, p. 210.

8. See *Ibid.*, p. 211; also occurs in the forged plates of Cālukya Vijayarāja, I. A., p. 241.

9. These names are suggested by Dr. S. M. KATRE.

10. The work of identifying place-names might be facilitated, if district or provincial directories listing all the places shown in the Survey Maps were available.

11. This letter and the next four letters up to *tr* are peeled off, but the engraving is so deep that their traces can still be seen.

12. This letter is partly broken.

13. These two letters are completely, and the next two partly, filled with verdigris, which could not be removed inspite of repeated cleaning. However the reading is certain as the outline of the letters can be faintly seen.

14. The sign for *upadhamāniya*.

15. The letter *va* is completely, and the following *m* is partly, peeled off. But the subsequent *ma* is clear.

16. The sense is not clear as the subsequent letters are completely peeled off. The letter following *kā* may be *yva* and not *ppa*.

17. The lower half of this letter is preserved, from which it appears that the letter may be *va*.

18. The letter's top is broken; the faint traces look like *ca*.

19. The lower half which is preserved suggests that the letter may be *tu*.

20. This letter seems to be *Vim*.

21. The upper half is broken.

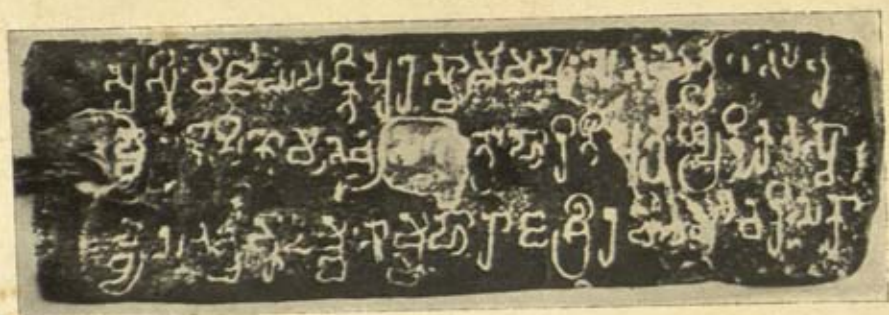


PLATE I

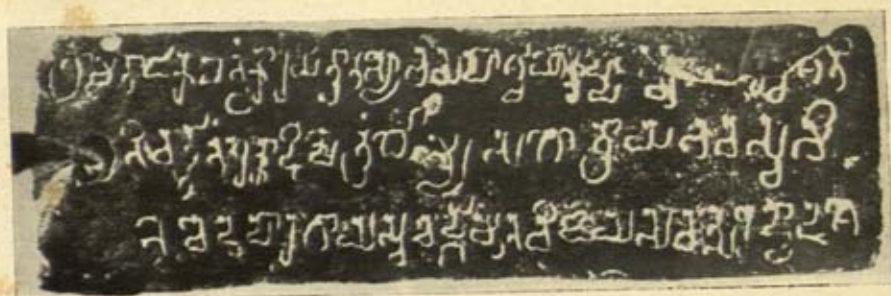


PLATE II A



PLATE II B



PLATE III

COPPERPLATE GRANT OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN



निवर्त्तनं²² अत्रादिक्षेत्रं धौम्यसगोत्राय भवस्वामि
ने वेदपारगाय स्ववर्द्धमानविजयसवत्सरे²³ द्वादशे

PLATE II b

श्रावणपौर्णमास्या [मनेक]²⁴ विजय [संतपण]²⁵ दानविधिना
दत्तं²⁶ यस्तु पुण्यार्थम्पूर्वराजस्थित्यानय योस्त्यपहरेत् स²⁷
महापातकसंयुक्तो भवति यश्चाभिरक्षेत् स पुण्यफल²⁸

PLATE III

[भाग*]²⁹ भवतित्युक्तव [स] वदतां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां वष्टि
वर्षे सहस्राणि पच्यते नरके भृशं [।*]³⁰ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज
[भि]³¹ सगरादिभि [ः*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [।*]³²
ग्रामे गृहस्थानं

H. D. SANKALIA.

SIVAPURA (GOA) PLATES OF CANDRAVARMAN

REGNAL YEAR 2

In May 1938, Mr. Vamanrao R. Varde-VALAVALIKAR, of Gomantashram, 12 Chittaranjan Road, Vile Parle, Bombay, brought to the notice of Mr. G. V. ACHARYA, B.A., the ex-curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, a set of two inscribed copper-plates belonging to him, for examination and decipherment. They were with him for a number of years and reported to have been found in Goa. As both the plates were not deeply engraved,

22. Should read *mannādi*²².23. Read *sanivatsare*.24. This reading is not certain, but since letters after *ma* appear like *nē* and *ka* respectively I am inclined to suggest this reading.25. For long all these four letters could not be read, though *na* was clear enough and the preceding letter looked like *liṣa*. The present reading I owe to my colleague Dr. V. M. APTE, and I am tempted to accept it, as it seems to fit in with the idea, though, as I have already said in the article, its occurrence in literature and in inscriptions is very rare.26. The sign for *anusvāra* is not distinct.

27. Could be read clearly before cleaning when verdigree had crept into the crevices of letters. Now the surface has become smooth, leaving faint traces of the letters.

28. The lower half of the letter is partly effaced.

29. The upper half of this and the succeeding letters, and the remaining letters till *vā* are peeled off.30. This letter seems to have been engraved below *bhū*.31. This letter cannot be read, and so the following letters which are most probably *bhi* or *ti* and *va* cannot be made to yield any sense.

32. These letters I cannot decipher. But any way a strange and unusual ending is here met with.

Mr. ACHARYA got them photographed, and supplied a preliminary note of their contents to Mr. VARDE. On account of his manifold duties and pressure of work he could not undertake the work of editing them and thus they remained unpublished so far.

Knowing their historical importance as they recorded a grant from an hitherto unknown prince, with the consent of Mr. ACHARYA, I requested the owner to allow me to edit the inscription. I am obliged to him for permitting me to do so. I am also thankful to Mr. G. V. ACHARYA for various valuable suggestions. The photographs of the plates reproduced here I owe to the courtesy of the authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The grant is fragmentary. As is usual with the copper-plate grants, the present set originally consisted of three sheets of copper of which the first and the third were inscribed on one of their sides, the second being engraved on both its sides. At present only the first and the second sheet of this set exist and no information can be obtained about the third plate, which is lost.

The plates measure about 7" in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. At the proper left of each plate there is a small hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, through which a copper ring $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and about 4" in diameter is passed, which holds them together. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a seal, oval in shape and about 1" in diameter. This seal has the figure of a standing *Varāha* carved in relief on its countersunk surface. It resembles closely the seal of the Halsi plates¹ of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.

The writing on the plates is not very well preserved. There are four lines on each side of the plate except on the first plate, the outer side of which is left blank. As it is, the inscription consists of twelve lines, of which only ten can be clearly made out. The remaining two are illegible as the plates are corroded and eaten away by verdigris. The letters are not deeply engraved.

These plates, as will be shown below, probably refer to an early Kadamba King. Palaeographically the plates resemble closely the Halsi² grant of Kadamba Kākusthavarman, especially in the forms of the letters *ka*, *pa*, *bha*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *sa* and *ha*. The form of the letter *kṛi* (line 10) is noteworthy. It is similar to the form of this letter obtaining in the Girnar inscription³ of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman though in a somewhat developed character.

As remarked by Dr. KIELHORN,⁴ the palaeography of the Kadamba plates helps us very little in determining the exact date of their records. These plates however may be attributed to a period slightly later than that of Kākusthavarman, whose generally accepted date⁵ is now circa 405-435 A.D.

These plates were issued by one Mahārāja Candravarman. He is described here as *nānā-sāmanta-maṇi-maricibhir-āchurita-pāda-padma*, i.e. whose lotus-like feet were sprinkled by the rays of the sun in the form of many feudatory chieftains. This apparently indicates that he was their feudal lord.

The object of the inscription is to record the donation of some land to the Mahā-vihāra situated in Sivapura, the boundaries of which have been specified.

The date of the record is the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra, in the regnal year 2.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 23.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 36 (line 18).

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 31.

5. D. C. SARKAR, *The Successors of Satavahanas*, p. 392 Chart E.

G. M. MORAES, *The Kadamba Kula*, chart opp. p. 1 ascribes a later date for Kākusthavarman.

This date is given in words but the regnal year is indicated by numerical figure, which reads rather unusually 2 *ye* (*dvītyē*). The sign for 2, is not clearly brought out in the photographs, where only a part of the medial *ē* in *yē* is seen. Both these are quite clear on the plate and in the ink-impressions.

The importance of the plates lies in the fact that they bring to light an *hitherto unknown Prince from Goa*. Who could this Candravarman be? He is not referred to elsewhere. It is not clearly stated in the inscription to what family he belonged. But from the figure of the *varāha* appearing resembling the seal on Halsi Plates we would like to take him as belonging to the Kadamba dynasty. Like many of the Kadamba kings his name ends with *varman*. The plates are dated according to the regnal year, a practice which is noticed in almost all the Kadamba records. Besides Kadamba family is the one of the early dynasties known to have ruled over Goa and its adjoining territories on the western sea-board of India in the fifth century, the period to which our plates belong.

The other known early family on the western sea coast is the Maurya family, which is referred to in the Aihole⁶ inscription of Pulakeśin II, but about which next to nothing is known.

To the Gomin family of Goa, of which the Siroda⁷ plates of Dévarāja, were recently published, our Candravarman seems to have no connection. Palæographically our plates have no semblance to the Siroda plates, which have been assigned to the fourth century A.D. On the other hand they show a great similarity to the Kadamba copper-plate grants.

To Candrāditya, son of Pulakeśin II, of the Cālukya dynasty, who is known to have ruled the territory near about the Ratnāgiri (cf. The Kocharé Plates of his wife Vijayamahādevi; *Ind. Ant.* VIII. 45) our King Candravarman, has no connection. It is apparent from the difference in their names and the palæography of their plates; and the find spot of their inscriptions; The Kochare Plates are certainly a little later than the present inscription. King Candravarman therefore in all probability must have been an early Kadamba king. I am unable to suggest any connection between him and the Mayūraśarman or the Kṛṣṇavarman lines of the Kadamba kings.

The village Śivapura mentioned in the grant is to be identified with a village of the same name in Chandor, Goa. It is also mentioned in the 1053 A.D. inscription⁸ of Kadamba Jayakeśi I. In the "Kōṅkaṇākhyāna"⁹ a sixteenth century work, its author Raghunāth, is referred to as a resident of this place. This place however cannot be located in the available maps of the Goa territory, and its identification therefore is not free from doubt.

Our inscription refers to a *Mahā-Vihāra*. The term Vihāra generally indicates a Buddhist monastery, though it is sometimes used for the Jaina or Hindu monasteries also. For want of any other details in the plates, it cannot be ascertained which was meant here. But if it refers to a Buddhist monastery, our plates would then be the first extant record of that sect in the Goa territory.

Goa does not abound in many Buddhist remains. Perhaps the only solitary instance was a seated statue of the Buddha,¹⁰ found at Colvale, Bardes, Goa, a few

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 1.

7. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, p. 143.

C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, A New dynasty of the West coast, *Proceedings, IX All-India Oriental Conference*, Trivendrum, p. 857. These plates have the figure of a Swan on the seal.

8. Pandurang PISSURLENCAR, *Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa*, p. 4. Inscription No. IV.

9. "Kōṅkaṇākhyāna" Bombay Edition, *colophon*.

10. HERAS, A newly discovered image of Buddha near Goa, *Journal, Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. III, p. 173.

years ago. This statue is now preserved in the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. On the grounds of style it is referred to as belonging to the second century A.D.

Some Buddhist caves are also reported at Rivan¹¹ near Chandor.

TEXT¹²

FIRST PLATE

- 1¹³मार्ग्य¹⁴
 2 ...श्री चन्द्रवर्ममहाराजेन भुवन त¹⁵ नानासामन्त
 3 मणिमरीचिभिराशुरितपादपद्मयुग¹⁶
 4 ¹⁷ लीत प्रीतिकरं मद सत्रकतांमभा¹⁸

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

- 5 न्त शिवपुरमहाविहाराय सर्व्वदेय (भु)¹⁹
 6 क्त (क्ति) सर्व्वपरिहारेण दत्त (त्त) [1*] रतोनिकृत्यक्षेत्रावास
 7 च क्षेत्र भद्रतटाकव्याघ्रपाषाण परियन्त
 8 तो दक्षिणपश्चिमतः पर्व्वतस्य उदकपात.....

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

- 9 मान्त सर्व्व सपदराजपुरुषप्रवेश (विवर्जितं)¹⁹ चै
 10 त्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां राज्यप्रतिष्ठितवर्षे
 11 २ ये [1*] आत्मानावापरनोपियो दत्तं सहरेत्यु²⁰
 12 —तोपापक्षय.....

Bombay.

Moreswar G. DIKSHIT.

-
11. SAVARDEKAR, *Gōmāntaka Parichaya* (in Marāṭhi), p. 103.
 12. From original Plates, and photographs. The text is left uncorrected.
 13. About seven letters lost.
 14. Medial *r* of the following letter is visible on the plates.
 15. This *ta* is redundant.
 16. One Akṣhara lost.
 17. Two letters lost.
 18. One letter lost. This portion gave the location of vihāra.
 19. Only faint traces of this letter are visible.
 20. Corrupt.



PLATE I.



PLATE II A.



PLATE II B.

SIVAPURA PLATES CANDRAVARMAN.

† RABINDRANATH TAGORE

May 7, 1861—August 7, 1941.

Since the days of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe the world has not known a more versatile poetical genius than that of the late Rabindranath Tagore, who passed away at Calcutta on the seventh of August. Nature had endowed him with a serene and beautiful personality, that marked him as the king of poets, and with a constitution, that permitted him to live a vigorous and fruitful life of over eighty years. An old and rich cultural tradition, which was on the point of being smothered under the weight of a long period of intellectual vegetation, had chosen him to face the full force of a foreign cultural impact and while doing so to vindicate its own creative existence. He was counted among the foremost leaders of religious and philosophical thought; Mahatma Gandhi named him as the Great Sentinel; more than anything else however Rabindranath was a Poet, and as such the Indians will not bear him to be ranked along with any poet of a lesser distinction than Kālidāsa's.

The ancestral records of the Tagore family go back to the 8th century, when certain learned Brahmins were invited from Kanauj by a Hindu king of Bengal to settle down with their families in his own kingdom and back up his efforts to regenerate the old Brahmanic creed. A thousand years later, the descendants of one of them belonging to the Sāṅḍilya clan, were living as a solitary Brahmin family in the fishermen's locality, which was designated by the English Trading Company in 1790 as 'Calcutta', and were being addressed by the surrounding population as 'Thākūra', which later on came to be anglicized into Tagore. The Poet's grandfather was known as a highly cultured and successful man of business and had already in 1842 visited England, where they used to call him 'Prince Dvārakānātha'. The spirit of Devendranātha, his eldest son and the Poet's father, however, marked a reaction in the development of the family character, inasmuch as he showed from his very childhood a deep predilection in favour of the inner world of ideals and saintly aspirations. In the Poet's own synthetic personality appears to be embodied the final reconciliation and in a sense the fulfilment of a struggle between two opposing cultural forces, generally called the East and the West, in the creation of a higher and more comprehensive mode of cultural expression.

The Poet was born on May 7, 1861 in his ancestral house at Calcutta as the seventh son of Maharṣi Devendranātha and his wife Sārādāsundarī, who died in 1875, just a few months after the first poem of her 'Robi' was published in the Tattvabodhinī Patrikā, a Brahmo journal organized by her husband. Under the loving care of his father and in an atmosphere of fine literary taste and cultural endeavour the young poet developed a habit of

brooding deeply over all the social, political and religious problems of his day. He had already been touring with his father in the Himalayas and collecting varied experiences of nature and life with his fine sensibility and transforming them into words of beauty. In fact, this creative urge in him was so powerful, that it never gave him any rest, physical or mental, even till the day of his death. His two years in England (1878-1880) was the longest period of his sojourn in any foreign country. He hated to bind himself down to any one place, to any one form of literary expression, to any one subject of academical study.—“*To study the Mind of Man* in its realization of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view”—that was how he laid down in his later life as the first object of the foundation of his Visva-Bharati.

On December 9, 1883 Rabindranath was married to Veṇīmādhava Caudhari's daughter, Mṛṇālīnīdevī, from whom he had five children during a blessed married life of about twenty years. The death of Mṛṇālīnīdevī occurred during the very first year after the foundation of the Brahmacharya-śrama at Santiniketan in 1901, which marks the mid-point as well as definitely the turning point in the career of this inveterate seeker of Truth and Beauty. The spirit of the Poet received a local habitation and a name: Santiniketan became his *karmabhūmi* as well as the embodiment of his own genius, which he left as his “legacy to the nation”. The Poet's father, the Mahārṣi, who had purchased the site of Santiniketan as far back as 1863, died peacefully at the age of 87 in 1905 at Calcutta. The political awakening in the country during the first decade of the twentieth century demanded all the powerful force of patriotic emotions which the Poet could bring into being with his fiery enthusiasm. He wrote songs ringing with deep national fervour, addressed mammoth gatherings moving thousands with the magic of his words, established new associations wedded to the ideal of a comprehensive national uplift, initiated new festivals harking back to the glorious moments of India's past and new ceremonies to rally the Indian youth around fresh motives of inspiration. Rabindranath with his ideas and programmes of national regeneration and international cultural collaboration had always been well in advance of his contemporaries. His thoughts on an inner radical social purification, on constructive work in the villages, on the need of a revolution in the system of education had to wait for a few more years to be reechoed and transformed into a lightning action by another of his countrymen, gifted with a greater genius for effective realization. The Politician in him however could not transcend the Poet, who sought his escape from the material world of economic rivalry and conflict in his own peaceful world of artistic pursuits—in Santiniketan, where he then engaged himself in a greatly intensified literary activity and in trying during the rest of his life to achieve his ideals of harmony and beauty in human life with the help of a band of inspired workers from all parts of the world, by developing a group of institutions for humanistic studies, both theoretical and practical.

In the meantime tributes of admiration and honour came in the fullest measure, especially after the publication of the English *Gītāñjali* in 1913, from

all quarters of the globe, where the freedom of enlightened judgment was not hampered by an undue sense of either superiority or enslavement. International recognition of his genius came speedily after his tour to England and America in 1912-1913, which he visited for the first time in the full confidence, that he had a sacred mission to fulfil in his life as a poet, representing the best traditions of the East, that had to contribute substantially in building up an ideal relationship between man and man. It was universally acknowledged, that the Nobel Trustees had "never fulfilled their trust more thoroughly than by their award of the Literature Prize to Rabindranath". The rulers of India condescended in their characteristic manner to confer upon the Poet a Knighthood, of which he relieved himself after the Punjab atrocities of 1919. The Oxford University could easily have missed him by allowing scope for maturer deliberations in the matter of conferring upon him a Doctorate of Literature, which was actually received by him exactly one year before his death.

After his world tour of 1916-1917, in which he uttered his prophetic and unequivocal denunciation of Nationalism, he laid the foundation on December 22, 1918 of the International University of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan, aiming at the creation of a centre of universal culture : *yatra viśvam bhavatyekaniḍam*. The Poet had started from the idea of a Forest-school of the type of the ancient Indian Āśrama, where education would not be divorced either from everyday life or from free communion with Nature, where "in the sky and in the infinite space beyond, peace sits wrapped in meditation and stars gather round in eager expectation like silent disciples." His broadening vision had now led him to establish a centre of culture for "fulfilling the highest mission of the present age—the unification of mankind." In order to keep himself in a living contact with cultural traditions in the different countries of the world he undertook about a dozen foreign tours to various parts of it including Europe, America, China, Japan, Persia, Siam and the East Indies, everywhere meeting the country's masterminds, imparting his own message of peace and harmony with an ever deepening conviction and enriching his own mind by fresh and varied experiences. Learned men from abroad were invited to share in the work of building up the Visva-Bharati. The names of Sylvain Lévi, M. Winternitz, Sten Konow, C. Formichi, G. Tucci, Bogdonov, Garmannus, Lesny, Cousins, Collins, Benoit, Baké, P. Davoud, Tan, Bossenec, Aronson, Sykes were among many others of those who came from abroad and lived in Santiniketan for a longer time to contribute in various directions towards its growth. Mr. Elmhirst supported enthusiastically the cause of the Department of Rural Reconstruction from its very inception. Mr. Pearson, who died of an accident in Italy in 1923 and Rev. Andrews, who died only last year, have become names to be conjured with in the Āśrama. The Visva-Bharati grew by leaps and bounds. Besides the College and the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, called Sriniketan, adjoining the Santiniketan premises, there arose a School of Research, conducting studies in various branches of cultural and religious history of India, Iran, Arabia, China and Tibet, a School

of Painting, led by Nandalal Bose, a School of Music, directly inspired by the Poet's own compositions, as well as the nucleus of a School of Dancing, and prospered under the loving and watchful inspiration of the 'presiding deity.' In 1937, a separate School of Sino-Indian Studies was started with the active sympathy of the Chinese Government and the devoted efforts of Prof. Tan Yun-Shan. The opening of the Hindi-Bhavana in 1939 was one of the latest achievements of the Visva-Bharati.

The Poet excelled in the lyrical form of poetry, although he had gained a mastery over almost all other forms of literary composition. His literary creation during a period of nearly sixty years, beginning from the moment when he wrote his first inspired poem : 'Nirjharera Svapnabhaṅga' upto the hour, when he dictated his last poem on 'Death' is so vastly rich and varied, that an attempt to do even meagre justice to it within the limits of this brief sketch would be impudence. It is enough to say, that all that he said or did, as an ardent nationalist, as a gifted teacher, or as a prophetic philosopher, was inspired by one all absorbing poetic vision of a grand harmony of human life and nature through all ages and climes—a vision, moreover, which was his inheritance from the glorious Indian antiquity, of which he sought through his own wonderful career to give a new and living interpretation.

Our deepest sympathies go to the Poet's son, Rathindranath, who has been since long sharing the responsibilities of the Āśrama, and to his daughter Mirādevī in their sad bereavement. To his numerous pupils and admirers all over the world Gurudeva has bequeathed his elevating poetry even as the ancient seers had left their Ṛgvedic hymns to the aspiring posterity, or as the great Gotama twenty-five centuries ago had confided his 'dharma' before his great decease to his disciples, saying : "In some of you the thought may arise : 'The word has lost its Master, we have no teacher more !' But it is not thus that you should regard it. The highest Truth and the principles of conduct, which I have proclaimed and set forth for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you."

The Poet is dead. Long live the Poet.

Fergusson College,
August 17, 1941.

VASUDEV GOKHALE

THE POLICY OF SHIVAJI AND THE ENGLISH.¹

By

BHASKAR GOPAL TAMASKAR, Jubbulpore.

1. *The first English contact with Shivaji :—*

The first contact of Shivaji's men with the English occurred (early in 1660) when the former went so far as Rajapore and wanted the latter to deliver to them the Junckes of Fazal Khan, son of Afzal Khan. It was on this occasion that an English broker and one factor, Mr. Gyfford, were taken prisoner. The broker was let off after several attempts and protests, but the English factor was kept a prisoner at Kharepatan till he was released by force by waylaying the transferring party when he was being taken to Suttolly or Khelna. This affair ended thus.

The second occasion of a similar but more serious contact was one of the creation of the Englishmen themselves. This also has been described in detail. The English helped Siddi Johar not only with guns but with gunners against Shivaji who was besieged in the Panhala fort. So, Shivaji was right in punishing them in the way he did by looting their Rajapore factory and taking Henry Revington and his companions prisoners. These men remained prisoners for a long time and, therefore, became impatient for their release and wrote to the Surat Council in abusive language. The Surat Council thereupon wrote to them :

"How you came in prison you know very well. 'Twas not for defending companies goods, 'twas for going to the siege of Pannella and tossing balls with a flagg that was known to be the Englishes. it was but as any other would doe, to goe and shoote them off against an enemy; for merchants while trading in a strainge country and may live quietly, if not meddling must looke for a requitall of their deserts. Wee must tell you plainly and none but what rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment; Mr. Revington himself mentioned the Sevagee (? not) to sell any are cast in your teeth of being at Panhella castle because he would return injury as hee hoped more to his satisfaction if he could obtaine money then toward it." (*Factory Records*, Surat, Vol. 85, p. 294.)

To secure the freedom of the English prisoners from Shivaji's prison, the English tried all means available, which have been described in detail. This was done probably out of policy and not on account of any threat of the English.

Then followed very long negotiations for reparation of Rajapore losses. This history has been already set forth in detail and needs no repetition here. It is clear that during these negotiations, each party's policy underwent various phases and affected negotiations in various ways.

1. This is Chapter VIII of the unpublished work, "Shivaji's Relations with the Europeans."

2. *The change of the English attitude towards Shivaji after 1667 :—*

In order to understand the attitude of the English and Shivaji towards each other, we have to remember that the English were traders first and everything else next and that Shivaji wanted to be on peaceful terms, so far as possible, with a view to advance trade in his country and partly with a view to secure guns and ammunitions from them. The English did not at first believe that Shivaji's '*grand rebellion*' would succeed and, therefore, their feelings were generally ranged against him and were on the side of the Muslim, Moghul and Adilshahi. This can be well seen from the extracts quoted by us under "THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISHMEN'S ESTIMATE OF SHIVAJI."

Some others are quoted here :—

(a) This king hath worsted that grand rebell Sevagy, who finding himself overpowered by his sending of numerous armies upon him, hath submitted himself,²

(b) "The grand rebell Sevagee is at last entrapped and caught in the same nett of glorious promises that hee was wont to make for others, by this king, who is as perfidious as himself."³

(c) "For now it is certaine that the rebell Sevage hath made his escape from the Moghulls Court."⁴

(d) "You recommend a fair correspondence with him; out we knowe not what league to hould with a rebell and perfidious thiefe, but desire to keepe our distance and have nothing to doe with him."⁵

The above kind of language the English continue to use for Shivaji to his death, but there is a change in it after his escape from Agra. This can be seen in the following extracts :—

(a) "I have discourd (discussed) the business of the passe with President, and after serious debate wee conclude it not seasonable at this time to shew the least inclination to a reconcilment, which the giving a passe at this time would hint. But in regard you are more deeply concerned then any, the President bids me write you that, if you will venture the ill consequence of it, he is willing to grant a passe; but then desires it may run in Siliminaiks name and not in *Durreall Saungs* (Darya Sarang) or any person related to Sevagee. And the President further advises that it would be convenient you should write to Siliminaik, as a freind, that he use his interest to perswade Sevagy or Rougee to propose sober and effectually tearmes of satisfaction and reconciliation before our ships come, for you may assure him that, *now peace being neere concluded*, if they doe not timely accomod(at)e the affaire and give some reasonable satisfaction, the first designed the President will undertake will be a severe revenge on all Sevagees ports and ships for the losses the company hath suffered by him. In case you advise that a passe be given then let Mr Gray write it and send it down with all speed, and it shall be signed and sent you."⁶

(b) "According to your commands, we shall at convenient time enorder such as wee employ to treat Sevagees servants civilly where ever they meete them, but not to enter into any contract with them, letting them know the greate damage the

2. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 86, p. 239, dated 1st January 1666.

3. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 29 no. 3185, dated 25th September 1666.

4. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 29, no. 3194, dated 17 Oct., 1666.

5. *Ibid.*, no. 3205, dated 24th November 1668.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 3223, dated Swally Marine, 1st November, 1667.

Honble. Company hath suffered and the abuse offered to our people on severall occasions, for which wee expect satisfaction and reparation before wee enter into any league with their master."⁷

We have already quoted extracts to show how gradually the English began to use such words as "Raja", "Maharaja", "His Excellency", etc., for Shivaji and how they became eager for a treaty with him so that they might freely trade in his kingdom. Much of this history has already been narrated in connection with the history of the Rajapore losses, and, therefore need not be repeated here. We shall recapitulate the points in short and add some more now.

3. *The desire of the English to trade in Shivaji's Kingdom :—*

This can be read in the following extracts also :—

(a) "Our instructions to Mr. Ustick are soe large that wee shall not add thereto, but expect a good issue from his carefull performance, as also to procure his generall Cole or Phirmaud for us to trade with freedome and security in all the ports of his country and citte whatsoever".⁸

(b) "We are not wanting to let him know how considerable your power is and how advantageous commerce will be to his ports".⁹

(c) "..... besides we have hopes that the trade into Savagees Country will consume quantitys of Europe commoditys".¹⁰

(d) "..... we hope to secure such authentic coles from Savagee that hope they will secure the Hon. Company's trade from the violence of his army hereafter¹¹."

(e) "..... and therefore we do conclude to write them that they forbear assisting either, but carry an equall hand towards both, behaving themselves like merchants whose sole designe is to seeke a trade in the country, being courteous and civill to both, but especially to that side in whose possession the country remains."¹²

The last sentence shows clearly that the English policy was a time-serving one.

(f) "During the Honourable Company's settlement on this Island the various circumstances which have occurred in their affairs, together with the continued warrs and disturbances betwixt the grat Mogull and Savagee and between Savagee and us, have hindered us from making *inspections by way of trade* into the neighbouring partes, whereof att present wee are in a manner totally ignornant of, butt now an appearance of a batterr accomodation (in regard of our peace with Savagee) presenting itself, wee have thought good to enter on a diligent search and inspection into the neighbouring partes on the Maine, in order to the establishing a hopefull and advantageous commerce on this Island; and knowing your genius apt and well qualified for this emploiment wee have made choice of you as a person in whose ingenuity and ability wee have good confidence to travaile into those parts and to bring us an account of your observations. These are therefore to require you, having prepared yourself with all things necessary, to take your passage in the Company's sloop for the town of *Cullean Bundy* which lyes in part of Savagees countrey, where the first thing you are to da is to present unto the Governor

7. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, p. 63, dated 25th November, 1660.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 87, pp. 7-7., dated 30th November, 1671.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 106, no. 105, dated 14th May, 1672.

10. *Original Correspondence*, 3910, dated 15th December, 1673.

11. *Orma MSS.* Vol. 114, 114, Sect. 4, p. 128, dated 19th June.

12. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 4, pp. 7-8, dated 24 Jan. 1679.

of thatt place the President's letter herewith delivered you, and after you have waited on him you are then to take your passage by land for the city of Juneah (*Junnar*), which is above 3 dayes journey distant from Cullean Bundy where you being arrived you are likewise to present the President's letter unto the Nabob or Governor of that place, and to take these following observations. (Then follow very detailed instructions worded exactly as in No. 349, dated 1 May 1673) What else you think fitting to take notice of wee referr unto you and remaine."¹³

The last of the above extracts shows the trade mentality and policy of the English people very clearly. A similar attempt to make a trade survey of the Deccan was desired to be made by Mr. Thomas Niccolls whose instructions are extracted here :—

(g) " Mr. THOMAS NICCOLLS.

Dureing the Honble. Company ('s) settlement on this island the various circumstances which hath occurred in their affaires, togeather with the concon(?)inued warrs and disturbances betwixt the great Mughull and Seavagee and between Sewagee and us hath hindered us from makeing inspections by way of trade into the neighbouring partes, whereof we are in a manner totally ignorant but now an apperance of a better accommodation presenting itselfe I have thought good by advise with my Council to enter on a *diligent search and inspection* into the neighbouring partes, on the maines, in order to the establishing a hopefull and advantageous commerce on this Island, and knowing your genious apt and well qualified for this employment, wee have made choise of you as a person in whose ingenuity and ability wee have good confidence to travaile into those partes to bring us an account of your observations. Theis are to require you having prepared yourself with all thing necessary, to take passage in the Company's sloop for the towne Negatam (Nagothna) which lyes in the opposite maine, where the first thing you are to observe is the scituation of the place; the breadth and deapth of the river, what boats are able to passe to and froe, how the tydes governe, what depth of water at Spring tydes and what upon nepps, what conveniency and accomodation there is for landing and receiving of goods; and if you can conveniently draw a draught of the place, as also of the river Penn and Batty (Bhatty), which are adjacent thereunto, it would be very acceptable unto us, as also to the Honorable Company.

After that you have satisfied yourself as to the waterside which you must doe so warily that publique notice may not be taken of our design, you are then to goe on shoare at the said Negotam and to take your passage by land for the city of Juneah (*Junnar*) which (is) about 3 or 4 dayes journey distant from Negotam, where you being arrived you are to take this following observations.

First the scytuation of the place; its naturall strength and defence; what forces of the Mogulls doe constantly reside there; the name and quality of the Governor and of the Government how the city is bu(i)lt and inhabited; what trade is driven in the city; what correspondence it holds by way of trade with the neighbouring partes; what Europe comodities, *especilly those of the manufacture of England*, are most vendible, to witt, cloath and all wollen manufactures, as also lead, tinn, copper, quick-silver, vermilion, amber, correll, colchenneall, sword blades knives, and *in short all English manufactures whatsoever*. In this wee desire you to be very inquisitive and serious in your observations.

Next you are to observe what goods of the growth of Arabia Mocah, Bussora, as also Persia and these partes of India, are there vendible.

Next yor are to examine what goods the city affords of itselfe and what are there brought from other partes (vzt.) what quantityes of callicoos and other

13. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 35, No. 4056, dated 4th Jan. 1675.

Indian linnen, as also druggs of all sorts, are produced there or brought from neighbouring partes. For your instruction and better information therein wee have appointed you a Banian for your asistance called Vergesung Juggee, whom you are to order to bring you musters of all sorts of goods with their qualities procureable, qualities, length, breadth, prices, &ca., circumstances necessary, which you are to sett downe in writeing, for that you may better make your reporte to us at your returne, and if you find any sort of goods which may be fitt for Europe wee desire you to bring musters thereof, if you can conveniently, unto us.

Next you are to examine the coynes current with their instrinsinsick value; the weight, measures, and manner of dealing used amongst them in the said towne and neighbouring partes; likewise to bring an account of the names of the market townes there adjacent, and their distance from Bombay and from one towne to another; and likewise the manner and method of conveyance and transport of goods, whether by boats carts mules or oxen.

I would have you keep a drey(sic) (diary) of your journey, inserting all matters that are remarkable in the way you passe. You must not faile to vizet the Governors of the country and towne you passe, behaving yourself civilly and very respectfully towards them, and as you see occasion you make some small present to them. In your discourse your prudence will prompt you as occasions servers to magnifie the greatness and power of his Majestys dominions and of the English nation, the honour justice and greate wisdom, together with the strength of the Honble. Company and the good neighbourhood and friendship (that is held with all nations at the Island Bombay). *You must not owne that you are sent by me or my Councill*, but that you travail on your owne affaires, intending to beginn a trade into those parts on your owne account: but when you see the Governors of Juneer you may aske whether the English may settle a factory in those parts, and what dutys and customes they are to pay, and if you can procure a letter from the Governor, (or) some of his chiefe men about him, to the Governor of Bombay in order to invite him to send Englishmen to settle factorys in his Government, which will be very acceptable to us. You must keep an exact account of your charges going and coming, and if you heare any news you must not faile to advise by all conveighances and by Cossits hired on purpose, touching that motion of Mogull and Sevagees arms and what successe of their warr are. More I remember not, but only to tell you that the designe of this journey is only discovery of trade, wherein you are to employ all your ingenuety. Bombay Primo May 1673. (Endorsed).

Mr. Thomas Nicolls.

His instructions.

Dated Primo May 1673.

Copy No. 24.^{13a}

4. *The English therefore were trying to be on a "fair understanding" with Shivaji :—*

The following extracts will show this clearly :—

(a) "Now we are mentioning of Sevagee wee think it very adviceable that you keep a faire correspondence as will all Princes in India, so with him being now in power, (and this you may lawfully doe from Bombay), but we would not have you correspond with him from Suratt, least it may be accompted to hold intelligence with an enemy, and so may redound to our prejudice¹⁴."

(b) "Here is now lying off this bay, a fleet from Suratt of about 20 sail, bound for relief of Danda (Raja)pore. They desire freedom to enter into this har-

13a. *Original correspondence*, Vol. 34, No. 3784, dated Bombay 1 May 1673.

14. *Letter Book*, Vol. 4, p. 426, dated 22 Feb. 1671.

bour, and from our shores to infest *Sevagees Country*, which we thought not reason nor policy to grant¹⁵."

(c) "There are at present riding in the bay about 36 sail small and great belonging to the *Suratt fleet*, which assisted ("Siddie" in O. C. 3734) of Danda Rajapore against *Sevagee*, of whose success we formerly advised you. The Commander whereof doth exceedingly court your President to join with in the War against *Sevagee* promising great matters, here is also an envoy come from *Sevagee* himself, in some state and he on the other side courts your President to assist him against the Mogul, promising much on his part. Your President keeps fair with both, and trusts in God to procure reputation and advancement ("advantage" in O.C. 3734) to your island from them both. (Orme Vol. 114, Sect. 2, p. 7)¹⁶."

(d) "On the 24th December here arrived in this Bay about 36 *Surat Vessels* which helped the Sidy of Danda Rajapore against *Sevagee* promising great matters and on the contrary here is an Envoy from *Sevagee* himself who courts your President to assist him against the Mogull he promising likewise great rewards. Your President keeps fair with both and trusts in God to procure reputation and advantage from both sides¹⁷."

(e) "ORDERED That (in regard wee are in a fair way of composing our difference with *Sevagee* agreeable to our demands, and there being now with him Naran-sinay treating thereupon, the *Revenge* frygatt if she meetes with any of *Sevagees* vessels belonging to Rajapore, she treats them civilly and not offer in the least to make prize of them¹⁸."

(f) "We desire you also to take notice, that *Sevagee concerned and affronted* at our favouring the Siddy, and hath sent the President a message that we must not except peace with him if we assist the Siddy or permitt his vessels to winter here, and in truth it will be so great a prejudice to this Island that we have determined not to admitt them, and therefore we have already prepared you before hand to answer what demands the Governor of Surat may propose unto you concerning that affair and we hope our moderate proceeding with the said Siddy here and your prudent application at Surat, will qualify any displeasure the King of the Governor of Suratt may take against us, for not admitting the Siddy's fleet to winter here, notwithstanding Naran Sinay in his letter doth write that there is little hopes of procuring a peace between *Sevagee* and Siddy, yet the President doth not despair a happy effect thereof by these solid reasons which he will communicate by Mr. Oxendon for the mutual advantage of both parties."¹⁹

(g) "We do by no means approve of your proceedings in not going to give *Sevagee's* General a visit when he came to Carwar, and we are of an opinion it will be resented. We would have you carry yourselves very civilly and courteously to all *Sevagee's* Generals and ministers of State, for in all likelihood he will make himself master of all these places, and then it will be our interest to gain their favour. You may thus govern yourselves with prudence"²⁰

Therefore, the English tried to make a treaty with Shivaji, of which an account has already been given.

5. *But the English were ready to use arms against Shivaji if the occasion required it :—*

15. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 106, p. 12, (2nd set).

16. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 6, p. 7, and original correspondence 3734 dated 6th Jan. 1673.

17. *Original correspondence*, 3741, p. 50 dated 11 Jan. 1673.

18. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 3, p. 71 dated 15th August 1673.

19. *Orme Mss.*, Vol. 114, Sect. 4 p. 98, dated 9th April 1674.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 112, dated 13th May 1675.

The English had very early realised that their trade could not prosper unless the natives could realise that they were strong enough to protect themselves and their trade. This is clear from this following extract :—

(a) "The times doe grow soe dangerous and uncertaine here in these parts by reason of the Prince of Orungabauds joyning with Sevagee against the Mogull and the miserable ruin which Sevagees army hath made in all these adjacent townes by fire, sword and plunder that wee feare the trade will not recovered againe in some yeares, most eminent merchants publicly declaring their resolutions to leave the towne and convey their estates to other places more secure. They talke of Bombay expressing their firme intentions to settle there, which wee much encourage them to. Had the Company bin pleased to send any considerable strength of men with these ships, it would have bin a greate encouragement to transport their familys thither, but soe long as they see us soe weakly mannd, they cannot reasonably thinke themselves more secure there then in other places."²¹

(b) "Yesterday by a letter from the Deputy Governor and Councill at Bombay wee are advised that *Sevagy is making great preparations both by sea and land*, having, as tis credibly reported a fleet of 160 sayle of vessells, small and great, and an army of Inca : (*sic*) 30,000 men by land, but his intended desaigne is unknowne. Nevertheless, our friends at Bombay are prudently jealous least he make an attempt on them, and therefore desire to have a recrute of powder sent, as alsoe the 26 menn which came up with the Cairo, of which having duly considered wee...do resolve to send downe the hoigh DISPATCH with 200 Mds. of Powder...And in consideration that wee cannot returne them their 25 souldiers, of whome in these perilous times there is a necessity to guard the Companies treasure that is a coyning at Surratt, we conclude it necessary to enorder the Deputy Governor and Councill to list so many menn for the present juncture of affaires as they shall think fitt, provided they disband them againe when the danger is over."²²

But the following extracts are more definite in their intentions :—

(a) "We have thought good to send *Voggee* our broker, with a letter to Sevagee to demand what damages his army has done to the Company's Estate in *Hubeley*, which if he does not immediately grant and give us some security that we may be free from such disturbances hereafter, we judge it will be in vain to dally any longer with him, but must take some smart coarse to revenge the wrongs we have received and to do the Company and Nation right."²³

(b) "If in case Sevagee does not give us satisfaction touching the injury done us, we shall then with you conclude it necessary to revenge ourselves."²⁴

(c) "ORDERED That the *Revenge* fraygatt doe fall downe and lye afloate at the mouth of the harbour of Mazgaon to secure the Company's and Mogull's vessells there and that some small boats be kept on floate to be ready on all occations to secure them."²⁵

At last, in connection with the Underi-Khanderi (Henry-Kendry) affair, the English did take up arms against Shivaji. This affair, as we shall see, was harmful to both and both wanted peace on honourable terms. Therefore, Shivaji welcomed terms when they were offered. But, it made clear to all that in the water the Indians were no match for the English-men. The

21. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 31, No. 3496, dated Swally Marine, 14th Oct. 1670. (Surat to Carwar).

22. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3, p. 112, dated 24th Nov. 1670.

23. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 106, fols. 109-110, dated the 14th May 1673.

24. *Orme Mss.*, Vol. 114, sect. 2, p. 82, dated the 6th June 1673.

25. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, p. 55, dated the 3rd June 1673.

latter have however always been prudent men and they were finding out when to bow down and when to strike.

6. "*Prudence requires us not to make the breach wider*"—*In these words, one phase of their policy can be summed up.*

"The towne being allarmd by Sevagees forces, and gates shutt up by order of the Governour, the Moody was ordered to gett in a readines Provisions of Biskett, Butter, Rice, Doll, &ca. for 1 month and maund of powder to be sent on board the *Recovery* at Umra, with order, (by consent of the part owners) to hale her of the ground that she may ride affloat for our security in case wee should be driven to leave house...."²⁶

That they have acted prudently can be seen from the following extracts :—

(a) "Letters being received yesterday from Bombay and read in Councell Touching the prohibition which Sevagy hath enorder'd for cutting of fire wood in the Islands by the maine that the Deputy Governour and Councell be ordered not to offerr any thing of force to Sevagys people for procury of sayd wood, but that they write a civill letter to the Governour of Cull (i) an Bundy to complaine of the said prohibition."²⁷

(b) "We shall only advice that in these weighty affairs you act with prudence and moderation."²⁸

(c) "On the 24th December here arrived in this Bay about 36 *Surrat Vessels* which helped the Sidy of Danda Rajapore against Sevagee the Commanders whereof both court President to assist them against Sevagee promising great matters and on the contrary here is an Envoye from Sevagee himself who courts your President to assist him against the Mogull he promising likewise great rewards. Your President keepes fair with both and trusts in God to procure reputation and advantage from both sides."²⁹

In the following, "prudence" has become "cunningness" :—

"To this you must answer that as to matter of engaging with or assisting him in his warrs, he cannot with reason expect it from us, who are merchants and have a great estate of the Honble. Company's and a vast trade in all his diminions; but you may give him this assurance in generall that when a firme peace is established concluded with him he need not want anything that England affords, and in this you must be carefull that you *doe not positively promise nor positively deny* him anything but onely in generall tearmes you may promise him the same advantages with the Mogull and other Princes with whome wee traffique enjoy from us."³⁰

(b) "...but we would not positively have them promise him those Granadoes, Morter pices and *ammunition he desires*, nor absolutely deny him, in regard wee doe not think itt convenient to help him against Danda Rajapore, which place, if it were in his possession, would proove a great *annoyance* to the port of Bombay; and on other side, our denyall is not consistent at present with our interest, in respect wee believe the *keeping in suspence* will bring him to a speedier conclusion of the treaty, hoping thereby, to be furnished with thos things he desires; therefore they must use such arguments as may perswade him to come to a speedy accomodation with us, which (is) the cheife intent of our sending them over....

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 156, dated the 7th October 1673.

27. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3, p. 98, dated 28 October 1670.

28. Surat to Bombay, *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 31, No. 3505, dated Swally Marine, 29th October 1670.

29. *Original Correspondence*, 3741, p. 50, dated 11th Jan. 1673.

30. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 22, No. 3585, dated Surat 25th Sept. 1671.

Wee had almost forgott to advise that a convenient present be sent to Sevagy by Mr. Ustick and also he sett out in a handsome equepage befitting the Companies Honour, which wee leave you to performe as you shall see fitting."³¹

A very deep prudence can be read in the following :—

"By land they (the Portuguese) are our bucler against the invasions of the Mogull, or Sevagee, and we theirs by sea, and if ever the Mogull or Sevagee should attempt to besiege them by land or invade any of their territories or islands, common prudence will persuade us to aid and protect them in order to our own defence, were we not obliged to (Sic? by) treaty thereunto in regard that after they have dispossessed the Portuguese, they will then with ease by force turn us out unless the islands were all under your jurisdiction and well inhabited and fortified by the English, which if they were, you need not by God's assistance fear all the forse (forces) of India, but till then we declare in truth to you that it is safer for your island to have the Portuguses for your neighbours in all adjoining countries, then either the Mogull or Sevagee now to qualify this necessity of aiding them."³²

In the early part of 1673, Shivaji sent an envoy to the English at Bombay to settle the Rajapore affair. At this the following "prudent" decision was taken :—

"Whereupon ordered that the Treaty should be at present suspended and that civill letter should be wrote to Sevagee giveing him the reason why wee cannot as yet conclude declaring that after the noyse of Dutch Fleete is over, we would againe renew the Treaty. That the envoy be at his dispatch be gratified with a small present in regard of the trouble and charge he hath bin at in coming twice over about this business and to keepe him our friend for the better conclusion there to the Company's advantage."³³

The reason for the decision is mentioned in the extract itself.

One has to be prudent in his talk also according to the circumstances. Any one may learn this from the following extract :—

"The merchants of this Island are often troubled with the renders of the maine who demands custome for the firewood that is brought hither; wherefore you may endeavour to get his Cole or order that he take noe custome here for such things, nor timber, for he payes noe custome for such things. But if they make us pay custome they expect the like from us. You may also inquire what customes they will take for the passage of goods through his country to the Mogull or Decan Country and to gett his order to the Haveldares for their passage at the lowest rate you can."³⁴

(b) I acquainted him that when there was great hopes of a friendly accommodating the old business of Rajapore and that the President had it in his thoughts to choose persons fitt to send there, he received letters that the Factory of Hubely was plundered of a very considerable estate by his people, which had broken of his Honours thoughts for the present of settling any factory in his countreys, and hath sent me to knowne from himselfe, whither this last businesse was done by his appointment or command, or whither he did approve of the action."³⁵

31. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, p. 1, dated Swally Marine 30 Sept. 1671.

32. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 6, dated 21st Dec. 1672.

33. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, p. 23, dated the 13th Feb. 1672.

34. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 34, No. 3786, dated 17th May 1673.

35. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 34, No. 3787, dated 19th May to 17th June 1673.

That the English "prudence" included "dissemblance" can be seen from the extract :—

(a) "Yet seeing that we fail, both in the one and the other, the president declares it necessary prudence to dissemble our designs for this year, and to make an overture of settlement for Rajapore. . . ." ³⁶

(b) "As to the present condition of Sevagee whom the Gentlemen of the Surratt Counsell affirme to be in a sad perplexed condition by meanes of Bullooll Ckaun coming on the other one side and Mogull Army on the other, and therefore they conclude him incapable of doing any mischief to this Island and consequently there is no necessity of dissembling and keeping fair with him. To which wee answered that they are mistaken in their intelligence, for Sevagee is not in so ill a condition as they wrote him to be, he rather despiseth and bareth up himself manfully against all his enemyes and lately hath taken a very considerable castle called Sutarra in the heart of the Vizapore country, from whence a number of oxen are lately come to Rairee laden with rich spoyle, . . ." ³⁷

That the English knew well where to yield can be seen from the following :—

(a) "That Sevajee is much offended at your favouring the Siddie in permitting his vessells to winter att your Island, and hath exprest soe much to Narrand Sinay, wee have reason to believe, and doe noe less of the interest here, for when the Governour here, or the King's Generall near you there, shall come to understand (as certainly they will) this your Embassage, and a conclusion of a peace with the King's enemy, together with your denyall of their fleet to harbour with you, you must needs conclude that the Mogull will take us for none of his friends, and that ween must be exposed to many injuuries if the Company does not alsoe suffer in their trade. But you haveing soe often manifested to us how much the good and well being of the Island, both for provissions and traffique, depends upon an accommodation with Sevajee, together with the trade that wee expect to have by the settlement of factoryes in his country, that rather wee shall patiently endure what these people may impose on us rather then declayne the interest and benefitt of the Company in their Island." ³⁸

(b) "We do by no means approve of your proceedings in not going to give Sevagee's General a visit when he came to Carwar." ³⁹

7. *The English granted at times Shivaji's requests and demands :—*

As the English did not think "prudent" to make the breach wider "with Shivaji, they on occasions granted his requests. He generally required guns and ammunition for his wars against the Adilshahi and the Moghul Emperor [see *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, fol. 164, dated 7th April 1671 ; *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, p. 194, (2nd set) dated 12th August 1671 ; *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, p. 1, dated 30th Sept. 1671 ; *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 32, No. 3589, dated 8th Nov. 1671]. He realised the difficulties of the English in meeting his demands, for that was likely to exasperate the feelings of the Moghuls against them. He therefore suggested a way, that can be read in the following extract :—

36. *Orme Mss.*, Vol. 114, sect. 2, p. 119, dated 26th August 1673.

37. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, pp. 83-86, dated 15th Sept. 1673.

38. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, pp. 153-154.

39. *Orme Mss.*, Vol. 114, Sect. 4, p. 112, dated 13 May 1675.

"If your Hour etc. approve of sparing Sevagee 3 or 4 great guns he says he will find Portuguese that shall buy them of us as if for their own use, and soe *our name not brought in question.*"⁴⁰

And it seems that on occasions the above way was practised :—

"The two gunns formerly mentioned, the Deputy Governor hath sold to a firenchmen, who sold them to a fidalgo at Tannah and he sent them as wee since heare to *Sevagy*, they had them for 5 Rupees a Surrat maund and though they are very bad within yet with their powder and stone shott they may last a good while."⁴¹

But it is clear also from the English records that they generally sold bad guns to the Indians :—

"Wee have perused the letter our friends at Carwarr have wrote you touching their landing, what goods they shall have occasion to take out of the ships at Merje, in case the troubles should continue at Carwar and understanding that place to be a quiett under the Government of the Canara Rajah and the ways from thence secure to Hubelly, wee are of opinion that they have done well."⁴²

And on occasions they supplied some articles of war to Shivaji for barter :—

"An Envoy being lately arrived from Sevagee, and bringing letters from to the President, wherein Sevagee writes for severall things of which he is very desirous and mighty importunate for them; but the President declared to the Councill that this was a matter of consideration, and they were sensible as well as he, how much Sevagee is indebted to the Company for goods already sold him and that he could not pay with ready money, but with batty, coconutts, and beetlenutts, by reason whereof the Company were but small gainers, and that the goods *he now required* were iron, shott, and the two brass gunns, with a large quantity of copper, all which woud amount to a great summe. And the President moveing also to the Councill how prejudiciall it might be to the Company's interest if some of his requests were not graunted, he having made himselfe *very potent* and in whose country lyes now a great part of the Company's trade; which being debated it was *unanimously agreed* that shott as many as could be spared be sold him in barter for batty but noe copper without ready money; and as to the brass gunns the President desired the gentlemen of the Council to consider thereof and give in their opinions next Councill day when the preceeding matters are to be taken into consideration againe."⁴³

On the occasion of the Karnatic expedition, Shivaji requested the English to supply him some counter poisons to forestall any attempt on the part of his step-brother, Ekoji, to poison him. These articles were readily supplied by the English :—

(a) "Having this day received a message and a letter from *Sevagee Raja* by a Bramany and two others of his people requesting some cordiall stones and counter-poisons, we resolved to send about the town and bought up these following particulars to be sent him, with a civill letter, by a messenger of our own, as a small present, togather with some such fruit as these gardens afford, and to bestow upon his Bramany *Mahadogee Pantulo* three yards of broad cloth and fower veece

40. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 32, No. 3589, dated 8th Nov. 1671.

41. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, Fol. 164, dated April 1671.

42. *Original Correspondence*, No. 3896, dated 22nd 1673.

43. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 2, pp. 94-96, dated 7th July 1675.

of sandall wood, not thinking good to require the money for so small trifles although offered in his letter, considering how great a person and how much *his friendship does already may import the Honble. Company* as he grows more and more powerful and obvious to them especially his army continuing now at Gentu league 2 to 5 league distance from this place and like to do so yet some time, which when he pleases is but a dayes march.

List of the Medicines and its cost which are sent to Sevagee.

	fa.	ca.
Three cordiall stones weighing 01 oz. 10 dwt. 12 gr. Pa.	1.20.	00
Two pedras de Budgee fower pedras de Bugia	10.00	00
Two do.		
Coko das Ilhas 4 oz. 07 dwt. 00 gr.	44.00	00
Carangujee de pedra one fower	5.00	00
Do three.		
Pagodas	60.20.	00 "44

(b) * I have in a good hower received the letter *your Worshipp* sent me together with the Maldiva coconuts, the beazar and the cordiall stones, &ca. which have rejoiced me, and much to hear from my messenger Mahodeger (?e) Pontula of your great wisdom and understanding and your good friendship towards all people which satisfied me very much and I doe not doubt in the least but that you are such a person I am informed, and doe againe desire your Worshipp to procure from (*Sic?* for) me some more *Maldiva coconuts*, bazear, cordiall stones and some other sorts of good counter poysons which may procurable, and be pleased to send them to me, advising me their cost allso, whereof I entreat your Worshipp *tashrif*, which I desire you to accept of with a good will, so I shall not trouble your Worshipp any further at present."⁴⁵

(to be concluded.)

44. F. R. Fort. St. George, Vol. 1. p. 7 (4th Set), dated the 14 May 1677.

45. F. R. Fort. St. George, Vol. 27, p. 13, dated 25 May, 1677.

A STUDY OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE SOUTH DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES*

By

K. GODA VARMA, Trivandrum.

TRANSLITERATION

The system of the Royal Asiatic Society is followed for transliteration, with the following additions:—

1. *u* for the back unrounded vowel with lip-spreading occurring in Tamil, Coorg and Tuḷu.
2. *ε* for written e of Tuḷu endings of the first person.
3. *a* for the front vowel resembling cardinal vowel No. 4 in Coorg.
4. *ū* for the centralised u in the Dravidian Languages.
5. *ũ* for the final attenuated u of Malayāḷam.
6. *ə* for the centralised vowel occurring before cerebrals and also found as a termination of the first person in Coorg.
7. *ī* for the centralised i in the Dravidian Languages.
8. *d'* for the alveolar d of Malayāḷam.
9. *n* for the alveolar n occurring in between vowels in the South Dravidian languages.
10. *r'* for Malayāḷam palatalised r.
11. *r* for the hard r of Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu.
12. *l* for the Malayāḷam *ḷ* (ḷ).

[Note that written -k-, -t- and -p- of Malayāḷam are voiced spirants in *pronunciation*.]

* The following are the abbreviations of books, languages, etc. used in this article:—

Books.

CALDWELL. "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages," by Dr. CALDWELL (3rd Edition, 1913).

KITTEL. "A Grammar of the Kannada language in English," by Dr. F. KITTEL.

TUTTLE. "Dravidian Developments," by Edwin H. TUTTLE (Published by the Linguistic Society of America, 1930).

BSOS. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

Languages.

H. Hindustāni. Sk. Sanskrit.

Kan. Kanarese. Tam. Tamil.

M. Marāṭhī. Tel. Telugu.

Mal. Malayāḷam.

General.

acc. accusative.

cf. confer.

coll. colloquial.

dat. dative.

ex. example.

gen. genitive.

l w. loan word.

nom. nominative.

p. page.

pl. plural.

poet. poetic.

pp. pages.

sg. singular.

vol. volume.

The paper is an attempt to investigate the basic forms of the personal pronouns in the main South Dravidian Languages, and to explain the phonetic changes brought to manifest in those basic forms in their subsequent developments. It is only the pronouns of the first and the second person that come under the purview of the following examination, since the so-called pronouns of the third person like Tam. *avañ* 'he', *avaḷ* 'she', *adū* 'it', etc. are, in reality, from their formational and semantic point of view, demonstratives signifying that or this with the addition of suffixes for gender and number.¹ As the earlier forms and the different stages in the course of the development of the personal pronouns can be successfully adduced only on a comparison of all the forms that have come down to us not only in the nominatives but also in the inflectional bases as well as in the personal terminations of verbs, a consideration of these in their relation to the pronominal basic forms has also been made, as far as possible, under each language.

FIRST PERSON

Dr. CALDWELL considers that the long vowels of the nominatives like Tam. *nāñ* and *yāñ* and Tel. *ēñu* and *nēñu* have resulted from an emphasis usually associated with the nominatives of the personal pronouns in the Dravidian Languages.² He would, therefore, assume that the inflectional bases like *eñ-* and *nam-* are better representatives than the nominatives of the oldest shape of the pronouns with regard to the quantity of the vowel.³ Between forms exhibiting a and e CALDWELL holds that a forms are the earlier inasmuch as there is a tendency in the Dravidian to weaken a into e while there is no trace of a phonetic change in the contrary direction.⁴ He further observes that *nāñ* may have been altered from *yāñ* and that from very early times *nāñ* may have been in use as well as *yāñ*.⁵ The initial consonant *y* or *n* in *yāñ* and *nāñ* is interpreted by him as a means of expressing personality, while the final *-ñ*, he regards, as a sign of number.⁶

TUTTLE starts with the basic forms *eñ-* and *em-* for the singular and plural of the Dravidian first person, and believes like CALDWELL that emphasis produced long vowels in the nominatives.⁷ *ēñ* kept as a verb ending with weak or variable stress in Tamil, became, according to TUTTLE, *yāñ* with main stress in Tamil and probably in Kanara. He also conjectures that the initial nasals in Tam. *nāñ* and Kan. *nāñu* etc. arose through the influence of the plural forms like *nām*, *nāvu*, etc. <*nam* < **iñ-em* 'you and us', *iñ-* being the basic form of the second person singular.

I consider the basic form of the Dravidian first person to be *ēñ*. CALDWELL's surmise that *yāñ* is from *yāñ*, with the elongation of the included vowel in the nominative as a result of emphasis, is not convincing in so far as there is no evidence to show that the nominatives of the personal pro-

1. CALDWELL, page 420.

3. CALDWELL, p. 360.

5. CALDWELL, pp. 367 and 368.

7. TUTTLE, p. 28.

2. CALDWELL, page 360.

4. CALDWELL, p. 369.

6. CALDWELL, p. 370.

nouns are used only when emphasis is intended. Even in places where the speaker has no special emphasis in mind, the nominative has been widely used just to indicate the agent. It may be mentioned that in cases other than the nominative, the lengthened form of the vowel is found to have been employed in the Dravidian dialects as in Kaikāḍi *nāṅlada* 'our', Tōḍa *āṁdu* (inclusive), *yēṁdu* (exclusive) 'our', and that the nominative itself appears with a short included vowel in Baḍaga *na* 'I', Iruḷa, Baḍaga and Tōḍa *ni* 'thou', Iruḷa *navu* 'we' and Brāhūi *nañ* 'we'. It will not, therefore, be correct to attribute long vowels to any emphasis, especially laid on the nominatives as a whole. Against the views of CALDWELL and TUTTLE, it may also be mentioned that the lengthening of an initial short vowel for emphasis is nowhere to be met with in the Dravidian. On the other hand, we have instances of long vowels of initial syllables becoming short in compounds like Tam. *eḷupadu* 'seventy' cf. *ēḷu*, Tuḷu *yerpa* 'seventy' cf. *yēḷu* 'seven,' Tel. *aṇuvadi* 'sixty' cf. *āṇu* Kan. *aṇuvattu* 'sixty' cf. *āṇu*. The possibility, therefore, is for an originally long vowel of the nominative to have been shortened when suffixes of the case or number were added to it. In such instances the inflection may be supposed to be a weakening of the nominative for facilitating the base to bear the weight of the case signs.

Forms with *n* and *ñ* as Tamīḷ *nāñ* and Malayāḷam *ñāñ* may be derived from an earlier *yāñ* < **yēñ* < *ēñ*. The possibility of *y*, *l*, *v* and *b* occurring initially in a word exhibiting a change to a nasal, provided the word has a nasal in it elsewhere, has been demonstrated by me in my article on the Copper Plate Grant of Śrī Vīrārāghava Cakravartin.⁸ To the list of words quoted therein, may be added Tam. *namañ* lw. Sk. *yama-*, T. Mal. *nukam* 'yoke' lw. Sk. *yuga-* Mal. *naṅgūram* 'anchor' lw. Persian *lagūr*, Mal. *naṁbāḷi* 'a caste of wandering dealers in corn,' lw. Sk. *lambāḍa-*, Mal. Coll. *maṇṇa* < *vaṇṇa* 'the calf of the leg', Mal. *mēndōmī* 'gloriosa superba' cf. Tam. *vēndōṇḍri*, Mal. *ṇaṇḍū* < **yaṇḍū* cf. Tel. *eṇḍri* and Kan. *eṇḍrakāyi*, Mal. *nindu* < **yintu* 'swim' cf. Tel. Idu.

The Dravidian basic form *ēñ* changed to *yēñ* in a good number of languages in accordance with a tendency in them to pronounce the initial front vowels *ē* and *ī* with a prothetic *y*. There are people who go to the extent of even writing *y* before *e* as *yeluttū* for Mal. *eḷuttū*. In MANNER'S *Tuḷu Dictionary* all words beginning with *e* appear in transliteration as *ye*. It may be noted that in some of the North Indo-Aryan speeches also *y* is often prefixed to *ē* and *v* to *ō* occurring in the initial positions. Cf. Marāṭhī (y) *ēñē* 'to come', (y) *ēthē* 'here' etc.⁹ The opening of *ē* to *ā* in Dravidian is often met with in the Coll. dialect as in Tam. *vāṇḍām* for it. *vēṇḍām* cf. Mal. *vēṇḍa*, Kan. *bēḍu* 'to beg', Tel. *vēṇḍu* 'to pray, beg', Tel. *yālakki* 'cardamom' for earlier *ēlakki*, *yāta* 'picota' for earlier *ēta* all indicating an original root vowel *ē*, Mal. *māḍū* 'a hillock' for *mēḍū* see '*māḍum māmalayumokkeduttu*' (Rāmacaritam) Cf. Tam. *mēḍu* 'height', Tel. *mēḷillu* 'to in-

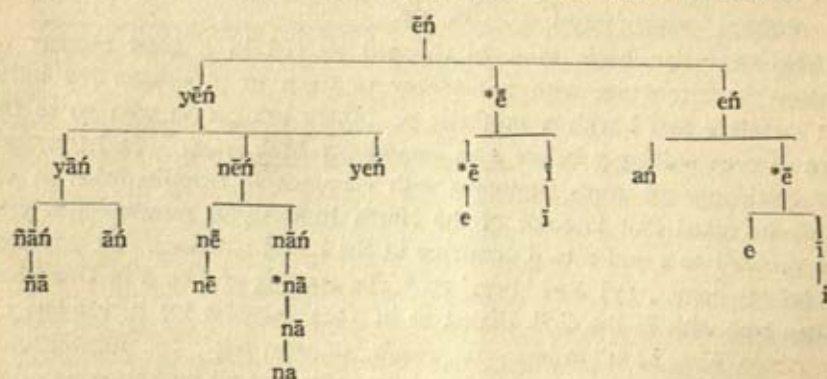
8. BSOS. 8. 959 ff.

9. GRIERSON, *Indian Antiquary*, August 1933, p. 143 ff.

crease'. See also Tadbhavas like Kan. *sāse* and *sāne* from Sk. *śēṣa-* and *sēnā*, *sāle* 'cloth' for H. M. *cēlā*. The opening of *ē* to *ā* has been observed by TUTTLE also instances like *yāka* < *yēka* < *ēka*. L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, in his article on the interrogative base of the Dravidian, draws attention to a number of Tamīl words like *āḍu*, *āḍu*, *āmai* whose Telugu equivalents exhibit *ē* instead of *ā*.¹⁰ He postulates in these instances an original *ā* which, developing a palatal tonality, became *yā* and then changed to *ē*. Against this assumption, it may be said that the tendency in the Dravidian is to open an original *ē* into *ā* under favourable conditions and not the reverse, as is evidenced from the Tadbhavas quoted above. It may also be observed that Sk. *yā* is under no circumstances pronounced as *yē* or *ē* in the loan words. The fact that it is only a short vowel that is usually influenced by the preceding consonants has been made clear by me in my article 'The change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan loan words of Malayālam'.¹²

As the personal terminations are, by virtue of their position as final members of combined grammatical elements, likely to preserve older forms better than the nominatives which are used by themselves, and in view of the fact that forms with *ē* both in the personal terminations and the inflectional bases are found to exist in most of the Dravidian languages, it may reasonably be conjectured that the pronominal base of the Dravidian first person had *ē* and not *ā* as the included vowel. It has already been pointed out that the short vowel in the inflections is due to a reduction of the word when suffixes are added. Variations in the personal terminations have, no doubt, occurred in the subsequent history of the separate dialects; but these will be seen, for the most part, to have been brought about by the loss of the final consonant, the shortening or weakening of the vowel and the analogical influence of one set of terminations on the other.

The gradual stages of the phonetic developments observable in the basic form of the Dravidian pronoun of the first person are as shown below :—



10. TUTTLE, p. 29.

11. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXI, 1932, pp 5 & 25.

12. *BSOS*, 8. 559-562.

An examination of the nominatives and the inflectional bases of the first person in the various dialects will clearly indicate that the development of *y* before *ē* of *ēñ*, the opening of the front vowel and the nasal assimilation had all been brought to play in the Proto-Dravidian itself. In support of the above assumption may be quoted Telugu forms *ēñu* and *nēñu* 'I'. Similarly Kurukh *ēm* 'we' and *nām* 'you and I' also presuppose the inheritance in that language of the phonetic changes discussed above. The appearance of *ī* 'I' (*ī* of course going back to **ēñ* cf. TUTTLE p. 39) and *nañ* 'we' exhibiting the same developments referred to in a language like Brāhūi, spoken in a district far removed from the main Dravidian stock, is sufficient evidence to point to the antiquity of the sound changes referred to.

The nasalisation which was merely a phonetic change in the first instance may have helped, at a later stage, towards the development of the inclusive plural. The absence of the inclusive plural in Kanarese¹³ in spite of its possessing two sets of forms, one with nasalisation and the other without, is sufficient evidence to show that both of them are plurals sprung from the same basic form of the first person, and have not arisen, as TUTTLE suggests, from a combination like **in-em* 'you and us.' TUTTLE, in order to support the theory advanced by him, also argues that Kanarese along with languages like Gōṇḍī and Brāhūi had lost the special meaning of the inclusive plural and that the distinction between the two plurals was a basic feature of the Dravidian.¹⁴ Against this, it may be pointed out that in every language it is the exclusive plural that arises first, plural implying inclusion being a later development. If different forms for conveying the ideas of exclusive and inclusive plurality had existed originally, there is no reason why the distinction between them which is so essential in a language should be lost after its taking hold of the linguistic consciousness of the people speaking the language concerned. The statement of R. NARASIMHACHARYA 'I think Kannaḍa does possess two forms of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person just like its sister languages of Southern India'¹⁵ is rather indefinite and shows that he himself is in doubt as to whether such a distinction really exists in Kanarese or not.

The evolution of the existing forms of the first person in the different Dravidian idioms and their connection with the supposed *ēñ* are enquired in the following paragraphs :—

Tamil. Singular :—nom. *nāñ* < *yāñ* < **yēñ* < *ēñ*. *yāñ*, the earlier form of *nāñ* has survived in poetical Tamil. acc. *eññai* < *ēñ-ai* of which *ēñ* was shortened to *eñ-* before the acc. ending *-ai* and *ñ* doubled as it occurred after the mainstressed short vowel *e* of *eñ-*. The doubling of *ñ* may have taken place on the analogy of stem-finals in substantives. Dat. *ehakkui* formed from an old genitive **ēñ-a* with the addition of *-ku*. The final *ñ* of *ēñ-* has not doubled since in the old genitives the stress was laid on the suffix *-a* conveying

13. CALDWELL, p. 414.

14. TUTTLE, p. 29.

15. *History of Kannaḍa language*, p. 84.

the sense of possession cf. Tel. *nā* 'my' with aphaeresis of *e*. The length of *k* in *ehakkū* is perhaps due to the contact of the suffix with the accented vowel. Coll. *nēkkū* < **ehēkkū* with the change of *a* to *e* in the second syllable brought about by the influence of *e* of the preceding syllable. The initial unstressed *e* has elided causing the lengthening of the vowel in the next syllable. gen. *ehadu* goes back to earlier genitive *eña* with the addition of the neuter formative *-du*; also *ehūḍaiya* < **ēñ-uḍaiya*. *eñ* also is used as a genitive cf. *eñ-kuḷandai* 'my child'. This is analogous to compound forms like *matputraḥ* etc. in Sanskrit. *eñ* in the genitive sense is never used by itself and this would account for the shortening of the vowel. Termination: *-ēñ* see *vand-ēñ* 'I came'; also rarely *-eñ* and *-añ* both of which are weakened from *-ēñ* see *varuv-eñ* and *varuv-añ* 'I will come.'

Plural:—Inclusive nom. *nām* < *yām* < **yēm* < *ēm*. acc. *nammai* < **nām-ai* dat. *namakkū* gen. *namadu*; also *nam* and *nammuḍaiya*. Exclusive nom. *nāṅai* < *yām-kaḷ*. That *-kaḷ* was suffixed to the plural forms with final *-m* and not to singulars like *nāñ*, will be clear from *u* found in *uṅgal* < **im-kaḷ*. Refer second person acc. *eṅgaḷai*. dat. *eṅgaḷikkū* with the development of *ū* between *l* and *kkū*; also *eṅgaḷkū* in which *l* is changed to a cerebral stop. gen. *eṅgaḷuḍaiya*; also *eṅgaḷ* usually in compounds cf. sg. *en. yām* too occurs as plural inclusive in poetry. acc. *emmai*. dat. *emakkū* gen. *emadu* and *emmuḍaiya*. Termination: coll. *ōm* ex. *naḍand-ōm*. The suffix *-ōm* may have been formed from *-om* < **-am* < **-em*, a reduced form of *ēm*. *-om* for weak-stressed *-am* is obviously due to the influence of the labial. The vowel in *-om* was lengthened through the influence of the long forms like classical *ām*. CALDWELL gives *-em*, *-am*, *ām* and *-ōm* as the classical forms, all of which admit of being traced to *-ēm*.

Malayāḷam. Singular:—nom. *nāñ* < **yāñ* < **yēñ* < *ēñ*; also coll. *nā* < *nāñ*. acc. *eñē* < **ēñ-e*. For the shortening of *ē* and the length of *ñ* see Tam. *eññai*; dat. *eñikkū* < *eñakkū* which is still used in North Malabar. The change of *a* to *i* is occasioned by the former's close contact with alveolar *ñ*. cf. Kan. *nañage*. and *nañige*. *iñikkū* (Cochin) with initial *i* for *e* is perhaps due to the influence of the close vowel *i* in the following syllable. Compare the change of *a* to *i* in Kurukh when *ə* is followed by a syllable containing *i*¹⁶; gen. *eñd'e*¹⁷ < **eñnuḍe* with the syncopation of *u* brought about by a shifting of accent and the assimilation of *d* to *ñ*. Termination: In modern Malayāḷam the verbs do not take personal terminations. In poetry, ancient as well as modern, *ēñ* with its reduced *eñ* and *-añ* arising out of *-ēñ* with weak stress, are widely employed. ex. *kaivaṇaṇṇūḍunnēñ kättukoḷvāñ*,¹⁸ *eñsarattiñu pāraṇay-*

16. GRIERSON, 'Linguistic Survey of India', Vol. IV, p. 414.

17. In Malayāḷam, stops coming after nasals in consonant groups are always voiced in actual pronunciation though represented in writing with the script for voiceless stops. The same holds good with regard to intervocalic stops as well.

18. 'Kṛṣṇagāthā' edited by P. K. Narayana PILLAI, p. 1.

akkīḍuveñ,¹⁹ *enrukāṇmañ indusāmyarucimukham*.²⁰

Plural :—exclusive nom. *ñāññal* < **nañgaḷ* < **nām-kaḷ*. *ñ* in *ñāññal* has resulted from contamination with sg. *ñāñ*. *ñām* is reduced to *ñam* before *-gaḷ* < *-kaḷ*. *ñi* for *ñg* is a regular change in Malayāḷam cf. *araññū* 'stage', *caḍ-araññū* 'ritual', *nañña* 'an unmarried Brahman girl', *caññādi* 'a companion' from Sk. *rañga-*, Sk. *ṣaḍaṅga-*, H. M. *naṅgā* and *sāṅgātī* respectively; vulgar *ñāññal* with *ā* perhaps through the influence of *ñān*. *ñāññal* is sometimes contracted into *ñāñū*. acc. *ñāññale*. dat. *ñāññalkkū*; vulgar *ñākkū*. gen. *ñāññaluḍe* with its contracted form *ñāññaḍe*. In ancient poetry *eññal-* also occurs as the inflexional base corresponding to Tamil *eñgaḷ-* cf. *kōyilkolleññal-cētaḷ* (Uṇṇunilisaṇḍēśam). Inclusive and honorific *nām* < **yām* < **yēm* < **ēm*. acc. *namme*. dat. *namukkū* < *namakkū*; *u* for *a* in *namukkū* is due to the influence of *m* and the weak stress on *a*. gen. *nammuḍe*. Dialectal *nōm* for *nām* with inflexional base *nom-* and weak-stressed *num-* is formed on the analogy of the dative *nōkkū* < **navakkū* < *namakkū*. coll. *ō* for *ava* is frequently met with in Malayāḷam see *kalōra* < *kalavara* < *kalamara* 'a store room of household utensils', *arōla* < *aravala* 'an evil spirit', *paṛōṣam* 'thin state of the body' borrowed from Sk. *paravaśa-* and *paḍōlam* < *paḍavalam* lw. from Sanskrit *paṭavala-*. We get an instance in *nōm* of a particular form of one word influencing other forms of the same word. acc. *nomme*. dat. *nōkkū*. gen. *nommaḍe* and *nummaḍe*. Another inclusive plural is *nammaḷ* with coll. *nummaḷ*. It goes back to a double plural *nām-aḷ*, where *-aḷ* is dissociated from *-kaḷ* and construed as a plural ending. *u* and *o* in the coll. forms arise from weak-stressed *a*. acc. *nammaḷe*. dat. *nammaḷkkū*. gen. *nammaḷuḍe* sometimes contracted into *nammaḍe*. Terminations :—poet. *-ōm* cf. *kaṇḍōmallō talīyiliruvam kūttu nām*.²¹ As regards the origin of *-ōm* refer Tam. *-ōm*.

Kanarese. Singular :—KITTEL has given 6 different forms.²² They are *nāñ*, *nāñu*, *nām*, *nā*, *āñ* and *ām*. Of these *nāñ* and *āñ* (with their variants *nāñu* and *āñu*) are current in modern Kanarese.²³ *nāñ-u* < *yāñ*, *nā*²⁴ < **nā* cf. Mal. coll. *ñā*; *āñ* < *yāñ* with the elision of *y*; ancient *ām* for *āñ* and *nām* for *nāñ* in the singular have probably originated from *ā* and *nā* < **āñ* and *nāñ*, the nasalized vowels showing fluctuations between *n* and *m* in pronunciation. cf. Tam. *marañ* and *maram* 'tree', *kaḍañ* and *kaḍam* 'debt'. The pronunciation of 'sev'm' for 'seven' obtaining in spoken English exhibits a similar sound change. Acc. *nañña* < **nāñ-a* < **nāñ-am* cf. earlier *naññam* and *eññam* in which *-am* perhaps represents *-a* < *-āñ*; *naññañu* < *naññañ(u)*

19. 'One hundred and eleven days' *Āṭṭakkathakaḷ* edited by K. Gopala PILLAI, p. 29.

20. 'Naḷacaritam Third Day's Kathakaḷi,' edited by A. R. Rajaraja VARMA, p. 21.

21. 'Uṇṇunilisaṇḍēśam', edited by A. K. PISHARODY, p. 144.

22. KITTEL, *A Grammar of Kannaḍa Language in English*, p. 76.

23. See the table given by R. NARASIMHACHARYA, on p. 86 of his book *History of the Kannaḍa Language*.

24. Quoted by CALDWELL, see p. 416.

<*nāñ-āñ(u) in which final *u* has developed as a prop up. Cf. *nāñu*; *nāñña-nñu* <*nāññam-nñu seems to be a form produced by the cross analogy of earlier *nāññam* and later *nāññañu*. dat. *nāñage* <*nāñña-ge* earlier genitive *nāñña* with *ge*; also *nāñige* cf. Mal. *eñikkū*; KITTEL quotes *nāñge* and *eñage* also; *nāñge* <*nāñ-ge, *eñage* <*eñña-ge*. Gen. *nāñña* goes back to earlier *nāñña*; the length of *n* in *nāñña* may have resulted, as TUTTLE thinks, from the accidental likeness of genitives and accusatives. Genitives with the addition of the neuter formative *du* are also found cf. *eñña-du*, *eñña-du* and *nāñña-du*.

Termination :—*-ēñe*, *-ēñu* and *-ēñu*. The use of the long and short forms and the modification of the final vowels will be found to have been associated with particular senses. The present and the perfect have *-ēñe* ex. *nāñu bariyuttēñe* 'I write', *nāñu barididdēñe* 'I have written'. *-ēñu* appears in the past and the second future and the negative mood ex. *baridēñu* 'I wrote', *bariyuēñu* 'I shall write', *bariyēñu* 'I do, did, shall not write', while *-ēñu* is met with only in the first future ex. *baridēñu* 'I may write'. Perhaps the final *-e* of *ēñe* is a particle added to give the meaning of emphasis or to express the 'self' quite distinctly, and *u* a vocalism developing after final consonants. The shortening of *ē* of *-ēñ* must be attributed to the loss of stress, although the factors responsible for the same cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Plural :—nom. *nāvu* <*nām-u* the change of *-m-* to *-v-* is common in Kanarese, cf. *bevaru* for *bemaru* 'sweat', *kanñeve* for *kanñeme* 'eye-lid.' I cannot agree with TUTTLE that the supposed *v*-variants of the pronouns may be merely scribal blunder²⁵. For the *v*-variants are found more largely in the language spoken by illiterate people than in the language of the learned. Moreover instances of scribal blunders affecting spoken languages are not known. It may also be noted that the tendency is found in other Dravidian languages also. cf. Mal. *cuvappū* 'redness' for earlier *cumappū* see Kan. *kem-* 'red', Mal. *cuvāñū* for earlier *cumāñū*, Mal. *cuvāñū* <*cumāñū*, see Mal. *cummu* 'to bear a load', Mal. *cavari* 'yak' lw. Sk. *camari*; Mal. *javiñi* 'double cloth' lw. Pk. *jamala-*; also compare the change of *-m-* to *niv* in Ardhamāgadhi which in modern Indo-Aryan is represented by *v*. acc. *namma*, *nammañu*, *nammaññu* and *emmaññu* (see the singular forms) dat. *namage* and *emage*. gen. *namma*, *emma*. In Kanarese there is no distinction between the plural inclusive and the plural exclusive. TUTTLE infers that the distinction of the two plurals had existed in the Primitive Dravidian and that Kanarese has lost the special meaning of the inclusive plural although the compound plural (**in-em*) is represented as a matter of form.²⁶ NARASIMHACHARYA is inclined to think that Kanara possesses two forms of the plural and gives *ām* as the inclusive and *nām* as the exclusive in the old Kannaḍa and *nāvu* and *nāvugūḷu* in the modern dialect²⁷. Termination : *-ēv* (*u*) with its simplified *-ev* (*u*) and *-ēv* (*e*) <*-ēm* (*e*) ex. *nāvu hoḍeyuttēve* 'we beat', *nāvu hoḍeyuvevu* 'we shall beat', *nāvu baridēvu* 'I may write.'

25. TUTTLE, p. 30.

26. TUTTLE, p. 29.

27. NARASIMHACHARYA : *History of Kannaḍa Language* p. 84.

Coorg Singular :—nom. *nānu* < *yān .nu* acc. *nañña* < * *eñña* in which final *a* goes back to *e* cf. Mal. *eññe*. *n* in *nañña* is perhaps due to the influence of the dative and the genitive. dat. *nāku* < *eñaku* with aphaeresis of *e* and the compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the following syllable. gen. *nāḍa* formed from earlier *eña-* with *ḍa*. There is also a genitive *ḍḍa* which must have arisen out of an obsolete nom. *ḍ* < *ē* < *ē* < *ēn* with the addition of the suffix *ḍa*. The centralization of *ē* before *ḍ* is frequently seen in Coorg. Termination : There are two different terminations used. They are (1) *-i* as in *koḍūpi* 'I give', *kuḷipi* 'I bathe' (2) *-ḍ* as an *nānu nindiyḍ* 'I stand', *nānu nindḍ* 'I stood', *nānu nippiciḍḍ* 'I make him stand'. *-i* and *ḍ* are probably variants of *ē*.

Plural : There is only one form for both exclusive and inclusive plurals in Coorg although TUTTLE quotes inclusive *naṅga* and exclusive *eṅga*.²⁸ Nom. *naṅga* < **nām-gaḷ* with the elision of final *ḷ*. See *uṇḍengi* for earlier *uṇḍengil* cf. Mal. *uṇḍengil*. acc. *naṅgaḷa* < *naṅgaḷe*. dat. *naṅgaku* < *naṅgaḷku* with assimilation and simplification of the long consonant. gen. *naṅgaḍa* < *naṅgaḷ-ḍa*. Termination : The exact nature of the termination could not be identified for there has been much simplification and unification cf. *ḍḍitatu* 'we, he, she, it or they took.'

Tulu. Singular :—nom. *eñnu* (Brāhman's dialect) < *ēñ*, and *yānu* (folk dialect) < *yāñ*. It may be noted that both the retention of the earlier *ē* and its opening to *ā* are found in Tulu. acc. *eñānu*. The usual accusative ending is *-nu* or *nu* cf. *ammaṇnu* acc. of *amma* 'mother', *guruñnu* acc. of *guru* 'a priest.' *a* in *eñānu* is perhaps due to the accusative having been formed from the genitive. Instances of the dative and the accusative being formed by adding suffixes to the genitive ending could be met with in Telugu also.²⁹ Cf. *biḍḍalaku* (dat.) *biḍḍalañnu* (acc.) formed from *biḍḍala* genitive of *biḍḍalu* 'a child' dat. *eñku* gen. *eñ*. In addition to *eña* there is also a genitive *eñño* < * *eññau* probably borrowed, as TUTTLE infers, from Kan.³⁰ *eññadu* with the opening of *-a-* between vowels. Termination : *ε* < **ē* < **en* < *ēn*. ex. *maḷpuv-ε* 'I make,' *maḷt-ε* 'I made,' *maḷp-ε* 'I will make.' Though the first person singular and the third person masculine are spelt alike in all tenses, they are pronounced differently, the former as *ε* and the latter like *e* in men.³¹

Plural :—exclusive nom. *eñkuḷu* < * *ēm-kaḷu* with the attraction of *a* to *u*. acc. *eñkuḷeñnu* < * *eñkuḷa-nu*, with the change of *a* to *e* by the side of *ḷ* cf. *baḷapuñi* and *baḷepuñi* 'to grow'. In Malayāḷam *a* following *ḷ* shows very often colloquial *e* as *vaḷare* and *vaḷere* 'very much' cf. also emphatic *vaḷēre*. *eñkuḷa-nu* will be thus seen to have been formed from earlier genitive *eñkuḷa* written now as *eñkuḷe* but pronounced *eñkuḷa*. dat. *eñkuḷegu* < *eñkuḷa-gu* gen. *eñkuḷe* < *eñkuḷ-a*. TUTTLE supposes that the plural genitive ending *-e* is perhaps derived from *-e* < *-ai* similar to the genitive ending *-ai* in Kui as

28. TUTTLE, p. 32.

29. See *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu language* by ARDEN, pp. 50-51.

30. TUTTLE, p. 35.

31. BRIGEL, *A Grammar of the Tulu language*, p. 47.

nai 'my' (beside *nā*) and *mai* (besides *mā*) 'our'. I think the ending -e of Tuḷu is better explained as arising out of the influence of the cerebral *l* on an original *a* in the manner discussed above. The plural genitive in Malayāḷam may also have helped towards the pronunciation of earlier *a* as *e*. In colloquial Malayāḷam plural genitives like *ñāññale* 'our', *ninñale* 'your', *avañe* 'theirs' are largely used. Cf. *ñāññale viḍḍu* 'our house,' *nāykkale vālū* 'the tales of dogs.' Perhaps it was an original *ñāññal-a* that became *ñāññale* not only through the tendency to pronounce *a* occurring by the side of *l* as *e*, but also through contamination with the contracted form *ñāññade* < *ñāññal-uḍai*, *uḍai* meaning possession, affixed to *ñāññal* instead of usual -a. In Tamil also we find *uḍai* affixed to the nouns and pronouns with the difference that *a* is further added to *uḍai* so as to form a double possessive. Cf. Tam. *eññuḍaiya*. The occurrence of such a change in Malayāḷam in the genitive plurals only, unlike in *Kui* which has a common -ai both for the singular and the plural, and the geographical proximity of Tuḷu and Malayāḷam go to support the above assumption. The genitive also occurs as *eñkuleña* and *eñkuleño*. The first is from *eñkule* with the addition -nau < *n* generalized from former *n*-stems and *au* corresponding to Kanarese *adu* 'that'.³² The first form shows the disappearance of *u* in the final position while the second manifests the contraction of *au* to *o*. Inclusive *nama* probably borrowed from Mal. *namaḷ* with simplification of the double consonant. acc. *namahu* see *eñahu*. dat. *nañku*. gen. *nama* < **nām-a*, with shortening of the base vowel before -a, was developed like *eña* earlier than the principle of doubling;³³ also *nammo* < **nammau* < **nammadu*. Termination: -a ex. *eñkulū uppuva* 'we are.' That there has been a movement towards simplification of the terminations in Tuḷu like in Coorg, is evidenced from the same forms for first person plural, second person singular and third person neuter plural. Cf. *tūta* 'we have seen, thou hast seen and they (neuter) have seen.' It is impossible to identify the history of this -a.

Telugu. Singular:—nom. *nēhu* < **yēñ-u*; also *nē*³⁴ < **nē* < *nēñ*; classical *ēñu* < *ēñ*, and *ē*³⁵ < **ē* < **ēñ*. acc. *namnu* < **eña-ñ* (*u*). *ñu* is added to genitives to form accusatives cf. *biḍḍala* 'of children' and acc. *biḍḍalañu*. As in the genitive and in the dative, the first syllable is 'weak-stressed' as a result of which it elides elongating the next one, the length in this case consisting in the doubling of the suffix -n. Final *u* is a later addition. dat. *nāku* < **eñakku* with aphaeresis of *e* and the lengthening of the following vowel cf. Tel. *ḍā* for earlier *eḍa* 'left', Tam. *ñōkkū* < *ōñakku* < *uñakku* 'to thee.' gen. *eña*. Termination: -*āñu* and its reduced -*añu* ex. *nēñukoḷḷāñu* 'I strike,' and *nēñu kotti-t-īñi* in which *īñi* is perhaps from older -*añu*. The change of *ē* of *ēñu* to *ā* in -*āñu* is probably brought about by the influence of the third person masculine -*āḍu*. It can be seen that in Telugu the third person shows its influence in the second person also. Cf. *nēñu koḷḷutāñu* 'I strike,'

32. See TUTTLE, p. 35.

34. CALDWELL, p. 363.

33. TUTTLE p. 28.

35. CALDWELL, p. 363.

nīvu koṭṭutāvu 'thou strikest, *vāḍu koṭṭutāḍu* 'he strikes.' In the past tense there are two forms, one with a long vowel and the other with a short vowel. ex. *nēnu koṭṭi-ñ-āṇu* and *nēnu koṭṭi-t-īni*. [Note :—In *koṭṭi-ñ-āṇu* -ñ- is usually explained as euphonic analogous to *ñ* in Tamil *pāḍiñāṇ* 'he sang' etc. CALDWELL observes :—"Whatever be the origin of this *ñ*, it cannot be doubted that its use in Tamil is at present wholly euphonic ; and this statement applies also to the use of the same *ñ* in the preterite relative participle of Telugu."³⁶ I should think that it is only a phonetic development of an original -y- coming as a glide between -i of *koṭṭi* and *ā* of *āṇu*, the nasalisation being called forth by the influence of *ñ* of -āṇu. The past tense for the same verb in Malayālam is *koṭṭi* for all persons and all numbers and the past relative participle is *koṭṭi* (y) *a* in spoken Malayālam. When we compare this with the present relative participle *koṭṭunn-a*, the fact that *y* is a glide sound will be quite clear. CALDWELL's view that Dravidian tenses are formed from participial forms of the verb³⁷ needs careful consideration. Participles like Mal. *koṭṭunna* (present) and *koṭṭiya* (past) are obviously made from a present stem *koṭṭund-* and a past stem *koṭṭi-* with the addition of -a, an adjectival suffix. Cf. *vella* 'white' from *vel-*, *nalla* 'good' from *nal-*. To say the finite verbs as Tamil *pāḍiñāṇ*, Kan. *māḍidaṇu* 'he did' are nouns of agency formed from relative participles by adding terminations will not be correct, in so far as *pāḍiñā*+*āṇ* could never give a long *a* in combination according to the Dravidian rules of Sandhi. Cf. Mal. *vanna*+*āl*=*vannayāl* but never *vannāl*. In such instances the development of a glide sound is inevitable in the Dravidian. Even in words like Mal. *koṭṭunnavañ* 'he who is beating' and *koṭṭiyavañ* 'he who beat', it will be easily perceived that the components are the present *koṭṭund-* and the past *koṭṭi*, with the third person pronoun *avañ*. I do not see any reason why *koṭṭunnavañ* should be explained as *koṭṭunna* a relative participle and *avañ*. -ñ-, therefore, in forms like Tel. *koṭṭi(n)āṇu* is only a nasal that has come in the place of an original glide -y- by reason of its being influenced by the nasal in the following syllable. It is evidently a wrong analysis of words like Tam. *koṭṭiñavañ* as *koṭṭiñā* and *avañ* that has been responsible for the participles in -ñā as Tam. *koṭṭiñā*, Tel. *koṭṭiñā* etc. which were perhaps originally *koṭṭiya*. An incorrect analysis in the speaker's mind, must have, in this way, led to the analogical extension of *ñā* forms in participles, so much so that *ya* forms were completely lost in Telugu and colloquial Tamil. CALDWELL is however right when he says that -iya in adjectives like Tam. *paṇṇiya* is compounded of *i*, a sign of the preterite sense and *a*, the sign of the relative participle with the addition of *y* inserted euphonica³⁸. It may be noted that in classical Tamil as in colloquial Malayālam -iya is the sign of the preterite relative participle of ordinary verbs.] *koṭṭitini* is perhaps earlier *koṭṭi-t-āṇu*. *a* of *koṭṭitaṇu* influenced by *i* probably became *i*, and this in its turn modified *nu* into *ni*

36. CALDWELL, p. 503.

38. CALDWELL, p. 313.

37. CALDWELL, p. 486.

Similarly in the indefinite tense Telugu shows in the first person *koṭṭudaṇu* <**koṭṭudaṇu* (*aṇu* simplified from *āṇu*) *u* of *ud* has assimilated the *a* of *aṇu*.

Plural :—Exclusive nom. *mēmu* <**nēmu* <**yēmu* with *m* for initial *n* on account of its being influenced by the final *m* cf. Tel. *mācipāmu* 'a venomous snake' by the side of *naṇcu* 'poison'. It is not necessary to assume, as TUTTLE has done, that *m* in *mēmu* came from **nām* (*u*) which was perhaps also a partial source of the added *n-* of *nēṇu* in accord with Kanara and Tamil developments.³⁹ SUBBIAH has quoted also a form *nēmu*⁴⁰ found in the Telugu Bhāratam; classical *ēmu* <*ēm-*, acc. *mammu* <**maṇṇu* <**ema-ṇ(u)* see sg. *naṇṇu*. *mm* for *ṇṇ* in *mammu* is perhaps the result of its being influenced by the nom. *mēmu*; *mammuṇu* is a double accusative with the suffix *ṇu* added to *mammu*; *mammulaṇu* is perhaps formed from *mammu* with *l*, a suffix of the nom. plural of the substantives. dat. *māku* <**emakku*. gen. *mā* <**ema*. Inclusive nom. *maṇamu*. TUTTLE derives *maṇamu* from **maṇām(u)* going back to **nāmu*. He observes that in early Telugu, stress displacement was common and changed *nama* to *maṇā*. The change of *nama* to *maṇā* with a sound displacement accompanying stress displacement as in *vrēlu* <**veralu* <*viral* = Tam. *viral* 'finger' produced according to him, a general stem *maṇa*.⁴¹ I agree with SUBBIAH⁴² that *maṇamu* is very likely to have arisen out of a confusion of the two forms *mēmu* and *nēmu* > *meṇemu* > *maṇamu*. acc. *maṇaṇu* in which *maṇa-* of the nominative has been considered as the base; *maṇalaṇu* is perhaps formed from *maṇa-* of *maṇamu* with *l* as in *mammulaṇu*. dat. *maṇaku*. gen. *maṇa*. Termination: Present and future *-āmu* ex. *koṭṭāmu* 'I buy or I shall buy'; past. *-āmu* and *amu* ex. *konn-āmu* and *koṭṭimi* 'I bought'; in *koṭṭimi* *-imi* goes back to *-amu*; indefinite *-amu* cf. *kond-umu* <**kond-amu*.

SECOND PERSON

With regard to the pronoun of the second person singular CALDWELL considers the vowel *i* as the real pronominal base.⁴³ The oldest shape of the vowel is put down by him as *i*⁴⁴ which perhaps, he believes, must have lengthened in the nominatives as a result of emphasis. The final *ṇ* of forms like Kanarese classical *nīṇ* is left out of consideration by him since it is merely a sign of the singular number.⁴⁵ Concerning the initial *n* of forms like Tamil and Malayālam *nī*, CALDWELL's view is that it did not belong to the root, but is identical with the initial *n* of *nāṇ* and that whatever the origin of one may be, the origin of the other must be the same.⁴⁶ He also observes that if the initial *n* of *nāṇ* did not belong to the root, but was a product of nasalisation, the initial *n* of *nīṇ* cannot safely be regarded as radical.

39. TUTTLE, p. 34.

41. TUTTLE, p. 34.

43. CALDWELL, p. 388.

45. CALDWELL, p. 387.

40. *Dravidic Studies*, No. 2, p. 7.

42. *Dravidic Studies*, No. 2, p. 7.

44. CALDWELL, p. 388.

46. CALDWELL, p. 388.

TUTTLE assumes **is* as the basic form of the second person singular and says that emphasis produced **is* in the nominative. **is* is changed to *ī* in Kāñara, Tamiḷ, etc. The genitive *is-a* became *ia* and then *īna* under the influence of *eña*. He further constructs **isir* as the plural and believes that another plural **im* was formed in most of the Dravidian tongues parallel with *ēm*. "The slight sonority of the sound *i* let weak-stress **īna* become **na* and with re-stressing *nā*, a form kept in Brāhūī. The influence of *na* or *nā* changed **īna* to *niña*, **ī* to *nī* and *im* to *nim* in Kanara, Tamiḷ and the Northernmost tongues."⁴⁷ In Preliterary Kanara the influence of *ān* or **yān* changed *nī* to *nīn*.⁴⁸

CALDWELL's theory that the initial *n* of *nī* is identical with the initial *n* of *nā* borders very near the truth, although the reasons advanced by him to explain the intervening steps between **i*, the basic form assumed by him and *nī* fall short of scientific precision and definiteness. With regard to the initial *n* of the first person singular *nān*, CALDWELL observes that it has, perhaps, come in the place of *y* of older *yān* in accordance with a tendency in the Dravidian dialects specially in Tamiḷ and Malayāḷam to convert *y* into *n*.⁴⁹ It may be noted that it is not all *y* that changes to *n*. CALDWELL has failed to adduce the conditions under which the change takes place⁵⁰ and his theory is defective mainly on that score. Moreover in the second person singular, there is no scope for even such an unconditioned change as indicated by CALDWELL, that is, the change of *y* to *n* in so far as CALDWELL himself has observed that no claim can be set up on behalf of *yīn* as a pronoun of the second person to correspond with the *yān* of the first person.⁵¹ TUTTLE's explanation, although ingenious in its own way, must be said to be built upon a too liberal interpretation of the mutual influence of forms. I would rather agree with CALDWELL that the second personal basic form has exhibited phonetic developments similar to those of the first person. The absence of *n* in the nominative singular like Kui *īnu*, Goṇḍī *immā*, Tuḷu *ī* together with the appearance of terminations like Kurukh *-ī* (feminine), Kui *-i*, Kan. *-ī* and *-i*, Goṇḍī *-i* and Toda *-i* goes to indicate that the primitive Dravidian form was perhaps *īn*. It has been pointed out before that *ē* and *l* invariably developed *y* in actual pronunciation in most of the Dravidian languages. *y* in *yīn*, when influenced by the nasal in the word would become *nīn*. As regards the second person plural, it may be observed that in addition to the normal *nim* corresponding to *nām*, there must have arisen even from very early times *ir* represented in verbal endings like Tam. *-ir* and Kan. *-ir*, *iri* and *iri*. That *im* was once used as one of the signs of the second person plural is evidenced by the imperatives as *kēnmiṇ* 'hear ye' given by Tamiḷ grammarians.⁵² In colloquial Malayāḷam also, forms like *irikkīn* 'sit ye', *nikkiṇ*

47. TUTTLE, p. 28.

48. TUTTLE, p. 29.

49. CALDWELL, p. 366.

50. For the conditions responsible for the change, see paragraph 5 of this paper.

51. CALDWELL, p. 387.

52. CALDWELL, p. 385.

'stand ye' are widely prevalent. *-in* in the instances quoted undoubtedly goes back to **-im*. CALDWELL has drawn attention to the fact that the *m* has a tendency to change into *n* and that the use of a final *n* as a sign of the plural of pronouns may possibly be equivalent to that of *m*.⁵³ I am inclined to think that *-um* also which appears in the second person plural of the imperative of Tamil verbs in colloquial dialect bears an identical origin. Verbs like *kēl-um* 'hear ye' must have been originally *kēl-im* where *im* is weakened *im* with the change of *i* to *u* called into being by the following *m*.

Tamil Singular:—*nom. nī < *nī < *nīn < *yīn < *īn. acc. uññai < *iññai < *īñ-ai*; for the shortening of the initial vowel and the doubling of *ñ* see first person singular *eññai*. TUTTLE would explain *u* in *uññai* etc. as the influence of the genitive *uñā* an expanded form of **na < weak-stressed ina*, with initial *u* taken from the end of preceding words.⁵⁴ I think this *u* must have first manifested itself in the plural forms like **ima* where the weak-stressed *i* by the side of *m* may have been labialized and then *u* may have been extended by analogy to the singular forms as well. *dat. uñakku*; *coll. nōkkū < *ōhokku. gen. uñadu, uññuñaiya*. In poetical Tamil *acc. nīññai, dat. nīñakku* and *gen. nīñ* occur.⁵⁵ The initial *n* in the above instances is obviously due to the influence of the nominative. Termination: *-āy* ex. *koññakku-āy* 'thou givest', *koññuñ-āy* 'thou givest' *koññuppa-āy* 'thou wilt give.' *-āy* probably is derived from earlier *āi* in which the idea denoting person is conveyed by the second element *i < *i < *īn. ā* of *-āy* is to be explained as an analogical extension of the vocalism of the third person. That there was some confusion between the termination of the second and the third person singulars in some of the Dravidian tongues, will be evidenced from the same forms employed both in the second and the third persons as in poet. Mal. *nī ceyd-āñ* 'thou did' and *avañ ceyd-āñ* 'he did,' *nī connāñ* 'thou said' and *avañ connāñ* 'he said' etc. The possibility of the vowels *i* forming second members of diphthongs becoming *y* has been demonstrated by philologists.⁵⁶

Plural:—*nīñgal* is actually a double plural going back to *nām-gal. uñgal-* is the general stem which is inflected like *eñgal*. Although *im* and *nim* have no independent existence as nominative plurals, inflexional bases in *im-* and *nim-* are employed in Tamil cf. *acc. ummai* and *nummai. dat. umakku* and *numakku gen. um, num* and *umadm* and *numadu*. It may be noticed that *num < *nim-* occurs mainly in poetical Tamil. A honorific plural nominative *nīr* has also been formed. TUTTLE considers *um-* and *num-* as the general stems of *nīr*.⁵⁷ But I think the above general stems are better connected with **im* than *nīr*. Termination: Early *-im > -im > -in* cf. Imperatives like *kāñm-in* 'see ye'; also *-um < -im* ex. *kēl-um* 'hear ye'. In modern Tamil a

53. CALDWELL, p. 409.

54. TUTTLE, p. 30.

55. ARDEN, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, p. 100.56. See BRUGMANN, *A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, Vol. I, ff. 109.

57. TUTTLE, p. 30.

double plural suffix *-irgaḷ* is added to denote plurality of the second person. ex. *vandirgaḷ* 'you have come', *tūṅgugirirgaḷ* 'you sleep' etc.

Malayāḷam : Singular :—nom. *nī* < **nī* < **nīn* < **yīn* < **īn*. acc. *nīñne* < **nīñnai* < **nīñ-ai*. dat. *nīñakkū*. gen. *nīñd'e* cf. first person singular *eñd'e*. The general stem of the second person both in the singular and the plural shows in Malayāḷam, unlike in Tamil, the nasalised form of the pronominal base. The reflexive *tāñ* is widely used instead of *nī* in common speech. *tāngaḷ* < *tām-gaḷ* as an honorific plural like English 'you', is also current. Termination : No termination in spoken Malayāḷam. In ancient poetry *-āy* before vowels and *-ā* before consonants is used.⁵⁸ ex. *pōkunnāyō* 'dost thou go' *colluvā nī* 'thou wilt say'. Instances of the termination of the third person singular being employed for the second person, are also frequent. ex. *nī ceydāñ*, 'thou didst' *nī connāñ* 'thou didst say'. *-ā* is *-āy* with the elision of the final *y*. For the possible origin of *-āy* see Tam. *-āy*.

Plural :—nom. *nīñnaḷ* < **nīm-gaḷ*; also coll. *nimmaḷ* < **nīm-aḷ*. Both *nīñnaḷ* and *nimmaḷ* are inflected like first person plural *nāñnaḷ*. Termination : *ir* in ancient poetry. ex. *koṇḍirō* 'did you receive'.

Kanarese. Singular :—nom. *nīñu* < **nīñ*; also *nīñ* and *nī*. acc. *nīñña*, *nīññañu* and *nīññaññu* exhibit the same phonetic developments as the first person singular forms. dat. *nīñage* and *nīñge*. gen. *nīñña*, *nīññaḍu* and *nīñadu*. Termination : Colloquial Kanarese has *-i*, *ī* and *-e* while classical Kanarese has *-ay*. ex. *māḍid-i* 'you made', *māḍutt-ī* 'you make' *bariy-e* 'thou shalt not write.' According to KITTEL *-i*, *-e* and *-ai* are connected with the *ī* of the pronoun of the second person.⁵⁹ *-ai* may be said to exhibit the influence of the third personal endings with short *a* as *barid-añu* 'he wrote', *māḍid-añu* 'he did' etc.

Plural : nom. *nīvu* < **nīm-u* cf. classical *nīm*. acc. *nimma*, *nimmañu* and *nimmaññu*. dat. *nimage*. gen. *nimma*, *nimmaḍu* and *nimadu*. Termination : *-ir*, *ir* and *-ar* ex. *māḍid-ir(i)* 'you made', *māḍutt-ir(i)* 'you make', *māḍ-ar-i* 'you do not make.' *-ar* in *māḍari* is likely to be the result of the contamination of the second person with the third person. The final *-i* perhaps arose through vowel-harmony. cf. *barid-arū* 'they wrote' but *barid-iri* 'you wrote', which goes to prove that in the second person plurals also the final vowels of verbs were originally *-u*.

Coorg. Singular :—nom. *nīñu* < **yīñ* < **īñ*. acc. *nañña*. dat. *nikuu* < **iñikkuu* < **iñakkuu*, with aphaeresis of initial *i* and the lengthening of the vowel in the following syllable. *a* of **iñakkuu* became *i* under the influence of the initial *i* gen. *nīḍa* < **īñiḍa* < **īñāḍa*. The forms *nīññaḍa* and *nīñaku* quoted by TUTTLE⁶⁰ for the genitive and dative are not in vogue at present. I do not agree with TUTTLE that the genitive ending *-ḍa* has for its basis *avaḍa* < **avaḍa* and the ordinary plural ending *-a* < **-aḷ*, gen. *-aḍa* < *aḷda*.⁶¹ I am

58. See GUNDELT, *A Grammar of the Malayāḷam Language*, (2nd edition), p. 62.

59. KITTEL, p. 128.

60. TUTTLE, p. 32.

61. TUTTLE, p. 33.

inclined to believe that *-da* has its origin in the Tamil and ancient Malayalam *-uḍai*. cf. modern Mal. *uḍe* and *-ḍe* as in *avaḍe* 'her' *eṇḍ'e* < **eṇḍe*. Termination : *-i* although the verbs usually end in *-iya* as *nīnu koḍṭiya* 'thou hast given', *ḍḍṭaviya* 'thou hast taken' etc. The final *a* seems to be a later addition formed on the analogy of verbs in the present tense having natural *a* in the end cf. *ava ḍḍṭa* 'she will take' where *ḍḍṭa* perhaps represents original *ḍḍṭaḷ*.

Plural :—nom. *nīnga* < **nīngaḷ* < **nīm-kaḷ* < **yīm-kaḷ*. The loss of nasals and liquids occurring in the final position is regular in Coorg. Cf. *kaḷḷā* < **kaḷḷan*, 'thief', *ava* < **avaḷ* 'she'. acc. *nīngaḷ*. dat. *nīngaku* < **nīngaḷku* gen. *nīngaḍa*. Termination : *-ir* ex. *limb-ira* 'you eat', *pōḍira* 'you go', *tind-ira* 'you ate' etc.

Tulu. Singular :—nom. *ī* < **ī* < **īn*. acc. *nīnahu*. dat. *nīkku*. Corresponding to *eṇku* < **eṇ-ku* of the first person we should expect *nīnku*. TUTTLE thinks that the Tulu dative *nīkku* corresponds to Gōṇḍī *nīk*, Tel. *nīku* without the long vowel that these have taken from the genitive *nī*, and implies a form **nī* as the genitive in early Tulu. He further suggests that **nā* may be the older form of Tulu *eṇa*.⁶² I should think that *nīkku* instead of *nīnku* has arisen through the influence of the plural *nīkulegu*. gen. *nīnahu*. *īr* originally a plural is used in the singular to denote respect. It has acc. *īreṇu*, dat. *īregu* and gen. *īre*. Termination : *-a* ex. *maḷṭida* 'thou hast made', *maḷta* 'thou makest' etc. *-a* perhaps represents earlier *-ay* cf. Tam. *-āy*.

Plural :—nom. *nīkuḷu* shows that Tulu had earlier *nīr-kuḷu* a double plural with a corresponding honorific *nīr* and a singular *nīn*. Primitive South Dravidian *īn* may have exhibited both the developments *ī* < **ī* < **īn* and *nīn* < **yīn* < **īn* of which *nīn* was perhaps lost in the nominative singular. It may be noticed that Tulu shows no trace of **īm* but has developed only the *-r* plurals *īr* and *nīr*, of which *īr* only has survived as honorific plural. The double plural *nīr-kuḷu* perhaps indicates that *nīr* too had an honorific significance. acc. *nīkuleṇu*. dat. *nīkulegu*. gen. *nīkule*. Termination : *-ar(u)* which looks like the plural ending *-ru* added to the form of the verb in the singular. ex. *maḷtaru* 'you made'.

Telugu. Singular :—nom. *nīvu* < *nī* with the addition of *u* and the glide sound *v* which develops in between ; CALDWELL observes that *nī*, the crude form, is also used.⁶³ The accusative, the dative and the genitive forms go to prove that a nominative *nīn* was also known in Telugu. CALDWELL mentions *īvu* also as occurring in the higher dialects of Telugu from an obsolete nominative *ī* identical with the form obtaining in Tulu.⁶⁴ acc. *nīnū* < **īnā- n(u)* formed like the first person only with the difference that *a* in *īnānū* is made *i* through vowel harmony. dat. *nīku* < **īnīku* < **īnaku*. gen. *nī* < **īnī* < **īnā*. Termination : *-āvu* in which the final *-vu* alone is the sign of second person, the ending being only the last syllable of the nom. *nīvu* or *īvu*. The initial *ā* is perhaps due to the influence of the third person cf. *vāḍu uṇṇāḍu* 'he is'.

62. TUTTLE, p. 35.

63. CALDWELL, p. 386.

64. CALDWELL, p. 386.

Plural :—nom. *mīru* < **iru* influenced by the *m* forms of the dative and the genitive ; also *mīralu* < *mīr(al)u*, in which *-al* is taken from the ordinary inflexion of substantives ending in *a*. cf. plural *-aḷ* generalised from *-kaḷ* in Malayālam. acc. *mimmu* < **imi-ń(u)* < **ima-ń(u)* influenced by the first person plural form *mammu* ; also *mimmuńu* which is formed like *mammuńu*. dat. *mīku* < **imiku* < **imakku*. gen. *mī* < **imi* < *ima*. Termination : *-āru* and *-aru*, the latter appearing as *-iri* and *uru* if preceded in the next syllable by *i* and *u* respectively. ex. *mīru koṭṭutuńńāru* 'you are striking'. In *mīru Koṭṭitiri* etc. *-iri* obviously is a phonetic development of *-aru* > **-iru* > *-iri* by assimilation. *u* of the previous syllable similarly changes *a* of *-aru*, which is of course reduced *-āru*, to *u*. ex. *koṭṭud-uru* 'you struck.' Forms with long *ā* will be seen to have arisen through confusion with the third person as in Tamḷ and Malayālam. cf. *vāru unnāru* 'they are', *vāru koṭṭińāru* 'they struck'.

Conclusion.

On a comparison of the existing forms of the pronouns of the first and second persons in their nominatives, inflexions and terminations of the various Dravidian dialects, the following conclusions are adduced :—

1. *ēń* and *īń* (sg.) and *ēm* and *īm* (pl.) are the basic forms of the pronouns of the first and second persons in the primitive South Dravidian.

2. *ā* in forms like Tam. *nāń*, Kan. *nāńu*, Mal. *ńāń*, etc. is explained as due to a tendency in the Dravidian to open an original *ē* to *ā* under favourable circumstances.

3. The initial nasals in Tam. *nāń*, Mal. *ńāń*, Tel. *ńēńu* and Tam. *nī*, Tel. *nī*, Tel. *nīvu* etc. are accounted for as the result of nasalisation of *y* which latter developed before initial front vowels *ē* and *ī* in the Dravidian, the nasalisation arising out of the influence of the final nasals.

4. The long vowels of the nominative were shortened when suffixes of case and number were added, in such instances the inflexion showing a weakened form of the nominative, for facilitating the base to bear the weight of the case or number suffix.

5. The final nasals of the basic forms *ēń* and *īń* (sg.) and *ēm* and *īm* (pl.) were doubled when case signs were added probably because *n* and *m* occurred after the main-stressed short vowel of *ēń* and *īń* and *ēm* and *īm* etc. The doubling of the nasals may have taken place on the analogy of stem-finals in substantives.

6. The inclusive plural *nām* appears to have arisen not, as TUTTLE suggests, from a combination of **in-ēm* 'you and us', but out of a phonetic change which was utilised for the purpose of denoting inclusive plurality.

In the light of the above general conclusions arrived at, the history of the recorded forms of the pronouns of the first and second persons in the main South Dravidian languages has been traced, as far as possible, proper phonological explanations being offered in each case.

REVIEWS

Pātimokkha (Pāli text in Devanāgarī characters containing the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha and Bhikkhuni-pātimokkha) edited by R. D. VADEKAR, 1939. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1. Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 1.

Dhammasaṅgāṇi (The first Book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Buddhists of the Theravāda School, for the first time critically edited in Devanāgarī characters) by P. V. BAPAT and R. D. VADEKAR, 1940. Pp. xvi, 360. Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 2. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

The Bhandarkar Institute of Poona has organised so many different phases of Indological activities that it does not come as a surprise to us that a new series entitled *Bhandarkar Oriental Series* has been inaugurated with two Pāli texts printed in Devanāgarī characters. The first of these, the *Pātimokkha*, contains the regulations for the outward life of Buddhist monks and nuns, rightly looked upon as the oldest and one of the most important of the Vinaya texts. The main object of Prof. VADEKAR in editing the text is to make it available to the B.A. and M.A. students of the Bombay University for whose convenience the Devanāgarī characters have been used. Owing to the fact that till recently Pāli texts were available mainly in Roman transliteration or in Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese scripts, the Pāli sources of Buddhism have been a sealed book to our Pandits. It is hoped that with the co-ordinated efforts of the Bombay University, the Bhandarkar Institute and the Mahabodhi Society at Sarnath, the Pāli texts may now be available in uniform Devanāgarī editions for use by our Pandits as well as scholars.

The present text has been edited from the Ceylonese and Burmese editions, and in the words of the Editor, 'OLDENBERG's edition has also been consulted'. The editor modestly refrains from calling his work a critical edition. The text is neatly printed and the Index of titles and names adds to the usefulness of the edition.

The second of these is a more ambitious work, being the critical edition of the first book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka in Devanāgarī characters. For the constitution of the text the Editors have utilised the Sinhalese edition of DEVANANDA and PANNASENA of 1911, the Burmese edition of the Sabu Meit Swe Press of Rangoon, 1937, the Siamese Government Edition of 1930, the P. T. S. edition of MÜLLER and a Sinhalese Ms. from the Theosophical Society's Library at Adyar. The critical part of the editing is not so much concerned with the restoration of the text of the *archetypus* as with higher criticism, particularly in tracing the original passages abbreviated in the later parts of the work. The editors are to be congratulated on this part of their critical work which they have done with a worthy thoroughness, and the typographical arrangements which they have introduced in the work are certainly an improvement on existing editions, marking off the important words in paragraphs as well as the whole of the *mātikā* at the beginning of the book, etc. They have also utilized the commentary on this text, the *Aṭṭhasālini*, in editing the text, and incidentally prepared a critical edition of the same which we hope will be shortly published.

In a short but succinct introduction the editors give sufficient information about the Abhidhamma literature of the Buddhists as current in various recensions, and the place of *Dhammasaṅgāṇi* in that of the Theravāda school, summarising very briefly the main contents of the different sections of the text. The editors have wisely retained the paragraph numbers of the PTS edition, making as little change as possible, in view of the fact that for critical purposes there should be one

standard method of reference to a given text, whatever else be the nature of the editions available. A full index of subjects and difficult words enhances the value of the present edition which, in all its aspects, shows a definite improvement on existing editions by the critical methods employed by the editors and their researches in tracing the originals of many quotations as well as of abbreviated passages. The editors might have done better if they had adopted the critical methods employed by Prof. Helmer SMITH, for example, in his edition of the Aggavamsa's *Saddaniti*, a marvel of critical editing so far as Pāli is concerned. Nevertheless Professors BAPAT and VADEKAR are to be congratulated on their joint edition which has made it possible for Indian scholars unacquainted with scripts usually employed for Pāli texts to study this important work first hand, and by the critical study which they themselves have made, saved them from many hardships, thus bringing the Abhidhamma literature to a more attractive status. It is strongly to be hoped that they will carry on their original intention of not only giving us their critical edition of the *Aṭṭhasālini*, but also collaborate further to complete the Devanāgarī edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka. In this work of selfless devotion to the cause of learning we trust that Governments, University Authorities, the Princes of India and all the rich patrons of Indian culture will associate themselves and bring to a successful conclusion the self-imposed task of these editors, and incidentally enable the Bhandarkar Institute to establish this new series on a solid foundation.

S. M. K.

Milindapañho (Pāli text, edited in Devanāgarī characters for the first time, with various readings and two Indexes) by R. D. VADEKAR, 1940. The University of Bombay. Pp. xvi, 440. Price Rs. 3. (Bombay University Devanāgarī-Pāli Text Series, No. 7).

As mentioned at the beginning of the last review, the Devanāgarī editions of Pāli texts appear to be based on the PTS edition and the judicious selection of readings from editions published in Ceylon, Burma and Siam in their respective national characters, and as such cannot deserve the name of critical editions in an original sense. The critical part seems to be reserved for the judicious selection of readings from these four sources, these sources themselves not having the value of a single manuscript; but the originality of the editor consists in the arrangement of the text, the typography employed, and where possible the tracing of quotations to their sources. It is true that in India we have few Mss. hailing from Ceylon, Burma or Siam, and in this sense we are not so favourably placed as the European Editors who have access to original Mss. in their national libraries. But with the facilities of microfilming and mutual loan of Mss. it should become possible for Indian editors to gain access to such original Mss. for the purpose of critical editions. The Pāli texts, with very few but brilliant examples like those edited by Prof. Helmer SMITH, do not deserve the name of critical editions, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Pāli Text Society or of local institutions in Ceylon, Burma or Siam, scientific and critical editions of all the most important texts, at least from the point of lower criticism (Heuristics, Recension and Emendation) are still desiderata in the oriental field. But pending such reorganisation in Indian studies there should be a generation of scholars who must at least be acquainted with the general character of Pāli literature and be able to read it without difficulty of either script or critical apparatus so that they can ultimately qualify themselves for the critical work that lies ahead of them. It is gratifying to note that the Bombay University, in this series, attempts to give their students just this kind of material in well got-up Devanāgarī editions which, though not critical in the

true sense of the word, are still an advance on the other moderately priced editions in the market.

The Milinda Questions, in Rhys DAVIDS' inimitable translation, have already occupied the front rank in Pāli classics. While TRENCKNER's edition has been a model of editorial activity, its inaccessibility and the difficulty of the Roman script have made it rather unattractive. Prof. VADEKAR is therefore to be congratulated on his happy idea of including a Devanāgarī edition in the Bombay University Publications and bringing within the means of an average Indian scholar and student one of the most wonderful and liveliest Texts in any Indian language, ancient or modern. The Editor has taken care to make his work as useful to the scholar as possible by indicating the page numbers of the *editio princeps* by TRENCKNER reference to which is given in the two Pāli English Dictionaries published since CHILDERS' first attempt. The editing and get up leave nothing to be desired, and the two indexes of verses and general ideas are very useful appendages to the book as a whole. The introduction gives all the information that a student is expected to know about his text, and full indications are given for further reading. We wish Prof. VADEKAR every success in his self-imposed duty of bringing out a complete edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka in Devanāgarī characters and recommend his publications for use in the Universities and Colleges where they will be warmly welcomed.

S. M. K.

Abhidhānaratnamālā with Kannaḍa Ṭike, edited by A. Venkat RAO and H. Sesha AYYANGAR (Madras University Kannada Series No. 6), 1940, Pp. ii, 30, ii, 142, 148.

The *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha is here presented in Kannada characters with an ancient Kannada commentary attributed to Nāgavarma. The source of the edition is a *codex unicum* again from the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana Library of Arrah, and the chief consideration which has prompted the editors to publish the work is that the commentary contains a large number of Old Kannada words given as equivalents of the Sanskrit words. The Sanskrit text also contains a number of readings not found in AUFRECHT's edition of the work. The Ms. utilized lacks the commentary on stanzas 38-51 of the second *kāṇḍa* and for the last 56 stanzas of the *nānārtha-kāṇḍa* the text which is missing has been supplied on the basis of the readings found in one of the Mss. of the work from the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

The preface in Kannada deals with, among other things, the origin of Kośa literature in Sanskrit from the *Nighaṇṭus* and *Nirukta* downwards, and particularly with *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and its author Halāyudha, the Kannada commentary, and Nāgavarma who is identified as Nāgavarma II. The editorial activity leaves nothing to be desired; the first Appendix gives an alphabetical list of Kannada words listed in the commentary covering 35 pages; the second appendix gives the list of Sanskrit words from the commentary. The printing is excellent, and the work as a whole will be found useful both by Kannada and Sanskrit scholars. One would wish that in the prefatory introduction the editors had dealt at greater detail with both Kannada and Sanskrit kośas; but evidently the subject is a vast one, and one hopes that the junior editor may rectify this slight shortcoming by publishing a monograph on Kannada commentators on Sanskrit lexical works, tracing their history and their contribution to Kannada lexicography. The Kannada department of the Madras University shows excellent progress by the quick publication of such important volumes which are definite additions to our knowledge of Old and Medieval Kannada.

S. M. K.

THE POLICY OF SHIVAJI AND THE ENGLISH.*

By

BHASKAR GOPAL TAMASKAR, Jubbulpore.

8. *The English shrewdness* :—

In their dealings with Shivaji or with the Muslim rulers about Shivaji, the English have all along acted very prudently and shrewdly. Of their prudence some illustrations have already been given. On occasions, prudence and shrewdness have become synonymous and this will be clear from what follows. The English shrewdness is proverbial and can be well seen in their policy with or about Shivaji. They had well read the condition of the English and had seen that it was not difficult for them to obtain territory here. On the 21st October 1668, the Bombay Council says :—

"Wee were yesterday petitioned by Povo that we should procure them an English school-master or two, to teach their children English ; which wee looke on as a considerable matter both in policy, for cementing us in affection, an (by Gods blessing and assistance) alsoe in piety, for uniting us in religion."^{45a}

It is clear that the policy that the English followed in the 18th Century was already in their consciousness in the 17th Century. But they always proceeded with caution and prudence. On the 28th April 1669, the Surat Council writing to the Bombay Council says, "neither deny wee you a correspondence with Essagy, whereby may you procure those useful stones but wee would not for soe small a benefitt you shall engage soe much as to bee a party in his quarrells, for wee have enough to looke to our owne."⁴⁶

Again, on the 23rd June 1669, the Surat Council writing to the Bombay Council says :—

"If we had a strength of men and ammunition to maintaine both places, Bombay and Danda, a faire overture were offered us to right and revenge our selves against the Sidy and Sevagy but wee can easier imagine then act such a designee."⁴⁷

Again, "In case you have any overtures made you by the Siddy of Danda Rajpore of his desires to come to Bombay, we would have you be very cautious in what nature you treat with him, but rather keep him off with delays, in expectation of an order from us ; for in case he designs to deliver up the castle to the Moghul, we cannot understand any advantage (rather a prejudice) will accrue to the Company thereby, and we have no reason to receive him or any of his people on those tearms, for we shall certainly exasperate a potent and desperate neighbour Sevagy, whom we are present in an ill condition to oppose in case he should designe us a mischief. But if the Sydy may be brought to deliver up the castle to the Honourable Company, we shall then, on advice from you, resolve on something concerning it."⁴⁸

* Continued from p. 200.

45a. *E. F. India*, 1668-69 pp. 72, 73.

46. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, p. 70.

47. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

48. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 30, no. 3361, dated 1st Nov. 1669.

Again, "The Bandarines you have before complained off for insolent, disorderly and dangerous fellows, and now their refusing to pay their duties to the Renders of the Arrack renders them more culpable; wherefore wee leave them to your justice and care; and in case they are but a burthen to the Island, it is safer to discharge them, for they are of Sevagees country, and if he should have any designs against us. They would be *snakes in our besome*.

....."Your proposall touching such overtures as may be probably made you by the Sydy, of what nature soever, we have considered of, and declare to you our constant and unalterable oppinion, that, as the posture of affaires doe stand at present between the potent parties engaged in this warr, it cannot be prudence in us to engage ourselves on either side or to countenance or assist either partie, but professing neutrality and indifferent friendship to all, to stand upon our owne guard and improve such advantage as the successe of the warr, it cannot on either side shall offer us for the Company's interest. As to Danda Rajapore itselfe, though the Siddy should offer it to us as tis said he did formerly in President Blackmans time, wee say it would not be safe for us to accept it, neither in respect of Sevagy nor the Mogull, for neither the one nor the other would suffer us to enjoy it, but wee should infallibly involve the Company in a chargeable and destructive warr for which you are sensible how ill we are provided either with men, money or amunition, and though we doe esteem the place considerable for strength yet doe not soe overvalue it as to hazard the losse of the Company's trade to procure it; nor doe wee see how it would quitt the charge of maintaining itt (for it will require at least 4 or 500 men), unless wee had adjacent country under contribution, which is now all under Savages power and never to be recovered but by a potent army that can be alwaies master of the field. Besides, should Siddy make such an overture of delivery, you may be sure he will demand such tearmes that wee shall not be able to comply withall without apparent prejudice and hazard of the shippes returne for England, which wee are sure the Company cannot well approve off wherefore our opinions are that, if the Siddy sends to you on any such score, you put him off with some delatory answer, pretending want of order from Surratt or England in a matter of such consequence."⁴⁹

When Shivaji requested the English to help him with war materials, the Surat Council very shrewdly advised the Bombay Council thus:—

".....but we would positively have them promise him those Granadoes, Morter pieces and *ammunition he desires*, nor absolutely deny him, in Danda Rajapore, which place, if it were in his possession, would proove a *great annoyance* to the port of *Bombay*; and on the other side, our denyall is not consistent at present with our intrest, in respect wee believe the *keeping in suspence* will bring, him to a speedier conclusion of the treaty, hoping thereby to be furnished with these things he desires; therefore they must use such arguments as may persuade him to come to a speedy accomodation with us, which (is) the *chiefe intent* of our sending them over "⁵⁰

How cunning and shrewd the English have been can be seen from their way of getting information about Shivaji's movements. The following is a good illustration:—

"The Generall and Admirall of the fleete, which consists of 160 small vessells, counted by my owne servant (who I sent as a spie) is one Ventgee Sarunee, commonly Durree Sarungee with whom I having had a correspondence these 7 or 8 years, and alwayes found him reall and oblidging, I was resolved to try if I could

49. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 19, pp. 27-28, dated 10th July 1670.

50. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, p. 1, dated 30th Sept. 1671.

gett out any thing of his designe, soe wrote him a civill letter, wishing him good success in his voyage and promising that assistance lay in my power in ladeing 3 of his owne shippes that are here to take in salt, desiring him, if he could without prejudice to himselfe advise me where he was carried very privately, yett if I would send a trusty person, he would by word of mouth, give me notice ; soe I sent the Moodys son to him, who arrived the next (day) with orders from Sevagee at the place of his rendezvous. He took him aside and swore him to secrecie and then told him his master was *marshing to Surat* with 10000 horse and 20000 foote, and that he with 3000 souldiers and a great number of Pioneers was to meete him there. *The Bramanys have told him* that the 29th day of this month Surat Castle should be delivered him, which if he carried, he would then to Broach. He likewise bid me keepe good watch and trust nobody and that I should doe vessell enter unsearched. How farr his words are to be taken, I referr to your better judgments."⁵¹

The following is of similar type, though in a different relation :—

"Wee wish Lieutenant Ustick good success in his journey and *treaty with Sevagy*, and would have his going kept as *private as possible*, and give it out that he is to treat about nothing but the recovery of our losses received att Rajapore and the redemption of the hoigh, that no jealousy may possess this Kings ministers to our prejudice."⁵²

How far the English could see can be manifest from the following :—

(a) "By land they (the Portuguese) are our bucler against the invasions of the Mogull and Sevagee, and we theirs by sea, and if ever the Mogull or Sevagee should attempt to besiege them by land or islands, common prudence will persuade us to aid and protect them in order to our own defence, were we not obliged to (*Sic ?* by) treaty thereunto in regard that after they have dispossessed the Portuguese, they will then with ease by force turn out us for want of provisions, starve us out, unless the islands were all under your jurisdiction and well inhabited and fortified by English, which if they were, you need not by God's assistance fear all the forse (forces) of India but till then we declare in truth to you that it is safer for your island to have the Portuguese for your neighbours in all these adjoining countries, then either the Mogull or Sevagee now to qualify this necessity of aiding them."⁵³

(b) "*Sidy samble of Danda Rajapore*, Generall the Mogulls fleete against Sevagee coming into this harbour with a fleete consisting of 32 sayl of small vessells, itt was though fitt to send Mr. Nicolls, the Chief Customer of Bombay to Compliment him to carry him a supply of fresh provisions, as also to send him a small present, according to the custome of their partes, knowing that he may be instrumentall in doing severall services and kindness in our generall affaires and concernes at Suratt."⁵⁴

Shrewdness in dealings the English have always shown, and the following is a good illustration :—

"The Envoy of Sevagee Rajah, called by of the name Bhimagee Pundett, having declared on behalfe of the said Sevagee Rajah that he is contented to pay 12,000 Pagodes, in regard of the loss that the English had received by the robbery of Rajapore, the Governor and Councill cannot accept of the aforesaid summe by reason having no just accompt of the greate loss they had, which amounts to above 90,000 Pagodes, and though the said Envoy declares that Sevagee Rajah did not receive so much, yett the loss to the English in Rajapore occasioned by him was so much, besides the loss of particular English men, which amounts to near 20,000

51. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 10, p. 78, dated 21 November 1670.

52. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, p. 23, dated 1st March 1672.

53. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 6, dated 21st December 1672.

54. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, p. 9, dated 23 December 1672.

Pagodas now, besides the said Companys loss. And having an expresse order from his Majestie of Greate Brittain not to agree in the Treaty of peace with said Sevagee until the said summe of 20,000 Pagodes of the said English men be restored yett the President and Councill, to manifest their good will have granted for the consideration of friendship with the said Sevagee Rajah, to accept, instead of 20,000 Pagodes, the summe of 12,000 Pagodes to be paid for the said particular English men, which summe is to be received in ready money or in goods. And as to what belongs unto the Honoble. Company, the President and Councill hath agreed that instead thereof, the said Sevagee Rajah shall grant the English nation liberty to trade seven yeares time with the port of Rajpore, not paying any customes, or five yeare at least, which will be a great advantage and profit to Sevagee Rajah in increasing his estate and credit.

As to the *two gunns* Sevagee Rajah desired by his Envoy Bhimagee Pundett, you shall answer that after the business is ended and peace made, he shall not have only two but as many as he will, and likewise any other things that he hath need of.

For granting the Customes free for seven yeares Sevagee Rajah may thinke it too much, to which you are to answer that though wee doe not pay customes for our goods yett other merchants shall pay for their goods and for any others that the said merchants shall bring in returne of ours, by which the said Sevagee Rajah will reap great profit and his port will thereby flourish."⁵⁵

How to make the best of the circumstances the English knew well. The following is one such example :—

"The President made another proposall to the Counsell, that in regard the great danger and trouble *the factory of Carwar is in being besieged by rebels*, whether notwithstanding that our present difference with Sevagee is not thoroughly accomided we may not value ourselves upon the towne of Rajapore and buy up there what goods are procureable for making up the ships lading, for though we were in hopes to have forced Sevagee to an honourable composition for the Company's &ca., former losses, had there been peace with the Dutch, and the factory of Carwar well settled; yet seeing that wee faile both in the one and the other, the President thereupon declared unto the Counsell that it is necessary prudence to dissemble our designe for this yeare and to make an overture of settlement at Rajapore, which if done, here are some Banian merchants that will procure one good shipp ladeing at last at Rajapore, consisting of proper, sticklack, seedlack, dungarees, percollas and other course sortes of cloth. Then the President acquainted the Counsell that this designe cannot be put in execution except wee surrender up the Rajapore vessell we have seized, which when done wee need not scruple by God's assistance to be furnished with what goods wee shall want from Rajapore in order to the lading of the shipp. The Rajapore vessell is not worth above 8 or 1000 rupees, goods and all, and she belongs to poore merchants who are totally innocent of the wrong done to the Honble. Company by Sevagee, the owner thereof being now here, and having brought letters from Sevagee and his sonn and most of his principall officers to intercede for him, wherein they promise to come to a fair understanding with us, and to make satisfaction for the said injury with promises being seriously and deliberately considered and debated.

ORDERED That the Deputy President and Counsell of Surratt be also advised with all speed of this motion, and if they consent thereunto, that the said Rajapore vessell and goods be delivered unto the owner, and that we immediately advise Sevagee thereof and of our intention to settle and buy goods this yeare in Rajapore towards lading and dispeeding the Honble. Company's flete for Europe.

55. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. I, pp. 74-5, dated 21st August 1673.

That the English could understand the people of India and even the shrewd Shivaji very well, can be seen from the following instructions sent by the Surat Council to Bombay :—

"We observe you are under a mistake in two things, first in overweening and putting too great value on the proffer which he makes of a place on the maine, where he flatters you with a permission to build a castle for the security of our trade. It appears to us a politticke cheat, to defeat us totally of all hope of further satisfaction for our past losses. You seeme to us (building on Girders opinion) to be fond of this place as what may tend to the Companies future profit. Wee, soe farr as wee yett can apprehend thereof are of a contrary opinion judging that it *may, rather eclipse* then advantage the growth of the Island Bombay for us to settle on any place on the Maine soe neare itt, for the trade will certainly be all carried thither, whereas otherwise it will be brought to the Island. Besides we can noe way admitt of putting the Company to the charge of building a Fort or house there, for the constant expence thereof will be insupportable and render all goods that shall be very deare. However though the advantages thereof may appear in tyme, yett it is not prudence in us at this Coniuncture to lett him know wee have occasion of any of his ports, but rather, as wee have done hitherto soe many yeares, that wee shall, by Gods good providence, continue still to live without him.

"The *second mistake* that you are in appears in *your under-valluing our owne conditions as to wood*. Sevagee's officers have, it seems, in notable pollicy, given the Deputy Governor might have answered that wood growes in other places adjacent as well as in his Countrey, from whence the Island may be supplied, though with a more charge, and that Cevagee vessells would serve well to bring it to us. In fine, as wee before mentioned you have deale with *most polittique people of all these parts* who make a notable observation of the least things which may accidentally passe from you in discourse which may turne to their advantage and therefore you must be wary of what passes in talke from you that may tend to the weakening of our cause or lessening our reputation; and this caution wee doe more especially recommend to Mr. Ustick, who will be often engaged in discourse with Sevagee and his people touching these and other matters, and therefore wee advise him to apply such answers as may most preserve our Creditt and not give Sevagee occasions to undervalue us."⁵⁶

The English had learnt the eastern ways very well and observed them absolutely to turn each circumstance to their advantage. See the following :—

"Which we shall soon do by God's blessing, when the peace is concluded; in the interim, *it concerns us to keep friendship with all*, though it costs us somewhat dear by presents or otherwise, without which no peace or quietness is to be expected in those mercinary parts, (of the world)."⁵⁷

On the occasion of Shivaji's coronation the English spent some three thousand rupees on account of presents made to Shivaji and his ministers and other officers.⁵⁸ Such presents they profusely gave to the Indian rulers and officers to gain advantages from them.

On occasions, the English factors used very shrewdly the name of the king of England to their advantage. One such illustration has already been given. The following are three more :—

(a) The Revenge friggat being let out on freight and the Merchant having dispatch his businesse these are to enorder you immediately to sett saile and make

56. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, p. 7-9, dated Surat 30 Nov. 1671.

57. *Orme Mss.*, Vol. 116, Sect. 2, pp. 106-7, dated 15, August 1673.

58. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 87, pp. 153-54, dated 18th April 1674.

the best you can to such ports as freighters hath consigned you to, which being southerly *Narran Sinay*, a merchant and inhabitant of this Island, having six vessells laden with salt and now ready to saile, hath requested of us that may saile under our convoy or protection, being fearfull that Siddy Cossum may seize on them as they formerly belonged to Sevagee Rajah but of whom he hath brought them, as appears by his bill of sale herewith delivered you, and now sends them to see as a merchant of this Island. This his request wee have taken into consideration, and though wee are very willing to oblige him, yet we are bound to have a greater regard that wee doe not disoblige ourselves and cause disputes between princes by acting beyond what may seeme becomeing; but as his vessells and he are desirous that they should saile in your company, as wee are willing to doe him what good wee can, we think fitt to give you these instructions, that you may know the better how to behave yourselve if that *Siddy Cossum* or any part of his armada should make demand or by violence force them, in such case wee would have you to advise them they are vessells belonging to a merchant of Island, and that you being bound to the southward he desired your convoy of them to their intended port, and soe desire them to forebeare the least molestation of them, as wee are frinds to them, and civilly dispute in their behalves as much as possible; but after that you have used the best arguments you can and they will not be satisfied therewith, but by violent force take them from your alleging that they are vessells belonging to their enimye and wee are not to protect them, then wee doe order you to make a *verball protest* against them, in the King's name for all damages that may hereafter be made appeare by their seizure of merchant vessells belonging to this Island, but wee doe strictly require you not to fire a gunn, muskett or pistoll, or draw a sword in the defence of aid vessells; and as wee doe but suspect the danger they may fall into and provide you with an answer to them, wee doe require you if you can to convoy them to Dabul so thet may never come in danger or meete any of the Siddys fleete."⁵⁹

(b) "... We have thought it necessary to impeed him what in us lyes, and have for that intent appointed three Shibarrs with six files of souldiers under your command, to curse between said place and the Mine, and to hinder and forbid all vessells that you shall find come from the Maine with necessarys or men to land at said Island, turning them back againe, telling them that the Island is the King of Englands and that they must not built or settle therein; but this you must doe without offering any force or violence without they first offer violence; then in such case you are to make the best defence you cann and speedily advise us thereof, when we shall send our further orders for your government."⁶⁰

(c) "And the Hunter Frigat be ordered to attend upon them, plying up and downe nere the said Island, giving the Commander orders, in a friendly way to acquaint those that are appointed by Sevagee for the management of that designe, when they offerr to erect their Fort, that the Island belongs to his Majestie of Great Brittainne, and that none can attempt any thing upon the place without an open breach of friendship; and which he is commanded to give notice of, that if a breach happens, the whole world may be sencible the cause first and only proceed from them."⁶¹

Two of the above extracts are connected with the Hendry Kendry affair. They tried their best to save their skin on this occasion and yet win their point. The following is the best illustration of their cunningness and astuteness :—

59. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 8, p. 15, dated 20th February, 1678.

60. *Ibid.* p. 31, dated the 3rd Sept. 1679.

61. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 4, pp. 63-64, dated the 4th Sept. 1679.

"The 25 came to our hand yours of the 19th, with an account of the engagement the day before with Sevagys fleete, commanded by Doulat Caun, the success whereof wee find to our detriment, having lost the DOVE groab with soe many of our men, which are to be considered as a great weakning to us, being incapable to recruit, therefore it will be necessary for us to think of some way either handsomely to *compose things with Sevagy or to withdraw ourselves honourably in time*, least wee should be reduced to a condition unable to defend Bombay if it should be attempted by soe numerous a squadron, which now you must have a watchfull regard to; and therefore would have you, as to the first endeavour to find out some person propper to *mediate* in the businesse betwixt us, so as not to lett it appeare its our seeking but a free act of respect from us both; if this cannot be effected, then wee would have you lett the *Captain Generall of Bassee* know that wee hold him concerned in respect to his own security, that he appeare with some force to stop this growing evill to his owne nation as well as to us in Sevagee fortifying Hendry Kendry, but if according to their natures and customes they can be brought to doe nothing that is fitt and honourable, then you must make the best advantage you cann of *Siddys fleete*, who will now be downe there in a few dayes more, and who, if you soe finde readily to engage and attend upon this businesse, you may soe leave it to him (*not by treaty but by designe*) as to ease you both of further hazard and some charge specially the Hunter, being hapily arrived here the last night which has taken us of(f) (as was intended) from sending you hoigh with our guard, for your better assistance, and who wee shall endeavour to dispatch from hence in two or three dayes more, by whose addition of strength, with the Company's shibarrs returned that were employed abroad, wee hope may be sufficient to carry on your designe of Handry Kendry and hinder any attempt that may be made upon Bombay, and for the better quiett and sattisfaction of the inhabitants; and therefore, when you finde it may safely be done, discharge such men and vessells as you have taken into pay on this unhappy occasioin, keeping the REVENGE and HUNTER, continually as a guard and security to the Island, and upon noe tearmes to be employed otherwise without expresse order."⁶²

9. *The English 'prestige', 'preservence' and 'Swedeshi' policy :—*

The above account need not be interpreted to mean that the English sacrificed their prestige to shrewdness. On the other hand, they took care of their prestige as much as they showed shrewdness in their dealings in general and with Shivaji in particular. The English sense of 'prestige' is as well-known as their shrewdness in history. Some illustration of this have been incidentally given above. In connection with the attempts to be made for release of the prisoners taken by Shivaji's men in the beginning of 1661 A.D., the following advice was sent by the prisoners themselves to their brethren :—

"With the letter you send to Sevagi you must send somebody who knows how to speak the honour of our country and the English, and how willing we were to make Sevagi our friend and how sorry you are he understood us not better and who this must be know not except Hissan, who having learned his lesson, will, we beieve do the business handsomely."⁶³

The following quotation illustrates very well the English sense of prestige as also their perseverance :—

"The 17th past month wee wrote from Raire, and therein advised our being sent for by Rougy Pundit to Rajapore. Said day wee were gladly received by all the merchants etc. inhabitants of.

62. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol 19, p. 65, dated 28th Oct. 1679.

63. *Orme Mss.* Vol. 155, pp. 1-21, dated Songarn 10th June 1661.

"He told us that he had wrote a letter to the President, and the contents thereof, as all soe of the answer returned thereto which he sayd gives hopes of an accomodation between his master and the English, which he declares to be very desirous of, and therefore sent for us to treat about the business; which that wee might the clearer doe, wee told him it would be necessary he declared us freemen and gave us liberty to speak our minds freely which he accordingly did before many auditors. Then wee told him what we had severall times done formerly, that wee were but inferior servants and therefore could doe nothing of this nature without speciall direction from Your Worshipp; but this wee were assured of by former experience, that our masters would never consent that an agreement should be made with any person that their estates and servants have suffered by, without reparation be first made for the losses sustained, which if he could not give credit to from our relation, wee desired him to satisfie himselfe from the merchants who were present and well acquainted with truth thereof; that if our Masters loose a pice they will spend 10 more to recover the same, for as they are hugely careful that none of their servants shall offer any abuse, so when they have wrong offend them, they are the readier to revenge it, by how much they were thus carefull no offence should be given meriting the same; and wee having suffered so much by his master's late robbing of Rajapore, contrary to all lawes of justice and humanity being strangers and persons that never had offered the Rajah any wrong, he could not imagine our masters would be satisfied, unless satisfaction of the losse were made; and that err should but deceive him and abuse ourselves to say any thing else to him."⁶⁴

On the occasion of the second plunder of Surat by Shivaji, the English behaved honourably and the following description can be taken to be true:—

"However, notwithstanding you were thus in a great measure secured, wee thought it necessary to provide for the remayning goodes on Surat as also to maintaine your honour and that of the Nation (which wee had hitherto reputably preserved) from any Scandall that might be cast upon us of disverting the towne and your house in time of danger, when the Dutch and French kept theirs."⁶⁵

On occasion, the English could be boastful. "We are not wanting to let him know how considerable your power is."⁶⁶ On occasions, the English sense of 'prestige' developed into the Christian's sense of prestige. The following is a good illustration of the same:—

"In regard Sevagee comes with such an army by sea I thinke it would be convenient if all the 3 Christian nations made a compact, defensive and offensive, to gather to preserve themselves and deny him an entrance or aboard, neare Swally, by land or sea, so farr as they can reach, for Swally is accounted wholly the Christians, and twill redound much to their dishonour to lett him attempt anything there, and if wee who are here should be surprised it will concerne you there to revenge the damage upon his fleete, which may easily be done to his noe small loss."⁶⁷

But the English had in the Portuguese very keen rivals in every matter and therefore, the English cared for themselves more persistently than for the prestige of the Christian in general. One such occasion can be read in the following passage:—

64. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 103, pp. 133-237, dated Rajapore 6th Feb. 1663.

65. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 31, No. 3515, dated Swally Marine.

66. *Bombay to the Company; Orme Mss.*, Vol. 114, Sect. 1, p. 36, dated 14th June 1672.

67. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, pp. 80-81, 28th Nov. 1670.

"The Portuguese having so very unkindly obstructed us in the Pass of Tannah we have determined by God's assistance to endeavour to find out and open an other way which we hope will be equally advantageous, and that is to begin a passage by the way of Nagatam (Nagothana) through Sevagees country to Orumgabaud which is as near a way within 3 or 4 days journey, as the other by Cullean Bundy, and when we have a right understanding with Sevagee, will be equally safe, and for a good beginning and better effecting this design, we have thought good to send one Syddy Lahore to Orumgabaud with letters from the President with a small present to Bauder Cawn and Deleel Chaun, proposing to them the conveniences which will accrue to the King's country thereby, if the passage were well opened and for the procuring a phirmaund (farman) for the payment of the same customs, we did in Suratt, and for licence to settle a factory in Aurangabad at the same terms. Therefore we reasonably expect to meet with some difficulties in this first treaty. We shall not be discouraged, but rigorously prosecute it untill God shall please to grant us success, which we doubt not in his good time."⁶⁸

How sensitive the English sense of prestige has been can be seen from the following :—

"Here in Bombay (blessed be God) we are very quiett, but the small fleete commended by the Sidye, formerly mentioned, hath surprized and burnt severall towns on the maine belong to Sevagee, over against Bombay, contrary to their promise to us, which hath caused some scarcity of provisiond and firewood on the Island and somewhat disturbed the poore merchants, and which is worse, the Sidye designs to build a fort on a little Island in Negotam River, just over against your Fort Bombay which if they doe, will prove of very evill consequence to this Island, and therefore we shall endeavor to prevent it what possibly we can, and for the present have thought good on this score to forbid the said fleete or any boats or vessells belonging to them coming into this port any more or furnishing themselves with provisions here; and were it not for the tender regard we have to your Honours interest and trade in Surrat and Bengala, we should take some other course to check the Sidyes evill designe, for that we judge he is put on it on propose by advise from the Governour of Surrat, to spoyle and hinder the growth of this your Port and Island of Bombay; and therefore we beseech you to give us speedy orders how we are to proceed in such cases, for it concernes you highly to vindicate your right in this Bay and not to permitt men of warr to neastle themselves here to the prejudice of your trade, for the whole Bay is yours without dispute, and though the Portuguses possessing now Carinhah and Salsett do pretend a right therein and ought to hinder the Sidye from building any fort so near them, yet they out of pure malice to the English, permitt their settlement, knowing it will do us great msicheife, and wee considering the present circumstances of warr with the Dutch and your trade in this King's dominions, and haveing no positive order from your Honors to make warr or breach of peace with any of our neighbours, are forced to disemble our grievances, though never so much affronted; but our chiefest check is want of order or commission from you;....."⁶⁹

Similarly, their perseverance is well-known. We have already shown how they spent ten pice to gain one in connection with the history of the reparation of the Rajapore losses. Even after a treaty was made between Shivaji and the English, the Maratha officers tried to cross the ways of the

68. *Orme Mss.* Vol. 114, Sect. 2, pp. 78-79, dated 26th May 1673.

69. *Original Correspondence*, Bombay to the Company, dated 23 October 1673.

English on account of their personal relations with them, but they knew no defeat. The following extract illustrates this well :—

" Annajee Pundit hath very much baffled with us and hath bin very industrious to worke us all the evill he could, but rest assured wee are not to be discouraged by him or any other soe long as wee have your approvall and favourable acceptance of our hearth endeavors for our Masters interest, its a great encouragement to us and wee shall be allwaies cheerfull. They all know our punctuality and integrity, and for that wee are soe farr in esteeme that wee are assured an Englishmans money will be taken before either the Friench or Dutches when offered for one and the same thing ; . . . "70

Their Swadeshi policy can be read in the following two extracts :—

(a) " Our great designe is to bring all the Christians of Bombay and the adjacent Islands to wear garments of English manufacture, which we hope to invite them to buy selling cheape and did not noyse of war in all parts disturb us we should have hopes alsoe to prevail with the neighbour princes to clothe their souldiers in the same colors which beging already to be esteemed, but time we hope will answere your wise designes and give your Honrs : a happy and successful issue in all your generous undertaking."71

(b) " We now alsoe send you soldiers and their wives, as also Artificers as per list, and for such single women or maides as shall now come unto you, wee order that if they desire it, and doe not otherwise dispose of themselves by marriage to the English men in them for one year after their arrival, they shall have have victualls at our charge, with one suite of wearing apparell, such as shall bee convenient, according to the fashion of the Country, during which time they are to bee employed in planting and wee doe not consent that the said English women or Maides bee permitted to marry any other people, but those of our owne Nation, or such others as are Protestants, and upon their marriage to bee free."72

The last passage also illustrates their sense of prestige.

10. *The English wished ill of Shivaji :—*

One of the strangest facts that stands out in the history of the relations of the English with Shivaji is that they always wished ill of him. The following extracts will show this beyond doubt :—

(a) " We are now glad to heare of the victory you say the king hath obtayned against, and hope your next will conforme the truth thereof."

(b) " Wee should be very glad that Sevagys forces that were at Vizapore were goun towards home, as is reported, that so there might be the more hopes of gayning that castle out of his hands, and consequently of an end of these troubles. Please to advise the opinion you have of Panella, and whether there is any probability of redemcion."73

(c) " We esteem Savagee to be grand and whole author of all these commotion, and great hope is that between the great Moghul and the king wissapore, he will be brought to a better order, and confined to more narrow limits, for till then he will not suffer any of his neighbours to be at quite. . . ."74

70. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 88, pp. 41-49, dated the 20th April 1675.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *L. B. Vol. 4*, p. 224, dated London 20th March 1668. *F. R. Rajapore*, p. 127, dated 5th April 1660 ; the factors at Rajapore to H. Revington.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 1313, dated 17th April 1660 ; the factors at Rajapore to H. Revington

74. *Orme Ms. Vol. 114*, Sect. 2, pp. 92-94, dated 15th July 1673 ; Bombay to Carwar.

(d) "I endeavour to assist the kings forces with all things that they want, so much as possibly I can, and doe heartily desire that our dangerous neighbour Sevagee were totally beaten and destroyed."⁷⁵

(e) "Wee wish they may meete and box it out stoutly, for they are both equally troublesome to us and much hinder the trade of our port."⁷⁶

(f) "Wee heartily wish the forces of that Grand Rebell and great disturber of the felicity of Duccan, which it formerly of soe fameously flourished in all manner of trade, may retire to their strongholds or be once totally routed by the Ducan army's which are reported ready in Vizapore"⁷⁷

11. *But Shivaji was specially kind to the English :—*

Though the English 'heartily' wished that Shivaji might be totally 'beaten' and 'destroyed', he was specially kind to the English. This assertion can be made even on the admission of the English themselves :—

(a) "he will be a more useful neighbour then he moores."⁷⁸

(b) The Bombay Council writing on the 15th Dec. 1673 to the East India Company says

"for he is much a friend to our nation."⁷⁹

(c) The Bombay Council writing to the Surat Council on the 23rd October 1673 says : "Yet wee dare say if he hath a kindness for any nation, its for the English."⁸⁰

(d) "Yett for all that, he had soe much civility to goe away without attempting any thing against us."⁸¹

12. *Why Shivaji troubled the English :—*

At this stage some may question : 'Why did then Shivaji trouble the English on occasions' ? The answer to this question is to be sought in the English aspirations and their policy to the Indians in general and towards Shivaji in particular. When Shivaji's men first came into contact with the English, they simply took a few Englishmen prisoners. This they had to do as they afforded protection to the Muslim governor and his juncks on a false plea that the governor owed money to the English and that he was on board the English junks only to settle account with them. Foreigners ought not to interfere with the politics of the country they stay in or take sides. But the English did this insidiously, if not openly. The pretences were however transparent and Shivaji or his men could see through them. It was therefore that some Englishmen were taken prisoners. For looting the Rajapore English factory, the English, even on their admission, were at fault. They not only provided ammunition and arms to the Bijapore Sardars for using against Shivaji at Panhala but they actually threw the shells under their own banner. Both of the above facts have been brought out in detail⁸² and therefore, require no elaboration now. Anyone who will peruse the English records dispassionately will come to the conclusion that

75. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 6, pp. 251-2, dated 7th Nov. 1673.

76. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 36, No. 4139, dated 26th Nov. 1675.

77. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 107, Fol. 118, dated 29th June 1678.

78. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 31, No. 3415, dated 30th March 1670.

79. *Original Correspondence*, 3910.

80. *Ibid.*, No. 3870.

81. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 88, p. 46, dated 8th May 1675.

82. See *supra*, Section I.

for reasons or for no reason, the English favoured the Muslim rulers more than Shivaji and, sometimes, against him. The following is one such instance :—

"The President having received advise from Sevagee that if wee admitt the Sidyes fleets to tarry any longer in our port he will, notwithstanding the peace betwixt him and us, fall upon his enemy in our harbour and declare warr against us, inserting (*sic* ? inferring) that wee shew more favour to the Sidy then to him, which being seriously considered.

ORDERED That the Secretary and Captain Thomas Nicolls be immediately sent to the Sidy to give him notice of the message Sevagy sent the President, and to declare unto him that himselfe and fleete must leave this port, they having received provisions and accomodation all the raines, which being now over they may with safety goe to sea."⁸³

On account of the favours shown to the Siddi Shivaji had to warn the English very often against such action.

Moreover, the English were not without aspirations for territorial gains. Not before Shivaji was a powerful ruler, they had such aspirations in their heart of hearts. Henry Revington and Randolph Taylor writing to the Company on the 10th December 1659, say : "Therefore, if your Worshippes please to take it in your consideration and find out some way to treate with the King of Portugall, wee are well assured by wise men heere that you may have what places you desire upon honourable tearmes"⁸⁴ It was this also that sometimes exasperated Shivaji against the English. Someone might say at this that Henry Revington and Randolph Taylor were but minor factors and not responsible officers of the Company and that their words need not be given much value. We therefore cite here correspondence regarding the possessing of Danda Rajapore that passed the Bombay Council and the Surat Council on the eve of Shivaji's attempt to take it :

Henry Young from Bombay writes to Surat :

"I have writ in (the) Generall (Letter) touching Danda Rajapore which is a place soe considerable, that if it could be purchased on any good tearmes, I think this were not to bee put in competition with it which will cost much the forte-fieing and making tenable and if we were posest of (it, i.e., Dand Rojapore) we should not neede feare Sevagee not the Mogull in neither and know not what the former could advantage himself in Bombay, more then in taking the gunns, which I could have removed to Danda till our works were compleat,"⁸⁵

The Surat Council in reply says :—

"In case you have any overtures made you by the Siddy of Danda Rojapore of his desires to come to Bombay, we would have you be very cautious in what nature you treat with him, but rather keep him of with delays, in expectation of an order from us ; for in case designes to deliver up the castle to the Mogull, we cannot understand any advantage (rather a predujice) will accrue to the Company thereby, and we have no reason to receive him or any of his people those tearms, for we shall certainly exasperate a potent and desperate neighbour, Sevagy, whom we are at present in an ill consition to oppose, in case he should designe us a mis-

83. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 78, 2nd set. dated 26 August.

84. *F. R. Rajapore* 89.

85. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, p. 150, dated 16th October 1669.

chiefe. But if the Sydy may be brought to deliver up the castle to the Honourable Company, we shall then, on advice from you, resolve on something concerning it."⁸⁶

With this view, they not only obtained Bombay, got it fortified and inhabited, but introduced their own government there, which no other country could have tolerated, but fortified other places as well. In this connection, the following consultation at Bombay may be read :—

(a) "ORDERED that Mayhim, Sian and Moehum be forwith fortified the present necessity requiring the same by reason of Sevagees takeing the Cooey country and attempting Gorbunder see near Bombay, and that Colonel Herman Bake be appointed Overseer of the work."⁸⁷

(b) "By land they (the Portuguses) are our bucler against the invasions of the Mogull and Sevagee, and theirs by sea, and if ever the Mogull or Sevagee should attempt to besiege them by land or invade any of their territories or islands, common prudence will persuade us to aid and protect them in order to our own defence, were we not obliged (Sic? by) treaty thereunto in regard that after they have dispossessed the Portuguese, they will then with ease by force turn us out or for want of provisions, starve us out, unless the islands were all under your jurisdiction and well inhabited and fortified by English, which if they were, you need not by God's assistance fear all the forse (forces) of India, but till then we declare in truth to you that it is safer for your island to have, the Portuguese for your neihbours in all these adjoining countries, then either the Mogull or Sevagee now to qualify this necessity of aiding them."⁸⁸

They went out of their way to claim the Arab sea as their sea. The following extract illustrates this well. The person instructed was Capt. Norgrove and the instructions were given by the Surat Council.

"Wee have appointed you upon the Hunter to transport Mr. George Bowcher to Callicut; to whom wee have instructions to direct you to examine all vessells for English passes, you shall meette with in your going downe; and such as shall be found to have none, belonging to any port on the Mallabarr coast, to be secured and brought upto Bombay especially such as may belong to Allee Rajah or the Morres of Burgora, Cotta, Durmapatam or Billiapatam, or the natives, of Porcat."⁸⁹

A similiar Commission was given to Captain Robert Fisher :—

"Wee have given you to understand the many insolencies and injurious practices which the publique ministers and people of Deccan and the coast Mallabar have of late imposed upon the Honble. Company servants and trade in those parts, for preventing in some measure and puting a stopp to which hereafter wee desire you during your short stay in Rajapore, Carwarr and Callicut, in case there are any ships or vessells there belonging to the said places, to command the Nocquedahs and cheife polotts on boards your ship, and then in sharp and severe termes to expostulate with them; the reason why the people on shore dare presume to goe to sea without the English passes and use bold and menaceing speeches towards them, declaring that if they doe not behave themselves with more honour and respect to the Company and their servants, and performe their contracts faithfully, pay whatever debts are due to the Company honestly, and hitherto they have done, and keepe a more faire and just understanding with us hereafter then they have hitherto done they must expect severe chastisement in the seizure and confiscating

87. *F. R. Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2, p. 139, dated 22 June 1672.

88. *Original Correspondence*. Vol. 30, No. 3361, dated 1st November 1669.

89. *F. R. Bombay to the Company*, dated 21st December 1672.

89. *F. R. Surat*, Vol., 4, Fol. 27, dated 27th Feb. 1679.

of their goods, shippes, and other effects of the Honble. Companys justly provoked displeasure."⁹⁰

And yet it was only the English nation that was compensated for by Shivaji. Here is their own admission :—

"But in this your Honrs. may glory that you have brought Sevagee to tearmes of restitution for his robbery of your Estate which neither the great Mogull nor the King of Vigapore nor the Portuguese were ever able to doe, all whose Countrys he hath sufficiently tobbed."⁹¹

Fortunately, the English, though harbouring a religious policy in their heart, did not practise it and thus avoided giving a further insult to Shivaji. In evidence of their religious intentions and of reasons for not practising them, the following may be cited :—

"We should gladly heare that Bingees design about printing do take effect, that it may be a means to propogate our religion whereby soules may be gayned as well as Estates."⁹²

"Your pious order for translating the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and our creed into the Country language that copy thereof may dispersed on your Island for inviting the inhabitants to embrace our Faith wee cannot but highly esteeme, as a very religious worke, and shall put it in practise soe soon as a seasonable opportunity shall present, but please to be informed that this good designe must be managed with great secresy and tenderness as affaires now stand, freedom in religion being one of the chiefe motives which invites strangers to settle on your Island and should the present Inhabitants or Strangers apprehend the least sentiment of feare to be imposed on in that point it would give an universall discouragement.

This is a worke which requires time, patience, and assistance from heaven, for till God moves the hearts of these poore ignorant people, our labour will be fruitlesse, the cruelty and most scandalous lives of those who call themselves Christians, as well protestants as romanists hath cast an odium and dislike of our sacred profession, for the shame of many live more strict and virtuous in their conversation then they ; we must first reforme ourselves before wee hope to convert others to our believe."⁹³

13. *On the whole, however, the English policy was one of conciliation and submission :—*

On the whole, however, the policy of the English on the Western Coast was in general one of conciliation and submission and, also with Shivaji. On the 17th April 1669, the Bombay Council writing to the Surat Council says ;

"Wee have not, neither shall wee, lett goe our privileges by the favour extended to Sevagy Rajah for once, and to him alone, not intending to make it prece-dentiall ; yet there thought fitt to preserve our honour by giving that which wee could not retaine,"⁹⁴

The 'favour' referred to here is the supply of some gun-powder and other war material to Shivaji for intended war upon the neighbouring Portu-

90. *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 37, No. 4225, dated Surat, 29th Sept. 1676.

91. *Original Correspondence*, 3910, dated 15th Dec. 1673.

92. *E. F. India*, 1668-69, pp. 72-73, dated 21 October 1668.

93. *Original Correspondence*, No. 3907, dated 15th Dec. 1673.

94. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105, p. 117.

guese territory. While this favour, the Surat Council wrote to the Bombay Council :—

"Wee disapprove not but allow of what you have done and doe concerning the dutys of rice cocos, and alsoe what passed betweene you and Sevagy; for wee doe apprehend with you that hee would not have paid it had it not bin given, neither deny wee you a correspondence with Essay, whereby you may procure those doe usefull stones, but wee would not for soe small a benefitt you shall engage soe much to him as to bee a party in his quarrells, for wee have enough to looke to our owne."⁹⁵

Some instances of the English conciliatory and submissive policy have already been given where we have given illustrations of the English shrewdness and prudence. They continually required wood, stones and food provisions for their island of Bombay and they had to depend mostly upon Shivaji for all this. Therefore, they had generally to be conciliatory and submissive to Shivaji. On the 2nd April 1670, the Surat Council writing to the Bombay Council says :

"The supply of timber is so absolutely necessary for the Island that wee would not have you enter into a correspondence with Sevagees Governor of Cullian for large timber for carriages but for buildings of shippes and frigatts also."⁹⁶

This very mood has been repeated generally in all their correspondence.

"Wee approve your holding a faire correspondence with his governor at Cullian Bunde, which pray confine and make use of the advantages offered you,....."⁹⁷

Again on the 28th October, the Surat Council enjoined upon the Bombay Council thus :—

"Letters being received yesterday from Bombay and read in Councell... Touching the prohibition which Sevagy hath enorder'd for cutting of firewood in the Islands by the maine that *the Deputy Governor and Councell be ordered not to offerr any thing of force to Sevagys people for the procury of sayd wood*, but that they write a civill letter to the Governour of Cull(i)an Bundy to complaine of said prohibition, letting him know that hitherto hath been acted on our partes but what hath tended to friendship, that some overtures hoath past of late between Sevagy and the President and Council of Surratt touching the settling of Factorys at Rojapore and other places, which wee shall have little inclynation to, if he offers the least injury unto us or or any of our people at Bombay, that we have thoughts or settling a great trade at Cullin Bundy if he doth not force us to alter our resolutions by breach of amity between us."⁹⁸

The English while following a conciliatory policy towards Shivaji, generally wanted to keep it secret from the Muslim rulers. Here is one such instance.

"Lieutt. Ustick went the 10th instant; hee enclosed goes copy of his present; the person that came from Sevagee declared himselfe always an ambassador; but none wee suppose can thinke that Lieut. Ustick goes for any thing else than to demand satisfaction."⁹⁹

95. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 1, dated 28th April 1669.

96. *Ibid.*, Vol. 19, pp. 4, 5, 6.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9, dated 14th April 1670.

98. *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3, p. 98.

99. *Ibid.*, Vol. 106, Fols. 73-74, dated 13th March 1672.

They offered presents and conciliatory policy only because they had no alternative. Here is their own admission.

"Which we shall soon do by God's blessing; when the peace is concluded; in the interim, it concerns us to keep friendship with all, though it costs us somewhat dear by presents or otherwise, without which no peace or quietness is to be expected in those mercenary parts...."¹⁰⁰

When Shivaji's men plundered English factories, they generally remonstrated and petitioned. Some illustrations of this have been already given in the third and fourth chapters. Here is one more instance:—

"The Deputy President and Council of Surratt haveing advised us that part of Sevagees army have lately plundered and robbed the Honble. Company's factory at Dungom, and forced from their factors there all what they had, as well their owne estates as the Company's and chaubucked one of them.

Ordered that a letter be imediately sent to Sevagee (with the attestations of Mr. Austen and Mr. Haggerton) to advise him of his souldiers plundering the English factory at Dongom, and their violence used against the Company's factors there and withall to demand full satisfaction of him for what lost by the Company and their factors, and to endeavour to procure, if possible wee can, his Cole that none of his souldiers shall at any time disturbe or robb any English factory in any part of the Mogulls dominions."¹⁰¹

We have however already noted that in connection with the reparation of the Rajapore losses, despair had driven to thinking of using force, against Shivaji, especially, taking into possession his vessels of merchandise. Such occasions were generally exceptional.

100. *Orme Mss.*, Vol., 114, Sect. 2, pp. 106-7, dated 15th Aug. 1673.

101. *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 2, pp. 33-4, dated 19th Feb. 1675.

MISCELLANEA

THE APOSTATE-MOTHER

In his translation of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya Dr. Shama SASTRI translates the following passage thus :¹

अपत्यदारान् मातापितरौ भातृनप्राप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनीः कन्याः विधवाश्च अबिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः । अन्यत्र पतितेभ्यः , अन्यत्र मातुः ।

"When a capable person other than an apostate (patita) or mother neglects to maintain his or her child, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters or widowed girls (kanyā vidhavāśca), he or she shall be punished with a fine of twelve paṇas."²

Paṇḍit Ganapati SASTRI in his Commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*³ holds the view that it is obligatory on the part of the son to protect his mother even though she becomes an apostate. This interpretation of the text in the *Kauṭilya—anyatra patitebhyah, anyatra mātuḥ* is more in keeping with the trend of the argument in the prakaraṇa and a more acceptable position from the point of view of the dharmaśāstra literature as well. Professor K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR accepts the interpretation suggested by the late Mr. Ganapati SASTRI and renders the passage into English thus :

"When a person who is able to do so does not maintain his child, wife, parents, brothers not of age and sisters (unmarried and widowed) he is to be fined twelve paṇas. (The benefits of the rule shall be) otherwise in the case of outcastes, but the case of a mother who is an outcaste is an exception to the proviso."⁴

It will be seen that if the first view cited, that of Dr. Shama SASTRI is accepted, it would then lead to the assumption that a mother and an apostate are exempted from, or are privileged to discord the ordinary rules of society, while the essence of punishment is to bring even the outcaste within the fold of society by punishment suitably awarded or by prāyaścitta suited to the offence. The error can be seen if we go through the relevant literature in Dharmaśāstra.

The *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* has two sūtras relevant to this particular context. They are :

I. 10th pāṭala xxiii. 9 माता पुत्रत्वस्य भूयाँसि कर्माभ्यारभते । तस्याँ शुश्रूषा नित्या पतितायामपि । and 10 :

न तु धर्मसन्निवापः स्यात् ।

1. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. by Dr. R. Shama SASTRI, 1909, Mysore, p. 47.

2. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, Eng. trn. by Dr. R. Shama SASTRI, 1923, p. 51.

3. Gaṇapati SASTRI's edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, with his commentary *Sri-mūlam*, Vol. I, p. 113. The commentary states माता तु पतितापि रक्षणीया ।

4. *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Sir Subrahmanya AIYAR Lectures, University of Madras, 1914, Second edition, 1935, p. 30.

5. *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra*, edited by A. Mahadeva SASTRI, Mysore, 1898, p. 184 ; commenting on sūtra 10, Haradatta holds the following view :

एकस्मिन् धर्मे सहान्वयः धर्मसन्निवापः ।

स पतितया मात्रा सह न कर्तव्यः ।

वैश्वदेवार्थे तु पाके सा न भोजयितव्या । मृतायास्तु तस्याः संस्कारादिकाः क्रियाः कर्तव्याः ।
नेति विप्रतिपन्नाः ।

The sūtras lay down specifically that service to a mother is *nitya* and this injunction is not affected by her even being a *patitā*. That she has undergone the extremest of trials by the bearing of the child and nourishing it is itself considered sufficient reason to hold the view that whatever be the service that the children may do to their parents, this can be never repaid.⁶ The position of the mother is further elucidated by Manu who holds :

Sahasram tu pitṛn mātā gauraveṇiricyate |⁷

All that sūtra 10 contemplates is that an apostate mother cannot be associated in any act of vaidik significance and ritualistic in character. What is contemplated in this context is that in certain sacrifices there are occasions when the names of all members of the family are cited e.g. Varuṇapraghāsa etc. On such occasions the name of the *patitā* mother will not be mentioned. For a mention of the name of such a mother is equal to accepting her as she was before she became *patitā*. Non-mention excludes her from the family privileges but she is not to be denied food, clothes and personal service by her children.⁸

A verse of the *Matsyapurāṇa*⁹ cited by the *Vīramitrodaya*, *Saṁskāra-prakāśa*, p. 468 is equally reluctant to push the case against an apostate-mother to the extreme. Even elders (*guravaḥ*—parents) are to be abandoned. Of the two, the case of the mother is different from that of the father and the sin of abandoning a mother is more heinous.¹⁰ Commenting on the passage Mītra Mīśra states the opinion that while the abandonment (*tyāga*) has not deprived even a *patitā* wife of her right to be maintained—*paripoṣaṇa*—*tyāga* in the case of gurus should be interpreted as interdicting namaskāra and other attendant rites due to an elder.¹¹

6. *Manusmṛti*, II, 227. यं मातापितरौ क्लेशम् सहेते सम्भवे वृणाम् । न तस्य निष्कृतिः शक्या कर्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ॥

7. *Manusmṛti*, II, 145.

8. See *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra*, ed. by Richard GARBE, Vol. II, 1885, p. 28, VIII, v, 41.

यावन्तो यजमानस्यामात्याः सखीकाः तावन्त्येकातिरिक्तानि ॥

The comentary on this sūtra runs thus : अमात्याः सहवासिनो ज्ञातयः पुत्रपौत्राद्या जाता एव प्रजा जानिष्यनाणा एव प्रजा इति श्रुतेः यावन्तो गृह्याः स्म इति लिङ्गात् ।

9 पतिता गुरवः त्याज्याः

माता चैव कथञ्चन ।

गर्भधारणपोषाम्यां

तेभ्यो माता गरीयसी ॥

10. *Vīramitrodaya-Saṁskāra*, p. 468. पतिताया भार्याया गृहवासनपरिपोषणविधानं स्त्रीस्वातन्त्र्यनिषेधमूलक्यतया सर्वस्त्रीसाधारणमिति स्थितौ वचनमिदं नमस्कारादिविषयमिति वदन्ति ।

11. Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa, p. 74.

गुरोरप्यबलिप्तस्य

कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।

उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य

परित्यागो विधीयते ॥

इतिवत् मातृत्यागो न विगर्हितः ।

तस्या शुश्रूषा तु नित्या पतिताया अपि ।

A verse of *Āpastamba*¹¹ is cited by Hemādri as authorising the abandonment of parents who are patitas and of parents who have lost the power of distinguishing between what should or should not be done. Hemādri comments that while abandonment is not censurable, the mother's right to be maintained by her offspring is in no way lessened and personal service is *nitya*—obligatory—even to an apostate-mother.¹²

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A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR.

THE DATE OF VIMUKTĀTMAN

Professor M. HIRIYANNA, the learned editor of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, in his introduction places Vimuktātman between the broad limits 850—1050 A.D. The evidence he sets forth for the limit 850 is the fact that Vimuktātman makes a reference to Bhāskara's views in verses I, 36 and 42 in the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. Though Vimuktātman himself does not directly mention the name of Bhāskara, according to the commentator *Jñānottama*, the reference is to Bhāskara. The commentator says :

1 भास्करमते ब्रह्मणोऽद्वितीयत्वं नाम सकार्यात्तस्मात् विलक्षणशून्यत्वम् । तस्य हानि-
प्रसङ्गादित्यर्थः ।.....एवं नानात्वस्य दुर्निरूपत्वं प्रासाध्य कार्यप्रपञ्चस्यापि भेदाभेदविकल्पेन
दुर्निरूपतामाह—कार्यकारणयोश्च—इति । (pp. 500-501 of *Iṣṭasiddhi*)

2 दृष्टान्तस्य ह्यातिबाधान्यथानुपपत्त्या यदनिर्वचनीयत्वमुपक्षिप्तं, तत् भास्करमतावलम्बनेन
अन्यथैवोपपन्नमिति शङ्कते—नन्वनिर्वचनीयत्वे—इति । (p. 502 of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*).

Thus relying on the authority of the commentator, we have to say that Vimuktātman flourished after Bhāskara. The limit 1050 A.D. was arrived at on the ground that 'the only clear reference to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* in a work earlier to it is in the *Ātmasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya, the spiritual grandfather of Rāmānuja.' In the light of some further evidences to be set forth shortly, I propose to bring the limit 1050 very close to 850 A.D.

Bhāskara, we know, was a younger contemporary of Śaṅkara (820 A.D.). Bhāskara's bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras is replete with adverse criticisms of Śaṅkara's views. Not only that, but he bodily transfers portions of *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* in his work, in more than one place. A comparison of the two bhāṣyas would make this fact clear. Further there are also external evidences to show that Bhāskara took verbatim certain portions from Śaṅkara's bhāṣya. In his commentary called *ṭippaṇa*,¹ on the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* bhāṣya of Śaṅkara, Narendrapuri is very clear in stating that Bhāskara plagiarised from Śaṅkara. The references are worth mentioning and I give only a few below.

1 यच्च 'विकारस्य नाममात्रत्वम्' इति शाङ्करव्याख्यानमनूद्य दूषितम्, प्रत्यक्ष-
विरोधात् श्रुतिविरोधाच्च इति (pp. 59-60 of Mad. Ms. R. 3690).

2 तस्मात् तत्स्फरादप्यपकृष्टोऽयं भास्करः ××××× । अयं तु शाङ्करमेवोच्छिष्टमस्मिन्
शाङ्करमेव शपते । (p. 60 of Mad. Ms. 3690).

12. See foot-note No. 11—bold portion.

1. A Ms. copy of this *ṭippaṇa* is available in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras; R. 3690.

3 तस्मात् शोच्योऽयं व्याख्यायोपिचोरः (व्यायोपिचोरः ?) सर्वत्र भाष्यकारीयं व्याख्यानमेव लिखन् (लिखकानि ?) कानिचिदक्षराणि अन्यथा व्याख्याय (अन्यदाख्या यद्भाष्य ?) भाष्यकारमेव निन्दतीति । (p. 69 of Mad. Ms. 3690).

From the foregoing it is clear that Bhāskara was considered to be a plagiarist. In view of the fact that Bhāskara has been in turn criticised by Vācaspati (841 A.D.) we have to hold that the literary activity of Bhāskara was between 820—840 A.D. Anyway it can be fairly acceptable to assume that Bhāskara flourished before Vācaspati and that his most active period would have come to a close before 841 A.D. And the fact that in the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, according to Jñānottama, Vimuktātman refers to Bhāskara clearly proves the posteriority of Vimuktātman to Bhāskara. Thus it is possible to fix the upper limit of the date of Vimuktātman, at about 850 A.D., as has been well pointed out by Prof. HIRIYANNA.

With regard to the lower limit, I have to set forth some fresh evidences. They are :

(1) In the 7th Varṇaka of the *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa Prakāśātman* (1000 A.D.) says :

मायाविद्याप्रतिबिम्बितं ब्रह्म जगत्कारणम् । विशुद्धं ब्रह्म अमृतत्वाम्बनम् । जीवाश्च अविद्याबद्धाः । (p. 975 of Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa ŚĀSTRĪ's Edn. of *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa*). That this is the view of the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* can be realised when the above text is compared with the extracts from the *Iṣṭasiddhivivarāṇa*, Madras Ms. R. 4384.

इदमत्र रहस्यम् । चिन्मात्रतन्त्रा अनादिरनिर्वाच्या महदादिप्रकृतिर्माया । तस्यां चित्प्रतिबिम्ब ईश्वरः । तत्परिणामैरेव सर्वज्ञत्वादि । “मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ” इति श्रुतेः । बिम्बकल्पं तु निर्विकल्पं ब्रह्म कैवल्याम्बनम्, “अक्षरात्परतः परः” इति श्रुतेः । तस्या एव मायायाः परिच्छिन्नानन्तप्रदेशेषु आवरणविक्षेपशक्तिमत्सु अज्ञानाभिधानेषु प्रतिबिम्बितं तदेव चैतन्यं अनन्तजीवव्यवहारास्पदं बोधवीति । (pp. 329-30).

This commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi* is from the pen of the famous Anubhūtisvarūpa,² though it is wrongly identified with Jñānottama's *vivarāṇa*. The extracts given from the commentary are enough to show that the same ideas as contained in the *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa*, mentioned above are found in this commentary. The whole of the seventh Adhyāya of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* deals with similar ideas, so that there will be no difficulty in supposing that Prakāśātman had in his mind the views contained in the *Iṣṭasiddhi* when he wrote his *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa*.

(2) Again on p. 977 of Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa ŚĀSTRĪ's edition of the *Vivarāṇa*, the text reads as follows :

ब्रह्मैकमेव स्वाविद्यया जगदाकारेण विवर्तते स्वप्नादिवत् इति मतान्तरम् । तस्मात् ब्रह्मैव स्वमायाया अविद्यया विवर्तत इति ।

This view in the Advaitic tradition has come to be attributed to Vimuktātman.³ The *Iṣṭasiddhi* has also a similar text.

अतः परमार्थसत्यः आत्मैव स्वाविद्यामायाया सर्वस्य लौकिकवैदिकव्यवहारस्य आ प्रबोधात् मायावीव स्वमायाया गिरिनदीसमुद्रादिव्यवहारास्पदं भवतीति अभ्युपेयं न्यायमनुसराद्भिः सर्वैरेव⁴ ।

Thus it can be seen that Prakāśātman (1000 A.D.) was aware of the existence of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. This fact gains support when we see that the *Tattvadiṇana* of Akhaṇḍānanda also seems to identify the above view as having been held by

2. Evidences to be set forth elsewhere.

3. See *Citsukhi*, pp. 363-375 ; Nir. Sag. Edn.

4. *Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 200.

Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, though in an implied manner. The *Tattvaḍīpana* in this context reads :

अत्राह तस्मादिति । न चैकमुक्तौ सर्वमुक्तिप्रसङ्गः, इष्टापतेः । शिष्टमिष्टसिद्धौ द्रष्टव्यम् ।

(3) A slightly earlier reference to the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, earlier than by Prakāśātman, is to be met with in the *Tattvaṣuddhi* of Jñānaghana. In Chapter 44 of the *Tattvaṣuddhi*, on avidyānivṛtti, Jñānaghana says :

यस्मात् नाज्ञाननिवृत्तिः सदसदनिर्वचनीयप्रकारा अस्माभिरभ्युपगम्यते, किं तु पञ्चमप्रकारा । सदसदादिप्रकाराः किल निवृत्तयोः भावाभावयोरेव दृष्टाः । अज्ञानं पुनः सदसद्विलक्षणम् । अतस्तन्निवृत्तिरपि तदनुसारिणी युक्ता । यक्षानुरूपो बलिरिति हि न्यायः । etc.

Though there is no direct mention of Vimuktātman's name here, the reference is to his views. For in the tradition of Advaitic thought the fifth mode of avidyānivṛtti is associated with Vimuktātman's name.⁵ This would evidently show that Vimuktātman preceded Jñānaghana.

I have in my paper on Jñānaghanapūjyapāda,⁶ attempted on some grounds to fix his date somewhere about 900 A.D. So that Vimuktātman now can be placed between the limits 850—900 A.D.

(4) A still further significant reference to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* is by Sarvajñātman in his *Pañcaprakriyā*.⁷ In this work, in more than one place reference is made to the views of the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. Towards the end of the last section dealing with mokṣa, we find Sarvajñātman quoting from the *Iṣṭasiddhi* in the following way :

तस्मात् भगवत्पादीये दर्शने आत्मन एवाज्ञा (त ?) त्वं ज्ञातृत्वं च । तदुक्तं इष्टसिद्धिकारैः —

“ स्वस्त्वं च भाति यत्तत्र न ज्ञाताज्ञविभागधीः ।

अतोऽविद्या भवेद्यस्य भवेत् तद्विषयैव सा ॥ ” इति ।

The verse is found as No. 9 in Chapter VI of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*.

Now we see that Sarvajñātman quotes from the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. Sarvajñātman flourished somewhere about 900 A.D.⁸ According to tradition he is also known to be the disciple of Sureśvara.⁹ Thus Vimuktātman can safely be placed before 900 A.D.

5. See Com. on the *Samkṣepaśārīraka*, IV, 14 (Ānand. Edn.)

6. *New Indian Antiquary*.

7. This is available in Mad. Mss. Library, R. 3619b. The work is a short tract dealing with five topics in Advaita ; तत्त्वंपदार्थव्याख्यान, अवान्तरवाक्यार्थविवरण, महावाक्यार्थविवरण, शब्दवृत्तिप्रकारभेद and मोक्षविचारः

8. DAS GUPTA : *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 111.

9. Some scholars think that it is a mistake to suppose Sarvajñātman as a disciple of Sureśvara, on the ground that Sarvajñātman refers to his guru as Deveśvara and not as Sureśvara. On this they make a difference between Sureśvara and Deveśvara. (See *JORM.* III, p. 50). This argument does not seem to me to be quite satisfactory, for in assuming the above view to be correct, we will be forced to say that Sureśvara himself was not a disciple of Śaṅkara, as he mentions his guru as वेधोऽभिधं मद्गुरुम् in the end of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣyavārttika*, and as भवनामभृत् in the end of the *Taittirīyabhāṣyavārttika*. Sureśvara himself explains the latter in the words : भवस्य भगवतो महादेवस्य नाम शङ्कराख्यं विभ्रतः । Thus it is very clear that there will be no difficulty in making out from Deveśvara Sureśvara, the guru of Sarvajñātman. Instances of similar references can be had in plenty. Further it is also in conformity with the custom, not to refer to one's guru directly by his name. This custom later on seems to be emphasised in verse :

आत्मनाम गुरोर्नाम नामातिरूपणस्य च ।

श्रेयस्कामो न गृह्णीयात् ज्येष्ठापत्यकलत्रयोः ॥

(5) Vimuktātman directly refers to Sureśvara, or Vārttika-kāra :

तदुक्तं वार्तिककारैः—

‘नेहात्मविन्दन्योऽस्ति न मतोऽज्ञोऽस्ति कश्चन ।

इत्यजानन्विजानाति यः स ब्रह्मविदुत्तमः ॥’ (p. 355 of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*).

The above verse is taken from the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* (IV, 53) of Sureśvara.

Thus putting all these facts together, it can be fairly assured that Vimuktātman flourished somewhere about 850 A.D. Though the figure may not be quite correct, his chronological position between Sureśvara and Sarvajñātman, stands fairly established.

Madras.

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.

DEATH OF AHMAD NIZAM SHAH I, BAHRI

Chroniclers and historians have generally recorded 914 A.H.¹ as the year of death of Ahmad Nizam Shah I. This is not apparently based on any direct contemporary evidence but is presumably an inference drawn from the chronogram compiled to commemorate the year of accession of his son Burhan Nizam Shah I. There is, however, no ground to suppose that Burhan Nizam Shah's accession was a consequence of Ahmad Nizam Shah's death.

Duff, in his *Chronology*,² says : “914 A.H. Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmednagar succeeds his father Ahmad Nizam Shah I”; while James BURGESS, in his *Chronology*³ of *Modern India*, mentions : “H. 914 Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, Sultan of Ahmednagar, dies.” Thus the former avoids to interpret the year of accession of Burhan Nizam Shah as the year of Ahmad Nizam Shah's death, but the latter is assertive enough in his inference. BEALE, in his *Dictionary*,⁴ gives 914 A.H. or 1508 A.D. as the year in which Ahmad Nizam Shah died. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*⁵ also accepts the year.

BRIBBLE⁶ and the *Imperial Gazetteer*⁷ record 1508 A.D. as the year of Ahmad Shah's death; the *Cambridge History*,⁸ however, calculates the correspondence of 914 A.H. to 1509 A.D. and states : “in 1509 Ahmad Nizam Shah died.” All these quotations indicate the common adherence of the later chroniclers and historians to 914 A.H. for the incident. Apparently, all follow Ferishta.

Mahomed Kasim Ferishta gives, no doubt, a chronogram for the accession of Burhan Nizam Shah I manifesting 914 A.H., but leaves his reader to have his own inference about the date of death of Ahmad Nizam Shah I from the succession of events narrated by him. The pertinent portion of this narration is quoted from BRIGGS' :

“In the year 914 (1508 A.D.), Nusser-ool-Moolk, the Vizier, dying, his office was conferred on Mookumil Khan Deccany; and two or three months afterwards, the King (Ahmad Nizam Shah) himself being taken dangerously

1. 2 May 1508 to 20 April 1509.

2. P. 269. *The Chronology of India from the earliest times to the beginning of the XVIIth century* by C. Mabel DUFF, 1899.

3. *Chronology of Modern India*—A.D. 1494 to 1894 by James BURGESS, 1913.

4. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by T. W. BEALE and edited by H. G. KEENE, Calcutta, 1881.

5. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1 by M. Th. HOUTSMAN and T. W. ARNOLD.

6. P. 153, Vol. I, *History of the Deccan* by J. D. B. GRIBBLE, 1896.

7. P. 389, Vol. II, Table XI, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edn., 1928.

8. P. 430, Vol. III, *Cambridge History of India*.

ill, he appointed his son Boorhan Nizam, an infant of seven years of age, his successor, and shortly afterwards died."⁹

The statement is very vague and the year quoted can be applied to either of the events mentioned. The words "shortly afterwards" may mean any short or long interval that one can imagine. Ferishta has thus recorded no definite date of death of Ahmad Nizam Shah. On the contrary he has elsewhere¹⁰ told us that Kumal Khan, on assuming his new dignity as the sole administrator of Ismael Adil Shah, cultivated the friendship of the neighbouring princes such as *Ahmad Nizam Shah*, Sultan Quli Kootb Shah and Ameer Bereed Shah. If this cultivation of friendship had really taken place, as Ferishta believes it to be, then Ahmad Nizam Shah did survive till after the death of Yusuf Adil Shah I, who died in 916 A.H. (1510 A.D.).¹¹

Sayyad Ali, another Persian authority next to Ferishta, in his *Burhan-i-Maasir*, records¹² 911 A.H.¹³ as the year when Ahmed Nizam Shah died. This is unacceptable. There is ample evidence of activities of Ahmad Nizam Shah till 914 A.H. In fact, Sayyad Ali has himself contradicted his own statement elsewhere while mentioning the event with detail as :

"Sultan Ahmad Bahri, after he had reigned for nineteen years and four months, or according to another account for twelve years.....

"When the King became aware of the approach of death, he withdrew from the desire of worldly kingdom and sent for the prince, Al Mu'ayyad Mir'andi'llah Abul Muzzafar Burhan Nizam Shah, who was then seven years of age, and gave him his council.

"When the King had given his parting instructions to all about him, he died.... The Amirs and the officers of the army made all the preparations for the funeral and the King was buried in the tomb which he had built for himself in the environs of Ahmednagar in the garden known as the Rauzah."¹⁴

There is, therefore concordance between Ferishta and Sayyad Ali so far as the relation of Ahmad Nizam Shah's regency for some time after the accession of Burhan Nizam Shah goes. Like Ferishta, Sayyad Ali also slips in, in contradiction of his date of Ahmad Nizam Shah's death, an account¹⁵ of 916 A.H.¹⁶ explaining

9. P. 206, Vol. III, John BRIGGS' *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D.*—Translation of Persian original of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, 1919.

10. P. 34, Vol. III, BRIGGS' *Ferishta*.

11. Pp. 30, 33, Vol. III, BRIGGS' *Ferishta*; p. 149, *Ghorpade BAKHAR*, *Ghorpade Gharanyacha Itihas* edited by D. V. Apte.

12. Pp. 159 and 128, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIX, *Burhan-i-Maasir*, translation by Major W. HAIG, 1920.

13. 4 June 1506 to 23 May 1507 A.D.

14. P. 128. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIX, *Burhan-i-Maasir*, translation by Major W. HAIG, 1920.

15. The account runs as under :

"In the year 916 A.H. (A.D. 1510) discord and contention arose between Majlis-i-Rafi, Adil Khan and Dastur-i-Mamalik on account of an old quarrel; and as Dastur-i-Mamalik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis-i-Rafi, he put his trust in the protection and favour of Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nizam-ul-Mulk and took refuge at his court. The celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis-i-Rafi. When the latter heard of the movement of this army feeling himself unable to oppose them, he took refuge at the court of the Sultan. He entirely forbade Majlis-i-Rafi Adil Khan to quarrel with Dastur-i-Mamalik. Majlis-i-Rafi, according to orders made a compact that in future he would become a traveller on the road of friendship and unity with Dastur-i-Mamalik. ... After that the Sultan sent to that Prince of Men (Bahamany King) a farman full of affection and kindness together with numerous presents, and told him how he had prohibited Majlis-i-Rafi from quarrelling with Dastur-i-Mamalik and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis-i-Rafi. The Prince conformably with

how successfully he (Ahmad Nizam Shah) intervened in the quarrel between Adil Khan and Dastur-i-Mamalik.

Thus both Ferishta and Sayyad Ali believed that Ahmad Nizam Shah was alive till the year 916 A.H., and the belief appears to be well justified when we find a contemporary corroborative evidence in a letter of 17th October 1510 from Affonso de Albuquerque, Viceroy of Portuguese India, to the King of Portugal. Albuquerque writes :

"Another Alquazill (Nizam-ul-Mulk) is the Lord of Chaul (Chaul). The latter always was in war with Çabayo (Sawace or Yusuf Adil Shah I) and is still in warfare ; and if, at the time I won Goa, the Lord of Chaul had not died, I would never have lost it, because he fell upon the son of Çabayo when he came to besiege the island, and he defeated him¹⁷

Albuquerque won¹⁸ Goa for the first time on 12 March 1510, and Adil Khan besieged¹⁹ it at the beginning of May 1510. Ahmad Nizam Shah had, therefore, according to the Portuguese Viceroy's account, fallen on the army of Adil Khan in April ; and if Ahmad Nizam Shah had died before he could effectively harass Adil Khan to prevent recovery of Goa, the event must have taken place some time between the end of April and the middle of October 1510. The fact that Dom Francisco de Almeida, predecessor of Albuquerque, had entered²⁰ into a treaty with Nizamulucão, King of Chaul, in the last week of February or the first week of March 1509 not only vouchsafes the accuracy about the knowledge of the Portuguese sources of the King of Ahmednagar (Ahmad Nizam Shah) but definitely rejects any inference that Ahmad Nizam Shah died before March 1509, i.e. in 914 A.H. and extends the interval between the accession of Burhan Nizam Shah and the death of Ahmad Nizam Shah beyond 914 A.H. Again the event that some of the officers of household attempted²¹ to revolt against Mukumil Khan and his charge, Burhan Nizam Shah, with the aid of Allauddin Imad-ul-Mulk in 916 A.H. inclines one to place a limitation to this interval to the middle of 916 A.H. as the death of Ahmad Shah alone must have afforded the revolvers an opportunity to rebel against their master. It is, however, not possible for want of conclusive evidence to determine the date of death of Ahmad Nizam Shah. All we can say for the present with any certainty on the strength of the contemporary evidence of such a reliable source as Affonso de Albuquerque, is that the death of Ahmad Nizam Shah must have occurred some time between the end of April and the middle of October 1510 or in the beginning of 916 A.H.

The continued illnesses and deaths of the two chief Sultans of the Deccan—Yusuf Adil Shah and Ahmad Nizam Shah—and their subsequent regimes of infant successors with disputes for succession were indeed responsible for the weakened strength of these kingdoms, which was ultimately found to be inadequate and indecisive to resist the footing of the Portuguese on the coasts of Goa and Konkan. An earlier date for the occurrence of Ahmad Nizam Shah's death was presenting some hitch in this contention, but now that the correct year of his death is known this hitch is removed.

Poona.

V. S. BENDREY

his desire returned to the seat of government."—pp. 140-1, *The History of the Bahamany Dynasty founded on Burhan-i-Maasir* by J. S. King, 1900.

16. 10 April 1510 to 31 March 1511.

17. Letter No. VI from Affonso de Albuquerque at Cananor to the King of Portugal, Vol. I, Albuquerque's Letters, Portuguese Records, India Office, London. (Also a copy in my Collection).

18. P. 192, Vol. I, *Portuguese in India* by F. C. DANVERS, 1894.

19. P. 194, *Ibid.*

20. P. 141, *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, by F. C. DANVERS, 1896 ; p. 32, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* by J. Gerson de CUNHA, 1874, *Colaba Gazetteer*, etc.

21. Pp. 212-4, *BRIGGS' Ferishta*, Vol. III.

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Pre-Buddhist India (A survey of Ancient India based on the Jātaka stories).
Ratilal N. MEHTA. Bombay, Examiner Press, 1939. Pp. xxviii, 461. Price
Rs. 15.

The subtitle of this work is given as 'A Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Geographical Survey of Ancient India based mainly on the Jātaka Stories', a task which the author seems to have accomplished with commendable zeal. The Pāli texts have supplied a good deal of information regarding the India of Buddha's period and of the succeeding centuries, to a much greater extent, for instance, than the Sanskrit texts, but this is the first sustained effort to gather from a single source all the material which may be interpreted in terms of the subtitle quoted above.

The whole book is divided into five major sections. The first section deals with political history, divided into four chapters, the ancient period, the Kuru-Pañcāla kings, Videha and the lesser kingdoms and the Mahājanapada period. Section II deals with the political atmosphere, the central administration, the fiscal administration, the administration of justice, military organisation and local government, and is entitled Administrative Organisation. Section III, called Economic Aspects, treats of such interesting topics as production, distribution, exchange and consumption. The fourth section is devoted to Sociological Conditions, dealing with the social structure, the family, friends and relations, the position of woman, education, arts and science, religion and philosophy and manners and customs. The last section and one of the most interesting is entirely devoted to the study of the Geography of the Jātakas, with a very useful geographical lexicon.

In any criticism of the work it must be remembered that it was submitted as a thesis for the degree of M.A. at the University of Bombay, and any of the shortcomings which strike the eye are chiefly due to the fact that the writer was making his entrance in the field of scholarship and was handicapped to a certain extent by the lack of first-hand acquaintance with some of the papers contributed to allied themes and appearing in the various European journals, some of which are inaccessible in India. Nevertheless it is a very creditable performance, based as it is on all the material which was available to the author in English. An instance of the author's non-acquaintance with cognate sources in the shape of modern contributions may be cited here when, on p. 4 he identifies *Dudīpa* of Pāli (v. l. *Duḍḍīpa*) with *Dilīpa* of Sanskrit, while the linguistic note on this interesting word by CHARPENTIER would have supplied him with certain new viewpoints but is evidently missed by him. I do not propose to take into account other instances where such contemporary contribution could have been utilized with advantage by the author. Apart from these minor points, we should be obliged to the author for his painstaking analysis of the vast sociological material lying embedded in the popular Jātaka stories. As such the author's contribution is a welcome addition to our knowledge of ancient Indian Customs as reflected in this huge literature and despite the fact that many of his identifications may not convince some scholars and win general acceptance, it is a performance of which both the author and the Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, may reasonably be proud. It is not out of place to suggest here that the author may be prevailed upon to do a similar work in the field of Jain canonical literature and the commentaries from which we can gather even a more detailed knowledge of the contemporary period. It is both a complementary work and highly capable of yielding better results. After all one text, even if it represents a whole school of literature, is

not a safe basis to draw historical facts on, particularly when much popular belief is mixed with semi-historical and mythological stories. A co-ordination between Sanskrit, Prakrit, that is, Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi and Apabhraṃśa sources is absolutely necessary for this reconstruction of the dark period of Ancient Indian History. The subject may perhaps form part of the future plan of Research Institutes in the Bombay Province.

The get-up of the book is excellent throughout, and the production as a whole is worthy of a high place in the recent contributions of Indian scholarship to historical studies. The work deserves a wide circulation.

S. M. K.

Oṣadhikōśam, edited by A. Venkat RAO and H. Sesha IYENGAR (Madras University Kannada Series, No. 7), 1940. Pp. viii, 174. Price Rs. 2.

The present edition is based on a *codex unicum* obtained from the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana of Arrah and is due to the fact 'that this work gives meanings not only of technical words, but also of many popular words not found in current dictionaries' (Preface) and thus be of help to students of Kannada. The *codex* on which the edition is based is incomplete, and the editors have not been able to penetrate behind the defective exemplar in order to gain any information about the author or the date of the work. The work contains nearly twelve thousand Sanskrit words arranged in the alphabetical order with their meanings in Kannada. A detailed discussion in the Kannada introduction points out to the fact that the *codex unicum* is not an original copy but only a copy of a copy, and since the symbol for 7 is sparingly used the exemplar cannot go back to a parent *codex* earlier than the thirteenth century.

The work is useful for two reasons; it gives us the Kannada equivalents of a large number of technical words dealing with medicinal herbs, etc. as current at the period and in the region where the work was composed, and gives us at the same time a large number of Kannada vocables whose existence otherwise would have been questioned, being lacking in any of the available dictionaries. It is thus a definite addition towards the building up of a new *Thesaurus* of Kannada, and it is regrettable therefore, that the efforts have not seen fit to add an appendix in the shape of an alphabetical index of all the Kannada words.

Many of the meanings are merely Sanskrit loanwords as in ABHRAM : *abhṛaka*, *karpūra*, *megha*, *bhadramaste*; ASRAM : *raktam*, etc. The advantage of the Kannada-Sanskrit reverse dictionary from the Sanskrit-Kannada part would be apparent from a sample entry (which does not aim at comprehensiveness) : BHADRAMASTE : > *abhram*, *abda*, etc. Even Sanskrit lexicography may gain something from this *Oṣadhikōśa*. We congratulate the University of Madras and the two members of its Kannada department for bringing out this unique work, and hope that at no distant future, the reverse Kannada Sanskrit Index may be published either as a volume in this Series or as a paper in the *Journal of Oriental Research*.

S. M. K.

The Student's English-Pāli Dictionary (with 3 appendices) by Hiralal Rasikdas KAPADIA. Karsandas Narandas and Sons, Surat, 1941. Pp. xii, 188, Price Re. 1-0-0.

This is indeed the first attempt to give to students of Prakrit languages a practical English-Prakrit dictionary with special reference to Ardhamāgadhi. It attempts

to give the Pk. equivalents of nearly 4,500 Eng. words and therefore satisfies the major needs of the student in his work of translating Eng. passages into Amg. The author's insistence in calling Prakrit by the term *Pāiṣa* and restricting its use in actual practice to Amg. seems to be somewhat strange, but making allowances for the author's individual notions in the matter, the effort has really been worth making and he has thereby placed the entire student world in this province under obligation. In the selection of Pk. equivalents the editor has as far as practicable given words nearest to I-A. regional languages like Gujarati and also included Sanskrit words with or without modifications as the case may be. Appendix I contains additional words which are to be incorporated in the dictionary; appendix II gives a list of Prefixes and Suffixes and the last appendix gives a set of rules for transforming Sk. vocables into their Amg. cognates. These are mainly intended for students who are already acquainted with the general phonology and morphology of Amg., and are therefore of a recapitulatory nature.

Considering the size and price of the book, and despite the indifferent printing Prof. KAPADIA may be congratulated on his useful publication. For a first edition it is remarkably comprehensive and his teaching experience has stood him well. As the title frankly admits that it is a student's dictionary we offer no criticisms or suggestions, since the work has been admirably done for the purpose which was before the editor.

S. M. K.

Holy Places of India by Bimala Churn LAW. Calcutta Geographical Society Publication No. 3, 1940. Pp. vii, 57.

Dr. LAW has added yet another volume to his prolific but entirely useful publications, and the present work places the educated India of today under a deep debt of gratitude by describing the Holy Places of India in a very picturesque manner, combining the historian's desire for detail with a scrupulous attention to the tourist's or pilgrim's need of archaeological information. The result is a happy combination in the shape of an indispensable guide to these places of pilgrimage, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain. By his first-hand study of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literatures Dr. LAW is eminently qualified to write this book, and his geographical training has added to the utility of the text by three maps showing eastern India, north and north-western India and the south of India respectively. There are a number of reproductions which heighten the appearance as well as the usefulness of this publication. It must be remembered that it is not a tourist's guide but it is much more than that; it is indispensable in its supplying all the historical, religious or archaeological data appertaining to each place described. We congratulate the Calcutta Geographical Society on securing the cooperation of Dr. LAW for the compilation of such a useful guide.

S. M. K.

Alaṅkāra-mañjūṣā of Bhaṭṭa Devaśaṅkara Purohita, critically edited with Introduction, variation-footnotes, translation of the author's definitions and illustrations, notes, appendices and indices by Sadashiva Lakshmidhara KATRE, with a Foreword by Sir Manubhai N. MEHTA (Scindia Oriental Series No. 1). Oriental Manuscripts Library, Ujjain, 1940. Pp. lvi, 315. Price Rs. 4.

The scholarly world has long been acquainted with the existence of the *Prācya Grantha Sangraha* or Oriental Manuscripts Library of Ujjain which owes its renown to the magnanimity of the late Maharaja MADHAVA RAO SCINDIA and with the first

two volumes of its descriptive catalogue. It was really a matter of time when the *Scindia Oriental Series* would be inaugurated, in line with the long established *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, the *Mysore Sanskrit Series* or the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. Now that the first volume of the series has been published we can say without hesitation that it has been well inaugurated, for the text under review is one in which the science of rhetorics has been combined with historical personages, particularly of the Peshwa court, and is therefore of interest to Maratha historians. Its aptness to form part of the *Scindia Oriental Series* is thus beyond any controversy.

The present edition is based on three Mss., written in Devanāgarī, one of which was presented to the Oriental Mss. Library of Ujjain and the remaining two being from the Government Collection deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The two Mss. of the B. O. R. Institute appear, according to the editor, to be by the same hand, the Ms. *i* being characterised by the fact that the corrected readings agree with the Ujjain *a* Ms. while the original readings are those of the remaining Ms. *ā*. The heroes of the poem are Peshwa Bajirao I, followed by the Peshwas Raghunātharao, Mādhavarao I and Nārāyaṇarao, and they are panegyricised in the illustrations which the author gives for the different figures of speech, composed by himself. The work therefore compares favourably with the *Pratāparudrayaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, *Ekāvalī Raghunāthabhūpālīya* and *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*.

In a very learned introduction the editor discusses the historical and other incidents mentioned in the text in the light of contemporary evidence and separates the purely historical aspect from the merely fanciful. A study of the style confirms the editor's opinion that the work is based on the *Kuvalayānanda*. Its date of composition is fixed between 1765 and 1766.

The author Devaśaṅkara Bhaṭṭa is the son of one Nāhanābhāi, hailing from the town called *Rānera* from which place he later shifted to *Urahpattana*, these two being identified respectively with *Rānder* and *Olpād*. If the second identification is correct the form *Urahpattana* was wrongly transcribed by the author from the vernacular *Olpād*, evidence for the existence of the Sk. word being proved by the editor from other Mss. sources. It is interesting why the author does not Sanskritise *Rānera* properly, since *Rander* can be derived only from MI-A. * *Ranner*, the second member of which is evidently the inherited form from Sk. *nagara*-, as current in Marathi and not in Gujarati which should give -*nār* normally. This point is not brought out by the editor. The first element is probably connected with Sk. *rājan* in the form *rājña*-(h).

The translation and notes are precise and intelligible and the two appendices deal respectively with Devaśaṅkara's *Amaruśatakavyākhyā* and identification of Bāla-kṛṣṇaśāstri mentioned in the text as the author's contemporary and a scholar who was highly honoured by the Peshwas. On other contemporary evidence Mr. GODE attempted to identify him with one Bālakṛṣṇa Dikṣita Pāṭaṅkar (*BISQ* 18.92-96) but the editor doubts this on the basis that this family of Pāṭaṅkars was never known under the title of Śāstri and that another B. Śāstri is actually known from contemporary records as exerting considerable influence on the Peshwa and references to whom have already been pointed out by Mr. GODE himself. Appendix C deals with the identification of Pratāpa who appears as a contemporary chief and regarded by the Editor as Pratāprao Gaikwad. Three indices give respectively the alphabetical list of the *kārikās*, verses and *nomina propria*.

The Editor has done his work conscientiously and thoroughly and the foundations of the *Scindia Oriental Series* have been truly and well laid by the publication of *Alaṅkāramañjūṣā*. We wish the Oriental Mss. Library of Ujjain and the newly inaugurated series a long and continuous life of usefulness in the cause of Indology.

S. M. K.

The State Museum, Pudukkottai, 1938.

This short brochure gives an account of the establishing of the Museum in 1910, although the idea was mooted first in 1896. At present it has eight sections consisting of (1) Art and Industries, (2) Economic, (3) Natural History (including Entomology), (4) Ethnology, (5) Numismatics, (6) Archaeology, (7) Paintings and (8) the Library. The Numismatic section comprises the Roman coins discovered in the State and those of Vijayanagar, Andhra and other South Indian dynasties. The Archaeological section represents certain prehistoric implements found in urn-burials amounting to 152 specimens of old pottery and 72 iron weapons of different sorts and sizes. Some bronzes, a stone gallery and some specimens of Buddhist sculptures in marble from Amarāvati form part of an interesting collection. The painting section includes specimens of the Tanjore school, and the library possesses 350 volumes, mainly works of reference. The plates included show the 24 Jain Tirthankaras, *tālis* and *boṭṭus* and the frontispiece the stately Museum building. For its size the Museum appears to be a very great centre of attraction, the daily average attendance being nearly 500. This represents a very high average indeed, and the progressive nature of the state needs no other proof. We wish the Museum and the State authorities all success in their efforts to educate public opinion in the direction of history, science and archaeology, in fact general culture, which is one of the main objects with which the Museum was established. The present period of world-chaos is best calculated to impress upon the minds of the younger generation the greatness of the past cultures and to learn the lesson of history so that the present might be modified in that light and the future of humanity assured for all time. Museums such as these bring home the truths of history more forcibly and directly than a hundred illustrated texts.

S. M. K.

A Report on the working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai for Fasli 1349 (July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940). Sri Brihadamba State Press, Pudukkottai, 1941.

As mentioned above the average daily attendance has continued to be nearly 500 (or to be more correct 498.9). Among the new exhibits received by the Museum are a palaeolithic flint prepared by the Calton technique, four pottery exhibits, three stone idols, a set of seven coloured post-cards of the Sigiriya frescoes in Ceylon which will be exhibited alongside the Sittanvāśal frescoes for comparative study. A very interesting terracotta figure of Gaṇeśa has been discovered while excavating the site in front of Mūvarkōvil at Koṭumbālūr, all in red and well polished, measuring 7 inches high and 4 inches wide at the greatest width. At this very site two copper-coins and a few pieces of bronze have been found, belonging to the Mohammedan period, particularly to Sultan Jalal-ud-din-Ahsan (Hasan) Shah (1334-39 A.D.). The Natural History section has, among other interesting things, collected about 100 plants and dried them for the herbarium.

The most important work of the Museum authorities was naturally connected with the cleaning of the Sittanvāśal Cave Temple Frescoes which was completed this year under the supervision of Dr. S. PARAMASIVAN. Similarly the cleaning work on the Tirumayan Śiva Cave Temple Frescoes (*circa* 7th century) has been carried forward and fresh paintings discovered in the process. The colours used are yellow, red, green, black and white. The excavation of Mūvarkōvil has been continued in the course of the year under report, and the whole temple structure studied. The architecture shows that the entire temple belongs to the early Cōḷa period, and the Pallava-Grantha script of the inscription found thereon is of the 9th-10th centuries A.D. The prehistoric sites in the vicinity of the jungle Kalasakkāḍu which were par-

tially excavated in 1917 have now been taken up again for fresh excavation. A few other prehistoric sites were also explored during the year. In epigraphy two new inscriptions have been noticed, both being in Tamil. The first is found in Pēyāl village on the bund of a tank but bears no date. The second was exposed on the plinth of the *nikhamaṇḍapam* in front of the Sittanvāsāl cave and was in old Tamil, the Curator dating it *circa* 900 A.D. In a number of useful appendices the Curator gives a lot of information with regard to the internal management of the Museum and its different activities. The last gives a list of the monuments conserved. The report is altogether very encouraging and the Curator Mr. K. R. Srinivasa AIYAR, is to be congratulated on a year's successful activities.

Poona.

S. M. K.

Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, by R. R. HAZRA, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Dacca; Published by the University of Dacca (Bulletin No. XX), 1940. Pp. vii + 3 + 367.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Dacca, 1938. During the last few years Dr. HAZRA has made himself sufficiently known to the readers of some of the standard Oriental Journals in India by his studies in the *Dharmaśāstra* and the *Purāṇas* in a more scientific manner than that followed by the Sanskrit scholars of the second half of the last century in India. The work done in this field by scholars like H. H. WILSON, F. E. PARGITER, Haraprasad SHASTRI and P. V. KANE is, however, noteworthy as these scholars have adopted the scientific method of analysis and synthesis in their evaluation of the texts. While the relative chronology of *Dharmaśāstra* texts of the early and late periods has been fixed by Prof. KANE and other scholars, the chronology of the *Purāṇas*, like that of the Epics is "a subject full of perplexing problems." This perplexity of the Purāṇic Chronology is further aggravated by the absence of critical editions of the *Purāṇas*. The ore of the Purāṇic material needs to be founded and washed several times by our critical scholars before it can yield a few ounces of pure gold which could be utilised by the goldsmiths of our history and literature. In the volume before us Dr. HAZRA does not wish to play the part of a goldsmith in his study of the Purāṇic rites and customs but rather than of the collector of the ore, who is busy pounding his ore with all zest and herculean labour all his own. The wealth and inflation of the Purāṇic records do not stagger him as he believes in the value of these records for the study of the development of Hindu rites and customs during the centuries intervening between Yājñavalkya and the Smṛti Nibandhas. "During this period, the Hindu society passed through numerous vicissitudes. So much so that in many respects the Hindu rites and customs, as found in the Nibandhas differ from those in the Codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya. Hence the study of the Purāṇas is of immense importance for a clear understanding of the whole course of the development."

In accordance with the plan and purpose of the work explained above Dr. HAZRA divides his book into *Parts I and II*. *Part I* deals with the *Mahāpurāṇas* and the chronology of the Purāṇic chapters of the *Major Purāṇas* (*Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Bhāgavata, Kūrma*) as also of the *Minor Purāṇas* (*Vāmāna, Liṅga, Varāha, Padma, Bṛhannārādiya, Nārādiya, Agni, Garuḍa, Brahma, Skānda, Brahmavaivarta, Bhaviṣya*). In *Part II* he deals with Hindu Society before 200 A.D., from 3rd to the 6th century A.D. and also allied topics like Brahmanical elements in the Purāṇic teachings and the influence of economic and social needs of the sacerdotal class on the Purāṇic Rites and Customs. The absorption of Tāntricism by the Purāṇic Rites and Customs is the next discussion. This is followed by

very useful *Appendices* containing a long list of quotations which Dr. HAZRA has traced in the extant *Purāṇas* as also a list of important untraceable *Purāṇic* verses in the commentaries and *Nibandhas*. The elaborate *Bibliography* and the *Index* added at the close of the volume leaving nothing to be desired within the scope of this study planned and executed with such industry and scholarship under the guidance of Dr. S. K. DE of the Dacca University, the guru of our author.

Dr. HAZRA is fully conscious of the tentative nature of the chronological scheme of the *Purāṇic* texts as outlined by him in *Part I* of this volume. In spite of the controversial nature of this scheme he has brought much useful material to the dissection table of the students of Hindu rites and customs. This is a distinct gain to this field of investigation, which awaits the labours of further researchers. The problem of the history of *Purāṇic* rites and customs as stated and explained by Dr. HAZRA, is bound to stimulate specialized research by subsequent investigators. In fact the present volume throws out numerous suggestions, which, if worked out on the basis of scientifically sifted evidence and correlated to contemporary evidence from non-Brahmanical sources, will not fail to give some strength to the weak reeds of the *Purāṇic* chronology. Let us hope that Dr. HAZRA himself will apply to this task his hard-earned experience and solve many of the textual problems connected with the *Purāṇas*, which now confront every ardent student of Indian history and culture. We congratulate Dr. HAZRA on his present valuable and first-hand study of the *Purāṇic* sources, so well planned and so conscientiously worked out with ample and exact documentation.

P. K. GODE.

Assamese, Its Formation and Development. By Banikanta KAKATI, M.A., PH.D.
Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute, Gauhati, Assam, 1941. Demi 8vo.
Pp. xxxii—399.

The present work on the Assamese language by Dr. KAKATI forming his thesis for the doctorate of the Calcutta University, is, what its name implies, a scientific treatise on the formation and development of this eastern-most Indo-Aryan language, closely connected with the other eastern languages like Bengali, Oriya, etc. which are better known. Following the famous model of his teacher, "*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*" of Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI, the author has analysed the facts of the Assamese language with care and acumen and has presented them in a very readable form.

After a brief sketch of the history of the language, which is rightly claimed to be independent of Bengali and having its own distinctive features and literature, its dialects and vocabulary greatly influenced by the Tibeto-Burmese languages as a result of the Shan invasion of the country, the author deals with its sounds and their origin from Sanskrit through the intermediate stage of the *Prākṛits*. This part of the work is particularly exhaustive and systematically arranged. The author is here following the usual method of tracing the sounds of a Modern Indo-Aryan language to the sounds of Sanskrit as representative of Old Indo-Aryan. But one would have preferred that greater emphasis should have been placed on the period of transition from Middle Indo-Aryan to New Indo-Aryan so as to bring out clearly the changes which occurred at this time when the modern languages were really formed and as the formation of the Middle Indo-Aryan has been thoroughly discussed by scholars like PISCHEL, GEIGER, BLOCH and others. The part on morphology deals with the word-formation, where a host of nominal suffixes are traced to their origin and the formation of nominal and verbal forms. The author has well brought out the peculiarities of Assamese in the use of pronouns and conjugation. The theoretical dis-

cussion of this part is mainly the same as in the work of Dr. CHATTERJI with slight deviations; and the author appears to maintain the relationship of Assamese along with other contiguous languages to Māgadhi though strikingly enough all the so-called Māgadhi features are no more to be found here. In the absence of a good descriptive grammar of Assamese, one would have liked to have a brief statement of grammatical facts preceding the discussions of their origin. Instead of forming a part of the introduction, the problem of the Assamese vocabulary, with its borrowals from Kol and Bodo languages may have formed an independent part by itself. To the work is added an exhaustive index of all words and a brief bibliography.

As the author rightly complains, the printing, though excellent in appearance and get up, has forced the writer to compromise his phonetic transcription which is thus found mixed with the system of transliteration which often makes it difficult to understand which is used in a particular place. But leaving aside this difficulty the book offers really excellent material for a student of language from the field of Assamese.

Kolhapur.

A. M. GHATAGE.

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE

By

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, Madras.

I. SUGGESTIONS OF SURVIVALS

The Harappa Culture,¹ found in full blossom about 2800 B.C.², appears to have vanished in a short while. To judge by what may be deduced from the antiquities of the next period of which remains have survived to us,—the period of about four centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era, that is, more than two thousand years later,—it looks as if it left behind little of a trace. Reminiscences are however found, both in the symbols appearing on the 'punch-marked' coins found all over India³, which are definitely known to have been current from about 400 B.C., and in the standard of weight to which they conform⁴. The figures of deer carved on the pedestals of the images of the Buddha from about the 2nd century A.D. and also at the feet of images of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti seem to be survivals of a motif known to this culture⁵. If the suggestion that the Brāhmī script is descended from the writing on the seals of this culture is found to be correct, the Indian systems of writing now in vogue would all be the direct, though remote, heirs of this culture. If the contention that the script of Easter Island bears so close a similarity to that of Harappa as to be deemed to be a descendant, and a very near one too, turns out to be well-founded⁶, at least one feature of this culture would seem to have voyaged away an incredibly great distance and to have survived there till recently. The religion of the culture has, however, left a deep and permanent impress, for among its bequests are the cults of a Yogi-God, in all probability the proto-type of Śiva⁷, and of a Mother-Goddess⁸, probably not very different in origin, but quite distinct in development, from the similar goddess of other early cultures. It may be that the

1. The discovery of more than one prehistoric culture in the Indus region makes it desirable that Dr. E. MACKAY's precept (*ASI. AR*, 1936 : 39) and Prof. Norman BROWN's example (see *JAOS*, 1939 : Sup. 32-44) should be followed of preferring the restrictive term, 'Harappa Culture', to the general term, 'Indus Culture', which Sir John MARSHALL employed in the days when it looked as if there was no evidence of another early culture in the Indus region.

2. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 7.

3. FABRI, in *JRAS*, 1935 : 307-18 ; Durga-PRASAD, in *JASB*, 1934 : N 16-7 : 38-9 ; WALSH, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, 91-6.

4. HEMMY, in *JRAS*, 1937 : 25.

5. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 55.

6. See Appendix 1.

7. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 52-6.

8. Was Śiva as Natarāja known too? See MARSHALL, *Ib.* 46. And a proto-type of Rṣabha, the Jain Tirthaṅkara? See CHANDA, in *Modern Review*, Aug. 1932 : 159-60.

worship of the phallus and baetyli are also the bequests of this culture⁹. Standards crowned by a bull or a bird carried in procession may be the Harappa proto-types of the free-standing pillars crowned by animals like the elephant and birds such as the Garuḍa belonging to the Mauryan age, and both might have been objects of worship¹⁰.

With the progress of excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, the two principal centres of this culture now known to us, and with the accumulation of further evidences of this culture¹¹, we are now in a better position than we were in about ten years back to trace its influence on the culture of succeeding centuries.

II. ORIGINS OF INDIAN COINAGE AND ITS AFFILIATIONS

'None of the seals of the other ancient civilizations resemble those that have been found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro either in their devices or the pictographs they bear, or even in shape'¹². The distinctiveness of the seals of the Harappa culture consists not only in the symbols and the legends on them but also in the manner in which they are assembled and the format into which the assemblage is cast (Fig. 1: 1-4). These features of the seals are six in number,—the adoption of a square shape, the division of the square area into an upper and a lower portion, the billeting of an animal in the lower portion and the running of an inscription in the upper, the picturing of the animal in profile, and the placing of an object in front of the animal (unless it be an elephant). The presentation of the animal in profile need not necessarily be a characteristic special to this culture, for the profile may be easier of achievement in early art than the frontal view. But the preference for the profile on the seals of the Harappa series is no ground for assigning the seals to the infancy of the glyptic art, for the frontal view has been achieved with success on other seals of this culture¹³, and glyptic art elsewhere in Asia¹⁴ had

9. MARSHALL, *Ib.*, 49-52. The suggestion has been made that one of the signs occurring on some of the Harappa seals [MARSHALL, *Ib.*—129 (383)] resembles a human figure with four hands and so may be the symbol for a divinity: CHANDA, in *Modern Review*, Aug. 1932: 158-9. If the suggestion is tenable it establishes indubitably the antiquity of what is now known as Brahmanical iconography. The identification would prove an exceedingly happy one if only we can persuade ourselves that it is not improbable.

10. CHANDA, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, 34-5.

While this study is passing through the press, GORDON & GORDON draw attention to some other survivals: *JRASB.L.*, (1940) 6: 61-71.

11. This paper was completed before VATS's *Excavations at Harappa* was published. In revising the manuscript for the press I have introduced just a few references to this work.

12. MACKAY, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 381. Throughout this paper I have avoided employing the term 'sealing', for it appeared to me that though accuracy might be attained clarity would be lost if I kept intruding on the reader the distinction between 'seal' and 'sealing'.

13. See, for instance, Figs. 7: 1, 2; 13; 14: 1.

14. See, for instance, FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, 44: 10(e, i); 50: 12(b); 51, 69: 13(a, f, h); 51: 14(b, d).

mastered the technique of that view at about the same time as the Harappa culture. The other features, however, are not known to early art.¹⁵ What

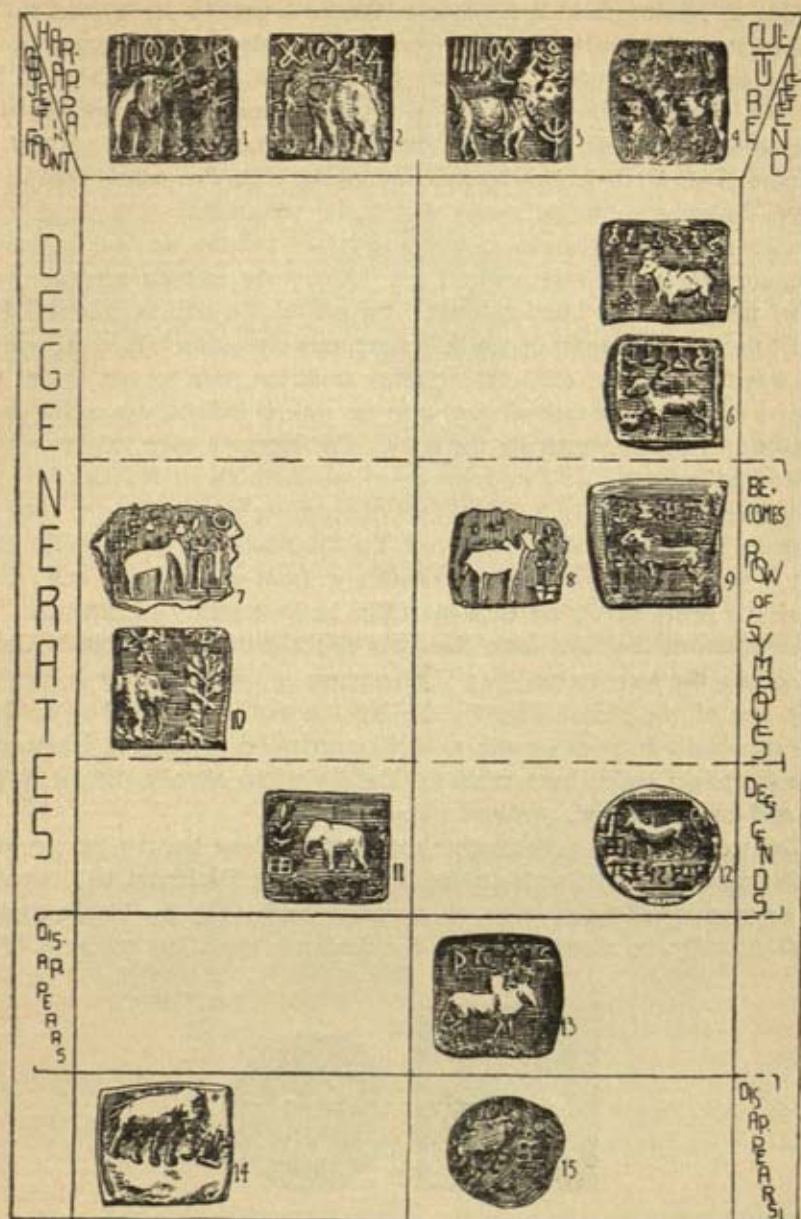


Fig. 1.

is more striking, they occur together in almost all the Harappa seals. A combination of as many as six features may not be expected to materialise

15. See Appendix 2,

again independently ; at any rate, we do not know that it recurs till over two thousand years elapse.

From about the third century B.C. we have a series of coins and seals, occurring in various parts of India from the north-west to the extreme south, which embody many of the features found in the seals of the Harappa culture. So, they call for an enquiry as to whether they bear any relationship to the seals. Only one of the coins (Fig. 1 : 6) reproduces all the characteristics of the seals ; the others depart in some measure from the norm. A few of the coins (Fig. 1 : 5, 7, 11) become rectangular ; another coin (Fig. 1 : 9) deviates somewhat from the square shape, and yet another (Fig. 1 : 12) becomes circular, but the incuses in which the types and the legends are located are square. On a few coins (Fig. 1 : 8, 10, 11) the animals cease to overshadow the objects in front of them. On one of the objects, a seal, (Fig. 1 : 13), the object in front of the bull disappears altogether. In these and in other ways we find the coins falling away from the standard set up by the Harappa seals, and yet their similarity to the seals is indisputable as the general make-up remains essentially the same. The Harappa seals too are not of a stereotyped monotony : they vary sometimes from the norm, as where an animal faces left (Fig. 1 : 2, 4) instead of right, as is generally the case, or a plant is substituted (Fig. 1 : 3) for the 'standard' or 'incense-burner', which is the object found almost invariably in front of the 'urus bull', or a 'trough' is provided for an elephant (Fig. 1 : 1) contrary to practice. So, the deviations of the coins from the norm might even be traceable to variations among the seals themselves. Confirmation of this conjecture is furnished by one of the coins (Fig. 1 : 10) bearing, not a legend, but symbols which are almost exact copies of a symbol occurring on a sealing at Harappa¹⁶. The coins might really have taken up the deviations already present in the seals and continued and, perhaps, elaborated them.

Coins of this class imitate other seals besides those bearing the elephant and the urus bull. The seals on which the majestic Brahmani bull appears, with its expansive dewlap falling in attractive folds (Fig. 2 : 1) are copied, though distantly, by a coin on which the dewlap is given just emphasis (Fig.



Fig. 2.

2 : 2). The tiger that stands still on another group of seals (Fig. 3 : 1) gets transformed into a majestic lion on one series of coins (Fig. 3 : 2) and into

16. VATS, in *ASIAR*, 1929 : 77 : 32 (b : 10b).

a lion on the war-path on a few tiny squares of gold leaf (Fig. 3 : 3) which might have functioned as coins.



Fig. 3.

In far away Greece, and between about 540 B.C. and 400 B.C., there appear various issues of coins (Fig. 4) the reverses of which exhibit almost every feature that we have found to be characteristic of the Harappa seals. One issue (Fig. 4 : 1), for instance, reproduces every feature : another (Fig. 4 : 3) is quite similar, except for the occurrence of some lettering in place of the object in front of the animal : in a fourth (Fig. 4 : 4) the legend



Fig. 4.

and the object change places, and the animal is replaced by a bird which presents a head facing us from a body turned in profile. The variations are, however, too slight to obscure the close resemblance to the seals of Harappa.

Both these Indian and Greek series of coins are thus seen to bear close affinity to the seals of the Harappa culture. If we exclude, as we must, the hypothesis of re-discovery of assemblage and format more than two millennia later in two countries that lie far apart, we have to accept the probability of the characteristic features on the coins having been derived from a common source,—the Harappa seals.

It follows then that we have to discover how the link of connection could have arisen and could have subsisted in spite of the great gaps in time and in space. A clue seems to be furnished by another group of the Harappa seals, and by a seal found at Ur in Iraq and by yet another series of Greek coins (Fig. 5). On some of the Harappa seals a short-horned bull



Fig. 5.

is shown with the head twisted always to one side and also lowered towards a 'manger' in front. It stands as if it is in a fit of rage and is about to charge (Fig. 5 : 1). Indeed, this type of bull does not appear to be known to the Harappa culture except in the bellicose mood¹⁷. On a series of Greek coins issued about 440 A.D. and marked by the characteristics of format and assemblage already mentioned, the short-horned bull appears, just as on the Harappa seals and in a temper even more vicious (Fig. 5 : 2), though without the manger before it. On another series issued some twenty years later, the bull,—rather a man-bull,—is equally frantic, but faces a symbol, perhaps a Greek letter, which might be a substitute for the manger (Fig. 5 : 3). The deviations from the norm in these issues are, however, of no significance, for, the seals themselves exhibit variations such as the absence of the manger¹⁸. The similarity between the seals and the coins may therefore be

17. MACKAY, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 385.

18. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 326-7.

deemed to be quite close, even if no allowance is made for the changes effected by differences in time and place.

No explanation could account for so close a similarity except that of the Greek coins having received the characteristic features by way of inheritance, proximately or through intermediaries, from the Harappa seals. A seal of this class, embodying the special characteristics and also the butting bull, but with a cuneiform legend of about 3000-2600 B.C., in characters current among the Sumerians, instead of the inscription in the Harappa script (Fig. 5: 4), has been found at Ur.¹⁹ A cuneiform legend would not have been incised on this seal if seals of the Harappa type had had no attraction for the people of Ur. This seal is not a solitary swallow in west Asia: 'seals of Indian origin are of almost frequent occurrence at the ancient Sumerian sites'²⁰. The career of the seal from Ur is a commentary on what ought to have happened: seals of the Harappa type should have been imitated in Mesopotamia and in the countries around on account of their popularity; descendants of the imitations,—probably of several removes,—should have preserved, in varying degrees, the characteristics of the original parents, and travelling further westward in the course of the ages, fallen into the hands of the die-sinkers of Greece and enchanted them into adopting them as patterns for coin devices.

While Greek coins, in the fully developed stage, were the products of the compression of small discs of metal between two circular dies each of which was engraved in intaglio, they were in the earliest stage produced by lumps of metal of the shape of beans being beaten into a circular die engraved in intaglio, the pressure being applied by a punch of irregular shape. The punch was neither large enough to cover the whole of the upper surface of the metal-lump nor was it garnished with an engraved device; so, the impress which the punch left on the reverse of the coin was confined to such portion of its irregularly indented surface as struck the reverse. The square punch is the most effective of rectangular punches to beat a bean of metal into a die, and so the punch used for the early Greek coins became square in shape. Such unevennesses as there were in the surface of the punch left their impress on the reverse of the coin but in a square incuse, the punch being square. The occasional emergence of a design in the incuse from accidental combinations of the lines of unevenness must have suggested to the die-sinkers the idea of placing an attractive design in the square incuse. They must have looked for a square design for the square face of the punch, and, among those that presented themselves should have been designs derived from the Harappa seals. Thus must the Harappa patterns have been adopted on Greek coinage.

If this hypothesis represents even approximately the course of events, the relationship between the Greek and the Indian coins we have been considering is that of very remote agnates, who had even lost knowledge of the

19. SMITH, *Early His. of Assyria*, 49-50: (3).

20. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 7.

common ancestry, and it cannot be that between direct ascendants and descendants. A very influential school holds that this class of Indian coins, which represents one of the two principal groups into which the earliest known Indian coinage falls, owes one feature at least,—the legend,—to Greek influence. The argument is that the earliest Indian coins do not bear legends, that the earliest Indian issues to bear legends are generally contemporary with, or even later than, the coins issued from 'about the beginning of the second century' B.C. by 'Alexander's Bactrian successors' on which legends are invariably present, their coinage being Greek in character, and that the contemporaneity testifies to a borrowing of the idea of the legend from the Greek models and that the idea could not but have been borrowed as Indian coinage had so rooted a repulsion to legends that though about a century earlier the Indian king Saubhūti (Sophytes), imitating the Greek coinage brought in by Alexander the Great, placed a Greek legend on his coins, the example stood rejected totally²¹. This view is open to a two-fold objection. The earliest known Indian coins to have a legend 'cannot be said to be later than the third century' B.C.²² A coin of Upagoda belongs to 'the late third century B.C.'²³ There has never been the least suggestion of any foreign influence having affected these issues. Legends occur along with types on an issue of Mathura of the 'late third century B.C.,'²⁴ on an issue of Tripuri 'of the late third or early second century B.C.'²⁵, and on an issue of Kāḍa, 'probably of the latter half of the third century or early second century B.C.'²⁶ These are anterior to those Hellenistic issues that could have influenced the course of the development of Indian coinage. Moreover, it has yet to be explained why the borrowing should have been restricted to the legend. Why was not the Greek example followed more fully and why was not the circular shape adopted at least on the obverse, the human head or a bust accepted for type, and the type or symbol made to dominate the face of the coin, and the legend subordinated into a minor feature? The theory of Greek influence must find a reason for none of these developments having taken place.

Indian coinage had already settled down to a convention of which the features, including the legend, were well established, and if the Greek coinage offered itself as a model it stood unhesitatingly rejected till the Hellenic rulers of the frontier provinces of India started garnishing their issues with features of Indian origin. The theory of indebtedness to Greek models, formulated at a time when the chronology of Indian coins was unsettled and the Harappa seals were not understood to belong definitely to Indian culture, has now no validity, when the Harappa culture has been accepted as being definitely

21. See, for instance, RAPSON, in *Camb. His. India*, 1 : 61.

22. The copper coin of Dharmapala found at Eran : *Ib.*, 1 : 523, 538 : (5. 1), and ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (91) 140 : 18(6).

23. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145), 263 : 35(18).

24. *Ib.*, (108), 169 : 24(21).

25. *Ib.*, (140), 239 : 35 (14).

26. *Ib.*, (92), 145 : 19(14).

Indian in essence and is coming to be recognised as having contributed appreciably to the evolution of Indian culture. These Indian coins,—legend and all—are obviously descended from the Harappa seals and the patterns on the reverse of the Greek coins we have considered (Figs. 4, 5) are demonstrably derived from the imitations of the Harappa seals that had developed in the lands between India and Greece.

If we may judge by the Indian coin (Fig. 1 : 6) nearest to the Harappa seals, the Indian mint-master need not have used dies or punches, for he could have cast these coins into coupled matrices or moulds. If he had done so, he would have repeated exactly in metal what an artificer of Harappa would have done in clay had he sealed a purse by sewing it up with a string, and leaving both ends of the string loose brought them together, run the ends between two seals coupled so as to face each other, poured liquid clay in between and removed the seals when the clay had set hard. The Greek mint-master's technique, however, was different : his equipment at the start comprised an engraved matrix into which to drive the metal bean and a plain punch with which to drive it in, but he found in a little while that he was using a die and punch, both engraved. Obviously, the method employed for these Indian coins is much closer to the art of sealing than to the technique relied on for minting these Greek coins. The Indian method has not journeyed half as far from glyptic practice as the Greek method has done. It should therefore be quite justifiable to hold that, unless other factors had intervened, Indian coinage should have had a much earlier origin than the Greek, or even the Lydian, both of which had adopted a minting method different from sealing or stamping²⁷.

When the closeness of these Indian coins to the Harappa seals is considered a doubt arises whether the coinage could not have arisen in the life-time of the Harappa culture itself. The copper tablets bearing incised devices and inscriptions that have been found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro do not seem to be coins for at least the reason that they fail to conform to any weight standard. Two further reasons may be urged against their being considered the prototypes of Indian coinage. The earliest known coinage in India models itself on the seal impression and its origins must go back to a series of tablets bearing device and legend in relief and not to a series bearing them incised. While neither the Harappa seals nor the early Indian coins bear any devices that are fanciful, the animals emblazoned on the copper tablets are creations of fancy, not infrequently. The tablets are therefore treated more appropriately as amulets than as coins.

27. The square format of the Harappa seal makes it possible to determine in advance the area of metal discs that each could cover. So, if the thickness of the discs could be kept constant, the weight of the discs could also be maintained at predetermined standards. A coinage turned out on a uniform weight standard would therefore have been easier of achievement in a land where square seals were in vogue than in regions where cylinder seals making impressions not exactly determinable in length were popular. See Appendix 3.

III. A FEATURE OF INDIAN AND PARTHIAN COINAGES

Another series of early Indian coins (Fig. 6 : 7) which was issued about the 1st century B.C., and is therefore approximately contemporary with the other Indian issues referred to already, shares with them the special characteristics observed on the Harappa seals, except that in this series of coins the type rises to its full stature and takes pride of place on the face of the coin, and the legend runs along two continuous margins of the coin turning the corner at almost a right angle. Both these variations are present also on two of the Harappa seals (Fig. 6 : 1, 2),—the legend running on both of them along two continuous margins and even taking a short turn along a third, and the type on one of them rising into the upper half. Another seal (Fig. 6 : 3), coming from a different place, Chanhu-Daro, and being probably



Fig. 6.

the product of a transition from the Harappa culture to the immediately succeeding culture of Jhukar, exhibits a type which, though probably dividing into two sections, is prominent on the coin-face, and a legend which running along one margin turns at right angles and runs along a second. The seals and the coin may therefore be taken to embody features that are almost identical²⁸. No seals or coins of other countries betray these features till we get to the coin issues of the early Achaemenids of Parthia : a coin (Fig. 6 : 4) of about 235 B.C., round in shape, has for type the figure of a man seated on some piece of furniture, but surrounding it on three sides is a legend which runs up straight, then turning at a right angle runs straight and across, and turning once more at a right angle runs straight and down. This peculiar course of the legend suggests strongly that though the circular shape of the coin did not deter the die-sinker's mind from working within the ambit of a square incuse and from running the legend along its margins, his hand had not the firmness, however, to trace the outlines of that incuse.

28. Another seal from Harappa 'is peculiar in having no animal device but a long inscription which occupies two whole sides of the square and most of the third': SMITH & GADD, in MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 411.

There can be little doubt but that the Harappa seals were the models, remote or proximate, which the Achaemenid die-sinker had in mind. Another notable example of this style is a coin (Fig. 6 : 5) of Eucratides, a Hellenist king of Bactria and north-west India in the earlier half of the 2nd century B.C., which is square in form and bears a legend along three contiguous margins, each section being at a right angle to its neighbour, but the type is a bust of the king. A third example is a square coin (Fig. 6 : 6) issued by the last Greek king of Bactria, about 150 B.C., on which the type is an elephant in profile enclosed in by a legend running continuously along three margins of a square incuse : the resemblance to the Harappa seals is marred but slightly by the type being lifted into the upper half and by the trough before the elephant (*cf.* Fig. 1 : 1) being varied in shape to resemble a Greek character and being placed below the animal²⁹. The Parthian, the Bactrian and the Indian coins would thus seem, in respect of the features marked out as special, to have followed closely the pattern-tradition set by the Harappa seals.

IV. SOME PLAQUES FROM CEYLON

In Ceylon have been found a series of small plaques, (Fig. 7 : 4) made of some brittle alloy, on which there are designs on both faces in low relief. On the obverse is an oblong frame, 'slightly rounded at the corners, in which stands a woman clad in a broad girdle', who 'with her hands, which are pendent, grasps two stalks of the same plant, usually springing' from the level of her feet 'and ending about the level of the shoulders in a small



Fig. 7.

blossom, upon each of which stands a small elephant holding a water-pot in his upturned trunk, the two trunks forming an arch over her head³⁰. On the reverse, the principal object is a svastika raised aloft on a column stand-

29. The Greek letter is not too far away from the spot at which the trough is on the Harappa seal (Fig. 1 : 1).

30. CODRINGTON, *Ceylon Coins*, 27.

ing on a base from which rise two short stumps on each side, and the subsidiary objects are some early symbols. The figure on the obverse has been appropriately identified as that of 'Gaja-Lakṣmī',—the Goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī being given a ceremonial bath (lustration) by elephants,—and the svastika on pole on the reverse has been, with equal justness, recognised to be but a variant of the *motif*, common enough in early Indian art, of a symbol, often a tree, standing upright but enclosed within a railing. Specimens have been found associated with antiquities believed to be assignable to the 2nd century B.C.³¹,—and this date is not unacceptable for the plaques on the basis even of the style of the designs on them.

A peculiarity of these plaques arrests our attention. In the very interesting examples we have of sculptures of Gaja-Lakṣmī at Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodh-Gaya and at Udayagiri, (Fig. 10) of about the 2nd and the 1st centuries B.C., we do not come across even one specimen in which the goddess stands strictly constricted within the outlines of a narrow oblong. Close parallels to the figure and to the frame are hard to find among Indian antiquities: the nearest approximation seems to be found on a terra cotta 'sealing' or amulet found at Harappa (Fig. 7 : 1), of much the same size as the plaques, on one face of which stands a human figure in a narrow embrasure provided by a tendril or creeper or long and slender bough, with leaves all along, which springs from the level of the feet of the figure, rises above the head, turns into an arch to the rear, and descends to the level from which it starts. The unusual frame of bough and leaves makes the enclosed figure look like a deity 'standing in a shrine.' The denizen of the embrasure on the amulet is just as slim as the occupant of the frame on the plaque, and both of them seem to stand out in just the same degree of low relief. A second amulet (Fig. 7 : 2) bears a figure in a frame which is not equally clear, but in the shape and the general style there is resemblance between it and the other amulet and the plaque. Another plaque (Fig. 7 : 3) shows a Gaja-Lakṣmī with 'a thin circular oval circlet round and over the head, springing from the shoulders',³² looking almost a nimbus,³³ which emphasises the similarity of the plaques to the amulets. If the obverses of the plaques suggest similarity to the amulets the reverses seem to confirm the similarity. While the reverse of the first of the plaques (Fig. 7 : 4) bears a few symbols, one of them more prominent than the rest, the reverse of the first of the amulets (Fig. 7 : 1) 'is inscribed with three pictographs'. But, as we have found that the row of symbols which runs as a legend on the early Indian coins (for instance, Fig. 1 : 7-10) is but a variant of the inscription of undeciphered hieroglyphics on the square seals, we have good reason to suspect that the symbols on the reverse of the plaque are, in essence, not dissimilar to the pictographs on the reverse of the amulet. Two other 'sealings' found at Harappa (Fig. 7 : 5-6) which are similar in shape and style to the plaques,

31. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, 462.

32. *Ibid.*, 454 : 154 (2).

33. CODRINGTON, *Ceylon Coins*, 29 : 2(23).

bear each a large acacia tree, with a platform or railing round the base. The significance of this device would be lost on us if we did not recollect that it is a symbol very common on early Indian coins and also in sculpture contemporary with the coins (for instance, Fig. 9 : 2). A fifth amulet, again from Harappa, shows on each of its two faces, 'a standard similar to those found under the heads of animals in the seals with the unicorn ('urus bull') device',—an object which has some cult associations,³⁴—but dissimilar in that the 'standard' on the obverse stands so high on its pole that it would seem to tower to a height of over fifteen feet, if we may attach any weight to the circumstance that less than a third of the length of the amulet seems to be allotted to the figure of the man, who appears to be functioning as standard bearer (Fig. 7 : 7). A two-fold similarity would seem to link this 'standard' on the amulet with the svastika on post on the plaque: both rise high on a pole, and both are cult-objects.

These amulets and the plaques are thus found to exhibit certain similarities. They agree in shape; the human figures look almost alike; they stand enclosed in a narrow oblong; the relief is not pronounced; the trees and svastikas on the reverses are cult-objects. The principal difference is the presence, on the plaques, of a pair of tiny elephants perched on tiny lotuses, the stalks of which have to descend almost imperceptibly till they reach the hands which the figure holds at the level of the hip. But elephant and lotus and stalk are almost inconspicuous, and so they do not tend to destroy the general similarity between plaque and amulet. Perhaps, the long and thin objects hanging indistinctly from the hands of the figure on one of the Harappa amulets (Fig. 7 : 2) suggested the stalks, and the arch over the head of the figure was produced by the quartering of the elephants with up-raised trunks in the two top corners of the oblong.

Once we agree that the elephant and the lotus with its stalk might have been suggested by features on the Harappa amulet itself, the kinship between the Harappa amulet and the Ceylon plaque stands fully established. The similarities are striking: even the difference is probably due to a suggestion by the amulet to the plaque. The Ceylon plaque is thus a direct descendant of the Harappa amulet.

V. ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE : THE PROBLEM

The most important of the seals of the Harappa culture so far brought to light is the one that shows a figure with three faces, seated in the attitude of a Yogī and surrounded by a group of four animals,—an elephant and a tiger on its right, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on the left (Fig. 13 : 2). These features have suggested the identification of this figure with Śiva, as Paśu-pati, 'Lord of cattle'.³⁵ On the pedestal on which this figure is seated is carved, on the right, the figure of a deer 'regardant', and, on the left, where the pedestal is broken, we have traces of carvings of horns exactly similar, in shape and position, to those of the deer on the right: the inference is

34. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 69.

35. *Ib.*, 52-6.

therefore justified that the pedestal bore originally a pair of deer. The presence of this pair of deer on the pedestal has invited comparison with the occurrence of these animals, often in similar pairs, not only at the feet of Śiva in images of him as Dakṣiṇāmūrti which are common from about the 6th century A.D., but also beneath the Buddha's throne in scenes representing his preaching of the first sermon.³⁶ But the similarity is not confined to this one feature : it extends further than has been realised. One important type of the Buddha image is descended from the Harappa culture.

The origin of the Buddha image has been a puzzle in Indian archæology. In the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut, which are practically the earliest of Indian antiquarian remains,—those of the Harappa and the associated cultures being, of course, excepted,—the Buddha was never figured anthropomorphically, even though sculpture had advanced far enough to be able to depict men and women and gods and goddesses with great success, and only symbols associated with the Buddha were employed. All of a sudden, however, the practice of representing him in human form seems to appear, just within a century or two after the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut. Of the influences native to the country in that age none insisted on iconolatry as a test of faith, and of the cultures that had by then flowed into the country the most important and active was the Greek, which, it is needless to say, was accustomed to endow its gods with the beauty of the human form in its perfection. The temptation has, therefore, been irresistible to impute the origin of the image of the Buddha to the Greek contact : indeed, the Apollo of Greek art has been impressed into service as the parent of a Buddha type,³⁷ in spite of the all too obvious differences between Apollo and the Buddha as personalities. The confident assertion has been made that the basic 'idea of representing the founder of Buddhism as a man... originated, not with India, but with Greece' and that 'it was the one great mark which the Greeks set upon India.'³⁸ It is claimed that the theory has been really necessitated by the absence of a prohibition in the Buddhist scriptures against the Buddha being worshipped in the shape of a human being. It is argued that there being no interdiction in the Buddhist faith, and there being no incapacity in the Indian sculptor, to picture man, woman and godling, the Buddha image should have materialised fairly

36. *Ib.*, 55.

37. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 408. He comments thus on the phenomenon : 'Something took place which is without parallel in Hellenic history : Greeks of themselves placed their artistic skill at the service of a foreign religion, and created for it a new form of expression in art. But this was due to an Indianisation of the Greeks', and 'the art of Gandhara was born of Buddhist piety utilising Yavana technique' : *Ibid.*, 393.

38. It is admitted that the Greek Buddha 'went no deeper than their Apollo ; he was just a beautiful man : you may search these suave faces in vain for what should have been there, the inner spirit of the great Reformer.' Indeed, the admission is quite ample : 'in the great Buddhas of the Gupta period we get a spiritual quality in the Indian conception of the Divine which could not have arisen in a school based upon' the 'classical tradition' of Greece. See TARN, *Ibid.*, 405.

early had it not been for a feeling in the mind of the Indian sculptor that his art was unequal to the task of depicting the physical lineaments of a personality of such ineffable grace as the Buddha.³⁹

This contention has been sought to be reinforced by additional arguments. While 'idolatry is a handmaid of polytheism with personal deities' the Indian atmosphere of the days preceding the Buddha was 'agnosticism, which is not favourable to image worship':⁴⁰ the ritualism of the late Vedic times was 'frankly agnostic':⁴¹ such 'shrines' as were dedicated to Yakṣas were no more than trees:⁴² the bhakti-mārga had much less of a vogue than the jñāna-mārga;⁴³ even the bhakti cults represent a 'monotheism pervaded by pantheistic ideas'⁴⁴ and so 'the monotheism of the bhakti-mārga is not also quite favourable to image worship, for the Bhagavat of the bhakta is not a fully personal, but a semi-personal being':⁴⁵ the earliest of the Buddhist monuments bearing sculptures are those of Sanchi and Bharhut and they date from the second and the first centuries B.C., when the inhabitants of eastern India had come in contact with the image worshipping and artistic Greeks of Bactria and the contact 'must have given a strong impulse to the indigenous sculpture of eastern India':⁴⁶ sculptures became popular and 'the first step of image worship' was taken when 'super-human beings' like 'the Devatas, Yakṣas and Nāgas are figured as worshippers of Buddha' while 'the main object of worship, Buddha, is not figured':⁴⁷ the art of sculpture developed rapidly and 'as a consequence . . . image worship had obtained too strong a grip of the Indian imagination to be avoided'⁴⁸ and so the Buddha too was represented in images.

This view has been countered in a number of ways. One line of argument has been that 'there existed neither an incapacity (the same sculptors represented the Buddha freely as a human being in previous incarnations) nor an interdiction (for nothing of the kind can be found in Buddhist literature)', that 'the Bhagavata cults of Yakṣas and Nāgas' which are anterior to that of the Buddha 'yielded', probably under the stress of the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, 'a work that must have been composed perhaps about the fourth century B.C.',—that is, almost immediately after the Buddha,—'to the Bhagavata cults of Viṣṇu and Buddha', that sculptures of the yogi, meditating or expounding, and of divinities in a 'symmetrical stance', contemporary with the sculptures in which the Buddha is not represented as a human being, furnished the models for the Buddha's image when it came to be fashioned, that 'we have only to look at a sequence of examples beginning with the Parkham image and culminating in the Mathura types of the Gupta period to realise that there is no room at any point in the development for the intercalation of any model based on Hellenistic tradition', that, in any event, an

39. See, for instance, FOUCHER, *L'Art Bouddhique du Gandhara*, 1 : 612.

40. CHANDA, in *J. Cal. Uni., Dep. Letters*, (1920) 3 : 229.

41. *Ibid.*, 230-1.

42. *Ibid.*, 232-6.

43. *Ibid.*, 229-30.

44. *Ibid.*, 241.

45. *Ibid.*, 242.

46. *Ibid.*, 239.

47. *Ibid.*, 239.

48. *Ibid.*, 242.

indigenous school of sculpture at Mathura, in which there is not the faintest suspicion of Greek influence, did in fact produce images of the Buddha before the Greek spirit began hovering over the waters of Indian art and that this is but natural as 'every element essential to the iconography of Buddha and Bodhisattva figures appears in early Indian art before the Buddha figure of Gandhara or Mathura is known.'⁴⁹ A second line of reasoning, lifting the discussion to levels other than the merely archaeological, has been that 'the aniconic character of Vedic ritual and early Buddhist art' was 'a matter of choice' not understandable by us who have failed to 'relegate to an altogether subordinate place our predilection for the human figure' for images 'inherited from the late classical cultures', that the devotee in need of an 'image to serve as the support of . . . contemplation' entertained 'a mental image of the Buddha' which he fashioned, not on the basis of any portrait but in accordance with 'the old list of lakṣhanas, or thirty-two major and eighty minor iconographic peculiarities of the Great Person', that in doing so he was merely following an ancient Indian tradition of making an image, not as 'a reflection of anything that has been physically seen' but as 'an intelligible form or formula', that, thus, the devotee saw 'the Buddha in the image rather than an image of the Buddha', that such symbolism, being 'a precise form of thought', helped to a better apprehension of the Buddha than an image which is a mere portrait, and that if in India the intellectual has always preferred the use of abstract and algebraical or vegetable or theriomorphic or even natural symbols it is because he thinks it 'more fitting that divine truths should be expounded by means of images of a less, rather than a more, noble type in themselves', and that, even if it were not so, the fashioning of the image of the Buddha in human form 'may have been itself much rather a concession to intellectually lower levels of reference than any evidence of any increased profundity of vision.'⁵⁰ So, the tendency to abandon symbolism and to adopt a human likeness for the image of the Buddha need be nothing more than an indigenous development, and, in any event, Greek culture cannot plume itself on it as an achievement for which credit is due to it. Yet another line of argument has been that there did really happen to be a canonical impediment to the fashioning of an image of the Buddha in the human shape, that the prohibition was but the result of a 'consistent belief in all Vedic and post-Vedic thought that the Immeasurable One could never be caught within the limits of measured lineaments', that the Buddha having declared that 'on the dissolution' of his body, beyond the end of his life, neither gods nor men shall see him, the Buddhist artist 'could never think of attempting to render in visible form one who has passed into the realm of Invisibility',

49. COOMARASWAMY, in *Art Bulletin*, 9 (4) : 8-29.

50. COOMARASWAMY, in a paper, 'The Nature of Buddhist Art', in ROWLAND, Jr., *Wall Paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon*. This paper, showing how such problems 'are not in reality those of Buddhist art in particular, but rather those of Indian art in a Buddhist application, and in the last analysis the problems of art universally,' is a brilliant elucidation of many aspects of iconolatry.

and that when the Buddhist felt the need for a more 'cosy support for contemplation' than the symbols of early Buddhist art an image of the Buddha was 'immediately formulated' at Mathura 'on the models of earlier non-human and superhuman types (Yakṣas, Devas, Cakravartins)'.⁵¹

Out of the pros and the cons thus stated, the points that look as if they are essential to a decision on whether the Buddha image is due to Greek example would appear to be whether in the early history of Indian thought the tendency to agnosticism was so pervasive as to exclude a faith in theism, whether pantheism was so active as to sterilise monotheism, whether 'the Bhakti cult represents a late stage,—and probably a foreign element,—in Indian religious history,⁵² whether anthropomorphism was practically unknown in India before the Buddha, whether it required the Greek love of sculptured deities to translate divinities conceived of as philosophical abstractions into icons cast in human shape, whether the Buddha is presented in the form in which the Greeks represented their gods and whether the iconographic formulae for images of the Buddha are not derivable from Indian sources or are accountable more appropriately in terms of Greek modes of thought and worship.

None of these considerations, however, is of real importance in arriving at a final solution. So monotheistic and so personal a faith as is embodied in Christianity has given rise to two contrary modes of worship,—the Catholic, resting on image worship, and the Protestant, repudiating images. The devotion preached by certain schools of Christianity is no whit less intense than Bhakti and yet those schools condemn iconolatry in unmeasured terms. Not less monotheistic or personal is the faith which Muhammad preached and yet the breaking of images is a phenomenon under Islam. Not all the Greek devotion to the gods nor all the Greek passion for sculpture led to the growth of so full a faith in image worship as is characteristic of certain strains of Hindu thought. Never did image worship, however, become an article of faith to the Hindu votary of Bhakti who clings to a very personal god, and never has it been to him anything other than one of the several ways of a religious quest. The worship of an impersonal divinity culminates in the veneration of symbols like the *liṅga*, and so in idolatry. Even when the devotion is to a personal god the object of veneration is not necessarily an anthropomorphic image, for it might be a symbol such as the *liṅga* or a stone such as a *sālagrāma*. The agnostic who has risen superior to faith in mascots and fetishes is a *rara avis*. An inclination to agnosticism among the intellectual elite of an age does not mean that church-bells cease to ring congregations in, that Sunday black is not worn and that sermons are not endured even though they be long. Buddhism itself shows how the Buddha who ignored god did still sanction belief in godlings such as those who tenanted the Vajjian *cetiya*s

51. GANGOLY, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 14 : 41-59.

52. 'Indeed, it rather looks as if Bhakti, generally speaking, may have been partly the reaction of the Indian mind to, or against the foreign invasions, Persian and Greek': TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 406.

and enjoin veneration of them,—and very probably in the form of images,—and also permitted the placing of faith in holy places such as *tirthas* whose waters are sacred.^{52a}

A more profitable line of enquiry would, therefore, seem to be that of determining how Buddhist faith expressed itself in sculpture in the age when the Buddha came to be figured and worshipped. The forms in which the Buddha is represented and the *motifs* in which the representations are embodied are more likely to point to a valid solution than argument from 'first principles.'

(to be continued.)

52a. He enumerates the *tirthas* in *Majjima Nikāya*, 7.

ON A THESAURUS LINGVAE SANSCRITAE

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona

Although lexicographical activities in India commence from the Vedic period and we have the Nighaṇṭus and later during the classical and post-classical period a whole Kośa-literature, the first alphabetical register as we now know it is purely due to European advent in the oriental field. The first European lexicon with reference to Sanskrit is evidently that of J. E. HANXLEDEN entitled *Dictionarium Malabaricum Samscrdamicum Lusitanum* (between 1699 and 1732) which however remained in manuscript form and was later revised by PAOLINO.¹ Almost a hundred years later, in 1819, H. H. WILSON in collaboration with COLEBROOKE and Indian Paṇḍits published his *Dictionary, Sanscrit and English*, in the alphabetical order. With this work was inaugurated a great era of research in Indology and Indian linguistics during the last century and so far as Sanskrit was concerned the Victorian Age rendered inestimable service to the cause of lexicography both within India and outside. Eleven years after the publication of WILSON'S *Dictionary*, BOPP brought out his *Glossarium Sanscritum* (Berlin 1830)². In 1866 appeared BENFEY'S *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and E. BURNOUF'S *Dictionnaire classique Sanscrit-Français*. Between 1855 and 1875 appeared the monumental Petersburg Dictionary compiled by the two great German scholars BÖHTLINGK and ROTH to be followed between 1879 and 1889 by BÖHTLINGK'S *Sanskrit-wörterbuch* in seven volumes each. The earlier, being the bigger of the two, is popularly known as the Greater Petersburg Dictionary in opposition to the latter, called the Shorter Petersburg Dictionary, shown respectively by the common abbreviations PW and pw in most of the scientific journals and monographs utilizing them. WILSON'S work in Calcutta found a proper vehicle in his two successors to the Boden Chair at Oxford resulting in MONIER-WILLIAMS' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*³ and MACDONELL'S work of the same name.⁴ The impetus of the first published lexicon in Calcutta resulted in several lexicons being published by Indian scholars in Bengal, prominent among these being those of Taranath TARKAVĀCASPATI,⁵ BOORAH⁶ and RĀDHĀKĀNTA.⁷ Mention should also be made of V. S. APTE'S *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* wherein he utilized by his own individual researches the vast amount of classical Sanskrit literature which was not being

1. WÜST, *Indisch* p. 131 and WINDISCH, *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie* I, p. 20.

2. 1st ed. 1830, 2nd ed. 1847, 3rd ed. 1866-67.

3. 1st ed. 1872. Revised and enlarged, 1898.

4. 1892; anastatic reprint, 1924.

6. Calcutta (?)

5. Calcutta, 1873-75.

7. Calcutta 1859, 2nd ed. 1874.

paid sufficient attention to by the Western lexicographers. Technical lexicons were also being compiled at the time and one of them needs special mention here : *Nyāya-kośa or Dictionary of the technical terms of the Nyāya Philosophy* by Bhīmācārya JHALAKIKAR in 1875.

Side by side with this activity GRASSMANN and WHITNEY established a new era by their *indices verborum* to the Rg. and Atharva Vedas respectively in 1873 and 1881, thus following the line laid down by BENFEY in 1848 in his *Sāma-Veda Glossary*. It is not necessary for us to recount here the many *indices verborum* to Vedic and classical works which followed these great pioneer studies ; it will be sufficient here to indicate that due to the foresight of Shri VISHVESHWARANANDAJI of Shantakuti and the band of devoted disciples which he attracted, there is to-day in Lahore a research institution called after his name⁸ and solely concerning itself with Vedic studies. The primary contribution of this Institute is a Vedic Word-Concordance in five volumes dealing with the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, Bhagavad-Gītā and Vedānta-sūtras, and Śrauta and other sūtras, including Vedāṅgas, with reverse indices. Already the second volume dealing with Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas has appeared and further volumes are in progress. Naturally, in any account of Sanskrit lexicography this colossal attempt of the Vishvesvarananda Vedic Research Institute must loom large, since the *Vaidika-padāmukrama-kośa* will be an *index verborum* of all Vedic vocables occurring in the different types of Vedic literature and thus the very basis of any Thesaurus of Sanskrit attempted on modern historical and scientific principles.

These different attempts are not co-ordinated efforts but merely the individual or institutional expressions of the needs of the hour. When the monumental Petersburg Dictionaries were published the amount of material which was available was small in comparison with what has since been published in the numerous series established during the present century both within and outside India. The shorter Petersburg Dictionary attempted to supplement the original work by incorporating material from works not accessible to the earlier Dictionary and similarly SCHMIDT's *Nachträge* published in 1924-28 attempts to bring the work up to date by the incorporation of fresh material. In addition to the spate of dictionaries which have appeared since then, there has been a continuous stream of publications in India, Europe and America on the one hand and in Japan and China on the other. Much of the lost Sanskrit literature of the Northern Buddhists is slowly being recovered from Chinese Translations and Transliterations and Tibetan translations ; fragments of Sanskrit literature have also been recovered from the sand-buried ruins of Chinese Turkestan, and all this is adding new material to Sanskrit lexicography. The importance of this aspect has been realized by the American scholar Professor Franklin EDGERTON in consequence of which he has

8. Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore. Director : Vishva-bandhu SHASTRI.

been weaned from his great studies of Vedic Variants to begin a new study of what he styles Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. All this important material has to find its place in a historical dictionary of Sanskrit.

During the present century much of hidden Sanskrit literature is finding its place in more or less critical editions. The progress of research is not necessarily confined to published literature, and the studies of scholars, especially in the chronology of Sanskrit literature has to deal with the unpublished manuscripts themselves. In fact much of the original work connected with this chronology has been based entirely on the correlation of new facts gathered from such unpublished manuscript sources.

The only lexicon so far available on historical principles is the great Petersburg Dictionary, notwithstanding the many other dictionaries since published. But the material, both manuscript and printed, which was available to those two indefatigable scholars represented barely a hundred years of collection of manuscripts by European scholars and about half that time in printed texts. Thus the advance made with respect to published literature and the history of literature is quite considerable and the time has at last come when the question of a new dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles should be undertaken in India by a body of Indian scholars. The work represented by the great Petersburg Dictionaries covers a period of about 80 years in Sanskrit publication both in the West and in India; but the last sixty years have added tremendously to our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, from the Sanskrit found in the Turfan manuscripts to the Buddhist Sanskrit treatises from Tibet and China; over and above the new works published the progress made in determining the chronology of the works and their authors is sufficient now to assign definite periods to a vast number of them.

With regard to the unpublished literature now reposing in the different libraries in India, we have excellent descriptive catalogues published in Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Baroda, Bombay, Benares and Trivandrum. The several series which have already become famous are trying to cope up with the editorial activities of scholars. All this material has to be incorporated together at one place for the proposed Thesaurus.

It would be surprising to know that there are no lexicons for individual authors of the eminence of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti; no attempts have been successfully carried out in preparing *indices verborum* to these authors, and we are in the dark as to the provenance of a vocable with respect to its significances in their space-time context.

With regard to Vedic material, the publication of the *Vaidikapadānu-kramakośa* will give us all this material in well-arranged chronological order; but it is specially in connection with classical Sanskrit (including Buddhist and Jain) and the popular epic and Purāṇas that detailed materials are lacking. Taking into account the fact that none of the existing dictionaries have been compiled on the historical principles which modern linguistics has established and that the science of lexicography itself has made a great

advance in its different aspects since the publication of the Petersburg Dictionaries, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that it is all the more necessary now that the work of the Thesaurus should be inaugurated without much loss of time at a central place which will act as the organizing body for the direction and collection of the material.

The general principles on which such a historical dictionary of Sanskrit is to be based may be summarised here in mathematical language as follows. Let V stand for the individual vocable of Sanskrit attested at different periods in the history of the language; S represents its significance and R the reference or quotable instance of the vocable with respect to a given significance. The totality of V , that is $V_1, V_2, \dots V_n$ where n represents the total number of vocables in the language, stands for the whole corpus of the language in its basic form of vocables. It is the duty of the lexicographer to extend this n to its utmost capacity, taking the entire history of the language from its earliest occurrence to its very latest phases, with respect to all the R 's, whether published or unpublished. The greater the R 's the greater is the comprehensiveness of the Thesaurus. The research of the individual scholar will then concern itself with a given base V and its different semantic developments $S_1, S_2, \dots S_m$ where m indicates the number of significance developed by V . The order of the numerals $1, 2, \dots m$ represents the natural development of the significance also, in its time-sequence. The editorial activities will then be limited to the representation of V in its significances $S_1, S_2, \dots S_m$ with reference to the R 's arranged in their turn according to the chronological order so far as that has been or can be determined. Thus under the significance S_1 there may be references like R_i, R_k, R_t where the letters i, k, t represent the period to which the citation belongs. Now S_1 need not always be attested in the earliest occurrence of the vocable V itself, and the function of the historical lexicographer is to correlate the S 's with the R 's and to explain such discrepancies as mentioned above in the light of comparative linguistics. Thus every V will have a number of citations for each significance S , and the earliest citation will always be given where possible, and similarly the latest citation also. In this manner we shall have, for the history of V itself, the limits of time determined for the currency of the significance S .

Moreover, in our symbology, V will represent the vocable as it appears by itself or at the beginning of a compound expression, and v as the non-initial member of a compound. The Thesaurus has to concern itself with V as well as v , for many times there may be a v without a corresponding V and its existence ordinarily will not be suspected as no efforts are made in the usual lexicons to indicate them in the alphabetical register. Under v will also have to be indicated other V 's which form the initial member of compounds of which this v is the second or non-initial member. Again with every V or v , there are associated its morphological forms V^m or v^m , and these should also be indicated in the Thesaurus within the subgroup S with citations to determine their space-time context. In a similar manner questions affecting Syntax and Stylistics will be dealt with on historical principles.

In any practical scheme which is to be drawn up in India there are several factors which should be taken into consideration. We have indicated the work of the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute in Lahore. This is an important body whose co-operation is absolutely necessary for the furtherance of any scheme which has to deal with the proposed *Thesaurus*. Then there is the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, justly famed for its critical edition of the Great Epic. The material gathered here will supply at least half the matter for the *Thesaurus*, and it is essential that the entire Mahābhārata Manuscripts tradition should be reduced to an *index verborum* in the Institute. Similar work will have to be done for the different periods of Sanskrit literature and even for certain individual authors. The great body of Sanskrit Inscriptions which are more or less well defined in their space-time context, have to be reduced to the index form.

The *indices verborum* should not be merely alphabetical registers, but rearranged in the dictionary form according to the method which I have indicated for the individual research worker, namely the registration of all the *V*'s and *v*'s, the determination of all the *S*'s and *R*'s within the specified literature or period with exact references. Reference may here be made to Prof. OERTEL's paper on this subject⁹. In my Wilson Philological Lectures I have indicated most of these problems under *Desiderata*, and this is not the place to deal with them.

The work indicated briefly in the above discussion cannot be done at one centre, for it is too vast and extended for any single group of individuals or institutes to undertake it. If it were attempted on such lines a whole department would have to be established with scores of workers, and still, the rate of publication would be very slow. In the absence of such a research body with unlimited financial resources at its disposal any practical scheme must take account of existing research institutes and the manner in which these activities can be organised and coordinated towards the main objective through these existing sources. It will be impossible to envisage the whole scheme within a time limit, because this time limit is essentially dependent upon the finances at the back of the scheme. In the absence of a regular establishment devoted entirely to the *Thesaurus* on the lines of the *Tamil Lexicon* Office or the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* Office of the Madras University, it may not be possible to complete the *Thesaurus* even within fifty years. But a beginning has to be made in India with the least possible delay and with the minimum of charges upon learned bodies under the present conditions of financial stringency.

A very practical scheme would involve some institute specialising in Indian linguistics as the organising centre, situated centrally with good library facilities and easy access to original manuscripts if necessary, where the office of the *Thesaurus* may be housed. The associate institutions will cooperate

9. Woolner *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 177 ff.

with the central organising core of the Thesaurus body by lending all facilities at their disposal and placing in the hands of the Central Office all the material which is collected by them according to previously settled plans on well coordinated lines. Preliminary works, *indices verborum* or shorter lexicons of definite periods, will be submitted to the Central Office either in manuscript or printed form. The function of this Central Office will be not only to undertake by itself some of these contributory or preliminary works, but to organize and coordinate the allotments made to associate bodies. It will also arrange for the independent publication of such *indices verborum* or period lexicons based on them; for there is this difference between the *Thesaurus* and such contributory *indices verborum*: whereas the *Thesaurus* selects its citations with an eye to the space-time context with reference to R's and S's the contributory indices will be real *indices verborum* and therefore the very basis for such selection. Among the associate bodies are to be reckoned the various University departments dealing with Sanskrit, Linguistics or Archaeology, and the large number of research Institutes within India dealing with these subjects as also the well-established learned societies such as the Linguistic Society of India or the various Asiatic Societies or their branches. There is no dearth of such departments, institutes or learned bodies within India, but the major difficulty is of associating them within a single scheme.

Serious attempts are being made, for instance, to organize a permanent secretariat for the All-India Oriental Conference; but its functions are of such divergent and comprehensive nature that it will not be possible to organise a centre of the Thesaurus Committee within its province. Only research Institutes and University Departments can undertake this organisational work.

Once the matter of the central organisation is settled the procedure for the working and collecting of material has to be fixed. The central organisation should supply uniform index cards or slips for the preparation of *indices verborum* and make arrangements to house them properly. Among the immediate necessities for instance is a *Dictionary of Inscriptional Sanskrit* where we can study the use of Sanskrit vocables in their space-time context, a Dictionary on the *index verborum* plan for each of the Great Commentaries on the six Darśanas such as those of Śābara or Śāṅkara; lexicons for definite periods of Sanskrit literature such as, for instance, the great Gupta era. The work will have to be properly divided among competent institutions and with sufficient guarantee that it will be carefully done under the supervision of an associate board whose function is to help the Central Committee in its vaster organisational work. These associate bodies should not only give active cooperation to the main scheme by undertaking different types of work assigned to them but also contribute somewhat to the financial aspect of the scheme under consideration. A nominal annual donation to cover the cost of the stationary required for each type of work undertaken by such associate body should be made by it. The cost of publication of these contributory lexicons should however be borne by the Central Office whose func-

tion includes the collection of funds for the execution of the *Thesaurus*. But herein lies the chief difficulty. Individual workers are not lacking nor institutions which would undertake any of these preliminary studies for the proposed *Thesaurus*. But owing to difficulty in publication which no ordinary publisher would be willing to undertake, all such enthusiasm vanishes into thin air when the prospect of publication is not within a measurable distance of time. To ensure this would be tantamount to receiving the willing co-operation of both individual scholars as well as of institutes.

The object of the present paper is to suggest some practical means by which the *Thesaurus* can well become an accomplished fact, with the least amount of trouble and without any great financial burden on the country. The Province of Bombay luckily possesses to-day a fairly large number of responsible and well-organized research institutes devoting themselves to the study of Sanskrit in one shape or another; further every Arts College has a Sanskrit department, and although the Bombay University does not have an Oriental Department, it was the first among the Indian Universities in recognizing the value of linguistic research for which the Wilson Philological Foundation was established in 1877. Although since its inception there have been lectures during every year, the University has published only one series delivered by the late Mr. N. B. DIVETIA. Since the University of Bombay has not been able to publish much work in this direction, the suggestion we have to make is this: the money which the University has not spent from this foundation either in publication or for lack of a proper lecturer in any year should be placed at the disposal of a Central Organising Committee for the specific purpose of preparing and publishing such contributory volumes, and the onus of publication should lie with the Bombay University. If the Syndicate of the University is also pleased to grant an additional sum of money for publication as and when the volumes get ready, the Central Committee can find willing workers in individual scholars as well as associate institutes.

As mentioned above the work of the *Thesaurus* cannot be made part of any single Institute in this or in any other province unless there is a sufficient financial guarantee for the whole scheme from the establishment of a full-time office with a band of paid workers and for the publication of their research in this line. Therefore the present practical proposal envisages Poona as the Organising Centre with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College Research Institute as the central organising core, with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay and the Gujarat Vernacular Society's Research Branch as associate institutes for undertaking the work of the *Thesaurus*; the University of Bombay to finance the scheme in the manner suggested above, and if possible, in the light of future experience, to bear a major part of the expenses of publishing the *Thesaurus* as and when it gets ready. In the meantime the contributory monographs and lexicons such as the Dictionary of Inscriptional Sanskrit should be kept ready for publication within a few years.

The stamp of the Bombay University on this scheme will enable the sponsors to appeal to other public bodies in this province and elsewhere, and organize different centres for its completion at an earlier date and at less expense than has been thought possible under existing conditions. It is to be hoped that the University which was first in its recognition of the value of linguistics by accepting the Wilson Philological Foundation in 1877, two years after the completion of the great Petersburg Dictionary, will now realize its sacred trust and officially sponsor the above scheme for the editing of the *Thesaurus* in India by Indian scholars. In its final arrangements it may be possible for the University itself to bear all financial responsibilities connected with the publication of the *Thesaurus*.

Other Universities in India which have no research department in Sanskrit may be approached to participate in this scheme in two different ways : (a) by establishing research studentships available at any of the above-named research institutes which form the original core of the *Thesaurus* scheme or at other associate institutes which may join the scheme in due course, and (b) by making annual contributions for the publication of the results of such research. It is needless to point out here that when the *Thesaurus* gets ready, copies will be subscribed to by all Universities and their constituent colleges or departments.

Universities which have already research departments for Sanskrit may co-operate in this scheme by allotting a few studentships for the working out of the preliminary contributions suggested by the Central Committee and also bear the expense of publishing them. In this manner there will be country-wide co-operation for an Indian scheme of a *Sanskrit Thesaurus* on scientific and historical principles. It is indeed not necessary to draw any attention here, for instance, to parallel schemes such as the *Indian History of India*. India is now rising to a recognition of her ability to carry on and lead researches in all fields, and particularly in the Oriental and Linguistic fields, and this growing self-consciousness must find expression in the carrying out of such major projects to a successful conclusion. It is a matter of pride to Indian scholarship that the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and partially published is evoking world-wide admiration as the greatest critical undertaking of the twentieth century, executed with the highest degree of scholarship. The work of the *Thesaurus* is equally great and perhaps even more difficult on account of its extent ; but there is this advantage that the work is capable of being divided among a large number of associate bodies, needing a central organization only for coordinating the research and for the final editing of the material. If the Indian Universities join together and sponsor this scheme and the research institutes cooperate in its detailed working out, the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanscritae* will become an accomplished fact, and an ornament to Oriental scholarship within India. And it will be on a par with the critical edition of the Great Epic as the most magnificent undertaking in India in the history of Sanskrit scholarship.

For drawing the details of the scheme on the above lines the University of Bombay may invite the cooperation of the various research institutes mentioned above and commence the work as soon as the proper arrangements are made. An Advisory Committee may be appointed early to consider the ways and means for the working out of the scheme. The cooperation of the All-India Oriental Conference and the Linguistic Society of India may also be sought in this connection.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

During the last two decades, if not more, it has been an established fashion in our Colleges to found Associations of students of Sanskrit, Philosophy, Economics etc. with a view to enable the students to bring themselves in personal contact with their professors in these subjects and at the same time to stimulate a closer study of these subjects under the guidance of the respective professors. Such Associations may have done some good in the direction intended by their founders but they have failed generally to stimulate any research tendencies among the students. Normally the students of these Associations celebrate an annual gathering with a photograph and the successful students leave the Colleges, forgetting both their *gurus* and the subjects they taught for a short period.

In view of the above state of studies in our Colleges, catering only for examination purposes, the word '*research*' has assumed quite a new meaning among the students even though it is given some dignity in the University circles. Barring a few exceptions our Colleges have been apathetic towards research in any subject, especially of the genuine variety. We are, therefore, happy to note here in brief the history and progress of the Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore. This educational institution was founded in 1886 in honour of Swami Dayananda SARASWATI and since that time it has been developing a net-work of schools and colleges in and outside the Punjab. In spite of their engrossing educational activities the authorities of this institution have not neglected research, and publication work at least so far as the study of classical Sanskrit and Vedas are concerned. As early as 1917* they started a separate Department known as the *Sanskrit Manuscripts and Publication Department* and have spent a lac of rupees in building up a separate library for this Department, known as the *Lalchand Research Library* after the name of the first President of the D. A. V. College. Additions to this library of printed books and manuscripts are being regularly made every year with the help of the financial provision in the budget made by the Society. The Research Department of the D. A. V. College has already published some important works in Sanskrit, Hindi and English all of which bear testimony not only to the capacity and zeal of the authorities in implementing their resolutions but also to the research abilities of the authors and Editors of the several publications. Prof. Bhagwad DATTA, B.A., a life-member of the College was the head of this Department from its commencement up to the middle of 1934 when he retired from the service of the

* It is a happy coincidence that the B. O. R. Institute, Poona was founded on 6th July, 1917.

College. His place was taken up by another life-member Prof. Vishva-Bandhu SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., who had already been working as the Honorary Director and Editor-in-chief of the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute organized at Lahore in 1923. In fact Prof. SHASTRI has been the life and soul of this Institute since its commencement. His complete identification with and dedication to the encyclopædic research programme of this Institute has been responsible in producing works of lasting value so far published by the Institute. The association of such a scholar with the Research Department of the D. A. V. College as its responsible Head augurs well for its future growth and expansion. Prof. SHASTRI combines in himself the ardour of an educationist, the zeal of a reformer and the patience of a scientific research worker. Unless our college professors do research work themselves they are not likely to infuse any spirit of research in their students or guide them with authority even in subjects taken up by their students for the M.A. or Doctorate degrees of the Universities. We wish very much that our colleges follow the example of the D. A. V. College in opening Research Departments in several subjects, on the successful working of which depends the future of our Universities in the proper and fruitful performance of their function statutory or otherwise viz. Post-graduate Instruction and Research. The seeds of research ought to be sown within the precincts of the colleges so that the facilities for research provided by special Research Institutes in the country may be fully availed of by our students even in their later careers. "All ease is enemy of perfection."



We welcome the appearance of the first number of the *Jaina Vidyā*, which is a Bulletin of the Jaina Vidyā Bhavan recently founded at Lahore with the object of creating a centre for Jaina studies. The Jainas are a wealthy community in more senses than one. The wealth of their literature far outshines their material wealth by its brilliance and continuity of religious tradition. Unfortunately the Jainas themselves have not stirred very much in the matter of critical research in their literature rich in chronology and other features. We must, therefore, congratulate Dr. Banarsi Das JAIN, M.A., PH.D. and Mr. Mularaj JAIN, M.A., LL.B. on founding the Jaina Vidyā Bhavan to stimulate the Jaina studies and organize them on a strictly scientific basis. The first issue of the *Jaina Vidyā* consists of 64 pages divided into two equal sections : *English* and *Hindi*. This is a useful arrangement as many of the Jaina pandits though extremely intelligent and learned in their subjects stand in the background as their works and articles do not receive any publicity outside the Jain circles. The present number of the *Jaina Vidyā* contains many useful articles and notes by eminent scholars. We hope the *Jaina Vidyā* will prosper in the immediate future with the patronage of the rich Jaina community in India and the scholars interested in the Jaina

studies in and outside India. The celebrated firm of Messrs. Moti Lal Banarsidas of Lahore and its energetic proprietor Mr. Sundar Lal JAIN deserve our special thanks for the publication of this Journal, which will appear quarterly in July, October, January and April every year. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 5/- (including postage). Contributions to the Journal in Hindi, English or Gujarati (in Nāgarī script) should be sent to Dr. Banarsidas JAIN, M.A., PH. D., c/o the Jaina Vidyā Bhavan, Krishna Nagar, Lahore, while subscriptions and donations should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Bhavan, Mr. L. Sundar LAL, Proprietor of Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das, Said Mitha, Lahore.

THE ELEVENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, HYDERABAD SESSION, DEC. 1941.

The Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will meet under the auspices of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad-Dn. from 20th to 22nd December 1941.

The First Bulletin and the invitation issued by the Reception Committee have already met with an enthusiastic response from various Institutions of Oriental Art and Learning, Governments, Universities, Museums, Academies and eminent Scholars in India, and several institutions have nominated distinguished Delegates.

Besides the All-India Oriental Conference, the Indian History Congress and the Numismatic Society of India are holding their annual Meetings at Hyderabad from 21st to 23rd December 1941. The programme is so arranged that common members will have full opportunity to partake conveniently in the common literary and social functions, entertainments and local excursions and proceed to Ellora and Ajanta and places of historical interest.

Mr. G. YAZDANI, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archæology, Hyderabad State, has been elected General President for the Session.

The Conference will be divided into 18 Sections and the following gentlemen have been duly elected as Sectional Presidents :

1. Vedic.—Dr. Manilal PATEL, Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Andheri, Bombay.
2. Iranian.—Sardar Dastur Noshervan KAIKOBAD, High Priest of the Parsees in the Deccan, Poona.
3. Islamic culture.—Dr. M. Z. SIDDIQI, Sir Asutosh Mukerji Prof. of Islamic Culture, University of Calcutta.
4. Arabic, Persian etc.—Dr. S. Muhammad Husain NAINAR, Post-graduate Department, University of Madras.

5. Classical Sanskrit.—Dr. Hari Chand SHASTRI, Principal, Patna College, University of Patna.
6. Ardhamagadhi & Prakrit.—Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, Prof. Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
7. Philosophy & Religion.—Prof. P. P. S. SASTRY, Presidency College, Madras.
8. History, Chronology etc.—Prof. K. A. Nilakanta SASTRY, Head of the Department of Indian History, University of Madras.
9. Archæology, Epigraphy etc.—Prof. V. V. MIRASHI, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Nagpur University.
10. Philology & Indian Linguistics.—Dr. M. SHAHIDULLAH, Prof., Department of Bengali, University of Dacca, Ramna.
11. Ethnology (Anthropology & Mythology).—Mr. M. D. RAGHAVAN, Government Museum, Madras.
12. Fine Arts (including Deccan Art).—Rai Bahadur S. N. GUPTA, Principal, Mayo School of Arts, Lahore.
13. Technical Sciences (including Ayurvedic & Unani).—Khan Bahadur M. SANALLAH, Archæological Chemist
14. Non-Local Indian Languages.—Dr. Baburam SAKSENA, Reader, Allahabad University.
15. Local Languages : Urdu.—Dr. A. S. SIDDIQI, Head of the Dept. of Arabic & Persian, University of Allahabad.
16. Marathi.—Prof. D. V. POTDAR, Secretary, Bharat Itihasa Samshodak Mandal, Poona.
17. Telugu.—Dr. C. R. REDDY, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair.
18. Kannada.—Mr. Masti Venkatesa IYENGAR, Bangalore.

The Local Reception Committee on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Conference extends invitation to all Oriental Societies, Learned Institutions, Universities, Museums and other Government and non-Government Departments to send delegates and requests the delegates and the members of the Conference to contribute materially to the advancement of knowledge by their valuable researches. The Local Reception Committee trusts that delegates and members intending to attend the Session will co-operate with the organisers to make the forthcoming Session a success.

Curators of Museums, Librarians, owners of private collections, and connoisseurs of Art and Antiquities are hereby requested to communicate directly with the Director of Archæology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad-Deccan, regarding the exhibition of such specimens as they propose to send, for arrangements are being made by the State Archæological

Department for the inauguration of a Historical Exhibition in co-operation with the Indian History Congress, the Hyderabad Museum, the State Library, Osmania University Library and other important Institutions in the City.

All communications and remittances may kindly be addressed to Dr. M. NIZAMUDDIN, Local Secretary, Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference, Osmania University, Lallaguda, Deccan.

Dr. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LIT. (London),
Professor of Sanskrit,
Dacca University.

Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.LIT. (London),
Professor of History,
Mysore University.
Hon. General Secretaries.

M. NIZAMUDDIN,
Local Secretary.

TRANSCRIPTION OF CHINESE FOR SINO-INDIAN STUDIES*

By

T. F. CHOU, Calcutta.

The Geneva system of Sanskrit transcription has now been almost un-animously accepted by Indologists everywhere. This has not been, however, the case with the transcription of Chinese, for which various methods have been adopted and are still current among Sinologists in general. Among these, including French and German methods of transcription, the WADE-GILES' system has proved to be the most popular one, at least so far as the English works on Sinology are concerned. None of the current systems has, however, been found either very convenient or helpful to the progress of such studies as are primarily connected with both Indian and Sinitic languages. In the following, therefore, we propose a method of Chinese transcription for Sino-Indian studies, which, being in consonance with the adopted principles of Sanskrit transcription, is expected to be easily comprehensible to those who are already familiar with the latter.

The present system of transcription applies to the modern pronunciation of Chinese. It is not yet generally known, that since 1926¹, the modern Pekinese has been adopted as the National Language (*kuo-ü*) in China and that it slightly differs from the Mandarin (*kuan-hua*). The system of Pekinese pronunciation is, therefore, the one, which has been transcribed for our purpose in the following :

INITIALS :	² p	ph	m	—	f	—
	t	th	n	l	—	—
	k	kh	—	—	h	—
	³ c	ch	—	—	ś	—
	⁴ ts	tsh	—	—	ṣ	z
	ts	tsh	—	—	s	—

* I am indebted to Dr. V. V. GOKHALE, Poona, for his valuable guidance and co-operation in the preparation of this paper.

1. Before 1926, Mandarin was considered as the standard speech.

2. In this series ph (p + h) is bi-labial, while f is a labio-dental.

3. This series is a palatalization from both ki, khi, hi and tsi, tshi, si. In the WADE-system this appears as *chi*, *ch'i*, *hsi*; in the French system, it is represented separately, either by *ki*, *k'i*, *hi* or by *tsi*, *ts'i*, *si*. The actual Pekinese pronunciation of both these groups is however only palatal. As there are too many homonymous words under this series, and although both groups are pronounced alike, we could distinguish the transcriptions in the following manner :—(See also Note 17 below.)

c(<k), ch(<kh), ç(<h) ;

tś(<ts), tśh(<tsh), ś(<s).

4. z is a voiced ś. In the Sanskrit sound-system, ts, tsh, z from this series and ts, tsh from the next series are not found.

FINALS :	² -ī	⁶ i	u	ū
	a	ia	ua	—
	o	io	uo	—
	⁷ e	—	—	—
	⁸ è	ie	—	üe
	ai	iai	uai	—
	ei	—	uei	—
	au	iau	—	—
	eu	ieu	—	—
	an	⁹ iān	uan	üan
	en	in	uen	ün
	añ	iañ	uañ	—
	eñ	iñ	ueñ	—
	¹⁰ -uñ	-iun	—	—
	¹¹ er	—	—	—

5. -ī is a symbol for two apical vowels (see KARLGREN, *Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise*) from an original i, and occurs only with initial consonants : ts, tsh, s, z, and ts, tsh, s. This -ī can be replaced by an apostrophe (') for typographical convenience, or also when it is unstressed.

6. Phonetically there are no semi-vowels (y, w) in Pekinese. ū is rounded i (French u, German ü), from Ancient i + w; therefore it may also be written as iu for typographical convenience.

7. e is equivalent to [ə], the English -er. When stressed, it is unrounded o.

8. Excepting è and the -e (ɛ) in ie, üe, all other e = [ə]. This [ə] sound may also be transcribed by short a (a), but in that case, the Chinese a, occurring at all places in our system, will have to be transcribed as ā.

9. In iān, -an is assimilated by i.

10. -uñ occurs only as combined with an initial consonant.

11. er is a retroflex vowel, like the American -er.

12. o and è occur in Pekinese only as exclamations. The Mandarin o and ko, kho, ho are pronounced in Pekinese as e and ke, khe, he (Colloquial : hau) or as uo and kuo, khuo, huo respectively. The Colloquial Pekinese pronunciation of -e (which is the same in Mandarin) is -ai [< Ancient -ək, etc.], or -ei [< Anc. -ək].

13. Mandarin pe, phe, me, and puñ, phuñ, muñ, suñ are pronounced in literary Pekinese as po, pho, mo (Coll. : -ai [< Anc. -ək, -ek], -ei [< Anc. -ək, -uət]) and pen, phen, men, fen respectively. The Colloquial Pekinese pronunciation of -o (which is the same in Mandarin) is -au.

14. -o after all initial consonants (excepting k-, kh-, h-) in WADE'S system is pronounced as -uo (Coll. : -au [< Anc. -āk, -iak], -uai [< Anc. -uāk, -iuet]) in Pekinese.

15. The Pekinese pronunciation of some colloquial words : tshu etc. is tshu etc. A double pronunciation (i.e. literary and colloquial) is observable in Modern Chinese. For avoiding homonyms, the colloquial pronunciation may sometimes be taken for the purpose of transcription, e.g. for avoiding the homonym lu ('six', 'green'), the colloquial pronunciations : lieu (< Anc. liuk 'six') and lü (< Anc. liwok, 'green') may be adopted.

We add below a complete syllabary of modern Pekinese (without indicating tonal distinctions) :

	-f	a	¹³ o	¹³ e	¹³ ê	ai	ei	au	eu	an	en	an	en	an	en	ai	¹³ uo	uai	uei	uan	uen	uen
p		pa	¹³ po	¹³		pai	pei	pau	—	pan	pen	pan	¹³ pen	¹³								
ph		pha	pho			phai	phai	phau	pheu	phan	phen	phan	phen									
m		ma	mo			mai	mei	mau	meu	man	men	man	men									
f		fa	fo			—	fei	—	feu	fan	fen	fan	fen									
t		ta	¹⁴	te		tai	tei	tau	teu	tan	—	tan	ten	tun			¹⁴ uo		tuei	uan	tuen	
th		tha		the		thai	—	thau	theu	than	—	than	then	thun			thuo		thuei	thuan	thuen	
n		na	ne	ne		nai	nei	nau	neu	nan	nen	nan	nen	nun			nuo		—	nuan	nuen	
l		la	le	le		lai	lei	lau	leu	lan	—	lan	len	lun			luo		—	luan	luen	
k		ka	¹²	¹² ke		kai	kei	kau	keu	kan	ken	kan	ken	kun			¹² kuo	kuai	kuai	kuan	kuen	kuan
kh		kha	khe	khe		khai	khei	khou	kheu	khan	khen	khan	khen	khu			khuo	khuai	khuai	khuai	khuai	khuai
h		ha	he	he		hai	hei	hau	heu	han	hen	han	hen	hun			huo	huai	huai	huan	huen	huan
tɕ	tɕi	tɕa	¹⁴	tɕe		tɕai	tɕei	tɕau	tɕeu	tɕan	tɕen	tɕan	tɕen	tɕun			¹⁴ tsuo	tsuai	tsuai	tsuan	tsuen	tsuan
tɕh	tɕhi	tɕha		tɕhe		tɕhai	—	tɕhau	tɕheu	tɕhan	tɕhen	tɕhan	tɕhen	tɕhun			tɕhuo	tɕhuai	tɕhuai	tɕhuan	tɕhuen	tɕhuan
ɕ	ɕi	ɕa	ɕe	ɕe		ɕai	ɕei	ɕau	ɕeu	ɕan	ɕen	ɕan	ɕen	—			suo	sui	sui	suan	suen	suan
ʒ	ʒi	—	ʒe	ʒe		—	—	ʒau	ʒeu	ʒan	ʒen	ʒan	ʒen	ʒun			ʒuo	—	ʒuei	ʒuan	ʒuen	—
ts	tsi	tsa	¹⁴	tse		tsai	tsei	tsau	tseu	tsan	tsen	tsan	tsen	tsun			¹⁴ tsuo		tsuei	tsuan	tsuen	tsuen
tɕh	tɕhi	tɕha		tɕhe		tɕhai	—	tɕhau	tɕheu	tɕhan	tɕhen	tɕhan	tɕhen	tɕhun			tɕhuo		tɕhuei	tɕhuai	tɕhuen	tɕhuen
s	si	sa	se	se		sai	sei	sau	seu	san	sen	san	sen	sun			suo		suei	suan	suen	suen

	i	ia	¹⁶ io	¹⁶ ie	¹⁶ iai	iau	ieu	ian	in	ian	in	iu	¹⁶ ue	üan	ün
p	pi			pie		piau		piän	pín		pín				
ph	phi			phie		phiau		phiän	phín		phín				
m	mí			míe		míau	míeu	míän	mín		mín				
t	tí			tíe		tíau	tíeu	tíän			tín				
th	thí			thíe		thíau	—	thíän			thín				
n	ní			níe		níau	níeu	níän	nín	níän	nín	nú	núe		
l	lí	lia		líe		líau	líeu	líän	lín	liän	lín	lú	lúe	lián	lün
c	cí	¹⁷ cía		cíe		cíau	cíeu	cíän	cín	cíän	cín	cú	cúe	cían	cün
ch	chí	chía		chíe		chíau	chíeu	chíän	chín	chíän	chín	chú	chúe	chían	chün
ś	śí	śía		śíe		śíau	śíeu	śíän	śín	śiän	śín	śú	śúe	śían	śün

16. io occurs only as an exclamation in Pekinese. The Mandarin *-io*, *iai* appear in Pekinese as : *-üe* (Coll. *-iau*) and *-ie* respectively.

17. As we have mentioned above, in Note 3, the series : c, ch, ś can be further divided into two groups, viz. : c, ch, ċ and tś, tśh, ś; but the syllables : cía, chia, śía are an exception to this, as they are palatalized only from kía, khía, hía respectively. In Pekinese stage-language, however, tsi etc. are separated from ci (<ki) etc. Through an abnormal analogy, some actresses pronounce even ci (<ki) etc. as tsi etc. This tendency is observable also among girl-students in Peiping.

We subjoin a specimen of a passage, transcribed according to the system proposed above. This passage represents the beginning of the *Vajracchedikā* (ed. by Max MÜLLER & B. NANJIO) in its six Chinese translations.¹⁸ (Where Chinese translations differ from Sanskrit, a tentative Skt. restoration is added in [] brackets.)

Skt.	Namo	sarvajñāya/
Ch. 4	kuei-min	i-chie fo <i>phu-sa</i> hai teñ/ [sarvabuddhabodhisattvasāgarebhyah]
Skt.	evaṃ	mayā śrutam/ ekasmin samaye
Ch.	zu-ī uo	uen / i-ī
Skt.	bhagavān	śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma
Ch. 4	śī-tuen	uen-tse ieu-čin [lokajyeṣṭhah]
" 5	fo-chie-fan	tsai <i>śī-luo-fa</i> tṣu
" 6	"	" min-ti-heñ ta-ti-heñ [śrāvastimahānagaryāṃ]
" 1	fo	" <i>se-uei</i> kuo [buddhah]
" 2	pho-chie-pho	" <i>se-pho-thi</i> tē-heñ [śrāvastinagaryāṃ]
" 3	fo pho-chie-pho	tṣu <i>se-uei</i> kuo
Skt.	jetavane	'nāthapindadasyārāme
Ch. 4	señ-lin tṣuñ	u-tē-hin thuan <i>śī-ū</i> tian tṣuñ
" 5	<i>śī-tuo</i>	lin ci ku-tu ūan
" 6	tsan-señ	" <i>śī</i> " "
" 1, 2	<i>chī-tū</i>	ci " "
" 3	<i>chī-thuo</i>	su-lin " " "
Skt.	mahatā	bhikṣusaṃghena sārđham
Ch. 4	ta	<i>pi-chieu</i> tṣuñ kuñ
" 5, 6	tī	" <i>pi-tṣhu</i> tṣuñ
" 1, 2, 3	"	" <i>pi-chieu</i> tṣuñ
Skt.	ardhatrayodaśabhirbhikṣusataih	
Ch. 4	pan san	<i>śī pi-chieu</i> pai
" 5, 6; 1, 2, 3	chiān er-pai	u-ī zen cū
Skt.	sambahulaīśca	bodhisattvairmahāsattvaiḥ/
Ch. 6	ci	ta <i>phu-sa</i> tṣuñ/ [mahābodhisattvaiḥ]/

In conclusion, we may add a table, giving a comparative view of four other systems of transcription, which are in vogue, along with the one proposed by us. Among these, A represents the French system, as used in the

18. Among these Nos. 1-3 (TTP Nos. 235-237) are the so-called 'old' translations, while Nos. 4-6 (TTP Nos. 238, 220, 239) are the 'new' ones. No. 4, made by Dharmagupta, is a word to word translation. It may be noted in passing, that this version, along with the version of Vasubhadra's *Sī e-han-mu tṣhau-cie* (*Caturāgamasāra*?), made by Kumārabuddhi (TTP No. 1505; Nj. 1381) forms the only two absolutely literal translations in the Chinese Tripitaka. On the doubtful authenticity of No. 4 see T. MATSUMOTO, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1932) p. 15 ff.

Hôbôgirin; B the WADE-system; C the National Romanization (*Gwoyeu Romatzyh*)¹⁹, prepared by Y. R. CHAO and "A Handful of Men Society" (Phoneticians' Club, Peking, 1926); and D the Latinization by A. Dragunov and others. The last two systems (C, D) represent two different movements (i.e. *G. R.* and *Latinxua Sin-wenz* = Latinized new Script) for the Romanization of Chinese.

	A	B	C	D
p	p	p	²³ b	b
ph	p'	p'	p	p
m	m	m	²⁴ mh, m	m
f	f	f	f	f
t	t	t	²³ d	d
th	t'	t'	t	t
n	n	n	²⁴ nh, n	n
l	l	l	²⁴ lh, l	l
k	k	k	²³ g	g
kh	k'	k'	k	k
(-n)	²⁰ ng	(-ng)	(-ng)	ng
h	h	h	h	x
c	k(i)	ch(i)	j(i)	g(i)
ch	kh(i)	ch'(i)	ch(i)	k(i)
ç	h(i)	²¹ hs(i)	sh(i)	x(i)

19. Cf. Denzil CARR, *The Gwoyeu Transcription* (Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Tome X, 1934, Pp. 77-86).

20. This French transcription is based on the Mandarin pronunciation, e.g. *ngo* (<Anc. ngâ, Pekinese uo, 'I'): but sometimes mistakes are seen, e.g. *ngai* (<Anc. âi, 'to love'), which ought to be *ai* even in Mandarin. In Pekinese initial *ng-* has been entirely lost.

21. *hs*, *sh*, and *ss*, *s* in the WADE-system correspond to our *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s* respectively. In WADE's system, even when *ü* is written as *u*, still *sü* and *şu* sounds can be distinguished in that system through the transcriptions: *hsu* (=śü) and *shu* (=şu).

22. For *b*, *d*, *g* etc, cf. Y. R. CHAO, *Plosives in Chinese Dialects* (Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, London).

24. In G. R. system, *mh*, *nh*, *lh*, *rh* combined with the vowel forms in the 1st Tone represent the 1st Tone; while *m*, *n*, *l*, *r* combined with the same represent the 1st+Tone. The vowel forms in the 1st+Tone are not used with these voiced consonants.

	A	B	C	D
ts	tch	ch	j	zh
tsh	tch'	ch'	ch	ch
s	ch	²¹ sh	sh	sh
z	j	j	²⁴ rh, r	rh
ts	ts	²² tz, ts	tz	z
tsh	ts'	tz', ts'	ts	c
s	ss, s	²¹ ss, s	s	s
t̃s	ts (i)	ch (i)	j (i)	z (i)
t̃sh	ts' (i)	ch' (i)	ch (i)	c (i)
ś	s (i)	hs (i)	sh (i)	s (i)

	A	B	C				D
			1st Tone	²⁶ 1st + Tone	2nd Tone	3rd Tone	
ī	²⁵ -e ²⁵ -eu	²⁵ -ih ²⁵ -ü	-y	-yr	-yy	-yh	²⁸
a	a	a	a	ar	aa	ah	a
o	o	o	o	or	oo	oh	o
e	ō	ē	e	er	ee	eh	e
è	e	eh	è	èr	èè	èh	—

22. In Wade-system, ts, ts', s before the apical vowel -ü are written as: *tz*, *tz'*, *ss*; so that even when -ü is written as -u, the groups: *tsu* (= tsī), *tz'u* (= tshī), *ssu* (= sī) and *tsu* (= tsu), *ts'u* (= tshu), *su* (= su) can be distinguished from each other.

25. In the French system, the apical vowel after *tch* (= ts) etc. is transcribed as -e, while the one after *ts* (= ts) etc. is transcribed as -eu. In the WADE-system, the same is transcribed by -ih and -ü respectively.

26. The Ancient voiced *bh*, *dh*, *gh* etc. in the 1st Tone (*in-phiin*) change to voiceless *ph*, *th*, *kh* etc. in the first+Tone (*ian-phiin*) in Modern Pekinese. Cf. Y. R. CHAO, *Tone and Intonation in Chinese* (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica); F.K.Li, Chapter on *Languages and Dialects* (China Year-Book, 2nd Issue, 1936-'37, Commercial Press, Shanghai).

	A	B	C				D
			1st Tone	1st+Tone	2nd Tone	3rd Tone	
ai	ai	ai	ai	air	ae	ay	ai
ei	ei	ei	ei	eir	²⁷ eei	ey	ei
au	ao	ao	au	aur	ao	aw	ao
eu	eou	ou	ou	our	²⁷ oou	ow	ou
an	an	an	an	arn	aan	ann	an
en	en	ēn	en	ern	een	enn	en
añ	ang	ang	ang	arng	aang	anq	ang
eñ	eng	ēng	eng	erng	eeng	enq	eng
-un	ong	-ung	-ong	-orng	-oong	-onq	ung
er	eul	ērḥ	el	erl	eel	ell	²⁸ r
u	²⁹ (w)-ou	²⁹ (w) u	u	wu	²⁹ (w)-uu	²⁹ (w)-uh	²⁹ (w) u
ua	-oua	-ua	ua	wa	(w)-oa	-uah	ua
uo	-ouo	-uo	uo	wo	²⁷ -uoo	-uoh	uo
uai	-ouai	-uai	uai	wai	(w)-oi	-uay	uai
uei	-ouei	wei, -ui	uei	wei	(w)-oei	-uey	wei, -ui
uan	-ouan	-uan	uan	wan	(w)-oan	-uann	uan
uen	-ouen	wēn, -un	uen	wen	(w)-oen	-uenn	wen, -un
uañ	-ouang	-uang	uang	wang	(w)-oang	-uanq	uang
ueñ	—	wēng	ueng	weng	(w)-oeng	wenq	—

27. In the G. R. system, the 2nd Tone (*ṣaṇ-ṣeṇ*) is represented either by doubling the vowels *a*, *o*, *e* or changing *i* into *e* and *u* into *o*. But in these particular cases, in order to avoid the confusion in respect of *ee*, *oo*, only the former principle is applied and not the latter.

28. In this system, apical vowels are not transcribed. The retroflex vowel is written as *r*; e.g. *rz* (= *er-ts*, 'son').

	A	B	C				D
			1st Tone	1st+Tone	2nd Tone	3rd Tone	
i	²⁹ (y)-i	³¹ i, yi	i	yi	²⁹ (y)-ii	²⁹ (y)-ih	³⁰ (j) i
ia	-ia	²⁹ -ia	ia	ya	(y)-ea	-iah	ia
io	-io	-io	io	yo	(y)-eo	-ioh	³³ (j) yo
ie	-ie	-ieh	ie	ye	²⁷ -iee	-ieh	ie
iai	-iai	-iai	iai	yai	(y)-eai	-iay	iai
iau	-iao	-iao	iau	yau	(y)-eau	-iaw	iao
ieu	-ieou	-iu	iou	you	(y)-eou	-iow	iu
iän	-ien	-ien	ian	yan	(y)-ean	-iann	ian
in	(y)-in	(y)-in	in	³² yn	(y)-iin	(y)-inn	(j) in
ian	-iang	-iang	iang	yang	(y)-eang	-ianq	iang
in	(y)-ing	(y)-ing	ing	³² yng	(y)-iing	(y)-inq	(j) ing
iun	-iong	-iung	iong	yong	(y)-eong	-ionq	³³ (j) yng
ü	²⁹ -iu	²⁹ (y)-u	iu	yu	(y)-eu	²⁹ -iuh	³⁰ (j) y
üe	-iue	(y)-ueh	iue	yue	(y)-eue	-iueh	(j) ye
üan	-iuan	(y)-uan	iuan	yuan	(y)-euan	-iuann	(j) yan
ün	-iun	(y)-un	iun	yun	(y)-eun	-iunn	(j) yn

29. When these syllables are not combined with consonants, *w-*, *y-* are added as indicated in the table, otherwise *-u-* (*-ou-* in the French system), *-i-* are changed into *w-*, *y-* respectively.

30. In Romanizing Chinese, the compounds are written as single words. In Dragunov's Latinization, *w-*, *j-* are inserted for avoiding ambiguity; e.g. *injyo* (= *in-üe*, 'music') for *in-yo*, and not for *i-nyo*.

31. In Pekinese, the original 4th Tone (*ʒu-ʒen*) is distributed among the 1st, 1st + 2nd and 3rd Tones. In WADE's system, *yi* represents the original 4th Tone, while *i* represents the Tones other than the original 4th.

32. In G. R. system, for these two forms (*yn*, *yng*), we may suggest a modification as: *yin*, *yīng*, cf. *yī*.

33. In DRAGUNOV's Latinization, the Mandarin *io* is transcribed as *yo* (= *üo*) and *iun* is transcribed as *yng* (= *ün*).

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE*

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VI. THE CULTS BEHIND THE IMAGE

To determine whether images of a deity in human shape could not have been earlier in India than the contact with the Greeks and whether they could not have been the forebears of the images of the Buddha, we have to obtain an idea of the cults which by the age of Greek influence had already secured a vogue in Buddhism and in the faiths in the midst of which Buddhism arose. The earliest Buddhist remains which enable us to get an insight into the variety and the character of those cults and of the manner in which the anthropomorphic image came to be accepted as an object of worship are the sculptures that adorn the Buddhist stupas. They are worthy of study for the light they throw directly or indirectly on the antiquity of the beliefs they illustrate.

We need say little about the cults of the symbol, the relic and the funeral mound in Buddhism, for, the worship of Wheel and 'Nandipada over Circle' as symbols, of the Buddha's head-dress and begging-bowl and bones as relics, and of stupas as funeral mounds are all expressed so unambiguously in sculptures and in literary records that there is no mistaking their character. But Buddhism is known to have adopted other cults also from almost the beginning of its history and they require to be traced and compared if their bearing on the genesis of the Buddha image is to be determined.

A piece of sculpture from the Buddhist stupa of Bharhut (Fig. 8 : 1) shows a platform under a spreading tree and four animals on each side. No god has stationed himself on the platform, but his presence is felt none the less for his being physically absent. An inscribed label calls it a representation of 'the shrine at Migasammata where animals rejoice together'. The shrine is not shown in the sculpture, nor the god of the shrine, but both the shrine and the god have been subtly sensed by the animals who have trooped in to pay their devours, and they were undoubtedly imagined in the scene by the sculptor. In a second piece of sculpture (Fig. 8 : 2), also from Bharhut, a tree and a platform under it are worshipped by two pairs of devotees, one pair standing under the tree and another pair bowing at the platform : the only difference between this and the previous piece is that human beings are substituted in this for animals. No label is required to tell us that here too the presence of a god has to be felt and inferred. The platform in these two sculptures may equally well represent a seat for the

* Continued from page 270.

deity of the scene or an altar for laying offerings upon for the deity, but the Buddhist sculptor treated it as a seat, at least for the purposes of the iconography of the Buddha, for, within a century or two of the Bharhut stupa the Buddha is shown in sculptures as a divinity seated on a low dais under a great tree.

A rather late piece of sculpture from Mathura (Fig. 8 : 3), being one half of a panel, depicts a tree,—railed in because of its sacredness and protected by what seems to be a huge tongue of leaping flame,—and also a

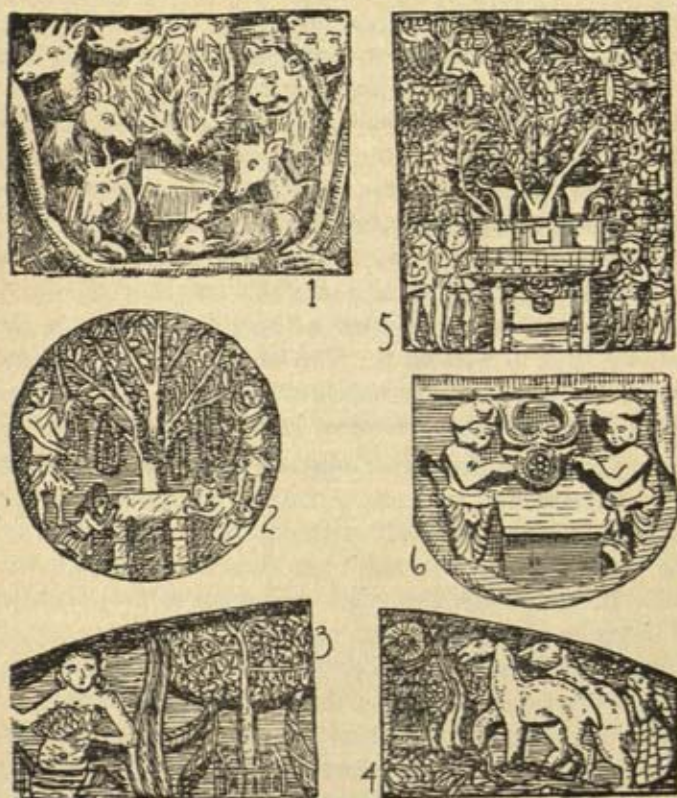


Fig. 8.

winged deity or spirit to the left of the tree, in an attitude suggestive of veneration. If the panel was complete it would have contained a repetition of the tongue of flame and the winged godling to the right of the tree.

Another piece from the same place and of the same date (Fig. 8 : 4) pictures a wheel on a pillar,—also protected by a great tongue of flame,—being worshipped by two camels and two men who have ranged themselves on one side in single file. This piece too being broken like the other, the full panel would have similarly shown a row of animal and human devotees on either side of the wheel on the pillar. The object in the middle of the group is a symbol,—a wheel,—which having at an earlier stage in Indian thought come to be

associated with 'righteousness' or Dharma, was adopted by the Buddhists to represent the doctrine of the Buddha.

The three sculptures depicting the worship of a tree or of a tree with a platform at its foot (Fig. 8 : 1-3) may exemplify three different cults,— firstly a tree-cult in which the tree itself is the object of devotion because of the benefits it confers, secondly a tree-spirit-cult in which the tree receives worship as the visible representation of an invisible spirit, and thirdly a haunt-cult in which the tree is adored, not because it is a tree nor because it represents a spirit, but because it is the *milieu* in which a deity chooses to appear or has appeared now and again. Any scene which a deity visits being its haunt, a tree under which the deity promenades or seats itself is also one : the deity is neither the tree itself nor a manifestation of the tree, and its association with the tree need be no more than 'terminable at will'. None of these modes of representing the tree is therefore explicit as to which of the three cults it exemplifies. We cannot resolve the doubt, for Buddhism encouraged all the three cults. The third of these pieces (Fig. 8 : 3) illustrates only one of the numerous variations on the theme of the haunt ; the winged being was perhaps introduced to lay emphasis on the deity of the haunt having had so universal an appeal that not even creations of the fancy were exempt from the urge to worship it. The lateness of this piece shows also that the formula of picturing only the haunt continued to be in vogue even after the deity had come to be delineated in its haunt.

But these pieces may also depict what may be called a spot-cult. They might have been intended to represent, directly or remotely, the sanctity of the spot at which the Buddha achieved enlightenment or from which he set the wheel of the Dharma rolling, for these spots became two of the holiest places of Buddhism. Buddhism furnishes numerous proofs of the popularity of the practice of venerating spots at which significant events occurred. We may cite by way of example the spots where the Buddha was born, where he had the first bath, where in his flight from the worldly life he halted his horse to take a last look at the capital of the kingdom which he was renouncing, where he cut off his hair and cast it off, where a grass-cutter gave him grass with which to make a seat at the foot of the tree under which he achieved enlightenment, where on the enlightenment he seated himself and kept gazing at the spot of that enlightenment, where he preached his first sermon, where he converted Uruvela Kassapa, where he taught his father, where on his return from the heaven of the thirty-three gods to which he had gone to proclaim his doctrine his right foot touched the earth, and where on his death his relics were divided among his followers for interment. All these spots became invested with sanctity and memorials were raised at them all. Even in the days before the advent of the Buddha, when only Buddhas in the making were manifesting themselves, the practice was not unknown : stupas were erected at the spots where a Bodhi-sattva held a conversation and wherefrom he disappeared. Even spots that evoked unpleasant recollections acquired significance : Vattagamani-Abhaya, one of the kings of Ceylon, built a monastery,

the Sōmārāma, on the spot where one of his queens had seen an indelicate act being enacted, and he built another at the spot where, when fleeing from his Tamil antagonists, he had received an insult. We know that, in later times, memorials were raised at a spot where a tiger was stabbed⁵³ and at another where a devotee severed his head with his sword and 'got it back'.⁵⁴ We are also told that a king, Narendra, who fought a hundred and eight battles, set up a temple on each battle field.⁵⁵ Thus, the spot where anything important occurred became worthy of note and the spot where any act of faith was enacted became sacred. But, how could the sanctity of the spot be delineated in sculpture? How, for instance, was the sculptor to depict the holiness of the spot where the Buddha had achieved enlightenment? The Buddha could not have been shown in the scene, for, to have done so would have been to divert attention from the spot to the person. The most appropriate,—if not the only possible,—mode of depicting the spot as worthy of veneration was to picture the tree itself, and probably to add a seat below and enclose it with a railing (as in Fig. 8 : 3). The only practicable mode of indicating the spot from which the Wheel of the Dharma was set rolling by the Buddha is to depict a scene in which the Wheel occupies pride of place (as in Fig. 8 : 4) : to depict the Buddha in the scene would be to emphasise the Buddha and to ignore the spot.

We have two other types of representation (Fig. 8 : 5, 6) in which a symbol,—a 'Nandipada over Circle' here,—occupies the place of honour and receives veneration. A very simple piece from Bodh Gaya (Fig. 8 : 6) shows a 'Nandipada over Circle', perched at the very edge of a seat, being worshipped by a devotee on either side. By way of contrast we have a fine panel from Sanchi (Fig. 8 : 5) in which is shown a huge tree with branches spreading far and wide but enclosed and, in some measure, protected by a shrine built around it : at the foot of the tree is a seat and in the middle of the seat is the symbol of 'Nandipada over Circle', and human worshippers stand on either side in the attitude of veneration. Here is a combination of the two modes we have already come across : a tree, a seat, and a symbol are all put together, and even a shrine is added.

Yet another cult,—that of the 'vestigium' or 'trace',—is known to have been accepted by Buddhism. The tale of the Buddha going up to the heaven of the thirty-three gods to preach his creed and returning to the terrestrial scene of his ministry is illustrated in a panel at Bharhut (Fig. 9 : 1) which shows a foot-print on the lowest rung of a triple ladder spanning heaven and earth and another foot-print on the top-most rung,—evidently, an abbreviated version of the long journey,—and the ladder itself is set beside a shrine enclosing a tree and a dais below it, and all around a surging crowd of devotees stands adoring. In this panel we have a complex of a tree and a shrine, but the special feature is the presence of the foot-print as an indication of the

53. *Epigraphia Indica*, 4 : 179.54. *Ib.*, 5 : 260-1.55. *Ib.*, 4 : 226. See also my *South Indian Portraits*, 43.

Buddha having journeyed by the ladder. In another panel (Fig. 9 : 2) from the same place, a platform,—or seat,—is shaded by an umbrella, and the imprint of a pair of feet carved below the platform is clutched at by a king



Fig. 9.

kneeling in the presence of a host of devotees and the platform itself bears three imprints of a hand incised clearly on it. The *vestigium manus* is not less sacred than the *vestigium pedis*, and both are figured here as objects of worship.^{55a}

The sculptures we have passed in review illustrate various cults which are found to have been accepted by Buddhism by even the age to which the early Buddhist monuments are ascribable. None of them is distinctly Buddhist and none of them acquired in Buddhism a significance which it did not have in other Indian faiths. Buddhism must therefore have acquired them by way of inheritance from the earlier cultures of the land, including possibly those that had intruded, stayed and become domiciled.

VII. CULT OBJECT BETWEEN ADORANTS

The sculptures in which we have found evidence of the acceptance by Buddhism of the cults current generally in the country are interesting for a second reason as well : they are cast in terms of an art formula which goes very far back in history,—many centuries before the Buddha. The formula relates to the iconic presentation of an object that has been adopted as the centre of a cult. The cult-object—be it a divinity, or an object such as a tree, or a symbol such as a wheel,—is prominently placed in the middle of a composition and it is flanked on either side by a beast or a man rendering veneration to it. A fine panel (Fig. 10) from an early Jain monument is an excellent illustration of this formula, which may be called that of 'cult object between adorants.' The goddess Śrī, or Lakṣmī, stands as the central figure in a composition in which lotus buds and blossoms, elephants raising well-filled vessels with their trunks and emptying them on the goddess, and birds pecking at

55a. See Appendix 4.

lotus buds, are presented in pairs but disposed symmetrically on either side of the goddess.



Fig. 10.

The pattern occurs in its simplest form in the piece from Bodh Gaya (Fig. 8 : 6) which shows the 'Nandipada over Circle' being venerated by two adorants. In the representation of 'the shrine at Migasammata where animals rejoice together' (Fig. 8 : 1) the animals are shown divided, into two groups of four each, by the intervening tree and seat, but a rigid symmetry is avoided by introducing two lions into the company of six deer and by making the lions turn away from the tree and the seat. The pattern is almost obliterated when a number of cults are sought to be integrated, as in the scene from Sanchi (Fig. 8 : 5), in which the cults of the spot, the haunt, the tree and the shrine are all brought together within the narrow confines of the composition, and yet it is not difficult to see that the composition is but an elaboration of this formula.

The frequency with which the formula occurs in Buddhist sculptures incites us to ask wherefrom and when Buddhist art obtained the formula. We have too few specimens of the antecedent art of the country to be able even to venture on an explanation. Nor do we fare better when we turn to the sculptures themselves for a possible hypothesis. The various sculptures exhibiting the formula being but elaborations of a primary idea,—being but changes run on the basic *motif*,—it is possible to start with an assumption that it may not be difficult to trace an evolution from the simple pattern to the complex composition. The facts, however, afford no foothold for the assumption : indeed, the most complicated example (Fig. 8 : 5) is the earliest in point of date, and one of the simplest (Fig. 8 : 3) is one of the two latest. Nor is it to be assumed that the evolution was in the direction of either the adoption or the rejection of a symbol as the middle term in the formula : the 'Nandipada over Circle' appears in the earliest of the sculptures (Fig. 8 : 5) and the wheel in one of the latest. The sculpture which, to judge merely by closeness to a natural scene, would appear to be the earliest, is the one in which animals herd together under a tree (Fig. 8 : 1), but it does not belong to the earliest period of Buddhist art. The stages in which the simple *motif* of 'cult-object between adorants' developed into the complex forms illustrated by our examples refuse to fall into a chronological sequence. This must be due to the stages having been worked out long before the dates of the examples which we have now before us. Every stage of evolution

should have left a legacy, and the sculptors of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya and Mathura, being the heirs to the legacies, should have accepted them all and utilised them without regard to the ages of the respective modes. This welter of modes becomes thus the most cogent testimony we can have to the Buddhist sculptors having taken over modes already ancient.

But, how much more ancient? No answer by way of even surmise is possible unless we go very far back in time to the Harappa age or we journey far off,—in space to western Asia and the shores of the Mediterranean, and in time to the period of the early cultures of those regions.

The *motif* of 'cult object between adorants' has an ancient history in the lands to the west of India and the cults which are found expressed in the form are varied.

A 'Mesopotamian' seal (Fig. 11 : 1), for instance, which is datable probably earlier than about 3000 B.C., shows in the middle a pair of serpents entwined and rising high, and a small flower further up, and a goat standing on either side of the serpents and facing them.⁵⁶ This pattern is 'not purely decorative': in the light of the culture of that area and that period, the 'group of animals and flowers' on the seal 'appears as a consistent reference to the god of fertility.'⁵⁷ But even this seal, early as it is, presents the *motif* in a complex form in which the ornamental interest is made to compete vigorously with the religious: the importance of the *motif* of the worship of a symbol of divinity by a pair of animals is challenged by that of two animals standing back to back and to no purpose. Another cylinder seal (Fig. 11 : 2), from Uruk and of about the same period, seems to find room for two places of honour and in each to locate a hillock with a tree rising from its crest: one of the trees is worshipped by a pair of goats standing on rocky ground, and the other tree, located between a pair of goats standing back to back, is worshipped by two other goats that fall towards each other. Evidently the artist of the seal felt that the securing of a second scene of worship was sufficient amends for the dividing of interest between two scenes. A Mitannian cylinder seal of about 1450-1400 B.C. (Fig. 11 : 3) incorporates three distinct designs, each of which, however, is an example of the formula: a wheel raised upon a pole is supported,—rather, worshipped,—by a pair of devotees: a divinity from whose face start forth beams of light is worshipped by a pair of winged beasts: a tree is worshipped by a pair of animals lying prone. This seal furnishes a concise illustration of the variety of designs that had sprung from the original pattern. A bird and an animal are also found in the seal, but we are unable to associate them with one or other of the three patterns to explain their occurring where they do. A signet ring, from Crete and almost of the same period (Fig. 11 : 4), shows a column standing high between regardant lions. The column, being hung with sacral scarves, is probably the representation of a deity. A fine seal, again from Crete and of equal antiquity (Fig. 11 : 5), depicts a 'rocky peak' on which a 'goddess

56. See Appendix 5.

57. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals*, 178.

stands with her lion guardians',⁵⁸ and 'a male worshipper, here magnified to twice the proportions of the goddess, might, indeed, be supposed to include in his act of devotion the mountain peak and distant shrine,—a whole beatific



Fig. 11.

vision,—besides the actual divinity itself'. The lions in these two seals have their place beside the divinity in virtue of their devotion : they are so greatly

58. The 'lions are attached by short cords to the pillar that could be infused by due ritual with the essence of the divinity.' See next foot-note.

attached to the divinity that they impose on themselves the role of watchful guardians.

Even the earliest of these seals shows that the artist did not content himself always with one pattern : he put in more than one pattern,—there being three patterns in one seal. Often he made the second and third patterns almost equally important with the first in point of design, but they were not all equally significant. There were occasionally elements in the design which did not fit into the pattern or patterns. The religious basis of at least the principal design is indisputable. The central figure in the pattern may be a tree, a pillar, a wheel on a pole, an entwined pair of serpents or a divinity or other object which had a religious significance.

That these western seals bear designs which resemble those on the Indian sculptures we have been considering (Figs. 8, 10) is obvious. In the seals as well as in the sculptures the cult objects include divinities, trees, pillars and wheels on poles. What is more, the cult-objects are presented on all these in terms of one common formula. The similarity of the cult-objects and the identity of the art-pattern suggest that some at least of these Indian cults were much older than the sculptures in which they are found represented and that it is a mistake to date the origins of these cults and art forms in India merely by the dates of the remains now available to us.

We have very few remains surviving to us from the periods immediately preceding the age of the earliest Buddhist sculptures and so we have no



Fig. 12.

means of tracing back the history of the cults and of the formula we have been studying. A chronological journey backward from Buddhist sculptures and pre-Mauryan terra-cotta takes us through century upon century without bringing any antiquities to our view, and as we keep journeying we lose step by step such hopes as we might have had of coming across analogues to the cults and the formula. None the less, we do not go ultimately dis-

appointed, for at about 2600 B.C. we meet the material remains of the culture of Harappa and we get at least as much as we could have hoped for.

At Harappa, among remains attributable perhaps to the age to which better known antiquities belong, a bowl was found covering a funeral jar, and a band of scenes painted on the bowl includes two that are almost identical. In the more important of them 'a human figure with a bird's beak and wavy lines rising from his head' and holding 'a bow arrow in his left hand' has taken hold of two 'bovine' animals, one standing on either side of him and each facing the other, and he has 'secured them by the neck with ropes held in his hands and under his feet' (Fig. 12).⁵⁹ We do not know enough of the culture to be able to decide whether this human figure represents a divinity, but it is not unlikely that the composition conforms to the formula of 'cult object between adorants', or to another formula, similar at least in certain respects, which, aptly called the *motif* of 'hero subduing beasts', is very common in the art of western Asia.

But unambiguous examples of the former formula have come from Mohenjo-Daro. On an amulet found there (Fig. 13 : 1), a human figure



Fig. 13.

seated on a pedestal is flanked on either side by a figure, now indistinct with wear, which may be a human being or a god ending with a serpentine tail or may be a kneeling suppliant and a cobra behind him in a similarly suppliant pose. On another amulet from that place, which is perhaps from the same mould, we have a similarly seated human figure in the middle, and, on either

59. See now VATS, *Excavations at Harappa*, 207-8 : 62 (1b). Compare also the ropes in this painting with the cords in Fig. 11 : 4. It may be worth while asking ourselves whether they served similar purposes.

side, a kneeling worshipper with a serpent rising behind.⁶⁰ In the seal from the same place which has become famous for depicting Siva as 'Lord of Cattle' (Fig. 13 : 2) in the Harappa culture, Siva appears in the middle and the cattle are divided into two groups and ranged on either side of him with a rough approximation to symmetry. The symmetry is emphasised not only by the disposition of the deer in the pedestal and by the balance of the curves of the headgear, but also by the god being seated in a manner that brings out the bilateral symmetry of the human figure with startling effect. In these three objects we find what we missed in the painted scene from Harappa,—the suggestion that the human being in the middle is in all probability a personality with superhuman powers. And, in these three we find that the superhuman being occupies pride of place between devotees ranged on either side.

In the search for possible Indian precedents for the employment of the formula of 'cult object between adorants' we have come across examples in the Harappa culture which conform strictly to the formula. But all of them exhibit a human figure as the intermediate term, whereas in the Buddhist sculptures which we have so far studied (Fig. 8) the place of honour is either vacant or is occupied by a symbol, and not by a human being. If we could point to compositions in Buddhist sculpture, or in the art contemporary with it, in which a human figure occurs as the middle term in the formula we may have some reason for assuming the descent of the Buddhist specimen from the examples found in the Harappa culture.

Such sculptures are very popular in early Buddhism : for instance, the lustration of Śrī or Lakṣmī, expressed in the form now popularly known as that of Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 10), is one of the most common scenes depicted in the monuments of the Buddhists, not to mention those of other Indian sects.

In sculptures that show the Buddha addressing a concourse of disciples assembled to venerate him, the devotees are often ranged so symmetrically on either side of him that it looks as if the composition of the groups was deliberately planned to conform to the formula we have been considering. Two pieces of sculpture, one from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 2) and another from 'Gandhara' (Fig. 15 : 1) are fairly good examples of the application of the formula to the rendering of concourses of disciples. Such doubts as may still linger are dispelled when we look at the bases of these two sculptures : in the piece from Gandhara the wheel lifted aloft between the pair of regardant deer emphasises the character of the design,—the adherence to the formula,—and in the example from Amaravati the symmetrical placing of the recumbent deer serves, even in the absence of a symbol between them, to make it clear that the group of preceptor and pupils is fashioned on the basis of the formula. In another scene from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 4) the Buddha is not depicted as seated on the throne in the middle, but the composition is so obviously on

60. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 362 : 103 (9).

the lines of the formula that the throne or the Wheel exalted on the pillar is likely to be mistaken to be the object of veneration, appearing as they do to occupy the centre of the picture.

This cult of a human figure between adorants has therefore to be traced back to the Harappa culture, it being the only antecedent Indian culture in which we find it to appear, unless it be that it is possible to show that other cultures intervened and that the borrowing was from one or other of them.

VIII. FROM PRECEPTOR TO IMAGE

It is clear that even the earliest material remains of Buddhism establish that within three centuries of the Buddha the Buddhists accepted quite a number of cults and that they also mixed them up variously and inextricably. Buddhist piety expressed itself in various forms,—in terms of quite a number of cults,—but none of them has a foundation in the fundamental tenets of Buddhism. It is difficult to see how the cult of the tree or of the haunt, for instance, could be related to the doctrines propounded by the Buddha, especially when we remember that in them there was no basis for faith in any divinity. Indeed, it is by no means easy to reconcile the non-deistic way of life preached by the Buddha with faith in a divinity's footprints. None of these cults was, however, peculiar to Buddhism. They were all current in India much earlier and there can be little doubt but that Buddhism was not able to escape from the tendencies of the environment in which it grew up. A few at least of them could be traced back to the Harappa culture. The cult of the *vestigium pedis* appears to have had a place in the Harappa culture.⁶¹ The tree-cult was certainly known at Harappa, as in the amulets showing the trees in railing (Fig. 7 : 5, 6), and in the lands far to the west of Harappa, more than two millennia before the Buddha, though it might not have had there all the signification it had in India. In the western seals the tree may not indicate anything more than a tree-cult : it may not also incorporate the spot and the haunt cults as the Indian sculptures seem to do. At any rate, there being no reason to believe that in western Asia the foot of the tree became a retreat for meditation—as it did in India, as will be alluded to presently⁶²—the haunt cult could not have already risen in western Asia in a form that could have suggested the Indian analogues. The growth of a special significance of a *motif* in India should not, however, blind us to the original similarity. Many of the other cults were known in west Asia and further west one millennium at least before the Buddha. They had even been jumbled up by then as badly almost as in early Buddhism. For example, the panel showing a symbol, the platform on which it is placed, the tree under which platform and symbol stand and the shrine within which they are all enclosed (Fig. 8 : 5), recalls to mind, in some measure, the syncretism of cults found in the Cretan seal (Fig. 11 : 5)

61. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 359 : 92 (12c).

62. See section X below.

of a worshipper making obeisance not only to the goddess who is the primary object of devotion but also to the hill,—the spot,—on which the goddess stands and to the shrine into which she may ceremoniously retire. The similarity extends even further : in the Cretan seal two lions have taken their stand on either side of the sacred hill and the goddess, not only as adorants but also as protecting guardians, just as in the Mathura sculptures (Fig. 8 : 3, 4), great tongues of fire leap up on either side to protect the tree or the wheel. All through the two millennia before the Buddha these cults were in western art expressed,—frequently, but not necessarily or exclusively,—in terms of the formula, 'cult object between adorants'. Divinities in human shape were also among the middle 'terms' in the formula. In Jain art as in the Buddhist, the various cults were often represented in conformity with the formula. The presumptions naturally arise that every form in which Buddhist piety expresses itself may be traced back to pre-Buddhistic sources, that every cult known to pre-Buddhistic India would have survived into Buddhism unless antagonistic to it and that these cults would have expressed themselves in terms of the formula.

If, therefore, the cult of the anthropomorphic image was not unknown in India before the days of Buddhism the presumption would be justified that it too would have survived into Buddhism and even found expression in terms of the formula.

The origin of the cult of the anthropomorphic image in India has been much debated, but there can now be no doubt, after the discovery of images such as that of Siva as Pasupati in the Harappa culture, and of the discovery that the Mother is represented in the terra cotta figurines of pre-Mauryan age found at ancient sites like Mathura, that the cult was widely received in pre-Buddhistic India. At about the time of the rise of Buddhism it is known from Pāṇini that at least Indra, Agni, and Śrī (or Lakṣmi) of the Vedic pantheon were represented in human form, and these gods and goddesses were ideas pictured in human shape. A temple to Kṛṣṇa and another to Pradyumna were in existence at Besnagar about 100 B.C., and a third to Saṅkarṣaṇa and Kṛṣṇa was in existence at Ghasundi in the second century B.C.⁶³ A temple at Mora is stated definitely, in the second half of the first century B.C., to have enshrined the images of Kṛṣṇa and the five Pāṇḍava brothers.⁶⁴ The images in these temples having had to be representations of men who from heroes had graduated into deities were inevitably in human shape. The coins of the Kushans issued almost immediately thereafter bore representations of Śiva in human form. Thus, anthropomorphic images were in general use as representations of not only ancient divinities such as Śiva, but also of other divinities arisen from abstractions and ideas, such as Indra, Agni and Śrī, and from a hero like Kṛṣṇa, who was identified with another ancient divinity, Viṣṇu. As it is only slowly and gradually that such images could have come into vogue, they must have been fairly ancient by the days of the Buddha.

63. CHANDA, *Archæology & Vaishnava Tradition*, 152, 161-4.

64. *Ibid.*, 166.

So, the worship of the Buddha in an image in the human form could be as old as the beginning of Buddhism,—the antecedent indigenous cults furnishing the incitement to the adoption of the anthropomorphic cult. But, no image of the Buddha appears in the two or three centuries immediately after him,—in those very centuries in which the outlines of his figure and the lineaments of his face should have been fresh in the memory. One cult alone out of the numerous pre-Buddhistic cults,—that of divinity in human form,—has not been accepted by the Buddhists of the days of Sanchi and Bharhut. This itself is a phenomenon that requires explanation.

But another circumstance equally demands explanation. The Buddhists of about a century after Sanchi and Bharhut accepted and utilised that cult gladly and within a short span of time the cult rose into general and swift popularity and attained to a fine perfection.

The problem stands out quite starkly. Why was the cult of divinity in human shape, which appears to have been accepted generally in India in even the days of Sanchi and Bharhut, rejected by the Buddhists of that age, and why was it accepted without demur, and even enthusiastically, by the Buddhists in the space of a century from then?

The panel showing the Buddha's journey to the heaven of the thirty-three gods (Fig. 9 : 1) is content with depicting his foot-prints and it refrains studiously from portraying him. Similarly, prints of his feet only are carved in the panel in which a king worships him (Fig. 9 : 2), and a likeness of him is deliberately avoided. This is surprising, for the sculptors of these pieces, having been fairly close in time to the Buddha, should have had no great difficulty in getting at adequate portraits of him,—whether pictorial or verbal. In any event, they should have had some traditional report of his physical appearance. The failure to picture the Buddha must therefore be treated as a positive refusal to delineate him as he should have been in life. He must by then have become so holy that all that could be allowed to be pictured of him was the imprint of his holy hands or holier feet. To these sculptors he must have been a divinity whom it was impossible,—or probably, improper,—to delineate in the human shape as he had become a god and could no longer be conceived of as a human being. The Buddha must have already become a god to his disciples and devotees. We expect a portrait but we get only a foot-print. This transformation of a 'divine' into a divinity is the result of the abounding devotion,—the Bhakti,—of the disciples to the great teacher : a mere person has been elevated by Bhakti into a divinity. The Buddha became a deity much in the way in which Rāma and Kṛṣṇa had become before him and the Christ became after him.

Did the Buddha, then, lose his sanctity or fall from the status of a divinity when, in about a century thereafter, he came to be figured in sculptures?

The case of the Vṛṣṇi chief, Kṛṣṇa, deserves comparison. Long anterior to the Buddha, he started as a hero, and probably also as a teacher, having preached the *Bhagavad Gītā*, but the great devotion of his adherents elevated

him into a god. The longing of his devotees to worship him was so insistent that they set up images of him and bowed before them in all humility of spirit. Thus, the devotion,—the Bhakti,—of the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa made a god of him and then expressed that god in an image. The holier the hero grew the surer was his transmutation into an image. If the bhakti of his followers brought about his exaltation into a deity it condemned him also to petrification in an image.

The Buddha too fared similarly, but with a difference. While the Vṛṣṇi hero and teacher had preached faith in God and so could become a god, the Sakya teacher taught certain doctrines which silently ignored God and so he could not become a god. The Buddha was indifferent to deism, and the acceptance of God was not essential to the perfection of the way of life which he promulgated. In the days immediately following him the interest of the Buddhists was therefore centred in the doctrines and their faith had not acquired a deistic tinge, and so the Buddha was not yet a god. But, the



Fig. 14.

Buddha had countenanced belief in the existence of supernatural beings and godlings and gods, and they kept suggesting the idea of God. The atmosphere also was deistic; the mass of people from whom the Buddha broke away had a firm belief in God and in gods and goddesses. The tendency was therefore towards the evolution of a Buddhist God, but the silence of the Buddha on the need for God stood in the way. The Buddhists endeavoured hard to keep a divinity out of the faith, but they could not struggle for long against the tendency to have a visible representation of something in the faith to serve for an aid to contemplation,—something to which they could anchor their aspirations. That representation could not then be anthropomorphic, for there was then nothing in the faith which could be invested with that form. So, they picked out an abstraction,—the Dharma, the doctrine of the faith,—and expressed it in terms of a symbol and venerated it. This was obviously a period in which the doctrine towered head and shoulders over any divinity that might have been endeavouring to sneak into the faith.

A symbol, however, is much less attractive than a human figure as an object of veneration and the average Buddhist must have pined for a divinity in human shape,—all the more so when he found anthropomorphic images popular with those of his neighbours who professed other faiths. The Buddha had no belief in the efficacy of ritual: not only did he ignore rites such as sacrifice and prayer but he silently discouraged also every act that might be called religious. All this time the tendency to evolve a divinity for Buddhism was growing stronger and the Buddha was being translated into a God by the bhakti,—devotion,—of his adherents. 'The Tathāgata' becomes 'an incorporation of Dhamma', and 'the Dhamma even claims the worship which is the lot of the Brahman in the Upaniṣads'⁶⁵. The Tathāgata becomes also the incorporation of the Brahman and he comes to be 'not only the Dhamma but also the Brahman'⁶⁶. The Brahman of Vedic culture had already been identified with Viṣṇu or Śiva,—as the sectaries chose,—and that Brahman had been represented in images of Viṣṇu and Śiva. There was therefore no reason why Brahman as understood by the Buddhists should not be represented by an image of the Buddha.

The logical positions that the Buddha could be treated as a divinity and that that divinity could be visually expressed in terms of an image were thus reached, but the lack of sanction for God-head in the teaching of the Buddha still prevented the Buddha being shown as a divinity in human form. Scenes from his life were pictured in the marvellous sculptures of Sanchi, but he himself was not depicted, even though his presence had to be shown if the scene was to be intelligible. Only symbols spoke to his presence, and it is probable that the Nandipada over Wheel or Lotus, which occurs frequently at Sanchi, was, as we shall see lower down⁶⁷ intended to represent him symbolically.

As time rolled on, the memory of the person of the Buddha receded into the shadows but the personality of the Buddha advanced into the limelight, adorned with the halo of the identification of the Buddha with Brahman. The Buddha became a divinity who had to be worshipped much like the other manifestations of Brahman as Viṣṇu and Śiva were. But the human form had not to be fictitiously imposed on this Brahman, for it had had that form in its character as the human Buddha. So, an idol of the Buddha could be achieved in his own image. Thus, the Buddha came at last by his own: in the sculptures of about a century after the monuments of Bharhut and Sanchi he was represented in the human form of which by the workings of Bhakti he had been for a time deprived.

Bhakti was too potent an influence to be escaped even by those who would not willingly recognise God. It transmuted even the Buddha into an image in the human form, though it had to take a devious course by symbolis-

65. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 1.138-, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 2.20-, cited by KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. of Vedas & Up.*, 550.

66. *Abhidharma Kośa*, 1.40, cited by KEITH, *op. cit.*, 550.

67. See section XII below.

ing the teaching of the Buddha and exalting it into an idol and then deposing the symbol-idol and putting in its place the anthropomorphic image.

IX. THE IMAGE IN ITS SETTING

Had the Buddha image materialised under Greek influence it is most likely to have done so in a form that was substantially Greek and also in a setting that was at least partially Greek.

Let us first look at the setting in which the Buddha image appears. A very suggestive piece of sculpture comes from Amaravati (Fig. 15 : 4). It presents a gorgeous scene. A throne stands majestically in the centre : cushions are laid on to make it soft : a pillar rises behind and bears a 'Nandipada over Circle' half way up and a huge wheel on top : some devotees sit around worshipping him and others stand waving fly-whisks. Obviously, the sculpture depicts a scene in the life of the Buddha, who was conceived of as an emperor in Buddhism. The Buddha, however, is not on the throne. We are left wondering that there should have been such elaboration of the scene when the throne was allowed to be vacant.^{67a} But down below we have a pair of feet placed on a foot-stool, and they are represented, not as imprints of feet, but as feet that had been severed just above the ankle. Had they been mere imprints we would be free to assume that the sculpture pictures a scene from which the Buddha had just departed. But they are represented almost as feet sawed off a little above the ankle. Had the Buddha already vacated the throne the devotees would not be plying fly-whisks and the pair of feet would not be where they are. So, we have to conclude that the piece represents, not a stage when the Buddha, having taken his seat on the throne and impressed the print of his feet on the foot-stool, had vacated it, but the stage when the Buddha is actually sitting on the throne,—the feet up to the ankle being represented and the rest of the figure omitted. It is but too obvious that this piece belongs typologically to a stage when the image of the Buddha had materialised but the sculptor was still disinclined to permit the image to establish itself as an object of worship. So, he effected a compromise between the tendencies to represent the Buddha in his own likeness and to omit his figure altogether : the design is definitely transitional in type. Yet, it incorporates a number of cults,—the cults of the symbol and the vestige and the haunt and that of the Buddha as emperor, and at the same time the cult of the image. None of these cults had a vogue among the Greeks in a form in which it could have been taken over by Buddhism.

These sculptures come from stūpas, and the stūpas themselves are the most cogent proofs of the integration of a variety of cults in a form that denies Greek influence. A stūpa represents the funeral mound cult primarily,

67a. The possibility of a cult of an empty throne having obtained in Mycenaean times and survived to Hellenistic days seems to have received some attention,—TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 205, fn. 6, 7,—but the empty thrones of Buddhist sculpture seem to fall into a totally different category.

but it incorporates a number of other cults as well. Buddhism started with a predilection for the holy spot, the Buddha himself having appointed four places,—the spots of his birth, his enlightenment, his preaching of the faith and his decease,—as spots to which the faithful should make pilgrimages, but it waned with the rapid growth of the stūpa in popularity. This growth was in large measure due to the stūpa cult taking over other popular cults as well,—the relic cult, for a relic was generally imbedded in it, the spot cult, for the place chosen was usually by a fiction associated with an incident in the life of a Buddha or a disciple of his, the vimāna cult, for it was designed as an edifice or it grew into one, and the symbol cult, for it became itself the object of worship, whether as representing the doctrine of impermanence or that of nirvāṇa. The integration of cults which the popularity of the stūpa achieved and crystallised into permanence was itself the cause of the decay of the cults integrated: they lost their individuality and so they degenerated into mere ornamental appendages to the stūpa.

A close parallel is furnished by the development of the Hindu temple. Innumerable are the holy places to which pilgrimages are made by the Hindu, even though no shrines of sanctity stand on them. The generally accepted forms of pilgrimage, down even to the time of the composition of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, seem to have been those to *kṣetras* (sacred spots) and to *tīrthas* (sacred waters), while temples seem to have had no attraction. Even to this day devotees all over India deem it essential to make a pilgrimage to Br̥ndāvana and Gokula, places associated intimately with the early life of Kṛṣṇa, avatar of Viṣṇu and teacher of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the great scripture, but their sanctity is due, not to any temple built there, but to their having been the spots where the avatar had sported himself. The coming of the temple into importance has, in portions of India, tended to obscure the importance of the *kṣetra* and the *tīrtha* and consequently of the holy haunt as well. Indeed, in South India, though the better known of the temples were in all probability built on spots that had come to be considered holy, the temple has wiped out the memory of the holy spot and the holy haunt. The south Indian devotee who makes a pilgrimage to Br̥ndāvana and Gokula has almost a shock when he finds that no great temple stands in those *kṣetras* and he is even inclined to conclude that the northern Hindu lacks faith. This is to fail to understand the character of the temple. A temple, *ālaya*, is a complex of a number of cults. It has grown round the cults of the idol,—the representation of a mere symbol,—and of the image,—the reflection of a divinity in an animal or a human shape. It has adopted the cult of the *kṣetra* by locating itself at a spot which was already holy or was made sacred by being specially consecrated. It has absorbed the cult of the haunt as well, for the *kṣetra* is often a part of a *milieu* or scene in which a divinity has manifested himself. It has absorbed the cult of the *tīrtha* by providing a sacred pond in front of it so that the devotee may bathe in it and wash himself of his sins. It has taken over the cult of the *vimāna* (edifice) by itself becoming a great structure,

But the integration of cults led to different results in Brahmanism and in Buddhism. The temple absorbed many cults but the whole complex stood subordinated in significance to the image which was the centre of interest. In Viṣṇu temples the icon was anthropomorphic, the image being treated as itself an avatar of Viṣṇu, and in Śiva temples the icon was a symbol, the *linga*. Both image and symbol were placed in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple and adoration was paid to the icon,—the temple and the other concomitants deriving their sanctity from their constituting the setting for the icon. All other cults became subordinate to that of the icon. The stūpa, on the other hand, owed its sanctity to its being either commemorative or funereal, and not to any icon placed in association with it. Some symbols were of course among the sculptures carved and set up in the stūpa, but they were ornaments of, or pointers to, the faith. While they made the stūpa attractive they did not make it adorable. Such veneration as was shown to the stūpa was in its own right as mound and not as edifice housing the deity.

The stūpa as mound had no more than a limited appeal to the populace, for, it could not be the centre of elaborate ceremonial. The ritual observed in temples has modelled itself closely on the practices of royal courts, on the principle that the lord of creation should be surrounded by at least that amount of ceremonial that the temporal ruler receives. Where anthropomorphic images were the objects of worship the ceremonial of courts was easily applied, for the image had merely to do duty for the king, but where only the *linga* or other symbol was venerated the ceremonial could not be utilised directly. But in even the temples in which the image installed in the holy of holies was anthropomorphic the full ritual of royal courts could not be adopted, for, such ceremonials as surround the king granting audience to great concourses of his subjects or the king going out a hunting or making royal progress could not be reproduced in the temple, for the image, being permanently installed in the holy of holies, could not be taken out in procession. The principal image had therefore to be supplemented by images in human shape that could go about. The device of the peripatetic image was thus adopted not only in those temples in which the image in the sanctum sanctorum was in human shape but also in those in which it was a symbolic representation, and the peripatetic images were made to receive all the honours appropriate to royalty. The ritual of temples has therefore had the effect of bringing the anthropomorphic image into even those temples in which divinity is represented in symbolic form. The stūpa, however, could not be the centre of such a ritual, for it could by no means adopt the role of king, temporal or spiritual. The symbols associated with it might have been turned to the same account to which peripatetic images were put, but the result would not have been happy, for the enthusiasm that would be raised by the king himself granting public audience could scarcely be evoked if his sword or umbrella were sent to the audience hall. The stūpa could not therefore catch the popular imagination as effectively as the temple, unless it helped to create a divinity who could function as king spiritual. But,

while the Buddha could play with the notion of his being emperor, and his devotees could enjoy him in that role as well, a worship of him as a divinity should have been rested on spiritual claims. It is therefore in his other character,—that of a person of religion,—that he could come to be worshipped.

The setting in which the image of the Buddha appears is wholly indigenous and seems to owe nothing to Greek influence.

(to be continued.)

REVIEW

Mother-right in India by Baron Omar Rolf EHRENFELS, Ph.D. Osmania University Series, Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1941, Price Rs. 8/-.

Baron EHRENFELS' book on *Mother-right in India* is one of the most thought provoking books published in recent years. The main thesis of the book is that

- (a) all pre-Aryan culture in India was of a matriarchal nature. That it was not a uniform culture but made up of different waves of cultures separated by time and space and representing various degrees of advance from the most primitive matriarchal culture called the *Ur-culture* to the most complicated called the Nayar-culture.
- (b) if the primitive grades show affinities with Austro-Asiatic culture complex, the most advanced, the Nayar-culture is in direct connection with the Indus Valley civilization.
- (c) that certain single traits like inheritance in the female line, the position of the maternal uncle, sexual freedom, puberty right for girls, the couvade, Goddesses and worship of female ancestors, rain and fecundity charms and permission of remarriage or divorce to women, and levirate wedding can be taken as proofs of former existence of the *mother-right in India*.
- (d) Hypergamy, child marriage, contempt of the widow coupled with the custom of *Sati* and to a lesser extent vegetarianism are the outcome of the contact and the struggle for supremacy between the patriarchal Aryans and the matriarchal pre-Aryans.

A wealth of detail has been brought forth to strengthen the above contentions. But many of the author's conclusions, though plausible lack proof and are highly unconvincing.

The evolutionary scheme of matriarchal cultures starting from a primitive ur-culture and reaching the Nayar type through three successive grades with one progressive and one regressive or stationary branch reminds one of the scheme of the evolution of man with progressive and regressive branches of pre-human primates. The primary stage can be called neither patriarchal nor matriarchal. One cannot envisage a passage from patriarchal hunting-nomadic life to a matriarchal primitive-agricultural stage where men gave up hunting and women dominated after a struggle with conservative forces. After a period of complete dominance by women begins a stage of men's revolt as illustrated by secret societies and mask-dances. Apparently after this deterioration women regain their position again in the Nayar type of society at first, only to yield it again to the maternal uncle and then at last through the domination of the patriarchal immigrants the woman is degraded and lost, but does not give up without a struggle which continues to the present day, according to the author. If a matriarchal society primarily emerged from hunting-nomadic patriarchal complex it must have carried within it traces of patriarchal institutions and one fails to understand the connection of certain single culture-traits with matriarchy alone. Again the action and reaction of the two sexes for dominance in this scheme of evolution is described as if it was almost a conscious struggle where institutions etc. were developed by men to intimidate women and regain their social position. Changes in social institutions which are due to a thousand things like culture-contact, new inventions and migrations and exposure to new environments, and which are spread over thousands of years cannot be envisaged as willed by the individuals who compose the society. One is made keenly aware in the daily life

and the tradition of the people south of the Vindhya range of the conflict and tension between patriarchal law and matriarchal customs and habits, as EHRENFELS has pointed out, but it is not a conscious struggle for dominance of one sex over the other as of one culture over the other.

Throughout the book the Nayar culture is taken to be a direct descendant of the Mohenjo-Daro culture. We know the latter culture from a few excavated sites and an abundance of material goods. What little writing there is, is still undeciphered. It was a city-dwelling agricultural community carrying on trade with distant lands. About its laws and customs we know nothing at all. It is probable that it was matriarchal, it is also probable that it has connections with the south-west of India but it is certainly not proved as yet that it was almost identical with the Nayar-culture.

Of the single culture traits it can be said that while descent through female line is definitely a matriarchal trait the custom of couvade and fecundity rites are not organically connected with matriarchy and may very well bear another culture-context and another interpretation. Couvade may merely be an aspect of general magical performances which involve a whole family on such a delicate and important event as child-birth. The rain-charm in *Rgveda* shows very vividly that a patriarchal pastoral people were as much in need of rain and green pastures for their herds as were the agricultural matriarchal people. So also polyandry and levirate seem to be connected with intense patriarchy as certain researches I have undertaken seem to show. It seems very probable that among the *Rgvedic* Aryans only the eldest son alone was allowed to marry and the younger sons had access to the eldest's wife. The Devar-Jethānī (younger brother-in-law and elder sister-in-law) relationship in northern and central India and the custom of the marriage of the eldest son only among the Nambudris seem to be survivals of the above custom.

The custom of child-marriage in India has been discussed by many people. There is nothing *per se* in the matriarchal or the patriarchal culture complexes either to prevent or to encourage the custom. Just as the father can dispose of his son and daughter in a patriarchal society, so also can a mother or mother's brother dispose of the daughters and sons in a matriarchal community. Infant marriage is far more possible in a peacefully settled agricultural community than in a pastoral semi-nomadic community. There are examples of primitive tribes all over the world where early marriage is allowed. Then again a study of the marriage customs shows that early marriages were and still are more in the nature of betrothals than real living together of the couple as man and wife. It appears that neither of the two cultures in India was definitely averse to such a custom, that the contact of these two different cultures and sub-races produced in India such a wave of cultural activity and prosperity based on trade and agriculture that conditions favourable for an early marriage arose. Early marriages and maximum number of children answered the cultural requirements and so gradually came to gain general support.

Vegetarianism again does not form part of the culture of the pastoral Aryans. Even today it is confined only to the Pancha-dravidas, that is to say to the Brahmins of the south. The Brahmins of the north do as a matter of fact eat fish. It is connected with Jainism and not with Buddhism as Buddha himself and the Buddhists outside India are mostly non-vegetarians. Among Hindus it is connected with the religious revival ushered by Shankarāchārya and the spread of Vaishnavism so that those non-brahmins who are Vaishnavites give up eating flesh.

The custom of widow-burning has also raised many vexed controversies. Some passages in the *Rgveda*¹ and *Atharvaveda*¹ do seem to point out to a custom by which a widow was either actually burned on the funeral pyre of her husband or had

1. Rv. 10. 18. 8 and 9, Av. 18. 3. 1.

at least to go through a mock ceremony of the kind. A hymn in *Atharvaveda*² seems to point out to a ritual employed at the time of the second marriage of a widow or a divorced woman. Sexual freedom, an easy divorce and an easy widowhood do as a matter of fact seem to belong generally to matriarchal culture-complex, but the assertion that the widow's position in the Indian cultural history is due to the patriarchal tyranny over matriarchal people is not proved.

Such in short is the outline of the book. It is full of unproved assertions as pointed above. It contains also some very pregnant suggestions for future research. The days when Vedic Aryas were held to be the culture-heroes of India are over. It is now a generally recognised fact that a high agricultural civilisation flourished in pre-Aryan times but the author, while championing the mother-right culture of the South, seems to think that the northern Aryan people had no cultural achievements to their credit. It is fascinating to unravel and separate the culture elements of those two civilisations which have fused together through the co-operation and the opposition of three thousand years and more. But the study is extremely difficult owing to the all-pervading and all-amalgamating character of Hinduism which seems to store up and make its own widely different cultures. What is called the Aryan patriarchy may have carried within it matriarchal elements; what is called the pre-Aryan matriarchy may have been influenced already by patriarchal culture-complexes. It is therefore extremely unjustified to make a list of traits supposed to go hand in hand with patriarchy and to explain customs merely on the basis of patriarchal tyranny over matriarchal institutions.

Poona.

I. KARVÉ

2. Av. 9.5.27 and 9.5.28.

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE*

By

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X. THE CONTENT OF THE IMAGE

If the setting in which the image of the Buddha originates is not Greek, neither do the forms of the images in which the Buddha is deified betray traces of Greek influences except in the style of workmanship. The dress and the jewellery are Indian and so are the postures, even in the images of the Gandhara school in which the foreign influence was most potent.

The Buddha was generally presented in three distinctive characters,—as prince or king, as monk, and as preceptor. These roles are but reflections of the phases of his life : no Greek *motif* enters into them.

The representations we have of him as prince or king or monk cannot be said to be either based on or copied from Greek models. Even if the similarity to the Greek Apollo which has been suggested by some authorities is well-founded and could be accepted as evidence of a copying of the representation of a Greek king, it is yet not easy to show that the similarity could be traced to the days of the origin of the Buddha image : in all probability the resemblance arose in the period when Gandhara art was in the closest contact with the art of the parent country. The similarity cannot serve to substantiate an origin in Greek models or in Greek modes of thought.

How completely indigenous the concept of the image of the Buddha is may be seen from a consideration of the basis and the origin of the class of images in which he is shown propounding his Dharma. Many of these images are of the Gandhara school, and yet their testimony is unequivocally against the theory of Greek inspiration.

A very common type of the Buddha image, as evolved in that school, is that of a seated Buddha—seated sometimes under a tree,—placing his right hand on a wheel which is often mounted on a pillar and is flanked by a deer on either side. The Buddhist explanation of this type is that it shows the Buddha setting in motion the Wheel which is Dharma,—a symbolical mode of saying that the Buddha promulgated his teaching, the Dharma,—and that as it was done for the first time in a Deer Park : the tree represents the park and the Wheel runs between a pair of deer. But it is difficult to see why the wheel that has just to start on its way should be shown mounted on top of a pillar : it must tumble down from the pillar before it can start on its career. It is not placed among the deer through whom it has to run, but it stands exalted above them. Often, the tree is not depicted : the absence of the tree dissociates the incident from the park. Another puzzle is a *nandipada*

* Continued from page 313.

over a lotus on either side of which lies a deer (Fig. 15 : 1) : it is not a Lotus that was set rolling in the Deer Park and its progress was not handicapped by its being made to bear the load of an exaggerated nandipada. Yet another puzzle is that of the panel from Amarāvati (Fig. 15 : 2) in which the deer



Fig. 15.

are shown without a wheel between them. An even more difficult puzzle is that of the throne-scene from Amarāvati, already referred to (Fig. 15 : 4) in which the pair of deer do not flank a wheel but a pair of feet, while the wheel itself is hoisted aloft on a very substantial post, located considerably behind. These pieces of sculpture should serve to demonstrate that the tree and the deer in them have little to do with a deer park. If we discard the traditional explanation that the tree and the deer represent the Deer Park we come nearer to the correct explanation.

If the Buddha is shown seated under a tree it is because he betook himself to the Bodhi tree, following the ancient practice of retiring to a forest and seating oneself under a tree for meditation. It was believed that even the gods sat themselves under a tree to attain immortality. Two verses of the Atharva Veda say : 'the *aśvattha* (tree), seat of the gods, in the third heaven from here... there the gods won the sight of immortality' : another verse says : 'the *aśvattha*, seat of the gods, in the third heaven from here :

there (is) the gift of immortality'. Having obtained enlightenment by meditation at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom, the Buddha had become competent to be a preceptor, for, in early India the preceptor par excellence was one who, having gone through a rigorous course of contemplation, had become a yogi. So, there was a purpose in depicting the Buddha as seated under a tree.

The two deer flanking the nandipada over lotus (Fig. 15 : 1) are components in a composition that conforms to the pattern of 'cult-object between adorants'. They occupy much the same position as that of the deer that have ranged themselves on either side 'the shrine at Migasammata' (Fig. 8 : 1). The 'shrine' was a 'haunt' of a man or a divinity, and if the man or divinity was depicted symbolically in the haunt, this piece of sculpture would represent exactly what the other piece does represent,—a worshipful symbol between deer. The nandipada over lotus and between deer may therefore be but the symbol of some man or some divinity whom the Buddhists revered.

We have found that the deer occur in scenes representing the first promulgation of the doctrine by the Buddha,—that is, in scenes in which he is shown initiating the world into his doctrine. In representations of Dakṣiṇāmūrti,—Śiva as the Preceptor who taught the Dharma to four great ṛṣis,—a pair of deer is shown at the feet. When a boy, Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya, went to a preceptor and said, 'I have come hither for the sake of studentship'⁶⁸, the preceptor initiated him into studentship, 'arranged for him' a 'skin as an outer garment' and chanted mantras among which was one which said, 'May Aditi tuck up thy garment that thou mayst study the Veda, for the sake of insight and belief and of not forgetting what thou hast learnt, for the sake of holiness and holy lustre'⁶⁹. The skin was that of a black antelope for a Brāhmaṇa and of a spotted deer for a Kṣatriya.⁷⁰ To this day every Brāhmaṇa boy in south India is invested with 'the sacred thread' at his initiation and a bit of the skin of a black antelope is tied to the thread, obviously in token of an observance of the ancient ritual of clothing the pupil in deer-skin. This cannot be merely a formal assumption of a dress which might have been 'the natural garment of the early Vedic Indian',⁷¹ for the pupil, at the conclusion of the course of study to which he had vowed himself, had solemnly to discard the skin of the antelope :⁷² he would not have had to cast it off if it was the clothing which he had to wear through-

68. *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.2.

69. *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.1.4.6.

70. *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.1.1-4; *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.19.10; *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2.5.17-18; *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.1.4.7. 'The Vedic student goes,....clothing himself in the black antelope skin, consecrated, long-bearded': *Atharva Veda*, 11.5.6.

71. KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. Vedas & Up.*, 302.

72. *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1.7.8, 1.9.8-10; *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3-1.24; *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3.1-7; *Khadviya Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3.1.24; *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra*, 2.41.

out life. The youth who becomes a disciple and wears the skin of the antelope is assured that he obtains the splendour that results from the acquisition of sacred knowledge (*brahma-varcasam*).⁷³

The deer seems thus to be closely associated both with the assumption of preceptorship,—for, while the deer lie at the feet of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and in the bases of sculptures of the Buddha they do not appear at the feet of the initiates,—and with the initiation itself,—for it is at the initiation that the pupil is invested with the deer-skin. So the deer seem to symbolise the initiation. In Tantric doctrine, 'he who offers a deer' in sacrifice 'gains salvation (*mokṣa*)', while 'he who offers a he-goat becomes a good speaker, he who offers a sheep becomes a poet, he who offers a buffalo gains wealth, he who offers a man gains great wealth and eight kinds of the highest occult powers'⁷⁴. Salvation being the end of which initiation is the means provided by the preceptor, the significance of deer in Tantric doctrine too is that of initiation into the faith.

So, in the sculptures depicting the Buddha starting the wheel on its course the deer seem to be present because the scene is one in which the Buddha assumes the role of preceptor and, accepting all men for pupils, initiates them into his Dharma. The deer are not irrelevant in these sculptures, but their significance is different from the one commonly accepted: they indicate the character of the scene,—the initiation into the Dharma,—and not its locale,—the Deer Park. The story of the Deer Park must have arisen in days when either the significance of the deer was forgotten or the affinity with the Vedic culture which they testified to was sought to be blurred.^{74a}

The image of the Buddha turning the Wheel is thus an image of him in the role of Yogī and preceptor. The scene of the turning of the Wheel is that of the initiation of mankind into the Dharma. The deer were set on either side of the Wheel, in conformity with what was then an ancient and well-accepted formula in India,—the placing of a cult-object between adorants.

The preceptor is next only to God, in every Indian faith: the man of religion must feel the highest devotion (*bhakti*) for his guru (preceptor) as for God⁷⁵. So, when the Buddhists had identified the Buddha the great Preceptor with Brahman and had at long last decided on depicting him in an image it is not surprising that they chose to represent him in the character of preceptor. An image in any character closer to a divinity would have been, at that stage, too open a negation of the Buddha's silence in regard to God.

This type of image had, however, been anticipated many centuries earlier at Mohenjo-Daro. It occurs in a simple form in a seal in which a

73. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.2.1-9.

74. Krishnananda, *Tantra-Sāra*, quoted by CHANDA, *Survival of the Pre-historic Civilization of the Indus Valley*, 18.

74a. See Appendix 6.

75. For instance, *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 6.23.

three-faced god is presented in Yogic pose (Fig. 14 : 1) and in another seal where it is doubtful if the god has more than one face⁷⁶. The similarity between these figures and the images of the Buddha in a yoga stance is not evidence for anything more definite than that of the antiquity of the stances of yoga. But the image occurs in a fuller version in the Śiva-Paśupati seal (Fig. 13 : 2) which shows a human figure endowed with three faces and garnished with a horn-crown and seated as a yogi on a pedestal in which are carved two deer 'regardant'. This is very similar to the images of the Buddha at the bases of which deer are carved,—agreeing in the pose and in the symbolism. Had a wheel been found between the deer below the figure of Paśupati, the image on the seal would have been almost a replica of the Buddha turning the Wheel, but the failure to place the Wheel between the deer is compensated for by seating the Yogī between two groups of animals. The similarity of the Paśupati image with deer below to the image of the Buddha with deer in the pedestal is too close to be missed easily. The similarity extends also to the content of the two images : if Śiva-Paśupati is a preceptor and in due course becomes Śiva-Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the Buddha also is a preceptor and in a short while becomes a preceptor-god.

The Yogī as a god and as a preceptor-god and as the middle term in a formula that was as much religious as artistic was well established in the Harappa culture. Some twenty-four centuries later the same character reappears in Buddhist art in the same setting,—tree and deer,—and in conformity with the same formula. It is therefore impossible to maintain that a preceptor-god in a yoga pose was unknown to Indian art of the intermediate period,—whether it served Buddhism or other faiths. If actual specimens are not forthcoming the reasons must be sought for elsewhere than in an extinction of the vogue of such images. To maintain the contrary would be to ask for the occurrence, about the 1st century B.C., of a miracle which would resuscitate a conception and a *motif* which had been dead about twenty centuries.

An interesting phenomenon is that sculptures of the Buddha as preceptor seated on a pedestal bearing deer seem to be more common in the school of Gandhara and in that of the Andhra country, which is believed to have been to some extent under foreign influence, than in the schools which did not come under foreign influences. While nothing in Greek art, nor in the Hellenistic art into which it changed in Asia Minor and further east, can explain either the pose as preceptor or the presence of the deer, these elements could be traced directly to Indian religious concepts and art modes. Their adoption by the Hellenic sculptors of Gandhara is proof of the vitality of Indian concepts and modes in that age and of the readiness with which those sculptors were willing to assimilate Indian beliefs and to abide by Indian norms. They did not seek to impose their art on India, but in the humility of spirit which ought to have come on them, not perhaps because they had come into the

76. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 335 : 87 (235).

presence of a superior art in India, but at least because they had passed under the influence of a way of life and of faith which to them were superior to what they had known in the lands of Hellenism, they surrendered themselves to the new faith and bent their skill to their new purposes and, with rare self-effacement, strove to express Indian concepts in the Indian manner. If something of the Greek style still entered into their handiwork it is not to be brought up against them that their surrender to the spirit of India was not complete nor is it to be brought up against Indian art that it was then lacking in the elements which now may have the appearance of being borrowings.

From whatsoever point of view we look at the evolution of image-worship in India we find no warrant for seeking beyond the frontiers of the country for either the inspiration to worship a god in an anthropomorphic image or the incentive to present the image in the forms and in the settings with which we are familiar. The image of the Buddha in his own shape is therefore indubitably the offspring of indigenous forces and it owes nothing to foreign inspiration.

XI. THE IMAGE ON A COIN OF MAUES

A casual suggestion made a quarter of a century back that a representation of the Buddha in the human form occurs on a coin of Maues (Fig. 14 : 7)⁷⁷, issued probably just a little before 70 B.C., has recently been taken up and made the basis of a contention, pressed with vigour and ample argumentation, that as it is probable that the coin was issued just a little before 70 B.C., the Buddha statue must have been well established in Gandhara before the issue of the coin and that as this must have been 'early in the 1st century B.C., at latest', the Gandhara Buddha must have been 'at least a century, and perhaps nearer two centuries older' than the Buddhas of indigenous origin⁷⁸.

This theory does not seem, however, to square with facts. That the coin of Maues is Greek in character and that the seated figure on it represents the Buddha are assumptions which do not seem to be well-founded. The execution of the coin is decidedly better than is usual with indigenous issues, but this by itself need take us no farther than that the mint-master of Maues was one who shared the Greek penchant for faultless finish. Neither of the types on the coin is Greek, either in the subjects portrayed or in the general appearance. The plastic style of the types is obviously close to that of the indigenous school : the Greek style cannot easily furnish parallels : the seated figure is stocky as in the sculptures of Mathura. The designing of the types and the engraving of the dies were in all probability the work of an artist of the indigenous school, though, it is just possible that, working as he

77. DAMES, in *JRAS.*, 1914 : 793. COOMARASWAMY agreed in *Art Bulletin*, 9(4) : 16 fn. 31.

78. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 404.

must have done in an atmosphere of Greek art, he bestowed more attention on finish than he would have done in India proper.

The identification of the seated figure has presented considerable difficulty. All the known specimens of this coin being badly worn it is not possible to decide whether a certain horizontal line running from the seated figure represents the low cross-bar of the back of the seat on which it is seated or a sword or a sceptre laid across its lap. The nearest analogue to the coin is one of Azes I on which there is an object similarly placed⁷⁹. Those specimens of the latter coin that are well preserved make it absolutely clear that the object could not possibly be the back of a seat: they may not resolve the doubt whether the line is that of a sword or a sceptre, but there can be no possibility of its being connected with the outlines of a throne⁸⁰. Maues was a Saka king who ruled down to 58 B.C. and Azes I was king of the same region 'by 30 B.C. at the very latest', and at least because he had some Saka blood in his veins, 'claimed not only to have succeeded to Maues' empire, but that that empire, though it had lapsed *de facto*, had never lapsed *de jure*'⁸¹. The most appropriate commentary, therefore, on the device on the coin of Maues is the device on that of Azes I, it being almost certain that the latter is a close copy of the former. Azes I was close enough to Maues to have had in his hands plenty of the latter's coins fresh from the mint, and we may trust him to have understood them very much better than we can, at least because his understanding must have been sharpened by his anxiety to make it appear that he stood in the shoes of Maues. The clear testimony of the latter coin is not to be wholly ignored on the basis of speculative reconstructions out of much-worn specimens of the former coin. Azes I understood the line to stand for sceptre or sword, and we have no option but to abide by his interpretation.

It has been said that it is difficult to 'envisage a Greek artist giving a king a sword for him to fold his hands meekly over it' and that 'no Greek engraver could have put Maues, the conquering ruler of a large empire, on the reverse of his own coinage'⁸², but these contentions are of no great cogency, for, as has been pointed out above, there is not much of the Greek flavour about the coin⁸³. The figure carries a sword or sceptre in its lap

79. The resemblance has been noticed by COOMARASWAMY, who points out that it negatives the description of the figure on the Maues coin as the Buddha; in *Art Bulletin*, 9 (4): 16 fn. 31.

80. COOMARASWAMY, in *Ib.*, 9(4): 16 fn. 31.

81. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 348-9.

82. *Ibid.* 401-2.

83. Another argument is rather complex. This coin, on which a 'dancing' elephant appears on one face, bears a seated figure on the other and so is similar to another coin of the same king in which, while a similar elephant frisks on one face, a humped bull,—the representation of Siva,—stands on the other. The types on the latter of the two coins must be interpreted to depict Siva (on one face) as being worshipped by the elephant (on the other face). The elephant on one face of this coin being thus a devotee of the God on the other, the elephant on the other

which no image of the Buddha does. The evidence is conclusive against the view that it is the Buddha who is figured on the coin of Maues.

A comparison of the seated figure on the coin may be made profitably with similar figures on some Indian coins of the indigenous series from which Greek influence is totally absent. The obverse type on a coin from Ujjain (Fig. 14 : 2) attributable to 'probably the third and second centuries B.C.'⁸⁴, is a human figure seated on a lotus in a pose very similar to that of the coin of Maues but holding its hands folded much higher than the lap : the sex being difficult of determination, one authority has taken the figure to represent the Buddha⁸⁵ while another believes it to be that of Lakṣmī⁸⁶. The better view would seem to be that it is the Buddha or a Yogī or a teacher like him who is delineated, for the figure is found placed beside,—or under,—a tree enclosed by a railing, which in Indian culture is associated with both Yogī and preceptor⁸⁷, and has no connection with Lakṣmī. On another specimen of probably the same series (Fig. 14 : 3) the type, though less clear, seems to be similar, except for the absence of the tree. A third coin, also from Ujjain and of about the same date (Fig. 14 : 4), shows a figure seated on a lotus, but with the soles of the feet pressing against each other,—another definite proof of the yogī pose. Two coins from Panchala (Fig. 14 : 5, 6), belonging probably to the middle of the 1st century B.C., seem to accommodate a deity seated on a dais⁸⁸, but they are too worn to be depended on, except to suggest that the Ujjain type was probably accepted in other regions as well. The pose of the types on these Ujjain coins,—and even probably those on the seated series of Panchala,—are unmistakably representations of a preceptor, for the disappearance of the tree on the second of the Ujjain coins is but a simplification of the type on the first. The preceptor may not

coin must also be a devotee, and his devotion must be paid to the human figure on the other face of that coin, and so that human figure must be an image of the Buddha. (See TARN, *Greeks in Bactria & India*, 402-3). Here we have a mistake and a series of fallacies. The bull is not a representation of Siva but is an attendant on that god. If the human figure is to be a god, why should he not be Siva? Why should Maues be made to divide allegiance between two gods, instead of being declared a Saivite on the evidence of both the coins? The attempt to make out that the human figure is the Buddha is not less desperate than the attempt of the elephant to worship a deity whom it cannot see, not because it is invisible, but because it has perversely ensconced itself on the other side.

84. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145).

85. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Ancient India*, 97 : 10(10).

86. ALLAN, *BM.CC. Ancient India*, (145).

87. If it be imperative that the preceptor should be one identified with Buddhism, it is probable that he is Mahā-Kaccāna, the eminent divine who, taught directly by the Buddha, went to his native city of Ujjaiyini and, living in the royal park there, preached Buddhism constantly to the people. But, what about the sword in the lap?

88. The description of these generally as standing figures is based on the types on the Panchala issues which are usually of the standing variety, but it would be highly misleading to describe some of the figures as standing unless we are to assume that the types underwent violent deterioration.

be the Buddha, if we are to be guided by the history of the development of the iconography of the Buddha, and there is no evidence fixing the identity.

But, wherefrom did Ujjain get the idea of the figure of the preceptor? The presence of a tree behind the preceptor in the earliest of the coins (Fig. 14 : 2) reminds us of two seals of the Harappa culture. In one of them a person is seated in a yoga pose,—much as the preceptor is presented in classical Indian art,—and he wears a horn-crown from which rises 'a twig with leaves like those of a pipal' (Fig. 14 : 1), and in the second of them another person similarly seated wears a horn-crown from which sticks up 'a spike of flowers'⁸⁹. These seals suggest the probability of the figure representing a preceptor seated under a tree, but we know of another seal in which tree-spirits and votaries are garnished with sprigs⁹⁰, just as in 'the oldest form' of horned crowns in Sumerian seals of about the same age a plant rises between the two horns⁹¹. Association with a tree may make a preceptor of a person seated in contemplation but it cannot impose that transformation on persons not so engaged. So, these two seals from Harappa do, in all probability, represent a preceptor. But this preceptor is figured differently from Śiva-paśupati (Fig. 13 : 2) ; he sits associated with a plant or tree but dissociated from beasts at the sides and deer in the pedestal. These are significant, for associations and disassociations we have various types of the Buddha image in which tree, deer, wheel, and adorants are introduced or eliminated according to the whim of the moment. If the preceptor of the Harappa culture was pictured in two forms, the Buddha as preceptor was pictured in a number of forms, all of which, however, could ultimately be traced back to the two varieties known to Harappa. So, we may fairly infer not only that the preceptor of Ujjain, the preceptor of the coin of Maues and the numerous preceptor-Buddhas are descended from the two types known to the Harappa culture but also that even such divergences as may be found among them are traceable to the days of Harappa.⁹²

But, how are we to explain the sword or the sceptre in the lap of the figure on the coin of Maues, and how are we to reconcile the pose of the figure,—the 'crossed legged seance' and the hands laid in the lap,—with the sceptre or the sword? No such object appears either in the seals of the Harappa culture or in the representations of the Buddha.

The possibilities are that the type represents a character not unfamiliar in early Indian history,—the *rāja-ṛṣi*, a king who was also an ascetic,—or

89. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 335 : 235.

90. *Ib.*, 337-8 : 99(A).

91. OSTEN, *Ancient Oriental Seals in Collection of E. T. Newell*, 133, 135 : 6(47).

92. The yogi with the single face sits by himself, but he with the three faces has animal attendants. Was a deliberate distinction known to Harappa? Were Uni-face and Tri-face two different personalities,—the latter being the more distinguished, as testified to by the animals on either side and the deer in the pedestal? Was Uniface a preceptor thought of as god and was Tri-face, 'Paśu-pati', a god playing the preceptor?

that it is a deity different from the Buddha or other preceptor-god, or that it is an unintelligible degradation of a type that once had a meaning. Neither Maues nor Azes I could be called a rāja-r̥ṣi. A mark like a svastika or a cross appears on one of the coins from Ujjain (Fig. 14 : 3) to the right of the seated figure and one of the limbs of the symbol runs horizontally at the same level as the lap of the figure. If the mark, degenerated in later issues and ran across the coin it might have suggested a sword or a sceptre laid on the lap. If Maues did take Ujjain, as seems likely, and retained it for some time, he might have come across worn out specimens of this degenerate series and they might have appeared to him to depict the preceptor-like figure as holding a sword or sceptre in the lap, and so he might have believed he was adopting the Ujjain pattern when on his issue he invested a preceptor with a similar object. But, it is also possible that what was a degeneration in Ujjain might have acquired a special significance in the hands of Maues. Is it likely that by then the conception had been evolved of the Buddha,—or other great Yogī-god or preceptor-god wielding a sword,—whom Maues wished to venerate? The classic conception of the Buddha as emperor might have had an appeal to Maues the great conqueror, but the idea is not otherwise known to have given rise to an image of this kind. Innumerable are the forms with which the Buddha is invested, but in none does he appear with a sword or sceptre. Who, then, is represented in this intriguing form? An answer to this question may not be easy,⁹³ but it is indisputable that the type on the Ujjain series is closely connected with that on the coin of Maues. If the Ujjain series is the earlier, —and it now seems that it is decidedly so, —the seated figure on the Maues coin would be but a derivation from Ujjain, and, even if it is an image of the Buddha, the parent of the image would be that of the preceptor of Ujjain.⁹⁴

Thus, we may trace any variety of the image of the Buddha as preceptor through the coin of Maues and the issues of Panchala and Ujjain, to the two archetypes known to the Harappa culture. When the relationship of these images is thus clearly traceable within the confines of India itself and in terms of Indian concepts alone, it is wholly superfluous to postulate an explanation through a revelation from Greece.

XII. NANDIPADA OVER CIRCLE

On Indian antiquities of the period for which Buddhist remains are those that are best known a symbol appears frequently which, in essentials,

93. See Appendix 7.

94. Had COOMARASWAMY had before him, when he wrote in *Art Bulletin*, 9(4) : 16, ALLAN's ascription of the Ujjain coin (Fig. 14 : 2) to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., he would have rested his case for the indigenous origin of the Buddha image on this coin and would have derived the coin of Maues from it. He would not also have had to labour the priority of the Mathura school to that of Gandhara. This is not, however, to be regretted, for, otherwise, Mathura would not have had justice done to it.

is a compound of a three-limbed design like W and a circle, the former being placed above the latter. As examples may be cited the symbols on two pieces of sculpture (Fig. 16 : 6-7) of about the 2nd century A.D. Variations in the

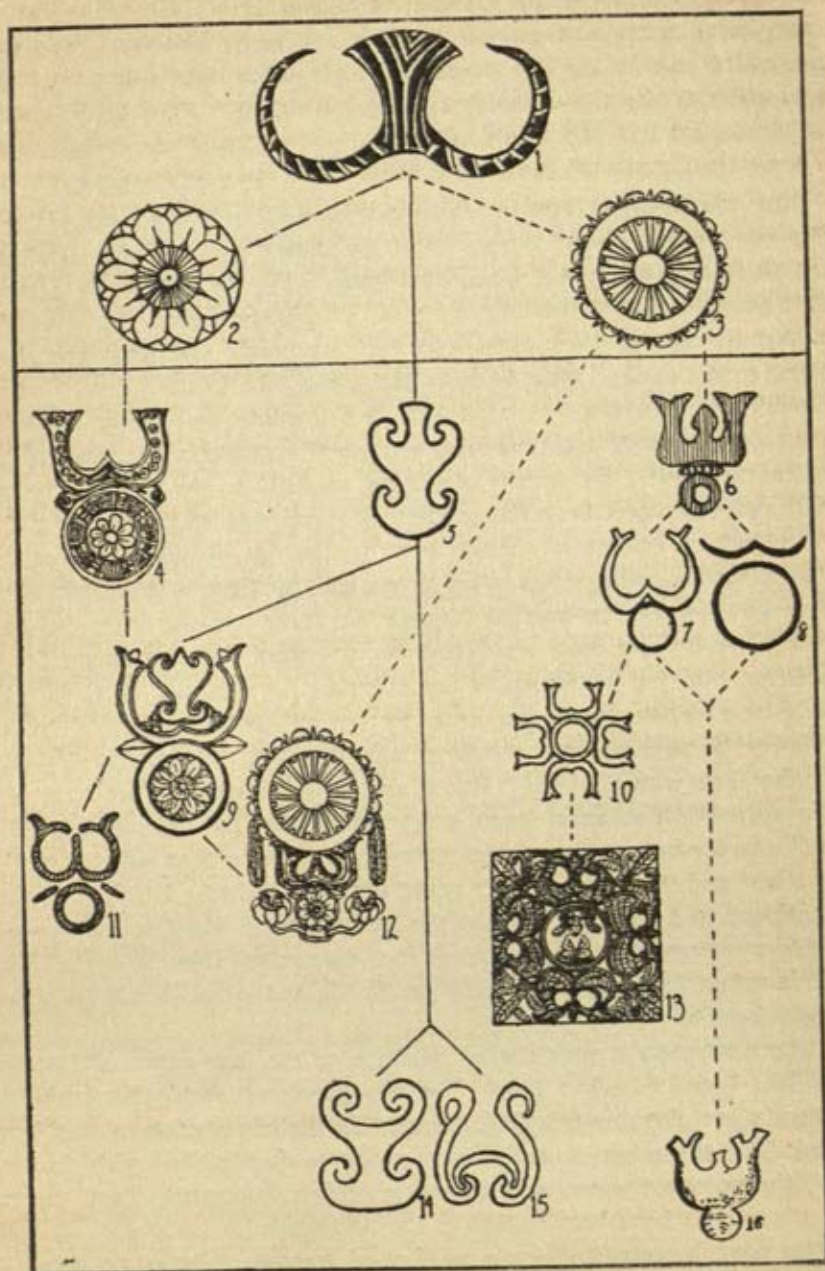


Fig. 16.

symbol are not uncommon : the middle limb is usually shorter than the two at the ends : the outer limbs sometimes split in two at the tips : sometimes

a thin object of which the character is not clear is inserted between the upper and the lower components (Fig. 16 : 6) : occasionally a pair of lines seem to emerge in opposite directions from the space between the upper and the lower members (Fig. 16 : 11). The symbol is very frequently known in another form in which the lower member, the circle, encloses a full-blown lotus, and a pair of leaf-like projections protrude to right and to left from the junction of the two components (Fig. 16 : 4, 9). The upper member has been called *tri-ratna* and *nandi-pāda*, but the latter name seems to be better authenticated. We have no name for the composite symbol.

The combination becomes more complicated with the addition of a shield-like symbol, placed on the tip of the middle prong of the nandipada so as to be hugged by the other two prongs (Fig. 16 : 9) or of a wheel, poised generally on the tips (Fig. 16 : 12). It happens even that a wheel is mounted on each of the prongs and that nandipada and lotus are placed between a pair of deer lying, back to back (Fig. 15 : 1).

Both the nandipada and the lotus are symbols well-known in Indian art but it is not easily understandable why the two should be brought together, and, especially, why the former should be mounted on the latter. The two leaf-like protuberances from the junction of nandipada with lotus (Fig. 16 : 4, 9) render no account of themselves : they are out of place, whether they be two different leaves or two edges of one leaf, for there is no reason why a leaf or leaves should be inserted between the upper and the lower members. The circle may have some significance as a symbol, but the reason for its association with the nandipada is not obvious. In one case (Fig. 16 : 11) it may be a degeneration of a lotus, for the strokes that emerge from the inter-space between the two members may represent debasements of leaves occurring along with the lotus. But in another specimen there are no strokes, and a cushion-like object is found interposed between the two members (Fig. 16 : 6) ; so the intermediate object must originally have been something other than a leaf and the lower member might not have been the lotus. The nearest analogue to a circle, other than the lotus, being a wheel, it may be permissible to assume that it is the wheel that degenerated into the circle. Even so, it is not at first easy to see why nandipada and wheel should have been brought together.

The nandipada is very similar in shape to the horn-crown of Harappa (Fig. 16 : 1 and Fig. 13 : 2).⁹⁵ The two curves which together make the nandipada are also the principal elements in the composition of the horn-crown. The crown has, however, been sought to be identified with the 'tri-śūla', three-pronged spear, well known in Indian iconography, and the tri-śūla is taken to have been copied in the nandipada or triratna.⁹⁶ But the identity must be negated for a number of reasons. The crown has only two sharp-pointed limbs instead of the three required for the triśūla : the

95. CHANDA, *Pre-historic Civiln. Indus Valley*, 34.

96. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 54-5.

projection in the middle is so broad that it is unthinkable that it could be a spear-point.^{96a} No more than two horns make up the crown : we do not see a third.⁹⁷ The two outer limbs, though pointed, are so incurved that they could scarcely pierce as the prongs of a spear should. A *triśūla* is no weapon unless it incorporates a shaft : it is essentially a spear and the number of prongs does not matter, but the crown is not mounted on a shaft. It is the *nandipada* that is from the earliest times shown with incurved prongs : it has no association with a shaft : often, the middle limb is shorter than the outer limbs, while in a *triśūla* it cannot be perceptibly shorter than the other two. The spears found at Mohenjo-Daro are not similar to the crown in shape.⁹⁸ A suggestion has been made that the crown is composed of three horns and that therefore the figure wearing it should be Agni and not Śiva,⁹⁹ but it fails *in limine* as it is impossible to agree that three horns go to make up the crown.¹⁰⁰ The crown is the proto-type of the *nandipada*.

The shield-like symbol which is found incorporated in one of the *nandipadas* at Sanchi (Fig. 16 : 9) is similarly close in appearance to a symbol (Fig. 16 : 5) that occurs at a very early date in Egypt, though both of them are compounded of other elements as well. The chief of the elements, however, is identical in shape with the horn-crown : even the broad curve of the middle 'prong' is reproduced. The identity need cause no surprise, for the horn-crown of Harappa has a parallel in the similar crowns found in early Sumerian seals of about the same age as the seals of Mohenjo-Daro,¹⁰¹ and the parallelism extends, in the case of one of them,¹⁰² to the association of a plant with the crown. It occurs also in a Sumero-Akkadian seal¹⁰³ of a date just later than the seal from Mohenjo-Daro. When the horn-crown of these cultures is isolated it becomes a symbol by itself, and when combined with other elements it forms the more complicated symbol of Egypt (Fig. 16 : 5). With just a little further modification it becomes the shield of the Indian symbol (Fig. 16 : 9).^{103a}

96a. The breadth of the projection in the middle suggests that it is a casque or helmet to which the two horns are attached. Such a contraption is not unknown to early cultures. See HASTINGS, *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*, s. v. 'Horns'.

97. On another seal from Mohenjo-Daro we have a symbol the two limbs of which curve away from a circle or knot. The two curves resemble snakes but each finishes with the head of a urus-bull. The circle or the knot appears to rest on the tip of a shaft, imparting to the design the distant similitude of a spear,—if we are insistent on treating the heads of the bulls as the pointed prongs of a spear,—but first appearances are illusory, for on a closer view the shaft is found to be a branch of a tree which continues further up and gives rise to a number of shoots and leaves. See MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 112 (387).

98. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 34-5.

99. SALETORRE, in *New Review*, 1939 : 28-35.

100. See MORAES, in *New Review*, 1939 : 438-48, and AIYAPPAN, in *JRASB.* L. 1939, 401-6.

101. OSTEN, *Ancient Seals Colln. Newell*, 134.

102. *Ib.*, 135 : 22 (47).

103. *Ib.*, 134 : 14(153).

103a. See Appendix 8.

Having thus found that the horn-crown becomes a symbol and that it allows itself to be transmuted into complex forms we are tempted to find an explanation for the symbol of nandipada over circle by assuming that it combined with the lotus (Fig. 16 : 2) and the wheel (Fig. 16 : 3) which are ancient symbols in India : the products are the group of symbols of which the type is nandipada over lotus (Fig. 16 : 4) and the other group of which a debased type is the nandipada over circle (Fig. 16 : 6).

The horn is generally treated in early cultures as a symbol of strength, evidently because of its being the weapon of offence of animals. The wheel too is a symbol of the same virtue, it having been developed at an early date into a powerful weapon of attack. So, wheel and horn-crown might have easily come together to indicate a double measure of strength. The lotus is sprung from Viṣṇu's navel, the source of the energy of the universe, and bears Brahmā, the creator. This double association with energy could have led to the lotus also being coupled with the horn, just as the wheel was. The wheel and the lotus having, thus, practically the same symbolic content, the two might have become interchangeable when associated with the horn.¹⁰⁴

The association of the lotus with Brahmā takes us further. Brahmā, the creator, being but a concretization of Brahman, the lotus by its association with Brahmā becomes an appropriate symbol for Brahman. The wheel also comes to have a similar significance. It is a representation of Dharma, which is a creation of Brahman.¹⁰⁵ 'The term Dhamma (Dharma) not rarely is used as a substitute in expressing the Buddhist ideal, for the Brahman of the Upaniṣads', and even 'the term Brahman itself is occasionally preserved.'¹⁰⁶ So, the wheel too may have come to symbolise Brahman. But the Buddha himself, is, as has been pointed out already, treated as Brahman. So, both lotus and wheel may stand as symbols for the Buddha.

The lower member of the combination, —wheel, lotus or circle, —represents Brahman or the Buddha, and the upper member, the horn-crown, connotes strength. The super-imposing of the horn-crown over wheel, lotus or circle, may thus mean the investing of Brahman or the Buddha with the insignia of power or strength. The composite symbol may have really been an ancient one, representing Brahman initially, and the Buddhists may subsequently have adopted it to represent the Buddha when they had to develop a symbolism for themselves.

Two circumstances may be pointed to in support of this suggestion. Firstly, we have numerous sculptures depicting a holy seat under a tree and

104. The circle may also be taken to be the result of the degeneration of the lotus as much as of the wheel, but the assumption is unnecessary in view of the practical identity of the significance of both the wheel and the lotus.

105. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, 4, 14.

106. KEITH, *Rel. & Phīl. Ved. & Up.*, 550. See *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3, 232, KEITH, following GEIGER, points out also that the phrases Dhamma-Cakka and Dhamma-Yāna have their parallels in Brahma-Cakka (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, 1, 69) and Brahma-yāna (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, 5-5).

a symbol placed either behind, or on, the seat (Fig. 8 : 5). This is eminently the scene in which, as we have seen, one would expect the Buddha to be shown when an anthropomorphic representation of him was desired, and, similarly, this is also the *milieu* in which a symbol of the Buddha would be placed if a symbolic representation of him was required. So, the symbols which are found placed under the tree, in Buddhist art, are those that are most likely to represent the Buddha. The most common of these symbols is the 'Nandipada over circle', though sometimes it is the wheel, the Dharma-Cakra.¹⁰⁷ These are the very symbols which we have found to signify the Buddha. Secondly, we have a modification of the pattern of 'Nandipada over circle': the Nandipada is repeated four times around a circle (Fig. 16 : 10). The repetition connotes a 'strengthening' or an emphasising of the notion for which the circle stands. It has been shown above that the circle is a substitute for the lotus or the wheel and that either of them may represent Brahman, the Buddha, the Jina, —whatever name the sectaries may employ. We may therefore expect a representation of one of these to replace the circle or to occur enclosed in it. The expectation is fulfilled: in a piece of Jain sculpture four nandipadas surrounded a circle (Fig. 16 : 13) in which is depicted the Jina.

If it is clear that the Nandipada over lotus or wheel was the symbol of the Buddha in the earliest day of Buddhist art, —as at Bharhut, —it is also equally clear that even at Bharhut its significance was understood only in part. A piece of sculpture comes from Bharhut in which a pair of 'Nandipadas over circle' are pictured side by side under one tree.¹⁰⁸ No explanation is possible for this repetition, —whether we take the symbol to stand for the Buddha or for some concept which the Buddhists had symbolised: there was no second Buddha and there was no concept in Buddhism which required a symbolic reduplication under a tree. For the symbol to have become somewhat of an unintelligible formula by then it should have had a career covering a few centuries. This surmise is confirmed by the conjecture that the symbol stood for Brahman before it was utilised for the Buddha as well. We meet with the horn-crown in the Harappa culture as a symbol but not with the lotus or the wheel. Perhaps the investing of the lotus and the wheel with significance as symbols came later and the association of these with the horn-crown came later still.

Image worship seems thus to have had a complicated history in India. The anthropomorphic image is well established in the Harappa culture, and even so early the divinity bears a symbol for head-dress. The next stage we know of is that in which the Nandipada over circle does duty for Brahman,

107. The only other instance of the use of a symbol under a tree is that of the *vestigium manus* which is carved on the seat itself in Fig. 13 : 2.

108. CUNNINGHAM, *Stupa of Bharhut*, 45 : 30(3). I am not aware that the repetition of the symbol has been noticed as calling for explanation. See Appendix 4, fn. 143.

but we do not know what length of time separated the two stages. It is probable that in this stage there were other symbolic images such as the *liṅga* in vogue and that anthropomorphic images too, such as those of the Mother, were not unknown. When some centuries later Buddhism comes to be popular it is in an age when even those who preferred a symbol to an image in the human form reversed the preference and worshipped the Buddha in his own shape. It is in this same age that we find records of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Pradyumna and the Pandava brothers being worshipped in the human form.

XIII. THE DEITY IN THE HEAD-DRESS

The people of the Harappa culture had the hair of the head 'taken back from the forehead and either cut short behind . . . or coiled in a knot or chignon at the back of the head, with a fillet to support it'¹⁰⁹. Though, 'as a rule, no doubt, the fillets would be of cotton or some other pliable material', still, as the richer people should have used fillets of the precious metals, 'specimens . . . have been found at Mohenjo-Daro, consisting of thin bands of beaten gold with holes for cords at their ends', so that the necessary length may be secured by the addition of ribbons of cotton¹¹⁰. One of these fillets, almost long enough to go round the head, bears a design at the ends which 'resembles the cult object that is always represented in front of the unicorn animals present on most of the seals'¹¹¹. Other specimens are also known with designs which may have no significance¹¹². These fillets are not peculiar to the Harappa culture, their use having been widespread, for specimens have been found among the antiquities of early Egypt, Crete, and Mesopotamia. At a coronation performed according to Vedic rites,¹¹³ the anointment was performed when the king wore a gold fillet on his head and chanted the words, 'Might thou art, victory thou art, immortality thou art', for, 'gold being immortal life' he laid 'immortal life into him'¹¹⁴. Fillets have been found elsewhere also, in India itself,—those best known being those from Adichanallur in the extreme south of the country.

The designs on the fillets are often of no special interest, but occasionally they appear to have some significance¹¹⁵. A fillet from Crete (Fig. 17 : 1) exhibits a three-branched tree flanked on either side by a goat facing the tree.

109. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 33-4.

110. *Ib.*, 34; also MACKAY, in *Ib.*, 509, 527-8.

111. MACKAY, in *Ib.*, 527 : 118(14).

112. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 526 : 135 (4).

113. KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. of Vedas & Up.*, 341.

114. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5. 4. 1. 14.

115. There were perforations in the royal diadem, —'either with a hundred, or with nine, holes,' and 'if with a hundred holes, man here lives up to a hundred (years), and has a hundred energies, a hundred powers...., and if with nine holes there are in man those nine vital airs': *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5. 4. 1. 13. Many of the fillets of Eurasia and those of Adichanallur are pricked with numerous dots which run into an embossed design. Perhaps the embossed dots are modifications of the perforations.

The adoration of the tree by the goats indicates that the tree stands either for a sylvan spirit or for the haunt of a divinity. The wearing of the fillet would therefore imply the wearing the symbol of a spirit or its haunt on the forehead. To this day it is a practice for the votaries of certain Indian sects to



Fig. 17.

wear symbols on the head-dress, such as a holy seed or a *liṅga*. A Ceylon king of about 1600 A.D. is represented in a contemporary drawing as wearing a crown in which is engraved a Buddha¹¹⁶. If in the Cretan fillet it is a haunt that is pictured we may well expect the figure of the tree,—the haunt,—to be supplemented by the addition of an image of the divinity of the haunt or even to be supplanted by that image. Fillets might therefore have come in course of time to bear the figure of a divinity.

Some manifestations of the Buddha, known as Dhyānī-Buddhas in the iconography of later Buddhism, are said to be the 'sons' of certain other forms of the Buddha, and in token thereof they wear the figures of their 'sires' in their headdress (Fig. 17 : 2). The similarity with a divinity in the fillet is so striking that it is worth asking if the idea of the Dhyānī-Buddhas does not go back to the days of the Cretan fillet, and even earlier still¹¹⁷, and whether it was not descended from or through the Harappa culture.

116. COOMARASWAMY, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 326-7 : 22.

117. MACKAY, *Mohenjo-Daro*, 281 : 76 (14).

XIV. THE DEITY ON THE HEAD

Among the human figurines of terra-cotta found at Mohenjo-Daro is one (Fig. 18 : 2) which bears not only the characteristic head-dress spreading out into the shape of a fan but also 'a very curious object' which stands 'perched upon the fan.' The object has the appearance of 'a four-legged stool', but the legs continue upward in short stumps above the level of the seat. A second specimen of this type of figurine having also been unearthed, there is no doubt but that we have to deal, not with a freak, but with an established type. The four stumps rising from the four corners have no purpose unless they were provided to keep in position an object placed on the seat : they are admirably designed for the purpose, for they



Fig. 18.

would prevent the object from veering round or sliding off. But none of the remains from Mohenjo-Daro gives us a clue as to what that object might be. 'A very roughly modelled, seated figure' found at the same place has a back which 'suggests that it was once placed on a stool.' It may be too venturesome to suppose that the original habitat of the seated figure was a stool on the head of a figurine. Till more and fuller specimens become available we cannot hope to decide what the figurines represent, but, in the meanwhile, it may not be unprofitable to point to analogues, though they may not be quite close.

In the barrows of the Nilgiris have been found numerous terra-cotta vessels, one of which (Fig. 18 : 3) bears on the lid a four-legged stool with a woman(?) seated on it, her legs dangling down. Another of the objects in these barrows is a similar stool which bears traces of a figure having been

seated thereon, and, perhaps, that figure was that of a man¹¹⁸. The significance of the man with the stool is not obvious. The mounting of the stool and the man on the lid of a vessel is due, in all probability, to its being a funeral relic vessel. Whether the type of 'man on stool' was intended to depict a person in authority is more than may now be decided.

The Nilgiri figurines suggest the conjecture that the stool carried on the head by the two figurines of Mohenjo-Daro might have been intended for occupation by a human figure. If this is probable the two Mohenjo-Daro figurines turn out to be very peculiar: a man wears a head-gear on top of which is perched a stool, and on that piece of furniture is seated another man. The collocation is inexplicable, but we may not say that the figurine from Mohenjo-Daro is a total stranger to that from the Nilgiris. Having just seen that Indian art knew of one man being shown seated in the head-dress of another, we cannot dismiss lightly the probability of the conjecture advanced above.

Jain iconography knows of a few images which carry smaller images on the head,—the smaller ones being invariably seated. Ambikā-devī, the Yakṣī or the śāsana-devatā of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, is represented both in the standing and the sitting postures, and a seated Jina is poised on her head, or is suspended just above. The Jina is identified with her Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha.¹¹⁹ A Dhyānī-Buddha wearing his 'sire' as on a fillet is not a parallel, for Ambikā makes a head-load of Neminātha's image instead of incorporating his image in a fillet running round a head-dress.¹²⁰

An interesting statement is reported by a Greek writer, Bardisanes, who seems to belong to the 2nd-3rd century A.D., that certain Indians who came as ambassadors to the Roman emperor Elagabalus told him that in 'a large cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle' of India was to be seen 'a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright', of which 'in short the whole right side was male and the left female', and 'on its head was the image of a god, seated as on a throne.'¹²¹ Neither Bardisanes nor his informant might have been aware of the distinction between the *motifs* of 'man in head-dress' and 'man on a stool on man's head.' If it was the former he referred to, the image is difficult to identify. But, if it was the latter, the image of the huge standing figure may be one of Siva as Ardhanārī, 'half-woman', and the seated figure on the head may be the goddess Gaṅgā, who is usually represented as issuing from the windings of Siva's matted locks.¹²² But in no image of Siva is Gaṅgā shown 'seated as on a throne.' Though this

118. FOOTE, *Madras Government Museum: Cat. Pre-hist. Antiquities*, 48: No. 543, Nos. 539 and 544 are also worth comparing.

119. See SHAH, in *J. Univ. Bombay*, (1940): 9: 152 (2); 153: (14); 155: (9); 160: (23); 161: (24); 163-4: (29); 164: (30, 32).

120. In one of the images of Ambikā, Neminātha does become an ornament in the crown: see *Ibid.*, 9: 156: (12).

121. Johannes Stobaios, *Physica*, 1.56, cited in M'CRINDLE, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 172-3.

122. LASSEN made this suggestion over a century back.

phrase does not compel us to assume an actual representation of a throne on the head of Śiva, still it is not inconsistent with the presence of one, and must even be unaccountable unless at least the seated deity could be assumed to have had the air of one who occupied a throne.

Was a throne actually represented on the head of the image mentioned by Bardisanes? Was the stool on the head of the figurine of Mohenjo-Daro a plebeian substitute for a throne? Or, are the figurines from Mohenjo-Daro and the Nilgiris and the image mentioned by Bardisanes and the images of Ambikā utterly unrelated to one another?

(To be concluded.)

MISCELLANY

KALKI—THE EARLIEST CHECK TO BUDDHISM

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Study of our Purāṇas is, as yet, in its infancy and as a result some of the Purāṇas which are known as upapurāṇas are often altogether neglected, simply because they are upapurāṇas. Kalki Purāṇa is one such neglected Purāṇa. In this paper I propose to gather some historical material available from that Purāṇa. My discussion will also clarify the original nature of the Kalki incarnation.

Dr. Sita Nath PRADHAN, in his *Chronology of Ancient India*, has established certain very valuable synchronisms out of which the one with which I am concerned is given in Table I.¹ A study of this table shows that the Puranic Pradyota dynasty and Śaiśunāga dynasty were collateral. Also the last kings of the Aikṣavāku and Aila races² viz. Sumitra and Kṣemaka were the contemporaries of Nandivardhana Śiśunāga. To these synchronisms I have added two names which I have placed within rectangular brackets. These are Viśākhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty and Kalki, both of whom were, as I shall soon show, contemporaries of Sumitra and Śiśunāga Nandivardhana. I have also indicated the positions of Mahāvira and Buddha in this table.

Though these synchronisms are thus established, I think, the fullest significance of them is still not realised by the historians. Let us, therefore, study this table.

The first thing that we find is the re-arrangement of the Puranic Śaiśunāga dynasty. Now with regard to this dynasty, though Dr. PRADHAN and others have expressed their views already and though mostly they are acceptable, I have to say this.

At the time when the last Bārhadratha king Ripuñjaya was ruling at Magadha, there arose a very powerful rival for him in the person of Bimbisāra Haryanka.³ It seems that this Bimbisāra was able to launch a direct offensive against Ripuñjaya and was actually successful in capturing Rājagṛha, as a result of which, Ripuñjaya was forced to abandon his capital and shift to Avanti,⁴ which seems to have been the capital of his western provinces.

1. See *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 229.

2. Cp. PARGITER: *Dynasties of Kali Age*, 1913, p. 8 and p. 12.

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसकुलः ।

क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ P. 8 and

ईक्ष्वाकुनामयं वंशो मुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।

यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ P. 12.

It is sometimes thought that these two were the last kings of these lines and that Śiśunāga destroyed these two lines finally. But it is not so. The second verse given above expressly gives the reason why Sumitra is taken as the last king of the line. It clearly means that Sumitra was the last Ikṣavāku king of that kaliyuga which was over in his days. (Read कलिः for कलौ in the second verse above.) Same is true of Kṣemaka. Moreover we shall soon see that Śiśunāga was not only not an enemy of these two, but was their actual ally.

3. For this name of the family see *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. RAYCHAUDHARI, p. 116.

4. *Chronology of Ancient India*, PRADHAN, p. 255.

But Ripuñjaya was not fortunate at Avanti also, for there he was murdered by his minister Puṇika or Munika, who put his own son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti, after Ripuñjaya's death.⁵ Thus at Rājagṛha in Magadha Bimbisāra succeeded Ripuñjaya and at Avanti Pradyota succeeded him. Thus fell the Bārhadratha dynasty and out of its ashes arose two dynasties viz. Haryāṇka dynasty at Magadha and Pradyota dynasty at Avanti. At first Pradyota would be subordinate to Bimbisāra, for even Ripuñjaya must have accepted the sovereignty of Bimbisāra. That is why we hear Pradyota addressing Bimbisāra as 'deva'.⁶ But this must have soon stopped, for Pradyota would naturally feel a grudge against Bimbisāra. As Pradyota succeeded Ripuñjaya who belonged to the Imperial dynasty of Magadha and who had even actually ruled at Rājagṛha, he would consider himself to be the rightful claimant of the Magadha throne and would consider Bimbisāra to be an usurper. He must have, therefore, taken up an enmity attitude towards Bimbisāra.

Thus it is natural that Pradyota should prepare for attacking the Magadha king Bimbisāra. But just at this time Pradyota got an additional reason for enmity with Bimbisāra. Bimbisāra started favouring the newly-started unorthodox religions—Jainism and Buddhism.⁷ And Pradyota, who ruled at Avanti must have thought himself bound to defend the Brahmana faith. Avanti had always been the stronghold of Śaivism. Thus Pradyota, as the defender of his faith, must have taken an apathetic view of the growing forces of Buddhism. He had, therefore, a double reason to crush the Haryāṇka king at Magadha. And it seems that soon after the death of Bimbisāra, he intensified his 'war efforts'. That is why we hear of Ajātaśatru repairing the fort of Rājagṛha for fear of an attack from Pradyota.⁸ But, as Dr. PRADHAN suggests,⁹ it seems that Pradyota was not able to put his plans into execution, for he soon died.

After his death, Bimbisāras seem to have prospered at Magadha. Both Ajātaśatru and Udāyi were strong kings. But at Avanti, Pālaka, who succeeded Pradyota, does not seem to have been equal to the task of fighting either the unorthodox religion or the antagonistic Magadha king. Cherished wishes of Pradyota were fulfilled only in the last days of the king Viśākhayūpa. According to Purāṇas Pradyota reigned for 23 years and Pālaka from 24 or 28 years¹⁰. Then came Viśākhayūpa who ruled for 50 years. Now although the Purāṇas give five kings to the Pradyota dynasty, in reality there were only three ruling generations, as Dr. PRADHAN has shown.¹¹ (See Table II.) According to that view, Pālaka was deposed by Ajaka. This Ajaka ruled at Avanti for 21 years. But Pālaka had two sons named Viśākhayūpa and Avantivardhana. Regarding them Dr. PRADHAN, very correctly, infers that,¹² 'after his father was deposed he (Viśākhayūpa) probably established a principality in some adjacent district, as was the custom in those days, and ruled for 50 years, according to the Vāyu. His brother Avantivardhana, however, succeeded Ajaka to the throne of Avanti and ruled for 30 years after which his fame as well as that of Viśākhayūpa and others was destroyed by Śiśunāga.' I shall later on show that though Śiśunāga followed the Pradyotas, he was not enmity to them, but was actually their ally. Just now I cite a piece of evidence to prove the statement of Dr. PRADHAN that Viśākhayūpa had established a principality. In fact he did not establish a new principality, but simply took possession of the western portion of the state

5. *Dynasties of Kali Age* by PARGITER, p. 18.

6. Cp. *IHQ*. VI, The Riddle of Pradyota Dynasty.

7. This is evident from the religious works of these religions.

8. *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 130.

9. PRADHAN, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 237.

10. *Dynasties of Kali Age*, pp. 18-19.

11. PRADHAN, *CAI.*, p. 232 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

of Avantī, whose capital was at Māhiṣmatī, for the Kalki Purāṇa expressly mentions that the king Viśākhayūpa ruled at Mahiṣmatī.¹³

I have said above that it was in the days of Viśākhayūpa that the cherished wishes of Pradyota were fulfilled. For it was in his days and under his patronage that the Brahmanas rallied round a common banner. Our Purāṇas, including the Kalki Purāṇa, declare¹⁴ that it was in the village called Sambhala (शम्भलग्राम) which was evidently situated in the dominions of Viśākhayūpa, that a son was born to the Brahman chief named Viṣṇuśāśa. This Brahmana boy who was called Kalki (probably because, later on he disguised himself as a warrior), led a regular campaign against Buddhism and Jainism. It seems, on the evidence of the Kalki Purāṇa,¹⁵ that Kalki excited, infuriated and brought under one common banner most of the existing Kṣatriya chiefs to defend the orthodox faith. It would also seem that he made extensive hurricane tours (probably on a white horse) all throughout the Northern India and brought together a number of princes and formed a confederacy.

Let us see the political condition of the Northern India in that century.¹⁶ There were four or five important states then. Magadha was, of course, the imperial seat, but in the last days of Bārhadrathas, the smaller states of Kāśī, Kośala, Vatsa and Vaiśālī had become independent. On the western side Avantī was a very powerful state. This was the condition when Bimbisāra came to the throne. Bimbisāra contracted marriage alliances with Madra, Kośala and Vaiśālī. He annexed Aṅga and a part of Kāśī. Between Kāśī and Kośala there was animosity and at this time Mahākosala of Kosala conquered Kāśī. Kāśī was under Kosala even in the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākosala. But Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra came in direct conflict with Kāśī, Kośala and Vaiśālī. "He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāśī, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī." Out of these three he defeated Vaiśālī the last and the Vaiśālī chief formed a confederacy against the Magadha king. "Chetaka of Vaisali called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakias" and formed a confederacy against Ajātaśatru. It seems that this confederacy lasted for about sixteen years, at the end of which period, however, Ajātaśatru was able to win a decisive victory over the combined states. This made these three states enmity to Magadha. Ajātaśatru then, had to face Avantī which was as powerful as Magadha itself in those days. But the struggle between Avantī and Magadha was not decided in the days of Ajātaśatru. He died and his son Udāyi also had a strong enemy in the state of Avantī which "had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of western India." It also seems that Pālaka had annexed the state of Kauśāmbī to Avantī. Thus at the end of the reigns Udāyi and Pālaka, Magadha and Avantī were left face to face with each other and the contest for the mastery of the Northern India which had started with Pradyota, now became keener.

Thus when we come to Viśākhayūpa we find Avantī a very powerful state and the states of Kosala, Kauśāmbī, Kāśī and Vaiśālī all bearing a grudge against Magadha and biding their time for humbling the pride of the Magadha king.

This time, therefore, was most opportune for Kalki to have revived the confederacy which was, some time back, formed by Chetaka, but which had not been successful before the superior and mechanised forces of Ajātaśatru.¹⁷ In the days

13. See Kalki Purāṇa 1st aṁśa.

14. Bhāgavata (XII, 2, 18, 20); Agni (XVI, 8-10).

15. Kalki Purāṇa, II to end.

16. What follows is summarised from the *Political History of Ancient India* by RAYCHAUDHARI, pp. 115-140.

17. Ajātaśatru seems to have used mechanised chariots; see PHAI, p. 129.

of the successors of Udāyi, Magadhan machinery seems to have been weakened. That is why the new confederacy formed by Kalki was able to retrieve its lost honour.

The confederacy must have started with the king Viśākhayūpa, in whose dominions Kalki was born. Kalki Purāṇa says that the king Viśākhayūpa came to pay his homage to Kalki as soon as he was born.¹⁸ After Viśākhayūpa, it seems that the then ruling princes of the Aikṣvāku and Aila families joined the confederacy. The Kalki Purāṇa describes that the kings Maru and Devāpi came and joined the forces of Kalki.¹⁹ Now Maru belonged to the Solar line and Devāpi to the Lunar line. But both of them lived some 30 to 35 ruling generations earlier than Kalki. I shall, on some future occasion show why the names of these two kings are dragged in here. But just now I suggest that what is meant by the Purāṇa is that the contemporary kings of the Solar and Lunar lines came and joined hands with Kalki. And from the Table I we know that the kings of these two lines who were contemporaries of Kalki and Viśākhayūpa were Sumitra and Kṣemaka. In fact Maru, in the Kalki, actually calls himself Sumitra.²⁰ This proves that, after Viśākhayūpa, the next to join the confederacy started by Kalki were Sumitra and Kṣemaka. It also seems that a king named Rucirāśva (by whom may be meant a descendant of that king also), whom I am unable to identify at present, also joined the confederacy.²¹

This confederacy of four or five kings, then started its operations and though the Kalki places the humbling of the Buddhists first, I think that the allied armies first marched against a king who is named as Śaśidhvaja in the Kalki. Now I think that this Śaśidhvaja was none else but Śiśunāga Nandivardhana. I shall put down my reasons for this statement.

It seems that at that time Kāśi and Kosala had been fighting with one another. It seems that the king Brahmadatta of Kāśi had defeated the Kośala king.²² In return Mahākosala had defeated the Kāśi king. It is also said that Kāśi was under Kośala even in the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākosala. But in the days of Sumitra, who was a Kosala king, though both Kosala and Kāśi were enmical to Magadha, between themselves, the Kāśi king had overthrown the Kośala yoke. It was, therefore, that Sumitra with his allied armies might have thought of bringing the Kāśi king to his senses. It is said in the Kalki²³ that the allied armies marched against Śaśidhvaja, who had his capital at Ballāṭa. Now Bhallāṭa has been identified with Kāśi.²⁴ I, therefore, suggest that this was a march against the Kāśi king who is here called Śaśidhvaja. And this Śaśidhvaja, as far as I can see from the history of the period, was Śiśunāga. All our Purāṇas say²⁵ that when Śiśunāga conquered Magadha, he placed his son on the Kāśi throne and he himself went and ruled at Rājagṛha (Girivraja). There can be only one meaning of this that Śiśunāga, before he conquered Magadha, ruled at Benares or Kāśi. And as according to Dr. PRADHAN's showing, Śiśunāga Nandivardhana was a contemporary of Sumitra, Kṣemaka and Viśākhayūpa, the king of Kāśi, at the time of the march of Kalki's allied forces, could not have been any one else but

18. *Kalki Purāṇa* I, 1.

20. See III, 4.

19. *Kalki Purāṇa* III-IV.

तस्मान्महं मां केऽपीह बुधं चाऽपि सुमित्रकम् ॥ 8

21. *Kalki Purāṇa*.

23. Fourth arṣa.

25. *Cp. Dynasties of Kāli Age*, p. 21.

22. *PHAI*, p. 61.

24. *PHAI*, p. 62.

हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं विशुनागो भविष्यति ।
वाराणस्यां सुतं स्थाप्य श्रविष्यति गिरिव्रजम् ॥

Śiśunāga. Śiśunāga was called in popular dialect *Susu Nāga*,²⁶ and in my opinion both Śiśunāga and Śaśidhvaja are, sanskritised forms of it. I, therefore, suggest that Śaśidhvaja and Śiśunāga are identical.

It is said in the Kalki Purāṇa²⁷ that the allied forces marched against Śaśidhvaja, the king of Bhallāta city. Śaśidhvaja had a wife named *Suśāntā*, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu and she advised her husband not to fight against Kalki, but Śaśidhvaja, like Rāvaṇa wanted to gain cheaper *mukti* by becoming an enemy of Viṣṇu. So, although he knew that Kalki was Viṣṇu, he fought with the allied armies. Both the armies were strong. Allies were strong with the armies of Avanti and others. Armies of Śaśidhvaja also were strong because if Śaśidhvaja was Śiśunāga, he is likely to have been helped by Vaiśālī also, for from his mother's side Śiśunāga belonged to Vaiśālī.²⁸ The fight, according to the Kalki, was a terrible one and all the heroes of the allied armies suffered defeat and Kalki himself after a brave fight, was wounded and fell in a deep swoon; and in that condition he was carried by Śaśidhvaja to his harem so that his queen may have his *darshana*. Ultimately, of course, Śaśidhvaja pledged his alliance to Kalki and married his own daughter *Ramā* to Kalki. This religio-devotional description shows clearly that though the federated armies were not successful against Śaśidhvaja, they were, however able to contract peace with him, whereby Śaśidhvaja agreed to lead the allied armies and join the confederacy. Thus Kāśī and Vaiśālī were added to the confederacy and we have already seen that both these states had a long-standing grudge against Magadha. Thus, now, both Viśākhayūpa and Śaśidhvaja jointly led the allied armies under the able generalship of Kalki, who, like Cānakya of later days, seems to have been a practical politician and an accomplished warrior.

The confederacy, thus strengthened, marched against Magadha, whose capital is here called *Kikāṭa*²⁹ (which, we know was identified with Magadha).³⁰ Here the name of the kings against whom the allied forces fought, is given as Jina and Saudhodani and the opponents are generally called *Bauddhas*. The allied armies dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadha king. Thus the cause of the allies was fully vindicated. It was both a political and a religious conquest that they made. Buddhism met with its first check then.

This, in short, is the historical background of the Kalki incarnation.

Before I conclude this paper I shall put before the readers some of the implications of the above. Though it is not recorded in the Purāṇas, it seems that after this victory, they jointly agreed to Śaśidhvaja (or Śiśunāga as I take him to be) being the ruler of Magadha, who, therefore, shifted himself to Rājagṛha and put his son on the throne of Kāśī, his ancestral seat. It also seems that the people of Rājagṛha generally welcomed this change of rule and Śaśidhvaja or Śiśunāga was duly elected as the king of Magadha, both by his allies and by the officers and people of Rājagṛha.³¹ Republican traditions obtained at Kāśī, Kosala, Vesālī and other places³² and Śiśunāga who belonged to Kāśī and also to Vaiśālī, probably liked the republican idea of being elected. And after the death of Śiśunāga, which seems to have occurred soon, his son Mahānandi came on the throne of Magadha.

Now if we reconstruct the Purāṇic Śaiśunāga dynasty, it will stand thus.

Just after Bārhadrathas, Bimbisāra (Hayahka) dynasty succeeded in Magadha. Of this dynasty we positively know of at least three kings viz. Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Udayi. After Udayi his sons, one or two,³³ seem to have ruled for a short while at Magadha. And it is possible that when the allied forces attacked

26. PHAI., p. 133.

28. PHAI., p. 134.

30. PHAI., p. 70.

32. PHAI., p. 130 ff.

27. Fourth arṇśa.

29. Kalki P. 1st arṇśa.

31. PHAI., p. 132.

33. See Table I.

Magadha, one of the weak sons of Udāyi, ruled at Rājagṛha. Thus we get 5 kings of Baimbiśāra dynasty.

Then followed the Śaiśunāga dynasty. Now this dynasty was in reality a Nāga dynasty (as Nāga in Susu Nāga testifies) and was therefore quite distinct from the Haryāṅka dynasty. Śiśunāga was a Nāga prince. Again Mahānandi his son has nandi as the latter member of his name, which connects him with Śaivism, with which Nāgas, too, are connected. Thus the Śaiśunāgas were Nāgas and therefore Śaivites: therefore they, too, like the Avanti king Viśākhayūpa, must have considered it their duty to fight the growing menace of the heretic faiths—Jainism and Buddhism.

These Śaiśunāgas, I believe, were the first Nāgas to rise to the Imperial status. From this view-point it will be seen that Daśaka should have no legitimate position in the Purāṇic Śaiśunāga dynasty. He is called Nāga Dāsaka and if so he was a Nāga and therefore possibly the father of Śiśu Nāga, in which case Daśaka or Nāga Dāsaka must have ruled at Kāśi before Śiśunāga and his name may have been dragged in the dynasty, just in the same way as the names of Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca are sometimes dragged into the Gupta dynasty.³⁴

Thus it will be seen that though Śaiśunāgas came after the last of the Baimbiśāras and though Bimbisāra was the immediate successor of Ripuñjaya and therefore the Purāṇas should have mentioned the Baimbiśāras as immediately following the Bārhadrathas and Śaiśunāgas as following the Baimbiśāras, they have not done so. The reason for this should be obvious, now after what I have said above. Baimbiśāras were heretics. No dynasty can begin with them. Śaiśunāgas were the upholders of the orthodox faith; therefore out of the two Śaiśunāga kings (Nandivardhana and Mahānandi) four kings were made and the Baimbiśāras were simply shoved in between the two concocted and two real Śaiśunāgas. And though the Pradyotas never ruled at Magadha nor even dominated over Magadha, yet they were taken as an Imperial dynasty, because Pradyota had succeeded the real Magadhan Emperor Ripuñjaya and had therefore been the rightful successor of the Bārhadrathas and also because the last of the Pradyotas, Viśākhayūpa was the great patron of the orthodox faith.

Thus Buddhism met with its first check within about 10 to 15 years of Buddha's death.³⁵ And this is as it should be. As our history is known to-day, it would seem that Buddhism which started with Bimbisāra was allowed to go unchecked by the Brahmanas, throughout the Śaiśunāga period, Nanda period and Maurya period. But this is unnatural. If it had flourished and grown unhampered for these three periods, its roots would have gone so deep in the Indian soil that we would not find Buddhism being ousted from the soil of its birth, as we do to-day. But now after knowing that the Brahmanas had availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to counteract the surging influence of Buddhism and also that that religion soon lost its imperial patronage, we can easily understand why Buddhism had to seek for its votaries outside India. Kalki thus ousted both Buddhism and Jainism out of the Northern India. Buddhism had to go without an Imperial patronage till the days of Aśoka and by that time the Brahmanas had enough time and scope to re-establish their own faith and also to be catholic enough to incorporate some of the essential tenets of Buddhism in their own system, as a result of which Buddhism or Jainism could never take the place of paramount religion in India.

34. In some of the inscriptions the Gupta genealogy starts with Gupta and not with Candragupta I (e.g. Prabhavati-gupta's inscriptions).

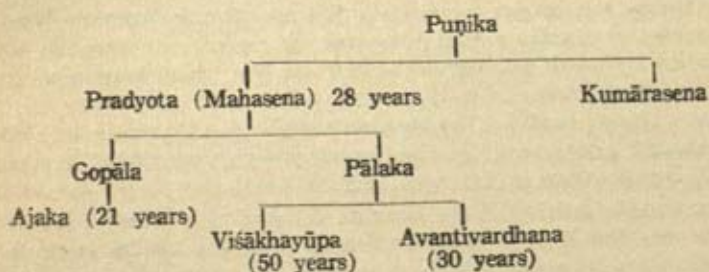
35. From Bimbisāra to the end of Viśākhayūpa there had been about 100 years and Buddha who lived a long life was a junior contemporary of Bimbisāra.

Herein lies the triumph of Kalki, Viśākhayūpa, Śiśunāga, Sumitra and the whole group. Herein lies a link of our religio-political history which is so well preserved for us in the Kalki Purāṇa. And herein also lies the justification par excellence to bring out a new incarnation, to close the Kali Age and to declare the commencement of the Golden Age.

TABLE I (SEE CAI., P. 229)

	<i>Avanti</i>	<i>Magadha</i>	<i>Magadha</i>	<i>Kosala</i>	<i>Kausambi</i>
[Mahāvīra]	{	Puṇika Ripuñjaya	Bimbisāra	Mahākosala	Śatānika II
[Buddha]	{	Pradyota	Ajātaśatru	Prasenajit	Udayana
	{	Pālaka	Udāyin	Kṣudraka	Vahinara Naravāhana
			Anuruddha Muṇḍa	Kulaka	Daṇḍapāpi
			Nāga Dāsaka	Suratha	Nirāmītra
[Kalki]	[Viśākhayūpa]	Śiśunāga— Nandivardhana	Sumitra	Kṣemaka	
		Kākavarṇa— Mahānandī			

TABLE II (SEE CAI., P. 235).



NOTES OF THE MONTH

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

— SILVER JUBILEE, 1942 —

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will be completing the 25th year of its services to Oriental learning on the 6th of July 1942. It is proposed to celebrate its Silver Jubilee in the course of the year 1942, in a manner befitting the honoured name of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR, in whose name the Institute was founded on 6th July, 1917.

The signal services rendered by the Institute in manifold ways to the cause of Oriental learning during the last twenty-five years are now too well-known to the world of Oriental Scholars to need mention. We may, however, recount here a few of them for the information of the public in view of their interest in the resuscitation of our ancient heritage and culture.

The work of the Institute on the epoch-making Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, carried on with unabated zeal and energy, for the last 22 years, stands in the front rank of academic enterprises of the century, executed as it is by Indian Scholars with the help of national and international sympathy, recognition, and support. When completed it will go down to posterity as a unique achievement of the Institute in the field of organised Oriental research. The credit of completing this gigantic literary project under the Editorship of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR must go as much to the Institute as to the several patrons of the scheme, including among others, the Imperial Government, the Provincial Governments, distinguished Rulers of Indian States and foreign institutions like the British Academy, etc. In this connection we must make a special mention of the princely donation of a lac of rupees made by the Rajasaheb of AUNDH, but for whose magnanimous donation the Institute would never have commenced such onerous undertaking costing no less than ten lacs of rupees. The Rajasaheb with his indomitable love of learning has in fact all along stood by this sacred project, inaugurated at the hands of Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR on 1st April 1919.

The second memorable activity of the Institute designed to give new impetus to Oriental Studies was the First Oriental Conference organised by the Institute in 1919. The wisdom and foresight of the organisers of this scheme are borne out by the permanent form taken by this activity in the shape of ten successive sessions of this Conference, of which the eleventh was held recently at Hyderabad (Deccan). The generation of new scholars of Indology, now working in different Provinces of India, owes not a little to this activity inaugurated by the Institute. The personal contact of scholars in the field of research brought about by the successive sessions of the Oriental Conference has been extremely serviceable in promoting exchange of ideas and particularly in preventing duplication of effort on the part of individual scholars.

The third activity of the Institute is the publication of the volumes in the "Government Oriental Series" including its research Journal, namely, the *Annals*, which is now running its twenty-second volume. In this Series no less than eighteen independent works have been published by the Institute. Among these works, Prof. P. V. KANE's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* in two volumes, and Prof. H. D. VELANKAR's *Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts (Jinaratna-kośa)*, now in the press, deserve special mention. Besides these works the Institute has published about twenty volumes by way of revision and reprint in the "Bombay

Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" since its transfer to the Institute in 1918. In addition to these two series the Institute has recently started its own series called the "Bhandarkar Oriental Series", in which two works have already been published.

The fourth activity of the Institute is the successful administration of the Government Manuscript Library containing about twenty-thousand manuscripts and the publication of the *Descriptive Catalogue* of these manuscripts, which is estimated to cost more than a lac of rupees. The total number of volumes in this catalogue is estimated to comprise about forty volumes, out of which ten volumes have so far been published by the Institute, while press-copies of about twenty more volumes are ready for printing. The importance of such a descriptive catalogue of one of the finest collections of manuscripts in India, like the Government Manuscripts Library, will be easily recognised by all Oriental research workers.

Besides the Government Manuscripts Library the Institute has started the collection of manuscripts on its own account and this collection now comprises about 2,000 manuscripts acquired by purchase and presentation. In addition to this manuscript collection the Institute has built up steadily a library of rare printed books and journals on Indology numbering about 10,000, of which the collection of Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR bequeathed to the Institute forms the nucleus.

Apart from these achievements in the field of research and publication, the Institute has been running its own Press in which the major portion of its printing work is being done for the last sixteen years.

Among amenities provided by the Institute to scholars visiting the Institute from different parts of India and outside, we should not fail to record in this brief survey of the Institute's activities the construction of a Guest House for scholars made possible by the munificent donation from the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The foregoing brief sketch of some of the outstanding achievements of the Institute will acquaint the public with the nature of the activities in which the Institute has been engaged for the last quarter of a century. The history of Oriental Learning reveals the fact that in ancient times all learning was patronized not only by kings and potentates, bankers and commercial magnates, but also by well-to-do persons in general. In modern times also this relation seems to have remained unaltered as all the activities of this Institute have been mainly supported by Governments and the well-to-do classes of society. It is with their help and sympathy that the Institute has made all its progress so far and it is only on the extension of this sympathy and support in future that the Institute can hope to continue its disinterested work for the promotion of Oriental Learning.

We take this opportunity, therefore, of approaching the public with a request that they will be pleased to contribute their best towards the successful celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute. The cost of celebrating this function is expected to be about Rs. 10,000/-, which would be utilized in the following manner :

- (i) The celebration of the Jubilee by inviting all members of the Institute and other scholars to attend the function with a view to taking part in the proceedings of the Jubilee and by giving free accommodation to all the guests.
- (ii) Inviting delegates from learned bodies and representatives of Governments of Provinces and Rulers of Indian States to take part in the proceedings and giving free accommodation to the invited delegates.
- (iii) Arranging for a Special Conference of Orientalists present, in which symposia on some definite problems will be organised.
- (iv) Publication of a special volume of Oriental Studies by different scholars to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute.
- (v) Meeting all incidental expenses in connection with the foregoing items.

It is hoped that His Excellency Sir Roger LUMLEY, G.C.I.E., D.L., the Governor of Bombay, who is also the honoured President of the Institute, will be able to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations, which will be continued for about three days. A detailed programme of these celebrations will be announced later. In the meanwhile, we strongly hope that all lovers of Oriental learning will associate themselves with this memorable function in the history of this Institute by contributing liberally and also by giving us the pleasure of their company on this most auspicious occasion when many eminent scholars are likely to assemble at the Institute.

REVIEWS

Kille Viśālgad by P. B. SHIRWALKAR, Advocate, Malkapur (via Kolhapur) ; B. I. S. Mandal (Puraskṛta) Series No. 38, Poona, 1941 ; Pp. (14 + 71 + 7) with illustrations. Price 12 annas.

Though the advent of aeroplanes has put the forts in the background they have still a value of their own in land defence. In ages gone by the fort played a very important role and no sovereign neglected his forts, which were the sole means of heroic resistance against foreign invasions. Consequently books on Indian polity and architecture lay down instructions regarding the construction of forts and fortified cities. Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* devotes two chapters to forts (vide pp. 50 to 55 of SHAMASASTRY'S Trans. 1929 and pp. 478 to 487 of *Archiv Orientalni* (Prague), Vol. 7 (1935) No. 3, Otto STEIN'S *Studies in Arthaśāstra and Silpaśāstra*). Coming to modern times we find Shivaji the Great taking the utmost care of his forts. All warfare from the ancient times to the present day has centred round forts. Many a heroic deed is associated with forts. Forts in India, though now dismantled have played an important part in the national history and the study of this history should be the paramount concern of every patriot worth the name.

One of the finest forts in the Deccan with an illustrious history is the Vishalgad fort, which was the seat of government of the Vishalgad Pratinidhis between A.D. 1700 and 1844 or so. No history of this fort has been written though the *Bombay Gazetteer* and other books deal with it occasionally. We welcome therefore the present book by Mr. SHIRWALKAR, the Mamlatdar of the Vishalgad State. Mr. SHIRWALKAR's zest for historical studies is highly commendable. If other high officers of State oblige their countrymen by writing historical books of this type they would really serve the cause of national history. The opportunities for the inspection of historical sites in a State and a study of first-hand records pertaining to these sites are easy matters of routine to State officers, rather than to outside historians. Given but the will to study, the means of authentic historical study are at their disposal. In fact our educated rulers of Indian States ought to take up such studies or if this is not possible they should entrust the work to competent officers. Our rulers of States, petty or great, are the inheritors of the great renown of their ancestors and the best way to uphold this renown is to give us authentic histories of their States based on original records in their possession. Some of these enlightened rulers have already moved in this direction and others would do well to follow their noble example.

Not much history of the Vishalgad fort prior to A.D. 1000 is available but Mr. SHIRWALKAR traces subsequent history in a systematic manner. In an inscription of the Śilāhāras of the 11th century this fort seems to have been referred to as "*Khilagilā*". In later records the name of the fort is given as "*Kheḷnā*", a name which continued upto about A.D. 1659, when Shivaji gave it the name "*Vishālgad*". Shivaji's Court-poet Kavindra Paramānanda in his *Śivabhārata* refers to the fort as "*धरणिमणिविशालदौल*" while Keśava Paṇḍita in his *Rājārāmācarita* refers to it as "*विशालनिरिदुर्ग*". Mr. SHIRWALKAR gives in detail all political history associated with this fort during the Maratha period. The great siege of this fort by Aurangzeb in 1702 is too well known to need mention. The Pratinidhis removed their headquarters to Malkapur in A.D. 1844 when the British Government dismantled the fort as a result of a rebellion of the Gaḍkaris. Part I of the book deals with the history of the fort for about 800 years while Part II deals with its description and topography, etc. The map and photographs, not to say the dynastic tables given in the Appendix make this book very useful to the students of history.

We take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. SHIRWALKAR on the publication of this well-written hand-book and guide to the historic fort of Vishalgad and at

the same time hope that the Chief Saheb of Vishalgad would utilise his services in giving us a history of the Vishalgad Pratinidhis based on the records in the possession of the Chief Saheb.

P. K. GODE.

Prthvirājavijaya of Jayānaka, with the commentary of Jonarāja, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Dr. Graurishankar Hirachand OJHA, D.LITT., and the late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma GULLER, B.A., Ajmer (Rajputana), 1941; pp. 4 + 11 + 313; size:—6½" × 9½". Price Rs. 5.

The birch-bark MS. of the *Prthvirājavijaya* was discovered by Dr. BÜHLER in 1876 in Kashmir. It is now in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona and bears No. 150 of 1875-76. No other MS of this work has been discovered since 1876. The present MS on which the critical edition before us is based breaks off abruptly towards the close of the 12th Canto of this historical poem. We cannot say how many Cantos of the poem have been lost to us. The fragment of the MS now available brings us only to the coronation of Prthvirāja. The author of the poem was possibly Jayānaka who is mentioned as coming to the court of Prthvirāja in verses 63 and 68 of Canto XII. Jonarāja, its commentator hails from Kashmir. Jayānaka was probably a Kashmiri according to Dr. OJHA.

The poem seems to have been written during the life-time of Prthvirāja Chauhān, the son of Someśvara. According to Dr. OJHA the poem was composed "between the years 1191 and 1193 A.D. (*Preface* p. 3). According to Dr. BÜHLER the *Prthvirājavijaya* was commented upon by Jonarāja "between 1450 and 1475 A.D." Portions of the commentary have also been lost owing to the defective condition of the MS. In certain places the missing text has been restored by the learned editors on the strength of the commentary. Dr. OJHA states that the present poem is quite reliable for the history of medieval India and particularly of the Chauhānas of Rajputana.

Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas SARDA has given a summary of the contents of this work in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1913) pp. 259-281. He supplied an exact copy of the MS to Dr. OJHA and the present edition is based on this copy. As far as possible the text has been restored with the help of the commentary. Restored portions have been printed in rectangular brackets or in the footnotes. In some cases emendations of the text and commentary have been attempted in the notes.

It will thus be seen that the Editors have spared no pains in making the best of a bad job and keep at the disposal of the students of the history of Rajputana a fairly readable text of the work and its commentary within the limits imposed on them by the defective condition of the MS and in the absence of any other MS of the work. Let us hope that some other MS of the work may still be discovered but till such a discovery is made the present edition must stand as the only critical edition of the work so far completed.¹ It is all the more valuable as the original MS is now in a decaying condition, though properly cared for, in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The present edition may, therefore, be looked upon as the saviour of the valuable contemporary history enshrined in the only fragmentary MS of the poem. We are also happy to note the completion of this edition by a veteran historian of Rajputana like Dr. OJHA, who in spite of his onerous work on the History of Rajputana in several volumes has brought out this edition at an advanced age. We wish him long life and health to complete his *History of Rajputana*, some volumes of which have already been published.

Poona.

P. K. GODE.

¹ Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR has published a part of this poem in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta) but the work appears to have been left incomplete.

NARASIMHA II

By

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, Mysore.

The glorious reign of Vīra Ballāḷa II¹ ended in 1220 A.D. before April 16th. His son by Padmalā, Narasimha, had already been appointed as the Yuvarāja and had taken part in the expeditions against Cōḷas, from about 1205 A.D., when Ballāḷa and Narasimha are mentioned as joint rulers. Narasimha must have been at least twenty-eight years old in 1210 A.D. and therefore he must have been born in about 1183 A.D.² perhaps before Rudra Bhaṭṭa finished his *Jagannātha Vijaya* which mentions only the queen Umā and Padmā (Padmalā) and not a son of Ballāḷa (unless we take the invocatory verse to Gaṇapati as a reference to Narasimha.)³ Ballāḷa himself is said to have established Narasimha before he went to heaven. This probably refers to *Yauvarājya* rather than to actual coronation. The last reference to Ballāḷa as the actual ruler seems to be in the inscriptions of December 22nd, 1219 A.D.; and Narasimha as the emperor is mentioned from third to 11th April, 1220 in his earliest records. We may conclude that Ballāḷa probably died in the beginning of April, 1220 A.D. and that Narasimha's accession was proclaimed on the 3rd April and the actual coronation took place about a week or ten days afterwards. Since the faithful *garuḍas* of Ballāḷa, Kuvara Lakṣma and others killed themselves on the death of their master, it may be concluded that Narasimha II must have been about thirty-eight years old and capable of administering the kingdom,⁴ for the *garuḍas* of Viṣṇuvardhana did not so kill themselves because the successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, Narasimha I was only a boy of eight or ten when he ascended the throne, and trusted loyal officers were necessary to look after the young king.

1. *Vīra Ballāḷa II*. NIA I. Oct. 1938.

2. Kn. 67.

3. *Ari raudram kara dairghyam ullasadinālanikṣitam mūrti sākshara sēvyam nija vidye viśva vimutam pādām sadālipriyam* | ... *Padmāmushangitva māgire pempaccariyāda Dēva Gaṇapam rakṣikke bhūcakramam* |

If this verse refers to Ballāḷa II, *Padmāmushangitva* may refer to his wife, but with reference to Narasimha it implies that Narasimha was clasped or seated on the laps of his mother; the allusion to the scholarship may also point to Narasimha who is called Sarvajña Cūḍāmaṇi (S. I. I. IX, pt. 1, no. 340, dated 1st February 1224 A.D.).

4. Narasimha as a boy of thirteen (?) is mentioned as the ruler of a district in 1196 A.D.; and in 1206 A.D. he was in the northern districts (Kn. 67; Cd. 23). He must have been born in about 1183 A.D.

II

Vīra Ballāḷa's empire in 1190 A.D. had extended up to the Kṛṣṇa but during the thirty years that had elapsed, the Yādava-Sēuṇa ruler Simhaṇa had been constantly attacking the northern frontier of the Hoysaḷa kingdom and in 1220 A.D. was virtually in possession of Banavāsi. Even the Cālukya emperor Jagadēkamalla was acknowledged as the reigning sovereign in the north-west of the Hoysaḷa kingdom up to 1194 A.D. Simhaṇa attacked Bandaṇike in 1212 A.D. He defeated Śilāhāra Bhōja and destroyed the army of Ballāḷa in 1216 A.D. Again he attacked Kuppattur in 1218 A.D. and in 1222 A.D.; his rule was acknowledged near Karisāle and Maḷavaḷli (Shimoga District). In 1224 A.D. he attacked Muḷugunda and in 1225 A.D. his inscriptions are found in the Dharmavaram Taluk of the Anantapur district. Evidently the Yādava empire had been extended by Simhaṇa down to the Anantapur district.

Narasimha seems to have turned his attention first towards the Yādavas with whom he was fighting on June 9th, 1220 A.D. The inscriptions in Kudligi Taluk dated July 1, Sunday, 1221 A.D., refer to one Hoysaḷa general Bembeya Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka, whose follower Sōma killed the Yādava general Vikramapāla.⁵ This Bembidēva Kēśava calls himself "*Vīra Nārasimha rājyābhyudaya kārṇa*". The village Māvinamāge granted to the god Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa is said to have been in the kingdom of Narasimha. By this victory the Hoysaḷas at least temporarily became the masters of the Dharwar district. Some other generals also claim to have killed Vikramapāla, Pāvusa etc. :—Pōlāḷva, Harihara, Śrī Karaṇāgrāṇi Viśvanātha.⁶ Some inscriptions of Simhaṇa dated 1213 A.D. mention a Maharājaputra Drōṇapāla in Saurāṣṭra and in 1241 A.D. a Lakshmī (Lakkha)pāla in Banavāsi.⁷ Probably Vikrama Pāla was another such Yādava general.

After this victory Narasimha once again began to interfere in Cōḷa politics. But Simhaṇa took advantage of this and we find that his rule was acknowledged in Banavāsi in 1223 A.D.; and in 1224 A.D., he attacked Muḷugunda. In this fight the Hoysaḷa army consisting of 20,000 infantry and 12,000 horses, seems to have been engaged.⁸

An inscription (*E. C. V. Bl. 113*) claims that Narasimha defeated one Bijjaṇa. One Bīcha or Bīcuji is the general of Bhillama and Jaitugi and his son Malli Seṭṭi is mentioned in an inscription of Ś 1173 (? 1251 A.D.) as ruling over Veluvala dēśa (*M. E. R.* 1925-6 cp. 4). Another Bīcirāja was the Śrīkaraṇāgrāṇi of Kārtavīrya IV in 1204 A.D.⁹ Possibly Narasimha waged war on the Raṭṭas of Saundatti or in the campaign against the Yādavas defeated this Bīcuji.

III

We have seen that it was Ballāḷa II who first took an active part in

5. *S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, 338.

7. *Sb.* 387, 391; 276. *E. C. VII.*

9. *E. I. XIII.*

6. *Md.* 122, *Dg.* 25, *Ak.* 123 etc.

8. *Sk.* 248. *E. C. VII.*

Cōla politics. The Kolhapur Museum grant of Vīra Ballāja II, may be suspected as regards the date but it gives the titles *Cōla rāya sthāpanācārya*, *Bā (ma) gara rāya diśāpaṭṭa*, *Kāḍava rāya kanda kuddāla*, *Vīra Ballāja rāya* and says that Hiriya Ballāja Rāya came to Tigere (?) in Ś. 925. Sarvadhāri, Māgha. Śu. 15. Thursday and gave the *gaṇḍike* to Si(n)da Bommeya Nāyaka of Maṇṭur.¹⁰ Hiriya Ballāja may be Ballāja I and if so the date probably corresponds to Wednesday (not Thursday), 1st February 1105 A.D. (Sarvadhāri according to the northern cycle). But the titles above are only applicable to Ballāja II and since the Hoysaḷas are also called Ballājas, the younger Ballāja may be Narasimha himself who also had similar titles. But the date cannot be reconciled with Sarvadhāri (1225 Northern cycle or 1228 Southern cycle). Sinda Bommeya Nāyaka may be Bommarasa Bīra-rasa who fought at Humcha with the Śāntaras (?) in Kīlaka (1189 ? A.D. M. E. R. 1930, No. 63).

The Hoysaḷa inscriptions clearly point to several expeditions into the Cōla country to support Rāja Rāja III and possibly Rāja Rāja II also. The Pāṇḍya civil wars tempted the Cōlas to march against the Pāṇḍyas and Ceylonese armies and the rivalry between Rāja Rāja II and Rājendra II seems to have been availed of by Vīra Ballāja to invade the Cōla country perhaps even as early as 1174 A.D.¹¹ The Pāṇḍya war of succession arose in the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II in c. 1167 A.D. (M. E. R. 20 of 1899), and the Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara was deposed in the 12th year of Rājādhirāja II in c. 1175 A.D. (E. I. XXII, p. 87). The last date for Rājādhirāja II must be 1177 A.D. when Kulottunga III became king. The Pallavarāyanpētai inscription (M. E. R. 433 of 1924) shows that Rāja Rāja II nominated (?) Rājādhirāja II but that the actual coronation took place only two years later. Therefore No. 209 of 1932 M. E. R. is dated in the 12th and also 14th year of Rājādhirāja II. The *Śamkara Cōlan Uḷā* and *Kulottungan Kōvai*¹² say, that "when Periya Dēvar died and left children aged one and two years, Pallava Rāya protected the royal family and brought them to Rāja Rājapura. There were no sons to be found on that day (?) and therefore Pallava Rāya brought the prince from Gangaikōṇḍa Cōlapuram and got this Edirili Perumāḷ, the son of Neriudai Perumāḷ and the grandson of Uḍaiyar Vikrama Śōḷa anointed. And on the fourth (?) anniversary, he was again anointed under the name Rājādhirāja Dēva." The *Kulōthungan Kōvai* places a Nallamān, the son of Sangamān before Kulōthunga III i.e. before 1177 A.D. It is concluded Sangaman (Rāja Rāja II) was the father of three sons Nallamān, Kumāra Mahīdhara and Śamkaran who are also called the grandsons of Vikrama Cōla. Perhaps Rāja Rāja II had married a daughter of Vikrama Cōla. When Rāja Rāja II died after a reign of twenty-five years (1146-1171-2 A.D.), his sons Nallaman and Kumāra Mahīdhara (Kulōttunga III ?) were children aged one and two years and therefore Rāja Rāja II

10. KUNDANGAR, *Inscriptions of North Kārnāṭaka and Kolhapur*, No. 37.

11. N. I. A., Oct. 1938.

12. Q. J. M. S., 1938.

seems to have nominated Rājādhira II whose actual coronation seems to have taken place two years later probably in 1173-4 A.D. But if Kulōttunga III began his reign in 1178 A.D. he must have been a child of only six or seven and before him Nallaman must also have ruled, (KIELHORN *E. I. VIII*, App.) gives the date, Wednesday, 11th July, 1162 A.D. as the 16th year of Rāja Rāja II and assuming that he nominated Rājādhira II in the same year, probably because he was aged and his own sons were infants, Rājādhira may be given a rule of fourteen years up to 1176 A.D. when perhaps Nallaman and Kumāra Mahīdhara succeeded between 1176-78 A.D. when they were aged sixteen or seventeen. Rāja Rāja II also may have continued to rule up to 1173-1174 A.D., when Vira Ballāla II seems to have first interfered to re-establish Rāja Rāja II, whose position may have been threatened by his nominee Rājādhira.

The Pallava chief who was entrusted with the care of the kingdom must have been Kāḍava Perunjinga I. It is now certain that both Alagiya Śīyan and his son were called Perunjinga.¹³ An inscription (*M. E. R.* 1937, p. 73, No. 186) of the sixth year of Avaniyāḷappirandān says that his officer audited the accounts from the 37th year of Tribhuvana Virādēva (Kulōttunga III) up to 11th year of Alagiya Śīyar Perunjinga who can only be Jiya Mahīpati. Evidently Jiya Mahīpati considered himself practically independent from the 37th year of Kulōttunga III (1215 A.D.) the last year for Kulōttunga being 1216 A.D. Jiya Mahīpati therefore ruled up to 1227 A.D. He seems to have defeated Rāja Rāja III at Tellāru in 1221 A.D. He seems to have been a person of importance as early as 1185 A.D. and if he is the Pallavarāyan who was responsible for the coronation of Nallamān, his period of activity must have extended from 1172 to 1227 A.D., for over fifty-five years.

Therefore Vira Ballāla II and his son Narasimha II seem to have directed their attention against this Perunjinga in the beginning. Rāja Rāja III succeeded Kulōttunga III in 1216 A.D. and ruled up to 1252 A.D. (26th year, *M. E. R.* 1937, No. 7; *M. E. R.* 1891 No. 22 of the 25th year). To rescue Rāja Rāja from this Perunjinga I who until 1227 A.D. perhaps did not acknowledge the Cōḷa, Vira Ballāla and his son must have recommenced the Cōḷa campaigns in at least 1210 A.D., ten years before the death of Vira Ballāla in 1220 A.D. The Hoysala inscriptions of Ś. 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146 already give to Narasimha the titles "*Cōḷa rāja pratishṭhacārya, Magara Rāya nirmūḷana, Pāṇḍya diśāpaṭṭa, Pāṇḍya śaila vajira daṇḍa*", etc.

The first country to be invaded after crossing the Hoysala frontier was the Magara kingdom. Perhaps the Yādavas of Dēvagiri in the time of Bhil-lama or Jaitugi seem to have included the Magara district in their empire. An inscription of Jaitugi dated 28th January, 1199 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1937, E. 18) mentions a *Magara* Murāri Sōyidēva Nāyaka, who is evidently the same as Mahāpradhāna Sōyidēva daṇḍanāyaka ruling Eḷamēla in December,

13. S. K. Iyengar *Comm. Vol.*, Perunjinga.

1192 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1937, E. 43) but without the title Magara Murāri. Therefore probably between 1193 and 1199 the Yādavas also raided the Magara country.

The Magara or Magadai maṇḍalam was under the Bāṇa chiefs and it can definitely be identified with Salem and South Arcot districts, its capital being Arkalūr on the border of these districts.¹⁴ One Ponpirappinān Magadai Perumāl had as his symbols the bull and the Garuḍa. He seems to have settled the disputes between Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Vira Pāṇḍya in the third year of Kulōttunga III (1181 A.D.). His son Kulōttunga Coḷa Vānakōvaraiyan made several pacts and revolted against Kulōttunga. In 1186 Vira Śōḷa Attimalla Śambuvarāyan and Kūḍal Araśa Nārāyaṇa Ālappirandān Kāḍavarāyan made a pact against Ālappirandān Edirili Śōḷa Śambuvarāyan. In about 1198 A.D., Vidakada Alagiya Perumāl of Takatūr made a compact with Karikāḷa Śōḷa Adaiyūr Nāḍālvān and Sengēṇi Ammayyappan Vikrama Śōḷa Śambuvarāyan against Śīya Gangan. In 1200 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1935, 163) Periya Uḍaiyān Iraiṇṇāraṇ Sarrukkuḍādān Vanniya Nāyan Rāja Rāja Chēḍiya Rāyan, the Malaiman of Kīḷiyūr made an alliance with Eriyappan Marundan, *alias* Mūvēndaraiyan, both being the subordinates of Vāṇakōvaraiyan. In 1205 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1935, No. 189), Rāja Rāja Cēḍiyarāyan revolted against Vāṇakōvaraiyan and made a pact with Malaiyamān Alagiyanāyan, Akāra Śūran Rājagambhīra Cēḍiyarāyan. This Rājagambhīra Cēḍiyarāyan had in 1204 A.D., (*M. E. R.* 1902, No. 516) made another pact with ten other chiefs against his three enemies Magadai Perumaḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyan, Kulōttunga Śōḷa Vānakōvaraiyan, and Rāja Rāja Kāḍavarāyan. The Malaiman-Cēḍi chiefs of Kīḷiyūr were therefore opposed to the Bāṇa chiefs of Magadai and Gangas under whom they seem to have been subordinates for some time, and to whom they were related. Thus we have the Kīḷiyūr Cēḍi line.

- (1) Āhāra Śūra

|
Rājendra Śōḷa Cēḍi Rāja (under Kulōttunga I, 48th yr. *M. E. R.* 132, 133 of 1935).

- (2) Kulōttunga Śōḷa Cēḍirāyan.

|
Attimallan Ediri Śōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyan (under Kulōttunga II and Rājārāja II, 1142 A.D.).

- (3) Vira Rājendra Cēḍiyarāyan, 1192 A.D.

- (4) Ālagiyanāyan Āhārāsūran Rājagambhīra Cēḍiyarāyan (under Kulōttunga III, 1205 A.D.).

- (5) Attimallan Śokkapperumāl Rājagambhīra Cēḍiyarāyan (under Rājādhirāja, 134 of 1935 *M. E. R.*).

14. *Q. J. M. S.* 1939, S. S. DESIKAR.

(6) Poṇṇarappirān Vāṇakōvaraiyan.

daughter Bhūmālvār married to Rājarāja Cēdiya Rāyan

Rāja Rāja Kōval Rāyan
(S. I. I. VII, 1021).

Śarukkkaḍādān Rāja
Rāja Cēdiyarāyan
Periya Uḍaiyan.
(M. E. R. 1935, No. 187).

These Malaimans seem to have lost their territory near Viḷandai in South Arcot before the fifth year of Rāja Rāja III (1221 A.D.) to Taṇai Uḍaiyān Anjādān (M. E. R. 1935, No. 239).

Narasimha started against Magara¹⁵ from his camp at Cuḍavāḍiya Koppa near Nangali on the eastern border of the Kolar district, where he received an emerald necklace from one Munivarāditya. In the first expedition under his father completed before Thursday, 12th September, 1217 A.D. he had gone to the rescue of Rāja Rāja III whose accession had taken place in 1216 A.D. This second campaign seems to have taken place between the years 1221 and 1224 A.D. In Ś. 1144 Citrabhānu, Narasimha is mentioned as marching on Southern Ranga. Dr. A. Venkaṭasubbayya equates the date with Tuesday, September 12th, 1217 A.D. rather than 1222 A.D. Anyhow the expedition against Magara and Kāḍava is mentioned in the inscriptions of 1221, 1223 and 1224 A.D. Bānōdara who was defeated by Narasimha is probably Vānakōvaraiyan of Magadai from whom Narasimha captured the elephants.

Narasimha thus entered Mārājavāḍi. RICE assumed that Munivarāditya was probably a chief of Mārājavāḍi which he identified with Magara (Mēlai). Mārājavāḍi is mentioned in the Kākatiya inscriptions as extending from Kaivara in Cintāmaṇi Taluk of Kolar district.¹⁶ The famous Kākatiya general Gangayya Sāhiṇi was ruling Mārājavāḍi as a subordinate of the Cōḍa Tikka of Nellore and was subdued by Gaṇapati. Vallūr was the capital and Kaivara Kōṭa an important fortress in Mārājavāḍi. But it is doubtful if Gangayya Sāhiṇi can be identified with Munivarāditya who gave the necklace to Narasimha in the beginning of the campaign.

Narasimha must have next overthrown the Kāḍavas and Śambuvarāyans near Kānci. In 1223 A.D. Kāḍava Alagiya Śīyan claims to have defeated Rāja Rāja III at Iraṭṭai, as also he claims to have defeated the same Cōḷa in 1221 A.D. at Tellāru. It was evidently to help Rāja Rāja that Narasimha undertook this expedition between 1221 and 1224 A.D. The Harihara inscription of 1224 A.D. says that Narasimha after killing Vikramapāla and Pāvusa in the beginning marched on the Kāḍavarāya, Magara, Pāṇḍyēṣa and having

15. E. C. VII, Ch. 72.

16. Kākatiya Sancika. Munivarāditya figures in Coorg inscriptions (ECIX).

tied the paṭṭa to the Cōḷa established a *jayastambha* at the Sētu.^{16a} Narasimha seems to have rescued Rāja Rāja from Alagiya Śīyan Perunjunga I and then proceeded to Kanci where the Śambuvarāyans were powerful.¹⁷ Sengēṇi Ammayappan Vanniya Nāyan is mentioned in the 38th year of Kulottunga III (1216 A.D.), the year of Rāja Rāja's accession. His son Sengēṇi Virāsani Ammayappan *alias* Alagiya Śōḷa or Edirili Śōḷa Śambuvarāyan had the titles(?) Attimalla Rājagambhīra and Śambhukula Perumāḷ Taniniṅṇu Veṇṇān. He seems to have revolted against Rājarāja after being his subordinate between 1238 and 1254 A.D. and in 1258 was governing independently in Paḍaiviḍu (*S. I. I.*). He was thus the contemporary of Perunjunga II south of the Pālār. Narasimha must have subdued his father Vanniyanāyan in about 1222 A.D.

The expression in the Harihara inscriptions "*Pāṇḍya Makarōddhata Kāḍava sēne*" implies that the Pāṇḍyas and Magaras had reinforced the Kāḍavas against the Cōḷas and Hoysaḷas. Jaṭāvarma Kulaśekhara I came to the throne in 1190 A.D. (*M. E. R.*, 1936, 188, 189) and ruled up to 1216 A.D. when he was succeeded by Māra Varma Sundara I (19th July 1216 to 1238 A.D.). Narasimha must have marched again on the Pāṇḍya country (for it is probable that along with his father Ballāḷa he might have gone there between 1216 and 1220 A.D.) and was in occupation of Kaṇṇānur Koppam in 1224 A.D. His son Sōmēśvara is found at Kaṇṇānur in 1228 A.D. (*M. E. R.*, 1910, 204.)

The Tirukkoilūr inscription of Māravarma Sundara says that he levied tribute from the Konkaṇas, Kaḷinga, Kōsala, Māḷava, Cēra, Magadha, Vikkalar, Śembiyar, and Pallavas. He was in possession of Ponni and Kanni (Kāveri and Kanyā Kumāri). He drove away the Cōḷa, took his crown and performed the Virābhishēka in the Cōḷa's golden hall. Passing by Puliyūr (Cidambaram), he received the submission of the Cōḷa and restored him to the throne. The Cōḷa's son was also honoured and the Cōḷa was given the title Cōḷa pati. Then Māravarma received the submission of north and south Kongu. The Cōḷa tried to rebel but was defeated. The Pāṇḍya proceeded to Muḍigonḍa Cōḷa puram (identified with Gangaikonḍa Cōḷapuram) where he was received by the Cōḷa's chief queen. Here again he performed Virābhishēka and put on the anklet of heroes. All this took place before 1238 A.D. A record of the 8th year of Māravarmān says "that he was pleased to present the Cōḷa country" (*Śōṇāḍu vaḷangi aruliya*); therefore this must have happened before 1224 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1937, No. 174), and must be connected with Narasimha's campaign between 1220 and 1224 A.D. The later incidents connected with the revolt of the Cōḷa may be referred to the period of Narasimha's campaign against Perunjunga II five or six years later in 1229-30 A.D. mentioned in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja.¹⁸ The Māḷavas and Magadhas of the Tirukkoilur inscription are not northerners but chiefs of the Tamil country. The chiefs of Śembonmari (Tiruppattur taluk) are known as Māḷava Cakra-

16a. attal kāḍavarāyanam Magaranam Pāṇḍēsanam paṭṭam ... Cōḷange kaṭṭidam, ā sētuvinoḷ neṭṭam jaya stambham.

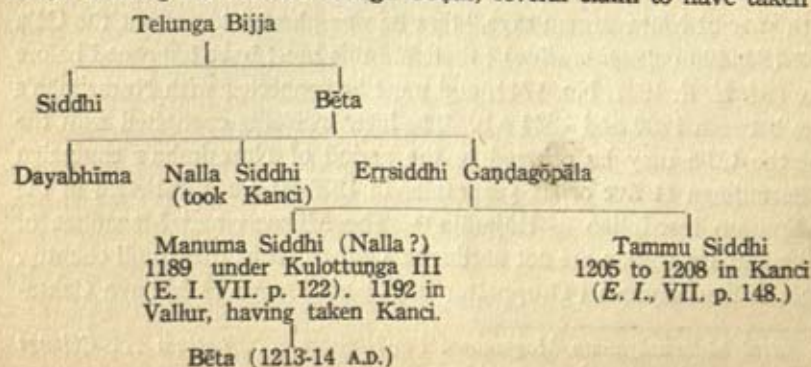
17. *I. H. Q.*, VI, p. 548.

18. *E. I.*, VII, p. 167.

varti, Mālava Mānikkya etc., (*M. E. R.* 1936. 188). Magadha is of course Magara. Since Narasimha established his capital at Kaṇṇanūr near Śrīrangam in 1224 A.C. the Pāṇḍya's claims seem to be exaggerated. Narasimha up to his death in 1234-5 seems to have been on cordial terms with Māravarma Sundara I.

IV.

Between 1224 and 1227 A.D. there seems to have been comparative peace in the Cōla country due to the interference of the Hoysaḷas. In the north, Narasimha found it impossible to retain the country north of the Malaprabhā which was lost to the Yādavas before 1213 A.D. and even the territory between the Tungabhadra and Śarāvati was in possession of Siṛihaṇa. Some inscriptions of 1223 A.D. say that Narasimha defeated the kings of Trikaḷinga, probably the Telugu Cōḍa Tikka. Allun Tikka Gaṇḍa Gōpāla married Lakshmi, the daughter of Vīra Narasingadēva.¹⁹ We do not know if Hoysaḷa Narasimha had a daughter Lakshmi. A Vīra Narasinga Yādava Rāya with the title *Taṇi-niṅuvēṅān* is mentioned in *M. E. R.* 200 of 1903, 62 of 1934, 59 of 1934, and his subordinate was one *Sōnāḍu koṇḍa* Śambhuvarāya. Possibly Lakshmi was the daughter of this Yādava chief. Tikka was the son of Manuma Siddhi I. Tikka had the titles Rāya gaṇḍa Gōpāla, Rāyapēṇḍera biruda, Ubhaya rāyara gaṇḍa, Khaṇḍeyarāya, Kalikāla. He killed one Pṛthvīśvara, captured the horses of Lakumayya who attacked Gurumutūr conquered Śamburāja, captured Kanci and defeated Cēḍi Kāḷavapati. Tikkana Sōmayāji's *Nirvacanōt-tara Rāmāyaṇam* says that Tikka defeated Kaṇḍa Sōmēśvara, established the Cōla and obtained the title *Cōla sthāpanācārya*. The Aruḷaḷ Perumāl temple inscription of 1233-34 A.D. at Kanci shows that he patronised Vaishṇavism and as Tirukāḷattidēva in 1182 A.D. he was the contemporary of Siddhana-dēva in Kaḍapa. Pṛthvīśvara who was killed by Tikka was the son of Manuma Gonka and his inscriptions are found from 1163 to 1186-7 A.D. in the Kuntī Mādhava temple at Piṭhāpuram. Tikka was ruling at Kanci in 1246-7 A.D. (*Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 206). This seems to give to Tikka nearly sixty-five years of rule. Inscriptions of his at Mahābalipuram of the second and seventh years (*M. E. R.* 114 of 1933) however show that his accession cannot be so early. Among the Nellore Telugu Cōḍas, several claim to have taken Kanci.



19. *M. E. R.*, 1935.

A Bhujabala Vīra Eṇṇa Siddhi with the titles Ayyana Singa, Kīrtinārāyaṇa, Sāhasōttunga, Bhujabala Vīra, took Kanci in 1217-18 A.D. The Tiruvorriyūr and Arulāḷa Perumāḷa inscriptions of Ś. 1129 and 1127 are assigned to Tammu Siddhi. (*E. I. VII*, p. 148, 123). In the Kākatīya kingdom on the death of Rudra I in 1196 A.D. Yādava Jaitugi seems to have attacked Aman-gal killed Rudra I, and captured Gaṇapati who was not allowed to return to his country upto 1199 A.D. Gaṇapati's general Rēcharla Rudra seems to have ruled the country upto 1209 A.D.²⁰ He defeated one Nāgatibhūpāla and assumed many titles Kākatirāja Samuddharaṇa, Kākati rājyabhāra dhaurēya etc. Gaṇapati on his return to the Kākatīya kingdom from the Yādava court had to consolidate his power. The Gaṇapēśvaram inscriptions of 1231 A.D. (*E. I. III*, p. 82) refers to the victories of Gaṇapati probably between 1222 and 1225 A.D. of Velanāḍu and between 1225 and 1230 of Kaḷinga whose rulers at this period were Ananga Bhīma III (1211-1238) and Narasimha I (1238-1264 A.D.). Oppili Siddhi ruled at Pottapi in 1224 A.D. and in Koṇidena Cōḍa Mallideva and Kannaradēva were ruling.

Kālēsmin nṛpaśēkharō Gaṇapati Kṣōṇipatirīlayā
jītvā Cōḷa Kalinga Sēuṇa brhat Kaṇṇāṭa Lātādhipān
Rakṣan dakṣiṇa sindhu Vindhya nagayōr madhya kshamāmaṇḍalam
Sa dvīpam Velanāḍu dēśamakhilam svāyattamēvākārōt.

The general Amba in Ś. 1166 Krōdhi, 1194 A.D., (*M. E. R.* 314 of 1931) claims to have scattered the army of Dāmōdara. He was ruling in Pānumgal and Mārājavāḍi and an inscription of Gaṇapati is found in the Tumkur district border. If Narasimha pursued the Trikaḷinga kings in about 1223 A.D. it must have been in the neighbourhood of Magara and Mārājavāḍi and probably he drove out Tammu Siddhi and Bēta, son of Nalla Siddhi from Kanci. Telugu Cōḍa Tikka's activities, must however be referred to the next campaign of Narasimha against Peruṅginga II in 1227-9 A.D. and even later against Sōmēśvara, in alliance with the Pāṇḍyas Māravarma Sundara II and Jaṭavarma Sundara I.

The Hoysala inscriptions of this period refer to several generals who took part in the campaign. In Ś. 1145, Subhānu (*M. A. R.* 1938, No. 40) when Narasimha was at Dōrasamudra, Mahāpracaṇḍa daṇḍnāyaka Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati Biluvoḷa fought a battle at Bayanāḍu (probably Waināḍ). An inscription of 25th November 1224 A.D. Monday, says that Nārasinga went against Magara and ordered the *angarakshas* of Bitumotta to besiege Elaganur fort and one Celiya died in the battle (*M. A. R.* 1938, No. 13). Records of 28 December 1222 A.D. and 1st February 1224 A.D. (*S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, no. 339, 340) refer to Ammaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka and mention that Narasimha having killed Kāḍavarāya, Magara, and Pāṇḍya, crowned the Cōḷa and established a *jayastambha* at Sētu. The Bennikal inscription (*S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, no. 343) dated 11th March, 1226 A.D., says that Amita of Vājivamśa defeated one Murāri and Singana at Nēralige.

20. *Kākatīya Sancika. J. An. H. R. S., V, p. 140.*

Khurapitābhrāṅgaṇam Singaṇa nṛpaṇa hayaśrēṇi kalpāntara dhārādhara mallāmaliyoḷu Yādava gajaghaṭeyōḷutaḷtudā yuddha madhyakkuri lingam nilvavolu nindēḷaṇ pēḷaṇe mārkoṇḍu benkoṇḍu koṇḍam, turaga vrātamgaḷam Nēraligeyoḷ Amita danḍanāthānjanēyam.

(line 24.)

Further in line 44, it is said that on the above date, Narasimha was at Dōra-samudra after *pūrva digvijaya*. He is called Cōḷa rājyōddhāraka, *Magarādi rāya sāinya sāmharaka*, *Cōḷa nallūrapura kālāgni rudra*, *Arāḷūr tala durga nīrada layānilam*, *Draviḍa maṇḍala nīrdhūma dhāmam*, *Bāṇōdareya gaja ghaṭa sahita saptāṅga grahaṇam*. Cōḷa nallūr is evidently Vikrama Cōḷa (Singa) Nallur or Nellore of Tammu Siddhi and Bēta. Ārāḷūr is Ārkalur, the capital of the Bāṇas in Magara, on the borders of South Arcot and Salem districts. This campaign was therefore finished before March 1226 A.D. Amita claims to have built many temples :—of Vajreśvara Sōmanātha at Beṇṇikal in 1226 probably in the name of Sōmēśvara and before that date the temples of Padmalēśvara (probably in the name of Virā Ballāḷa's queen Padmalā), Amṛtēśvara (in his own name in 1196), Lakshmīnārāyaṇa (?) Nuggehaḷḷi, Jāvagal, Hosahoḷaḷu or Lakshmī Nṛsimha at Bhadrāvati in 1221 A.D. (*M. A. R.* 1931). Vāmēśvara (in the name of his father), Ballālēśvara (in the name of Virā Ballāḷa) and Narasimhadēva (in the name of Narasimha). We know that Poysalēśvara temple was constructed at Kaṇṇānūr and in the Jambukēśvaram temple the images of Ballāḷa, Padmalā, Narasimha, and Sōmēśvara's wife (?) Sōmala were established (*M. E. R.* 1892). *M. E. R.* 1937 gives a number of records of Sōmēśvara at Jambukēśvaram and Śrīrangam. He was specially devoted to Jambukēśvara and completed the east gōpura begun by some Pāṇḍya, probably Māravarma Sundara I in 1216 A.D. Sōmēśvara's records are signed in Kannaḍa *Malaparōḷu Gaṇḍa*. No. 121 of 1937 of the third year says that he established a festival *Virā Sōmēśvara Tirunāl* in the Jambukēśvaram temple. No. 119 and 18 of 1891 mention several Hoysaḷa shrines Vallālīśvaram near Tiruvāṇaiḱkā, Padumaliśvara, Sōmalīśvara as a *paḷḷippaḍai* at Purōṣṅkuḍi in Pāccirkūṛram in Rājarāja valanāḍu, over the remains of Dēviyār Sōmala dēviyar (no. 124). There are many Hoysaḷa princesses named Sōmala in this period ; a Sōmala the queen of Narasimha (*S. I. I.* VII, 1043), Sōmala, the sister of Narasimha (*E. C.* IX, p. 21) probably married to the Cōḷa Rājarāja because in Rājarāja's 21st year Dēviyar Somaladēviyar gave 100,000 kāsus at Śrīrangam (*M. E. R.* 1937, No. 72). She is probably identical with Sōmalā in the 25th year of Rājarāja (*M. E. R.* 22 of 1891). Sōmalā, the queen of Sōmēśvara died in 1253 A.D. (Bangalore Museum C. P.). Amita may have established Vallālīśvara at Tiruvāṇaiḱkā and Padumaliśvara near Jambukēśvaram before 1226 A.D.

V

In 1227-8, the Cōḷa country was once again troubled by civil war. In that year Alagiya Śīyan Perunṅinga I seems to have died and was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Simha Perunṅinga II. The initial year of Perunṅinga

is doubtful from the inscriptions. *M. E. R.* 38 of 1890 at Kanci is dated in his 18th year Ś. 1182 (1260 A.D.) giving the imperial title Sakalabhuvana Cakravarti and of the same regnal year is 135 of 1895 *M. E. R.* Another of the 7th year (320 of 1902) corresponds to 1249 A.D. 181 of 1894 dated in his 31st year gives details corresponding to Saturday 10th February, 1274 A.D. All these inscriptions therefore give the initial date for Perunjinga II as 1242 A.D. His inscriptions at Drākṣhārāma (419 of 1893 *M. E. R.*) dated 1262 A.D. give him the title Avanyavani sambhava Maharāja Simha of Kāṭhaka family who defeated Kaṁṇāṭa and Cōḷa and established the Pāṇḍya. Jaṭāvarma Sundara before 7th October, 1257 A.D. claims to have frightened the Kāḍava and besieged Sēdamangalam (166 of 1894). The title Sakalabhuvana Cakravartin is found from Perunjinga's 5th year (134 of 1900). Perunjinga's son was Nīlagangarāya. Sōḷa Kōn was his subordinate at Cidambaram till 1258-59. His younger brother Vēṇāḍuḍaiyar was also at Cidambaram. Perunjinga's regnal years commencing from 1242 commemorate his assumption of imperial titles but he was active even fifteen years earlier from about 1227 A.D., the last date for his father Jiya Mahīpati Perunjinga I.

The *Gadya Kaṁṇāmṛta*²¹ of Sakala Vidyā Cakravarti II gives an account of this expedition of Narasimha and Sōmēśvara into the Cōḷa country. The poet says that his work was recited by Vyāsa before Śiva and his gaṇas in Kailāsa. The rivalry between the son and disciple of Śiva viz. Skanda and Paraśu Rāma resulted in their being born as the Narasimha II and the Pāṇḍya king respectively. Just as Narasimha was about to celebrate the marriage of Sōmēśvara, his son by his senior wife Kaḷāvati who had died about three years after the birth of her son, he received the news that Rāja Rāja Cōḷa's kingdom was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas, Magadhas and Kāḍavas. Before Narasimha could go to the rescue of Rāja Rāja, the Kāḍava called Nijāhu (?) took him prisoner at Jayantamangalam. Narasimha hurriedly marched to Jayantamangala where he defeated and killed the Kāḍava (Nijāhu), and released Rāja Rāja. Then he marched on Śrīrangam and defeated the combined armies in 90 days' battle. The Pāṇḍyas paid tribute to Kuntaleśvara.

The text goes on to give a mutilated account of the marriage of Sōmēśvara whose wife is supposed to have been descended from Vallabha of Gujerat. He had two sons Kshēmarāja and Nandarāja, expelled from the kingdom on account of their wickedness. They took refuge with Śūrapāla of Gujerat whose daughter Kshēmarāja married. On the death of Śūrapāla Gujerat was invaded by enemies and the brothers seem to have taken refuge at Kanci. Sōmēśvara's wife was somehow connected with them.

Sōmēśvara's mother, the first wife of Narasimha, whose name is given as Kaḷāvati is evidently Kāḷalā. If she died when Sōmēśvara was only three years old, she must have been married to Narasimha in the time of Vīra Ballāḷa in about 1209 A.D. and therefore when Sōmēśvara is found at Kaṁṇā-

21. *M. A. R.* 1924, p. 12. *Tirupati Śrī Venkaṭēśvara*, Vol. I.

nūr in 1228 A.D. he must have been at least 18 or 20 years old, to be of age for marriage and to take part in the wars actively. If his father Narasimha was about 13 years old in 1196 A.D. Sōmēśvara may have been born to Narasimha when the latter was about twenty-five years old. After the death of his mother Kāḷalā, Sōmēśvara seems to have been brought up by his aunt, the sister of Narasimha named Sōvala (*E. C. V, Ark. 123*).

The *Sūkti Sudhāṇava* of Mallikārjuna in chapter 5, refers to the marriage of Narasimha II probably with Kāḷalā, the mother of Sōmēśvara who patronised the poet Mallikārjuna. The work also says that Sōmēśvara on behalf of his father Narasimha fought in the Tamil country and beheaded a Cōḷa. Narasimha is said to have been served by a Turuṣka as a lantern-bearer, a Cōḷa as betel carrier, a Gauḍa as a servant. Sōmēśvara made war on Kandhara (Yādava), Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. The same verses have been identified in inscriptions of 1223 and 1228 A.D. (*E. C. IV, Ng. 98*) and of 1237 A.D. (*Maṇḍya 121, 122*). Some Tamil inscriptions give the initial date of Sōmēśvara's reign in the Tamil country between 1226 and 1228 A.D. *M. E. R. 73* of 1895 dated in the second year corresponds to 1227 or 1230 A.D. 103 of 1892 dated in the 21st year corresponds to 12th September, 1249 A.D. Therefore Sōmēśvara's viceroyalty at Kaṇṇanūr must have commenced in 1227-8 A.D. and the campaign against Perunjiṅga must have been undertaken in the same year.

The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rāja Rāja dated 15th (expired), 16th year (?), corresponding to 1230-31 A.D. (*E. I. VII, p. 167*) says that Kō Perunjiṅga had captured the Cōḷa at Śēndamangalam and his army had destroyed temples and Viṣṇustānas. Narasimha who was at Dōrasamudra in order to maintain his reputation as the establisher of the Cōḷa, took a vow and marched from the capital, destroyed Magara rājya, captured the women and treasury of Perunjiṅga at Pāccūr and pursued Perunjiṅga. The Hoysala generals Appaṇṇa and Gōpayya took Ellēri and Kalliyūr from Perunjiṅga and marched to Ponambalam, Tondaimānnallūr, and having conquered the south up to the ocean, burnt and plundered the possessions of Kop-Perunjiṅga and having reported their success to the king Narasimha, enabled the Cōḷa to enter his capital.

Mr. Nilakantha SASTRI²² makes a baseless suggestion that since Perunjiṅga had destroyed Viṣṇu temples, Narasimha like the Hoysalas after Viṣṇuvardhana, being a Śrī Vaishṇava conducted a sort of religious crusade. This is a mere fantasy for as I have shown elsewhere, there is very little evidence to show that even Viṣṇuvardhana ever became a Śrīvaishṇava at the instigation of Rāmānuja. As far as we know all the Hoysalas were staunch Śaivas; so were Ballāḷa I, Ballāḷa II, Narasimha and Somēśvara. In fact the assertion that Narasimha and Somēśvara invaded the Cōḷa country to restore Vaishṇavism is disproved by the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarma Sundara I at Śrīrangam saying that Somēśvara destroyed the lotus pond

22. *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II.

of the temple and Sōmēśvara was more devoted to Jambukēśvara than to Ranganātha as his inscriptions are very rare in the Śrīrangam temple.²³ Therefore religion was not at all the motive. Narasimha and Sōmēśvara were intimately connected with the Cōlas Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III who call Sōmēśvara their *māmidi* (maternal uncle?).

The Pāṇdyas who had come to the support of the Kāḍavas must have offered resistance to the Hoysaḷas on the south bank of the Kāvēri near Śrīrangam where the famous three months' battle was fought probably in the year 1227-8 A.D. The Hoysaḷa victory enabled the generals Appayya and Gōpayya to penetrate up to Rāmēśvaram and the gulf of Mannar, pursuing the elusive Perunjinga. Assuming that at least one year was necessary for this southern campaign, by 1229-30 the enemies were defeated and the Cōla was restored. Perhaps the Ceylonese army may have come to the help of the Pāṇḍya Māravarma Sundara. The *Gadya Karṇāmṛta* says that the Kāḍava Nijāhu was killed, but this seems to be an exaggeration for Perunjinga is found ruling upto nearly thirty years after this. Māravarma Sundara I in his inscriptions dated 22nd year (1238) onwards claims, as already seen, to have performed the anointment of heroes at Muḍigonḍa Cōlapuram and restored the Cōla twice. This may have happened after the death of Narasimha in 1235 A.D. and in the time of Sōmēśvara. But in 1227-8 he does not seem to have been successful in stopping the advance of the Hoysaḷa generals, for in 1227 A.D. the Hoysaḷas had their camp in Pañcāla or Panchalanāḍu, in the Cōla country, probably Pāccūr (?) near Śrīrangam, mentioned in the Tiruvendipuram inscription. Perunjinga's political activities were curbed upto 1242 A.D. and up to the death of Narasimha, the Hoysaḷa supremacy was unchallenged by the Cōlas and Pāṇdyas, who according to the *Gadya Karṇāmṛta* became tributaries to the Kuntalēśvaras.²⁴

The generals who were responsible for this brilliant campaign were Appayya and Gōpayya who with another brother Mādhava figure in Hoysaḷa inscriptions. Mādhava and his brothers built the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple at Vighnasante (1286?). Appayya was the son of Gaṇḍa Cayya (?) Nāyaka and Ammalā. He was a devotee of Iḍugūrdēvī. He granted Arakere to the god Mācēśvara before 1233 A.D. and he seems to have also been called Belleya Nāyaka.

An inscription at Śrīrangam dated Tuesday, 6th April, 1232 A.D. (*M. E. R.* 1937. 69) registers a grant to Ranganātha by Śrī Rāmabhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja gōtra, who was a priest of the temple of Kuḷalūdina Pillai (Kṛṣṇa) built at Dōrasamudra by Umādevī, the queen of Ballāḷa. Śrī Rāmabhaṭṭa was an ardent Vaishṇava, and the son of a great teacher of Kuruhapura who was proficient in *mantra-śāstra*. He lived in the time of Narahari Bhūpāla Cōlēndrapratishṭhāguru. In the fifth *prakāra* at Śrīrangam there is a temple of Veṇu Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa of Hoysaḷa workmanship, probably built after the Dōrasamudra model.²⁵ This may indicate that the Hoysaḷa invasion cleared the way for Śrīvaiṣṇava pilgrims from one important place

23. *E. I.* III. p. 14. 24. *Nj.* 36; *Cn.* 211. etc. 25. *M. E. R.* 1937.

associated with Rāmānuja to another. It is however difficult to identify this temple of Kṛṣṇa Vēṇu Gōpāla at Halebid or Bēlūr, though Umādēvi the queen of Ballāḷa (wrongly taken as a queen of Narasimha) lived up to 1227 A.D. (Bēlūr 182, *Chen.* 203) in which year she renewed some grants made to temples.

Narasimha seems to have performed the marriage of his son after this Cōḷa campaign, according to the *Gadya Karṇāmṛta*. Sōmēśvara's queens mentioned in the inscriptions are Bijjalā, the mother of Narasimha III, Somalā, and Dēvalā a Cōḷa or Cālukya (?) princess who was the mother of Rāmanātha and Ponnambala Mahādēvi (*E. C. V. Bl.* 74. 92). Sōmalā died before 11th March, 1253 A.D. when Sōmēśvara was in Vikramapura and made a grant of Somalāpura (Bangalore Museum C. P. Mys. Ins. p. 322). She was the daughter of Biṭṭarasa Dandanayaka (1249 A.D.). Dēvalādēvi is called a Cālukya princess (*E. I. III*, p. 9) and a Cōḷa princess also. Bijjalā, the mother of Narasimha III gave birth to Narasimha on 12th August, 1240 A.D. when Sōmēśvara was conducting the expeditions against the Pāṇḍyas. Evidently she was the senior queen and the *Gadya Karṇāmṛta* probably gives her genealogy. If so her marriage with Sōmēśvara must have taken place soon after 1230 A.D. when Perunjinga II had been overcome, and Kanci was occupied in 1229 A.D. (*E. C. XII*, *Tp.* 42), and the *Gadyakarnāmṛta* says that the ancestors of the bride had settled at Kaṇci. Bijjalā is sometimes called the daughter of a Pāṇḍya, a mistake for Paṭṭamāmba, wife of Narasimha III.

Narasimha's first queen Kājalā, the mother of Sōmēśvara is said to have died when her son was only three years old. Narasimha later on married Gauralā, the daughter of Bellapa Nāyaka. Her son was Eṇṇyanga. Umādēvi is mentioned in inscriptions of 1227 A.D. (*Bl.* 182. *Ch. n.* 203). She is not another queen of Narasimha but his foster-mother and the queen of Ballāḷa II whom she survived. Narasimha's sister was another Sōvalā (*Ak.* 123. *E. C. V*) who probably brought up Sōmēśvara.

The chief generals of Narasimha II were :—

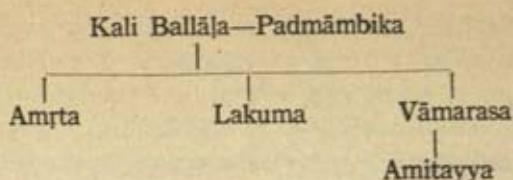
(1) Pōlālva daṇḍanātha, the son of Navilāḍe Akka and Attarasa of Nāraṇapura in Āndhra. He is called Vaishṇava Cakravarti and Kāvya-kartāra. He wrote *Haricāritra*. He built the Harihara temple at Harihara, made grants to Lōkeyakeṇṇe Kalidēva (1229; *M. A. R.* 1939, no. 26), built Lakshminārāyaṇa temple at Bānavallī in 1223 (*Dg.* 25).

(2) Bembidēva Kēśava 1221 A.D., defeated Vikramapāla etc., his maṇḍalika Jagaddalā Bammadēva and his son Sōyidēva in Kudligi taluk (*S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, no. 338).

(3) Ammaṇṇa daṇḍanāyaka (1222) and his subordinate Asagōḍa Pallava Sāvanta in Uccangi 30 (*S. I. I. IV*, pt. 1, no. 339).

(4) Bommaya Daṇḍanāyaka, Rāya Bhūpāla Gajārṇkuṣa. His subordinate Pāṇḍya Sunkadadhikāri Siripaṇṇa 1227-8 (*S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, no. 341-4). Defeated a Vajradēva (1221 A.D. *Hn.* 106. *E. C. VI*).

(5) Amita of Vājivamśa or Ballugi.



He defeated Murāri and Singhaṇa at Nerilige and constructed many temples before 1226 A.D.; Padmalēśvara, Amṛtēśvara, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, Vāmēśvara (in the name of his father), Ballālēśvara, Narasimha and Vajrēśvara Sōmanātha (*S. I. I. IX*, pt. 1, no. 342-343).

(6) Enagara Vīra Gāvunḍa of Kāranāḍa Elacigere 1222 A.D. (*M. A. R.* 1938, 43).

(7) Biluvoḷa daṇḍanāyaka, bāhattara niyōgādhipati, 1223 A.D. in Baynād (*M. A. R.* 1938, 40).

(8) Appaṇṇa, Gōpayya and Mādhava. The elder two took part in the campaigns against Kāḍavas and Pāṇḍyas. Mādhava in 1221 is said to have fought with Vajradeva and Bamma. Vajradēva is probably Vajrahasta mentioned by Mallikārjuna in his *Sūkti Sudhārṇava*.

(9) Aḍḍāyada Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka repulsed the Sēuṇas (*Md.* 121-2. *E. C. III*), built the Basrāl temple, 1234-37.

(10) Narasinga Daṇḍanāyaka, 1226.

(11) Sōmayya Daṇḍanāyaka who built the Sōmanāthapur temple and part of Harihara temple.

(12) Eraga Camūpa.

(13) Sōmayya Nāgayya, 1223.

(14) Śrīkaraṇāgrāṇi Viśvanātha, the disciple of Sindavige Svāmi. Vēdārtha Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭa (1234-7; *Ak.* 123) was also a disciple of the same Svāmi and probably identical with the poet Vaija who composed Belur 238. This Sindavige Svāmi seems to have been the same as the famous Ānandabōdha. The date of Ānandabōdha has been much discussed. *Ak.* 123 says that in Ś. 1156 the inscription was composed by Sōmanātha Paṇḍita, the servant (*dāsa*) of Śrīmad Ānandabōdha Prabhu of Sindavige. Sōmanātha Paṇḍita had the titles *Ga...kulatilaka Sukavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*. In the name of the Sindavige Svāmi, the god Narasimha was established at Sōmanāthapura. Regarding Vaija of Belur 238, it should be noted that the Kannaḍa poet Āṇḍayya of *Sobagina Suggi* or *Kabbigara Kāva* (between 1230 and 1237) had an uncle Vaijaṇa, the youngest brother of Āṇḍayya's father Sānta. Tribhuvana Vidyā Cakravarti Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and his son Viṣṇubhaṭṭa of Uddhare are mentioned in the reign of Simhaṇa in 1228 A.D.²⁶

Narasimha's empire in 1228 A.D. (*Chn.* 204. *E. C. V*) is said to have extended up to Nangali in the east, Kongu in the south, Ālvakhēṭa in the west and Heddore (Kīṣṇa) in the north. In 1230 the eastern boundary was at Kanci, in the west Vēlāpura (Bēlūr), north Perdore (Kṛṣṇa), south

Bayalnāḍ. In the Tamil country up to Kaṇṇānūr, Hoysaḷa powers remained supreme and unchallenged during the lifetime of Narasimha.

The last years of Narasimha seem to have been peaceful, though certain local fights as at Kudureguṇḍi (*M. A. R.* 1935, no. 11) are mentioned. In 1234-5, Sōmēśvara seems even to have driven back the Yāḍavas beyond Kṛṣṇa which was the northern boundary of the Hoysaḷa empire at least nominally. Sōmēśvara made a grant to the famous shrine at Paṇḍarāpur (Sholapur district) in 1235-6 A.D. (*Bom. Ar. Rep.* 1897-8) and therefore we can conclude that Hoysaḷa supremacy was acknowledged in these parts.

Narasimha died in 1235 A.D. after a reign of fifteen years in which period he had carried Hoysaḷa arms into the heart of the Tamil country. A worthy son of the great Ballāḷa II, he had made the Hoysaḷa empire a formidable force in South India.

Narasimha like his father Ballāḷa II was a great scholar and patron of fine arts. He had the titles Sarvajña and Sāhitya Ratnākara (*S. I. I.* IX, pt. 1, no. 340, *Sarvajña Cūḍāmaṇi*). The temples built during his reign are :—Harihara at Harihara, Mūla Saṅgēśvara at Beḷlūr (1224), Kallēśvara and Gaḷagēśvara at Heggere (1232), Sōmēśvara and Kēśava at Harnahallī, Mallikārjuna at Basrāl, Lakshmīnarasimha at Badrāvati (1221 A.D. *M. A. R.* 1931, no. 59) ; Sōmanātha at Beṇṇikal (1226), Gōpālādēva of Māgaḷa (1223-4), Tuḍankēśvara at Māvinamāge (1221), etc.

In Sanskrit literature, the greatest poet of the time was evidently Vidyācarkravartī II, the son of Vaidyanātha (perhaps the disciple of Sindavige Svāmi, Vaijanāthabhaṭṭa 1237). He had the titles Sakalavidyācarkravartī, Kavirājarāja, Abhinava Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Kalikāla Kālidāsa, Kāhaḷakavi Sārva-bhauma, Kālakavi Kalabha. His father Vaidyanātha and grand-father Vidyācarkravartī I (?) were royal priests to Ballāḷa II and Narasimha II and also composed inscriptions. A Trivikrama or Vikramadēva son of Rāja Rājādēva (Cōḷa Rāja Rāja II or III ?) was a pupil of Sakalavidyācarkravartī, and wrote *Kādambarī Sāra Saṁgraha* in ten cantos (*Tri. Cat. Madras*, 4222). In the *Sūktiratnahāra*,²⁷ an anthology composed by Sūrya under a Kulaśēkhara probably in the 14th century, verses of Sakalavidyācarkravartī and Sakala Vidhyādhara are quotes (*Trivendrum, Skt. Series*, No. 141). He may be Vidyācarkravartī III who lived in the time of Ballāḷa III. Another Tribhuvana Vidyācarkravartī Āditya Dēva composed the Kuppanūr grant of Simhaṇa Ś. 1105 (1183 A.D.) written by Paṇḍita Lakshmīdhara (*I. A. IV*, p. 74. *M. E. R. C. P.* 3 of 1934).²⁸

If our identification of Sindivige Ānandabōdhaprabhu with the great Advaita teacher Ānandabōdha, is correct, his works *Nyāyamakaraṇḍa*, *Pramāṇamāla*, *Nyāyadīpikā*, etc. must have been composed prior to 1236 A.D. (*Ak.* 123) when an image of Narasimha was established in the name of Sindivige Svāmi. Mr. P. K. GODE (*Calcutta Oriental*

27. *J. O. R.* XIII. p. 4.

28. Another Tribhuvana Vidyā Carkravartī Vaijanātha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya and his son Vishṇubhaṭṭa of Uddare are mentioned in *Sb.* 135 of Ś 1140 (1218 A.D.).

Journal II ; p. 137 ; p. 229 ; *Q. J. M. S.* XXVI, p. 153) places Ānandabōdha between 1200 and 1297 A.D. He however assigns the *Dīpikā* to 1050-1160 A.D. Ānandabōdha was the disciple of Ātmāvāsa and not of Vimuktātman.

The date of birth of the Dvaita philosopher Madhva is given as 1199 A.D. in the *Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya*, though on epigraphic grounds attempts are made to assign the Ācārya's birth to 1237 A.D. The earlier period of Madhva's literary activity may have fallen in the days of Narasimha and Sōmēśvara.

Another Advaitic scholar was Parama Prakāśa Yōgi, whose son was Cidānanda well versed in Brahma Vidyā. Cidānanda composed Maṇḍya 121 and 122 (1234 and 1237) and his son Mallikārjuna is called "*Yōgipravara Cidānanda Mallikārjuna*" i.e. Mallikārjuna, the son of Cidānanda Yōgi. Therefore both Parama Prakāśa and Cidānanda were Advaitic teachers. Prakāśātman, Sukhaprakāśa and Ātmaprakāśa figure in the history of Advaita. Prakāśātman is approximately assigned to the 11th century. Amalānanda (1247-60) was the disciple of Sukhaprakāśa who himself may be the pupil of Citsukha I and Ānandātman. Svayamprabha Anubhavānanda (or Ānandānubhava) may also have been called Svayamprakāśa I, earlier than Svayamprakāśa II of the commentaries on Lakshmīdhara's *Advaita Makaranda* and *Harimūḍe Stōtra*, and another Svayamprakāśānanda, the guru of Akhaṇḍa Yati. Paramaprakāśa, the father of Cidānanda may have been a different person (*Winternitz Comm. Vol. I. I. H. Q. June 1938*). Taraṇa Vacaspati, the author of a commentary on the *Kāvyaadarśa* of Daṇḍin was a contemporary of Narasimha and Sōmēśvara (*J. O. R.* XIII, p. 4.).

In Kannaḍa, the chief poet was Janna who had obtained the title Kavicakravarti from Ballāla II. He has composed inscriptions (*Ch. R. paṭṇa* 179, Ś. 1119 and *Tk.* 45 of Ś. 1119) and his *Yāśōdhara carite* was completed in the year Śukla, Āsvajīya, Ba. 5. (? Thursday), Monday, 21st September, 1209 A.D. in the reign of Vīra Ballāla. His other work *Anantanātha Purāṇa* was finished in Ś. 1152, Vikṛta, Caitra Śu. 10. Puṣya, (Thursday?), Monday, 25th March, 1230 A.D. It was published at the Śāntiśvara basadi in front of the Vijaya Pārśva basadi at Dōrasamudra. Its first verse had been commenced at the newly built Anantanātha basadi at Gaṇḍarādityana Poḷal. Janna mentions Narasimha as Sarvajña, Magadhādi rāya laya kāla, Cōla vistarka. In the court of Narasimha Sarvajña bhūpāla, the uplifter of Cōlakula, Janna was a daṇḍanāyaka, a mantrin as well as a poet.

Other Kannaḍa authors of this time are Nāgadēva (1217 ; *Kd.* 129), Pōlālva daṇḍanātha of Haricaritra (1224), Kavi Nāgadēva (1224, *Kd.* 95), Mūnicandra under Raṭṭas of Saundatti (*J. B. B. R. A. S. X.* p. 260), Mādīrāja (1229. *J. B. B. R. A. S. X.* p. 260), Cidānanda (*Md.* 121, 122, 1234 and 1237), Kamalabhava of *Śāntiśvara Purāṇa*, Āṇḍayya of *Kabbigara Kāva*, Sōmanātha Paṇḍita (*AK* 123, 1224 A.D.) Śrīvijaya Daśakīrtidēva, (*Chennagiri* 52, 1234 A.D.). A poet Dēvarāya son of a Kāśmīr Brahmin Śrīdharāmātya was patronised by Pāṇḍya Kāma Nṛpa, son of (?) Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Uccangi ; (*S. I. I.* IX. pt. 1. 292). He is different from Dēvakavi.

DATE OF SABHYĀLĀṆKARĀṆA, AN ANTHOLOGY BY GOVINDAJIT — AFTER A. D. 1656

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

The only MS of a work called "*Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa*" mentioned by AUFRECHT¹ is "Rg 417 (fr.) which is identical with MS No. 417 of 1884-87 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR in his *Report*² for 1887-91 does not deal with the date of this work. As this work is a rhetorical anthology of verses from various poets and works, it has its place in the history of the mediaeval Sanskrit anthologies. I propose therefore, to analyse the only MS of *Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa* viz. No. 417 of 1884-87 and indicate my evidence regarding the limits for its date.

The work is divided into numerous Sections called *maricis* or rays. The name of the author is Govindaji³. He was the son of *Caku* and was resident of *Giripura*⁴. He belonged to the *Mevādā* caste of *Medapāṭa* (Mewad) as will be seen from the following statements :—

folio 2— "इति गिरिपुरनिवासिभट्टचकुतनयम् (?) गोविंदजित्संगृहीते etc."

folio 3— { "इति गिरिपुरवर्तिभट्टचकुतनयश्रीमेदपाठमध्यस्थभट्टमेवाडाज्ञातीय भट्ट
गोविंदजित्कृते सारसंग्रहे etc."

The title of the work is सभ्यालंकरण (Colophon on folio 9) or सभ्याभरण⁵ (Colophon on folio 3). The work is compiled somewhat on the lines of the *Rasikajivana*⁶ of Gadādharaḥṭṭa. In fact one Gadādhara is mentioned as the author of some verses quoted on folios 12 and 34.

The following works and authors have been mentioned in the fragment of the *Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa* before us :—

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| (1) भानुकर | —fol. 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,
28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37. |
| (2) बिल्वमंगल | —fol. 1, 17. |

1. CC II, 166—AUFRECHT mentions another work called सभ्यकष्टभरण which seems to be different from सभ्यालंकरण.

2. Vide pp. lxii-lxiii of *Report for 1887-91*—Here we find merely a list of works and authors mentioned in the fragment of *Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa*.

3. According to Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR "*Govindajit*" is a Sanskritized form of "*Govindaji*".

4. I wonder if *Giripura* is identical with *Girinagara* or *Girnar* in Junagad State.

5. AUFRECHT (CC I, 696) records a *Kāvya* of the title सभ्याभरण by Rāmacandra with a commentary by Govinda (B. 2.110). I cannot say if this commentator Govinda is identical with Govindajit, the author of सभ्यालंकरण.

6. Vide my paper on the *Rasikajivana* (*Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XII, p. 396*).

- (3) शिवस्वामिन् —fol. 2.
- (4) नीलकंठ —fol. 2, 12, 13, 23, 36.
- (5) अमरक —fol. 2, 4, 18, 21, 27, 30, 36, 37.
- (6) श्रीहर्ष —fol. 2, 8, 13, 15, 24, 29.
- (7) राजशेखर —fol. 2, 4, 11, 12, 18, 20, 21, 30, 34, 36.
- (8) बालभारत —fol. 2, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34.
- (9) भट्टकमलाकर —fol. 3.
- (10) नीपाभट्ट —fol. 3, 17.
- (11) घटखर्पर —fol. 4.
- (12) भानुक —fol. 4, 21.
- (13) गोविंदजिद्धट्ट —fol. 8.
- (14) अमरचन्द्र —fol. 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31.
- (15) गणपति —fol. 8, 16, 18, 24, 35.
- (16) भानुकरमिश्र —fol. 8.
- (17) विल्हण —fol. 8, 16, 26, 33, 37.
- (18) लक्ष्मण —fol. 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34.
- (19) रुद्र —fol. 8, 14, 21, 37.
- (20) भवभूति —fol. 9, 32, 36.
- (21) धर्मदास —fol. 10.
- (22) कालिदास —fol. 10, 16, 18, 32.
- (23) गोवर्द्धन —fol. 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 31, 37.
- (24) दंडिन् —fol. 12.
- (25) गदाधर —fol. 12, 34.
- (26) त्रिविक्रम —fol. 12, 25, 32.
- (27) नीलकंठ शुक्ल⁷ —fol. 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 36, 37.
- (28) शकटुद्धि —fol. 14, 32.
- (29) नारायण —fol. 15.
- (30) कामसमूह⁸ —fol. 15 (composed in A.D. 1457).
- (31) निर्मल —fol. 31.
- (32) मुरारि —fol. 17, 24, 27, 30, 31.
- (33) भावमिश्र —fol. 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27.
- (34) प्रभाकरभट्ट —fol. 19.

7. Nilakaṇṭha Śukla is the author of the *Cimani-Carita* composed in A.D. 1656 [vide my paper in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. IX, pp. 331-332]. The work चिमनीशतक mentioned by Govindajit on folio 29 of the MS is identical with चिमनीचरित. I have evidence to prove that Nilakaṇṭha was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita.

8. Vide my paper on *Kāmasamūha* (*Jour. of Ori. Research*, Madras, Vol. XIV Pt. 1, pp. 74-81). A Gujarati rendering of my paper has been published by my friend Rao Br. P. C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M. recently.

- (35) शृंगारतिलक —fol. 21.
 (36) भैयाभट्ट —fol. 21.
 (37) लक्ष्मणभट्ट —fol. 22.
 (38) अमर —fol. 22.
 (39) भारवि —fol. 23, 26, 29, 31.
 (40) माघ —fol. 23, 26, 29, 31.
 (41) महानाटक —fol. 24.
 (42) वेदव्यास —fol. 25.
 (43) भास —fol. 43.
 (44) राघवानंददेवानाम् —fol. 26.
 (45) क्षेमेन्द्र —fol. 26.
 (46) किरात —fol. 26.
 (47) वररुचि —fol. 26.
 (48) जयमाधव —fol. 26, 32, 35.
 (49) उड़ीय कवि —fol. 26.
 (50) गोपादित्य —fol. 26.
 (51) भानुपंडित —fol. 27.
 (52) भोजप्रबंध —fol. 28, 30, 34.
 (53) भट्ट सोमेश्वर —fol. 28.
 (54) विकटनितंबा —fol. 28.
 (55) चिमनीशतक —fol. 29. (= चिमनीचरित of नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल)
 (56) शाङ्गधर —fol. 29.
 (57) भर्तृहरि —fol. 29, 34.
 (58) हरिहर —fol. 30.
 (59) कविराज —fol. 32.
 (60) पाणिनि —fol. 32.
 (61) रघुपति —fol. 33.
 (62) राहुक (?) —fol. 33.
 (63) वाल्मिथ्र —fol. 33.
 (64) वाल्मीकि —fol. 34.
 (65) कुमारदास —fol. 37.

The above list is sufficient to show the sources of the present anthology. The reference to Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara on folio 3 furnishes us with a clue about the limit to the date of this anthology. If this Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara is identical with the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* (composed in A.D. 1612) we can safely presume that Govindajit composed his anthology after A.D. 1612.

A more exact reference, however, for purposes of chronology will be found on folio 29, where a work called “ चिमनीशतक ” is mentioned. This work appears to be identical with the work चिमनीचरित by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla

of which two MSS are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. I have proved in my note⁹ on this work that it was composed in *Saṁvat* 1712 = A.D. 1656. The verse from the *Cimanīśataka* quoted by Govindajit on folio 29 of the MS of the *Sabhyālāṅkaraṇa* is identical with verse 99 of the *Cimanīcarita* (MS No. 698 of 1886-92). This identity clearly proves that Govindajit composed his anthology after A.D. 1656. The other limit to the date of *Sabhyālāṅkaraṇa* cannot be definitely fixed at present but as the MS of the work appears to be about 150 years old we may tentatively assign Govindajit to the first quarter of the 18th century, if not later.

9. Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) XII, p. 396.

SOME SURVIVALS OF THE HARAPPA CULTURE*

By

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, Madras.

XV. BULL SACRIFICE AND BULL SPORT

Two seals found at Mohenjo-Daro picture a bull-sport that seems to have had a vogue there and to have had also a ritual significance. A bull,—or buffalo,—stands with lowered head as if charging at some acrobats, male and female : one of the acrobats seeks to take hold of a horn of the beast : another alights on its back with a skilful jump : others have been thrown down by the animal. The background to this scene is provided by a tree, a pillar and a bird on the pillar. The scene of the attempt at grappling the bull can be matched in every detail from scenes pictured in Cretan antiquities of the thousand years from about 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C., but the background to the scene is lacking in them. Another seal and two amulets from Mohenjo-Daro show an acrobat taking hold of a bull,—or buffalo,—by its horns, trampling it on its nose or on one of its horns and thrusting a well-aimed spear into its back : a tree and a cobra seem also to have a place in the scene. In some Cretan antiquities we have scenes in which a high priest slays a bull,—or buffalo,—by driving a short sword into its neck, and makes an offering of it before a sacred tree and a pillar which is surmounted by an axe on which perches a dove. The Mohenjo-Daro relics picture a murderous encounter between beast and acrobats in which the casualties include the beast and some of the acrobats, but do not testify to the sacrificial scene which we find in the Cretan remains. But the tree, pillar and bird that occur as background in the grappling scene on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro have their counterparts in the tree, pillar and bird of the sacrificial scene on the Cretan objects. It looks, therefore, as if the three are scenes linked together as the successive stages in a ritual observance,—a grappling with a bull (or buffalo), a slaying it and an offering it in sacrifice. The tree, the dove and the axe being symbols of the Great Mother, their presence at the ritual is evidence of the sacrifice being made to that goddess.¹²³

To this day the Devī as Durgā,—one of the Indian manifestations of the Mother Goddess,—is worshipped in images representing her as standing on the neck of a buffalo and slaying it with a spear thrust into the nape. The Mother Goddess herself attacking the brute and slaying it may be but a variation on the theme of a slaughter by the votaries of the Goddess acting as

* Concluded from p. 336.

123. FABRI, in *ASI. AR.*, 1935 : 93-100.

her emissaries. The latter ritual is well known all over India even now, and is frequently an observance patronised by princes. For instance, in one of the principalities of Central India a buffalo is plied with liquor on the day of the Dasserah and is brought to a valley where a member of the royal family slashes it at the neck with a sharp sword so that blood may flow : the animal is then let loose but is attacked with lances, and when it falls killed it is taken by the outcastes who feast on it.¹²⁴ More often, the animal is slain in the presence of the Goddess and is offered to her in sacrifice. But the element of the sport with the bull—or buffalo,—is lacking in these practices and so we are not able to decide if these could be survivals of the Harappa ritual.

Telling of the manner in which Kṛṣṇa, avatar of Viṣṇu, won for wife the daughter of Nagnajit, king of the Kosalas, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that the Kosala royal house had a convention 'to put to test the strength of men, so that the best bridegroom might be obtained', that it consisted in a suitor having to try conclusions with 'seven sharp horned and irresistibly wild and wicked oxen', that Kṛṣṇa was invited to subdue seven oxen 'not subdued or governed by anybody,' that he thereupon 'tightened his girdle and, appearing as seven, sportfully subdued them and brought them under his power,' then 'tied them with ropes, having put down their turbulent strength (broken their teeth) and dragged them bound, even as a child may drag wooden bulls (toys),' and that king Nagnajit promptly bestowed his daughter on the hero.¹²⁵ This account makes it clear that Kṛṣṇa and his contemporaries of Kosala knew only the sport of grappling with the bull and that they did not seek to slay it and offer it up in sacrifice.

In a Tamil work¹²⁶ which does not seem to be later than the third century A.D.¹²⁷ occurs a poem in which a description is given of a similar practice observed by the Āyar,—the Cowherd race,—in the Tamil country. An admirable summary gives a vivid picture. 'They (the community) had a peculiar custom among them of selecting husbands for their girls from the victors of a bull-fight. A large area of ground is enclosed with palisades and strong fences. Into the enclosure are brought ferocious bulls with sharpened horns. On a specious loft, overlooking the enclosure, stand the shepherd girls whom they intend to give away in marriage. The shepherd youths prepared for the fight, first pray to their gods whose images are placed under old banian or peepul trees or at watering places. Then they deck themselves with garlands made of the bright red flowers of the *kanthal* and the purple flowers of the *kadya*. At a signal given by the beating of drums, the youths leap into the enclosure and try to seize the bulls, which, frightened by the noise of the drums, are now ready to charge any one who approaches them. Each youth approaches a bull which he chooses to capture. But the bulls rush furiously

124. SARKAR, in *Univ. Calcutta : J. Dept. Letters*, (1927) 15 : 202-3.

125. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 10. 58, 32-55.

126. *Kalīṭ-Tohai*.

127. It is one of the 'Sangam' works and none of them seems to be of a later date.

with tails raised, heads bent down and horns levelled at their assailants. Some of the youths face the bulls boldly and seize their horns. Some jump aside and take hold of their tails. The more wary young men skilfully avoid the horns and clasping the neck cling to the animals till they force them to fall on the ground. Many a luckless youth is now thrown down. Some escape without a scratch, while others are trampled upon or gored by the bulls. Some, though wounded and bleeding, again spring on the bulls. A few who succeed in capturing the animals are declared the victors of that day's fight. The elders then announce that the bull fight is over. The wounded are carried out of the enclosure and attended to immediately; while the victors and the brides-elect repair to an adjoining grove, and there forming into groups, dance joyously before preparing for their marriage.¹²⁸ Here too the bull-slaughter and the sacrifice are absent.

Among the Kallars and the Maravars of the Tamil country, the Halvakki Vakkals and the Bants of Kanara a bull-sport of some kind appears to have been an annual observance. Its most spectacular form is that known as the 'Jalli-kaṭṭu' in the Pandya region of the Tamil land. With a view to graduating into eligible bridegrooms, Kallar and Maravar youths enter, in the season of the harvest, an arena in which a bull careers about maddened by the shouts of a crowded audience and the blare of trumpets, grapple it and wrest a pack of jewellery or a sacral scarf tied to its horn. As many as two hundred bulls might be deployed at a performance. The youths may bear swords but may use them only in self-defence. A bull may gore a youth, but no youth shall kill a bull.¹²⁹

The bull-fights of Kṛṣṇa and of the modern candidates for matrimony are in the nature of a sport and not of a fight: the bull-grappling scene alone is enacted, and the bull-slaughter and the bull-sacrifice scenes do not follow. A pastoral people may have developed this simple observance as a manly exercise and they need not have hitched it to a ritual. None the less the connection of the sport with harvest and marriage cannot be over-looked: if it is a fertility observance, as the evidence suggests, it may not be unrelated in some form to the bull-sacrifices of Crete and Harappa which, as we have seen, are connected with the Great Mother.

The bull-sport in India seems to have been primarily associated with a people known as the Ābhiras in the ancient Purāṇas, for the Ahirs of the Central Provinces among whom we have found the sport to be current are their modern representatives in mid-India, and the Āyar of the Pandya region,

128. *Kalit-Tohai*, 101, summarised in KANAKASABHAIPILLAI, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 57-8. The bull-sport attained rank as a classical *motif* in later Tamil literature.

129. CROOKE, in *Folklore*, 1917: 146-9. The paper is an excellent digest of much valuable information, but dissimilar practices are jumbled up. Fights between bulls, fights between men and bulls, bulls trampling pigs and bulls trampling over images and breaking them are handled without much of discrimination. This paper may be read in conjunction with BISHOP's paper, 'The Ritual Bullfight' in the *Smithsonian Institution: Annual Report*, 1926: 447-56.

the youths of which are mentioned in the ancient Tamil classic as delighting in the sport, are no other than the Ahirs or Ābhīras. The habitat of the Ābhīras in the earliest days in which we catch a glimpse of them,—the two or three centuries before Christ,—is the north-west of India : indeed, it is just the home of the Harappa culture. They were generally on the move, and perhaps they came down rapidly to the Central Provinces and even to the end of the country, for, 'the Āyar in the Pandyan dominion had a tradition', mentioned in the same Tamil classic, 'that they came into the Tamil land along with the founder of the Pandyan family.'¹³⁰ The sport may, therefore, have journeyed from the north-west to the extreme south along with the Ābhīras. The Kallar and Maravar of the Pandyan region who now indulge in the sport may be either the descendants of the Āyar of the days of the ancient Tamil work¹³¹ or they might have been in close contact with them and borrowed the sport from them.

We have found that in south India and as early as the third century A.D.,—the latest date of the Tamil classic,—the Ābhīras did not make a sacrifice of the bull. In the north too, and at a date even much earlier than in the south, the element of sport alone is found associated with these combats, and not that of sacrifice, for, Kṛṣṇa subdued, but did not slay, the seven bulls that he had to contend with for the hand of the Kosalan princess. When we recall that this Kṛṣṇa is also the god of the Ābhīras, we cannot help speculating whether his example had a bearing on the character of the observance.

The generally accepted dates for Kṛṣṇa and for the beginning of the migrations of the Ābhīras in India are much later than the age of the Harappa culture. So, the probabilities are that the heirs to the Harappa culture, whoever they were, had themselves shed the element of sacrifice in the observance by the time they came into contact with the Ābhīras, or that they retained it as a sport-cum-sacrifice observance and passed it on as such to the Ābhīras who, however, subsequently discarded the element of sacrifice. We do not have the data that would enable us to decide between these two probabilities.

It is to a Kṛṣṇa that,—according to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, attributed generally to about the seventh century B.C.,—his preceptor, Ghora-Āṅgīrasa, imparted the doctrine of *Ahimsā*, 'the not inflicting of pain.'¹³² A practical application of the teaching of *Ahimsā* would certainly have been elimination of the killing of the bull vanquished in the tussle, but Kṛṣṇa, the hero of the Puranas, is not known to have been a votary of *Ahimsā*. The conversion of the sacrifice into a mere sport may not therefore have been effected by this Kṛṣṇa, if the sophistication had not already occurred. The contest with the

130. KANAKASABHAI-PILLAI, *op. cit.*, 57.

131. The Tamil Idaiyar of modern days who claim to be the descendants of the Āyar of ancient times do not, however, know of the 'Jalli-Kaṭṭu.' If they are the genuine Āyar we have to find a reason for their having totally abandoned the observance and for its having passed into other hands.

132. 'Austerity, alms-giving, uprightness, harmlessness (*Ahimsā*), truthfulness—these are one's gifts for the priests': 3.19.4.

seven bulls which he had to engage in to win the hand of the princess of Kosala is definitely stated to have been on a pattern which had been traditional in the family of the kings of Kosala, and that pattern was that of a mere sport and not that of a sport culminating in a sacrifice. Further, Ghora-Āṅgīrasa is not said to have been the first thinker to have preached the gospel of *Ahimsā* nor was Kṛṣṇa his pupil the first initiate into the doctrine. Faith in *Ahimsā* might therefore be much older than Ghora-Āṅgīrasa and, indeed, earlier than the hero of the Puranas who was the name-sake of Kṛṣṇa the pupil. So the observance might have lost the element of sacrifice long before the Kṛṣṇa of the seven bulls. It may be that earlier teachers of the doctrine had influenced earlier heroes to divest the bull sport of the element of sacrifice and that the earlier rulers of Kosala had known only of a bull sport that did not lead up to a sacrifice. Long before the days of Kṛṣṇa the hero the gory rite should have been redeemed and turned into a noble sport freed from the bloodshed of a ritual. The probabilities seem therefore to lie in favour of the view that the change in the character of the observance occurred subsequent to the days of the Harappa culture but generations before the Kṛṣṇa of heroic mettle and that the *Ahimsā* doctrine had had a share in bringing about the change.

XVI. CONCLUSIONS

We have now seen that the Harappa culture did survive for long centuries. The die-struck and the cast varieties of early Indian coinage are indebted to this culture for at least their form. They turn out now to be not only free from all trace of foreign elements but also to have had their roots in Indian tradition. Some plaques from Ceylon are in the direct line of descent from amulets of the Harappa age, and the image of Gaja-Lakṣmi on the plaques is at least a survival of Harappa *motifs*. The image of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and the image of the Buddha as Yogī-God are the products of that culture. The cults of the sacred tree and the symbols have come down, in all probability, from the days of Harappa. The veneration of the preceptor and the granting to him of a status almost equal to that of God which are, to this day, features of Indian religious life are legacies bequeathed by the Harappa culture. The horn-crown on the head of the Śiva-Paśupati of Harappa became a symbol of considerable significance and survived in combination with other symbols. Representations of deities worn on a head-dress and carried on the head seem also to be survivals of Harappa fashions. The bull-sacrifice following a bull-sport that is still offered in corners of the country is probably based on Harappa precedents, and the bull-sport, without the sacrifice as a sequel, common to this day in other parts of the country, appears to be a sophistication of the Harappa ritual.

The influence of the Harappa culture seems to have been felt also in countries beyond India. Greek coinage at its best betrays traces of the influence about the close of the 6th century B.C. and Parthian coinage does so about the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. If a culture that disappeared about 2500

B.C. in India is found to have had some influence in Greece about 500 B.C. and in Parthia about 300 B.C. it is obvious that features of that culture should have travelled to those lands before its disappearance in India,—or at least that in the interval of two thousand years some survivals of that culture had spread from India into those regions.

A few features of the Harappa culture appear to be traceable in Vedic culture as well. The idea of a divinity as Paśupati is common to both, and also Yoga as a religious practice. The association of a Yogī and a preceptor with a tree is equally common. In both cultures deer are associated with preceptorship and pupillage. The *vestigium pedis* which is known to vedic culture seems to have had a place in that of Harappa as well. The use of a fillet in a ritual appears in both the cultures. A divinity carried on the head of a man or of another divinity is also known to both cultures. All these are features which the two cultures do not seem to share with any other culture,—except perhaps the ritual use of the fillet. The vedic culture, however, is assumed to have entered India a thousand years at least after that of Harappa. If this view is correct the former must have been indebted to the latter for these features, and the debt must have been contracted in the days when the vedic people came into the Harappa region and established contact with the remains of the Harappa culture. But these features are so characteristic of vedic culture that it is almost unbelievable that they came from another culture,—especially from one which, having disappeared, could have left behind only a few traces which should have by then decayed in significance. Some other explanation has to be found. Perhaps the two cultures were more intimately related than is realised.

The evidence that we have passed in review shows also that this culture had features that were similar to some in other contemporary cultures. The tree and the serpent and the standard were venerated in the Harappa region as in Crete and in Mesopotamia. Anthropomorphic images were in vogue in all these regions. The horn-crown had its analogue in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The bull-sacrifice of Harappa was almost identical with that of Crete. The pattern of a cult-object between adorants was common to these areas and to Egypt. But it is not yet possible to determine finally which feature originated in which culture and who borrowed from whom. These similarities establish the frequency with which even so early in history the currents and cross-currents of influence flowed through cultures separated from each other by great distances.¹³³

APPENDICES

1. SCRIPTS OF HARAPPA AND EASTER ISLAND (See Section I, fn. 6.)

In discussions on the relation between the Harappa and the Easter Island scripts no reference seems to have been made to a theory postulated a few

133. See Appendix 9.

years before the Harappa script came to receive attention, that the Easter Island script comprises 'a number of bird-symbols', that 'the birds are variously depicted, some more or less realistically, others conventionally, and others conventionally and often with human attributes', that 'by far the greater proportion' of the bird-symbols 'clearly represent the frigate bird', that that bird had no home in the Easter Island, that its original home was in the Solomon Islands in Melanesia, and that therefore 'it seems probable that the script itself originated in the Melanesian area and was perfected in Easter Island while the memory of this bird and of its cult-associations still persisted'.¹³⁴ The theory need not, however, be inconsistent with a still earlier origin in the Harappa region, for if the Harappa script did travel abroad and did reach the Solomon Islands it might have been noticed there that the outlines of the characters of the script conformed to those of the frigate-bird and, in consequence, a resemblance to the bird might have been imposed there on the characters.

2. ANALOGUES TO THE HARAPPA SEALS (See Section II, fn. 15.)

When the Harappa seals leapt into the limelight, in 1924, a comparison was forthwith invited with 'the Proto-Elamite "tablets de comptabilité" discovered at Susa',¹³⁵ extending in time from about 2600 to 2300 B.C., and it was asserted that the seals and the tablets are 'practically identical' as 'the form and size of the plaques are the same, the "unicorns" are the same and the pictographs and numerals are also the same' and that 'the identity is such that the "seals" and tablets might have come from the same hand'.¹³⁶ Not even the emphasis with which the comparison was enforced has secured attention to the suggestion of similarity. The comparison has failed to receive support from any other quarter and, indeed, it has not been alluded to by others,—even to be dismissed out of hand. The published illustrations of the Proto-Elamite tablets convey only an inadequate impression of their appearance and special features. None the less, it is clear that no similarity is traceable. Very few of the tablets are square: the device and the writing, where they appear together, stand in no mutual relation to each other: the animals do not usually stand in front of a 'standard' or 'incense-burner' or of any other object: the writing and device have the appearance of having been produced separately on the tablet and not evoked together by the stamping of one seal bearing both writing and device: the animals seem to have been imprinted by rolling a cylinder on the tablet-face. The Susa tablets are documents,—records of transactions,—while the Harappa pieces are only seals. 'Il est certain que tous les textes de nos tablettes, sans aucune exception, sont des documents de comptabilité', and

134. BALFOUR, in *Folklore*, 1917 : 371-6.

135. Published by SCHEIL in DE MORGAN's *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, Vol. 6 (1905) and Vol. 17 (1923).

136. SAYCE, in *Ibid.* *London News*, 27 Sept. 1924 : 566.

'ces tablettes, toutes sans exception, constituent des actes compables, fournitures, livraisons, inventaires'.¹³⁷ We may, therefore, take it that the Harappa seals and the Susa tablets have little in common.

Stamp seals of a square shape are contemporary with the Harappa seals, but we do not know that seals similar to the Harappa ones in format and design have come to light anywhere else. The nearest approaches are seals like the one which, found at Ur in a stratum assignable to about 2650-2500 B.C., yields a square impression in which a goat stands in profile under a largish crescent which, perhaps, encloses a star or a sun between the horns,¹³⁸ but even these are far different from the seals of Harappa.

3. EARLY SQUARE COINS (See Section II, *fn.* 27.)

If credence could be given to Chinese tradition, the founder of the Chou dynasty (c. 1050 B.C.) seems to have had a minister of the name of T'ai Kung, who, coming from beyond the land of Chou, 'instituted (which may mean either invented, or simply introduced), for his master's benefit, a "system of currency", which included squares of gold of a fixed weight, lengths of silk and hempen cloth of definite dimensions, and lastly, round copper or bronze coins having a central hole'.¹³⁹ Could it be inferred that the minister was native of a region where the square shape for coinage was appreciated for its ensuring uniformity of weight and that that region had known of the square seals of Harappa or derivatives from them? To accept the inference would be to date the origin of coins many centuries earlier than is generally agreed. Coinage must have been invented much earlier than T'ai Kung if two shapes,—the square and the round,—had come to be accepted by his times.

4. THE GARUḌA IN A BUDDHIST SCENE (See Section VI, *fn.* 55a.)

On the vertical face of the platform on which the Buddha should have been seated (Fig. 9 : 2) are incised two Garuḍas (holy eagles) in flight. The urge for decoration is scarcely adequate as an explanation for the occurrence of the bird in the sculpture, for the chances of a Garuḍa being chosen for a purely ornamental purpose are infinitesimal as against those of the innumerable other objects that have a decorative appeal. Nor is it easy to account for the bird appearing in a Buddhist setting, for, while the association of the Garuḍa with Soma and Viṣṇu are well known we have no knowledge of its having any connection with the Buddha or his teaching or the beliefs he countenanced. A clue is worth looking for.

137. SCHEIL, in DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*

138. LEGRAIN, *Ur Excavations : III Archaic Seal-Impressions*, 2, 17, 45 : 31 (539).

139. HOPKINS, in *JRAS.*, 1895 : 319-20, 340, citing the 'History of the Earlier Han Dynasty' and some other authorities,

Certain fire altars used in Vedic sacrifices are built in the form of an eagle,¹⁴⁰ and a few of them, known as the *śyenacits*,¹⁴¹ follow the outlines of a bird in flight.¹⁴² These altars recall to mind, though but dimly, the platform in this Buddhist piece with the flying Garuḍas on its face, the vacant platform looking but a variant of a fire-altar.

The sculptured scene in which the Garuḍas appear in flight is that in which the feet of the Buddha are venerated by his followers. The purpose of the veneration of the feet cannot but be the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*—which is what every Buddhist wishes to attain to on his dissolution. The fire altars in the form of the eagle in flight are prescribed when the object of the sacrifice is, not the gaining of food or cattle nor even the achieving of Brahma-loka, but is the attainment of heaven. The Garuḍa which has a place in a Vedic ritual that leads the sacrificer to heaven appears also in a parallel context in Buddhism,—associated in a mode of worship by which the devotee of the Buddha seeks to achieve *nirvāṇa*. By the time of this piece of sculpture the attainment of the *nirvāṇa* of Buddhism had in all probability come to be equated to what in the Vedic faith was the attainment of heaven. Buddhist belief might therefore have expressed itself in this piece of sculpture in terms of Vedic symbolism. That two Garuḍas,—instead of one,—should be shown incised on the platform may be due either to an unintelligent adoption of the symbolism or to a variation made deliberately to obscure the earlier associations of the symbol.¹⁴³

5. PATTERNS ON CYLINDER SEALS (See Section VII, fn. 56.)

The disposition of the patterns in cylinder seals has not been always correctly understood by even competent authorities. It is therefore desirable to explain briefly the arrangement of the patterns with reference to one of the examples illustrated here (Fig. 11 : 1).

Being a cylinder, the seal could be rolled on indefinitely so that the imprint of the pattern in the seal could be repeated in a line as often as the seal completes a revolution. An illustration (Fig. 11 : I) shows the imprint left by the seal when, having done just one full revolution, it has gone through an exact half of the second : the imprint of the first revolution closes with a line drawn vertically just after the tail of the goat facing left.

The pattern resulting from the first revolution is mainly that of the pair of entwined serpents between goats that stand facing each other : the flower between the horns of the two goats is no more than an embellishment filling

140. See, for instance, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 8.1.4.8.

141. See, for instance, MAJUMDAR, in *J. In. Soc. Or. Art.*, (1939) 7 : 40-42, 45, 57-60, and *Ibid.*, (1940) 8 : 21-36.

142. It may be that 'the bird is to fly to the sky as the sacrifice, and with the bird the sacrificer who is identified with Prajāpati is to attain the sky' : KEITH, *Rel. & Phil. Vedas & Up.*, 466.

143. The duplication of a symbol in one of the sculptures at Bharhut may well be a parallel (see section XII, fn. 108).

up a gap in the composition. The pattern would thus be self-contained but for an unintelligible object appearing in the upper left of the imprint and an equally unintelligible object appearing in the upper right of the imprint, if the imprint was confined to the first revolution. But it is interesting to note that while one of these objects seems to stretch towards the right, the other stretches towards the left,—and, what is more interesting, in a manner that suggests that they are but the right and the left halves of a symmetrically designed object.

If the imprint is continued just a little further, the suspicion we had is confirmed, for the object stands revealed as an eagle flying vertically with its wings spread wide and symmetrically.

If the imprint is continued still further to the extent of a half of the second revolution of the seal,—as shown in the illustration,—the left half of the pattern repeats itself: the first goat, facing right, appears again facing right, and the entwined pair of serpents appear once more but they do not fully reveal themselves.

If the seal goes completely through the second revolution the right half of the entwined pair emerges and the goat facing left reappears, so that the pattern repeats itself a second time. But, in the process, a second pattern has appeared: a pair of goats stand back to back, and a spread eagle fills in the gap in the upper half. If in the first revolution the eagle is visible only to the extent of a half while the serpents and the flower are seen in full, the eagle has its revenge when the cylinder makes a half of the next revolution, for, then, the eagle gets unfurled in full while the serpents and the flower are vertically cut in twain at the right of the imprint.

If the seal is rolled further and further the first pattern of goats face to face and the second pattern of goats back to back repeat themselves, and, incidentally, the flower and the spread eagle also repeat themselves, adding to the variety of the patterns.

The seal itself bears engraved in it only one pair of goats and one pair of entwined serpents and only one flower and one eagle. If the seal starts on a revolution with imprinting the right half of the flower and completes the revolution with imprinting the left half of the flower we get the pattern of goat facing goat; if, however, it starts with the right half of the eagle and closes with the left half we have the pattern of goats back to back. The point from which the seal starts rolling determines the pattern we get, but the skill of the artist of the seal lies in his evoking both patterns from one design in one seal.¹⁴⁴

6. OTHER AFFILIATIONS OF THE DEER (See Section X, *fn.* 74a.)

The deer is associated with Vedic sacrifice as well. The sacrificer clothes himself in a deer skin to which he ties the horn of a deer; his seat is the skin of a black antelope and his shoes are made of antelope hide.¹⁴⁵ The

144. This is possible only in a cylinder Seal.

145. *Taittiriya Samhitā*, 5.4.4.4,

tract between the Himalayas and the Vindhya 'which extends as far as the eastern and the western oceans' called Āryāvarta,—'the land where the black antelope naturally roams',—is 'fit for the performance of sacrifices'; it is the *yajñīya deśa*.¹⁴⁶ That the skin and the horn are indispensable to the sacrificer is perhaps the reason for *yajñīya deśa* being defined as the land of the black antelope, but we do not know why that animal had to divest itself of its skin and horn for sacrifices.

Śiva, who has adopted some of the features of Rudra, is usually figured holding a deer in one of his hands. Rudra is said to have claimed all that was over a place of sacrifice, having appeared there as a black giant.¹⁴⁷ Rudra is also said to have shot Prajāpati on his taking the form of a deer after his incest with Ushas.¹⁴⁸ These references are too incomplete and obscure to help us to unravel the relationship that seems to subsist between Rudra, Prajāpati, the sacrifice and the deer.

7. MAUES, MAÑJU-ŚRĪ AND MAHAYANISM (See Section XI, fn. 93.)

If the beginnings of the art of Gandhara could be dated about the early years of the 1st century B.C. at the latest and if Mahayanism could be traced in the earliest products of the Gandhara school, it is worth asking whether the Maues coin pictures one of the Mahayana deities. The sword points indubitably to Mañju-Śrī. It may be hard to believe that a Greek king would have thrust a sword into the hands of one who was capable of placing it idly in his lap and folding his hands over it,—as we find on the coin of Maues,—but it is certainly not difficult to see that Mañju-Śrī who had been meek enough to arm himself with a book would not have known better than to have grown moody over the inconvenient possession of a sword and to have placed both hands in the lap.¹⁴⁹

There may be no general acceptance of the view that Mahayanism was so early as the beginning of the 1st century B.C., but, if the view advanced here that the Buddha had become a divinity much earlier than the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi is accepted, it is not improbable that the origins of Mahāyānism should be much earlier than is believed.

To suggest a very early date for Mañju-Śrī, as has been done here, is to risk a summary dismissal. But, to decline to see Mañju-Śrī on the coin of Maues is to accept the modern interpretation of the seated figure and the cross-bar in preference to that of Azes.

8. EGYPTIAN ANALOGUES TO NANDIPADA OVER CIRCLE? (See Section XII, fn. 103a.)

The combination of a pair of horns and a circular object occurs also in Egypt in representations of the divinities Amon, Hathor, Isis, Khonsu,

146. *Manu Dharma Śāstra*, 2.22-3.

147. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.31.1; 5.14.

148. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, 4.2.12; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.33.

149. TARN, at any rate, can have no quarrel with this view, for he assigns an early date for the rise of the Mahāyāna school.

Nephthys and Ra, and of rulers like Cleopatra. A large disc,—sometimes an object looking like a large globe,—rests at the junction of a pair of horns displayed as on the head of an animal, and, usually, the horns rise almost hugging the disc. How artistically the combination can be presented will be realised only when we look at sculptures of Hathor as cow and at the colossal ram from Napata. Obviously, a pair of horns enclosing a disc was a symbol of importance in Egypt.

This symbol and the nandipada over circle are similar in that horns and a circular object are the elements composing the design, but the similarity ends there. Firstly, in the Indian symbol the circular object occurs below the horns while it stands between the horns in the Egyptian symbol. Secondly, the circular object in the Indian symbol appears to be a modification of the lotus or the wheel, while the disc in the Egyptian symbol seems to be a variant of a globe. Thirdly, the horns of the Egyptian symbol are but two and they spring as from the head of an animal, but in the Indian symbol a third member occurs at the junction of the horns,—a projection like a cup or helmet or like a spike,—usually much shorter than the other two members, but often as long as the others, as in a *trīśūla*.

Another symbol is known to Egypt (Fig. 16 : 5) which integrates the horn-crown or nandipada but it does not incorporate the circle or disc as well.

The nandipada over circle seems therefore to have had no counterparts in Egypt.

9. ORIGIN OF NAME HARAPPA (See Section XVI, *fn.* 133.)

The name of Harappa itself is perhaps an instance of flotsam. The name has not been accounted for in terms of any language of the area in which this townlet lies. Even folk etymology confessed defeat, and tradition had to resort to that desperate remedy,—the creation of an eponymous king,—Harappa, to lend his name to the city. So we may assume tentatively that the name is an ancient one that has come down to modern times. Far away in Iraq, a little to the east of the Tigris and on the site of the modern town of Karkuk, there stood a city the name of which has been variously spelt as Arrapha¹⁵⁰ and Arrapkha.¹⁵¹ The pronunciation of the name of this city is almost identical with that of Harappa.¹⁵² Though the Iraqi city does 'not seem to have been known in the period of Ur (3000 B.C.),¹⁵³ it appears to have been taken by the kings of Gutium about 2400 B.C.;¹⁵⁴ so its antiquity must be earlier than the latter of these two dates. It is practically to this same period that the Indian city is assignable and it is well established that Iraq and the Indus valley were then in contact with each other. Nothing short of a marvel could explain both cities having

150. SMITH, *Early Hist. Assyria*, 88.

151. LANGDON, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1 : 423.

152. Especially when we bear in mind the special values of the initial vowel and of the *h* and the *kh* in these names.

153. *Ibid.*, 1 : 423,

154. *Ibid.*, 1 : 439.

the same name if we assume either that each of them came by its name independently or that the Indian city adopted a name within recent centuries which had been forgotten in Iraq long centuries ago. It looks extremely probable that one of the two cities owed its name to the other,¹⁵⁵ though we cannot yet say which bore the name earlier, and, therefore, lent it to the other by way of recognition of mutual indebtedness.¹⁵⁶

10. CLUE TO DECIPHERMENT OF HARAPPA SCRIPT (See Appendix 9, *fn.* 155.)

Now that we know of a place-name which might have been current in the days of the Harappa culture, it is worth attempting to trace the name in the seals from Harappa. It is legitimate to assume that these seals bear the names of the respective owners, that some at least of the owners might have added on the seals that they belonged to Harappa, that therefore the name of that city may be found on a few at least of the seals found at Harappa, that the name would not ordinarily have been used on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, that therefore the groups of symbols expressing the name of Harappa would not be found ordinarily in the seals from Mohenjo-Daro, that consequently the group must be peculiar to the seals that have turned up at Harappa, that if the script was syllabic the name might have been expressed in three characters and that they would occur together and in the same order. If such a group of characters could be isolated,—frequent at Harappa and uncommon at Mohenjo-Daro,—we may be almost confident of having settled the values of three of the Harappa characters. At present this seems to be the only possible basis for an attempt at fixing the values of a few of the characters on the seals of this culture.

11. ORIGIN OF NAME MUSIRI (See Appendix 11, *fn.* 156.)

A second Indian place-name also may possibly have been derived from a region not very distant from Arrapha. Some places in south India bear a name, Muşiri, which is not susceptible of being derived from the languages of the areas in which they are situated. Muşir-k-kōḍu, on the Arabian sea, near Cochin, was known to Ptolemy as Mouziris, which is equivalent in modern Tamil to Muşiri. Another town of the name Muşiri is now to be found in the interior of the Tamil country,—in the Trichinopoly district. Muşir-pākkam is a village in the Chingleput district. In a part of ancient Cappadocia,—the area north-west of Antioch and Alexandretta, almost bordering on the Mediterranean,—a place known as Muşri was conquered by a descendant of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, between about 1385 and 1342 B.C.¹⁵⁷ May it be that the similarity of names is to be accounted for by commercial intercourse between the coasts of the Mediterranean and the west coast of south India?

155. See Appendix 10.

156. See Appendix 11.

157. THOMPSON, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2 : 234, 241, 250.

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

NO.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
FIGURE 1				
1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 112 (369)
2	Harappa	"	"	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR</i> , 1927: 107: 23 (3)
3	Mohenjo-Daro	"	"	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 110 (303)
4	"	"	"	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , —: 96 (520)
5	Ayodhya	Coin	Prob. 2nd cent. B. C.	RIVETT-CARNAC, in <i>JASB.</i> , 49: 138: 16 (1)
6	"	"	"	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (89), 133: 17 (2)
7	Madura country	"	Prob. 2nd cent. A. D.	LOVENTHAL, <i>Coins Tinnevely</i> , 5: 1 (11)
8	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 6: 1 (13)
9	Ceylon	"	"	{ SMITH, <i>IM. CC.</i> , 200: 22 (19) CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 24: 2(16)
10	Ujjain	"	3-2nd cent. B.C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 261: 36 (8)
11	Audumbara	"	1st cent. B.C.	{ <i>Ib.</i> , (84) CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. India</i> , 68: 4 (2)
12	Ayodhya	"	Prob. 100-125 A. D.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (90), 137: 17 (17)
13	Taxila	Signet Ring	"	MARSHALL, in <i>ASI. AR</i> . 1925: 50: 11 (5)
14	"	Coin	—	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. Ind.</i> , 62: 3(3)
15	Kosam	"	152-144 B. C.	JAYASWAL, in <i>JBORS.</i> , (1934) 20: 291, 295: 2 (3)

FIGURE 2

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 386: 111 (339)
2	Audumbara	Coin	1st cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC., An. Ind.</i> , (84), 123: 14 (17)

FIGURE 3

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 387: 111: (351)
2	Taxila	Coin	—	ALLAN, <i>BMCC. An. Ind.</i> , (135), 225: 32 (21)
3	Piprahwa	Coin?	c 450-200 B. C.	SMITH & PEPPE, in <i>JRAS.</i> , 1898: 585: 1 (1)

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 4

1	Aenus	Coin	c 460 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 145 : 29 (8)
2	Cyrene	"	c 525-480 B. C.	ROBINSON, <i>BM. CC. Cyrenaica</i> , 4 : 3 (7)
3	Macedon	"	c 413-399 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 139, 142 : 27 (14)
4	Athens	"	c 540 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 51 : 4 (2)

FIGURE 5

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , — : 110 (319)
2	Thurium	Coin	c 440 B. C.	HILL, <i>Greek & Roman Coins</i> , 261 : 6(5)
3	Neapolis	"	c 420 B. C.	SELTMAN, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 115 : 18 (9)
4	Ur	Sealing	c 3000-2600 B. C.	SMITH, <i>Early H. Assyria</i> , 49-50 : (3)

FIGURE 6

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , — : 106 (93)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , — : 110 (302)
3	Chanhu-Daro	"	c 2000 B. C.	MAJUMDAR, <i>Explns. Sind</i> , 38 : 17 (38)
4	Parthia	Coin	c 230 B. C.	GARDNER, <i>Parthian Coinage</i> , 26 : 1 (4)
5	Bactria & N. W. India	"	c 175-156 B. C.	SMITH, <i>IM. CC.</i> , 12 : 2 (8)
6	Bactria	"	c 156-140 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 14 : 3 (3)
	—	"	1st cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (154) 280 : 45 (14)

FIGURE 7

1	Harappa	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 63 : 12 (13)
2	"	"	"	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1928 : 83 : 34b.
3	Ceylon	Plaque	2nd cent. B. C.	{ CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 29 : 2 (23) PARKER, <i>Ancient Ceylon</i> , 461, 475 : 154 (2)
4	Ceylon	"	"	CODRINGTON, <i>Coins Ceylon</i> , 28 : 2 (22)
5	Harappa	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1928 : 83 : 34-b
6	"	"	"	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 65 : 12 (20)
7	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 69 : 13 (19)

NO.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
FIGURE 8				
1	Bharhut	Sculpture	c 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 94 : 43 (4)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 45 : 30 (1)
3	Mathura	"	c 100 A. D.	COOMARASWAMY, in <i>Art Bulletin</i> , 9 (4) : 39 : 21.
4	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 9 (4) : 39 : 22
5	Sanchi	"	2nd cent. B. C.	FERGUSSON, <i>Tree & Serpent Worship</i> , 115 : 25 (3)
6	Bodh-Gaya	"	c 100 B. C.	BURGESS, <i>Anc. Mon. Temp. Sculp. Ind.</i> , 19 : 172 (2)

FIGURE 9

1	Bharhut	Sculpture	c. 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 91-3 : 17 (2)
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 112-3 : 16 (2)

FIGURE 10

—	Khandagiri	Sculpture	175-50 B. C.	MITRA, <i>Antiquities Orissa</i> , 2 : 32 : 23
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FIGURE 11

1	Mesopotamia	Seal	ante 3000 B. C.	FRANKFORT, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> , 17-8 : 3b
2	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 24 : 4 (j)
3	Nuzi	"	c 1450-1400 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , 183-4 : (44)
4	Crete	Signet ring	c 1400 B. C.	EVANS, <i>Palace of Minos</i> , 4 : 610 : 598 (a)
5	Knossos	Seal	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 4 : 607-8 : 597A (e)

FIGURE 12

—	Harappa	Bowl	c 2800 B. C.	VATS, in <i>ASI. AR.</i> 1930 : 126 — : 29f (1b)
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FIGURE 13

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Amulet	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 68 : 118 (11)
2	"	Sealing	"	<i>Ib.</i> , 52-6 : 12 (17)

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
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FIGURE 14

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Sealing	c 2800 B. C.	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> , 335 : 87 (222)
2	Ujjaini	Coin	c 3-2nd cent. B. C.	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 252 : 38 (23)
3	"	"	"	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Coins An. Ind.</i> , 97 : 10 (7)
4	"	"	"	ALLAN, <i>BM. CC. An. Ind.</i> , (145), 252 : 38 (25)
5	Panchala	"	c 25 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , (120), 203 : 28 (20)
6	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , (120) 204 : 29 (1)
7	'Gandhara'	"	c 75 B. C.	GARDNER, <i>BM. CC., Greeks & Scythians</i> , 71 : 17 (5)

FIGURE 15

1	'Gandhara'	Sculpture	100 B. C.-200 A. D.	BURGESS, <i>Anc. Mon. Temp. Sculp. Ind.</i> , 11 : 130 (2)
2	Amaravati	"	150-200 A. D.	BACCHOFER, <i>Early Ind. Sculp.</i> —: 128
3	Taxila	"	2nd cent. A. D.	<i>Ib.</i> —: 152 (6b)
4	Amaravati	"	c 150 A. D.	FERGUSSON, <i>Tree & Serp. Worship</i> , 191-2 : 71 (2)

FIGURE 16

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Seal	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i>
2	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 31 (4)
3	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , —: 31 (4)
4	Bharhut	"	c 150 B. C.	CUNNINGHAM, <i>Stupa Bharhut</i> , 45:30(3)
5	Sedment	—	c. 2800-2650 B. C.	PETRIE, <i>Decorative Designs</i> , —: 34 (M13)
6	Taxila	—	c 150 A. D.	<i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1924 : 66 : 27(1)
7	—	—	c 150 A. D.	<i>ASI. AR.</i>
8	Persia	Coin	5th cent. B. C.	HILL, <i>BM. CC. Arabia, etc.</i> , (135, 137)
9	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 39 (1)
10	"	"	"	<i>Ib.</i> , —: 31 (6)
11	Taxila	—	c 100 B. C.	<i>ASI. AR.</i> , 1913 : 27 : 21b 6
12	Sanchi	Sculpture	2nd cent. B. C.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 31 (4)

No.	PROVENANCE	OBJECT	DATE	REFERENCE
13	Mathura	"	1st cent. A.D.	COOMARASWAMY, <i>Hist. In. Indo. Art.</i> , —: 71
14	Lahun	—	c 2000-1800 B. C.	PETRIE, <i>Decorative Designs</i> , —: 34 (M 40)
15	Crete	—	c 2600-2400 B. C.	<i>Ib.</i> , —: 34 (M37)
16	Piprahwa	Gold Leaf	c 450-200 B. C.	SMITH & PEPPE, in <i>JRAS.</i> 1898: 585: 1

FIGURE 17

1	Enkomi	Gold-leaf	c 1380 B. C.	EVANS, <i>Palace of Minos</i> , 2: 494-5: (300)
2	Sanchi	Sculpture	c 6th cent. A. D.	MAISEY, <i>Sanchi</i> , —: 15 (10)

FIGURE 18

1	Mohenjo-Daro	Figurine	c 2800 B. C.	MARSHALL, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> ,
2	"	"	"	MACKAY, <i>Mohenjo-Daro</i> . 279: 75 (15, 16)
3	Nilgiris	Pottery	—	BREEKS, <i>Primitive Tribes Nilgiris</i> , —: 36

PLACE AND PERSONAL NAMES IN THE EARLY LAND GRANTS OF ASSAM*

By

B. KAKATI, Gauhati.

1. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Padmanātha BHATTĀCĀRYA, M.A. (formerly Senior Professor of Sanskrit in the Cotton College, Gauhati) published the Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the early Hindu Kings of Assam in 1838 B.S. (1931 A.D.). The Pandit had compiled, deciphered and worked at the grants over many years and after his retirement from office put them in together under the comprehensive title of *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* and got them published through the courtesy of the Rangpur Sahitya Pariṣad, North Bengal. The Sanskrit text has been printed in the Devanāgarī script and the accompanying Bengali translation in the Bengali script. There is also a long historical introduction in Bengali. Though the Bengali translation takes away much of the usefulness of the publication in other parts of India and abroad, the text may be relied upon as having been very carefully prepared.

2. The inscriptions have all been composed in Sanskrit,—some in verse and others in prose. The Sanskrit has been interspersed with Prakrit and indigenous *deśya* formations. Contrary to current practices, the editor, instead of retaining the Prakrit formations in the text, substituted corresponding reconstructed Sanskrit formations in their places. The original Prakritisms have, however, been preserved in foot-notes under headings like "Original readings".

3. In the publication under discussion, there are ten inscriptions ranging from the seventh to the twelfth century A.D., covering practically the entire Hindu period of Assam history. From the thirteenth century onwards, Assam passed into the hands of the Shans. These land grants were ordered by seven Hindu kings in different times measured by centuries. Their names, regnal times and the places wherefrom the grants were issued are given in the following table. The serial numbers of the grants are put in just after the names in Roman notation.

* Abbreviations :—

As. = Assamese ; Bḍ. = Boḍo ; Khas. = Khasi ; Mḍ. = Mṛḍari ; Sant. = Santali ; A. F. D. = Assamese, Its Formation and Development.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Grant No.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place of issue.</i>
1. Bhāskara Varmā	(I)	7th century	Karṇasuvarṇa
2. Harjara Varmā	(II)	9th century	Hārūpeśvara
3. Vanamāla Deva	(III)	9th century	Hārūpeśvara
4. Bala Varmā	(IV)	10th century	Hārūpeśvara
5. Ratnapāla	(V. VI)	11th century	Durjayā
6. Indrapāla	(VII. VIII)	11th century	Durjayā
7. Dharmapāla	(IX. X)	12th century	Kāmarūpa (city)

4. In tracing the genealogies of kings and often also of the Brahmin scholars to whom lands were granted, in recording the names of the persons who composed the verses and who prepared the copper plates and inscribed them, and also in defining the boundaries of the lands in terms of rivers, tanks, trees, and adjoining cultivation fields, places and persons have been named whose denominations are often of non-Sanskritic origin. The editor passed them over as unintelligible and no comment was made. In some instances an attempt was made by the editor to explain a few terms. But the explanations seem to be entirely fanciful, being metaphysical e.g. Hārūpeśvara is connected with *Sārūpya-mukti*. The explanations suggested in this paper are entirely independent of the editor's comment.

5. The indigenous *deśya* elements are grouped below into (A) Personal names—female and male; (B) Place names. The Personal names are mostly of Sanskritic origin and those only have been included here that show some morphological peculiarities from the point of view of *NI-A.* languages. As the non-Aryan terms are unintelligible, only sound-correspondences with semantic approximations have been given.

The number of the inscription is indicated by Roman notation and the number of paragraph by Arabic notation.

(A)

PERSONAL NAMES.

Female.

6. Female names always end in *-ā*; e.g. *Jivadā* (III.10); *Srimattarā* (III.15); *Ratnā* (IX.11); *Jivā* (X.15); *Netrā* (X.17); *Patrā* (X.19).

7. Female names are often pleonastically lengthened by suffix—*āyikā*: e.g.

Sabhrāyikā (III.31); *Svabhra-*; (*Su + abhra*).

Śyāmāyikā (IV.28); *Śyāmā*;

Cheppāyikā (VI.18); *Kṣēpyā*;

Saukhyāyikā (VII.22); **Saukhyā*;

Pāukā (IX.19); *Pāvaka + ukā*; (see § 7c.)

As against *Śyāmāyikā* of plate no. IV, occurs the honorific Skt. form *Śyāmādevī* in plate no. I.22.

In modern female names like *Rahe*, *Paṭe*, *Mahe* (A. F. D. § 188) in the Kāmarūpī dialect of Western Assam, convergence of *-devī* and *-āyikā* may be suspected.

Daluhāṅganā (III.30) ; "women of *daluha*".

It is an obscure word. In the foot-note the editor refers to an earlier translator who rendered it into "the women of Danuha, (a nation)." The compound seems to mean "temple women". *Daluha* seems to be an Austric formation : cf. *dol*, *haleh*, *hai*, *hei*, *hi*, H. 151, 152, 153. Modern As. retains *dol*, a temple, shrine. Cf. also *dig-dol* (see § 16). In the context in the inscription, other classes of women referred to are *kāṇāṣī*, *vārāstrī*, *ṣavana-kāminī*, *naṣī*. The presence of *kāṇāṣī* seems to have misled the translator.

Male.

7. Pleonastic suffixes after male names :

(a) *-iyā* ; (A. F. D. 538a) ; *Kāliyā* (I.27) < *Kāli*.

It is a very common personal name in current Assamese.

(b) *-e* ; *Cande* (*-nauki*) (VI.21) ; a boatman named *Cande*, < *Candra*-. The suffix is the same as the Standard Assamese *-āi* (A. F. D. § 527) which appears as *-e* in Western Assamese.

(c) *-oka* ; *Khāsoka* (I.26) ; *Indoka* (III.32).

The termination *-oka* occurs also elsewhere : cf. *Divvoka*, *Rudoka*, names of Kaivarta rebel kings of early Bengal (P. L. PAL : *Early History of Bengal*, p. 58). In the earlier form *-cuka*, it appears in *Jalauka*, a son of Asoka Maurya (V. A. SMITH : *Early History of India*, p. 191).

The suffix *-oka* > *-o* is preserved in modern Assamese current names ; e.g. *Nilo*, *Haro*, *Naro* ; (A. F. D. § 189).

Indoka, *Khāsoka* of the inscriptions seem to be respectively related to *Indra* and Boḍo *khaso*, build anything across a road or a river.

(d) Two other endings are *-i*, *-t* (*t*) : e.g. *Abañci* (X.23) ; *Orangi-tantra* (IX.24), a weaver named Orangi. Current Assamese has *-i* termination in personal names : e.g. *Anāthi*, *Bhadi*. *Orangi* seems related to Malayan *Orang* : Sant. *horo*, man. *-t* (*t*) : *Bhijjaṭa* (III.30) ; cf. Current As. names : *Bijit*, *Bāñcit*, *Bhābit*.

8. Two other names of historical and legendary fame seem to be of non-Aryan origin :

Harjara Deva (II) ; giver of grant no. II. He and the two other kings of his dynasty Vanamāla Deva and Balavarmā, givers of grants nos. III and IV, with their capital at Hārūppeśvara, are said to have belonged to a *mlecca* dynasty. The name Harjara seems to be of Austric origin : cf. Sant. *hara*, hill ; Austric *jurukrah*, *jukrah*, a chief, C 98 (see § 10).

Naraka : The famous Pauranic king of Prāggyotiṣa from whom most of the Hindu kings of early Kāmarūpa trace their descent. His name occurs in almost all the inscriptions. According to *Kālikā Purāṇa*, he was born of

Earth in the sacrificial ground of king Janaka of Mithilā along with Sītā. The Pauranic derivation of the name is *nara*, man, *ka*, head. At the time of his birth he placed his head on the skull of a man and so he came to be known as Naraka. His being born of Earth seems to point to some non-Aryan origin of the name : cf. Khasi, *nar* ; iron ; *narsaw*, red hot iron ; *narsuh*, a piece of iron rod used for roasting fish, flesh etc. cf. Skt. *nārāca*, iron arrow.

(B)

PLACE NAMES.

9. Place names owe their origin to association with lakes, rivers, trees or some striking natural characteristics or incidents that happened in the localities indicated. Similarly river names are associated with terms indicating noise, breaking etc. The following list of place names has been arranged according to the serial number of the inscriptions rather than the alphabetical order in order to give an idea of the perspective of the time when they were recorded. Moreover words occurring in the same plate may throw some light upon one another's origin by semantic or sound association.

10. *Hārūppeśvara*, (II.14) ; Seat of King Harjara and his descendants. Situated near the present town of Tezpur in the Darang district. Supposed to be of Austric origin : cf. Sant. *hara*, hill ; Austric *pau*, hill, H. 93 : also Sant. *harup*, to cover as with a basket or dish. Curiously enough, other towns of the same region seem to have Austric affiliations : *Tezpur*, Austric, *taju*, *tijo*, a snake, S 311. Sant. *tijo*, a creeping insect. *Darang*, a river and a district : cf. Austric *dorr*, bridge, B 391 ; *hong*, *ong*. W 29.

11. *Dijjinnā* (IV.16) ; Locality of the land granted by plate no. III. cf. Boḍo *dija(o)*, to melt ; *jini*, dirt.

Heng-Sibā (IV.26) ; Place ; cf. Bḍ. *haing*, relation ; *sebai*, break.

Koppā (IV.33) ; Place ; cf. Khas. *kop*, to cover ; Austric, *koi*, C 156.

Diḍḍesā (IV.33) ; a tank ; cf. Bḍ. *di*, water ; *disai*, to sprinkle water.

Sebā (IV.33) ; a tank ; cf. Bḍ. *sebai*, to break.

12. *Kalangā* (VI.16). Locality of land granted by plate no. VI in the present district of Nowgong. Associated with the name of a river called *Kalang*. cf. Austric *klong*, a noise, N 90.

Diyambāra jola (VI.21) ; a tank ; cf. Bḍ. *diyungma*, flood ; *bara*, mouth of a river. *Jola* is a common term indicating natural tanks or lakes. cf. Khas. *jaw*, to leak ; *jaw-khalait*, bathed in tears ; Austric, *lao*, water, W 35 : Sant. *jola*, a shallow or marsh.

13. *Hapyoma* (VII.21) ; Locality of land granted by plate no. VII. cf. Bḍ. *hap*, to penetrate ; *yao*, hand ; *ma*, suffix indicating biggishness.

Koṣṭha-mākkhi-yāna (VII.25) ; a tank ; Skt. *koṣṭha*, a granary ; *yāna*, passage ; Bḍ. *makhao*, a thief : = "passage of the granary thief".

Makūti-mākkhi-yāna (VII.25) ; also *Makuti-Kumyārā* (§ 14). cf. Austric *maku*, egg E 34 ; *tiong*, *ting*, egg-plant. Several Assamese names of plants

with egg-like fruits begin with *māka* : cf. *mākari-ghilā*, *mākat*. In this connection cf. also Skt. *vātiga*, *vātinga*, brinjal.

Dirgummā (VII.25) ; a river ; cf. Bđ. *dir*, river, *gu*, grass-hopper ; *ma*, suffix indicating biggishness. = "river of the big grass-hopper".

14. *Mandi* (VIII.20). Locality of grant no. VII. cf. Bđ. *mandu*, a hut in a cultivated field.

Makuti (*Kumyarā* (VIII.26) ; a place ; cf. Bđ. *khum*, flower ; *yer*, to increase, multiply.

Marka-myikokkha (VIII.26) ; a place, cf. *markhu*, broken rice given as food to pigs ; *miyaoba*, soft ; *khaokhu*, a ladle for cooking.

Hāhārabi (VIII.26) ; a tank : Bđ. *ha*, place ; *raoba*, *raobi*, hard, firm ; *kāhāri*, frontier place.

Pidaka-grāma (VII.26) ; a place ; cf. Austric, *phdaik*, to put or place upon. H 153b ; *ya-pidul* ; *dayak*, village. H 153a, b.

15. *Olindāpakṛṣṭa-kañjiyā-bhiṭvi* (IX.15) ; also *Olindāsameta* (IX. 16). cf. Austric *wal*, deep hole in a stream ; *lien*, hole, H 109, 112 ; *du*, earth, E 12 ; Khas. *deu*, ground. *kañjiyā* seems to be related to Skt. *kañja* and *bhiṭvi* to *bhiṭhi* (see below : *bhallā-bhiṭhi*).

Ora-coṣa (IX.23) ; a natural tank. cf. Khas. *or*, to break into chinks, to crack ; Sant. *orec* to tear, to rend.

Bhallā-bhiṭhi (IX.23) ; *bhallā* seems to be related to Skt. *bhallāta*, a tree ; for *bhiṭhi*, cf. Sant. *bhiṭhā* outlying piece of cultivated high land. Modern Assamese has both *bhiṭhā*, *bheṭi* in the sense of a mound on which a house is erected. As a place name it indicates a colony : e.g. *barbhiṭhā*, the big colony ; *kocar-bhiṭhā* the colony of the *koc* people ; *bhalā* as a place name occurs in *bhalā-guri*, in the district of Nowgong.

16. *Dig-dola* (X.9) ; a village ; cf. Austric. *dik*, *deg*, house ; *dol*, place. H. 153.

Nokka-debbarī (X.23) ; a place ; cf. Bđ. *no*, house : *nokhu*, eaves of a house ; *deba*, *dubba*, thick (as jungle) ; *rai*, cane.

Sobbaḍi (X.23) ; a tank ; cf. Bđ. *sapba*, pure *di*, *de*, water.

Camyalā-joli (X.23), a tank ; cf. Bđ. *sam*, grass, green food. *miyaolai*, a mongoose.

Jaugalla (X. 23) ; a river ; Bđ. *jigalao*, a draw-net used in water too deep for fishing.

Nekka-deuli (X.23) ; a tank ; Bđ. *nekhe*, tip up ; *dilim*, overflow.

Dijjarati-haḍi (X.23) ; a river ; Bđ. *dija*, to melt ; *haḍi*, rains. The element *-rati* is unintelligible.

Bekka (X.23) ; a river ; Austric *bekah*, to break into pieces. cf. Modern As. river name *beki*.

Thaisa-dobbhi (X.23) ; a place ; Bđ. *thaisa*, lemon-fruit (*thai*, fruit) ; *dubba*, thick (as jungle). cf. As. *the-kerā*, Bg. *thai-kal*, a kind of lemon.

Cākko-jāṇa (X.23) ; a place ; cf. Austric *sek, seg*, fruit F 170. *jenayoh*, tree ; T 211. cf. Modern As. *cakalā*, a kind of lemon.

Dija-makkā (X.23) ; a river ; cf. Bḍ. *dija*, melt ; *makkham*, cooked rice.

Nokka-taḍābhūmi (X.23) ; a place ; cf. Bḍ. *nokhu*, eaves of a house.

17. Certain place names that seem to exhibit similar terminations may be considered together :

(a) *Pūraji* (X.23), Locality of grant no. X.

Krosāṇja (IX.16), a village.

The -j- termination seems to suggest association of the place names with fruit trees. One Sanskrit place name is *lābu-kuṭi kṣetra* (V.16) "field of gourd". In *pūraji*, Skt. *pūra* is a citron tree, and *ji* may be affiliated to non-Aryan sources ; cf. Mḍ. *jo*, to bear fruit ; Sant. *janhe*, millet ; Khas. *jangew, jajer, jājew*, various kinds of vegetable plants ; Austric *joho, jihu*. T 211. As. *karac*, a kind of tree approximates the sound of *krosa*.

(b) Another category of formations is with *bā(bha)*.

Kūntabita-khambha-bā-satka...bhū (VII.25). *Nokka-ḍebbaripāla go-bā-bha bhoga alipaṇā* (X.23).

Nauku-bā sahasīmā (III.34).

bhaḍiṣā bhūmi (VII.20, 25).

The -bā- in all these suggests shares or share-holders. Cf. Khas. *bhah*, share ; Austric *ba*, G 34 ; *bebagi*, share ; S 139. Sant. *bebosa*, share.

(c) In the plant name *kāśimbala(ā)*, indicating boundary, there is fusion of non-Aryan Khasi *ka*, a *śimul* tree, with Skt. *śimbala*. The plant *kāśimbālā* is current Assamese *kahimalā*. Another similar formation is *oḍi-amma*, a tree = Mod. As. *uriām*. The term *oḍi* is lexical Sanskrit, probably non-Aryan in origin and means "wild rice". It exists in As. *uridhān*, wild rice. In *oḍi-amma (āmra)*, it seems to suggest a tree belonging to the same genre as the mango.

18. An apology is needed for the suggested derivations of the place names listed in this article. Even as it is, it is very difficult to find out any *rationale* behind place names, Aryan or non-Aryan, except where the names describe some striking characteristics or incidents known in history or legend. Explanation of place names resolves itself into isolating and etymologically identifying the component elements that go towards making up the names. When the names are composed of unintelligible elements of extra-Aryan languages whose linguistic peculiarities have not yet been fully explored, an attempt in this direction cannot proceed beyond tracing approximations of sound and sense. Explanations of this nature as ventured in this paper are anything but scientific, and yet a beginning has got to be made somewhere ; and this article does not claim to be anything but a collection of raw materials. For suggested explanations of other place names of Assam, reference may be made to the present writer's publication : "Assamese, Its Formation and Development" §§ 82-89.

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MISCELLANY

DATE OF ASAGA'S VARDHAMĀNACARITA

In his *Report for 1886-92*, pp. 163-64, PETERSON extracts the concluding portion of a MS. of Asaga's Vardhamānacarita, dated Samvat 1679, as follows :

कल्पाः कल्याणमुच्चैः सपदि जिनपतेः पंचमं तस्य कृत्वा
भूयान्नोऽप्यस्य भक्त्या ध्रुवमनतिचिरात्सिद्धिसौख्यस्य सिद्धिः ।
इत्यंतर्धितयंतः स्तुतिमुखरमुखास्तं प्रदेशं परीत्य
प्रीताः शक्रादयः स्वं प्रतिययुरमरा धाम संप्राज्यसंपत् ॥ १०१ ॥
इत्यसंगकृते श्रीवर्धमानचरिते महाकाव्ये भगवन्निर्वाणगमनो नामाष्टादशः सर्गः ॥ १८ ॥

मुनिचरणरजोभिः सर्वदा भूतधात्र्यां
प्रणतिसमयलभैः पावनीभूतमूर्धा ।
उपशम इव मूर्तः शुद्धसम्यक्त्वयुक्तः
पटुमतिरिति नाम्ना विधुतः ध्रावकोऽभूत् ॥ १ ॥
तनुमपि तनुतां यः सर्वपर्वोपवासै-
स्तनुमनुपमधीः स प्रापयन् संचिनोति ।
सततमपि विभूतिं भूयसीमन्नदान-
प्रभृतिभिरुपपुण्यं कुंदशुभ्रं यशश्च ॥ २ ॥
भक्तिं परामविरतां समपक्षपाता-
मातन्वती मुनिनिकायचतुष्टयेपि ।
वेरित्तिरित्यनुपमा भुवि तस्य भार्या
सम्यक्त्वशुद्धिरिव मूर्तिमती सदाभूत् ॥ ३ ॥
पुत्रस्तयोरसग इत्यवदातकीर्त्यो-
रासीन्मनीषिनिवहप्रमुखस्य शिष्यः ।
चंद्रांशुशुभ्रयशसो भुवि नागर्नद्या-
चार्यस्य शब्दसमयाणवपारगस्य ॥ ४ ॥
सद्वृत्तं दधता स्वभावमृदुना निश्रेयसप्रार्थिना
साधूनां हृदयोपमेन शुचिना संप्रेरितः प्रेयसा ।
एतत्सादरमार्यनंदिगुरुणा सिद्धपै व्यधत्तासगः
कीर्त्युत्कीर्तनमात्रचारुचरितं श्रीसन्मतेः सन्मतेः ॥ ५ ॥

इति वर्धमानचरितं समाप्तम् ॥

संवत् १६७९ वर्षे हर्षकीर्तिनाम्नो मुनेरिदं पुस्तकं चिरं स्थेयात् ॥

Here Samvat 1679, i.e. A.D. 1622 is obviously the date of the MS. and not of the work. There are three MSS. of this work in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, D. Nos. 12166-68. The second of these, which is noticed as complete on p. 8141 of the Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. XXI, ends with the verse इत्थं कल्याणमुच्चै

सपदिः ॥ No. 12166 is only a transcript from this. The third, viz. No. 12168, is incomplete breaking off in the 12th Sarga. In none of these is there any mention of the date of the work. There is a paper transcript of this work in the Adyar Library, bearing the shelf-number 39 H 5. This, however, ends with the following verses wherein is contained not only the date of the work but also information regarding the nativity, etc., of the author.

इत्थं कल्याणमुच्चैः सपदि० ॥
 कृतं महावीरचरित्रमेत-
 न्मया परस्वप्रतिबोधनार्थम् ।
 सप्ताधिकत्रिंशद्वर्षप्रवन्धं
 पुरुरवाद्यानमवीरनाथम् ॥
 वर्धमानचरित्रं यः प्रख्याति (च) शृणोति च ।
 तस्येह परलोकेऽपि सौख्यं सञ्जायते तस्य ॥
 संवत्सरे दशानवोत्तरवर्षयुक्ते
 भावादिकीर्तिमुनिनायकपादमूले ।
 मौद्गल्यपर्वतनिवासव्रतस्थसंप-
 त्सच्छावकप्रजनिते सति निर्ममत्वे ॥
 विद्या मया प्रपठितेत्यसगाङ्गके (ये) न
 श्रीनाथराज्यमखिलं जनतोपकारी (रि)
 प्राप्ते च चौडविषये धरलानगर्या
 ग्रन्थाष्टकं च समकारि जिनोपदिष्टम् ॥

Colophon : इत्यसगकृते वर्धमानचरिते महापुराणोपनिषदि च भगवन्निर्वाणगमनो नामाष्टादशः
 सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

The date of the work is here clearly given as Saka 910, i.e. A.D. 853. The author is said to have belonged to Dharaḷā in Coḷadeśa and written eight works.

In his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 296. Dr. M. Krishnama-chariar mentions Asaga's Vardhamānacarita with the date of Śaṁvat 1679 and appears to mistake this date of the MS. for that of the work.

[After this Note was sent to the Press I was glad to know that this date of Asaga which I have given here from the Adyar MS. had the approval of my Prof. A. N. Upadhye who also (as I learned later) has written on the same subject.]

Adyar Library,
 Madras.

K. MADHAVA SARMA

ŚĀSTRATATTVANIRNAYA : THE WORK AND ITS AUTHOR

By

SADASHIVA L. KATRE, Ujjain.

The main purpose of this paper is to introduce the readers to an interesting metrical work in Sanskrit entitled *Śāstratattvavīṇṇaya* (= a complete judgment regarding the truth of Scriptures) which was composed about a century ago and is devoted to a rational refutation of the doctrines of Christianity and a simultaneous defence of the tenets of orthodox Hinduism. A MS of the work has been procured by the Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Saṁgraha) of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. Its Accession No. is 1882 and it was briefly detailed¹ in the Institute's Catalogue of MSS, Part I. It consists of forty-five folios of straw-paper of the size 11 × 4½ inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page of the folios. Each page bears nine lines with about thirty-six Devanāgarī letters written in dark-black ink on each line. However, two folios, viz. those bearing the figures 31 and 32, are missing, but the matter of those folios is duly furnished by another fragmentary copy,² appearing in the same handwriting, of the work enclosed with the MS. The scribe was one Nānā Atri, a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa, as is evident from his concluding semi-Marathi colophon (vide below) and he has scribed the MS in bold and elegant characters with considerable caution. His date and place are not found mentioned in the MS, but in both these respects he is possibly not much removed from the original composition of the work. A different hand has written a stray verse on the title-page as well as a few marginal notes elucidating some obscure points in the main text on subsequent folios³—matter that seems to have come

1. *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Part I (Ujjain, 1936), Page 31, Serial No. 804.

2. Many of the original folios of this copy are now missing. A number of its extant folios are marked with corrections and amendments noted in the margins by a different hand. As the main MS has adopted the text as corrected and amended in the fragmentary copy, the latter was evidently written slightly earlier while the work was being given the final form.

3. E.g., vide Folio 3b where the original verses read “सिद्धान्त एष भवतां स्वशास्त्रपरिकीर्तिते । ईशावतारे खृष्टाख्ये विश्वासान्नान्यथा गतिः ॥ यतो नास्ति नरः कोऽपि साधुरप्यवर्जितः । विश्वासादेव मुच्येतान्यथा दण्ड्य इतीर्यते ॥ ततोऽज्ञातभवच्छास्त्रा असंख्या ये पुराभवन् । ये च संप्रति वर्तन्ते किं सृष्टा नरकाय ते ॥ तद्धि नृलप्रसिद्धित्वादन्यदेशभवैर्नरैः । ज्ञातमाधुनिकैः स्वल्पैः प्राम्भवैः सुतरां न च ॥ यतः कदाचिदपि तैर्नोज्ञायि भवतां मतम् । अविश्वसन्तस्ते तस्मान्न तावदपराधिनः ॥ अनागसोऽपि नरके पात्येरन्प्रभुणा यदि । अन्यायी निर्घृणश्चेशः स्यादतोऽसदो मतम् ॥”

down from the author of the work himself and therefore suggests the possibility of a sort of contact between the scribe and the author.

The work consists of six chapters of varied dimensions as noted below :—

Chapter	Verses (all anuṣṭubh)	Folios	Colophon
I	28	1 ^b -3 ^a	इति शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णये परोक्त- मतप्रामाण्यपरीक्षाप्रकारनिराकरणं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः १
II	177	3 ^a -12 ^b	इति शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णये परमतदूषण- निरूपणं नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः २ श्रीरामाय नमः
III	71	12 ^b -16 ^b	इति शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णये हितोपदेशो नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ३
IV	59	16 ^b -20 ^a	इति शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णये शास्त्रश्रद्धा- वश्यकताकथनपूर्वकतर्काप्रतिष्ठाननिरू- पणं नाम चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ४
V	61	20 ^a -23 ^b	इति शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णये शास्त्रस्योप- पत्तिनिरपेक्षस्वतःप्रामाण्यनिरूपणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ५
VI (First half)	202	23 ^b -35 ^a	इति षष्ठस्याध्यायस्य पूर्वार्धं समाप्तम्
VI (Second half)	186	35 ^a -45 ^b	इति षष्ठस्याध्यायस्योत्तरार्धं ३८८. इति नीलकण्ठस्य कृतौ शास्त्रतत्त्वविनि- र्णये स्वमतदोषाशङ्कानिराकरणं नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ६. ॐ नमो नारायणाय सर्वात्मा श्री सीताराम लिहिता तद्भक्त नाना अत्रि ॥ छ ॥
6 Chapters	784 Verses	45 Folios	8 Colophons

(Chap. II, Verses 9-14) and the marginal note thereon reads “यदि हि शास्त्रं विनैव
लोकाः श्रेयो लभेरन्ननर्थेन च न संबध्येरन्, तदा निरर्थः शास्त्राविष्कारः । यदि च नैतदस्ति, तदा न

The contents of each chapter which can be discerned grossly from its title noted in the respective colophon may be outlined here very briefly.

In Chapter I the author after a short introduction sets to deal with the question whether the creed of Christianity is worth accepting or not. In the course of a short discussion he examines the so-called rational mode of the Christian missionaries of sifting the divine character or otherwise of a particular creed and logically dismisses their conclusion that Christianity is a creed of divine origin.⁴

प्रमाणं खृष्टशास्त्रम् । प्रमाणत्वे तु खृष्टशास्त्रस्य, तदनुपदिशन्नस्मद्देश्यानथ च दण्डयन्नन्यायकरो भवेत्परमेश्वरः । इत्यभिप्रायः ॥ ”, Folio 43b where the original verse reads “ तस्मादीशस्य महिमा यादृगस्मिन्मते स्थितः । न तथा दृश्यतेऽन्यस्मिन्बहुदोषावहे मते ॥ ” (Chap. VIb, Verse 153) and the marginal note thereon reads “ द्वैतसमयेषु हि परमात्मनो भूयो गुणदारिद्र्यमाप्नोति । इह तु अज्ञत्वं विज्ञत्वं सर्वज्ञत्वं निर्गुणता सगुणता निःसीमगुणता अनैश्वर्यमैश्वर्यं सर्वैश्वर्यमित्यादि सर्वं सुसंपन्नम् । नन्वज्ञत्वादीनां दोषाणां किमिति श्लाघ्या संपत्तिः ?—भृशु । सापेक्षा हि गुणता दोषता च भावानां, सर्वसमश्च परमात्मा, न दोषाणामपेक्षावधिर्न गुणानामिति सर्वमिदं तस्यैश्वर्यमिति श्लाघ्या तद्वता तस्य । स चैष व्यवहार एव । परमार्थतस्तु अज्ञत्वादि सर्वं (ज्ञ) त्वान्तं सर्वमेव कार्त्तिकमिति नादस्तस्योत्कृष्टतामपकृष्टतां वावहति । यथा दारुमयः सिंहः सहोदरो वा न साध्वसस्य न वा प्रेम्णः, तद्वत् । ”, etc.

4. The author's arguments in this passage may be noted here by way of illustration— “ तत्र तावन्मतस्यादौ ग्राह्याग्राह्यत्वनिर्णये । मतानामैशताचिह्नमन्ये त्विदमवादिषुः ॥ भवेन्मतस्य यो यस्य पुमानाद्यः प्रवर्तकः । तस्मिन्नद्रुतसामर्थ्यं विश्वासार्थमपेक्ष्यते ॥ तत्रापि साक्षिभिर्दृष्टे विपक्षेऽथ परीक्षितम् । तत्काल एव च ग्रन्थे लिखितं ग्रन्थकर्तृभिः ॥ तेन प्रवर्तितं लोके मतमद्रुतशक्तिना । भवेदैश्वरमित्येवं विश्वासो जायते दृढः ॥ तदेतल्लक्षणं सर्वं वर्ततेऽस्मन्मते यतः । ततस्तदैशमित्याहुर्न चैतद्वोचयामहे ॥ इदं खल्वत्र पृच्छामः सामर्थ्यं मतकर्तृगम् । चिरातीतं कथं ज्ञेयं पुरुषैरनुनातनैः ॥ तस्यापि साक्षिभिः साक्षात्कृतत्वं ज्ञायतां कुतः । बोद्धव्यं च कृतं कस्माद्विपक्षैस्तत्परीक्षणम् ॥ स्वमतग्रन्थतो ज्ञेयं सर्वं तदिति चेत्तदा । हन्त ग्रन्थोक्तिः कस्मादैश्वरत्वं न मन्यताम् ॥ यः पुनः स्वमतैश्वरत्वं सृषा वक्तुं समुद्यतः । स तत्प्रामाण्यसिद्धयर्थं कथा नो कल्पयेत्कथम् ॥ तत्प्रामाण्यस्य सिद्धयर्थं तेनैवोक्तं कथान्तरम् । मन्तव्यमिति वाक्यं तु बुद्धिमन्तो न गृह्णते ॥ तस्मात्तदुक्तवार्ताभिस्तत्प्रामाण्यं यदीष्यते । ऐशत्वमेव तद्वाक्याल्लघवान्मन्यतां तदा ॥ ननु तत्काललिखितात्प्रामाण्यं मन्यहे वयम् । तत्काललिखितत्वं च ज्ञायते कालसंख्यया ॥ उच्यते—तत्काललिखितारोपि यथार्थमलिखन्ति । निश्चयः स्यात्कथमिव ग्रन्थप्रामाण्यमन्तरा ॥ ननु तत्काललिखिते त्वयाथार्थ्यमसंभवि । अर्थं ह्यसन्तं मन्येरजनास्तत्कालिकाः कथम् ॥ इति चेन्नैवमाभाष्यं भवता कल्प्यते यथा । अन्येषां मतसंचारे युक्तिः सात्रापि कल्प्यताम् ॥ तथा हि नानास्थानोत्था अपीदानींतीनाः कथाः । अद्भुतार्थानुसंबद्धा असतीरपि वस्तुतः ॥ इदानीमपि दृश्यन्ते स्वीकुर्वन्तो बुधा न किम् । इत्यादिकल्पनाभिस्तदन्याभिरपि सेत्स्यति ॥ अज्ञीकृत्यापि यत्केशं कृतोऽस्यान्यैः परिग्रहः । तदप्यैश्वर्यगमकमिति यद् भवतेयेते ॥ त्रयोदशदिश्लोकेषु दत्तप्रायमिहोत्तरम् । तथाप्यस्मिन्स्तु विषये त्वं गृहाणोत्तरान्तरम् ॥ अप्रत्यक्षेऽपि हि फले दृष्टा क्लेशसहिष्णुता । श्रद्धया केवलं लोके प्रयागमृतिदर्शनात् ॥ ” (Chap. I, Verses 9-28).

The veterans of Christianity (i.e. the Christian missionaries) lay down that a creed to prove itself to be of divine origin requires its original promul-

In Chapter II the author refutes the Christian missionaries' arguments that Hindu systems of Philosophy are unreal inasmuch as they contradict each other and abound in flaws. His main point is that the Heaven's sense as embodied in the Hindu Śāstras is very deep and incomprehensible and it cannot be dismissed simply because ignorant people find fault with it. He then shows that far more serious flaws are found plentifully in the *Bible* which he logically proves to be a work of purely human composition. He finds fault with the treatment in the *Bible* of a number of problems, e.g., necessity of belief in Christ's divine powers as the only means of salvation, the fate of non-believers and ignorant persons after death, blind and other crippled persons being restored to their eyesight and other respective senses by Christ simply due to their faith in him,⁵ non-eternal character of soul and non-recognition of past and future life and action, Christian conception of God, God's creation of the world and the worldly beings and the mode, motives, etc. relating to the same, His conferment on men of intellect and freedom of will and action which often lead them astray and prove impediments in their way of bliss thereby contradicting the conception of God as all-compassionate, all-

gator to be endowed with divine and supernatural powers such as have been observed by eye-witnesses, have been successfully tested by adversaries and have been recorded by contemporary authors in their works; and they force the conclusion that their religion is of divine origin since it satisfies all these conditions. However, our author denies a logical validity to the conclusion on the ground that no part of the premises can be established logically. How can we in the present age decide that Jesus Christ who flourished centuries ago was really endowed with divine and supernatural powers? The statement that the so-called powers in the prophet had been marked by eye-witnesses and had been successfully tested by adversaries cannot be accepted except on the evidence of the myths recorded in the *New Testament*. Are we to accept everything recorded in the scripture as true? If that be the case, where is the necessity even of the testimony of those myths since the desired conclusion can be dictated straight by the direct statements to the effect in the scripture? Cannot a scripture bent on falsely assigning a divine origin to its creed invent unreal and imaginary myths and counter-myths to support its statements? The argument that the events of the myths had been recorded simultaneously with their occurrence, too, cannot be pressed too far. How are we to ascertain that the so-called observers observed scientifically and recorded truly the prophet's miraculous feats unless we rely blindly on the statements of the scripture itself? Why are the chances of misconception or mis-statement denied only in the case of the contemporary recorders and not in that of the other contemporaries who to the last did not incur any faith in the prophet's so-called powers and capacities? Even today we find several wise and learned men readily accepting as real various mysterious myths which, as a matter of fact, are unreal in themselves and are coined only freshly, but that does not go to prove that the myths are real. To say that the creed is of divine origin because others accepted it even at the cost of several hardships and sacrifices is no argument: We find that people are prepared to undergo hardships and make sacrifices even for a fruit that has no direct testimony for its existence simply due to their faith in it. Vide, for instance, the case of people committing suicide at Allahabad (with a view to attaining salvation or desired birth subsequently).

5. Vide *St. Matthew* 9, 17, etc., *St. Mark* 5, 7, 8, etc., etc.

knowing etc., the cause and purpose of human suffering, punishments to sinners and non-believers, the Satan's evil operations on human mind, advent of sin and evil on the earth and absence thereof in the heaven, conception of salvation as enjoyment of celestial pleasures, non-recognition of salvation etc. in the case of birds and beasts, etc., etc., and demonstrates logically how rationality really goes with Hindu Metaphysics and not with Christian Metaphysics. He does not fail to remark that the *Bible* passages discussed by him are selected simply by way of illustration and that strictly speaking not a single passage in the Scripture is logically free from flaws.⁶

In Chapter III the author states that genuine scriptures relating to God or deriving their origin from God are generally pregnant with deep sense and are incomprehensible to human intellect in their entirety. The Hindu scriptures (viz., the Śrutis, the Smṛtis, the Purāṇas, the Darśanas, etc.) are of the same type and one should not indulge in finding fault with them, for, human reason in itself is quite incompetent to judge them. One must view with faith alone the myths recorded and the rites prescribed therein and must not question their merit, propriety or authenticity. It is not possible for a layman to discern exactly the Almighty's object behind performing some mysterious feat or promulgating a particular religious code with a view to human welfare. In the case of the *Bible*, too, the charge of improbability can be levied against several myths, e.g. the dialogue between Eve and the serpent⁷; mutual inconsistency is found in several passages, e.g. narrations of various genealogies etc.; unscientific treatment is met with at many places, e.g. attribution of the feature of revolution or rotation to the Sun,⁸ etc. The reason why the dubious

6. ".....वयं तु प्राग्भवांहोभिः पशुतां यान्ति जन्तवः । भुक्त्वा कर्मफलं तस्मान्मुच्यन्त इति मन्महे ॥ भवता किल वक्तव्यं यदुःखं पशुषु स्थितम् । तत्कस्य हेतोरीशोऽपि दुःखार्थं किमसृष्ट तान् ॥ अहो वतास्मदादीनामपि तदुःखदर्शने । कृपया ब्रूते चित्तं दयालोरपि किं न हि ॥ किं च व्याघ्रोरगमुखान्विशोपलवकारिणः । अकस्मात्स्वेच्छया कुर्वन्भगवान्यसनीभवेत् ॥ एवं नृणां विशुद्धयर्थं खृष्टो दण्डं गृहीतवान् । इत्येतदपि युष्माकं न मन्ये साधु भाषितम् ॥ अन्यस्य दण्डग्रहणादन्य एव च शुद्ध्यति । इति न्यायपथापेतं न हेतुन्यायरक्षणम् ॥ अपराधं तु यः कुर्यात्स एवाहंति शासनम् । न्यायरूपमिदं प्राहुरन्यस्वन्याय ईरितः ॥ अथ न्यायमतिक्रम्य यदि खृष्टः कृपावशात् । नूनं शुद्धान्कुरुते तर्हि तस्य दण्डग्रहो वृथा ॥ किं च विश्वासमात्रेण खृष्टे चेत्स्यादक्षयः । तदाहोरतयः कामं कुर्युः पापानि मानवाः ॥ पापवर्जनसंयुक्तो विश्वासश्चेदपेक्ष्यते । तदसार्थं मतः कोऽपि नरो नास्त्यधवर्जितः ॥ अथानुतापसहितो विश्वासोऽपेक्ष्यते यदि । अलं तद्वानुतापेन किं विश्वासप्रयोजनम् ॥ ईशोऽनुतापमात्रेण दयावत्त्वादक्षमाम् । कुर्यादेव हि किं खृष्टविश्वासादेः प्रयोजनम् ॥ किं च बाल्ये मृताः खृष्टप्रायश्चित्तप्रभावतः । मुच्यन्तेऽविश्वसन्तोऽपि तथान्येऽपि नरा न किम् ॥ सम्यग्विचार्यमाणं चेद्भवतामीदृशं मतम् । सुधियां पुरतो भाति सर्वं मुग्धोदितार्थकम् ॥ सैषा खल्विह दोषाणां दिगेव परिदर्शिता । विचारे तु कृते नैकमपि दोषोज्झितं पदम् ॥" (Chap. II., Verses 163-177).

7. Genesis 3.

8. "कचिद्विरुद्धा विद्यायाः सूर्ये गतिरुदीर्यते । ततोऽपि मतकर्तृणामज्ञत्वमिव भासते ॥" (Chap. III, Verse 6) on which a marginal note reads "कचिद्विरुद्धतामाहात्म्यः सूर्यमाह

passages are not so numerous in the *Bible* as in the *Purāṇas* is that its bulk as also its number of myths is extremely small. All the divine scriptures, notwithstanding the difference in their treatments, unanimously aim at enhancing men's addiction to God. It cannot be that salvation is attainable only by the mode prescribed in the *Bible*; in fact, God is equally concerned with the weal of all countries and peoples, whether Christian or non-Christian. The Christians are at liberty to place their faith in their own scriptures but they have no business to condemn the Hindu scriptures which can be understood truly only when the original sense and spirit behind them are grasped. It is in the fitness of things that scriptures dealing with God who is Himself undefinable should be of a very serious character and consequently unintelligible to ordinary persons. In fact, they become quite intelligible and marked with logical sequence when they are perused by enlightened persons with faith and in the light of their original sense and spirit. On the other hand, the Christian scriptures relating to God are evidently not divine as they are quite easy to grasp and reveal the raw intellect of their obviously human authors.⁹

The author then alludes again to the deficiencies in Christian metaphysics and theology and defends¹⁰ the Hindu customs of idol-worship and utterance of God's name. Further on, however, he says¹¹ that it may be that God originally published His own Philosophy in its entirety and true form in India which was full of enlightened people and later on imparted in the Christian

तिष्ठति । तदा कियन्तं कालं सूर्यो न च चालेयुक्तम् । तत्कथामवधत्ते । किं हि स्थाणोः स्थिति-
विधानम् । ” (Folio 13^a).

9. “..... प्रसिद्धं सहसा बुद्धेः सूक्ष्मार्थानवबोधनम् । तथा ज्ञायेत चेत्तत्त्वं गाम्भीर्यं
नाम किं ततः ॥ प्रत्युतापि च यच्छब्दं सहसा गृह्यते धिया । न तदैश्वर्यतत्त्वेन युक्तमस्तीति
तर्क्यते ॥ नूनं भवन्मतं सर्वं बालधीगोचरार्थकम् । नरैरिव कृतं भाति प्रकल्प्येव स्वया धिया ॥
etc.” (Chap. III, Verses 36 ff.).

10. “..... मूर्त्यर्चाप्रतिषेधादि नामकीर्तनवर्जनम् । तत्र प्राचीनसिद्धान्तद्वेषमूलमिवे-
क्ष्यते ॥ न लोष्टकाष्टबुद्ध्या हि पूज्यन्ते मूर्तयः क्वचित् । व्यापकेश्वरबुद्धयैव को दोषस्तत्र भण्यताम् ॥
व्यापको हि स्मृतो देवो निर्लेपश्च वियद्यथा । तद्बुद्ध्या पूज्यते यत्र तत्र स्वीकृतेऽर्चनम् ॥
किं त्वज्ज्ञा तस्य यत्रास्ति तत्रैवासौ समर्च्यते । यतः शास्त्रं प्रमाणं नः कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ॥ तथैव
भगवन्नामकीर्तनेन निरन्तरम् । ईशे सुहृदुद्धेतो याति तत्रापि का क्षतिः ॥ अथ स्वपितरं पुत्रः पितः
पितरिति ब्रुवन् । खेदं करोति वै तद्वदीशनाम्नेत्यसद्वचः ॥ येन केन प्रकारेण स्वस्मिन्निष्ठप्रवेशनात् ।
प्रसीदति जगन्नाथो न तु खियति लोकवत् ॥ लोकतुल्यस्वभावश्चेद्भगवानपि कल्पितः । सर्वकालमकार्या
स्यात्तत्सुतिश्च भवन्मता ॥ प्राकृताः खलु खियन्ति हृद्विक्षेपादिकारणात् । हन्तानन्तमहिमस्तु हीयते किं
तदुक्तिभिः ॥ ” (Chap. III, Verses 42-50).

11. “..... मूर्दैरपि यदीयार्था गृह्यन्ते सहसा धिया । न तदैश्वर्यतत्त्वेन युक्तं नाप्यैश्वरं
मतम् ॥ अथवा परमेशेन देशेऽस्मिन्प्राधान्यान्विते । पवित्रे सकलो नूनं स्वाभिप्रायः स्फुटीकृतः ॥
अथो यावनदेशेषु भवदीयेषु चेश्वरः । कथंचिन्नृहितार्थाय स्वामुपासामुपादिशत् ॥ तथा हि भवतां
शास्त्रं बालधीगोचरार्थकम् । तथैव यवनादीनामपि भाति समन्ततः ॥ अस्माकं त्वतिगम्भीरं वेदवाचा च
दिव्यया । प्रोक्तं बहुष्वभिर्युक्तं गूढतत्त्वं च दृश्यते ॥ etc.” (Chap. III, Verses 53 ff.).

and Islamic countries only such part-true forms of His worship as could be picked up by their less intelligent inhabitants. Finally, he appeals to the antagonists of Hinduism to peruse the Hindu scriptures with faith alone whence all doubts and misgivings concerning them would surely disperse.

Chapter IV is devoted mainly to show in detail how Śraddhā (= faith) alone is essential in dealing with religious scriptures and how Tarka (= wordly and conjectural reasoning) is quite foreign in that field. The author shows elaborately and with illustrations how arguments after arguments would rise up in a limitless manner and religion, along with all its environments, viz. God, divine worship and other rites, the heaven and the hell, etc., would lose itself into nothingness as soon as one resorts to Tarka which, though itself based on no other footing than the fickle and fallible human intellect, strikes at the very root of religion. However, the author says in agreement with Manu, it is not improper to employ Tarka concurrently with the Vedas and the Śāstras with the object of gaining proficiency in religion and in matters concerning it. Finally the author remarks that wise Hindus cannot relax their faith on their age-long religion although ignorant Christian missionaries relying solely on Tarka raise grave issues against it and he appeals to his co-religionists longing for their own well-being to continue unhampered their implicit faith in their own scriptures which are by all means the best of their kind in the world.

In Chapter V the author says he would put forth (in the next chapter) his lines of reasoning (= Upapattis) to justify such matters of Hindu Śāstras as though quite valid are difficult to explain. However, the scriptures are themselves a self-evident proof and are not in the least dependent on reasoning for their establishment. In fact, reasoning exists for the scriptures and not the scriptures for reasoning.¹² One must take for granted their entire statements and employ reasoning only to establish them and not to refute them. Nothing of religion can be established if religious scriptures are made to depend on pure reasoning,¹³ but once their self-validity is accepted primarily,

12. “शास्त्रानुगैवोपपत्तिर्नोपपत्त्यनुगं तु तत् । स्वतःप्रमाणकं शास्त्रमुपपत्तिस्तु तद्विदे ॥” (Chap. V, Verse 15), etc.

13. The author shows, by way of illustration, how several passages in the Bible would be dismissed if they are put to pure logical test—“.....कीडार्थमीश्वरोऽस्माक्षी-
ल्लोकोस्ते मृत्यनन्तरम् । मुच्यन्त इत्येवपरं लाघवादुपपद्यते ॥ किं च सृष्टेः पूर्वकाले नासञ्जीवास्तु
केचन । असन्तः स्वेच्छया सृष्टा ईशेनेति भवन्मत् ॥ इत्थमीशेन सृष्टेषु तेषु पापकृतां नृणाम् । अनन्तो
नरके वास इति तावदसंभवि ॥ कथमीशस्त्रिकालज्ञस्तेषां वै दोषशालिताम् । भविष्यत्कालिकीं जानन्दुःख-
भोगाय तान्मुजेत् ॥ मत्सृष्टेषु भविष्यन्ति खल्वेते पापबुद्ध्यः । ततोऽतिदुःखभोकार इति जानन्कथं
सृजेत् ॥ न हि दोषावहं वस्तु प्राकृतोऽपि सिद्धति । दयालुश्च भविष्यज्ज्ञः कथं दुःखाय तान्मुजेत् ॥
ये तावदीशसृष्टेषु स्वर्गतास्तज्जनुर्वरम् । ये पुनर्नरकावासास्तेषां सृष्टिर्निरर्थिका ॥ कथं नु दुःखभाजः
स्युः सृज्येरत्रैव ते यदि । न दयालोरिदं योग्यं सृष्ट्वा तद्दुःखदर्शनम् ॥ तस्मान्न स्वर्गनरकौ धर्माधर्मौ
निरर्थकौ । उपपत्त्या त्विदं सिध्येच्छास्त्रं चेदवमन्यते ॥ नन्वीश्वरः कर्मफलं न दद्यादिति चेत्तदा । प्रजा

harmonious reasoning may be profitably employed with the help of illustrations etc. to justify various matters concerning religion. As regards his proposed lines of reasoning to justify a few apparently dubious matters in the Hindu scriptures, the author says that they are presented by him because they appeared appropriate to his mind and not because they are final in their own form. In case some of them are found to be faulty, intelligent persons should replace them with others more appropriate and faultless but should not use them to condemn the scriptures themselves on their account.

Chapter VI is the lengthiest in the work and is divided into two halves.

In the first half the author puts forth his proposed solutions of a number of dubious and vexed problems concerning orthodox Hinduism. The more important of the solutions are, to put very briefly, as follows : (i) As to why there is such a big host of Hindu schools of thought contradicting each other and bewildering the seekers of truth, the author says that there is, in fact, no real conflict among them as regards the final aim. All the schools unanimously hold that the correct knowledge of the Supreme Self is the only means of salvation. Of course, it is mainly the Vedānta system that imparts that knowledge in its true and exact form. Still, other schools and systems (Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.) were created by the Almighty for the benefit of persons of inferior qualifications, talents and tastes that are unable to pick up or follow the lore of Vedānta. These secondary schools and systems lead their followers by various paths, roundabout though easier, thereby improve their qualifications etc. and thus render them fit enough for the acquisition of correct knowledge as imparted by the Vedānta. Thus all those schools and systems, passing by different and mutually opposed roads, ultimately reach the same goal as the Vedānta, though after considerable delay.¹⁴ Since

भवेयुस्तु इत्येतत्सोपपत्तिकम् ॥ अत्रोच्यते—कर्मणः फलमस्तीति सर्वे जानन्ति यद्यपि । तथापि लोके दुर्वृत्ताः सन्त्येव बहवो नराः ॥ ये तावत्साधवो लोके ते तु सद्गतिमास्थिताः । अथ दुष्टस्वभावानां न स्वप्ने पापजं भयम् ॥ तथा धर्माद्यभावेऽपि ये तावत्सत्त्वभाविनः । परदुःखानि जानन्तः पीडयेयुर्न ते परान् ॥ अथ दुष्टस्वभावा ये निर्धृणाः परपीडकाः । तेषां सत्त्वेऽप्यसत्त्वे वा कृतं तूभयथा समम् ॥ किं न चार्वाकलोकेषु व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते । न ते धर्ममधर्मं वा मन्यन्ते नारकं भयम् ॥ स्याद्वेदमोक्षरस्यैव सामर्थ्यं किञ्चिद्वृत्तम् । व्यवहारो निराबाधो येन लोके प्रवर्तते । किं च धर्माधर्मफलं नराणां सत्प्रवृत्तये । भवन्मतानुसारेण सर्वथैतन्न सिध्यति ॥ भवन्तः खलु मन्यन्ते वयमेव हि धार्मिकाः । मतान्तरानुसारिण्यः जास्तुत्यधगा इति ॥ तस्माद्धर्माधर्मफलं यद्यप्यंशेन निर्मितम् । तथाप्युत्पद्यमानत्वं प्रजानां तदवस्थितिः ॥ धर्माधर्मफलं तस्मान्नास्त्येव नरकादिकम् । किं तु जीवा मृतेरुर्व मुक्ता इत्यस्तु लाघवात् ॥ उपपत्तिवशादेवं लाघवाद्यनुरोधतः । सर्वो लुप्यति शास्त्रार्थो यद्यसावबन्ध्यते ॥ तस्माच्छास्त्रेषु ये प्रोक्ता अर्थास्तदनुकूलाः । उपपत्तिः प्रयोक्तव्या न विरुद्धा तु कर्हिचित् ॥ ” (Chap. V, Verses 32-53), etc.

14. Chap. VIa, Verses 2-3 (“यद्यपीश्वररूपस्य यथार्थज्ञानमेककम् । मुक्तेः साधनमित्याहुर्न प्रकारान्तरं क्वचित् ॥ यथार्थभगवद्भावावबोधे चैककारणम् । वेदान्ता इति सिद्धान्तः श्रुतिषु स्मरणेषु च ॥ ”), 13 (“ये चैते बहवो मार्गा मन्दबोधप्रयोजनाः । वेदान्तबोधद्वारैव तेषां मोक्षे समन्वयः ॥ ”), 14-25 (“नन्वेवमधिकाराणामानन्त्यादध्वनामपि । बहुत्वेऽपि कथं तेषां विरोध

their mutual conflict is finally resolved into naught and since men can without any difficulty take recourse to any one of them suited to their qualifications, etc., no harm accrues to Hinduism on their account. (ii) As to the exclusive exaltations of particular deities in the various sectarian systems, the author says that all through these one and the same God is dealt with under the garb of various distinguishing attributes, of different choices but really having no concern with, or effect on, God Himself. It is an established practice of the wise to take recourse to unreal descriptions (as in the case of stating that the moon is on the branch of a tree or on the top of a mansion) for explaining subtle matters and hence their employment cannot render the divine Hindu systems human or false. (iii) As regards the deviations in the narrations of myths in the various Purāṇas etc., the author says that they are due either to Kalpabheda or to Arthavāda. Many a time the so-called conflict in the passages is only apparent and it disappears as soon as the veiled sense in the passages is grasped with the help of logic. (iv) Answering the charge that the various Vedic works differ from each other from the point of view of language and style, the author says that he finds the language and style to be one and the same through all the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, except in the case of a few Atharvan Upaniṣads which are obviously not genuine. If the language and style of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas appear sometimes to sound different from those of the Upaniṣads, it is due to their subject, and not their authorship, being different. If a scholar were to write a work on Vyākaraṇa and another work on Nyāya, the style, though his own, would seem to differ in each case. (v) The allusions in the divine scriptures to comparatively late events are obviously due to the all-knowing and all-foreseeing character of their author viz. God and to the ever-rotating character of the cycle of worldly events. (vi) Prayers, oblations, etc., although addressed or offered to minor Deities (viz. Indra, Agni, etc.) all ultimately reach the Supreme God (viz. Viṣṇu), who, pleased at their merits, has appointed them to function as His esteemed agents in the ritualistic worships. (vii) The charges levied by critics against Kṛṣṇa's character as God are refuted. There could have been no immoral motive behind Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs in his boyhood and the Purāṇic stories relating those sports are found invariably

उपपद्यते ॥ विरुद्धैरश्वभिर्वान्त एकमर्थं कथं नराः । लभेरन्नथ सर्वेषां प्रामाण्यं च सकृत्कथम् ॥
अत्रोच्यते—मन्दानां तत्त्वबोधाय शास्त्रादिभिरिवोद्भूताः । बहुप्रकारैरीशोऽपि वर्ण्यते दर्शनान्तरैः ॥
शुद्धं भगवतो रूपमाह वेदान्तदर्शनम् । तद्विरोधे न तात्पर्यमन्येषां किं तु बोधने ॥ यथा ह्येकः पुमानाह
प्रासादे दृश्यते विधुः । अन्यो वदति शाखायां पश्य चन्द्रमसं त्विति ॥ विरुद्धेऽपि तयोर्वाक्ये सकृत्प्रा-
माण्याशालिनी । सूक्ष्मार्थबोधैकार्थत्वात्तथा शास्त्रेऽपि बुध्यताम् ॥ किं चाधिकारभेदेन भवेन्मार्गविरोधिता ।
स्थानभेदाद्यतो लोके विरोधो दृश्यतेऽश्वनाम् ॥ यथा कार्शी जिगमिषुर्गयास्थो यदि पृच्छति ।
तत्रत्यास्ते ब्रुवन्त्येनं वज्रं त्वं पश्चिमां दिशम् ॥ अथ प्रयागदेशीयः कार्शीगमनकाम्यया । पृच्छजनांस्तु
तत्रत्यैः प्राचीं गृहीति चोच्यते ॥ प्राचीपश्चिमगमित्वं विरुद्धमपि सर्वथा । भिन्नदेशस्थितेहेतोः फलमेकं
प्रयच्छति ॥ तथैवातर्क्यसदसत्कर्मणां परिपाकतः । नृभ्यो भिन्नाधिकारेभ्यो नैकोऽश्वा प्रदिशेत्फलम् ॥
इति संचिन्त्य भगवान्कृष्णवर्णालयः । मार्गान्नाविधांश्चक्रे यैः सर्वे श्रेय आप्नुयुः ॥ ”), etc.

to promote pious devotion and not immoral practices among the people. Moreover, Kṛṣṇa never indulged in those sports after he was invested with the sacred thread but thenceforth his entire activities were directed towards the propagation of Dharma alone. The statements in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* etc. that Kṛṣṇa was only a partial incarnation of God Viṣṇu etc. are not meant to be taken literally. (viii) The measurements of Ākāśa, Pṛthvī etc. recorded in the Purāṇas are not to be taken in their literal sense. They only mean that the Creator of those huge substances who is the main theme of the Purāṇas is immeasurably huge. (ix) The caste-system laid down in the Śāstras is not faulty or irrational. Persons, as a result of their good or evil deeds in the past lives, come, reasonably enough, to be born in their subsequent lives as Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras. (x) The non-Vedic Smṛtis have been purposely created by the Almighty to be imposed, by way of punishment, on persons of base tastes and vile temperaments who are easily deluded into the snare. Pious and enlightened minds, however, discard or evade them, at once detecting the Almighty's motive behind creating them.

In the second half the author gives a brief, yet lucid and vivid, exposition of the (Advaita) Vedānta Philosophy and demonstrates logically and with the help of illustrations how the entire structure of that divine system is built on a most rational and unshakable foundation.

In both the halves of the Chapter as elsewhere the author incidentally points out several deficient passages in the Christian Philosophy¹⁵ and tries

15. E.g., Chap. VIa, Verses 153ff “अल्पदृष्टिकृतैर्दोषाभासैर्वेदेष्वप्युच्यते विभुः । किं भवत्संमतेऽपि दोषाशङ्का न जायते ॥ तथा हि दुःखफलके प्रवृत्तान्पातके नरान् । हितेच्छुः शक्तियुक्तोऽपि निवर्तयति किं न हि ॥ न धावत्यर्भके तातः शङ्कमानोऽपि तत्क्षतिम् । अपेक्षते तत्पतनं किं त्वेनं निरुणद्धयसौ ॥ तस्माद्व्यसनितैवेते ह्यशक्तिर्वा प्रकल्पिता । भवदीये मत इति सुव्यक्तं प्रतिभाति नः ॥ प्रवृत्तावेव जीवानां निरुद्धायां तु पाप्मनि । कथं कुर्युस्ततः पापं दुःखं वा प्राप्नुयुः कथम् ॥ न चैतदकरोदीशः सर्वशक्तियुतोऽपि सन् । तस्मादीशे भवेत्सिद्धा गौरवाप्रतिभाप्युत ॥ कष्टं यदसृजन्जीवान्धर्मैकप्राप्यमङ्गलान् । पापात् बहुदुःखार्हाननिवर्त्यप्रवृत्तिकान् ॥ कथं नु दुःखभाजः स्युः सृज्येरन्नैव ते यदि । प्रक्षालनादि पङ्क्त्य दूरादस्पर्शनं वरम् ॥ अनाहतानन्तशक्तावपारकरुणानिधौ । प्राणिनामिच्छति श्रेयः साक्षान्वाप्रत्यपीश्वरे ॥ जनान्वब्रवीतीशस्य कथं विगतसाध्वसः । पापः पिशाचकः कश्चित्पातकेषु प्रवर्तयन् ॥ ईशाशयं न जानीमो वयमित्युच्यते यदि । तदेवोत्तरमस्माकमपि तर्ह्यत्र सुच्यताम् ॥ तस्मान्न शङ्क्यतां जातु किञ्चिदीश्वरकर्मसु । बुद्धिर्हि तनुरस्माकं नार्हतीशपरीक्षणम् ॥ ” , 184 ff “भवतां च मतेऽप्यस्ति शास्त्रविद्याविपर्ययः । शास्त्रे तु भानोर्विद्यायां पृथिव्या गतिरिष्यते ॥ ततश्च भवतां पूर्वैऽप्यज्ञाः शास्त्रकृतोऽभवन् । पश्चात्सुबुद्धयो जाता इति शङ्का भवेन्न किम् ॥ ” etc., Chap. VIb, Verses 28ff “नेश्वरः स्वोपभोगार्थं जगत्सृजति लोकवत् । किं तु तत्तत्कर्मवशादिति प्राक्प्रतिपादितम् ॥ यस्य यस्य यथा कर्म न्याय्यं तस्य तथा फलम् । न युष्मन्मतवत्त्वन्न भोगेच्छा कल्प्यते विभौ ॥ ” , 86 ff “भवन्मतं च जीवांहोदण्डं खृष्टोऽप्रहीत्स्वयम् । तस्मिन्निश्वासमात्रेण मुच्यन्ते पातकादिति ॥ ततः खृष्टे सुविश्वस्य केचित्पातकलोलुपाः । कुर्युः पापमसौ दोषः प्रत्युतास्ति भवन्मते ॥ सर्वशुद्धतमं तस्मादिदं वेदान्तदर्शनम् । दोषलेशोऽपि नेहास्ति किं त्वप्राप्यमसंक्षियाम् ॥ ” , 91 ff “दोषदुःखयुताजीवान्स्वोपभोगार्थमीश्वरः । तेषां दुःखान्यगणयन्सृजतीति

to prove on comparison how the corresponding treatment in the Vedānta or other Hindu systems alone is tenable. He concludes after making an appropriate eulogy of Hindu Religion and noting the date and place of his composition of the present work.

Thus the *Śāstratattvavirṇaya* is a work by a talented Pandit of much religious zeal who had not only mastered the orthodox Hindu systems of Philosophy and other branches of learning but had also studied closely and critically the *Old and New Testaments* of the *Holy Bible* and had also acquainted himself with the elements of modern sciences as current in his time. His excellent command over Sanskrit is displayed abundantly in the work and his complete grasp of the Hindu Śāstras, especially the Advaita Vedānta and the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems, is marvellous. His style, though occasionally marked with repetitions, is lucid and his treatment vivid and clear. Although he generally treads the stock path of the old-type Pandits, one can easily follow his lines of arguments or counter-arguments as he very often makes use of appropriate illustrations to explain his points.

A few personal details regarding the author can be gathered from the introductory and the concluding verses in the work as quoted below :—

भवन्मतम् ॥ स्वैकांशेन तथा भूत्वा क्रीडतीति मतं तु नः । भवन्मतान्मतेऽस्माकं विषयेऽस्मिन्नगौणता ॥
उत्पादको यथोराणां स्वयं चोरश्च यो भवेत् । किं तारतम्यमुभयोर्विचारे सति सिध्यति ॥ किं तु युष्मन्मते
सत्यं दुःखं दोषाश्च वै यतः । दुष्टोत्पादकता सत्या विभौ क्लृप्ता भवन्मते ॥ अस्माकं तु मते दुःखं
दोषाश्च भ्रान्तिजा यतः । भ्रान्तदृष्टयैव ते सत्या ब्रह्मदृष्ट्या स्यैव हि ॥ अभ्रान्तं हि परं ब्रह्म तद्दृष्ट्यैते
मृषा ततः । अस्माकं दुष्टता मिथ्या विशेषोऽस्मन्मते त्वियान् ॥ चोरोत्पादकता
सत्या विभौ क्लृप्ता भवन्मते । अस्माकं चोरता मिथ्या विशेषोऽस्मन्मते त्वियान् ॥.....”, 104 ॥
“ननु दुष्टान्नरानीशः सृजतीति न नो मतम् । नृणामेवेश्वरः कर्ता दोषा जीवकृता मताः ॥ अत्रोच्यते—
भूतमव्यभवज्ज्ञाता परमात्मा यतो मतः । ज्ञातवानेव जीवानां भविष्यदोषशालिताम् ॥ मत्सृष्टेषु भविष्यन्ति
खल्वेते दोषशालिनः । ततोऽतिदुस्खिनश्चेति जानात्येव किलेश्वरः ॥ इति जानन्नपीशस्तान्मृजत्येवेति
बल्यताम् । अनपोह्या व्यसनिता दुष्टोत्पादकतापि च ॥ सदोषान्यदि नास्माक्षीन्द्राविदोषास्तथापि नूनं ।
जानन्नपि यतोऽस्माक्षीदुष्टानेव ततोऽसृजत् ॥ अजानन्नस्वतन्त्रश्च पिता पुत्रान्मृजन्नपि । कालेन तेषां
दुष्टत्वे न स दुष्यति तावता ॥ स्वतन्त्रोऽप्येष भगवान्भविष्यदोषशालिताम् । नृणां ज्ञात्वापि तान्कुर्वन्दुष्टो-
त्पादक एव सः ॥ इममर्थं सृजाम्यस्मादोषोऽपि भविता महान् । इति जानन्नपि स्रष्टा दुष्टस्रष्टा कथं न
सः ॥ ईशः शर्मच्छया जीवान्मृजतीति तु वादिनः । मोघेच्छत्वमथाज्ञत्वं कल्पयन्ति परात्मनि ॥ किं च
शुद्धानेव नरान्यद्युत्पादयतीश्वरः । शुद्धानां दुष्टता हन्त कथं कालेन जायते ॥ नरास्तद्बुद्धयर्थैव शुद्धा
एव कृता यदि । कथं दुष्यन्ति कालेन धीश्च पापे प्रवर्तते ॥ यदि शुद्धधियां पापरतिः कालेन जायते ।
स्वर्गता अपि कालेन भजेयुर्दुष्टतां तदा ॥ दुष्टबुद्धिश्च दुष्टाश्च तस्मात्सृजति नृन्विभुः । अप्रार्थितमपि ह्येतद्भव-
च्छास्त्रेण सिध्यति ॥ किं च दुःखाकुलाजीवान्मृजतीति तु दूषणम् । स्फुटमेव भवच्छास्त्रे
जन्मतोऽन्धादिदर्शनात् ॥ तस्मादोषादियुक्ताऽन्मृजतीति भवन्मतात् । स्वैकांशेन तथा भूत्वा क्रीडती-
त्यत्र का क्षतिः ॥.....”, 141 “...भवद्भिरेश्वरं कृत्यं तर्क्यमाणं स्वया धिया । समीकृतं नृणां कृत्यैर्ननु
दोषाकुलीकृतम् ॥...”, etc., etc.

Introductory (Folio 1 b)

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 भिन्नाधिकारैः पुरुषैर्बहुधा समुपासितम् ।
 अतर्क्यलीलमीशानं श्रीनिवासमुपास्महे ॥ १ ॥
 वन्दामहेऽथ जननीगिरिजां गिरिजानिभाम् ।
 शिवरामाभिधानैव श्रीतातचरणानुमः ॥ २ ॥
 वासुदेवपदाम्भोजयुगलैकसमाश्रयः ।
 नीलकण्ठाक्षयः कुर्वे शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णयम् ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीवैदिकान्यमतयोः सदसद्भावदर्शने ।
 निष्ठुरेव प्रतीतापि नोक्तिर्दोषाय कल्प्यताम् ॥ ४ ॥
 अपि स्वरूपेण कटु पटुबुद्धिभिरौषधम् ।
 सेव्यं हि भव्यदं यस्मादस्माकं च कृतिस्तथा ॥ ५ ॥
 बुध्वा मदाशयं दद्युर्दोषान्यद्यपि सज्जनाः ।
 स्वकीयं सफलं मन्ये तावतापि परिश्रमम् ॥ ६ ॥
 वरं हि सज्जनान्प्रादुर्गुणज्ञात्स्वावमाननम् ।
 न पुनर्मूर्खतः प्राप्तमपि बोधैः पदस्थितिम् ॥ ७ ॥
 अथाशयमजानद्भिर्दोषारोपैककामुकैः ।
 नीलकण्ठोऽपि दुष्येत नीलकण्ठस्य का कथा ॥ ८ ॥
 तत्र तावन्मतस्यादौ etc ”

Concluding (Folio 45 b)

“...शान्ताः पवित्रा मङ्गल्या हृत्प्रसादविधायिनः ।
 यथा ते वैदिका धर्मा नैव सन्ति तथेतरे ॥ १८२ ॥
 नमो भगवते तुभ्यं विष्णवेऽतर्क्यशक्तये ।
 पवित्रे वैदिके धर्मे श्रद्धां त्वामर्थयामहे ॥ १८३ ॥
 शालिवाहनशाकाब्दे रसपदसप्तभू १७६६ मिते ।
 काश्यां निष्ठामसौ प्राप्तः शास्त्रतत्त्वविनिर्णयः ॥ १८४ ॥
 अन्यासामपि सर्वासां शङ्कानामुत्तरं त्विह ।
 सूक्ष्मरूपेण संदिष्टं बुध्यतां बुद्धिमत्तरैः ॥ १८५ ॥
 यस्येश्वरे परा भक्तिः श्रद्धा शास्त्रे च निश्चला ।
 तस्यैतेऽर्थाः प्रकाशन्त इह प्रोक्ता महात्मनः ॥ १८६ ॥
 इति पञ्चस्याध्यायस्योत्तरार्धं etc ”

The stray verse on the title-page as quoted below embodies an appeal from the author himself to the readers :—

“ स्वपरमतसुविर्तिर्भावबोधे च शक्ति-
 गुणयुगलविशिष्टा द्रष्टुमर्हन्ति शिष्टाः ।
 कृतनतिरथ याचं यो न मे भाववेत्ता
 तमिति ह निजदोषो मत्कृतौ नार्पणीयः ॥ ”

Thus the author's name is Nilakantha, his mother's Girijā and his father's Śivarāma. He wrote the present work Śāstratattvavirṇaya at Benares in the year 1766 of the Śālivāhana era i.e. about 1844 A.C. His main purpose in writing it is to prove logically and in other ways that the creed of orthodox Hinduism is good or real and that of Christianity evil or false. He is quite conscious of the delicate nature of his task and requests the readers, obviously the Christian readers, to give a patient audience to his seemingly harsh words in the work. He is very particular that his words should be interpreted only in the sense in which he has used them and not in any other sense undreamt of by himself. From the passages in the work one cannot but conclude that he was a staunch devotee of God Viṣṇu and that his conviction in the creed of orthodox Hinduism was unquestionable. There are also stray passages¹⁶ in the work which suggest that he was sorely distressed in his heart at the migrations of his co-religionists into the fold of Christianity as the result of the strenuous preachings of Christian missionaries supplemented by their own ignorance and that he wrote the present work as a genuine measure to put a check to that sort of affairs.

Who would believe that the author, who at his own inspiration made and put on permanent record such a strong case for Hinduism against Christianity in 1844, revolted against himself and, actually entering the fold of Christianity only four years later, proved a most formidable antagonist to his original faith? And yet it was exactly the case! For, I have been able to identify our author with no other personage than the renowned Pandit Nilakanṭha Śāstrī Gore alias Father Nehemiah Goreh.

After my previous attempts to identify him with his other namesakes had failed for some reason or other, the strange identity was dimly suggested to my mind by a recorded detail¹⁷ in my memory that Father Goreh used to preach vehemently against Christianity in his early youth before his conversion. Thereupon I procured a copy of the genealogy of Father Goreh's original line from a descendant of one of his unconverted cousins at Benares and, to the confirmation of the identity, therein found Father Goreh's father named as Śivarāma Dinakara Gore. Later on, I also came by a copy of a short

16. E.g., vide “न खल्वत्यन्तगम्भीर आशयः पारमेश्वरः । अल्पबुद्धयर्पितैर्दोषैस्त्यक्तं युज्येत सर्वथा ॥ (II. ८),” “भगद्विरपि तर्केण यदि दोषाः प्रकल्पिताः । तावता ब्रूत किं त्याज्य एष पन्थाः सनातनः ॥ (IV. 56),” “तस्माच्छुद्धतमं शास्त्रं वैदिकं मङ्गलावहम् । क्षुद्रबुद्धिसमुद्भूतैर्न त्याज्यं दोषसंशयैः ॥ (VI^a. 202),” “इदमत्यन्तममलं खलु वेदान्तदर्शनम् । स्वबुद्धिकल्पितैर्दोषैर्न त्यक्तं युज्यते क्वचित् ॥ (VI^b. 159),” “हन्तास्मदीयशास्त्रं ये त्यजन्ति लघुदर्शनाः । दोषाभासाकुलहृदस्तेभ्यः सिधाम्यहं भृशम् ॥ (VI b. 179),” etc.

17. Vide कृष्णशास्त्री चिपळूणकर यांचें चरित्र prefixed to the Marathi translation of the *Arabian Nights* आरबी भाषेंतील सुरस वचमत्कारिक गोष्टी (Poona 1903).

Hindi biography of Father Goreh¹⁸ which, besides naming¹⁹ his father and mother respectively as Śivarāma Pant and Girijā Bai, furnishes some additional details justifying the identification. It is stated²⁰ that Father Goreh had for some years before his conversion been a staunch devotee of God Viṣṇu in supersession of a form of God Śiva that was the principal deity worshipped in his family hereditarily. In the *Śāstratattvavinirṇaya*, too, we meet with numerous passages²¹ bearing evidence to the author's close attachment to God Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. Again, it is stated²² that Father Goreh's first wife Pārvatī Bai had died some time before 1844 in which year he married his second wife Lakṣmī Bai. In the *Śāstratattvavinirṇaya* that was completed just in 1844 we meet with a few passages²³ that indirectly speak for the author's state of bereavement at the time of his composition of the work. All these facts combine to firmly establish our author's identity with Father Goreh himself.

Pandit Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī Gore was born in 1825 in a Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇa family of Mahārāṣṭra that had lately migrated to Benares. He began his studies in Sanskrit in his very childhood and attained proficiency in Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Vedānta, etc., at an early age. A staunch orthodox Brāhmaṇa as he was, he still used to listen patiently to the preachings of Christian missionaries on the ghats and the streets of Benares with a view to challenging and refuting their points critically. He met Father Smith, the then chief of the missionaries at Benares, first in 1845 and held discussions with him on some obviously weak points of Christian Metaphysics. Father Smith, when

18. *Life of Father Goreh*—पण्डित नीलकण्ठ शास्त्री का जीवन वृत्तान्त published by the Christian Literature Society for India (2nd edition, Allahabad, 1927). Thanks are due to Rev. A. Russell GRAHAM of the Canadian Mission, Ujjain, for having taken the pains of procuring the copy for me.

19. *Ibid*, Page 1.

20. *Ibid*, Page 3.

21. E.g., VIa. 136 ff. ".....केश्वरोऽनन्तदुर्ज्ञेयलीलानेकहेतुवित् । क जीवाः क्षुद्रविषणा अहो साहसमस्त्यदः ॥ सर्वाः स्त्रियश्च पुरुषा यदीया एव केवलम् । तस्मिन् व्यभिचारादीन् शङ्कन्ते यत्तदद्भुतम् ॥..... प्रत्युतेश्वरलीलासु ये रताश्चित्तपूर्वकम् । तेषां विरक्तिः संसारात्पादपि च दृश्यते ॥ इमं पश्यत लीलानां प्रभावं परमात्मनः । यासु प्रमोद्वे पुंसो जायते शुद्धमानसम् ॥ शृङ्गारादिरसैः पूर्णा अपि लीलाः परात्मनः । जनयन्ति मनःशान्तिं किं तच्चित्रमथोक्षजे ॥ इदमेवैश्वरं कृत्यं यस्तन्मार्गे प्रवर्तनम् । न तस्य धर्मैराप्तव्यं हेयं वाप्यस्त्यधर्मैतः ॥ प्रगायतां स्ववीर्याणि स्वान्त आविर्भवन् हरिः । अपाकरोति मालिन्यं मनःशान्तिं च यच्छति ॥ गायतां श्रद्धावानां पावनीर्भगवत्कथाः । शुद्धिमेति यथा चित्तं तत्सतामानुभाविकम् ॥ यदुनन्दन गोविन्द रामकृष्णेति वल्गताम् । यदुद्भवति नः प्रेम किं ब्रूमो भवतां पुरः ॥ etc.", VI b. 165 "अत एकात्मभावेन जगतां पतिरच्युतः । उपास्यः कीर्तनीयश्च स यच्छ्रयात्मसंविदम् ॥", etc. Vide also I. 1 and 3 quoted above.

22. *Life of Father Goreh etc.*, Page 3.

23. E.g. II. 111 ff. "अभिमानोद्भवं दुःखं सर्वेषामानुभाविकम् । तन्निरासात्तन्निरास इत्येतदपि निश्चितम् ॥ बहुयः सन्ति त्रियो लोके न तत्राशेन खिद्यति । स्वन्वेनाभिमता या तु तत्राशादुःखमनुते ॥ etc."

he saw that his answers could not stand the Śāstrin's critical challenges in the first and the subsequent meetings, simply requested him to read *the Old and the New Testaments* more closely and in a strain of faith and further presented him a copy of a Hindi translation²⁴ of a work written by Rev. Muir in justification of Christianity and refutation of Hinduism. The Śāstrin thereupon prepared in Sanskrit a critical refutation of Rev. Muir's work and handed it over to Father Smith for being forwarded to Rev. Muir. However, what could not even be imagined previously of being within the zone of achievement by the missionaries per argument or persuasion was achieved by them, strangely enough, without any human effort. A mystic inspiration, it is said, occurred all of a sudden to the Śāstrin about 1847 that Christianity alone was the real and divine faith, notwithstanding what he himself had said and written previously. The said inspiration gradually took full possession of his mind and in 1848 he voluntarily got himself baptised in the church at Jaunpur near Benares in the face of extreme opposition and hostile demonstrations both in family and in society. Thenceforth he dedicated himself exclusively to the cause of propagation of Christianity in India and, under his new name Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, spent the remaining forty-seven years of his life in preaching, most zealously and in various capacities, for Christianity and against Hinduism and other faiths. His missionary activities were not confined to one place but lay at Benares, Bombay, Poona, Mau, Indore, Ahmednagar, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Jubbulpore, Nagpur, Chanda, Ranchi, Panchaud, Pandharpur, Sholapur, Delhi, Amritsar, Dehra-Dun, etc. etc., in an age when most of those widely distant places of the country were not connected with each other by railways. He also crossed swords on behalf of Christianity with promulgators of new Indian faiths like Svāmi Dayānanda Sarasvatī of the Ārya Samāja, Babu Keshava Chandra Sen of the Brahmo Samāja, etc. He visited England twice, once as tutor to ex-Maharaja Dalip Singh, and was called there for interview by great personages like Queen-Empress Victoria, Prince Albert, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone and others. He also wrote or revised translations of the books of the *Bible* in different Indian languages and prepared and published a number of critical works in Hindi, Marathi and English for the uplift of his new cause. The most important of his works is the *Ṣaḍdarśana-darpaṇa* in Hindi which is devoted solely to lay bare logically several apparent loopholes and weak points in the six Hindu systems of Philosophy with a view to establishing the consequent superiority of the Christian scriptures over them. The original work was published first in 1860 and its English translation *A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*, prepared

24. The biography notes the title of the Hindi translation as *Mataparīkṣā*. Vide H. D. VELANKAR: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta Manuscripts* in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, Page 330, No. 1159, for a short description of a MS of a metrical Sanskrit translation of this *Mataparīkṣā* in five chapters by Rev. John Muir himself. It is not stated therein if Father Goreh or any other Pandit had a hand in the preparation of the Sanskrit translation.

by the renowned orientalist Fitz-Edward Hall with the aid of the original author, appeared in 1862. Father Goreh was highly proficient not only in Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and English, but lately also in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. He died at Bombay in 1895.

We are not concerned here with the merits or demerits of our author's sudden and radical change of heart which at any rate is a rare specimen of its kind for the Psychologist. The acquisition of a cultured Pandit of rare talents of Father Goreh's type was indeed an unparalleled gain for the Christian Mission in India and a correspondingly severe loss to Hinduism, although the Hindus never realised it. It was the result of Father Goreh's elaborate and learned preachings that not only the masses but eminent persons of letters and culture like Paṇḍitā Ramā Bai of Poona, Pandit Kharag Singh of the Punjab, etc., as also some learned Maulvis and Parsis, got themselves converted to Christianity. Still, the wonder of the whole case was that Father Goreh with his twenty years' discussions could never prevail upon his own learned younger brother Govinda regarding the advantage of Christianity over orthodox Hinduism, although the latter had sincerely promised to become a Christian as soon as it was solidly proved to him that the Christian views of men's freedom of will and action, God's knowledge of the future, etc., were not inconsistent with each other!

The *Sāstratattvavinirṇaya*, although it is being brought to light for the first time today,²⁵ has evidently lost its main importance since the cause for which it was meant to exist was betrayed lately by its own author for spiritual reasons. Still, ignoring its author's personal details, its value even today is nothing less than that of the *Śaḍdarśanadarpaṇa*. In fact, herein we find the author, then only a youth of nineteen, not only forestalling but also repealing in an intelligent manner a good deal of his adverse criticism of the Hindu Śāstras so prominently embodied by him lately in the *Śaḍdarśanadarpaṇa*.

From the numerous second person addresses²⁶ in the *Sāstratattvavinirṇaya* one is naturally inclined to identify it with the work said to be composed by

25. The MS under review was presented to the Prācya-Grantha-Saṅgraha of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, in 1934 by Pandit L. H. alias Bhāṇuśaheb KATRE of Benares who in his hereditary collection of MSS possesses a further copy of the work appearing in the same handwriting. No other copy of the work has hitherto been known to exist. AUFRECHT takes no note of the work in the three volumes of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, joint editor of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* to be issued by the University of Madras, too, has recently informed me about his failure in tracing out the work in the numerous other lists of MSS collected so far in his office. Possibly the author did not allow the work to circulate for any length of time.

26. E.g., "ततोऽज्ञातभवच्छात्रा असंख्या ये पुराभवन्", "यतः कदाचिदपि तैर्नाज्ञायि भवतां मतम्", "इति चेन्नैवमाभाष्यं भवता कल्प्यते यथा", "तथाप्यस्मिंस्तु विषये त्वं गृह्यणोत्तरान्तरम्", "इत्येतदपि युष्माकं न मन्ये साधु भाषितम्", "किं भवत्संमतेऽपि दोषाशङ्का न जायते", etc.

the author in refutation of Rev. Muir's work. However, the main difficulty, though slight, in this identification is presented by the recorded dates. In the Hindi *Life of Father Goreh*²⁷ we are told that our author's first meeting with Rev. Smith took place about 1845 and the subsequent account gives the idea that his refutation of Rev. Muir's work was composed a year or two after that event i.e. after 1846. But the *Śāstratattvavirūpa*, as we are told therein by the author himself in non-equivocal terms, was composed definitely by the close of 1844 or the beginning of 1845. Possibly the reckoning of time as also the recording of dates has been done only grossly in the said *Life*.

27. Pages 3 ff.

MISCELLANEA

REVOLUTION IN DISSEMINATION

*(Especially by Writing mechanically multiplied
by means of Printing, with a few facts
on early Bengali Printing on Paper)*

I

All writing is symbolic. Every sentence, nay a word, or even a single letter, is the visual representation of idea. It may be a direct reflection, or a reflection of reflection, or say, a reproduction—exact, miniature or magnified.

From time immemorial ideas have been preserved in language, either by sound rung or by symbol drawn, one being called language spoken and the other that written, which latter includes drawing. And the ideas have been transmitted from man to man, notwithstanding the barriers of time and space.

Direct transmission is rather limited, although its power can be enhanced by repeated human agency. When however the sound or symbol is multiplied by a mechanical process, prospect of transmission becomes unlimited. The radio transmits the sound, and the printing the symbol.

The word uttered or written is mightier than the sword or even the sceptre. Armies have retreated before it, powerful people and parliaments have come to terms with the public will, aroused by the word spoken or written. Look at the West at the close of the eighteenth century when speeches delivered from the platform and written copies thereof multiplied by printing—in a word, pamphleteering—played so large a part in precipitating to wonderful success the popular movements on either side of the Atlantic.

The Aryan in the Orient realized at a very early stage the significance of sound. To him SABDA—sound, as represented in the word—is Brahma, God Himself!

The word when preserved in the visual form is painted by the pen. The power of the pen has advanced multifold with the advent of the printing press. The other auxiliary labour-saving and multiplicative processes, from typewriting to photography, have again greatly augmented the work mightily begun by printing.

As in many another matter the light originated from the east. For it is the Chinese who had anticipated the occidental discoverer by centuries, both in a wholesome woodcut production known as block-printing, as also in movable types called typography. Printing on paper in that great country was in use during the Han dynasty of kings between 202 B.C. and 221 B.C. From China the art was learnt by Korea, Japan, Tibet and also by the Mongol and Manchu races.

It is rather striking that India, having direct business and cultural relations with China and the other countries mentioned, more specially with Tibet where many a Buddhist scholar went from our Universities and monasteries—does hardly furnish convincing evidence of paper-printing being in vogue for purposes of document or dissemination of ideas or knowledge. We have no doubt our very old inscriptions on stone and metal, manuscripts on paper¹ or like substances, coins with fine imprint cut out of the mint, but can hardly find any printed book like what we get

1. Use of paper was in vogue during Alexander's campaign in 327 B.C., as chronicled by his companion who wrote that paper made from cotton was used for writing. (C. H. OJHA'S *Prāchīna lipimālā*, p. 144) MAXMÜLLER has also said the same thing in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit literature*, p. 367.

in ancient China. Printed designs and illustrations on calico or other sorts of woven material, cotton or silk, were however exported from India to remote countries and the printed *nāmāvali* sheets for wrapper and turban used to be worn in very ancient days, as we find the use still current.

II

Let us now see how and when printing on paper in the modern age was introduced, if not re-introduced, in India, in the matter of Indian languages in general and Bengali in particular.

In 1497 the Portuguese led by Vasco da Gama came to India for the first time and the first printing press was established by them in Goa in the middle of the 16th century. From Europe they brought the Roman Types which were used in the first instance for the Indian languages also, so far as printing was concerned. By means of printing in the Roman script the Portuguese in Goa were rather instrumental in developing a literature in the local vernacular, the Southern branch of Marāthi, known as *Konkani*.

Of Indian scripts Tamil had the good fortune of leading the printing of books in any Indian language in India, for whatever printing we find in earlier days was from woodcut blocks having designs, symbolic or illustrative, on the one hand, and on the other, prayers, mantras, and repetitions of divine names in Kharoshti, Brahmi and Bengali scripts for printing *not* on paper, *but* on calico or silk for purposes of wrapper and turban. In 1577 Tamil script is first printed in the city of Cochin, in Malabar, by a Jesuit Missionary Father, Joannes Gonsalves, who prepared the types² in Tamil for the first time and since then Tamil printing has been growing steadily till to-day.

After that a Bengali Grammar as also a Bengali-Portuguese Vocabulary, both in the Roman script, were prepared by a Portuguese missionary Father Manoel da Assumpção in 1734, and printed after 9 years in the same Roman in 1743 at Lisbon. A facsimile reprint of that Grammar in the "Original Portuguese with Bengali translation and selection from his Bengali-Portuguese Vocabulary" was published in 1931 by the Calcutta University under the joint editorship of Prof. Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI and Prof. P. SEN.

We must remember that this Bengali print was not done in India, nor in an Indian script. The first regular Bengali book-printing in the Bengali script was however done after 200 years of the first Tamil print. In 1778 Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengali Language* was printed in the Bengali script at Hugli. Sir Charles Wilkins³ had prepared 'a set of Bengali punches with his own hands'⁴ for founding Bengali lead-types. He is therefore virtually the founder of modern Bengali printing. Sir Charles had especially trained a local artisan, Panchanan Karmakar, for this handicraft; on his retirement from India this Panchanan Karmakar was engaged by Dr. William Carey of the missionaries of Serampur (Srirampur) and type-founding as a trade has been going on in Bengal since then. 'Through the labours of Panchanan Karmakar and his relative and colleague Manohar the art of punch-cutting became domesticated in India'⁵. Dr. D. C. SEN also quotes from "The History of Crī Rampur Mission", Vol. 1, p. 179, to show that to Panchanan's assistant, Manohar Karmakar, who served the Sri-

2. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 4, p. 310.

3. Sir Charles WILKINS as one of the earliest Sanskritist-Indologists was a co-worker with Sir William JONES in founding the Asiatic (later, Royal Asiatic) Society of Bengal.

4. SEN (Dr. D. C.). *History of Bengali Language & Literature*, Cal. 1911, pp. 848 & 848-9.

5. "History of Bengali Literature in the 19th century" by Dr. S. K. DE (Cal. Univ.) p. 78 & seq.

rampur Press for 40 years, "Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful founts of the Bengali, Nāgari, Persian, Arabic and other characters which have been introduced into the different printing establishments," (p. 852).⁶

Before 1778 we have only specimen illustrations of the Bengali script in two or three books in European languages. (1) In 1725 George Jacob KEHR had his Latin book on Oriental numismatics, dwelling on Aurangzeb's mints for silver and other coins at Delhi or Jehanabad. It was published from Leipzig, Germany. On page 48 of this book the numerals are shown in the Bengali script; and elsewhere a plate (opp. p. 51) consists of the Bengali consonants, with an example of the transliterated form of a German name, Sergeant Wolfgang Neyer. The British Museum in London has a copy of this book. (2) In 1718 Johann Friedrich Fritz published from Leipzig his German work entitled "Orientalischer und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister." In this book the illustration of the Bengali consonants was reproduced from G. J. Kehr's Latin work. (3) In 1743, from Leyden (Holland), was published David Mill's work in Latin, "Dissertatio Selecta" in which we find illustrations of finely drawn Bengali and Devanāgarī scripts.

The first illustrative reproduction of Devanāgarī script was however found as early as in 1667 in Athenasius Kircher's "China Illustrata", Published from Amsterdam, in 1667.⁸ Printing from movable types in Devanāgarī and Kāethi scripts is however found in 1761, being 17 years before we get Halhed's "Grammar of the Bengali Language" (1778) and 184 years after we had the first Tamil print in Malabar, as we have seen.

It will be worth while to note that Father Assumpcam's 'Bengali Grammar' and 'Bengali-Portuguese' vocabulary' were written by him while at Bhawal⁹, which was in those days a great centre of Portuguese Christian missionaries. It is also known that Father Assumpcam was also the translator of a Portuguese work into Bengali under the title "Crepas Xaxtror Orthbed" an incomplete copy of which is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a second copy is found in the Public Library at Avora in Portugal. Assumpcam was also intimately connected with another early Bengali work in the form of a Christian dialogue by a Bengali convert who had adopted the name Dom Antonio de Rozario. The MS of this latter is found in the Avora Library. Evidently he had taken the manuscript to his own country either for printing or other reasons.

It is interesting to note that a large number of Portuguese words are found in modern Bengali.¹⁰ It can be taken that in the later 16th century the Portuguese missionaries in Bengal had not only learnt the Bengali language but also enriched it by introducing a thought-current on the lines of Christian ethics, and during the years 1590-1600 a Bengali Christian literature (similar to that in Goa) developed in the vicinity of Dacca, and the same was current for about 150 years in the Christian community of eastern Bengal. Tavernier in his travel description, written about 1600, speaks in praise of the architecture of the St. Augustus Church in Dacca. Bernier, a Frenchman, again, about 1660, also writes to say that in Bengal alone there were about eight to nine thousand families of Feringhees or the Portuguese.

6. Dr. D. C. SEN maintains that the art of printing in a crude form was known in Bengal before Charles WILKINS came to the field. "We have come across a MS 200 years old which was printed from engraved wooden blocks. But the art was not in general use"—*History of Bengali language & literature*, page 849.

7. 'Aurenk Szeb' and 'Dshihanabad' in the original.

8. Cassiano BELIGATTI's "Alphabetum Brahmanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasi," Rome, 1761 (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 4 & 9-10).

9. The name of this place has become well-known in recent years on account of the interesting law case known as the Bhawal Sannyasi case.

10. "Vange Portuguese Prabhava" by A. GHOSH in the *Journal of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat*, 1318 B. S. pt. 1; "History of the Portuguese in Bengal" by J. CAMPO, Cal. 1919.

(Introductory portion of the Calcutta University edition of Assumpcam's Bengali Grammar, p. x). There is no doubt that the Portuguese helped our modern printing in so many parts of India, notably in Goa and Bengal.

III

We have seen that the art of printing was in olden days known only in the Orient. In Europe six hundred years ago every copy of a book or document was written by hand. It is only in 1440 that types were first cut by Johann Gutenberg in Strassburg (in Germany). In fact Europe re-discovered the art five hundred years back. But it is also true that Europe has amply honoured the fore-runners by popularising the newer and quicker methods of operation to their slumbering successors.

This re-discovery of the printing process has revolutionized civilization. Its social and cultural influence is immense. Formerly all composition or writing was generally done in poetry, for the reason that verse was a better vehicle for ideas to travel, more suited for memorising as also for oral delivery, than prose in those days. The printing press is daily driving illiteracy and has made the number of lecture-listeners (except in the case of radio of the recent time) comparatively smaller, increased that of the readers by millions. Printing is a permanent uplift to the purpose that has so enriched the literature of all countries for half a millennium at least. The democratising force of printing again is no less. As a leveller it is perhaps second to only Yamarāja, Death!

With all the elevating qualities, however, printing, like all machinery, is not an unmixed good. Just as it has the power to preserve or improve civilization, it has in itself the germ too of destruction, which may come to the forefront the moment the Devil has an upper hand in the machinery. Look at science to-day—how has it been lately used for the destruction of humanity rather than accelerating its evolution. Let us listen to Olive Schreiner, when he says: 'A train is better than an ox-waggon only when it carries better men; rapid movement is an advantage only when we move towards beauty and truth; all motion is not advance, all change not development.'

And finally, let us remember the principle enunciated by the Buddha 2000 years before the advent of the printing press of the modern age:

"Though a poem consists of a thousand couplets, if these be lacking in sense, better a single couplet full of meaning, on hearing which one is at peace!"

Allahabad.

S. C. GUHA

THE RAGHUNĀTHABHŪPĀLIYA AND THE SĀHITYASĀMRĀJYA

While noticing Sudhīndra Tīrtha's *Sāhityasāmrājya*, Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti SARMA in his paper POST-VYĀSARĀYA COMMENTATORS (NON-POLEMICAL) says:—

"There is yet another *Sāhityasāmrājya* alias *Raghunātha-Bhūpāliya* by Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita or yajvan (AUFRECHT i, 486 and Madras T. C. 659d)."

The detail furnished here seems to be incorrect and misleading. So far as I can gather from R. Nos. 659(d), 2813, 3232, 5482, etc. of the *Triennial Catalogues of MSS* of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, '*Sāhityasāmrājya*' is not an alias of Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita's *Raghunāthabhūpāliya* but Sudhīndra's *Sāhityasāmrājya* itself is an exhaustive commentary on Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita's *Raghunāthabhūpāliya* which is an original work on Sanskrit Rhetoric in eight chapters (= Vilāsas) eulogising King Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore in its illustrations.

Both the original work and the commentary were composed by their respective authors at the instance of their hero and patron King Raghunātha himself. As neither of the works is yet available in print, I quote below some relevant passages at the beginning of the *Sāhityasāmrajya* as noted in *Madras T. C. R. No. 2813* for the information of the readers :—

“ श्रीलः संश्रितकाञ्चनक्षितिचरो मेघामणिश्यामलः

स्वाङ्गे कश्चिदचचलामभिवहन्विद्युक्तामन्वहम् ।

नैदाघार्कविघूर्णचातकगणं पुष्पान्मुधावपैगे-

हैर्घोत्कर्षतरङ्गितो वितनुतामाचन्द्रतारं श्रियम् ॥

धीरः श्रीचिन्चेर्वभूपरमणिः क्षोणीमरक्षद्वुण-

श्रेणीविश्रुतरामणीयकनिधिर्यत्कीर्तिविष्कृत्यः ।

सर्वागारमणीमणीरनुदिनं कर्पूरपूरस्फुर-

त्पाटीरोज्ज्वलहारपङ्क्तिभिरलङ्घुर्वन्ति गर्वोज्जिताः ॥

तस्यासीत्तनयो नयोज्ज्वलगुणो गौणो न यस्मिन्नव-

त्यश्रान्तं मनुजान्भुवो वसुमती राजन्वतीत्याह्वया ।

उद्वेलं यदुपक्रमं श्रुतमहादानक्रियाम्नेडनं

तत्तादृग्विभुरच्युतोऽपर इव ख्यातोऽच्युतस्मापतिः ॥

× × × ×

तस्माद् × समुल्लसद्गुणम् × × × × हैवोद्भवो

लक्ष्मीकीर्तिकरप्रहेण ललिता यस्यादिमाभ्युत्थितिः ।

अभ्यासः कलभाषणेष्वपि चतुःपट्टया कलाभिः समं

यस्य श्रीरघुनाथभूमिरमणः सोऽयं समुज्जृम्भते ॥

× × × ×

तेन श्रीरघुनाथभूमिपतिना संप्रार्थितः सन्मुदे

तत्तादृग्विजयीन्द्रसंयमिम (गेः) षड्दर्शनीदर्शिनः ।

शिष्यो व्याकुरुते सुधीन्द्रयतिराट् कृष्णाध्वरीन्द्रोदित-

ग्रन्थं तद्गुणबन्धुरं रसगुणालङ्कारसङ्घारितम् ॥

इह खलु धरणीमण्डल इव कविमण्डलेऽपि सकले साम्राज्ये पदवीमुपास्यस्य
रघुनाथभू (प) वरस्य शौर्यौदार्यगाम्भीर्यीरिमणीयगुणगणप्रतिपादनपरं काव्यमीमांसारूपं रघुनाथ-
भूपालीयं नामालङ्कारशास्त्रं चिकीर्षुः कृष्णदीक्षिताभिधानो मनीषी काव्यादर्शप्रदर्शितनयेना-
श्रीरायन्यतमस्य प्रबन्धमुखलक्षणतया प्रकृतकृतिनायकाभीष्टप्रार्थनारूपं मङ्गलमादावाचरति-श्रीमदिति
etc.”

The colophons of the *Sāhityasāmrajya* as noted in *Madras T. C. R. Nos. 2813* and *3232* generally read as follows :—

“ इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरित्राजकाचार्यसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्रीमद्विजयीन्द्रतीर्थपूज्यचरणशिष्येण श्री-
सुधीन्द्रयतिना विरचितायां साहित्यसाम्राज्यसमाख्यायां रघुनाथभूपालीयव्याख्यायां
विलसः । ”.

Vṛtti—Ceṣṭā-vinyāsa-karma—, dress and decoration is Pravṛtti—Veṣa-vinyāsa-krama—, and speech is Riti—Vacana-vinyāsa-krama. (K.M. p. 9).

“तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमः वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमः रीतिः ।”
Bhoja borrows this definition of Vṛtti, Pravṛtti, and Riti from Rājaśekhara.

“सोऽयं पञ्चप्रकारोऽपि चेष्टाविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिः ।”

“वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः ।” p. 459. Vol. II.

“बुद्धयारम्भेषु वचनविन्यासक्रमो रीतिः ।” “चेष्टाविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिः ।”

“वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः ।” Ch. XVII.

When we examine Bharata's definition of the Vṛttis for arriving at the exact connotation of the concept of Vṛtti, we will find this at the very outset that Bhārati is a Śabda-vṛtti and cannot be called Ceṣṭā-viśeṣa-vinyāsa-krama. It is under the Śabda-vṛtti of Bhārati that the Ritis come (वचनविन्यासक्रमाः). In a way, Vṛtti comprehends both the Pravṛtti and the Riti, for it is the name of the whole field of human activity. Therefore it is that we find the inclusion of graceful dress—Ślakṣṇa-nepathya—which is Pravṛtti (Dākṣiṇātyā), as part of the definition of the Kaiśikī Vṛtti. Similarly the Sāttvati has exchange of hot words and thus comprehends the realm of the Ritis also. And Pravṛtti itself is also described as an equally wide concept. It means “provincial manners”, Veṣa, Ācāra and Vārtā of various provinces.

“अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मादिति । उच्यते, पृथिव्यां नानादेश-वेष-भाषा-आचार-वार्ताः ख्यापयतीति प्रवृत्तिः ।” P. 165. N. Ś. Kasi edn.

What things do not come under Ācāra and Vārtā? And again, describing the Dākṣiṇātyas for the Dākṣiṇātya-Pravṛtti, Bharata speaks of their love for *dance and music*, of their clever, sweet and graceful *movements*. These do not certainly form part of Āhārya or dress.

“तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावद् बहुवृत्तगीतवायाः कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुरललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।”
p. 165. N. Ś. Kasi edn.

1. It is interesting to compare this Dākṣiṇātya-Pravṛtti which is all grace and elegance with Daṇḍin's Vaidarbhī Riti in Poetry. Vaidarbhī, according to the Nāndī verse of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī*, is called Vacchomi, i.e., Vātsagulmī, the style of Vatsagulma, which is the capital of the ancient Vidarbha country. Vidarbha is the chief province referred to by the word Dākṣiṇātya. Rājaśekhara develops the idea imaginatively by celebrating the marriage of Kāvya-puruṣa and Sāhitya-Vidyāvadhū at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha.

“तत्रास्ति मनोजन्मनः देवस्य क्रीडावासः विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्म नाम नगरम् । तत्र सारस्वतेयः ताम् औमेयीं गन्धर्ववत् परिणयाय ।” K. M. p. 10.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa refers to the Dākṣiṇātya-Pravṛtti and a peculiar and specially beautiful marital make-up according to the style of the Vidarbha land.

“अत्र किल देव्या धारिण्या पण्डितकौशिकी भणिता । भगवति, त्वं यदि सत्यं प्रसाधनगर्वं बहसि, तद्दर्शय तावत् मालविकायाः शरीरे वैदर्भं विवाहनेपथ्यम्, इति ।”

Continued on next page.

Śingabhūpāla actually says that Pravṛtti is provincial *language*, manner and dress.

तत्तद्देशोचिता भाषा-क्रिया-वेष्टाः प्रवृत्तयः । I. 294. R.A.S.

What is important and noteworthy in Bhoja's treatment of Pravṛtti is his analysis of the conditions which affect dress, the various circumstances under which dress changes and differs not only with reference to different individuals but even as regards the same individuals. Such change in dress naturally follows, for, as Bhoja has indicated in the Anubhāva chapter by speaking of Pravṛtti along with Vṛtti and Rīti, Pravṛtti is intimately connected with the nature, character, nationality, the mood etc., of the person. Such conditions affecting dress are infinite and though it is enough to point out a few illustrative instances, Bhoja has gone a little farther and has given twenty-four conditions which go to determine dress. He is not blind to the fact that these twenty-four do not exhaust the world ; for he gives in the end an item called 'miscellaneous' and then adds even an 'Etc.'—Ādayah.

Bhoja calls these dress-determining conditions by the name 'Pravṛtti-hetus'. The following are the 24 Pravṛtti-hetus .

देशः, कालः, पात्रम्, वयः, अवस्था, शक्तिः, साधनम्, अमिप्रायः, व्यत्यासः, विपरिणामः, निमित्तम्, अभिगमः, सङ्ग्रामः, विहारः, उपहारः, छलम्, छद्म, आश्रमः, जातिः व्यक्तिः, विभवः, प्रकीर्णम्, सङ्कीर्णम् and विप्रकीर्णम् ।

Deśa is country. It is but natural that this condition should head the list : for, country and nationality form the greatest factor in dress. The four Pravṛttis themselves are named after four geographical divisions of India and provinces differ from each other in dress.

Kāla is time, such as summer, winter etc., which causes change in dress.

Pātra is character, male, female etc. This is not very clear. The illustration given by Bhoja for Pātra is given by him for Veṣa-svabhāvokti in his S.K.Ā. III. Commenting on this Veṣa-svabhāvokti in the S.K.Ā. Ratneśvara shows his acquaintance with Bhoja's Pravṛtti-dharmas. He mentions here Kāla and Pātra and even here Pātra is not plain. See p. 268.

Vayas : Age, such as childhood, girlhood, youth etc.

Avasthā is mental mood and emotional condition. As for example, a lady separated from her lord and dejected does not have the mood to decorate herself.

Śakti is one's means at one's disposal for decorating oneself.

Sādhana is a similar condition and seems to be decorative material available. As for example, the hunters dress themselves only with sylvan products like feathers etc.

Continued from previous page.

The *Vakroktijivita* of Kuntaka speaks of the *natural* sweetness of the music of the Dākṣiṇātyas.

“न च दक्षिणात्यगीतविषयसुस्वरतादिध्वनिरामणीयकवत् तस्य स्वाभाविकत्वं वक्तुं पर्यते ।” p. 46 De's Edn.

Abhiprāya seems to be dress suggestive of one's intention.

Vyatyāsa is misplacing of ornaments in hurry. Kālidāsa's description of the city-damsels rushing to their windows in hurried toilet to see Aja and Śiva in the *Raghu-vaṃśa* and the *Kumāra-sambhava* and a similar one in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-carita* are examples of this condition of *Vyatyāsa*.

Vipariṇāma is the conversion of the non-ornament into an ornament. As for example, Śiva converted his snakes into garlands when he went to marry Pārvatī.

Nimitta is occasion such as *Vrata* or *Pūjā* when one wears special dress.

Abhigama is *Abhisaraṇa*, a lady going to tryst ; she will have white dress in moon-lit nights and black dress in dark nights.

Samgrāma is martial dress.

Vihāra : dress during sports such as *jala-kṛīḍā* when bathing dress is put on.

Upahāra : dress during dedication or offering one to a diety. As for instance, Bhavabhūti's description of Mālatī decked in red garlands and cloth when the Kāpālīka is about to offer her to Cāmuṇḍā.

Chala is the dress of persons in *cognito*, such as the spy.

Chadman. What exactly *Bhoja* means by this condition is not known. The illustration likens it to *Vipariṇāma* and *Chala*.

Āśrama is the stage of life, *Brahmacarya* etc.

Jāti : class, e.g. the type called *Kuṭṭani*.

Vyakti is an individual's special decorative fancies like Śiva's love for the disc of the moon, snakes etc.

Vibhava : If this refers to one's means and wealth, it can hardly be different from *Śakti*, already mentioned.

Prakīrṇa : Miscellaneous.

Samkīrṇa is incongruous mixture of good and bad, garceful and terrible, simple and gaudy.

Viprakīrṇa seems to be the personified description of an object where the ornaments and decorations are purely imaginary. But it must be accepted that the significance of this item is not plain. *Bhoja* illustrates it with the last verse of the *Kumāra-sambhava*, canto II, describing Kāma appearing before Indra with Rati and Vasanta : अथ स ललितयोषिर्दभूलताचासृङ्गम् etc. (Śr. Pra. Vol. II. Chapter XII. p. 460-465).

The subject of *Pravṛtti*, as applying pre-eminently to dress and decoration,—*Āhārya*—is dealt with at length by Bharata in chapter xxiii. (Kāśī Edn.) There he speaks of the dress and ornaments proper to sex, nationality, mood, province etc.,—conditions from which *Bhoja* makes up his list of *Pravṛtti-hetus*.

एतद्विभूषणं नार्या आकेशादानखादपि ।

यथामावरसावस्थम् विज्ञायैवं प्रयोजयेत् ॥ XXIII. 42.

This is the Pravṛtṭihetu called *Avasthā*.

मानुषीणां तु कर्तव्या नानादेशसमुद्भवा ।

×

×

×

अवन्तियुवतीनां तु शिरस्सालककुन्तलम् ॥ XXIII. 63-67.

अदेशजो हि वेषस्तु न शोभां जनयिष्यति । XXIII. 69.

This is Bhoja's *Deśa*, the first Pravṛtṭi-hetu. *Jāti* also is emphasised by Bharata ; he shows what suits the caste of women called courtezans :

गणिकानां तु कर्तव्यमिच्छाविच्छित्तिमण्डनम् ।

देशजातिविशेषेण देशानामपि कारयेत् ॥

वेषं तथा चाभरणं धुरकर्मपरिच्छदम् । XXIII. 68-69.

Above all, Bharata would emphasise the condition called *Avasthā*, the emotional state. He again takes it up in Śls. 70-72 and concludes :

एवं स्त्रीणां प्रयोक्तव्या देशावस्थासमुद्भवाः ।

Vayas (age) and Prakṛti (nature) are two more Pravṛtṭi-hetus mentioned by Bharata while dealing with the colouring of the skin and face.

वर्णानां तु विधिं ज्ञात्वा वयः प्रकृतिमेव च ।

कुर्यादङ्गस्य रचनां देशजातिवयःश्रिताम् ॥ XXIII. 88-9.

Bhoja gives Vayas and we may take Bhoja's *Pātra* as standing for Bharata's *Prakṛti*. In the following passage on conditions determining the colour of the face, Bharata mentions Bhoja's *Kāla*.

कारणव्यपदेशेन न तथात्मेच्छया पुनः ।

वर्णस्त्वन्यः प्रयोक्तव्यः देशजातिवयःश्रितः ॥

देशं कालं च जातिं च शृण्व्युद्देशमेव च ।

विज्ञाय वर्तनां कुर्यात् पुरुषाणां प्रयोगवित् ॥ XXIII. 100-101.

Bhoja's *Nimitta* or special occasion is given by Bharata generally as follows. During religious ceremony, observance of vow, when going to temple, one's dress must be *śuddha*, simple. Similarly other situations require attractive or poor and unattractive dress.

शुद्धो विचित्रो मलिनो विविधो वेष उच्यते ।

तेषां विभागं व्याख्यास्ये यथाकार्यं प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

देवाभिगमने चैव मङ्गले नियमस्थिते ।

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगे च विवाहकरणे तथा ॥

धर्मप्रवृत्तं यत्कार्यं स्त्रीणां च पुरुषस्य च ।

वेषस्तत्र भवेच्छुद्धः ॥

XXIII. 116-118.

In XXIII. Śl. 123, Bharata mentions mendicants and recluses in dresses appropriate to their *habits*,—*Vṛtta*. In 123, Bharata says generally that *Veṣa* should accord with the context.

“—वेषः कार्यस्तु अर्थवशानुगः ।”

In 128, Bharata speaks of warriors and their martial dress, *Sāmgrāmika-veṣa*. This is Bhoja's *Pravṛtti*-hetu called *Sāmgrāma*. One's character as affecting one's dress is also more specifically mentioned by Bharata in 130 as *Guṇa*.

एवमेष भवेद्वेयो वयोजातिगुणान्वितः¹

Other Concepts of the name *Pravṛtti*

I mentioned above in the section on *Vṛttis*, and I have done so in the last part of my *Vṛtti*-paper also, how many concepts there are in *Dramaturgy* and *Poetics* which bear the name *Vṛtti*. Bhoja notices similarly other concepts having the same name of *Pravṛtti*. He says in chapter xii of his *Sr. Pra.* (Pp. 459-460).

1. वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः । सापि चतुर्धा—पौरस्त्या, उद्दमागधी, दाक्षिणात्या, आवन्त्या च । तासां च लक्षणान्यग्रतो वक्ष्यामः ।

2. अन्ये पुनरन्यथा प्रवृत्तिं व्याचक्षते—दशविधा पुण्यप्रवृत्तिः, दशविधा पापप्रवृत्तिरिति । साप्यग्रतो व्याकरिष्यते ।

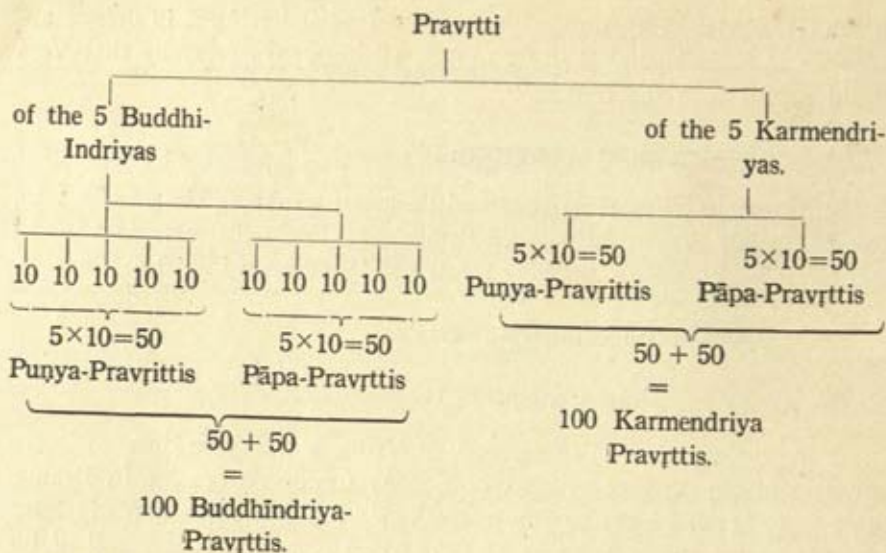
केचित्तु तामपि अन्यथाहुः—पञ्च बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि; तद्द्वारिका च धर्म (अधर्माभ्यां) पृथक् पृथक् दशप्रकारा प्रवृत्तिः भवति ।

3. अथ अन्यन्मतम्—प्रवृत्तिर्वाग्बुद्धिशरीरारम्भा । तत्र वागारम्भा द्वादश आलापप्रलापादयः । बुद्धयारम्भा द्वादश भावहावादयः । (शरीरारम्भा) (द्वादश लीला) विलासादयः । त एते षट्त्रिंशदप्यग्रत उदाहरिष्यन्ते ।”

Three main views are here given. One is the generally accepted *Pravṛtti*, meaning manner of dress,—*Veṣa-vinyāsa-krama*. The second *Pravṛtti* refers to the activity of the senses and the classification of these activities into 10 kinds of virtuous and 10 kinds of sinful activities. This same *Pravṛtti* or the activity of the senses is analysed by others in another way : 10 kinds of activities of the 10 *Indriyas*, the five *Buddhindriyas* and the five *Karmendriyas*; and each of these ten is divisible into ten virtuous and ten sinful acts. Thus this concept of 'moral' *Pravṛtti* is on the whole of 200 kinds.

1. Re. Bhoja's *Pravṛtти*-hetus, cf. *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Ramacandra and Guṇacandra, Gaek. Edn. p. 191.

“अयं च (आहार्यः) देश-काल-कुल-प्रकृति-दशा-स्त्रीत्व-पुंस्त्व-यण्डत्वादौ (शौ) चित्यानुसारतो विधेय इति ।”



Of this Pravṛtti, Bhoja, as promised in this chapter (12th), speaks in chapter 18 on Dharma-Śrīgāra. In this chapter, Pravṛtti is contrasted with Nivṛtti. The Pravṛttis that are virtuous are ten :

“प्रवृत्तिरूपः (धर्मः) दशधा। वाङ्मनःकायक्रियाभेदात्। तत्र वाचा हितम्, प्रियम्, सत्यम्, आप्तम्, च ब्रूते। मनसा आस्तिक्यम्, दयाम्, अनीप्साम् च भावयति। कायेन गुरुते उ (गुरु) स्तिम्, दानम्, आर्तत्राणं च करोति।” p. 237. Vol. III. *Śr. Pra.*

The ten virtuous activities natural to a virtuous man are four vocal acts of speaking the salutary, the pleasing, the true and the Āpta which is the truthful word of one not interested in anything else but helping us¹ : then, three mental acts of piety, mercifulness and desirelessness towards others' properties ; and then, three physical acts of serving the elders and the teachers, giving away, and protecting the suffering.

The opposites of these are Pāpa-pravṛttis or sinful acts. They are :

Vocal—speaking of अहित, अप्रिय, असत्य and अनाप्त.

Mental—नास्तिक्य, दयाभाव, and परस्वेप्सा

Physical—गुरुणाम् अशुश्रूषा, अदान and आर्तपेक्षा.

The third Pravṛtti spoken of by Bhoja is what is more commonly called Anubhāva. It is the same activity of man and his mind, limbs etc., but analysed in a different manner. As promised here in chapter xii, these are again taken

1. These Pāpa and Punya Pravṛttis are borrowed by Bhoja from Vātsyāyana's *Nyāya Bhāṣya*. P. 14 Chowk. Edn. See the section on Bhoja and the Sāstrakāras in this thesis. Āpta is unnecessarily added by Bhoja. Vātsyāyana does not have it. Āpta is nothing but Hita, Priya and Satya put together. Vātsyāyana has in its place the study of Vedas, Svādhyāya. See also Vātsyāyana on the Śabda Sūtra, I. I. 7. P. 26 Chowk. Edn.

up for elaborate treatment in the 17th chapter, the Anubhāva chapter. Here in chapter 12, Bhoja gives only three sets of Anubhāvas, 12 vocal ones, Ālāpa etc., 12 mental ones, Bhāva, Hāva etc., and 12 physical ones, Līlā, Vilāsa etc. They are on the whole only 36.

In chapter 17 however, Bhoja departs from this position and gives a new scheme. By the side of Buddhi, he adds a fourth department called Manas ; and brings the Buddhyārambhas, Hāva etc., under Mana-ārambhas, leaving apart the Buddhyārambha class to comprise the three concepts, Vṛtti, Pravṛtti and Rīti. In chapter 17, therefore, the Pravṛttis, i.e. the Anubhāvas are not 36 but 48. The Pravṛtti, meaning dress, comes here under one of the departments of the larger Pravṛtti, meaning Anubhāva.

Bhoja gives these other usages of the word Pravṛtti as the views of others, 'Anye'. But all this 'Anye' refers only to himself. The first is the most common use of the name Pravṛtti i.e., dress or Āhārya-abhinaya. The third is an extension of this first Pravṛtti to mean all Anubhāva in general. The second is not totally unrelated to the basic idea of Pravṛtti being Anubhāva. The activity of the Karmendriyas will come under Śarīra-ārambha-anubhāva; and that of the Budhīndriyas, under Budhyārambha-anubhāva ; the consideration of such activity of the two kinds of Indriyas being virtuous and sinful pertains only to a particular context, namely, a theme of Dharma and Adharma and not all cases. And hence it is not of general importance.

CHAPTER XV

DOŠAS

नाकवित्वमधर्माय व्याधये दण्डनाय वा ।

कुक्कवित्वं पुनः साक्षान्मृतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ Bhāmaha. I. 12.

1. Bhoja's conception of Doṣa.
2. The place of Nirdoṣatva in the definition of Kāvya ; the philosophy of "flaw."
3. Doṣasvarūpa and Doṣalakṣaṇa. Guṇaviparyaya, Kāvya vipatti hetu, Saundaryākṣepahetu, Mukhyārthahati, Abhimatārthavighna, Kāvya pakaṣahetu, Anaucitya, and Sahṛdayodvejaka.
4. The number and classification of Doṣas.
 - (i) Nyāyāsūtras.
 - (ii) Kautīlya's Arthaśāstra, the Anuyogadvāra sūtra and the Mahābhārata.
 - (iii) Bharata.
 - (iv) Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.
 - (v) Vāmana and the classification of Doṣas into those of Pada, Padārtha, Vākya and Vākyaṛtha.
 - (vi) Rudraṭa.
 - (vii) Anandavardhana : the Rasa doṣas as seen in the Dhvanyāloka and as codified by Mammaṭa and Hemaandra.
 - (viii) Rājaśekhara's 'Doṣanirūpaṇa' Chapter lost.
 - (ix) Bhoja : the number of Doṣas accepted ; the different classes of the Doṣas ; the Śleṣādiviparyaya and the Doṣaguṇas ; Bhoja's indebtedness to Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, and Rudraṭa ; the few Doṣas newly introduced by Bhoja. The Prabandhadoṣa of Bhoja ;—compared with some ideas in the Dhvanyāloka, and the Vakroktijīva.
 - (x) Mahimabhaṭṭa : Vyaktiviveka, Chapter 2 ; his five flaws.
 - (xi) Mammaṭa ; new flaws ; Alankāradoṣas and Hemaandra.
 - (xii) Later Writers who followed Bhoja on Doṣas.

The absence of flaws is counted by Bhoja as the first condition which makes an utterance fit to be called literature or poetry—Kāvya. Among the four poetical relations of Śabda and Artha (Sāhitya), the first is the avoidance of flaws—Doṣa-hāna. It is only after taking due care to avoid all flaws that the poet can think of embellishing his speech with excellences, figures and emotions. For, even a good-looking figure is spoiled by a spot of leprosy. Bhoja quotes Daṇḍin's verse on Doṣas with the above-given idea, adds to it the verse of Bhāmaha also, which says that nobody is enjoined by scriptures to write poetry under pain of suffering punishment ; but bad poetising is certainly death itself. In the second verse of his S. K. Ā. Bhoja defines poetry and mentions there at the first that it should be devoid of flaws.

“तत्र अभिधाविवक्षादिभिः निरूपिते शब्दार्थयोः साहित्ये वाक्यस्य प्रयोगयोग्यता प्रयोगानर्हता च निश्चीयते । यदाह—‘एकः शब्दः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।’ दुष्प्रयुक्तः पुनरधर्माय संपद्यते । सम्यक्प्रयोगश्चास्य तदोपपद्यते यदा दोषहानं, गणोपादानं, अलङ्कारयोगः, रसावियोगश्च भवति । तेषां च प्रथमं दोषहानमेव विधेयं, यतः कमनीयरूपादिसंपदुपेतमपि वपुः कुष्ठविन्दुनैकेनापि दौर्भाग्यमनुभवति ।

उक्तं च— ‘तदल्पमपि नोपेक्षं काव्ये दुष्टं कथञ्चन ।
स्याद्वपुः सुन्दरमपि श्वित्रेणैकेन दुर्भगम् ॥’ (Daṇḍin)

किञ्च— ‘नाकवित्त्वमधर्माय मृतये दण्डनाय वा ।
कुक्कवित्वं पुनः साक्षान् मृतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥’ (Bhāmaha).

Sr. Pra. Ch. IX. Vol. II. pp. 144-5.

It will be granted by all critics that any utterance should first of all be devoid of flaws, grammatical, logical and literary. Flaw is that which detracts,—Apakarṣa-hetu. Flaws can appear in any part of a poet's expression, in grammar, in the position of the words, in the choice of the words, in the delineation of emotion, in the metre, in the conception of the idea and so on. Thus there are Śabda-doṣas, Artha-doṣas, and Rasa-doṣas in the main. Among the Śabda-doṣas, there will be many pertaining to the realm of grammar. Among Artha-doṣas, many are literary and logical and many of the Rasa-doṣas are based on the nature of men and things in this world. The less there is of flaw in poetry, the greater is the merit of the composition. Therefore in all old definitions of poetry, we find the proper definition शब्दार्थौ काव्यं—qualified thus—अदोषौ सगुणौ सालङ्कारौ काव्यम्. This is the definition adopted by Mammaṭa, in his Kāvya-prakāśa. In later times, writers like Vidyānātha chose to adopt it, since it is not, as far as idea goes, incorrect. But writers like Viśvanātha and Jagannātha, two of the later first rank writers on Poetics, criticised the definition. Previous to Mammaṭa, most writers gave only the definition शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्. Bhāmaha defined poetry as Word and Sense united; and not until we come to Vāmana do we see a clear statement of the definition with any new idea added to it. Vāmana added Alarṅkāra, by which he meant Saundarya, the beauty which results from Guṇas (Ritis and Rasas) and Alarṅkāras. To him, Word and Sense beautified by Guṇas (which comprehend style and emotion) and by Alarṅkāras (figures of speech), is Kāvya.

काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात् । I. i.

काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालङ्कारसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तते ॥

Vāmana further qualifies his description of poetry in the third Sūtra where he lays down that Saundarya or beauty of poetry is not only securable by Guṇas and Alarṅkāras but primarily also by the avoidance of flaws—Doṣa-hāna.

स दोषगुणालङ्कारहानादानाम्ब्यम् ॥ I. i-3

Thus Vāmana is the first writer to fashion the definition, which Mammata adopted. Slightly earlier than Mammata, Bhoja, who followed Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, gave his description of Kāvya in his S. K. Ā. 1.2.

निर्दोषं गुणवत् काव्यं अलङ्कारैरलङ्कितम् ।

रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति ॥

By this, Ratneśvara says in his commentary that Bhoja has also defined poetry here. एतेन काव्यलक्षणमपि कटाक्षितम् । P. 3. In his Śr. Pra. where Bhoja has elaborated a system called Sāhitya, he has made the avoidance of flaws the first among the four Sāhityas.

The necessity for the poet to minimise flaws and to eliminate them completely, if possible, will be recognised by all. The absence of flaws is itself a beauty, an excellence. Says poet Māgha अपदोषतैव विगुणस्य गुणः (IX. 12) which we can restate that, though a thing is devoid of positive beautifying features, it is beautiful negatively, in so far as it is completely devoid of flaws. Keśavamiśra quotes the following verse in his Alarṅkāra-śekhara from some writer—(A. Śekhara II. 1).

दोषस्सर्वात्मना त्याज्यः रसहानिकरो हि सः ।

अन्यो गुणोऽस्तु मा वास्तु महान्निर्दोषता गुणः ॥

By such emphasis on Doṣas, the writers mean that, as far as it lies in a poet's powers he should try to avoid them. He may not be able to be absolutely flawless; for even Homer nods! Surely a composition will not cease to be poetry, if it has a few flaws in it. For, has not the poet said : एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः (K. S. I. 3). Nay, the poet goes further and says that the spot only adds to the beauty of the moon :

मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति । (Śak. I. 20)

This is granted; but none can dispute the view that a learned man must be one who knows the faults and eliminates them; even the Sanskrit vocabulary says that a Vidvān is called 'Doṣajña,' one who knows the flaws. विद्वान्विपश्चिदोपज्ञः (Amara). Hence a poet should strain every nerve to write as faultlessly as possible. Kumārasvamin observes :

दोषवर्जनस्यादौ व्याख्यानम् अल्पोऽपि दोषः प्रमादादिनापि अनुपेक्ष्य इति द्योतयितुम् । तदुक्तं दण्डिना 'तदल्पमपि' etc.

Viśvanātha, the author of the Sāhityadarpaṇa, makes the first regular criticism of the inclusion of the condition of 'Flawlessness' as part of the definition of the Kāvya. He says that the definition with the condition of 'Adoṣatva' is vitiated by Avyāpti. The definition is technically illogical in that it excludes very beautiful specimens of suggestive poetry like the verse न्यङ्कारो हि etc., which is an instance of the flaw of Avimṛṣṭavidheyāṁśa or Vidheyāvimarśa.¹ This is only a technical objection and it does not deprive

1. "A book may be amusing with numerous errors, or it may be very dull without a single absurdity." Goldsmith, Advertisement to his Vicar of Wakefield.

the old definition of its merits. For, Viśvanātha does not say that there should be flaws. Taking available facts into consideration and seeing that however much one may try to be cautious, one or two flaws may creep in, he says that we cannot dismiss a poem because of its few flaws, by defining poetry as 'Adoṣa.' Says Bharata in XXVII. 47 :

न च किञ्चिद् गुणहीनं दोषैः परिवर्जितं न वा किञ्चित् ।
तस्मान्नाट्यप्रकृतौ दोषा नात्यर्थतो ग्राह्याः ॥

Viśvanātha : एवं काव्यं प्रविरलविषयं निर्विषयं वा स्यात् । सर्वथा निर्दोषस्य एकान्तम-
संभवात् ।

Then there is the difference between flaw and flaw. Minor flaws can be overlooked but not serious Rasa-doṣas. Namiśādhu on Rudraṭa VI. 1 considers the Doṣas 'Nyūnādhikādi' given by Rudraṭa in II. 8 as more serious flaws than those given in VI.

न्यूनधिकदिदोषो हि नेत्रोत्पाटतुल्यः । असमर्थादिकस्तु पटलनिभः ॥

And Vidyācakravartin also makes such a distinction among Doṣas.

“—रसदोषो महान् दोषः—अर्थदोषः तदपेक्षया निकृष्टः.....। पदपदैकदेशदोषाः
परिपाद्या दविघ्नाः इति निकृष्टतराः । P. 7. Vol. II, Kāvyaaprakāśavyākhyā. T.S.S.

Besides this fact, there is the rule that a poet has to be judged by the best he has written. Even then a flaw is a flaw and hence it is that we say that a given specimen of poetry is faulty, काव्यं दुष्टम्. It is poetry, yet a faulty specimen. If Viśvanātha is not as anxious as Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Bhoja to avoid all flaws in expression, he would not have devoted a chapter to a consideration of flaws. Further Viśvanātha makes a subtle distinction between Kāvya and Sukāvya and Upādeya kāvya, which is of little practical value.

न हि कोटानुवेधादयो रत्नस्य रत्नत्वं व्याहन्तुमीशाः । किन्तु उपादेयतारतम्यमेव कर्तुम् ।
तद्वदत्र श्रुतिदुष्टादयोऽपि काव्यस्य । उक्तं च—‘कोटानुविद्धरत्नादिसाधारण्येन काव्यता । दुष्टेष्वपि
मता, यत्र रसाद्यनुगमः स्फुटः ॥’ S. D. I.

It will be surely recognised by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who wrote the above-cited verse and by Viśvanātha that between a flawless gem and a spoilt gem, people will choose only the former. Thus from all points of view Doṣahāna is important and Doṣas must be avoided as far as possible.

Nature of Doṣa : Doṣa svarūpa and Doṣa lakṣaṇa.

It is an unsettled question whether there is any positive entity called Good or whether it is only the absence of the Bad. In philosophy, it is discussed whether Mukti is only the cessation of bondage (the word really means that) or the positive attainment of a state of bliss. The question cannot be settled, for, it all depends upon the way one chooses to speak of the thing. Bharata enumerates and describes in chapter 17 ten Doṣas and before going to the Guṇa, observes that Guṇas are the 'reverses' of

Doṣas. He starts with the flaws and defines Guṇas as the 'reverses or opposites' of flaws,—Viparyaya.

एते दोषास्तु विज्ञेयाः सूरिभिर्नाटकाश्रयाः ।

एत एव विपर्यस्ताः गुणाः काव्येषु कीर्तिताः ॥

It can be argued that the Doṣas are Guṇaviparyaya or Guṇābhāva. Mammaṭa who recognises only three Guṇas as a follower of Ānanda, says regarding the other Guṇas given by others, that they need not be recognised, since many of them are only the absence of the flaws which have been recognised and have been pointed out. Says Mammaṭa, Kā. Pra. VIII. 72 : दोषत्यागात्परे श्रिताः । Mammaṭa also points out some instances of such equation of Guṇas with the Abhāva of certain Doṣas. Though Bharata gives this general description of Doṣas and Guṇas, he has not explained himself and it cannot be maintained that his ten Guṇas are the 'Viparyayas' of his ten Doṣas. Vāmana holds the other viewpoint that Doṣas are the result of the absence of Guṇas. He says :

दोषस्वरूपकथनार्थमाह—'गुणविपर्ययात्मानो दोषाः । II. i. i. गुणानां वक्ष्यमाणानां विपर्ययाः, तदात्मानो दोषाः । 'अर्थतस्तदवगमः । II. i. 2. गुणस्वरूपनिरूपणात् तेषां दोषाणां अर्थादवगमोऽर्थोत्तिष्ठिः । किमर्थं ते पृथक्कृत्य प्रपञ्चयन्त इत्याह—'सौकर्याय प्रपञ्चः ।' II. i. 3.

At the beginning of the Guṇa section also he says :

यद्विपर्ययात्मानो दोषाः, तान् गुणान् विचारयितुं गुणविवेचनमधिकरणमारभ्यते ।

a position which corresponds to that of the author of the Kāmasūtra, Vātsyāyana, who says with reference to the Guṇas and Doṣas of Nāyakas गुणविपर्यये दोषाः । K. Sū. VI. i. 15. p. 303. Chowk. Edn.

Vāmana substantiates his position to some extent at the end of the section on Doṣas. For, he holds Guṇas to be more than the ten of Śabda and ten of Artha given in the Guṇa section, where only the more important Guṇas are defined and illustrated. Each Doṣa, when avoided, gives a Guṇa. Or rather, Doṣas are innumerable. Only the more prominent among them can be shown. The absence of each Guṇa is a flaw. This can be seen from the Pratyudāharaṇa given by Vāmana for each Guṇa. Vāmana says :

एते वाक्यवाक्यार्थदोषाः त्यागाय ज्ञातव्याः । ये त्वन्ये शब्दार्थदोषाः सूक्ष्माः, ते गुणविवेचने वक्ष्यन्ते ।

The Doṣas which Vāmana describes as Sūkṣma and which are illustrated in the Guṇa section by the counter-illustrations, are already available in Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin has a set of special Doṣas in a separate section in the end ; but in addition to those Doṣas, he gives what Vāmana calls 'Sūkṣma doṣas,' which are clearly Guṇa-viparyayas. Daṇḍin is the inspirer of Vāmana here, as elsewhere also. Daṇḍin, while he describes the beautiful Vaidarbhī and its Guṇas, says that these Guṇas have their 'reverses'—Viparyayas—which can *generally* (Prāyaḥ) be found in the inelegant Gauḍī style.

एषां विपर्ययः प्रायो दृश्यते गौडवल्मीनि । K. Ā. I.

It is here, in the Viparyayas of the Guṇas of Daṇḍin that Bhoja takes inspiration for creating a group-flaw called 'Arītimat' in the S. K. Ā. and 'Sleṣādi guṇa viparyaya' in the Śr. Pra.

Lakṣaṇa is the essence of Svarūpa. To call Doṣa, Guṇābhāva or Guṇa viparyaya is to stand in need of a further enquiry into what Guṇa is. Writers have defined Doṣa independently. Bhoja says of Doṣas हेयाः काव्ये, that they are to be avoided in Kāvya. And Ratneśvara points out that Bhoja has given here a general definition—Sāmānyalakṣaṇa—of Doṣa :

हेया इत्यनेन सामान्यलक्षणम् । ये हेयाः ते दोषा इत्यभिप्रायात् । p. 3.

The idea and the very word 'Heya' are derived by Bhoja from Vāmana. In the Śr. Pra., Bhoja uses the phrase 'Doṣahāna', and it is derived from Vāmana's Sūtra : "स दोष गुणलङ्कार हान-आदानाभ्याम्". Much earlier than Vāmana, Daṇḍin made this distinction between Guṇa and Doṣa and along with it gave also a general definition of both :

दोषा विपत्तये तत्र गुणाः संपत्तये तथा । IV. 1.

Flaws spoil ; excellences beautify. Vipatti and Sampatti apply in general to every part of poetic expression. Vāmana only slightly changes and expands this when he says :

"काव्यसौन्दर्याक्षेपहेतवः त्यागाय दोषा ज्ञातव्याः—"

Doṣas are those that spoil the beauty of poetry, says Vāmana. This is more plainly stated by others that Doṣa is that which is not in agreement with or which is not promotive of what one has to convey. What one may have to do at a particular moment may be to convey Rasa, or to say a mere word and the Doṣa may be a Rasadoṣa or a mere Padadoṣa. Expanding the idea of Heyatva in Bhoja's description of Doṣa, Ratneśvara says :

"अभिमतप्रतीतिव्यवधायकतया विघ्नभूतः (यः) शब्दत् काव्ये हेयतामासादयति स एव दोषः ।"

Mamṣa takes his stand on the soul of Kāvya, Rasa, the chief object or end of expression—Mukhyārtha—and defines Doṣa as its obstacle, मुख्यार्थहृतिः. This characterisation will naturally extend to the Śabda and Artha with which Rasa is clothed. Says Ratneśvara :

अयमेवार्थः 'मुख्यार्थहृतिदोषः'—इति पदेन अन्येषां अभिमतः ।

Keśava also says in his Alarṅkāraśekhara, II. i. (P. 14 Chowk. Edn.) :

दोषत्वं च रसोत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धकत्वम् ।

and Vidyānātha also says the same thing :

दोषः काव्यापकर्षहेतुः, शब्दार्थगोचरः ।

If Guṇa is Kāvyaotkarṣahetu or Kāvyaśampattihetu in Daṇḍin's language, Doṣa is Kāvyaapakarṣahetu or Kāvyaavipattihetu. Just as Guṇas are really Rasadharmas, even as Śaurya etc., are our Ātma-guṇas, so also Doṣas are properly the properties of Rasa. It is only as impediments to Rasa-realisation that they are called flaws. When Rasa-realisation is not impeded,

there is no flaw. As a corollary of this position, the doctrine of Doṣas being Anitya is got at. From this we pass to the class of Guṇas called Vaiśeṣika-guṇas or Doṣa--guṇas found in Bhoja and from there we sight the doctrine of 'Adaptation' or 'Appropriateness' called Aucitya. Says Ānandavardhana :

श्रुतिदुष्टादयो दोषाः अनित्या ये च सूचिताः ।

ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदीरिताः ॥

Says Abhinava on this :

“ नापि गुणेभ्यो व्यतिरिक्तं दोषत्वम् । बीभत्सहास्यरौद्रादौ त्वेषां अस्माभिरुपगमात् शृङ्गारादौ च वर्जनाद् अनित्यत्वं समर्थितमेवेति भावः ॥ ” p. 83

The point is made plain in the third Uddyota also. All Doṣas are Anitya and this will be more elaborately considered in the Guṇa section in this thesis, in the sub-section on Bhoja's Vaiśeṣikaguṇas. Besides, in my article on Aucitya, published in the *Journal of the Madras University* (Vol. VI. No. 1, Vol. VII. No. 1) I have explained the point at length.

At the end of the Doṣa section in the Abhinavabhāratī, Abhinava makes a distinction among Doṣas as Nitya and Anitya. He considers such grammatical flaws like Apaśabda and material flaws like Bhinnavṛtta as Nityadoṣas; and Śrutiduṣṭa, Grāmya etc., as Anitya, since in certain cases they become Guṇas.

एकं (पां) मध्ये तु केचिन् नित्यदोषाः यथा अपशब्दः । केचिदनित्याः यथा ग्राम्यं, हास्यादौ तस्य चेष्टतमत्वात् ॥ P. 409, Vol. II, Abi. Bhā.

This distinction is not final. The difference is only comparatively stated, for, even in the case of Raudrarasa where the flaw of Śrutiduṣṭa becomes a Guṇa, an Apaśabda continues to be a flaw. But strictly speaking even Apaśabda is only an Anityadoṣa. For the condition of Imitation—Anukaraṇa—as Rudraṭa and Bhoja observe, makes Guṇas of even Apaśabdas. When an illiterate man's character and his speech are portrayed, grammatical flaws in his speech are highly suggestive of the character and the Rasa pertaining to him, and they thus become Guṇas. Namisādhū in his comments on Rudraṭa VI, 47 enunciating this principle of imitation transforming Doṣas into Guṇas illustrates the point by a verse depicting the absurd speech of the illiterate husband of the poetess Vikāṇitambā.

तदपि पदं न दोषाय । यथा विकटनितम्बायाः पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह—

काले माषं सस्ये मासं वदति शकाशं यश्च सकाशम् ।

उत्रे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥

Thus 'Abhimatārthavighnahetu', 'Mukyārthahati' or 'Rasavighna' lands us on a very comprehensive definition of Doṣa as *Anaucitya*. Aucitya, Ānanda says (Ud. III.), is the very soul of Rasa and that there is no other cause for Rasabhaṅga than Anaucitya. In the language of the Rasika, a Nīrasaprabandha is an Apaśabda; similarly anything which is *Anucita* is of Doṣa. Mahimabhaṭṭa defines Doṣa in this manner, as Anaucitya.

शब्ददोषाणमनौचित्योपगमात् । P. 31. V. V., T. S. S.

The same is put by him thus in the Samgraha kārīkās :

पारंपर्येण साक्षाच्च तदेतत्प्रतिपद्यते ।

कवेरजागरूकस्य रसभङ्गनिमित्तात् ॥

यत्वेतत् शब्दविषयं बहुधा परिदृश्यते ।

तस्य प्रक्रमभेदायाः दोषाः पदैव योनयः ॥

Śls. 90-91. I. p. 32.

Bhoja also, while describing the Doṣa in the composition as a whole, describes Doṣa as Anaucitya in general.

तत्र दोषहानमनौचित्यादिपरिहारेण ।—

Śr. Pra. Vol. II. P. 410.

Further, while describing some of the Doṣas one by one, Bhoja points out how they are the results of the neglect of Aucitya, as can be seen from the section on Aucitya in this thesis.

The fundamental relation of Doṣa to Rasa brings us to a more basic definition of Doṣa. Rasa is the aesthetic relish or Camatkāra of the Sahrdaya. Whatever promotes this relish has been called Guṇa, Rīti, Alarṅkāra, etc., and whatever (pertaining to any of these elements) obstructs Rasa-realisation or this relish and jars on the ears of the Sahrdaya is a Doṣa. Says Ratneśvara : सहृदयोद्वेजकत्वेन हि दोषता । S. K. Ā. Vyā. P. 99.

So it is that Daṇḍin points out that verses like स्त्रीव गच्छति षण्डोऽयं etc., are very appealing and none feels the Upamādoṣa like the difference in gender etc., as a bar to realising their beauty. Says Daṇḍin :

न लिङ्गवचने भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।

उपमादृष्टणायालं यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् । II. 51

× × × ×

इत्येवमादौ सौभाग्यं न जहात्येव जातुचित् ॥ II. 54

Taking inspiration from this passage in Daṇḍin, Keśavamīśra, after giving some traditional flaws, closes his section on Doṣas thus : "I followed the practice of writers in giving these flaws ; but really, only this can and must be said : one must write such poetry as will, in no part of it, jar on the ear of the Sahrdaya."

सम्प्रदायानुरोधेन व्याख्येयं मम, वस्तुतः ।

तादृक् काव्यं प्रकुर्वीत यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ।

A. Śekhara II. P. 20 Kāśī Edn.

The Number and Classification of Doṣas.

The Nyāyasūtras of Gautama speaks of the Doṣas twice. We meet with the Doṣas we are familiar with in the Doṣa section of the Alarṅkāra works in two contexts in the Nyāyasūtras. The first is the section on Śabda-pramāṇa, where the Pūrvapakṣa states that verbal source of knowledge is not valid (is Apramāṇa) since it is liable to such flaws as untruth, contradiction and redundancy,—Anṛta, Vyāghāta, and Punarukta. II. i. 57. Of these Vyāghāta and Punarukta are flaws we meet with in the Doṣa sec-

tion in Alarṅkāra works. This Vyāghāta is the Vyārtha of Bhāmaha and the Pūrvāparaviruddha of Daṇḍin, one part contradicting another. Punarukta is very well known and is seen as Ekārtha in Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

In the subsequent sūtras and the Bhāṣya thereon, Gautama and Vātsyāyana explain where and how Vyāghāta and Punarukta are not Doṣas. Cases of apparent contradiction may ultimately mean something else and may be designed ; and Punarukti for Anuvāda is also not a flaw. This is the 'non-eternality of non-universality'—Anityatva—of Doṣa and the idea of Vaiśeṣika-guṇa or the Guṇibhāva of Doṣas is also contained in this part of the text of the Nyāyasūtras and their Bhāṣya.

A larger number of Doṣas are met with towards the end of the Nyāya-sūtras while the Nigraha-sthānas are enumerated and dealt with, V. ii. beginning with sūtra 1. Here the flaws in debating, resulting in points of defeat, are given. Some of these are the flaws met with in the Doṣa section of the Alarṅkāra śāstra.

1. *Arthāntara*. This is the sixth Nigraha-sthāna, defined in Sūtra 7 (V. ii.) प्रकृतादर्थाद् अप्रतिसंबद्धानर्थमर्थान्तरम् ।

Vātsyāyana's illustration of this flaw is humorous. He says that one gets defeated if he should fall a prey, to this flaw of irrelevant digression. One has to prove that Śabda is Nitya and gives a Hetu or reason for it ; if at this stage he should derive the word 'Hetu' from its root, point out the Pratyaya and how it is a Kṛdanta and then proceed to give the various kinds of Padas, he commits 'Arthāntara'. Bharata gives a flaw called Arthāntara which is the same as this and Bharata defines it as the description of of that which need not be described,—Avamyavaraṇa.

2. *Nirarthaka*. V. ii. 8. This is a case of the words themselves having no meaning ; we should not even say 'words' ; for a 'word' has some meaning, primary or secondary. In this flaw there are not words but only some concatenation of sounds which make no intelligible word.

3. *Avijñātārtha*. This is what is not understood by or is not understandable to the opponent or to the assembly, even when repeated for the third time. This is not an unitary flaw but is a composite one. Explaining it, Vātsyāyana says that various flaws may go to produce this defect, such as words with many meanings, obscure words etc. The second of these, Apratita-śabda is met with in Alarṅkāra-śāstra. It is akin to Bhāmaha's Gūḍhaśabda abhidhā (I. 45-46). Apratita, from the time of Vāmana, got its meaning restricted to the use of scientific terms in poetry, of words known only to scholastic and technical scholars.

4. *Apārthaka*. Sūtra 10. This is the ninth Nigrahassthāna.

पैर्वापययोगात् अप्रतिसम्बद्धानर्थमपार्थकम् ।

This is different from the above-noticed Nirarthaka. While Nirarthaka means sounds or words which have themselves no meaning, Apārthaka refers to a sentence as a whole not making any sense, though its separate words are sensi-

ble. Vātsyāyana says तत्समुदायार्थस्य अपायात् अपार्थक्यम् and he gives दश दाडि-
मानि षड्पूपाः as an example. This is exactly identical with the Apārtha of
Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, which Bhāmaha defines in almost Vātsyāyana's own
words and illustrates with the same expression as given by Vātsyāyana.

समुदायार्थशून्यं यत् तदपार्थक्यमिष्यते ।

दाडिमानि दशापूपाः षडित्यादि यथोदितम् ॥ IV. 8.

5. *Punarukta*. II. i. 57. This is too plain to need any explanation and
is met with in all Alarṅkāra works. Both Gautama and Vātsyāyana speak of
Śabda paunaruktya and Artha paunaruktya. The latter, illustrated by Vātsyā-
yana, corresponds to what Mammaṭa has given among his Artha dośas as
Anavikṛta. See below.

Further, Gautama speaks of two more Dośas i.e., Nigrahasthānas, Nyūna
and Adhika, which refer to Nyūnatā and Ādhikyā of the Aṅgas,
Pratijñā, Hetu, etc. This Nyūnatā and Ādhikyā are met with in the
Dośa section in Alarṅkāra works with reference to the use of words—Nyūna-
pada and Adhikapada (vide Rudraṭa) and with reference to the Upamā-
alarṅkāra and Upamādośas.

Kauṭilya

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya speaks of Śāsana, writing letters, writs,
documents and grants of the State in II. 10. called the Śāsanādhikāra. With
reference to the writing of these Śāsanas, Kauṭilya mentions here some good
qualities of writing and composition which these Śāsanas should possess
(Guṇas) and some flaws which they must be free from (Dośas). The Dośas
are thus mentioned by Kauṭilya :

Akānti, Vyāghāta, Punarukta, Apaśabda, Samplava.

अकान्तिः, व्याघातः, पुनरुक्तम्, अपशब्दः, संश्लवः इति लेखदोषाः ।

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The first flaw, Akānti, is foreign to our present purpose, referring as it does
to the art of the scribe. Vyāghāta is thus defined by Kauṭilya : पूर्वण पश्चि-
मस्य अनुपपत्तिः व्याघातः and it is plain. It is Bhāmaha's and Daṇḍin's Vyārtha,
Purvāparavyāghāta. Punarukta, the third flaw, is also plain and Kauṭilya
defines it properly as repetition *without purpose*. “उक्तस्य अविशेषेण द्वितीयमुच्चा-
रणं पुनरुक्तम्” Pointless repetition is a flaw ; but repeating a thing for emphasis
and such other purpose is a Guṇa as pointed out by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.
It is, in certain cases, a Vaiśeṣikaguṇa as Bhoja says. This point is stressed
by the word ‘Aviśeṣa’ in Kauṭilya's definition of Punarukta. The fourth
flaw, Apaśabda is grammatical error in gender, number, etc. “लिङ्गवचनकालकार-
कणामन्यथाप्रयोगः शब्दः” । It is the last flaw called Samplava that is not
easily understood. Kauṭilya defines it thus :

अवर्गे वर्गकरणं, वर्गे चावर्गक्रिया, गुणविपर्यासः संश्लव इति ।

The definition clearly consists of two aspects. It is the first that is not clear.
In it occurs a word, *Varga*, which occurs earlier also in this same chapter.

एकपदावरः, त्रिपदपरः परपदार्थानुरोधेन वर्गः कार्यः

In his commentary on the Arthaśāstra in the T. S. S. Edn., Mm. Ganapati SASTRI has only reproduced what the two old commentaries, the Jayamaṅgalā and the Pratipadapañcikā, have given as the meaning of the word Varga. The Jayamaṅgalā (R. 5208 ; T. 4. 191 ; Mad. Govt. Oriental Mss. Library), a commentary on the Arthaśāstra by one Bhikṣuprabhamati, according to a colophon (P. 129, end of III. ii) in the Ms. interprets Varga as Samāsa, in both the places where the word occurs.

वर्गः समास इत्यर्थः । p. 172. असमासे समासकरणम् and समासेऽप्यसमासः ।

Bhaṭṭasvāmin interprets Varga in his Pratipadapañcikā on the Arthaśāstra (V. 5. 47 D. 3873 Mad. Ms.) first as Samāsa and then as Virāma or stop. (Pp. 22 & 30). His Virāma is not exactly 'paragraph spacing' as is taken by Mm. Syama Sastri in his translation. How can there be a Samāsa with one word ? or a paragraph with one word ? It is difficult to reconcile the word Vargakaraṇa to Samāsa and Paragraph. There cannot be a paragraph even of three words : Tripadapara. Perhaps, Varga means the spacing (Virāma) between word and word or between one group of words and another. Perhaps, Kauṭilya says that one may leave some space for every word or at least for every three words. If Varga means Samāsa, the flaw related to it is literary ; if it refers to paragraph or any other kind of stop, it pertains to calligraphy like the first flaw of Akānti. It must be accepted that none of the meanings suggested above satisfy.

The second aspect of Samplava is fortunately plain. It is similar to Daṇḍin's Guṇaviparyaya, Vāmana's Suksma-doṣa and Bhoja's Arītimat. Kauṭilya describes it as reverses, Viparyāsa, of the Guṇas of Lekha which have previously been mentioned. The Guṇas mentioned by Kauṭilya are Arthakrama, Sambandha, Paripūrṇatā, Mādhurya, Audārya and Spāṣṭatva. See the Guṇa section. The Viparyāsa of Arthakrama is Apakrama found in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others. Sambandha is defined by Kauṭilya as non-contradiction of the idea by any idea coming ahead and its Viparyāsa will be the same as the Vyāghāta which has been separately and independently given as Doṣa. From the text of Kauṭilya himself describing Sambandha we can construct its Viparyāsa as "प्रस्तुतस्य अर्थस्य उत्तरेण उपरोधः." The third Guṇa called Paripūrṇatā has more than one aspect : 1. Anyūna-anatiriktatā of Artha, Pada and Akṣara. The Viparyāsa of this is the Nyūnatā and Ādhikya of these three elements. Nyūnapada and Adhikapada are met with in the Doṣaprakaraṇa of Ālaṃkāra works. Rudraṭa II. 8. The Nyūnatā and Ādhikya of Akṣara is not clear. It is understandable if it is a metrical flaw. Perhaps it refers to the art of writing and not of composing the Śāsaṇa. 2. Full and clear presentation of the case with arguments and illustrations is the second aspect of Paripūrṇatā. No definite Viparyāsa of this corresponding to any of the Ālaṃkārika's doṣas can be pointed out for this aspect of Paripūrṇatā. Perhaps one may mention here the Doṣa of Apuṣṭārtha of Rudraṭa. 3. Āsrānta-padatā : this seems to be expression or words powerful enough for conveying the idea. The Jayamaṅgalā interprets it as Akṣiṣṭa-

padatā and gives it as the quality of condensed expression as contrasted with weak and spread out expression. See Guṇa section. We can easily give its Viparyaya as Śrānta-padatā. Mādhurya is both ease and grace in idea and expression. सुखोपनीतचार्वर्यशब्दाभिधानं माधुर्यम् । Its reverse which can conveniently be called Amādhurya may be put as strained and far-fetched ideas in unattractive words. Audārya is the use of Agrāmya śabda, sublime words, words not sullied by vulgar and colloquial use. Its reverse is undignified expression which can be put as Grāmya śabda. Sphuṭatva is the use of well known words, Daṇḍin's Prasāda. प्रतीतशब्दप्रयोगः स्पष्टत्वमिति. Its Viparyāsa is Apratitaśabda, the Apratita of Vāmana, Vyutpanna and Anatirūḍha words according to Daṇḍin, I. 46.

The above is mostly an independent examination of the meaning of the Guṇas and Doṣas found mentioned by Kautilya in the Śāsanādhikāra of his Artha-śāstra. The Jayamaṅgalā and the Pratipadapañcikā on the Artha-śāstra do not give these same meanings for some of these Guṇas and Doṣas.

The Anuyogadvāra.

The *Anuyogadvāra* * of the Jainas speaks, on pp. 261a ff., of 32 flaws, Doṣas, to be avoided in an expression. A few of these are ethical, some logical and others, literary :

Anṛta—stating that which is not a fact as well as suppressing that which is a fact.

Upaghāta-janaka—inciting violence to a living being like the Vedic injunction to do animal sacrifice.

Nirarthaka—meaningless concatenation of sounds.

Apārthaka—words intelligent by themselves but not forming a sensible sentence.

Cchala—quibble.

Druhila—an ethical Doṣa (involving Droha?) like the second.

Nissāra—devoid of reasonableness and also trifling (yuktirahitam, pariphalgu)

Adhika—comprises two flaws ; hypermetrical and too many words.

Ūna—metrically wanting in syllables, insufficient expression and deficient in Hetu and Dṛṣṭānta ; this comprises thus three flaws, metrical, literary and logical.

Punarukta—redundant ; two varieties,—in word and in idea.

Vyāhata—inconsistent ; 'purvāparavyāghāta.'

Ayukta—improbable ; 'anupapattikṣama.'

Krama-bhinna—devoid of proper order.

Vacana-bhinna—incongruent number.

* Edn. with Hemacandra's Sanskrit gloss in the Āgamodaya samiti series. This Hemacandra was an elder contemporary of the Hemacandra who wrote the Kāvyaṇu-śāsana.

Vibhakti-bhinna—incongruent case.

Līṅga-bhinna—incongruent gender.

Anabhihita—stating a tenet not belonging to an Āgama or Śāstra.

Apada—another metrical flaw interpreted as drifting into another metre ; 'anyac chandaḥ.'

Svabhāva hīna—against Nature ; 'loka-viruddha.'

Vyavahita—long digression.

Kāla-doṣa—wrong tense and mood.

Yati-doṣa—another metrical flaw.

Chavi-doṣa—explained as the fault of being devoid of the colour of figure, Alamkāra. The gloss explains 'Chavi' as 'Alamkāra-viśeṣa' ; is any definite figure meant ?

Samaya-viruddha—similar to Anabhihita. While in the former, something not said in a school of thought is attributed to it, here something said is misrepresented.

Nirhetuka—simply stating a thing without the support of argument.

Arthāpatti-doṣa—another logical flaw.

Samāsa-doṣa—this is clear.

Upamā-doṣa—comprises three Doṣas,—Hīnopamā, Adhikopamā and Anupamā. Anupamā is citing wrong simile.

Rūpaka-doṣa—does not pertain to the figure Rūpaka as could be mistaken ; Rūpaka here means 'Rūpa, form ; this flaw is inaccurate description of the form of an object.

Nirdeśa-doṣa is explained as the absence of Ekavākytā of the words uttered and is illustrated by a sentence devoid of the verb.

Padārtha-doṣa—false argument based on the second meaning of the synonym of the word in question.

Sandhi-doṣa—this is clear.

The Mahābhārata

The Sulabhā-Janaka-samvāda in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (ch. 325 in the Kumbhakonam edn. and ch. 320 in the Citraśālā Press edn.), speaks of some Guṇas and Doṣās of expression in verses 87-90. We can make out here the following Doṣas :—

Apetārtha, Bhinnārtha, Nyāyaviruddha, Adhika, Aślakṣṇa, Sandigdha, Gurvākṣara, Parāṇmukhapada, Anṛta, Trivarga-viruddha, Asamskrta, Nyūna, Kaṣṭaśabda, Vikrama, Saśeṣa (i.e. incomplete), Niṣkāraṇa (i.e. Aprayojana), Ahetuka (yuktirahita).

In the place of Parāṇmukhapada, the Citraśālā edn. has Parāṇmukha-sukha which is meaningless. In the place of the Saśeṣa found in the Citraśālā edn., the Kumbh. edn. has the meaningless reading 'Sadoṣa.' After Saśeṣa, the Citraśālā edn. reads 'Anukalpena' which Nīlakaṇṭha interprets as Lakṣaṇā (!) and Kumbh. edn. reads in that place 'Adhikalpena.' Nīlakaṇṭha explains in his commentary the Doṣa 'Kliṣṭa' which is not traceable in the original.

We shall now notice the writers on Alamkāra, beginning with Bharata.

Bharata.

In chapter 17, Bharata speaks of ten Dośas :

गूढार्थम्, अर्थान्तरम्, अर्थहीनम्, भिन्नार्थम्, एकार्थम्, अभिप्रायार्थम्, न्यायापेतम्, विषमम्, विसन्धि, शब्दच्युतम्.

The last is named Śabda-hīna also. Of these the last four are clear. Nyāyāpeta is ' illogical ' and ' contrary to the facts of the world ' ; in it can be brought together the last two flaws given by Bhāhama viz., Deśa-kāla-kālā loka-nyāya-āgama-virodhi and Pratijñāhetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīna. The former is accepted by Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Vāmana splits it into two, Loka-viruddha and Vidyā-viruddha. Bhoja puts all such flaws under the single Artha-dośa called Viruddha. Bharata defines Nyāyāpeta as Pramāṇa-parivarjita and Pramāṇa is the sciences and arts as well as the world which is the basis of science, art and literature. Viśama is also clear. It is a metrical flaw : ' वृत्तदोषो भवेद्यत्र विषमं नाम तद् भवेत् ' In it, both the later Bhinna-vṛtta and Yatibhraṣṭa are comprehended. Not only these, inappropriate choice of metre will also be a Vṛtta-dośa coming under Viśama. For, as later writers like Kṣemendra (in his Suvṛtta-tilaka) and earlier writers like Kātyāyana (quoted in the Abhinava-bhāratī ; vide my article on Writers quoted in the Abhinava-bhāratī in the JOR Vol. VI. pp. 222-223) say, there is appropriateness and inappropriateness in metres with regard to Rasa and Artha. There is Vṛttaucitya and Vṛttadhvani. There will be Viśamadośa wherever metre is not appropriate. Mahima-bhaṭṭa says that jarring metre is an Anaucitya and a Śabda-dośa, " दुःश्रवत्वमपि वृत्तस्य शब्दानौचित्यमेव " V. V. II. p. 37.

Visandhi is either absence of grammatical sandhi or wrong grammatical Sandhi and this is found in all later writers. The definition in the text of Bharata however is not clear.

अनुप्रतिष्ठाशब्दं यत् तद्विसन्धीति काशितम् ।

Sabdacyuta or *Śabda hīna* is defined by Bharata as Aśabda. It may be the inappropriate word which is a literary flaw and may also refer to grammatically incorrect words and usages. When an idea is not expressed exactly, in the most proper words, precision and power are lost. From the point of view of Rasa and Artha, it is an Apaśabda. Says Kuntaka :

वाच्योऽर्थो वाचकः शब्दः प्रसिद्धमिति यद्यपि ।

तथापि काव्यमार्गेऽस्मिन् परमार्थोऽयमेतयोः ॥

शब्दो विवक्षितार्थैकवाचकोऽन्येषु सत्स्वपि ।

अर्थः सहृदयाद्वादकारिस्त्वस्मिन्दुन्दुरः ॥

स शब्दः काव्ये, यस्तत्समुचितसमस्तसामग्रीकः । V. J. I. 8-9.

But in view of what Śabda-hīna means in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and all later writers, we must take it in Bharata as grammatically incorrect words.

Coming now to the other flaws : Gūḍhārtha is described as paryāya-śabdābhīhita. The name is more plain than the description. It seems to

refer generally to all cases where there is no Prasāda or lucidity in expression and consequently the meaning is obscure. In drama especially, rare expressions and obscure synonyms must be left aside and only the well-known and easily understood words should be used. In XVII. 123, Bharata again emphasises that drama must be devoid of expressions whose meanings are obscure : Gūḍhaśabdārtha-hīna. In chapter I, Bhāmaha speaks of a flaw called Gūḍhaśabdābhidhāna

गूढशब्दाभिधानं च न प्रयोज्यं कथंचन ।

मुधियामपि नैवेदमुपकाराय कल्पते ॥ I. 45.

and he gives in illustration a verse the meaning of which has to be made out with great labour. Both Bharata and Bhāmaha are easily understood by the definition and illustration of the Pada-doṣa called Gūḍha-artha in Bhoja.

गूढार्थम् अप्रसिद्धार्थप्रयोगं ब्रुवते बुधाः । S. K. Ā. I. 11.

In the illustrative verse, the unused synonyms not in currency in the world are used ; as for instance, the word 'Go' is used in the sense of 'Eye', which is not common.

Arthāntara is defined by Bharata as *Avarṇya varṇana*, the description of what ought not or need not be described. This is not exactly a small Pada-doṣa. It is of great literary significance and refers in general to all irrelevancies. When we realise that whatever is introduced and is said has to justify itself by helping the suggestion of *Rasa*, those words, ideas and parts of a composition which have no purpose must be marked out as *Arthāntara*, irrelevant. Of this flaw, I have spoken at some length in my paper on *Aucitya* in the *Journal of the Madras University*. It is this flaw that *Mahimabhaṭṭa* calls *Avācya-vacana* and *Vācya-avacana*, description of the needless and non-description of the needful.

Artha-hīna. Bharata's definition of this Doṣa is not clear.

अर्थहीनं त्वसंबद्धं सावशेषार्थमेव च ।

Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others speak of a flaw called *Apārtha*, which is meaningless prattle as of a madman.

समुदायार्थशून्यं यत् तदपार्थकमिष्यते ।

दाडिमानी दशापूपाः षडित्यादि यथोदितम् ॥ Bhāmaha IV. 8.

Surely this is *Asambaddha* and *Artha-hīna*.

Bhinnārtha. Bharata describes this flaw in two ways. First, he says that it is *Asabhya* and *Grāmya*, vulgarity and coarseness. This flaw, divided into many varieties, is found in later writers. The second definition of *Bhinnārtha* in Bharata is as follows :

विवक्षितेऽन्य एवार्थे यत्रान्यार्थोऽभिधीयते ।

भिन्नार्थं तदपि प्राहुः काव्यं काव्यविक्षणाः ॥

The text seems to be corrupt and we have given above our reconstruction. It is *Bhinnārtha*, 'of a different meaning,' when one wants to convey one thing

but actually says something else which is often the exact opposite. This is what Bhoja calls the Pada-doṣa, Viruddha.

विपरीतं विरुद्धार्थप्रकल्पनमिहोच्यते ।

When one uses the word 'Anuttama,' he may mean best as well as worst. 'Akārya-suhṛt' may mean Avyāja-suhṛt as well as companion in crimes. Abhinava takes the line as it is, not as amended by us, but the meaning is however the same.

Ekārtha. This flaw is found with the same name in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. It is a synonym of Punarukta.

Abhiplutārtha is described by Bharata thus :

अभिप्लुतार्थं विज्ञेयं यत् पादेन समस्यते ।

and this is not clear at all. Abhiplava is overflow. There is nothing here to help even a guess. Nor is there anything in the flaws of later writers which can throw light upon Bharata's Abhiplutārtha. We think it can be taken as the later Sasamśaya. Other flaws in Bharata have nothing to correspond to the flaw of Sasamśaya.

The text of Bharata was considered above as it stands and by itself and we have given above what we can make out of it. Let us now see what Abhinavagupta made out of these Doṣas in Bharata. As we shall see in the Guṇa section, Abhinava follows Vāmana completely on the two subjects of Doṣas and Guṇas in the *Abhinava bhārati*. Abhinava takes Bharata's Gūḍārtha as Vāmana's Neyārtha (Kalpitārtha); he cites Vāmana's illustration for Ekārtha or Uktārtha under Bharata's Arthāntara and this is not sufficiently intelligible. Abhinava adds that by 'Avarṇya varṇana' Bharata means a Vākya-doṣa, that the commentator who took it as a Prabandha-doṣa is wrong and that the Prabandha-doṣa of poets digressing and giving irrelevant descriptions is to be considered under Sandhi-sandhyaṅgas. Artha hīna, Abhinava takes as Vāmana's Vyārtha. Bharata's definition of Artha hīna has two parts :

अर्थहीनं ह्यसंबद्धं - सा त्वशेषार्थमेव च ।

The first, Asambaddha, is clear and has been explained above. The second bit can thus be reconstructed from Abhinava's commentary : *Sāvaśeṣārtham eva ca*. It is explained by Abhinava as the 'Sandigdha' or the doubtful of Vāmana, where a word like 'Mahāpadam' can mean 'great position' as well as its direct opposite, 'great fall.' But in such cases context can decide the meaning to some extent. This dependence on context for the decision of the import is taken as Sāvaśeṣārthatva.

अत्र हि सावशेषः प्रकरणापेक्षः वस्तुनिश्चयः । अभाग्यवशादिति अपि संभाव्यत्वात् ॥

Abhinava takes Bhinna-*artha* as comprising three kinds of flaws : i. *Dūra sambandha vyavadhāna* : The illustration for this Doṣa given by Abhinava is not found in Vāmana, Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin. It approaches Vāmana's

Doṣa called Klišṭa which is Vyavahita-artha-pratyaya. But this first variety of Bhinnārtha is not warranted by the text of Bharata which gives only two varieties. Perhaps in Abhinava's reading, the words 'Bhinnārtham abhivijñeyam' are replaced by other words giving the idea of Dūra-sambandha-vyavadhāna. ii. The second variety is Grāmya and Asabhya. iii. The third is mutual contradiction of two bits of ideas in the same sentence. "विवक्षितोऽन्य एवार्थः यत्रान्वार्येन भिद्यते ।" 'स्याच्चेदेष न रावणः' इत्युक्त्वा 'क नु पुनः सर्वत्र सर्वे गुणाः' इति । उद्दिष्टं ह्यत्र रावणस्य अनुपादेयत्वम् । क पुनरित्यनेन अन्यथाकरणाद् भेदितम् । p. 409. *Abhi. Bhā.*

The text of Bharata defining Abhiplutārtha यत्पादेन समस्यते we pointed above, is obscure. Abhinava's comments presuppose the reading as 'Yatpādeṣu samāpyate.'

अभिप्लुतार्थं यथा—'स राजा नीतिकुशलः सरः कुमुदशोभितम् ।
सर्वप्रिया वसन्तश्रीः ग्रीष्मे मालतिकागमः ॥

अत्र प्रतिपदं (प्रतिपादं) अर्थस्य परिसमाप्तत्वाद् अभिप्लुतम् । एकवाक्यत्वेन निमज्जनाभावात् ।

p. 409. *Abhi. Bhā.*

This does not seem to be exactly what Bharata means. Abhinava has nothing here taken from Vāmana. What he has said is found as the Doṣa called Apārtha which is Samudāyārtha-śūnya in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Then, it is not different from Bharata's Arthahīna or Asambaddha. Nyāyā-peta is taken as Deśa-kāla-kālā-śāstra-viruddha ; and regarding Viśama, Viśandhi, and Śabdahīna, Abhinava agrees with what we have said above. Though there are occasions, as noted above, where he has no help from Vāmana and has himself to exercise his imagination, Abhinava follows in the main only Vāmana on Doṣas. Commenting on the bit in Bharata 'एत एव (दोषाः) विपर्यस्ताः गुणाः काव्येषु कीर्तिताः', Abhinava remarks that there are ten Viparyayas or reverses of the ten flaws which are ten Guṇas ; but besides these ten Doṣa-viparyaya-guṇas, there are also ten more, Śleṣa etc. which are also Guṇas.

Besides the ten Doṣas given in the Doṣa section in the 17th chapter, Bharata gives some Doṣas in the chapter on Siddhis (27th), where he speaks of the judges who mark the merits and the demerits in a dramatic performance. The text of the drama is one department of the performance and of it, the flaws are :

पुनरुक्तं ह्यसमासो विभक्तिभेदो विसन्धयोऽपार्थाः ।

त्रिलिङ्गजाश्च दोषाः प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षसंमोहः ॥

छन्दोवृत्तत्यागः गुरुलघवसंक्रो यतेर्भेदः ।

एतानि स्थूल(?) घातस्थानानि काव्यस्य ॥

Of these, Punarukta is the Ekārtha given in the 17th chapter. The Apārtha given above is the Arthahīna of the 17th chapter. Viśandhi given in the 17th chapter is repeated here with the same name. Asamāsa, as a

flaw, is not intelligible ; perhaps it means incorrect Samāsa ; for there are rules governing compounds. Vibhakti-bheda and Triliṅgaja-doṣas are mistakes of grammar referring to declension and gender. The whole of the third line refers to metrical flaws which have been put under the single name of Viṣama in chapter 17 and which later writers put as two flaws, Bhinnavṛtta and Yatibhraṣṭa. We have another flaw called Pratyakṣa-parokṣa-sammoha, whose sense is obscure. Perhaps it refers to flaws of grammar regarding tenses and moods. For, when declension is taken into consideration and Vibhakti-bheda is enumerated, conjugation can be expected to be mentioned. Hence Pratyakṣa-parokṣa-sammoha many mean confusion regarding present and past.

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

Bhāmaha speaks of Doṣas once at the end of the first chapter itself and then towards the end of his work, in a separate section. In I. 37 he mentions six flaws : Neyārtha, Kliṣṭa, Anyārtha, Avācaka, Ayuktimat, and Gūḍhaśabda-abhidhā. These flaws are explained and illustrated in śls. 38-46. In śl. 47 some more flaws are given : Śruti-duṣṭa, Artha-duṣṭa, Kalpanā-duṣṭa and Śruti-kaṣṭa.

After giving these ten flaws, Bhāmaha points out how these Doṣas sometimes become Guṇas in śls. 54-58. In chapter IV, Bhāmaha gives the following flaws : Apārtha, Vyārtha, Ekārtha, Sasamśaya, Apakrama, Śabdahīna, Yatibhraṣṭa, Viśandhi, Deśa-kāla-kālā-loka-nyāya-āgama-virodhi, and Prati-jñā-hetu-drṣṭānta-hīna. Chapters IV and V, deal with these ten flaws. Among these, the Ayuktimat mentioned in the first list in the first chapter, which is illustrated by cases like employing clouds and such inanimate objects or even such beings as birds as love-messengers, can be brought under the Loka-viruddha of the ninth flaw in the second set.

Bhāmaha's Neyārtha is clearly the Gūḍārtha of Bharata and the Kalpitārtha-neyārtha of Vāmana. Kliṣṭa is also taken by Vāmana from Bhāmaha and defined by the same words as found in Bhāmaha. It is Vyavahitārtha-pratyaya. Bhāmaha's definition of Anyārtha is found in the printed text of the Kāvya-lamkāra in the Haridas Skr. Series as अन्यार्थविगमे यथा ।

विजह्रुस्तस्य ताः शोकं कीढ्यां विहृतं च तत् ॥

There is another reading 'Anyārtam vigatione yathā'. The meaning however is clear. The writer says 'Vijahruḥ tasya tāḥ śokam,' purporting to say "They removed his sorrow," but the correct verb must be 'Jahruḥ', and Hṛ with Vi means 'play'—Vihāra, Viharana etc. Vāmana's Anyārtha agrees with this Anyārtha of Bhāmaha. Avācakam is inexpressive word, a word which is not associated or which cannot be easily associated with the idea. As for instance, Himāpahāmitradhara means cloud ; Himāpaha means fire that removes fog ; its Amitra or the enemy of fire is water which extinguishes it and that which carries water is cloud. If this is the flaw of Avācaka, it is not very much different from the Paryāyābhidhāna or Neyārtha or Kalpi-

tārtha ; again it cannot be distinguished from Klišṭa which is Vyavahitārtha-pratīti. Vāmana who accepts Bhāmaha's Klišṭa leaves off Avācaka as unnecessary. Ayuktimat is illogical conception like making the cloud a messenger. This is not a Pada-doṣa or a Vākya-doṣa but a Prabandha-doṣa. The last is Gūḍha-śabdābhidhāna which is put by Vāmana as Gūḍhārtha and is defined as Aprasidha-artha-prayukta, the use of a word in its less known sense when it has two senses, one more widely known and the other less known. But from Bhāmaha's illustration (I. 46), we see that it is the employment of unheard of words.

The second set of four flaws in Bhāmaha are three kinds of Duṣṭa and one Kaṣṭa. Śruti duṣṭa is the use of words like Visarga, Udgāra etc., which have also bad meanings. Artha-duṣṭa is a whole sentence giving rise to another obscene meaning also. In Śruti-duṣṭa, the vulgarity rests in a single word ; but in Artha-duṣṭa, the words themselves do not have a second vulgar meaning but the sentence as a whole gives rise to an indelicate and vulgar idea. The third called Kalpanā-duṣṭa is the same flaw of obscenity ; here, neither a single word nor the whole sentence is responsible for the obscenity ; but as a result of the careless placing of the various words in a sentence, part of one word combines with part of the next to create a word having an obscene meaning. Śruti-kaṣṭa is sounds that grate on the ear, those that are harsh.

Coming to the third set of ten flaws : Apārtha is incoherent prattling as of mad men, there being no sentence possible in their words. Vyārtha is Viruddha-artha, a sentence in which one part contradicts another,—pūrva-apara-vyāghāta. Ekārtha is tautology. Sasamśaya is doubtful utterance. Apakrama is the lack of the natural order in mentioning things. Śabdahīna is grammatical mistake, Apaśabda. Yatibhraṣṭa is caesura at the wrong place in a metre. Bhinnavṛtta is defective metre, in respect of long and short letters. Visandhi is non-coalition or wrong coalition of words. Viruddha is contradiction of facts of the world, science, logic, arts and traditional lore.

Daṇḍin speaks of these ten flaws towards the end of his work. His definitions correspond to those of Bhāmaha not only in idea but often in expression also. Apārtha, Vyārtha, Ekārtha, Apakrama,—in these cases there is agreement between the two in the idea as well as the words. Both agree in idea though not in expression regarding Sasamśaya, Śabdahīna, Yatibhraṣṭa, and Deśādi-viruddha. On Bhinnavṛtta, there is agreement in idea and expression also to some extent. Visandhi, Bhāmaha does not define but only illustrates ; Daṇḍin defines and illustrates. Regarding the last, Deśādi-viruddha, Bhāmaha takes Nyāya as Śāstra i.e., the Darśanas and treatises on Dharma, Artha, Kāma, and Daṇḍa nīti. To a flaw of Artha śāstra, he devotes rather elaborate attention viz., the absurdity of the story of the trap laid for capturing king Udayana. Daṇḍin briefly deals with Deśa, Kāla, Kalā and Loka and pays more attention to Hetu vidyā (Nyāya) and Āgama.

An important difference between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is that the former

recognises an eleventh flaw called Pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīna which Daṇḍin rejects as a dry enquiry,—

विचारः कर्कशप्रायः तेनालीढेन किं फलम् ।

Bhāmaha devotes the whole of chapter V to it.

Still another difference between these two writers is this : at the end of the ten flaws given in chapter I, Bhāmaha says that those flaws sometimes become Guṇas. He does not elaborate the idea in chapter IV. But Daṇḍin, after illustrating every Doṣa, explains with illustration also, how it becomes a Guṇa under other special circumstances. Daṇḍin finally also observes in general, that all flaws as such can become Guṇas and gives six verses in illustration of this principle.

Besides these two sets of twenty flaws, Bhāmaha speaks of seven flaws which vitiate the figure of simile, flaws which he reproduces from the treatise of one of his predecessors named Medhāvīn.

हीनतासंभवो लिङ्गवचोभेदो विपर्ययः ।

उपमानाधिकत्वं च तेनासदृशतापि च ॥

त एते उपमादोषाः सप्त मेधाविनोदिताः । II. 39-40.

Such flaws can be pointed out for each of the Alarṅkāras. If Alarṅkāras have Lakṣaṇas, there are bound to be flaws. But writers seem to have considered in connection with Doṣa only the Upamālarṅkāra. Upamā is surely the greatest of the Alarṅkāras and is at the root of many other figures also. But that is no reason why Upamādoṣas alone must be specially dealt with. Says Ratneśvara in this connection :

“—उपमायाः प्रभूतविषयतया प्राधान्याच्च उदाहृतमतिस्फुटं भवतीति संक्षेपः ।”

P. 101. S. K. Ā. Vyā.

Daṇḍin does not regularly treat of Upamādoṣas. He rather points out at first that there are cases of Upamā technically having Bhinnaliṅga and other Doṣas but whose beauty is not thereby spoilt. Certain cases do not jar on the ears of Rasikas though they are technically faulty. But there are cases where these flaws are flaws and the reason is that critics feel ugliness there. (II. 51-56. K. Ā.) This gives us a greater definition of Doṣa than either Rasāpakarṣakatva or Anaucitya viz., Sahṛdaya-udvejakatva. As pointed out already, Ratneśvara says “Sahṛdayodvejakatvena hi doṣatā,” p. 99. Daṇḍin, as we have seen already accepts all the ten flaws dealt with by Bhāmaha in chapter IV. He rejects Bhāmaha's Pratijñādi-hāni. He does not also speak, in this context, of Neyārtha and the other nine flaws Bhāmaha describes in chapter I. Vāmana and Bhoja follow Daṇḍin in leaving out the eleventh flaw of Bhāmaha, Pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hāni.

In chapter I, while describing the Guṇas which are generally met with in the Vaidarbhī, Daṇḍin says that the reverses, Viparyaya of these Guṇas, are generally met with in the Gauḍī. These Guṇa-viparyayas are the Sūkṣma doṣas which Vāmana speaks of and of which we made mention above. These

Guṇa-viparyayas contain some Doṣas which can be shown to correspond to the Doṣas given by Bhāmaha in the first chapter.

Daṇḍin's Guṇa-viparyayas met with in Ch. I. K. Ā.—

<i>Guṇa.</i>	<i>Tadviparyaya.</i>
Śleṣa Prasāda Mādhurya Sukumāratā Arthavyakti Kānti	Śaithilya Anatirūḍha Grāmyatā of Śabda and Artha Niṣṭhuratā, Dīptatva or Kṛcchrodyatva. Neyārtha Atyukti

We have here Bhāmaha's three flaws of Śruti, Artha and Kalpanā Duṣṭas in Grāmyatā, the reverse of Mādhurya. Neyārtha of Bhāmaha is found here as the Viparyaya of the Guṇa of Arthavyakti. Kṛcchrodyatva or Niṣṭhura of Daṇḍin, the Viparyaya of Sukumāratā can be equated with Bhāmaha's Śruti-kaṣṭa. Anatirūḍha, Daṇḍin's reverse of Prasāda, can mean Bhāmaha's Avācaka and Gūḍha-śabda-abhidhāna. See also the Guṇa section and the Doṣa called Śleṣādi-viparyaya under Bhoja in this same chapter.

There are yet other contexts where Bhāmaha speaks of some other Doṣas. 1. In ch. I. 31-36, Bhāmaha is making his critique of the mode of literary criticism based on the distinction of the two styles, Vaidarbha and Gauḍīya. Bhāmaha points out that, as the basis of all styles and as essentials of good poetry, there are certain primary good qualities; and without them, even Vaidarbha is bad, and with them, even Gauḍīya is good. Those who praise Vaidarbha and condemn Gauḍīya emphasise the case where the Gauḍīya's features have become exaggerated, all the time forgetting that the Gauḍīya has virtues, provided its features keep within certain limits, and that even the virtues of Vaidarbha can become exaggerated. Bhāmaha says in this connection :

अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्ति प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम् ।
भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥
अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यमर्थं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।
गौडीयमपि साधीयो वैदर्भमपि नान्यथा ॥ I. 34-35.

The first verse on Vaidarbha says that surely Vaidarbha does not set to decorate and develop its idea with figure, fancy and conceit; that is, the Vaidarbha is plain and straight, Rju. But this simplicity and plainness can easily deteriorate into insipidity and commonplaceness. Apuṣṭārtha and Avakratā are the two Doṣas that result. This Apuṣṭa of Bhāmaha is met with in Rudraṭa and Avakra is Bhoja's Niralanākāra as can be seen below. Prasāda

also is a Guṇa within certain limits. There must always be a quest and discovery, and a half concealed idea gleaming through the words is always the chief source of charm. An over-emphasis on Prasāda may make Vaidarbha, matter of fact. Similarly its sweetness can become so much as to cloy. कोमलम्, भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् । See the Guṇa section also.

Similarly, the flaws to which the Gauḍīya is liable are excessive ornateness (Aṭyalaṅkāra), verbosity and being devoid of much sense (opposite of Arthyatvam), reversals of natural order, i.e., conceits and hyperboles running riot (opposite of Nyāyyatvam) and involvedness (Ākulaṭvam). The word 'Anākula' can be done into 'uninvolved.' Bhāmaha meant something definitely by it, something which is easy to imagine for ourselves though difficult to describe. Bhāmaha mentions this again in his description of Bhāvika in III. 54 as Śabda-anākulatā. Śabda-ākula seems to be "word-ridden" composition. Again in V. 67, Bhāmaha speaks of the flaw 'Ākula.'

2. In V. 62-63, Bhāmaha criticises certain compositions which do not appeal, whose meaning is obscure and cannot be unravelled easily and which, even if they have some feeling, are not beautiful. He compares such compositions to an unripe Kapittha fruit. Here there is mention of one flaw 'Asunirbheda,' 'not easily understandable,' a reverse of Prasāda and Arthavyakti, a composite flaw comprising a number of more definite flaws.

3. Bhāmaha speaks of Viruddha-pada. Asvartha, Pāda-pūraṇa (Bahu pūraṇa) and the already mentioned Ākula in V. 67.

विरुद्धपदमस्वर्थं बहुपूरणमाकुलम् ।

कुर्वन्ति काव्यमपरे व्यायताभीप्सया यथा ॥ V. 67.

Viruddha-pada is the use of words meaning the opposite of what is intended to be said. Pāda-pūraṇa or Bahu-pūraṇa is simply padding. These two flaws are met with in later writers. Ākula has already been noticed. Asvartha is not having any good idea ; i.e., one wastes a huge dictionary of words but there is not even a grain of idea worth seeking in that bushel of chaff. Bhāmaha says that some love this way of flourish, bombast and lengthiness, and illustrates it with a verse.

4. In II. 18 Bhāmaha points out when one can tolerate Yamakas. Here are mentioned certain Guṇas from which some Doṣas can be derived.

Vāmana.

Though Doṣas are being described from the time of Bharata, no writer ever analysed them into different classes. There is no classification in Bharata. Bhāmaha gives the Doṣas in three groups even as he gives his Alaṅkāras group by group and this does not mean any classification at all. When however Bhāmaha gives in chapter I two kinds of Duṣṭa named Śruti-duṣṭa and Artha-duṣṭa, he has a distinction into Śabda doṣa and Artha doṣa. Similarly, while describing his Ekārtha or Punarukta in chapter IV. 12, he gives two varieties of it, of Śabda and of Artha.

पुनरुक्तमिदं प्राहुरन्ये शब्दार्थभेदतः । IV. 12.

Daṇḍin, in whose work also the classification of Doṣas has not yet begun, almost repeats Bhāmaha's idea regarding the Śabda and Artha Punaruktis.

अर्थतः शब्दतो वापि तदेकार्थं मतं यथा । IV. 12.

This case of Doṣas is similar to that of the Guṇas. The division of Guṇas into those of Śabda and those of Artha is not definitely made by Daṇḍin even. It is Vāmana who first classifies Doṣas and Guṇas into those of Śabda and those of Artha.

As already pointed out, there is much agreement on Doṣas between Bhāmaha and Vāmana. Vāmana borrows Neyārtha etc., given by Bhāmaha in the first chapter. For his second set of Doṣas, Vāmana utilises both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. The following are Vāmana's flaws :

<i>Pada doṣas</i>		<i>Vākya doṣas</i>	
<i>Pada doṣas</i>	<i>Padārtha doṣas</i>	<i>Vākya doṣas</i>	<i>Vāk्यārtha doṣas</i>
Asādhū	Anyārtha	Bhinna vṛtta	Vyārtha
Kaṣṭa	Neyārtha	Yati bhraṣṭa	Ekārtha
Grāmya	Gūḍhārtha	Visandhi	Sandigdha
Apratīta	Aślīlārtha		Ayukta
Anarthaka	Kliṣṭārtha		Apakrama
			Loka-vidyā-viruddha

The Guṇas are classified only into those of Śabda and Artha. But the Doṣas are classified by Vāmana into four classes, Doṣas of Pada, Padārtha, Vākya and Vāk्यārtha. Now to an examination of Vāmana's Doṣas : His Asādhū is the Śabda-hīna of Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Kaṣṭa is given by Bhāmaha as the fourth in the second set of four flaws in the first chapter. Grāmya of Vāmana is seen in Bharata's first variety of Bhinnārtha. In Bhāmaha, it is not mentioned by name and defined but, as in some other cases in Bhāmaha, it is simply illustrated. In I. 53, Bhāmaha says—गण्डमयपरे किल (नेच्छन्ति). This Gaṇḍa is slang, Grāmya. If poets should not use vulgar words, they should not also use the technical words of the class-room. So, side by side with this Grāmya, Vāmana introduces the flaw called Apratīta, which he is the first to speak of. Vāmana's Anarthaka is the flaw resulting from padding with words like 'Tāvat,' 'Tu' 'Hi,' to fill up the metre. This is also an almost new flaw introduced by Vāmana, though we have in Bhāmaha V. 67 the flaw Bahu-pūraṇa comprehending it. Vāmana's Anyārtha and Neyārtha are identical with those two flaws in Bhāmaha, ch. I. Bhāmaha has in ch. I the Gūḍha-śabda-abhidhāna to correspond to Vāmana's Gūḍhārtha, but their respective meanings are not exactly identical. Vāmana's Aślīla is Bhāmaha's Duṣṭas of Śruti, Artha and Kalpanā. Vāmana's Kliṣṭa is also the same as that given by Bhāmaha in

chapter I. Thus almost all the flaws given by Bhāmaha in Chap. I, except Avācaka and Ayuktimat, are taken by Vāmana and constituted into the class of Pada-Padārtha-doṣas with the addition of a few more.

Regarding the Vākya-Vākyārtha-doṣas in Vāmana, these are almost the same as given by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin in the fourth chapter of their works. Vāmana like Daṇḍin omits Bhāmaha's Pratijñādi-hāni and accepts the rest. It is to be noted that Vāmana omits also the first flaw of Apārtha; Vāmana has nothing even corresponding to it. He starts with Vyārtha and has the other eight. Deśa-kāla-kalā-loka-nyāya-āgama-viruddha is split into two by Vāmana, Loka-viruddha which comprehends Deśa, Kāla and Loka and Vidyā-viruddha which comprehends Kalā, Nyāya and Āgama Viruddhas. To these Vāmana adds the Ayukta of the first chapter of Bhāmaha, which he left out earlier. Vāmana's Ayukta is however not clear. He says: '*Māyādi-vikalpītartham ayuktam.*' II. ii. 21. Perhaps Vāmana refers to illusions and fantasies in which incoherent things happen. Gopendra Tippa illustrates it from the Vidagdhamukhamanḍana and is equally obscure. It is significant that Bhoja has no need for this Ayukta.

In IV. 2, Vāmana accepts six Upamā-doṣas,—Hinatva, Adhikatva, Liṅga bheda, Vacana bheda, Aśādīśya, Asambhava. Bhāmaha has one more viz., Viparyaya which Vāmana omits. It is plain that Vāmana follows Bhāmaha pretty closely; for Bhāmaha says that an exaggerated statement is not a flaw in simile; it cannot be the Upamā-doṣa called Asambhava. Bhāmaha says:

यस्यातिशयवानर्थः कथं सोऽसंभवो मतः ।

इष्टं चातिशयार्थत्वमुपमोत्प्रेक्षयोर्वथा ॥

and, following Bhāmaha, Vāmana says at the end of the Upamā section:

उपमायामतिशयस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

and makes the sūtra also 'Na viruddho'tiśayaḥ' (IV. ii. 21.) The reason for Vāmana's omission of Viparyaya is his inclusion of both the varieties of Viparyaya viz., Hinopamā and Adhikopamā in the general Hinatā and Ādhikya accepted by both.

Mention has already been made of the Sūksma doṣas, referred to by Vāmana at the end of II. ii.

Rudraṭa.

In II. 8, Rudraṭa gives a few Guṇas and Doṣas of Vākya in general. From this verse we derive the following flaws: Nyūna pada, Adhika pada, Avācaka, Apakrama, Apuṣṭārtha, Acārupada. Namisādhu explains and illustrates these flaws. Nyūnapada is insufficient words, or absence of an important and necessary word. When there is this flaw, Arthavyakti is absent. It will produce what Daṇḍin calls the Neyārtha-doṣa. Adhikapada is Vāmana's Anarthaka; Punarukti also comes under this. Avācaka is what Bhāmaha mentions in chapter I; words which we use for certain ideas but which do not express those ideas, words like Paṅkti-vihaṅgama-nāma-bhṛt for

Daśaratha. Apakrama is not only the absence of the natural order of things or of their logical sequence but also the grammatically wrong position of words which spoil Anvaya. Apuṣṭārtha is related to Adhikapada; Namiśādhu here points out that Rudraṭa uses the word Śabda here,—Apuṣṭārtha-śabda which means, another flaw called Apuṣṭa śabda which is Apa-śabda. Acārupada is the Śrutikaṣṭha of Bhāmaha; Namiśādhu calls it Duṣśrava. Rudraṭa pays special attention to the last flaw Acārupada and speaks of it in two verses, II. 9-10.

In chapter VI, Rudraṭa takes up the subject of Śabda doṣas after having done with Śabda-alarṅkāras. He has also got the distinction of Doṣas into those of Pada and Vākya. In Rudraṭa, the distinction of Doṣas into those of Śabda and Artha is very clear and he treats of Śabda-doṣas after Śabda-alarṅkāras and Artha-doṣas after Artha-alarṅkāras. Śabda-doṣa is first described as pertaining to Pada and Vākya. 'Pada-vākya-stho doṣaḥ'. In the six flaws noted above as given in II. 8, there are both Pada-doṣas and Vākya-doṣas, as Namiśādhu also points out.

Asamartha, Apratīta, Visandhi, Viparītakalpana, Grāmya, Avyutpanna and Deśya are the Pada-doṣas given by Rudraṭa in VI. 2. Asamartha is Anyārtha or the Rūḍhicyuta of Vāmana; it is Bhāmaha's Anyārtha e.g. Vijahruḥ for Jahruḥ; Prasmaranti for Vismaranti; and Prasthitaḥ for Prakarṣeṇa sthitaḥ. Rudraṭa gives a second variety of Asamartha as using 'Hanti' to mean 'goes.' Surely the root has that meaning but is not prevalent in that sense in poets' usages. A third variety is using Jalabhṛt for ocean. The second and third varieties are Vāmana's Gūḍhārtha. A fourth variety is also pointed out by Rudraṭa which resembles what Bharata means by Sāvaśeṣārtha according to Abhinava's interpretation. Vide above. Apratīta is also Rūḍhicyuta and Kalpita, unestablished synonym or created name. As for instance one says Himahā, destroyer of fog; he may intend to convey the sense of fire but the word may mean Sun also. This is Sasamśaya-apratīta. The Asamśaya-apratīta is a similar created name which does not however refer to more than one idea. E.g. Aśva-yoṣiṇ-mukha-arcīṣmān meaning Vaḍavā-mukha-agni. Visandhi is not only incorrect coalition but is also bad coalition resulting in sound-combinations which mean obscene things, what Bhāmaha calls Kalpanā-duṣṭa. Viparītakalpanā is illustrated by the expression Akāryamitra and this is Vāmana's Sandigdha. See above. Grāmya is inappropriate and low words. Rudraṭa gives three kinds of Grāmya: i. The use of inappropriate address. As for example, it is Grāmya for one to address a king as Bhagavan. It is not possible how this can be Grāmya; it can be any other flaw, say, Loka-viruddha, but never Grāmya. The third variety of Grāmya given by Rudraṭa is also open to this same criticism. It is given as inappropriateness in the use of onomatopoeic words; Raṇita for example must be used only for the sound of anklets and so on. This may be Loka-viruddha but never Grāmya. Only the second variety which is the use of words like Gaṇḍa is really Grāmya. Rudraṭa takes Grāmya as Anaucitya in general but Anaucitya is even bigger than

what Rudraṭa takes it here to be ; it can take within it the whole world of flaws. The last two flaws are Avyutpanna pada and Deśya pada which are sufficiently clear.

VI. 40 : Vākya doṣas—Saṅkīrṇa, Garbhita, Gatārtha and Analaṅkāra. Saṅkīrṇa is words of one sentence getting mixed up with those of another. Garbhita is a whole sentence creeping into another. Gatārtha is not illustrated by Rudraṭa but is defined and given as a Prabandha-doṣa. Namisādhu explains this as the understanding of the full import of a sentence only by future sentences or by amplifications coming ahead. Niralaṅkāra is Apuṣṭārtha, bald expression.

Artha doṣas.—In VII. 7, Rudraṭa says that there is a comprehensive flaw of Artha in general viz., Anyathākaraṇa, description of things contrary to Deśa, Kāla and such other conditions of Nature. This means the Deśādiviruddha of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana.

In chapter XI, Rudraṭa speaks of Artha-doṣas. They are Apahetu, Apratīta, Nirāgama, Bādhayat, Asambaddha, Grāmya, Virasa, Tadvat and Atimātra. Rudraṭa's Apahetu is an instance of a later writer taking up the logical errors described by Bhāmaha in chapter V. Apahetu of Rudraṭa can be taken as the Hetu-hāni in Bhāmaha's Pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hāni. Apratīta is 'Kavibhiḥ aprayuktam,' words which poets have not used. Nirāgama is included in the first given flaw of a general nature viz., Deśa-kālādiviruddha. Bādhayat is Pūrvāparavyāhata, the Vyārtha of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Asambaddha is Vāmana's Ekārtha of the second variety. न विशेषधेदेकार्थम्. Grāmya is Anaucitya and is the Loka-viruddha of other writers. Virasa is a flaw pertaining to Rasa and this is the first time Rasa is considered in connection with Doṣas. There is more than one variety of this flaw of Virasa. If in one Rasa, another incompatible Rasa crosses, it is a Virasa. Another kind of Vairasya is too much development of even the pertinent Rasa, Ativṛddhi. Tadvat is similar to Asambaddha. It is also use of words which are not for any significant purpose, padding. This is what Vāmana calls Pūṇārtha, where however he counts only the words Tu, Hi, etc. Rudraṭa counts also other words which do not add any special idea but are used only to fill up the verse. Atimātra is what Daṇḍin gives as Atyukti, the Viparyaya of his Guṇa of Kānti.

A noteworthy feature in Rudraṭa's treatment of Doṣas is that, like Daṇḍin, he points out, then and there, how all these flaws, with change of conditions, become Guṇas.

The Ūpamā-doṣas of Rudraṭa. Rudraṭa recognises only four : Sāmānya-śabdabheda, Vaiṣamyā, Asambhava and Aprasiddhi. (XI. 24). Namisādhu clearly reviews the seven old simile-flaws of Medhāvīn as found in Bhāmaha and points out the sufficiency of recognising only four. We noticed previously that it was Vāmana who began to reduce the number of Ūpamā-doṣas. He accepts only six, because he clubs together Viparyaya and Hīnatā-Adhikatva. Hīnopamā and Hīna-viśeṣaṇa are both Hīnatva of Ūpamā ; similarly, Adhikopamā and Adhika-viśeṣaṇa are both Adhikatva of Ūpamā. Rudraṭa makes a

different kind of simplification. Hīna-viśeṣaṇa and Adhika-viśeṣaṇa are put together by him under one single head Vaiṣaṃya. Instead of the more narrow Liṅga-vacana-bheda, Rudraṭa gives a more reasonable and comprehensive flaw called Sāmānya-śabda-bheda in which are included disagreement regarding Liṅga, Vacana, Kāla, Kāraka and Vibhakti. (Śl. 26). Regarding Vaiṣaṃya which is numerical superiority or inferiority of the attributes of the two objects compared, Rudraṭa has the interesting remark that it applies only to cases of Kalpita and Utpādyā Upamās. Asambhava is the same old Upamā-doṣa. Under Aprasiddha, Rudraṭa brings Hinopamā, Adhikopamā and Aprasiddhopamā of Bhāmaha as is evident from his illustration.

Ānandavardhana.

In the *Dhvanyāloka* we can expect only casual mention of Doṣas. In II. 12, Ānanda refers to Guṇas as Rasa-dharmas and places Doṣas in the same position. In II. 12, he refers to Śruti-duṣṭa and other flaws and characterises them as 'Anitya,' flaws only relatively and not fundamentally. The same flaw of Śruti-duṣṭa is also referred to in Uddyota III. (p. 129 Samgraha śloka).

It is however the subject of a new category of Doṣas called Rasa-doṣas in the evolution of which Ānanda's work occupies a prominent place. Fundamentally, as Ānanda points out in II. 12

ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदीरिताः ।

all Doṣas directly pertain to Rasa and hinder its realisation; and hence are Rasa-doṣas. But analytically speaking and dividing poetic expression into its various departments, we classify Doṣas into those of Pada, Vākya, Prakaraṇa and Prabandha; of Śabda and Artha; and of Rasa. We have also seen how there are Alarṅkāra-doṣas when we considered under Bhāmaha the Upamā-doṣas coming down from Medhāvī's time; and in connection with that we remarked that flaws can thus be shown for other Alarṅkāras as well. Regarding Alarṅkāras as such and in general, Ānanda has an interesting section in Uddyota II where he gives certain rules for introducing Alarṅkāras in the most proper way. When these rules are not observed, the following faults result :

1. यमकादि शब्दालङ्काराणां शृङ्गारादि-अङ्गिरसेषु एकरूपेण निबन्धनम् (II. 15)
2. पृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यत्वम् (II. 17)
3. —अरसपरत्वं रूपकादिः (II. 19-20)
4. अङ्गित्वेन करणम्.
5. अकाले ग्रहणम्, काले अग्रहणम्, अकाले त्यागः, काले अत्यागः
6. अतिनिर्वाहः

Alarṅkāras then do not serve their purpose and become Doṣas. These can be taken as Alarṅkāra doṣas in general. Similar flaws in respect of Guṇa, Saṅghaṭanā etc., can be pointed out and they will all be aspects of Anaucitya of Guṇa, Saṅghaṭanā etc. See my paper on Aucitya, *Journal of the Madras University*, VI. I & VII. I. Since Rasa is the most important and since its

delineation is the most difficult task, Ānanda has taken pains to observe the masters and lay down some generalisations for the guidance of others in Uddyota III, 18-19. The flaws that vitiate Rasa are thus given by him :

1. विरोधिरससंबन्धविभावादिपरिग्रहः
2. विस्तरेणान्वितस्यापि वस्तुनोऽन्यस्य वर्णनम्
3. अकाण्डे विच्छिन्निः
4. अकाण्डे प्रकाशनम्
5. पुष्टस्यापि पुनः पुनः दीप्तिः
6. वृत्त्यनीचित्यम्

(This last can be separated as Vṛtti doṣa)

These are called by Ānanda 'Rasa-virodhas.' The concept of Rasa-doṣa arose even earlier than Ānanda and we find in the Artha-doṣas of Rudraṭa, which we examined above, one Doṣa called Virasa. This Virasa of Rudraṭa is of two kinds : 1. Incompatible Rasa, Kramāpeta-rasa-nipāta, i.e. Viruddha-rasa-sambandha ; and 2. 'too much development of even the relevant Rasa' ;

(1) क्रमापेत रसनिपात or विरुद्धरससम्बन्ध and (2) सावसरस्यापि रसस्य अतिमहती वृद्धिः निरन्तरम् i. e. पौनःपुन्येन दीपनम् of Ānanda (Rudraṭa, XI. 12-14). Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra tilaka* speaks of the avoidance of the touch of antagonistic Rasa,—Viruddharasa-samparka-vivarajana—in III. 20-22 and in the same chapter, Śl. 46, it says :

विरसं प्रत्यनीकं च दुःसन्धानरसं तथा ।
नीरसं पात्रदुष्टं च काव्यं सद्भिर्न शस्यते ॥

Of the flaws mentioned herein, Virasa is explained as Viruddha-rasa and Nīrasa as the second variety of Rudraṭa's Virasa viz., the over-development of one Rasa, Nirantaram eka-rasa-vṛddhiḥ.

These flaws are very elaborately explained by Ānanda in Uddyota III pp. 161-181. Mammaṭa thus formulates the following Rasa-doṣas on the basis of the Dhvanyāloka : (Kāvya prakāśa. VII. 12-14).

1. रस-स्थायि-व्यभिचारिणां स्वशब्दवाच्यत्वम्

Here Hemacandra points out that sometimes Vyabhicārins mentioned by their names can be passed.

रसादेः स्वशब्दोक्तिः, कचित्सञ्चारिवर्जं दोषः । K. A. III. i.

This is derived by Mammaṭa from Uddyota I of the Dhvanyāloka.

2. अनुभावविभावयोः कष्टकल्पनया व्यक्तिः । [विभावानुभावकेशव्यक्तिः

(Hemacandra, III.)]

3. प्रतिकूलविभावादिग्रहः । [विरोधिरससम्बन्धविभावादिपरिग्रहः । Ānanda]

Hemacandra analyses this Prātikūlya of Vibhāvas etc., on the basis of Ānanda's remarks.

4. पुनःपुनः दीप्तिः
5. अकाण्डे प्रथनम्
6. अकाण्डे च्छेदः

7. अङ्गस्याप्यतिविस्तृतिः
8. अङ्गिनः अननुसन्धानम्
9. प्रकृतिविपर्ययः
10. अनङ्गस्याभिधानम्

Hemacandra copies Mammaṭa and Mammaṭa draws upon Ānanda and to a small extent upon Rudraṭa also. Mammaṭa points out also in the closing section of the seventh chapter how these Rasa-doṣas are not Doṣas in certain cases.

Rājaśekhara.

The bulk of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara is lost. According to his own table of contents given at the beginning of his work, he devotes one chapter to Doṣas. दोषाधिकरणं विषयः p. 1. Since that chapter, along with many others, is lost, we cannot at present find out how much Rājaśekhara borrowed from earlier writers, how much he himself added and how much Bhoja borrowed from him on the subject of Doṣas.

Similarly we are not able to examine here the contributions of Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka and Tota to the Doṣaprakaraṇa. We have noticed Abhinava's contribution under Bharata.

Bhoja.

It is with Bhoja that we started. Bhoja defines poetry first as expression which must be flawless. He makes Doṣa-hāna the first of the four Sāhityas in his Śr. Pra. For his section on Doṣas, Bhoja draws upon Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Rudraṭa.

Bhoja gives only three classes of Doṣas : Doṣas of Pada, of Vākya and of Vākyaṛtha. Vāmana's second class of Padārtha-doṣas is felt as unnecessary by Bhoja. The Pada-doṣas of Bhoja are sixteen in number. Of these, those borrowed from Vāmana are nine : Asādhū, Kaṣṭa, Anarthaka, Anyārthaka, Apratīta, Klišṭa, Gūḍhārtha, Neyārtha and Grāmya. Since Bhāmaha is the source for Vāmana himself, Bhāmaha (Ch. I.) is utilised here by Bhoja also. (Bhāmaha I. 37 & 47). Apuṣṭārtha is taken by Bhoja from Rudraṭa, II. 8 and so also Asamartha and Deśya from Rudraṭa, VI. 2. Besides these flaws, we have in Bhoja Aprayukta which is 'Kavibhir aprayukta,' Sandigdha and Aprayojaka which is 'Aviśeṣa-vidhāyaka.' The second and the last are to be found in some other form in earlier writers as can be seen from the earlier part of this section. Aprayojaka can be compared to Rudraṭa's Artha-doṣa called Tadvat. Bhoja introduces Aprayukta which is prohibition of the non-poetic word, i.e. words which poets have not used. The vulgar words have to be left out (Deśya and Grāmya); the learned and technical words (Apratīta) have to be left out also and similarly, among the remaining, those not in poetic usage (Aprayukta) must also be left out.

The Vākya-doṣas are also sixteen in number and of these, those common to Bhoja and Vāmana are only Visandhi, Bhinnavṛtta and Bhinnayati. These

are found in other writers also. Four Upamā-doṣas are also counted here by Bhoja as Vākya-doṣas and for some Vākya-doṣas Bhoja is indebted to Rudraṭa. Bhoja's Vākya-saṅkīrṇa and Vākya-garbhita are from Rudraṭa's Vākya-doṣas in VI. 40.

Bhoja's Śabda-hīna is a new addition but it is unnecessary since a Śabda-hīna vākya-doṣa is only the Pada-doṣa of Aśādhu. Krama-bhraṣṭa is given by Vāmana as a Vākya-*artha*-doṣa with the name Apakrama. (II.ii.22). Similarly Punaruktimat of Bhoja is the Ekārtha of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and is a Vākya-*artha*-doṣa in Vāmana. Four of the seven or six Upamā-doṣas, Bhinna-līṅga, Bhinna-vacana, Nyūnopamā and Adhikopamā which are related to Śabda are here taken as Vākya-doṣas.

The new Vākya-doṣas of Bhoja are five in number, Śabda-hīna, Vyākīrṇa, Apada, Aśarīra and Arītimat. The first is nothing but a sentence having the Pada-doṣa called Aśādhu. Vyākīrṇa is haphazard, scattered position of subject and object, creating confusion. Apada needs some explanation.

विभिन्नप्रकृतिस्थादि पद्युत्तयपदं विदुः । I. 24. S. K. Ā.

तदेतत् प्रकृतिस्थकोमलकठोराणां नागरोपनागराणां ग्राम्याणां वा पदानाम्युक्तेः अपदम् ।

There are six kinds of words : Prakṛtistha, Komala, Kaṭhōra ; Grāmya, Nāgara and Upanāgara. These fall into two classes of three ; the first three go into a class and the second three into another. The first class is related to the structure and the texture of the words, and Komala and Kaṭhōra at least are self-explanatory. The second class, as Ratneśvara puts it, refers to usage, Prasiddhi,—used by all, used by only the learned few, and used by the learned as also a few men of the world who are in touch with the learned. These are respectively called Grāmya, Nāgara and Upanāgara.

According to context the poet has to use the appropriate word ; the nature of the content decides that of the words which are to be Prakṛtistha, Komala or Kaṭhōra ; and the nature of the speaker or character involved decides whether the words shall be Grāmya, Nāgara or Upanāgara. These conditions can be called Vācya-*aucitya* and Vaktr-*aucitya*. When these two aspects of Aucitya or appropriateness are not found, there arises the flaw of Apada.

In the Śr. Pra., Bhoja adds something regarding this Doṣa of Apada and this addition in Bhoja's other work has been pointed out by Ratneśvara in his commentary on this portion of the S. K. Ā.

शृङ्गारप्रकाशे तु भाषाणामपि भेदः पदमित्युक्तम् । P. 20. S. K. Ā.

In the Śr. Pra. (Chap. IX. p. 204, Vol. II) Apada is thus defined :

भिन्नभाषाप्रकृत्यादिकमपदम् ।

Just as there are appropriate words and vocabulary to suit the meaning and the speaker, there is also, from the same points of view of matter and the speaker, the appropriate language viz., Sanskrit or one of the many Prakṛts. This appropriateness of language (Bhāṣā-*aucitya*) has been made the first Śabdālankāra and has been called Jāti by Bhoja. See the Alarṅkāra section. The reverse or Viparyaya of Jātyalankāra is taken as one of

the aspects of the Doṣa called Apada in the Śr. Pra. Ratneśvara's commentary on this flaw in the S. K. Ā. is very elaborate.

Aśarīra is the flaw of the absence of the verb in a sentence. Vāgbhaṭa II, who is indebted to Bhoja for his Doṣaprakaraṇa, accepts this Aśarīra of Bhoja. Arītimat is a flaw which Bhoja has built out of the first chapter of Daṇḍin's Kāvyaadarśa. As noted above, Daṇḍin gives the ten Guṇas and adds that they have reverses (Viparyayas) which can *generally* be found in the Gauḍī style. As he defines each guṇa and illustrates, he points out also its Viparyaya and gives an illustration for it. Vāmana also recognises, as has been pointed out previously, that the Viparyayas of the Guṇas are flaws belonging to the class of Sūkṣma-doṣas. Bhoja it is who constitutes a special flaw or rather a special set of flaws out of these Guṇa-viparyayas of Daṇḍin. He calls this flaw Arītimat. Only nine Guṇas are taken and Samādhi, whose character naturally separates it as belonging to an altogether different category, is left out.

Sleṣa—Śaithilya.	}	Three Śabda-pradhāna-viparyayas.
Samatā—Viṣamatā.		
Saukumārya—Kāṭhoratā.		
Prasāda—Aprasāda.	}	Three Artha-pradhāna-viparyayas.
Arthavyakti—Neyārthatva.		
Kānti—Grāmyatva.		
Ojas—Asamastatva.	}	Three Ubhaya-pradhāna-viparyāyas.
Mādhurya—Anirvyūḍhatva.		
Audārya—Analamkāra.		

Of these Viparyayas, we find Daṇḍin's text itself justifying not all ; nor all in this same manner. His text contains : Sleṣa—Śaithilya, Prasāda—Vyutpanna or Anatirūḍha, which is to be taken as Bhoja's Aprasanna, Sama—Viṣama. Regarding Sukumārātā, Daṇḍin gives Niṣṭhura as Viparyaya and Bhoja's Kāṭhora means the same thing. The illustration given by Daṇḍin is : न्यक्षेण क्षपितः पक्षः क्षत्रियाणां क्षणादिति । Daṇḍin characterises this as Kṛcchrodyā, 'hard to mouth' and Dīpta. Bhoja gives a verse from Bhāmaha as illustration for Kāṭhoratā—Bhāmaha I. 46, Bhāmaha's illustration for his flaw of Gūḍha śabdābhidhāna. Bhoja has not critically analysed Daṇḍin's Guṇas and Viparyayas of Guṇas. There are two kinds of Saukumārya given by Daṇḍin, one of Śabda and one of Artha. मण्डलीकृत्य बर्हानि etc., is illustration for Artha-saukumārya, for Anūrjita-artha. Its Viparyaya is neither indicated nor illustrated. We can clearly see its Viparyaya as Alamkāra. Plain, direct, simple and delicate pen-pictures are contrasted here with high-flown conceit and figure, Anūrjita-sukumāra-artha with Ūrjita-alamkāra-artha. Śabda-saukumārya has also to be taken as illustrated by the soft words of the same verse मण्डलीकृत्य बर्हानि etc., as contrasted with न्यक्षेण क्षपितः etc. Here the antithesis is Śabda-saukumārya X Śabda-naiṣṭhurya or Kṛcchrodyatva or Dīptava. Another fact is also pointed out by Daṇḍin here ; there is also the other extreme which one

must avoid. Surely Naiṣṭhurya must be avoided and Saukumārya adopted ; but 'too soft' or Sarva-komala cloys and lands in Śaithilya.

बन्धशैथिल्यदोषोऽपि दर्शितः सर्वकोमले ॥ Daṇḍin.

There must be an equally balanced display of softness and vigour. Something like this golden mean is also stressed by Vāmana by his Śleṣa and Prasāda, i.e., Gāḍhatā and Śaithilya. III. 2. 5-8. Bhoja is justified in giving Neyārthatva as the Viparyaya of Arthavyakti, for Daṇḍin's text says :

अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य and नेयत्वमुरगासृजः ।

This Viparyaya is a great flaw and is to be avoided even by the adherents of the Gauḍī style. Other cases of insufficient analysis of Daṇḍin by Bhoja are the Viparyayas of Mādhurya, Kānti and Ojas. Mādhurya of Daṇḍin is of two kinds,—Śabda-mādhurya which is born of mild Anuprāsa and Śabda-agrāmyatā, and Artha-mādhurya which is born of Artha-agrāmyatā. Regarding Anuprāsa-mādhurya, the Viparyaya is Ulbaṇa-anuprāsa. Therefore Bhoja's description of Mādhurya-vyatyaya as Anirvyūḍha and its illustration have little meaning or support from Daṇḍin's text. Then Grāmya, Daṇḍin's Viparyaya of Mādhurya, is given by Bhoja as the Vyatyaya of Kānti. It is plain from Daṇḍin's description of that Guṇa, Kānti, that it is 'Laukika-artha-anatikrama' and that its reverse is Atyukti.

इदमत्युक्तिरित्युक्तमेतद् गौडोपललितम् ।

and this Kāntiviparyaya is really the flaw of Atimātra given by Rudraṭa in XI. 17. Ojas and Audārya of Daṇḍin stand on a different footing from that of Śleṣa and other Guṇas examined above. Like Samādhi, Audārya has no clear Viparyaya. Its application is general. Ojas is similarly not a 'Prāṇa' of the Vaidarbhī ; it is a Prāṇa or Jīvita of Gadya ; *Etad gadyasya jīvitam*. The Vaidarbhas resort to it only in Gadya, whereas the Gauḍas use it even in verse and this is the only difference between the two regarding Ojas. Bhoja picks out the illustration found in Daṇḍin (I. 59) for Bandha pārūṣya and śaithilya resulting from one kind of Anuprāsa etc., and gives this as the illustration for the flaw of Asamasta, failure to compound, which he gives as the Vyatyaya of Ojas. Bhoja's Audārya-vyatyaya is interesting. It is given as Analarṅkāra. Either 'graceful attributes', Ślāghya viśeṣaṇa, or the suggestion of noble ideas, Utkarṣavad-guṇa-pratīti, must be found in any good verse. Then only would Daṇḍin call a verse Udāra. When neither is present, trivial are the attributes mentioned and trifling is the idea. We have on the whole Apuṣṭārtha or Niralarṅkāra.

दीर्घपुच्छश्चतुष्पादः ककुद्भान् लम्बकम्बलः ।

गोरपत्यं बलीवर्दः तृणमसि मुखेन सः ॥

तदिदमपुष्टार्थत्वात् अनुत्कृष्टविशेषणमनुदारं निरलंकारमाचक्षते ॥ S. K. Ā. p. 30.

There is surely a need for such a flaw to rule out of poetry all *bald* utterances ; but it will be a problem for Bhoja to justify the need for this Audārya-

viparyaya called Analankāra, side by side with his Vākya-rtha-doṣa of Niralan-kāra derived from Rudraṭa. This subject is also dealt with in the Guṇa section.

Bhoja's Vākya-rtha doṣas are sixteen in number. Apārtha, Vyārtha, Ekārtha, Sasamsāya, Apakrama and Viruddha—six—are from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Atimātra and Virasa are from Rudraṭa's Artha doṣas. Aślila is also derived from earlier writers and so also the Upamā-doṣas of Hinopamā, Adhikopamā, Asaḍṣopamā and Aprasiddhopamā. The last is from Rudraṭa, from whom is also the Niralan-kāra borrowed. Rudraṭa mentions the Vākya-doṣa of Analankāra in VI. 40 & 46. The additions found in Bhoja are only two, viz., Khinna and Paruṣa. Khinna is defined as a poet's incapacity to continue or sustain the development of an idea taken on hand. Paruṣa is a kind of Atimātra. It is defined as Krūra-artha. Its absence is the Mādhurya guṇa of Artha as can be seen from Bhoja's definition of it as 'Ativratā'.

यत्तु कृतार्थमत्यर्थं परं तु तदुच्यते ।
माधुर्ययुक्तमाचार्यैः कोषादावप्यतीव्रता ॥

Regarding Virasa, it has to be noted that Bhoja takes only the first variety of Rudraṭa's twofold Virasa. He takes the Aprastuta or Kramāpeta Rasa. Atiṣṭhā of even the relevant Rasa, the second Virasa of Rudraṭa is left out. Virodha is classified by Bhoja into Pratyakṣavirodha, Anumānavirodha and Āgamavirodha.

Pratyakṣavirodha	Anumānavirodha	Āgamavirodha.
Deśa-	Yukti-	Dharma, Kāma,
Kāla-	Aucitya-	Arthādi Śāstra
Loka-	Pratijñā-	
Etc.		

Bhoja here takes up Bhāmaha's Pratijñā-hāni under Anumāna-virodha. It has to be noted here that it is quite unintelligible to class Aucitya-virodha under Anumāna-virodha.

Prabandha doṣa.

While examining Abhinava's explanation of Bharata, we saw how Abhinava objected to an earlier commentator taking Bharata's Arthāntara or Avamya-varṇana as a Prabandha-doṣa. Abhinava takes it as Vākya doṣa and points out that the insistence on Sandhi-sandhyaṅgas is for avoiding such irrelevancies as Arthāntara in Prabandha. Rudraṭa describes his Vākya (Śabda) doṣa of Gatārtha as a Prabandha doṣa.

तदिति प्रबन्धविषयं गतार्थमेतत्ततो विद्यात् । VI. 45.
तदेतत् प्रबन्धविषयं विपुलग्नगोचरम् etc. Namisādhū.

Similar Prabandha-doṣas are spoken of by Bhoja also. Just as presence of Rasa is secured in a Vākya by avoiding flaws and then embellishing it with Guṇas and Alarṅkāras, so also, Rasa-aviyoga in a composition as a whole is secured by avoiding the larger flaws of the composition as a whole and by adding similar Guṇas and Alarṅkāras of the whole work. All the flaws of a Prabandha are put under one comprehensive head by Bhoja, viz., Anaucitya and an instance is given in illustration.

“प्रबन्धविषयः (रस-अवियोगः) उच्यते । सोऽपि दोषहानेन गुणोपादानेन अलङ्कार-सङ्करेण च प्रकाशमानः मनीषिणां मनःप्रहर्षहेतुः भवति ।

तत्र दोषहानम् अनौचित्यादिपरिहारेण । यथा मायाकैकेयीदशरथाभ्यां रामः प्रवासितः, न मातापितृभ्यामिति निर्दोषदशरथे । etc.” Śr. Pra. Vol. II. Ch. XI. P. 410. Vide S. K. Ā. V. Pp. 642-3.

वाक्यवच प्रबन्धेषु रसालङ्कारसङ्करान् ।

निवेशयन्त्यनौचित्यपरिहारेण सूरयः ॥ Kārikā 126. S. K. Ā.

This is the avoidance or change of those parts of the original story, for dramatisation or romantic fiction, which do not help the idea or Rasa intended to be developed by the poet. Similar kinds of Anaucitya in a source have to be eschewed and the poet has to exercise his imagination and invent. This is very elaborately dealt with by Ānanda in Uddyota III. 11.

इतिवृत्तवशायातां त्यक्त्वाननुगुणां स्थितिम् ।

उत्प्रेक्ष्योऽप्यन्तराभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयः ॥

See Vṛtti also on P. 147-8. Kuntaka gives this as a kind of Prakaraṇa-vak-ratā in chapter IV. प्रकरणवक्ता—

इतिवृत्तप्रयुक्तेऽपि कथावैचित्र्यवर्त्मनि ।

उत्पाद्यलवलावण्याद् अन्या भवति वक्ता ॥

× × × × ×

निरन्तररसोद्गारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥ Pp. 224-5. De's Edn.

There is little difference between the S. K. Ā. and the Śr. Pra. regarding the Doṣa section. While Bhoja leisurely treats of the subject in the S. K. Ā., defining each in a line of verse or in a verse, he hurries over the subject in the Śr. Pra. He gives in the latter short prose paraphrases of the definitions in the former. There are two other differences, one noteworthy and one trivial. The Aṛitimat of the S. K. Ā. is descriptively renamed in the Śr. Pra. as Śleṣādi-guṇa-viparyaya. The Apada-doṣa, as pointed out above, is described not only as inappropriate words (Pada jāti) but also as inappropriate language (Bhāṣā jāti).

Regarding the subject of Doṣa-guṇas, which Bhoja calls Vaiśeṣika guṇas, enough has been said above while defining Doṣa itself as Anitya. Bhāmaha points out at first in his opening chapter how certain times flaws become excel-

lences. Daṇḍin works it out in his Doṣa-prakarāṇa and Rudraṭa follows him. Bhoja makes out of them a class of Guṇas, called Vaiśeṣika-guṇas. See the Guṇa section below and the paper on Aucitya above referred to. Bhāmaha's verses on this subject सन्निवेशविशेषात् etc. (I. 54) and किञ्चिदाश्रयसौन्दर्यात् etc. (I. 55) are reproduced by Bhoja.

Mahimabhaṭṭa.

The next noteworthy contribution to the Doṣa-prakarāṇa came from that great Doṣajña, may we say Purobhāgi also, Mahimabhaṭṭa. Chapter II of his Vyaktiviveka is wholly given up to a consideration of literary flaws.

It has already been noted that Mahimabhaṭṭa defines Doṣa in general as Anaucitya. It pertains to Śabda and Artha. The latter, viz., Artha-doṣa, Mahiman says, applies to the delineation of Vibhāvas etc., and has been dealt with by earlier writers i.e. by Ānanda in Uddyota III. The former, Śabda-doṣa is external, Bahiraṅga and is of numerous varieties. Five of them are most important.

इह खलु द्विविधमनौचित्यमुक्तम् । अर्थविषयम् शब्दविषयं चेति । तत्र विभावानुभाव-
व्यभिचारिणाम् अयथायथं रसेषु यो विनियोगः, तन्मात्रलक्षणमेकमन्तरङ्गम् आद्यैरेवोक्तमिति नेह
प्रतन्यते । अपरं पुनर्बहिरङ्गं बहुप्रकारं संभवति तद्यथा—(1) विधेयाविमर्शः (2) प्रक्रमभेदः
(3) क्रमभेदः (4) पौनरुक्त्यम् (5) वाच्यावचनं चेति । दुःश्रवत्वमपि वृत्तस्य शब्दानौचित्यमेव,
तस्याप्यनुप्रासादेरिव रसानुगुण्येन प्रवृत्तेरिष्टत्वात् । एतस्य च विवक्षित रसादि प्रतीति-
विघ्नविधायित्वं नाम सामान्यलक्षणम् ।

अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गभावधानयोः साक्षात्पारंपर्येण च रसभङ्ग हेतुत्वादिति । त एते विधेयाविमर्शादयो
दोषा इत्युच्यन्ते ॥ ” V. V. II. P. 37. T. S. S. Edn.

शब्ददोषाणामनौचित्योपगमात् । V. V. P. 31.

पारंपर्येण साक्षाच्च तदेतत् प्रतिपद्यते । कवेरजाकरूकस्य रसभङ्गनिमित्तताम् ॥

यत्वेतत् शब्दविषयं बहुधा परिदृश्यते ।

तस्य प्रक्रमभेदाद्या दोषाः पञ्चैव योनयः ॥ Śl. 90-91

Of these five major flaws, the first named Vidheya-avimarśa relates to Samāsa. Compounding words without ruining the emphasis on certain words is very difficult. Therefore, says Mahiman, the Vaidarbī which is devoid of compounds is the best and the safest. Vidheya-avimarśa is lack of necessary prominence for what we want to keep prominent. Prakrama-bheda and Krama-bheda are related flaws and are new and amplified forms of the old Apakrama. Paunaruktya is an old flaw, known in earlier writers as Ekārtha. Flaws like Pāda-pūraṇa, Aprayojaka, Tadvat, which result from or coexist with Punarukti are also referred to by Mahimabhaṭṭa in his characteristic word Avakara,—mere dust, verbiage. Vācya-avacana is non-expression of that which must be expressed and to this is related another aspect of the same flaw, Avācya-vacana,—expression of the needless. (P. 100) All Avācya-vacana is Avakara.

यत् स्वरूपानुवादिकफलं फल्युविशेषणम् ।
 अप्रत्यक्षायमाणार्थं स्मृतमप्रतिभोद्धवम् ॥
 तदवाच्यमिति ज्ञेयं वचनं तस्य दूषणम् ।
 तद् वृत्तपूरणायैव न कवित्वाय कल्पते ॥ p. 107.

Svarūpa-anuvādaika-phala-viśeṣaṇa is Rudraṭa's Tadvat and Bhoja's Apra-
 yojaka ; to these Pādapūraka etc., are also related. When the bare idea is
 given, due care must be taken not to make the expression bald. Not to give
 attributes which vivify the picture but to give nothing more than the well-
 known ordinary details of an object is to make the picture bald. Unneces-
 sary verbiage also is Avakara and Avācyavacana. Hence the poet must be
 precise but, at the same time, powerful. If he is not powerful his idea suffers
 from what Rudraṭa calls the Doṣa of Apuṣṭa (Artha). Mahimabhaṭṭa
 also refers to this flaw of Apuṣṭa artha.

वस्तुमात्रानुवादस्तु पूरणैकफलो मतः ।

अर्थदोषस्तदोषज्ञैः अपुष्ट इति गीयते ॥¹ V. V. II. 122. P. 109

Chapter II of the *Vyakti Viveka* is a masterly treatise, showing high criti-
 cal acumen. But we are constrained to say that, pushed to their extreme,
 Mahimabhaṭṭa's flaws make poetry itself impossible. Rāghava bhaṭṭa follows
 him to some extent and tries to rewrite some of Kālidāsa's verses in his com-
 mentary on the Śākuntala for avoiding the Doṣa of Prakrama-bheda. But
 Pūṃsarasvatī points out rightly in his comments on the first verse of
 the second part of the Meghadūta that such trivialities as the Prakrama-
 bheda in the verse, विद्युत्वनतं etc. do not detract from the eminence of the poet.
 Mahimabhaṭṭa himself points out that poetic utterance as such, deviating as
 it does from the natural mode of utterance, cannot but be vitiated always
 by the flaw of Prakramabheda.

तदेतदुक्तं भवति—सर्वं एव भणितिप्रकारः प्रक्रमभेदस्य विषय इति ।

Therefore these flaws must be applied within a restricted sphere.²

Mammaṭa.

One codification of the Doṣas was made by Bhoja and there was another
 by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* where Mahimabhaṭṭa's contribution also
 was taken into consideration. Mammaṭa states his idea of Doṣa clearly, as a
 follower of Ānanda, that Doṣa is what spoils the essence or the chief element

1. This line is missing in the text of the T. S. S. Edn. of the V.V. As it is,
 the text in the T. S. S. Edn. has on p. 109 the Sangraha Śloka ending with a half
 line. This missing line, given above, I secured from Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*
 which is a rare collection of all the fine passages in all the earlier works. See Hema-
 candra, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana vyākhyā*, P. 275.

2. In later times, Vidyādhara, author of *Ekāvali*, follows Mahimabhaṭṭa
 on Doṣas. He however omits Kramabhāṅga and gives the other four Doṣas of
 Mahimabhaṭṭa : Avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāmśa, Prakramabhāṅga, Vācya-avacana (and
 Avācya-vacana) and Artha Paunaruktya.

viz., the Rasa and as such primarily pertains, as Dharma, to Rasa. It is however secondarily spoken of as Śabda-doṣa, Artha-doṣa, Varṇa-doṣa and Racanā-doṣa.

शब्दाद्या इत्याद्यग्रहणाद् वर्णरचने ॥ P. 8. T. S. S. Edn. Part II.

Though we pointed out even earlier that the doṣas can be spoken of even as regards Sanghaṭanā, Vṛtti, etc., we could not see till now the writer who definitely mentioned or elaborated Doṣas of those departments of poetic expression also. Here we have Mammaṭa clearly speaking of Varṇa-doṣas and Racanā-doṣas.

Mammaṭa first gives the following sixteen flaws : Śrutikaṭu, Cyutasam-skāra, Aprayukta, Asamartha, Nihatārtha, Anucitārtha, Nirarthaka, Avācaka, Aślīla (3 kinds), Sandigdha, Apratīta, Grāmya, Neyārtha, Klišṭa, Avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāmsa, Viruddha-matikṛt, and three Samāsa-gata doṣas.

Bhoja's Aprayukta,—word not favoured by poets—is taken up by Mammaṭa. Vāmana's Gūḍhārtha is given here with the new name Nihatārtha, using a word of two meanings in the less known meaning. Anucitapada is perhaps Mammaṭa's new introduction. It is inappropriate word and though its scope and significance are very wide, Mammaṭa's illustration makes it somewhat definite. Klišṭa, Avimṛṣṭa-vidheya and Viruddha-mati-kṛt are classed for the first time here expressly as Doṣas related to compounds, Samāsa. Before Mammaṭa, only the second was connected with Samāsa. Under Avimṛṣṭa-vidheya, everything said by Mammaṭa, illustrations and comments is taken from Mahimabhaṭṭa. Some of the other flaws are also sometimes related to Samāsas by Mammaṭa. Śrutikaṭu in Samāsa is an instance. (P. 29. Vol. II. T. S. S. Edn.) In VII. 4, Mammaṭa points out that some of these flaws, Cyutasamskāra, Asamartha and Nirarthaka being left out, pertain not only to Padas but also Vākyas, while some others among these pertain also to parts of a word.

वाक्येऽपि दोषाः सन्त्येते पदस्यांशेऽपि केचन ।

He illustrates these in Vākyas. Here also, Vāmana and Mahimabhaṭṭa are fully utilised by Mammaṭa. Similarly, Śrutikaṭu and some other flaws above mentioned are pointed out with regard to part of a word or syllables on p. 53. These flaws are Śrutikaṭu, Nihatārtha, Nirarthaka, Avācaka, Aślīla, Sandigdha etc.

In VII. 5 and 6, Mammaṭa gives a set of Vākyadoṣas :

Pratikūlavarṇa, Upahataluptavisarga, Visandhi, Hatavṛtta, Nyūnapada, Adhikapada, Kathitapada, Patatprakarṣa, Samāptapunarāṭṭa, Ardhāntarai-kavācaka, Abhavanmatayoga, Anabhihitavācya, Apadasthapada, Apadastha-samāsa, Saṅkīrṇa, Garbhita, Prasiddhi-atikrānta, Bhagnaprakrama, Akrama and Amataparārtha.—20.

Ānanda's treatment of Varṇadhvani in Uddyota III has yielded to Mammaṭa the Varṇadoṣa in Vākyas called Pratikūlavarṇa, letters unsuited to Rasa. Another creation of Mammaṭa is Upahataluptavisarga, all Visargas becoming 'O' at a stretch or getting dropped at a stretch. The third new flaw of

Mammaṭa is Kathitapada, the same word with the same idea used twice, in a sentence. Patatprakarṣa and Samāptapunarāṭta are the fall of the rising climax and taking up again a finishing idea, and all later writers have accepted these two. The sixth new flaw is Ardhāntaraikavācaka, a solitary word of a previous half of a verse appearing in the second half. Mammaṭa's illustration makes this Doṣa further clear and Ratneśvara effectively compares the 'strayed words' to waifs and strays. Abhavanmatayoga is a case of the poet's clumsy expression which intends an Anvaya that is not possible according to grammar. The illustration explains the point further and it is related to the use of 'Yat-Tat' in a verse.

Anabhihita-vācya of Mammaṭa is Mahimabhaṭṭa's Vācya-avacana. Asthāna-pada is the placing of a word, of such an important word as 'Na' for example, in a wrong place. This, together with the next flaw, Asthāna-samāsa, forms Mammaṭa's addition. The Aucitya and Anaucitya pertaining to Samāsa-saṅghaṭanā is discussed at great length in the 3rd Uddyota of his work by Ānanda and it is from here that Asthāna-samāsa is derived. The next two, Saṁkīrṇa and Garbhita Vākyas are from Rudraṭa and we noted above that Bhoja also takes them. Prasiddhi-dhuta is the misuse in onomatopoeic words and words of a similar nature which are associated only with certain definite objects and beings. As for instance, Heṣita can be used only for a horse's neighing and not for the elephant's noise which is called Phīṭkāra. Rudraṭa notes this flaw but brings it rather inappropriately, as has been pointed out already, under Grāmya. Prakrama and Kramabhaṅga are both taken from Mahimabhaṭṭa. Amataparārtha, though made to look new by a new, cumbrous and uncouth name, is really only the first variety of Rudraṭa's Virasa, which alone is accepted by Bhoja also. As in this case, in other instances also, Mammaṭa, partly on account of the Āryā metre chosen by him, gives uncouth names which have no Prasāda and which do not deliver their meanings immediately.

Artha doṣas are then dealt with by Mammaṭa (VII. 7-9) :—Apuṣṭa, Kaṣṭa, Vyāhata, Punarukta, Duṣkrama, Grāmya, Sandigdha, Nirhetu, Prasiddhi-viruddha, Vidyā-viruddha, Anavīkṛta, Saṁnyama-parivṛtta, Aniyama-parivṛtta, Viśeṣa-parivṛtta, Avišeṣa-parivṛtta, Sākāṅkṣa, Apadamukta, Saha-carabhīṁsa, Prakāśita-viruddha, Vidhyānuvāda-ayukta, Tyakta punassavīkṛta and Aślīla.

Of these, Apuṣṭa and Nirhetu are two noteworthy flaws taken from Rudraṭa. Vyāhata, Punarukta etc., form a set of old flaws. Prakāśita-viruddha and Tyakta-punassavīkṛta correspond to the śabda doṣas of the same nature called Viruddha-matikṛt and Samāpta-punarāṭta. The old Loka-virudha has been changed into Prasiddhi-viruddha, for what is Prasiddhi except Loka? Further, Prasiddhi includes within it other things also which are not found in nature but are Prasiddha according to Kavisamaya. The italicised flaws need special notice, for they are newly introduced by Mammaṭa. Anavīkṛta is repetition of the same set of words or phrase without

giving the same variation through turns of expression. Non-specification of an idea that has to be specified is the flaw of Saniyama-parivṛtta. Needless specification is its related flaw on the other side. Incorrect qualification, absence of proper characterisation of an object, lack of proper particularisation of a more general idea is Viśeṣa-parivṛtta. It is aviśeṣa-parivṛtta when the particular is mentioned for the general. Sākāṅkṣa is incompleteness of sense. The closing of an idea at a wrong point is Asthānamukta. When an idea is being elaborated and its various aspects are drawn in the picture, shade by shade, one cannot, while closing, mention something which goes contrary to what has been said previously. Sahacarabhinna is incompatibility of accompanying ideas. When a series of good things are being listed and described, no bad thing can get into the list. As for example, it is not good to say "intellect is adorned by learning, idiocy by misery". Then, that idea which is the primary affirmation in the sentence must not be made unimportant like other accessory ideas. The Vidheya must not be made Anuvāda.

Mammaṭa then points out how all these cease to be flaws in certain circumstances and under such conditions as Imitation, nature of the speaker etc.

The Mammaṭa gives the following Rasa-doṣas :

स्थायिव्यभिचारिणं स्वशब्दोपादानम्, कष्टव्यक्तिः अनुभावादीनाम्, प्रतिकूलविभावादिग्रहः पुनः पुनः दीप्तिः, अकाण्डप्रथनम्, अकाण्डच्छेदः, अज्ञातिविस्तृतिः, अज्ञिनोऽनुसन्धानं, प्रकृति-विपर्ययः, अनङ्गस्य अभिधानम्। These have already been noticed under Ānanda-vardhana, to the 3rd Uddoyta of whose work Mammaṭa is indebted for this section. After giving these flaws, Mammaṭa points out exceptions, conditions which make Guṇas of these flaws.

The 7th chapter of the Kāvya-prakāśa of Mammaṭa is the largest treatise on Doṣas and is the most important. Except Apada and Arītimat and one or two more less important flaws found in Bhoja only, all other flaws and many more, including those added by Mahimabhaṭṭa and by Mammaṭa himself, are found in the 7th chapter of the Kāvya-prakāśa. Mammaṭa was the last original writer on Doṣas. As on other topics, on Doṣas also, he was followed completely by the later compilers.

Mammaṭa's place in the history and evolution of Doṣas is important for another department of Doṣa dealt with by him, viz., Alarṅkāra doṣas. From the time of Medhāvīn, we have only Doṣas of one Alarṅkāra, Upamā. Of Alarṅkāra in general, Ānanda pointed out certain methods of proper use, on ignoring which Doṣas of Alarṅkāra in general will occur. But it is Mammaṭa in whose work we find flaws pertaining to particular Alarṅkāras worked out. At the end of the Alarṅkāra chapter (X), we find Mammaṭa mentioning the following flaws in respect of certain Alarṅkāras. But instead of accepting them, he says that these flaws need not be had separately, since they are included in one or the other of the numerous flaws of Pada, Vākya and Vākyaṛtha given in chapter VII.

<i>Alaṅkāra.</i>	<i>Flaws to which it is liable.</i>	<i>Accepted flaws of chapter VII in which they are included.</i>
Anuprāsa.	Prasiddhyabhāva, Vairāṇya, Vṛttivirodha.	Prasiddhivirodha, Apuṣṭārthatva, Pratikūlavaraṇatā.
Yamaka.	Pādatrayamātra yamanam.	This is contrary to the poet's practice and hence is the Doṣa called Aprayukta of Ch. 7.
Upamā.	Jātipramāṇagatam Nyūnatvam, Adhikatvam ca, Dharmāśrayanyūna-adhikate.	Anucitārthatva. Hīnapada and Adhikapada.
	Lingavacanabheda and Kāla-puruṣa-vidhyādibheda.	Prakramabheda.
	Asādrśya & Asambhava.	Anucitārthatva.
Utpreksā.	Dhruvevādiśabdasthāne yathādiśabdaprayoga.	Avācakatva.
	Tāttvikarūpeṇa parivarjita ; Nirupākhyā ; Gaganālekhyā-prakhyā.	Anucitārthatva.
Samāsokti.	This is liable to Apuṣṭārthatva and Punaruktatā; and Vyaṅgyāmsāsyā Svaśabdopādāna.	Svaśabdopādāna.
Aprastutaprasamsā.	do.	do.

This is a very interesting subject. There are many *Alaṅkāra* manuals in later times dealing exclusively with *Śabda* and *Artha* *alaṅkāras* but none devotes its attention to flaws in *Alaṅkāras*. A critical study of *Alaṅkāras*, their proper use according to *Ānanda's* canons and the *lakṣaṇas* of each, their abuse and their *Doṣas*,—these form an interesting subject. Among later writers, *Viśvanātha*, as will be seen presently, takes up this last part of the last chapter of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, gives *Alaṅkāra-doṣas* in chapter VII of his own work and following *Mammaṭa* fully, brings these flaws under the accepted flaws of *Pada*, *Vākya* and *Vākya-rtha*.

Hemacandra.

Hemacandra's treatment of *Doṣas* in chapter III of his *Kāvya-anuśāsana* is almost a reproduction of *Mammaṭa's* chapter on *Doṣas*. *Hemacandra* accepts all the *Rasa doṣas*; most of *Mammaṭa's* *Pada doṣas* and *Vākya doṣas* are accepted and in the place of the last flaw of *Mammaṭa*, *Amata-parārtha*, *Hemacandra* gives the name *Ananvita*. All the *Artha doṣas* in *Mammaṭa* are also accepted and chapter III of *Hemacandra's* *Kāvya-anuśāsana* is almost identical with chapter VII of *Mammaṭa's* *Kāvya-prakāśa*. The number,

nature, and the illustrations of all the flaws are the same in the two books. In Hemacandra's own commentary on his work, Hemacandra has given additional matter drawn from Ānanda and Mahimabhaṭṭa under the heads of Rasa doṣas, Avimṣṭavidheyā and Prakrama and Krama Bhaṅgas.

Viśvanātha.

Viśvanātha reproduced in the seventh chapter of his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* the seventh chapter of Mammaṭa's work. One fact to be noted in Viśvanātha's work is that after dealing with Rasa doṣas, he reproduces also the Doṣas of Alamkāras, from the end of the 10th chapter of the Kāvya-prakāśa, which we noticed above. But, following Mammaṭa, he also opines that these need not be specially mentioned.

Vidyānātha.

Vidyānātha, author of the *Pratāparudriya*, deals with Doṣas in Chap. V. Vidyānātha, though he follows Mammaṭa, is one of these who have taken as much as possible from the S. K. Ā. of Bhoja also. This can be seen as much in the case of Doṣas as in that of Guṇas. Among Vākya doṣas, Vidyānātha gives the old flaws accepted and codified by Bhoja and Mammaṭa. Aśarīra and Arītimat are two which deserve to be noted as flaws taken from Bhoja. Vidyānātha simplifies Bhoja's Arītimat; he takes the name but reinterprets it so as to make it comprehend all cases of inappropriate style, Rasa-ananugūṇa-rīti. This is not exactly what Bhoja meant by Arītimat. Bhoja meant by it the Viparyaya of Śleṣa and the seven other Guṇas. Vidyānātha took Bhoja's name and applied it generally to what Mammaṭa gives as the flaw of Pratikūla varṇa.

Similarly, Vidyānātha makes up his list of Artha doṣas from both Bhoja and Mammaṭa. Among his Artha doṣas must be noted Niralamkṛti, Atimātra, Paruṣa and Virasa taken from Bhoja. Following Mammaṭa, Vidyānātha indicates in the last line of Chap. V the Rasa doṣas also. Vidyānātha is one of the few later writers to draw upon Bhoja to some extent on the subject of Doṣas.

Keśavamiśra.

Another later writer whose section of Doṣas is indebted to Bhoja to some extent is Keśavamiśra, author of the *Alamkāra Śekhara* (third quarter of the 16th century). Keśavamiśra devotes the second chapter of his work to a consideration of Doṣas.

Among Vākya doṣas, Keśava has Bhoja's Arītimat but like Vidyānātha, he gives a new meaning to it. Keśava's meaning of Arītimat is not Vidyānātha's. To Vidyānātha, Arītimat is Rīti unsuited to Rasa. Keśava takes it as a Prakrama-bhaṅga or Rīti-bhaṅga Doṣa, beginning in a Rīti and leaving it off, failing to sustain it; and Rīti itself, it is surprising, is taken by Keśava as Prakrama or the order begun. He cites an instance of Prakrama bhaṅga, गहन्तां मल्लिः etc., from the Śākuntala, an instance coming down from Mahimabhaṭṭa through Mammaṭa. A kind of Krama and Upakrama,

Bhoja himself gives as the meaning of the Rīti which he recognises both as a Śabda guṇa and Artha guṇa.

उपक्रमस्य निर्वाहो रीतिरित्यभिधीयते ।

Perhaps Keśava was emboldened by Bhoja's example of this Guṇa called Rīti. While Vidyānātha's Arītimat has some relation with Bhoja's Arītimat in so far as Vidyānātha also means by Rīti the same Rīti or Mārga of Daṇḍin, Keśava's Rīti as Kramā makes his Arītimat a synonym of the Prakrama bhaṅga of Mahimabhaṭṭa.

It is only in Keśava's Artha-doṣas, numbering eight, that we find something as given by Bhoja. We find here Virasa which Bhoja took up from Rudraṭa and in addition to this we find Keśava taking up Khinna which Bhoja introduced for the first time in his S. K. Ā. That Bhoja's Virasa it is which is repeated by Keśava is plain in as much as Keśava follows Bhoja who was responsible for restricting Virasa to Viruddha-rasa-samāveśa or Kramāpetarasa, casting off Rudraṭa's second variety of Virasa which is Atidīpti of even the relevant Rasa. Khinna is defined by Bhoja as the failure of the poet to sustain the idea taken up for delineation. But Keśava takes it in a related sense which is really the effect of Bhoja's Khinna. Keśava equates Khinna with apuṣṭa. A poet cannot give Poṣa to his idea if he becomes Khinna.

While Viśvanātha follows Mammaṭa and does not include the Upamā-doṣas in the list of the accepted Doṣas of Pada, Vākya and Vākyaṛtha, Vidyānātha and Keśava, though they follow and borrow from Mammaṭa also, choose to follow Bhoja in retaining the Upamā-doṣas in the list of the flaws of Vākya and Vākyaṛtha.

To sum up, we have to bear in mind the following landmarks in the history of Doṣas : the definition of Guṇa and Doṣa by Bharata and Vāmana as Viparyayas of Doṣas and Guṇas respectively ; the relating of Doṣa to Rasa, the Ātman, by Ānanda ; the rise of Rasa doṣas, Sanghaṭanā doṣas etc., in the post-Ānanda period ; the rise of the idea of Doṣas becoming Guṇas sometimes in the first chapter of Bhāmaha, the elaboration of the same idea in the fourth chapter by Daṇḍin, Ānanda's characterisation of Doṣa as Anitya, and Bhoja's section on Vaiśeṣika guṇas or Doṣa-guṇas ; the definition of Doṣa as Sahṛdayodvejaka ; the first classification by Vāmana of Doṣas into those of Śabda and Artha, Pada and Vākya ; Rudraṭa's addition, the first appearance of a Rasa doṣa (viz. Virasa) in Rudraṭa ; Mahimabhaṭṭa's definition of flaw as Anaucitya and his addition of Avimṛṣṭa-vidheya, Prakrama bhaṅga, Krama-bhaṅga and Avācya-vacana ; Bhoja's additional flaws and Bhoja's creation of Prabandha-doṣa ; the Prabandha-doṣa idea in pre-Bhoja writers ; Mammaṭa's additional flaws, his first codified treatment of Rasa-doṣas ; Upamā-doṣas of Medhāvin and Bhāmaha, the reduction of their number by one in Rudraṭa's work, exceptions to the Upamā-doṣas pointed out by Daṇḍin and Mammaṭa's elaboration of Doṣas of other Alamkāras, though as part of Pūrvapakṣa ; and finally Vidyānātha and Keśavamiśra following Bhoja to some extent on Doṣas.

CHAPTER XVI

HISTORY OF GUṆAS

गुणयोगस्तयोर्मुख्यः गुणालङ्कारयोगयोः ।

S. K. A. I. 59.

The Guṇa-mode of literary appreciation is the most ancient, the extolling of a good thing through a 'Guṇa' being the most spontaneous expression of appreciation. Mādhurya or sweetness is the earliest Guṇa ; for, when one enjoys music or poetry, the first expression of his joy takes the form of praising what has enthralled him as 'sweet'. When the two boys sang the 'sweet' epic of Vālmīki before the gathering of sages, the sages exclaimed

पाठये गेये च मधुरम्

अहो गीतस्य माधुर्यं श्लोकानां च विशेषतः ।

Rāmāyaṇa, I. IV. 8, 17: (Kumbh. edn.)

When the epic was sung, those who heard it realised the events so vividly that it seemed to them that the events, though long past, seemed to happen before their very eyes. The sages said :

चिरनिर्घृतमप्येतत् प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शितम् ।

I. IV. 17.

This quality that imparts the virtue of Pratyakṣāyamāṇatva to poetry is part of what Bhāmaha gives as the Prabandha guṇa called Bhāvika.

भाविकत्वमिति प्राहुः प्रबन्धविषयं गुणम् ।

प्रत्यक्षा इव दृश्यन्ते यत्रार्था भूतभाविनः ॥

III. 53.¹

The verses of the Rāmāyaṇa are 'beautiful', 'pleasing to the mind'—Manorama, and the metre, the sense and the word, Vṛtta, Artha and Pada, are all exalted.

उदारवृत्तार्थपदैः मनोरमैः ततस्स रामस्य चकार कीर्तिमान् ।

समाक्षरैः श्लोकशतैर्यशस्विनो यशस्करं काव्यमुदारधीर्मुनिः ॥

ibid. *Bālakāṇḍa*. II. 42.

Here Audārya guṇa is mentioned, besides a very general Manoramatva. The metrical quality of 'equal syllables'—Samākṣaraśloka—is also mentioned. Proper Samāsa and Sandhi, two grammatical Guṇas, and Samatā, and Mādhurya of Artha and Vākya are then mentioned in the next verse, which also describes the epic.

तदुपगतसमाससन्धियोगं सममधुरोपनतार्थवाक्यबद्धम् ।

रघुवरचरितं मुनिप्रणीतं दशशिरसश्च वधं निशामयध्वम् ॥

I. II. 43.

As spontaneous and natural as the general appreciation through the word 'Mādhurya' is that through the word 'wonderful'. Vālmīki's epic is written

1. See my paper on Bhāvika in the *IHQ*, XIV, 1938.

in 'wonderful' language, the words and ideas of his verses are 'wonderful'—*Vicitra*.

चकार चरितं कृत्स्नं विचित्रपदमात्मवान् ।

I. IV. 1.

Again

श्रूयतामिदमाख्यानमनयोर्देववर्चसोः ।

विचित्रार्थपदं सम्यग् गायकौ समचोदयत् ॥

I. IV. 26.

As we shall see presently, the *Bhārata* often extols itself as 'wonderful'.

In the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma pays a great tribute to the speech of Hanumān and this context mentions some Guṇas. Hanumān talked neither very much nor ambiguously ; his speech was not verbose, it was brief but the brevity was not inconsistent with clarity. Hanumān talked succinctly and clearly.

अविस्तरमसंदिग्धम्

Kiṣkindhā. III. 30.

His speech was grammatically pure and was set in proper order in respect of the ideas expressed.

संस्कारक्रमसम्पन्नां (वाचं)

ibid. Śl. 31.

In short, Hanumān talked wonderfully :

अनया चित्रया वाचा

ibid. Śl. 32.

Prolivity (*Vistara*) and ambiguity (*Sandigdhatva*) are met with among the *Doṣas* in the *Doṣaprakaraṇa* of the *Alaṁkāra* works. *Samskāra* is *Śabda śuddhi* and *Sauśabdyā*, and its absence is the flaw of *Śabdahīna*.

The *Mahābhārata*¹ is described as 'wonderful' in its words, ideas and stories. The *Vicitrapadātva* occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is met with in the *Girnar Inscription* as *Citrapadātva*. The *Bhārata* says :

तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः

Ādi. I. 24.

विचित्रार्थपदाख्यानम्

„ II. 245.

Vyāsa himself is called 'Adbhuta karmā' in Ādi. I. 27. Describing the talks between Vidura and Kṛṣṇa, the *Udyoga parvan* says (94 Śls. 2-3).

विचित्रार्थपदाक्षराः । शृण्वन्ती विविधा वाचः ।

Śubha or beautiful words are found in Ādi. I. 37 as adorning the epic.

अलङ्कृतं शुभैः शब्दैः समयैर्दिव्यमानुषैः ।

The Guṇa of *Ślakṣṇatva* meaning 'beauty' occurs often in the praise of speeches. Dhṛṣṭadyumna made from the platform on the occasion of his sister's *Svayamvara* a speech that was 'fine' and at the same time 'full of thought'.

वाक्यमुच्चैर्जगादेदं शृण्वन् अर्थवदुत्तमम् ।

Ādi. 200. 59.

Emphasis on polish of speech may deprive it of value regarding contents. But his speech was 'beautiful' and at the same time 'full of meaning'—

Ślakṣṇa and Arthavat.¹ Hence, it was 'Uttama'. In the Sabhā parvan, Sahadeva is said to make a speech which was similarly 'Arthavat'.

व्याजहारोत्तरं तत्र सहदेवोऽर्थवद् वचः ।

62. 1.

Cf. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, I. 58. अर्थ्याम् अर्थपतिर्वाचम् ।

Bhāravi also refers to this 'meaningfulness'. The Lord's speech is full of meaning, yet *not heavy*, Arthya and Laghu.

अर्थ्यं तथ्यं हितं वाक्यं लघु¹ युक्तमनुत्तरम् ।

उवाच भगवान् वाक्यं सुभद्रां भद्रभाषिणीम् ॥

Sabhā. 2. 5.

Śravayatva, Śrutisukhatva and Mādhurya are often met with in the *Bhārata*.

श्रुत्वा त्विदमुपाख्यानं श्राव्यमन्यत्र रोचते

Ādi. 2. 385.

श्राव्यं श्रुतिसुखं² चैव पावनं शीलवर्धनम् ।

Ādi. 62. 52.

पाण्डवं प्रत्युवाचेदं स्मयन्मधुरया गिरा

Sabhā. 8. 9.

उवाच चैनं मधुरं सान्त्वपूर्वमिदं वचः ।

Sabhā. 41. 1.

इदं होवाच वचनं मधुरं मधुसूदनः

Udyoga. 93. 1.

Vālmiki's Samatā appears in the same manner with Mādhurya in the *Bhārata* also.

निशम्य वाक्यं तु जनादेनस्य

धर्मार्थयुक्तं मधुरं समं च ।

Udyoga I. 25.

The Guṇas of Samāsa and Vyāsa which Vāmana speaks of as aspects of his Arthaśleṣa are mentioned by Vyāsa more than once.

विस्तरैश्च समासैश्च धार्यते यद् द्विजातिभिः ।

×

×

×

×

इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासभाषणम् ॥

Ādi. I. 36 & 65.

Logical qualities of speeches which we meet with in Bhāravi are mentioned by Vyāsa now and then.

तमुवाच

×

×

×

×

हेतुमद्वचः ।

Śānti. 18. 6.

Appreciating Arjuna's speech, Yudhiṣṭhira says :

उक्तं

×

×

×

न्याय्यं युक्तम् ।

Śānti. 19. 5.

In Vana, we find : अब्रवीदुपपन्नार्थमिदं वाक्यविशारदः ।

36. 28.

In Udyoga. 5. 2. also Upapatti occurs as a Guṇa : उपपन्नमिदं वाक्यम् ।

Vālmiki also mentions the logical Guṇa of Hetumattva. वाक्यं हेतुमदर्थ्यं च ।

Yuddha, 17. 32.

1. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddha, 17. 50, Hanumān's speech is described thus :

उवाच वचनं श्लक्ष्णम् अर्थवन्मधुरं लघु ।

It was beautiful, full of meaning, sweet and *not heavy*.

2. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla, 4, 28 : श्रोत्राश्रयसुखम् ।

General appreciation in terms of Mādhurya, Citratva, Ślakṣṇatva and Valgutva appears elsewhere also :

उवाच वाक्यं मधुरामिधानं मनोहरं चन्द्रमुखी प्रसन्ना । Ānuśāsana 32. 5.

Abhidhāna here means Śabda.

द्रौपद्या वचनं श्रुत्वा श्लक्ष्णोदारपदं शुभम् । Vana. 29. 1.

बल्युचित्रपदं श्लक्ष्णं याज्ञसेनि त्वया वचः Vana. 31. 1.

In Śānti, ch. 325 (Kumbh. edn.) ch. 320 (Citraśālā edn.), Sulabhā-Janaka samvāda, mention is made of 18 Guṇas, but we are not able to make out all the 18 Guṇas.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

I. In II. 10-28, while describing political despatches, Lekha, Kauṭilya gives in his *Arthaśāstra* some literary qualities which the composition in the letter should possess. He mentions them as the excellences of a letter, Lekha-sampat. He speaks of six Guṇas here. pp. 169-170 T. S. S.

अर्थक्रमः, सम्बन्धः, परिपूर्णता, माधुर्यम्, औदार्यम्, स्पष्टत्वम्, इति लेखसम्पत् ।

Fortunately for us, Kauṭilya himself has defined these Guṇas.

1. Arthakrama. तत्र यथावदनुपूर्वक्रिया प्रधानस्यार्थस्य पूर्वमभिनिवेश इत्यर्थक्रमः ।

This quality can be rendered as order and method of presentation. The subject has to be clearly conceived and the ideas have got to be arranged properly with proper emphasis on the chief idea. A kind of 'Krama' or order in ideas is mentioned by Bhoja in his definition of his Arthaguṇa called Rīti :

रीतिस्सा यस्त्विहार्थानामुत्पत्त्यादिक्रियाक्रमः ।

The Krama here mentioned by Bhoja is very much restricted in scope, whereas Kauṭilya's Arthakrama means something like an ordered conception and presentation of the subject, a large and important literary quality. A kind of Krama which is not explained further, is mentioned by Vāmana as making up his Arthaguṇa called Śleṣa III. ii. 4.

2. Sambandha. प्रस्तुतस्यार्थस्य अनुपरोधाद् विधानम् आसमाप्तेः इति संबन्धः ।

This Guṇa 'relation' stands for coherence, relevancy etc. of the several ideas making a subject, which qualities alone can remove the flaw of mutual or internal contradiction among the ideas. It also emphasises how to the end there must be a unity of idea and how every detail must go to develop or stress it.

3. Paripūrṇatā. अर्थपदाक्षराणाम् अन्यूनानतिरिक्ता हेतुदाहरणदृष्टान्तैः

अर्थोपवर्णेना अश्रान्तपदतेति परिपूर्णता ।

This characteristic called 'completeness' is defined by Kauṭilya in three parts, i.e., three kinds of completeness are given by him,

- (1) अर्थपदाक्षराणाम् अन्यूनानतिरिक्ता,
 (2) हेतुदाहरणदृष्टान्तैः अर्थोपवर्णना and
 (3) अश्रान्तपदता ।

Of these, the first two are sufficiently clear and the third is somewhat obscure. Many writers on poetics have stressed a quality of the nature of this Paripūrṇatā. Daṇḍin emphasises this in his Arthavyakti. An idea is clear and its expression can convey it to us only when every bit of it is sufficiently expressed. In its absence, we have to guess a lot and take for granted many things or face doubt. The meaning becomes obscure, and Neyārtha is the Doṣa that results. Daṇḍin says that Neyārthatva is against rules of expression.

अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य ।

K. Ā. I. 73.

न हि प्रतीतिस्सुभगा शब्दन्यायविलङ्घिनी ।

See Bhoja also S. K. Ā. I. 34, p. 27.

Therefore, while avoiding verbiage, Pādapūraṇa, Vṛthāpallava etc., one must see that there are words sufficient to express the idea in his expression. The words and the ideas must be equal, Sammita, neither more nor less, Anyūna-anatirikta ; Śabda and Artha must be 'Tulādhṛta'. It is this idea that Kuntaka expounds in his Sāhitya. Kauṭilya in short means the Sammitatva or Yāvadarthapadatā of Bhoja.

यावदर्थपदत्वं च संमितत्वमुदाहृतम् ।

अर्थस्य पदानां च तुल्यविधृतवत् तुल्यत्वेन संमितत्वम् ।

Kauṭilya's Akṣara-anyūnānatiriktatā relates to the scribe's art or to metrical correctness.

ii. The second Paripūrṇatā is the development of the idea and enriching its exposition by arguments, illustrations and analogies. In its absence one's expression will be 'Apuṣṭārtha', a Doṣa mentioned by Bhāmaha while speaking of the two Ritis.

iii. Āsrāntapadatā which is the third 'completeness' is obscure. Perhaps by śrāntapadatā, Kauṭilya refers to weak words, ineffective expressions or expression itself failing the writer sometimes. One must be able to keep up and successfully convey his whole idea with power. Āsrāntapadatā can be likened to Bhoja's Arthagūṇa called Praudhi which is 'Vivakṣitārtha nirvāha', the result of mature poetic power.

विवक्षितार्थनिर्वाहः काव्ये प्रौढिरिति स्मृता ।

S. K. Ā. I. 88.

The explanation of this Paripūrṇatā by Mm. Ganapati Sastri in his commentary is not convincing. His explanation of the first Paripūrṇatā is quite trifling and he takes Āsrāntapadatā to mean what Vāmana calls Ojas, an Arthagūṇa of his, वाक्यार्थे च पदाभिधा, expressing a sentence in a word.

अश्रान्तपदता वाक्यार्थे पदवचनम् । e.g. सन्धस्त्व for सन्धि कुरु p. 169. Triv. Edn.

4. Mādhurya. सुखोपनीतचार्वर्यशब्दाभिधानं माधुर्यम् ।

Kauṭilya's 'sweetness' refers to beautiful idea (Artha) as well as beautiful word (Śabda). Facility and grace in expression may also be meant by Kauṭilya in his definition of Mādhurya. Compare Bharata :

मृदुशब्दं सुखार्थं च कविः कुर्यात् नोटकम् ।

5. Audārya. अग्राम्यशब्दाभिधानम् औदार्यम् ।

'Exaltedness' is the avoidance of the ordinary, the low and vulgar words. The avoidance of Grāmyaśabda is Mādhurya for Daṇḍin.

6. Spāṣṭatva. प्रतीतशब्दप्रयोगः स्पष्टत्वम् इति ।

This is lucidity or clarity, and corresponds to Daṇḍin's Prasāda, the use of well-known and easily understandable words which deliver their import quickly and are not ambiguous or obscure.

प्रसादवत् प्रसिद्धार्थम् ।

K. Ā. I. 45.

II. Towards the end of the same section, Kauṭilya describes some literary flaws that may vitiate a letter, Lekhadoṣas. From these Doṣas, some Guṇas may be derived. For often, flaws are the results of the absence of the Guṇas ; they are Guṇaviparyayas. The following are the Doṣas mentioned by Kauṭilya :

अकान्तिः व्याघातः पुनरुक्तम् अपशब्दः संज्ञव इति लेखदोषाः p. 177.

Of these, Kānti is defined as a quality of the scribe's art. Vyāghāta is a flaw resulting from the absence of the Guṇa called Sambandha given above.

पूर्वेण पश्चिमस्यानुपपत्तिः व्याघातः ।

Punarukta is repetition. Apaśabda is grammatical mistake and the Guṇa of its reverse is Sauśabdyā. The nature of Samplava is not clear. It may be a flaw pertaining to metre or to the writing of the letter as explained by the commentaries. See Doṣa chapter, pp. 225-7.

Āśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* speaks of Guṇas which can be compared to those mentioned by Vālmīki and Vyāsa on the one hand and by Bhāravi on the other.

I. 59. गभीरधीराणि वचांस्युवाच ।

IV. 83. इति श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य श्लक्ष्णमागमसंहितम् ।

Ślakṣṇa is what Vyāsa often mentions and Āgama-samhitatva is met with in Bhāravi who says अनुमानेन न चागमः क्षतः ।

Rudraṭa mentions its absence as the flaw of Nirāgama. XI. 6.

V. 74. मधुराक्षरया गिरा शशास ।

VII. 50 mentions a number of Guṇas among which we meet with Vyāsa's Arthavattva.

ततो वचः सूत्रतमर्थवच्च सुश्लक्ष्णमोजस्वि च गर्वितं च ।

IX. 42. इत्यात्मविज्ञानगुणानुरूपं मुक्तसृष्टं हेतुमद् ऊर्जितं च ।

Hetumat is seen in Vyāsa and Ūrjita in Bhāravi.

IX. 62. अनूनम् अव्यस्तम् असक्तम् अद्रुतं धृतौ स्थितो राजसुतोऽब्रवीद् वचः ।

Most of the qualities in this reference pertain to speaking as such and not to the speech itself. Anūna and Avyasta, Asakta and Adruta, all refer to speaking.

The Girnar Inscription.

(2nd Century A.D.)

This inscription of Rudradāman mentions Gadya and Padya adorned with words which are Sphuṭa, Laghu, Madhura, Citra, Kānta and also Udāra. Laghu, Madhura, Citra and Udāra are Guṇas mentioned also in the two epics.

Sphuṭa and Laghu may be Prasāda ; Laghu may mean also 'easy for mouthing', Daṇḍin's Saukumārya (of Śabda), or 'not cumbrous'. Madhura refers to sweetness in general and Kānta is also a general 'attractiveness' ; Citra is 'striking' and Udāra, 'exalted'.

See P. V. KANE, *Introduction to Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. cxxxviii.

Jain Canonical Works.

The *Anuyogadvāra sūtra* (Āgamodaya samiti series, p. 261) speaks of thirty-two Doṣas and eight Guṇas, of which we have noticed the former in the previous chapter. The eight Guṇas mentioned in this text are Nirdoṣa, Sāravat, Hetuyukta, Alamkṛta, Upanīta, Sopacāra, Mita and Madhura. Of these, Nirdoṣa is the quality of being free from the thirty-two flaws previously described ; Alamkṛta is, like the first Lakṣaṇa of Bharata, the excellence resulting from figures of speech ; Upanīta is explained by the commentator as the quality of having the Tarkāṅga called Upanaya ; Sopacāra is explained as 'refinement' in expression, Grāmya bhaṇiti rahita ; and Mita may be the Guṇa of keeping the sense of proportion.

The *Rājaprasnīya* (Āgamodaya series) also mentions some qualities of speech (pp. 12-13). These are given as the thirty-five Atiśeṣas of Satya-vacana, and while some of these relate to ethics and some to mouthing and voice, there are others here which are literary Guṇas. Seven of these Atiśeṣas are classified as verbal (Śabda) and among these seven, three deserve notice by us : Samskāravattva, Udāttatva and Upacāropetatva. Samskāra may be taken as 'correctness' of the language and Udātta may refer to the use of 'exalted' words. Upacāropetatva is explained by the commentator, Malaya-giri, as 'refinement' (Agrāmyatā) and is the same as the Sopacāra mentioned in the *Anuyogadvāra*. Of the Arthāśraya Guṇas we may note the following : Mahārtha—having rich and great meaning or having well-developed thought. Avyāhata-paurvāparya—free from contradiction between parts. Asandigdha—clear in import. Deśa-kāla-avyatīta—observing the aucitya of place and time. Aprakīrṇa prasṛta—not being diffuse with digression into miscellaneous matters. Anyonya pragrhitatva—with parts logically well-knit. Abhijāta,—which the commentator explains as 'just saying straight and well the idea sought to be conveyed'. (यथाविवक्षितार्थभिधानशीलता)

Atisnigdha madhura—coherent and sweet. Udāra explained as 'Ativiśiṣṭa gumpha guṇa yukta' or 'Atucchārthapratipādaka'; this twofold verbal and ideal explanation of Udāra is comparable to Daṇḍin's twofold Udāra; Viśiṣṭa gumpha may be 'exalted words' and Atucchārtha, 'exalted ideas'. Anupānita is explained by Malayagiri as grammatical purity, but is this not a śabda-guṇa and is it not covered by Samskāra noted already? Three Guṇas follow, of which the meaning is not clear,—Sākāra, Sattva parighṛta and Aparikhedi. Sākāra may mean the impression of a certain shapeliness about the expression; Malayagiri explains the next as 'Ojasvi',—imbued with life and vigour; and the third may refer to the quality which never makes the reader feel bored. The seventh Guṇa is 'Avyavacchedi' and it is clear from the commentary as "having power to sustain effective expression till the whole thought is fully conveyed".

Bhāravi.

Bhāravi gives us valuable information on the subject of Guṇas which makes us understand the nature of the topics comprehended within treatises on poetics in the time of and before Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha devotes one chapter to Nyāyanirṇaya and here he discusses certain logical points. Before him also, rhetoricians must have discussed under poetics both logic and grammar, though Daṇḍin brushes aside inquiries into logic as Karkaśāpṛāyavicāra in III. 127. But though, in later works, Nyāya is not discussed, they do devote some attention to Nyāya in the Doṣaprakaraṇa where Nyāyavirodha is mentioned as a flaw from Daṇḍin downwards. This Nyāya in Nyāyavirodha is defined thus by Daṇḍin :

हेतुविद्यात्मको न्यायः स स्मृतिः श्रुतिरागमः ।

Daṇḍin and later writers also consider the logical qualities of speech as Guṇa by counting their absence as a flaw. Bhāravi mentions the logical qualities of Upapatti or Yukti etc., more than once. In II. 1 he says उपपत्तिमद् वचनम् । It is to this same quality that he again refers in II. 26 as 'Apavarjita viplavatva' which Mallinātha interprets as Sapramāṇatva. Again Bhāravi makes Yudhiṣṭhira praise Bhīma's speech that it had Upapatti and Anumāna which did not go against Āgama, all of which Daṇḍin speaks of under Nyāya in his Nyāyavirodhadoṣa.

उपपत्तिरुदाहृता बलादनुमानेन न चागमः क्षतः ।

K. Ā. II. 28.

śls. 38-41, Canto XI, contain a description by Arjuna of the "Guṇas" as Bhāravi calls them, in the speech of Indra. Here the quality of conformity to logical principles, Nyāya, is mentioned with the name Nyāyanirṇaya, the phrase which Bhāmaha uses.

न्यायनिर्णीतसारत्वात्रिरपेक्षमिवागमे ।

Therefore, we are able to see that pre-Bhāmaha works on poetics considered the subject of Nyāyanirṇaya as part of their scope.

Similarly, grammatical studies formed part of the Alankāra śāstra in the pre-Bhāmaha times. This we see from the fact of Bhāmaha devoting

one section to Śabdaśuddhi in his work. Daṇḍin does not separately speak of it but Vāmana does. This subject was also called Sauśabdyā and Suptiṇ vyutpatti. In later literature, however, Sauśabdyā changed into a Guṇa resulting from the use of quaintly graceful or striking grammatical rarities. The old study of grammar as part of poetics survives from the time of Daṇḍin in a list of grammatical flaws in the Doṣaprakaraṇa. Bhāravi mentions grammatical qualities also. In I. 3 he mentions 'Sauṣṭhava' which Mallinātha takes as Śabda sāmārthya. In II. 26, Bhāravi speaks of 'Śucitva' which Mallinātha interprets as Sauṣṭhava. These two between themselves cover two aspects of Sauśabdyā. Śabdaśuddhi as such is only grammatical purity or correctness. It is only this aspect that Vāmana considers, but Bhāmaha considers how much Sauśabdyā can be an Alamkāra, how graceful usages like 'Śabalayanti' can beautify writing. Thus Sauṣṭhava must cover both the aspects, correctness and grace. In later literature, the former aspect survives only in the Doṣaprakaraṇa, where its absence is counted as flaws under different heads and the latter aspect has become the Guṇa of Sauśabdyā. Vide S. K. Ā. of Bhoja and Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudriya*. Again, Sāmārthya is mentioned by Bhāravi in II. 29 न च सामर्थ्यमपोहितं क्वचित् । Sāmārthya is taken by Mallinātha as the purely grammatical quality of Sākāṅkṣatva of the Padas. निरामन्योन्य साकङ्क्षत्वम् । Sākāṅkṣa is one of the Guṇas mentioned by Bhāravi in XI. 88.

साकङ्क्षमनुपस्कारं विध्वगति निराकुलम् ।

At the beginning of his treatment of Alamkāras, Bhāmaha says :

रूपकादिमलङ्कारं बाह्यमाचक्षते परे ।

मुपां तिङां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाञ्छन्त्यलङ्कृतिम् ॥

तदेतदाहुः सौश्रव्यं न,र्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी ।

शब्द-अभिधेयालङ्कारभेदादिष्टं द्वयं तु नः ॥

At the time of and before Bhāmaha, there were some writers who attached greater importance to Śabda and to the correct use of the words. This Śabdavyutpatti or Suptiṇ vyutpatti or Sauśabdyā they said was the real Alamkāra of writings ; and in their view, Rūpaka etc., which belong to the sphere of ideas, were Bāhya, external. Perhaps they called Rūpaka etc., Arthavyutpatti. Bhāmaha accepts both, the former as Śabdālamkāra and the latter as Arthālamkāra. To this subject it is, in pre-Bhāmaha literature, that Bhāravi refers in XIV. Śl. 5.

स्तुवन्ति गुर्वीमभिधेयसंपदं विशुद्धिमुक्तेरपरे विपश्चितः ।

इति स्थितायां प्रतिपूर्यं रुचौ मुदुर्लभाः सर्वमनोरमा निरः ॥

'Gurvī abhidheya sampat' is rich ideas and refers to Arthavyutpatti or the Abhidheyālamkāra of Bhāmaha. 'Uktiviśuddhi' is the Sauśabdyā or Śabdālamkāra of Bhāmaha. Bhāravi says that some like only the former and some only the latter, which shows that in poetics of Bhāravi's time, no conclusion was reached as to the comparative superiority or importance of these

two. Māgha also refers to this difference in view-point and expresses himself that both Śabda and Artha are important. Daṇḍin, who elaborates more the Arthālamkāras and speaks little of Sauśabdyā or Suptiñ vyutpatti, which does not form a section in his work as in Bhāmaha's, follows a school which Bhāmaha did not wholly follow, Bhāmaha having accepted the importance of Sauśabdyā also. Jināsena (c. 838 A.D.) also refers to this controversy in his *Ādipurāṇa* and himself subscribes to the view of Māgha and Bhāmaha.¹

केचिदर्थस्य सौन्दर्यमपरे पदसौष्ठवम् ।

वाचामलङ्क्यां प्राहुः तद् द्वयं नो मतं मतम् ॥

Śl. 95.

Bhāravi often speaks of this Arthagūṇa called Guru-abhidheyaśampat. This Gūṇa is considered by him as Gurutā, Garīyastva, Gaurava, Gāmbhīrya, Aurjitya. The following passages refer to this Gūṇa.

स सौष्ठवौदार्यविशेषशालिनीम् (वाचम्) I. 3. ऊर्जिताश्रयं वचनम् II. 1. (Mallinātha : ऊर्जिताश्रयत्वम् = उदारार्थता) गरीयसीर्गिरः II. 4 (गुर्वर्थप्रतिपादिना गिरः—Mallinātha). न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवम् II. 29 गरीयः = XI. 35. औदार्यमर्थसंपत्तेः XI. 41. गंभीरपदा सरस्वती XIV. 3. गंभीरमर्थम् XIV. 4. (अर्थगुरुह Mallinātha)

This quality is not definitely surviving in this same manner, in later literature. It may be the Puṣṭārthatva of Bhāmaha mentioned by him in his discussion on the two Ritis, and by Rudraṭa also. This old Gaurava is called also Gāmbhīrya and Audārya. Audārya takes another character in Daṇḍin and Gāmbhīrya appears in Bhoja as Dhvanimattā and Śāstrārthasavyapekṣatva. The second variety of Daṇḍin's Audārya, and Bhoja's Gāmbhīrya have really some relation to Bhāravi's Arthagaurava or Gāmbhīrya.

Wherever he speaks of the above Arthasampat or Audārya or Gaurava or Gāmbhīrya, Bhāravi considers that, in a bad artist, attention to it will sacrifice the other Gūṇa of ease, simplicity and clarity, which is also very necessary. This Gūṇa is the Prasāda of Śabda and Artha in Daṇḍin and others. To achieve both is a distinction.

स्फुटता न पदैरपाकृता न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवम् ।

रचिता पृथगर्थता गिरां न च सामर्थ्यमपोहितं क्वचित् ॥

II. 29.

and Mallinātha says on this : वैशद्यप्रसक्तार्थगौरवाभावनिवर्तनार्थं नञ्द्वयम् ।

Padasphuṭatā is the Gūṇa of Śabda and its corresponding Arthagūṇa is Prthagarthatā in the second line. In XI. 38, he again says गरीयो लाघवान्वितम्—full of ideas but not heavy or verbose. So it is that he mentions together Prasāda and Gāmbhīrya in XIV. 3. प्रसन्नगंभीरपदा सरस्वती । Prasādagūṇa is mentioned along with Ojas, as by Māgha, in the speech of Indra : प्रसादरायम् ओजस्वि । In XIV. 3 Viviktavarnatva is mentioned and it is part of Śabdaprasāda.

Some other Gūṇas are also mentioned by Bhāravi. In I. 3. विनिश्चिता-र्थमिति वाचमाददे—he refers to the Gūṇa of precision, the reverse of which is

considered as the flaw of Sandigdha. In III. 10, Uktiviśeṣa occurs and Mallinātha takes it as Uktivaicitrya, which is Vāmana's Arthamādhurya. "Nirākulatva" is given as a Guṇa in Indra's speech in XI. 38. (विष्वगति निराकुलम्) and it is the same as the Anākulya of Bhāmaha mentioned by him in his discussion on the Rīti and in the definition of his Bhāvika.¹ In XIV. 3, Sarasvatī is praised as Sukhaśruti. It may be the general quality of Śravaṇasukhatva mentioned by the writers noticed above.

The following in the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi are some more passages where Guṇas are mentioned :

- II. 4 : गरीयसि × × वचसि ।
 II. 26. अपवर्जितविह्वे शुचौ हृदयग्राहिणि मङ्गलस्पदे ।
 विमला तव विस्तरे गिरां मतिरादर्श इवाभिदृश्यते ॥
 III. 10. इत्युक्तवासुक्तिविशेषरम्यम् । उदारचेता गिरमित्युदाराम् ।
 XIV. 3. विविक्तवर्णाभरणा सुखश्रुतिः + + प्रसन्नगम्भीरपदा सरस्वती ।

Bhaṭṭi.

Our guide to understand the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* upon which Bhaṭṭi bases himself is the *Jayamaṅgalā* on his Kāvya. The Guṇas we come across in Bhaṭṭi are only two, Prasāda and Mādhurya. Of these two, Prasāda is the first and the universal quality of poetry which distinguishes it from Śāstra. Because the ideas expressed in Śāstraic language are not understood by all, poets must not write in the Śāstraic language. Poetry should be so simple that even unlearned men and women and children can understand it. *Jayamaṅgalā* quotes and follows Bhāmaha's definition of Prasāda and gives this Prasāda as the first characteristic of poetry.

प्रथमं चेदं लक्षणं यत्प्रसन्नता नाम, 'अविद्वद्भजनावलप्रतीतार्थं प्रसन्नवत्' इति ।

So it is that, as contrasted with the previous cantos, cantos X, XI and XII are called 'Prasanna-kāṇḍas.'

Canto XI is devoted to illustrate the Mādhurya guṇa. The eleventh canto, says *Jayamaṅgalā*, describes dawn in Laṅkā to illustrate the Guṇa called Mādhurya. Mallinātha points out only the latter, Mādhurya, in canto XI and does not speak of Prasāda at all. But the colophons in his commentary also speak of these cantos as Prasanna-kāṇḍas.

Māgha.

Some Guṇas are implied in the verses of Bhāmaha criticising the differentiation of style into Vaidarbha and Gauḍa. Further, at the beginning of Chap. II. Bhāmaha mentions, without defining their place in Kāvya, three Guṇas, Prasāda, Mādhurya and Ojas. Daṇḍin gives us a system which has a highly worked out doctrine of Rīti based on Guṇas numbering ten. Surely

1. 'Anākula' is mentioned by Jināsena also :

तत्प्रतीतार्थमग्रम्यं सालङ्कारमनाकुलम् ।

Daṇḍin also mentions predecessors and must have followed a tradition which made much of Mārgas and which was belittled by Bhāmaha who did not follow it. Thus, before Bhāmaha, there must have been some Guṇas elaborately dealt with in works of poetics. We have seen Guṇas mentioned by some poets in the previous sections. Māgha is one more poet, whom we have to mention here in the history of Guṇas. Māgha mentions the Guṇas twice and both times, he mentions only two Guṇas, Prasāda and Ojas. From this, it appears that there was a persistent current of thought which, without speaking of ten Guṇas, mentioned only two or three. Bhāmaha and Māgha followed it. As we shall see in a further section, from another point of view, Ānanda accepted the same three Guṇas only. Māgha omits Mādhurya, evidently because it is very general. He mentions Prasāda and Ojas twice in the following two verses.

तेजः क्षमा वा नैकान्तं कालज्ञस्य महीपतेः ।

नैकमोजः प्रसादो वा रसभावविदः कवेः ॥

II. 83

ओजस्त्रिवर्णोज्ज्वलवृत्तशालिनः प्रसादिनोऽनुज्झितगोत्रसंविदः ।

श्लोकानुपेन्द्रस्य पुरः स्म भूयसः गुणान् समुद्दिश्य पठन्ति बन्दिनः ॥

XII. 35.

In both the verses, only two Guṇas are mentioned, Ojas and Prasāda, as important enough in a composition to deserve notice. The latter verse is not important as much as the former which really gives us Māgha's view of Guṇa. Bhāmaha, we know, gives the Guṇas as related to Samāsa ; Mādhurya, along with Prasāda, is given as a Guṇa due to use of few compounds, Asamasta vākya. Ojas is the result of ample use of compounds. The relation between Ojas and Samāsa is seen in Daṇḍin also. But, Māgha's conception of Guṇa is different and it is the same as that of Ānanda. Māgha means by Ojas a flaring up and by Prasāda, a quietening effect. The former is like Tejas and the latter like Kṣamā. In Māgha is already seen a clear grasp of the real nature of Guṇa. It is only in the time of Ānanda that Guṇa is going to be definitely related to Rasa and Bhāva as their Dharma. Though Māgha was earlier than that time of theoretical determination of the exact nature of Guṇa, he, as a poet, grasped the real nature of Guṇas. He definitely related them to Rasa and Bhāva, which control them as Niyāmakas. The verse is of importance in the history of Aucitya also. See my paper on the History of Aucitya.

This does not mean that Māgha's Guṇas could not relate to śarīra, śabda and Artha, also. In the second verse given above, Māgha speaks of Ojasvi varṇa.

Bhavabhūti.

As is evidenced by numerous passages in his three dramas, and in his *Mālatīmādhava* especially, Bhavabhūti wrote with the constant thought of the critical literature of Alarṅkāra śāstra. An examination of his works gives us some Guṇas. Bhavabhūti himself sets forth an appreciation of his work

and points out those qualities which appeal to him as marking off great literature. In the *Prastāvanā* of the *Mālatīmādhava* he says :

यत्प्रौढित्वमुदारता च वचसां यच्चार्यतो गौरवम्
तच्चेदस्ति ततस्तदेव गमकं पाण्डित्यवैदग्ध्ययोः ॥

There is an old verse which says that Bhāravi is noted for Arthagaurava, a quality which he himself mentions often. Bhavabhūti also mentions here that Arthagaurava. It may mean depth of thought or grand ideas. This Arthagaurava is a general Guṇa and cannot be found among the Guṇas specifically given by Daṇḍin and others. Something like it is called Pāka by some other writer who says अर्थगंभीरिमा पाकः (Vidyānātha). Corresponding to this Arthaguṇa of Gaurava, Bhavabhūti mentions the Audārya of Vacas or Śabda, a Śabdaguṇa. Grand ideas have to be set in grand words. This quality may be the Udāratā which appears in Daṇḍin and other writers. Both Arthagaurava and Vāgudāratva can be achieved only by a master of expression. It is that mastery of expression, ripe poetic powers, that Bhavabhūti means by his first Guṇa, Prauḍhi.

The Guṇa of Prauḍhi is referred to in a similar verse by Bhavabhūti's patron, Yaśovarman, in the prologue to his *Rāmābhyudaya*.

शुद्धिः प्रस्तुतसंविधानकविधौ प्रौढिश्च शब्दार्थयोः
विद्वद्भिः परिभाष्यतामवहितै रतावदेवास्तु नः ॥

Quoted in Chap. XI. of the *Śr. Pra.*

Yaśovarman refers to Prauḍhi of Śabda and Artha. See p. 120, my article on Aucitya, and the section on Yaśovarman's *Rāmābhyudaya* in this thesis.

Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, (Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, pp. 29-30), takes Prauḍhi in the above verse of Bhavabhūti as Pāka, quoting Bhoja's definition of it in the *S. K. Ā.*

उक्तेः प्रौढः परीपाकः प्रोच्यते प्रौढिसंज्ञया ।

He quotes also Vāmana on Pāka यदादानि त्यजन्त्येव etc. This Pāka of Drākṣā, Nārikela etc., is taken as Śabdapāka. Pūrṇasarasvatī speaks of Artha pāka or Arthaprauḍhi separately and he quotes here Vāmana's Artha-Ojas, which Vāmana defines as Prauḍhi of Artha. (III. ii. 2). Udāratā is also taken as both a Śabda-guṇa and an Artha-guṇa; Śabda-udāratā is taken as Vikaṭākṣarabandha (Vāmana and Bhoja) and Artha-udāratā is explained by one of the two Audāryas of Daṇḍin, उत्कृष्टवान् गुणः कश्चित् etc. Arthagaurava is taken by him as Laghupratiti, Vimarda-sahatva and Vyaṅgya-prādhānya.

Here we can study Bhavabhūti's Prauḍhi by comparing it with the Prauḍhi we see elsewhere. Vāmana who came a little after Bhavabhūti has a Guṇa named Prauḍhi. III. ii. 2. अर्थस्य प्रौढिरोजः । It consists in the power of the poet to write according to the needs of the situation and with an eye to the effect; it is the power which sometimes says a thousand ideas in a few words; sometimes spreads a small thing and delineates it vastly. (Vyāsa-samāsa;

Padārthe vākyaābhidhā and Vākyaārthe padābhidhā.) Vāmana adds also Sābhiprāyatva under this Prauḍhi. While Vāmana applies this Prauḍhi to Artha, Bhavabhūti applies it in general to both Śabda and Artha and as productive of the Guṇas of Udāratā of Vāk and Gaurava of Artha. Another writer who speaks of Prauḍhi as a Guṇa is Bhoja. He has two Prauḍhis, of Śabda and of Artha. Bhoja equates Śabdaprauḍhi with Pāka, an old concept.

उक्तेः प्रौढः परीपाकः प्रोच्यते प्रौढिसंज्ञया ।

Similar is the Arthaprauḍhi of Bhoja. It is the power to accomplish what the poet undertook. It is successful expression of all that the poet intended to express.

विवक्षितार्थनिर्वाहः काव्ये प्रौढिरिति स्मृता ।

In the prelude to his *Mahāvīracarita*, Bhavabhūti describes his own work thus :

प्रसन्नकर्कशा यत्र विपुलार्था च भारती ।

Here he speaks of the well-known Guṇa of Prasāda. By Karkaśatā of his expression, Bhavabhūti points out how he rises to the needs of the occasion of Vīrarasa, which he wants to portray in all its various subtle shades in the *Mahāvīracarita*. It is the quality needed to execute the ideas he wants to portray, ideas which he mentions in the lines :

महापुरुषसंरंभो यत्र गंभीरभीषणः ।

× × ×

अप्राकृतेषु पात्रेषु यत्र वीरः स्थितो रसः ।

भेदैः सूक्ष्मैरभिव्यक्तैः प्रत्याधारं विभज्यते ॥

The *Mahāvīracarita* is a study in Vīrarasa and its varieties. To suit such a purpose, the expression has to be sometimes Prasanna and sometimes Karkaśa, limpid and intriguing or, at the same time, clear and virile. The third general Guṇa of Bhavabhūti is Arthavaipulya, which we can liken to the Arthagaurava mentioned in the *Mālatīmādhava*. It is immensity of import, secured only by a master of expression in whose small utterances a great train of ideas can be found. Ananda's Dhvani explains this. A great poet's expression will be eternally suggestive. Abhinava says महाकविवाचोऽस्याः कामधेनुत्वात् *Locāna*, p. 117.

Bharata.

Bharata insists that the Sāhitya of a drama to be enacted should have the qualities of tenderness and sweetness producing a sense of happiness when heard. Words must be simple and must give their sense quickly and clearly. They must not be learned, rugged or difficult of being rendered into action. In this connection, Bharata mentions some qualities of diction. Expressions must be exalting and sweet, words, soft and tender,

उदारशब्दैर्मधुरैः कार्यास्तेऽर्थवशानुगाः ।

XVII. 120. Kāśi edn.

शब्दानुदारमधुरान् प्रमदाभिनेयान्

नाट्याश्रयान् कृतिषु-प्रयतेत कर्तुम् ।

तैर्भूषिता बहु विभान्ति हि काव्यबन्धाः

पद्मकरा विकसिता इव राजहंसैः ॥

XVII. 121.

मृदुललितपदार्थं गूढशब्दार्थहीनं बुधजनसुखयोग्यं बुद्धिमत्तयोग्यम् । बहुरसकृतमार्गं सन्धिसन्धानयुक्तं भवति जगति योग्यं नाटकं प्रेक्षकाणाम् ॥

XVII. 123.

मृदुशब्दाभिधानं च कविः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ॥

मृदुशब्दं सुखार्थं च कविः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ॥

XXI. 131.

These passages emphasise that diction in drama should be Udāra, Madhura, Lalita and Mr̥du. Only then is Abhinaya possible. The diction by itself is subordinate in drama and drama is the main theme of Bharata's work. These qualities of the Kāvyaabandha, the Vācika in the drama, are given from the point of view of easy Abhinaya. Words with such qualities are said to beautify Kāvyaabandhas as blown lotuses and swans, a lotus pond. Bharata thus shows that in drama that is intended to be acted, the chief quality of style is Mārdava¹ as opposed to Naiṣṭhurya or harshness and toughness, Mādhurya or sweetness and Lālitya, beauty and delicateness.

By Mādhurya, Lālitya, Mārdava and Audārya, Bharata means that poetry should be pleasing to the senses and powerful enough to infect the mind with æsthetic mood. That is what he means by Sukhārtha. Easy Abhinaya or quick expression of idea is impossible, if words are abstruse and obscure. That is why Bharata says that the Nāṭaka should be devoid of obscure words, Gūḍha-śabdārtha-hīna. This Doṣa called Gūḍha-śabda and Gūḍha-artha is to be avoided, i.e., there should be the quality of Prasāda. Words should be Mr̥du, soft ; and unpronounceable grammatical forms like Cekrīḍita go ill with a beautiful drama.

चेक्रीडितप्रभृतिभिर्विकृतैस्तु शब्दैः

युक्ता न भान्ति ललिता भरतप्रयोगाः ।

XVII. 122

चेक्रीडिताद्यैः शब्दैस्तु काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति ये ।

वेद्या इव न शोभन्ते कमण्डलुधरैर्द्विजैः ॥

XXI. 132.

In all these statements, Bharata seems to have in his mind, only the graceful and soft type of drama, the Lalita or Maṣṇa, and not the Āviddha or Ud-dhaṭa. These are quite general descriptions of Kāvya and of the qualities of style or diction, of Śabda and of Artha, qualities which have not come down into the Guṇa section of the texts. Of all these Guṇas, Bharata

1. Mārdava is Daṇḍin's Saukumārya (of Śabda). The only other writer to speak of Mārdava guṇa is poet Vāgbhaṭa who says in his *Neminirvāṇa*, K. M. Edn. p. 56.

तस्याः शरीरमपदोषम् अशेषकान्ति-माधुर्य-मार्दव-मुखैश्च गुणैर्गरीयः । etc., III. 34.

seems to attach the greatest importance to *Prasāda*, to the quality of the text of the drama being easily understood. He says in chapter XXVII, the *Siddhi* chapter :

तस्माद्भीरार्थाः शब्दाः ये लोकवेदसंसिद्धाः ।
सर्वज्ञेन ग्राह्याः संयोज्या नाटके विधिवत् ॥ 46.

Chapter XVII of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* deals with topics of *Alaṅkāra*, *Lakṣaṇa*, *Guṇa* and *Doṣa*. *Bharata* gives here ten *Guṇas* :

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता समाधिर्माधुर्यमोजः पदसौकुमार्यम् ।
अर्थस्य च व्यक्तिरुदागता च कान्तिश्च काव्यस्य गुणा दशैते ॥ 96.

Bharata does not define *Guṇa* or indicate its function and difference from *Lakṣaṇas* and *Alaṅkāras*. He simply says that the above ten pertain to *Kāvya*. Regarding *Doṣas*, he says that their reverses form *Guṇas*.

एते दोषास्तु विज्ञेयाः सूरिभिर्नाटकाश्रयाः ।
एत एव विपर्ययः गुणाः काव्येषु कीर्तिताः ॥ XVII. 95.

Though there is no difficulty in accepting generally the character of *Guṇa* to be the reverse of *Doṣa*, the ten specific *Guṇas* in *Bharata* are not each of them the reverses of the ten *Doṣas* given by *Bharata*. There is also no distinction of *Guṇa* into that of *Śabda* and that of *Artha* in *Bharata*. The words *Śabda* and *Artha* are often used in the descriptions of particular *Guṇas* but generally the *Guṇas* are spoken of as *Guṇas* of *Kāvya*. In the *Upajāti* verse above given which enumerates the ten *Guṇas*, we find two *Guṇas* which are qualified viz., *Saukumārya* and *Vyakti*. The first is given as *Pada Saukumārya* and the second as *Arthavyakti*. They must be given so. For, *Saukumārya* is a *Guṇa* of the words. Of *Artha*, it is a *Guṇa* not in a restricted sense but very comprehensively. It is a *Guṇa* of *Artha*, of the whole class of dramas called *Sukumāra*, as contrasted with *Uddhata*. *Artha-saukumārya* pertains to the dramas of the type having the *Kāśikī* *vṛtti* as contrasted with the *Ārabhaṭi*-*vṛtti*. Therefore, *Arthasaukumārya* need not be mentioned here while speaking of the qualities of diction. *Vyakti* is of *Artha* and it is given so by *Bharata*. *Arthavyakti* is a *Guṇa* of *Artha*. The corresponding *Guṇa* of *Śabda* is *Prasāda*. *Prasanna*-*padas* deliver their meaning quickly and clearly. *Prasāda* and *Arthavyakti* go together. Of the other *Guṇas*, *Mādhurya* goes with *Pada-saukumārya*, as the quality characterising sweet and tender themes couched in sweet and tender diction, the *Kāśikī* *vṛtti* dramas of the *Sukumāra* type.

This portion of *Bharata*'s text has two recensions for some *Guṇas*. The *Kāśī* Edn. gives variant definitions for *Samatā*, *Samādhi*, *Ojas*, *Arthavyakti*, *Udātta* and *Kānti*. Besides, it gives two verses on *Śleṣa*, one of which is not found in some manuscripts according to the footnote. The K. M. Edn. contains both the verses on *Śleṣa* and has thus eleven *ślokas* on the ten *Guṇas*. The K. M. Edn. contains only definitions noted in the footnotes in the *Kāśī* Edn. for the *Guṇas* *Samatā*, *Samādhi*, *Ojas*, *Arthavyakti*, *Udātta* and *Kānti*. The *Kāśī* text is followed by *Maṅgala*, as can be seen from *Maṅgala*'s *Anu-*

vāda of Bharata's Ojas quoted by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana Vyākhyā*. Abhinava follows the text of the K. M. Edn. on Guṇas. He further says that in certain books, the Guṇa section is found before the Doṣa section but that he treats the Guṇa section as following the Doṣa section because it is so in most mss.

केषुचित् पुस्तकेषु च एष ग्रन्थः पश्चात् दृश्यते । बाहुल्येन प्रथमं दृश्यत इति तथैव व्याचक्षामहे । *Abhi. Bhā.*, Mad. Ms. Vol. II. p. 408.

The Kāśī and the K. M. Edns. agree in having the Doṣaprakaraṇa before the Guṇaprakaraṇa. Regarding the particular definitions : Abhinava accepts only one verse on Śleṣa, viz. ईप्सितेनार्थजातेन and takes the same for Arthaśleṣa as well as Śabdaśleṣa. He also says here that instead of this verse, certain writers read another verse on Śleṣa, viz. the other verse given in both the Kāśī and K. M. Edns.— विचारगहनम् etc., and which is taken by them as defining the Arthaśleṣa in the first half and the Śabdaśleṣa in the second half. On Samatā, Samādhi, Ojas, Arthavyakti, Udāratā or Udātta and Kānti, Abhinava follows the K. M. recension. Regarding Mādhuryalakṣaṇa alone, the second half of the Śloka is read by Abhinava differently from that available in the K. M. Edn., as will be shown below. Abhinava is acquainted with the other recension for Udāratā and Kānti only. For, he says at the end :

अन्ये त्वौदार्यकान्त्योः लक्षणद्वयं विपर्यसेन पठन्ति ।

Pp. 410-419. Vol. II. *Abi. Bhā.*, Mad. Ms.

Prasāda.

Bharata defines it thus : (Kāśī Edn.)

अप्यनुक्तो बुधैर्यत्र शब्दोऽर्थो वा प्रतीयते । सुखशब्दार्थसंबोधात् प्रसादः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

The definition in the K. M. Edn. is better :

अथानुक्तो बुधैर्यत्र शब्दार्थः प्रतीयते ।

सुखशब्दार्थसंयोगात्प्रसादः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

Hemacandra gives Bharata's definition of Prasāda as follows :

‘ विभक्तवाच्यवाचकयोगाद् अनुक्तयोरपि शब्दार्थयोः प्रतिपत्तिः प्रसादः इति भरतः । पदपूर्विका तदर्थविगतिरिति शब्दार्थयोर्ग्रहणम् । ’ *K. A. Vyāk.*

Generally speaking, the meaning of Prasāda has not changed in history. Bharata says that Prasāda is that Guṇa by which, even without being told, the meaning of the words is clear, because of the fact that the idea has been expressed in easy words, Sukha-śabdārtha-samyoga.

Arthavyakti.

The following two verses are available for Arthavyakti :

यस्यार्थानुप्रवेशेन मनसा परिकल्प्यते ।

अनन्तरं प्रयोगस्य सोऽर्थव्यक्तिरुदाहृता ।

सुप्रसिद्धा धातुना तु लोककर्मव्यवस्थिता ।

या क्रिया क्रियते काव्ये सार्थव्यक्तिः प्रकीर्त्यते ॥

Hemacandra gives Bharata's definition of Arthavyakti thus :

‘यस्मिन्नतथास्थितोऽपि तथास्थित एवार्थः प्रतिभाति सोऽर्थव्यक्तिर्गुणः इति भरतः ।

This Anuvāda of Hemacandra is based on neither of the two verses given above. The second verse is not clear except for the first bit ‘Suprasiddhā dhātunā’, which seems to mean the use of well-known roots and verbs. The first verse can be reconstructed thus :

यस्यार्थोऽनुप्रवेशेन मनसा परिकल्प्यते ।

अनन्तरं प्रयोगेण सार्थव्यक्तिरुदाहृता ॥

This would mean that Arthavyakti is clear Abhinaya of ideas and objects. When Abhinaya or action is going on, even earlier than the actors' Prayoga of the coming ideas, the Sāmājika knows the coming ideas by virtue of his heart being in unison with the theme (Anupraveśena manasā, Prayogena anantaram). That is, action is only going to appear but the attuned heart has already known the thing.¹ Prayoga here is a word occurring often in the Nāṭyaśāstra in the sense of the presentation of the drama. If it is taken to mean the use of words in expression in the field of the text of the drama, we can say that this quality is similar to Prasāda and means that the idea should be so clear that the reader gets it even before going through the whole of the expression.

Mādhurya.

बहुशो यच्छ्रुतं वाक्यमुक्तं वापि पुनः पुनः ।

नोद्वेजयति यस्मादिदं तन्माधुर्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Hemacandra : बहुशो यच्छ्रुतम् अभिहितं वाक्यम् अनुद्वेजकं मनसः तन्माधुर्यमिति भरतः ।

Mādhurya is the quality which does not make a sweet thing become stale or cloy however much it may be repeatedly heard.

Saukumārya.

The definition of this Guṇa has two parts which can be easily taken without strain in relation to Śabda and Artha. In the first line Bharata says that words must coalesce closely and must be easy for pronunciation. Sukha prayojyatā of Śabdāś may also mean the use of words that are easy for Abhinaya. In the second half Bharata clearly says that Arthasaukumārya is the delineation of fine and delicate ideas. Perhaps Bharata means by Suku-mārārtha samyukta his Kaiśiki Vṛtti rūpakas.

सुखप्रयोज्यैयच्छन्दैर्युक्तं सुश्लिष्टसन्धिभिः ।

सुकुमारार्थसंयुक्तं सौकुमार्यं तदुच्यते ॥

1. Cf. Vāmana :

पञ्चादिव गतिर्वाचः पुरस्तादिव वस्तुनः ।

यत्रार्थव्यक्तिहेतुत्वात् सोऽर्थव्यक्तिः स्मृतो गुणः ॥

Hemacandra : सुखशब्दार्थं सुकुमारमिति भरतः ।

There are no other readings for Mādhurya and Saukumārya.

Ojas.

There are two verses available for Ojas. One verse is as follows :

अवगीतविहीनोऽपि स्यादुदात्तावभावकः ।

यत्र शब्दार्थसंपत्तिः (स्या) तदोजः परिकीर्तितम् ॥

Bharata often clubs together Śabda and Artha in his definition of Guṇas, because the quality of one is bound up with that of the other. Ojas, says Bharata, is achieved by Śabdārthasampatti. Rich expression, of words and ideas, even though the theme or the object described is trifling, the exaltation of ordinary things is the Ojas of Bharata. Generally speaking, Ojas, which transmutes a clod of earth into gold by the genius of the poet, pertains to the whole range of poetry. It refers to the brightening up of faded language and familiar things, both of which have lost their beauty to the ordinary people. Maṅgala and Hemacandra give this definition of Ojas of Bharata, with their criticism that this cannot be a Guṇa because poets have three ways of describing,—making small things exalted, making great things small, and describing things as they are.

अवगीतस्य हीनस्य वा वस्तुनः शब्दार्थसंपदा यदुदात्तत्वं निषिञ्चन्ति कवयः तदोजः इति भरतः । Hemacandra, p. 195.

अनवगीतस्य अहीनस्य वा वस्तुनः शब्दार्थयोः [अर्थ] संपदा यदनुदात्तत्वं निषिञ्चन्ति कवयः तर्हि तदोजः स्यादिति मङ्गलः × × ×

कवीनामभिधेयं प्रति त्रयः पन्थानः । एते न्यूनमुत्कर्षन्ति, अधिकमपकर्षन्ति, यथार्थं वस्तु स्थापयन्ति, तत्कथमिवायं गुणः × × । Ibid., p. 195.

The other recension of Bharata defines Ojas as the collocation abounding in Samāśas, a conception of Ojas which has persisted in history.

समासवद्भिर्विविधैः विचित्रैश्च पदैर्युतम् ।

सा तु (काकु ?) स्वरैरुदारैश्च तदोजः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

Bharata's verse gives extra ideas such as Vicitra Pada and Udāra Svāra when a verse in Ojas is given out on the stage. The former perhaps refers to the brilliant and attractive phrasing and the latter to the pitch in the delivery of the text. 'Sā tu' in the third quarter of the verse may be 'kāku'. For Ucca kāku in Vira, Raudra and Adbhuta, see Bharata, XIX, 58, p. 223, Kāśi edn.

Kānti.

Kānti is defined in the two recensions almost identically. It leans towards Mādhurya. Its definition includes Prasāda. Kānta is such composition as produces a repose of the heart when it is heard.

यो मनःश्रोत्रविषयः प्रसादजनको भवेत् ।

शब्दबन्धः प्रयोगेण स कान्त इति भण्यते ॥

यन्मनःश्रोत्रविषयमाहादयति हीन्दुवत् ।
लीलाद्यर्थोपपन्नं वा तां कान्तिं कवयो विदुः ॥

The second verse seems to have two parts which can be taken to refer to Śabda and Artha separately. The first line gives Śabdakānti, and 'Līlā-dyārtha-upapannatva' in the second line can be taken as Arthakānti. Critics realise how this Guṇa is almost identical with Mādhurya. We find in Hemacandra :

श्रोत्रमनःप्रह्लादजननं कान्तम् (इति) भरतः । तदिदं माधुर्यसाधारणमिति वामनीयाः ।

Audārya.

Udāra has two recensions, and in one of them it is given as Udātta.

अनेकार्थविशेषैर्यत् सूक्तैः (सूक्ष्मैः) सौष्टवसंयुतैः ।
उपेतमतिचित्रार्थं रुदात्तं तच्च कीर्त्यते ॥

Hemacandra : बहुभिः सूक्ष्मैः (for सूक्तैः in Kāśī edn. of N. S.) विशेषैस्समेतमुदारमिति भरतः । p. 199.

This approaches the later Udāttālarṅkāra. The definition seems to be more of Artha than of Śabda. The other recension defines it with the name Udāra.

दिव्यभावपरीतं यच्छृङ्गाराद्भुतयोजितम् ।
अनेकभावसंयुक्तमुदारं तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

The Guṇa pertains to the Śṛṅgāra and Adbhuta rasas and themes depicting divine personalities. This is the quality of the first type of Drama, Nāṭaka.

Hemacandra gives an Anuvāda based on the first verse and points out that the Guṇa of Udātta or Udāra is not different from Ullekha.

उल्लेखवानयमर्थः कथं गुण इति वामनीयाः ।

Śleṣa.

This Guṇa is defined as related to Padas and Artha. There are two verses on it, belonging to the two recensions.

विचार्य (र) य (ग) हणं (नं) वृत्त्या स्फुटं चैव स्वभावतः ।
स्वतः सुप्रतिबन्धश्च (न्धं च) श्लिष्टं तत्परिकीर्त्यते ॥
ईप्सितेनार्थजातेन संबद्धानुपरस्परम् ।
श्लिष्टता या पदानां हि श्लेष इत्यभिधीयते ॥

The latter verse describes Śleṣa as the harmony of sound and sense, of word and idea. The verse means : Śleṣa is the state of close embrace of the words with the ideas needed to be expressed.

ईप्सितेन अर्थजातेन अनु परस्परं संबद्धाया पदानां श्लिष्टता (स) श्लेष इत्यभिधीयते ।

The first verse is rather obscure. The idea can be made out of it that Śleṣa is the quality of expressions being apparently plain but revealing a world of ideas on examination.

विचारगहनं वृत्त्या स्फुटं चैव स्वभावतः ।

Hemacandra says स्वभावस्फुटं विचारगहनं वचः श्लिष्टमिति भरतः ।

and illustrates Bharata's idea of Śleṣa by the verse from the Kumāra sambhava स्थिताः क्षणं etc., a description of the first rain drops falling on Pārvatī, a mere Svabhāvokti, which has within it a minute description of the beauty of Pārvatī's form. Hemacandra's Anuvāda is of the first verse and his criticism is that this is Vyavahāra vaidagdhi and not any Sandarbhadharma.

Samatā.

In one recension, it is defined as a very comprehensive Guṇa, as a principle of Aucitya in the use of Alarṅkāras and Guṇas themselves. The two must suit each other and beautify each other. This in short is Samatā.

अन्योन्यसदृशं यत्र तथा ह्यन्योन्यभूषणम् ।

अलङ्कार (रा) गुणाश्चैव समासात्समता यथा ॥

Hemacandra's Anuvāda is based on this verse and he criticises this as meaningless.

परस्परविभूषणो गुणालङ्कारग्रामः सममिति भरतः । × × भिन्नाधि-

करणा हि गुणालङ्कारास्तत्कथमन्योन्यं भूषयेयुः × × ।

p. 197.

The other recension describes Samatā as the absence of superfluous words and of words which do not add to the sense. Only the needed words should be used but their meaning must be clear. Avoidance of superfluous words must not mean the obscuring of the idea.

नातिचूर्णपदैर्युक्ता न च व्यर्थाभिधायिभिः ।

न दुर्बोधा तैश्च कृता समत्वात्समता मता ॥

Samādhi.

The definitions of Samādhi in both recensions are obscure. The first includes within it the Upamālarṅkāra.

उपमास्त्रिय हिट्टानां (?) अर्थानां यत्नतः तथा ।

प्राप्तानां चातिसंयोगः समाधिः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

अभियुक्तैर्विशेषस्तु योऽर्थस्यैवोपलभ्यते ।

तेन चार्थेन संपन्नः समाधिः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

Hemacandra gives Bharata's definition of Samādhi thus

अर्थस्य गुणान्तरसमाधानात्समाधिरिति भरतः ।

A conception similar to that of Daṇḍin and which has nothing to do with either verse given above.

Thus, we see on an examination of the ten Guṇas of Bharata that--

1. Some Guṇas are specifically mentioned as Guṇas pertaining to drama as such. The occurrence of the word Prayoga in them proves this, though Prayoga can also be taken as linguistic expression.

2. Some Guṇas are very comprehensive, as for instance Śliṣṭatā according to the second recension and Samatā according to the first. The first is word matched to idea and the second is the mutual appropriateness and mutual beautification of Guṇas and Alarṅkāras.

3. While certain Guṇas seem to be of Artha only, some of Sabda only, some seem to be of both, and Guṇas of Kāvya in general.

4. Udāra is expressly mentioned as the Guṇa of Śṛṅgāra and Adbhuta rasas and of the theme in which divine personalities figure. We have a few Guṇas of this type pertaining to the whole theme.

Abhinavagupta on Bharata.

Abhinavagupta's position in the *Nāṭyaśāstra Vyākhyā* is not the same as that in his *Locana*. Firstly, it must be noted that he utilises as much as possible the ideas in the system of Ānandavardhana in his own interpretation of Bharata. He even tries to reconcile Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana by quoting all to suit his purpose. In explaining the concept of Lakṣaṇa according to certain theorists, he gives a classification of Guṇas into two sets, the Rasa guṇas (according to the school of Ānanda) Mādhurya, Prasāda and Ojas, and the ten Guṇas, Śleṣa etc., pertaining to the collocation of Śabda and Artha. P. 380 *Abi. Bhā. Mad. Ms. Vol. II.* See Pp. 58-59, Vol. VI. *J. O. R.*, my article on Lakṣaṇa in Bharata. He considers Guṇas and Alarṅkāras as decorations on the body of Kāvya, similar to the painting of the walls of a house to beautify it. Explaining the several concepts in Vācīkābhīnaya such as metre, Lakṣaṇa, Alarṅkāra, Guṇa etc. by adopting the comparison of a house, Abhinava says at the end of the commentary on the 15th chapter :

चित्रकर्मप्रतिमम् अलंकारगुणनिवेशनम् ।

P. 377 Vol. II. *Mad. Ms.*

Thirdly, while explaining the difference between Lakṣaṇa on the one hand and Guṇa and Alarṅkāra on the other, Abhinava says that Guṇa is more intimately related to Rasa than Alarṅkāra. Śabdaguṇa is the capacity or power or ability of Śabda to manifest Rasa and similar is Arthaguṇa. But Alarṅkāra is an altogether different thing, an extraneous thing brought to beautify an object. (Pp. 381-382 Vol. II)

एवमर्थस्यापि यद् रसामिव्यक्ति हेतुत्वं सोऽर्थगुणः ।

P. 382.

यस्तु वस्त्वन्तरम्, वदनस्येव चन्द्रः, सोऽलंकारः ।

P. 382.

See also p. 66 of my paper on Lakṣaṇa.

Lakṣaṇa, Abhinava considers as the very Kāvya śārīra ; next to it comes Guṇa which is inseparably fused with Rasa and Kāvya ; last comes Alarṅkāra which is separable and extraneous ornament. This he says more plainly on p. 405 (Vol. II) but the text being corrupt, only a few bits can be quoted here.

“गुणशून्यं तु न काव्यं किञ्चिदपि ।”

अहेत्यवप्रदर्शनार्थमेव हि प्रसादादीनां गुणवाचोयुक्त्या व्यवहारः, तद्विना काव्यरूपत्वाभावात् ।

उपमाद्यन्तरेण तु भवत्येव काव्यमिति प्रकटीकर्तुम् उपमादीनाम् अलंकारत्वेन व्यवहारः ।

P. 405 Vol. II.

Abhinava records here another view which follows Daṇḍin and holds all beautifying factors in Kāvya as Alarṅkāra.

तथा हि-दण्डिना काव्यशोभावहा धर्माः अलंकाराः सर्वे उक्ता इति केचित् । P. 405.

But Abhinava himself, though he recognises that functionally Guṇa and Alankāra are identical, yet holds a distinction between the two as a follower of Vāmana and Ānanda that the former is more important and intimate than the latter which is removable decoration.

When we come to the Guṇa prakaraṇa itself, we see that in the exposition of the ten Guṇas, Abhinava completely follows Vāmana. Here Abhinava notes that in some mss. the Doṣa prakaraṇa is found after the Guṇa prakaraṇa but in most mss. it precedes the later. The verse of Bharata that gives the character of Guṇas as the reverse of the Doṣas, Doṣa Viparyāsa (N. Ś. XVII. 95 Kāśī edn.) is differently read by Abhinava and his comments on this verse are valuable since he has to say here much on the nature of Guṇas. But unfortunately the text here is not completely available, there being many gaps. Abhinava also says that Guṇas are the Viparyayas of Doṣas.

एनदोषविघात एव गुणो भवतीत्यर्थः । P. 410.

From the meagre text available we can reconstruct his view to some extent. Of the Guṇas that are the reverses of Doṣas, two seem to be specifically mentioned by Bharata in the text followed by Abhinava. These two are Mādhurya and Audārya, and Abhinava explains them as Śruti sukhatva and Dīpta rasatva. The latter is not exactly Audārya but Kānti according to Vāmana. The interpretation of Mādhurya as Śruti sukhatva is very general. But it is certainly enough, broadly speaking, to have these two, Mādhurya and Audārya, as the essential Guṇas of Kāvya. For, of Śabda, the sense of sweetness must be the supreme Guṇa and of Artha, the presence of brilliant Rasa, Dīpta Rasa. Then, Abhinava says that besides these two, there are other Guṇas and Bharata mentions them in the verse श्लेषः प्रसादः etc.

“अन्येऽपि गुणाः सन्तीति दर्शयति—श्लेषः प्रसाद इत्यादि । P. 140.

Coming to Abhinava's explanation of Bharata's definition of each Guṇa, Abhinava notes the second recension available for certain Guṇas. In his main exposition, he follows Vāmana completely. Somehow he manages to interpret Bharata to mean what Vāmana says. He quotes the same illustrative verses as given by Vāmana for his Guṇas. In explaining Śleṣa, he takes it as Vāmana meant it and observes while illustrating it यथोदाहृतं वामनेन and gives the verse cited by Vāmana दृष्टैकासनसंस्थिते etc. This Śleṣa is taken as Ghaṭanā by Vāmana घटना श्लेषः । कमकौटिल्यानुल्बणत्वोपपत्तियोगो घटना, स श्लेषः । Abhinava incorporates all these ideas in his interpretation of Bharata's Śleṣa.

अर्थभागानां कविसमुत्प्रेक्षितया परस्परसंबद्धया योजनया संपन्नं यदीप्सितमर्थजातं तेन उपलक्षितार्थस्य उपपद्यमानस्य उपपद्यमानतात्मा गुणः श्लेषः । यथोदाहृतं वामनेन etc. P. 410. Commenting on the illustrative verse he says :

तेन कुटिलोऽप्ययं क्रमः न हृदये उल्बणत्वं भजते । P. 411

The other verse of Bharata on Śleṣa is taken as describing the Śabda guṇa Śleṣa. It is thus explained by Abhinava.

अनेकमेकपदमिवाभाति । तदेव मासृज्यमुच्यते ।

Vāmana is here followed.

मासृष्यं श्लेषः । मासृष्यं नाम तत्, यस्मिन् सति बह्वन्यपि पदानि एकवद् भासन्ते ।

Prasāda of Artha is taken as Artha vaimalya and Śabda prasāda as Saithilya. Explaining Samatā, Abhinava says

“ समता उपक्रान्तमार्ग-अपरित्यागरूपा इत्युक्तं भवति ” P. 412.

The Artha guṇa of Samatā is taken as Prakrama-abhaṅga. Samādhi of Artha is taken as Artha dṛṣṭi and of Śabda as Ārohāvaroha. Abhinava illustrates and explains Ārohāvaroha at great length on pp. 414-5. Śabda mādhyurya is taken as Alpa samāsa and Artha mādhyurya as Ukti vaicitrya.

विचित्रीकृतोऽयमर्थ इति मधुरोऽयमर्थः P. 416.

Ojas is interpreted as Gāḍhatva. Abhinava takes one and the same verse on Ojas as defining both Śabda Ojas and Artha Ojas, on both of which Vāmana is followed. The several kinds of Prauḍhi which is Vāmana's Ojas are explained by Abhinava. Saukumārya is taken as Apāruṣya according to Vāmana. Bharata's Artha vyakti also is taken as Vāmana's and so also Udāratā. तदुक्तं 'विकटत्वं नरोन्मत्त्यमानत्वम्' इति । P. 418.

Bharata's verse on Kānti is made to yield Vāmana's idea of Dīpta rasatva. The words 'मनःश्रोत्रविषयमाहादयति,' 'लीलाद्यर्थोपपन्न' are taken to refer to Śṛṅgāra rasa and its Līlās. He says :

तदेव दीप्तरसत्वमित्युक्तमन्यैः । P. 418.

Thus, on the ten Guṇas and their nature, Abhinava follows completely Vāmana. The *Abhinavabhāratī* here is more a commentary on Vāmana's Guṇaparakaraṇa than on Bharata's. Where two verses, belonging to two recensions, are available for the Guṇas, Abhinava easily takes them as defining Śabda guṇa and Artha guṇa. Where there is only one verse, Abhinava has to strain himself and find in the same verse, the definition of both the Śabda guṇa and the Artha guṇa.

Abhinava reproduces Vāmana's distinction between Guṇa and Alamkāra, that the former is Nitya and Samaveta and the latter Anitya and Samyukta. Without the former there can be no Kāvya ; but the poet may or may not introduce the latter. Daṇḍin's view also is referred to here, that all beautifying factors are Alamkāras.

To illustrate how Abhinava interprets Bharata's text to mean what Vāmana said of the several Guṇas, we can cite one instance. Mādhyurya is defined by Vāmana as 'Pṛthak padatva' of Śabda and 'Ukti vaicitrya' of Artha. Bharata's text has this definition :

बहुशो यच्छ्रुतं वाक्यम् उक्तं वापि पुनःपुनः ।

नोद्वेजयति यस्माद्धि तन्माधुर्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥

There is no second recension for the Guṇa and Abhinava has to find in the same verse Śabda mādhyurya as well as Artha mādhyurya defined. Abhinava's commentary discloses the fact that Abhinava read it differently. The text is

somewhat corrupt and the second line where the difference occurs is thus reconstructed by Prof. S. Kuppaswami SASTRI.

नावगीतं भवति यत् तन्माधुर्यमिति स्मृतम् ।

Abhinava comments upon it thus :

“माधुर्यमाह—बहुशो यच्छ्रुतमित्यादि । यदि यस्माद्धेतोः वाक्यं श्रुतं संशयविपर्ययोः आस्पदं न भवति इति तन्माधुर्यम् । द्वाधीयसि समासे तावदव्यं भवत इति तद्विरह एव माधुर्यं शब्दगुण इत्युक्तं भवति । यथा—गाहन्तां महिषा निपानसलिलं’ इत्यादि ।

“पुनः पुनरपि उक्तमर्थजातं यस्माद्धेतोः अवगीतं अवगानेन वैरस्येन (युक्तं न भवति) तद्वचनवैचित्र्यात्मकं माधुर्यम् अर्थगुणः । वचनान्तराभिधेयतया हि सपार्थो (स एवार्थो) विचित्रो भवति । यथा ‘रसवदमृतं कस्सन्देहः मधून्यपि नान्यथा’ etc.”

Abhinava separates the bit ‘Yad vākyam śrutam’ and interprets the word ‘śruta’ to mean ‘free from flaws of doubt or error’. That is, when a sentence is uttered its sense should not be doubted or mistaken by the hearer. This is possible only when the words are not interlocked into compounds. So this bit means the śabda guṇa of Mādhurya, Pṛthak padatā or Samāsa viraha, Vāmana’s view !

The bit ‘उक्तं वापि पुनः पुनः नावगीतं भवति’ is taken to refer to the Artha guṇa of Mādhurya which Vāmana gives as Ukti vaicitrya, saying the same thing in a variety of ways without causing monotony or staleness. This idea of Vāmana is extracted by Abhinava completely from the one word in Bharata ‘Na avagita.’

Daṇḍin.

One judging Poetry speaks generally of the form and the content, of Śarīra and Ātman. From the point of view of the latter he speaks of the emotion realised or suggested, the motif of a piece or the moral implication of a play. From the point of view of the former, style is the main subject of study. Style is Rīti and it differentiates poet and poet, and poem and poem. That Rītis vary with each poet is plain from what Daṇḍin says of them :

तद्वेदास्तु न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं प्रतिकविस्थिताः ।

The speciality of a Rīti is its Guṇas. Says Vāmana :

विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः । विशेषो गुणात्मा ।

Vāmana’s treatment of Rīti is an elaboration of chapter I of Daṇḍin’s *Kāvya-darśa*. Daṇḍin gives ten Guṇas, the same as Bharata’s and describes them as the very life of the style (Rīti or Mārga) called Vaidarbhī. At the beginning, he says that the ten Guṇas constitute the speciality attached to the Vaidarbhī, while the other style called Gauḍī is generally devoid of these ten.

एषां विपर्ययः प्रायो दृश्यते गौडवत्संनि ।

But on examination we find much difficulty in placing all Guṇas on the same par or in accepting the rule that all of them are found in the Vaidarbhī and absent from the Gauḍī. Mādhurya is a curious Guṇa in Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin

has two kinds of Rasa, one Rasa called Mādhurya and the other, the eight Rasas of Śṛṅgāra etc. The Rasa of Mādhurya is a result of refinement in expression, Agrāmyatā. This Mādhurya is a Guṇa, one of the ten given as the life-breath of the Vaidarbhī, and is of two kinds. One is the above-mentioned Agrāmyatā, which alone is Rasāvaha. The other Mādhurya is the result of a mild Anuprāsa called Śrutyanuprāsa. This latter is purely the Mādhurya of Śabda. The Agrāmyatā mādhyurya has two aspects, one pertaining to Śabda and another pertaining to Artha. Śabda grāmyatā is collocation resulting in the formation of unhappy words with bad meanings, such as प्रिया या भवतः । The Śabda mādhyurya born of Anuprāsa is seen to a moderate extent in the Vaidarbhī, and the Gauḍī and is characterised by an excess of a wild variety of Anuprāsa. It can be said that, as far as this Anuprāsa śabda mādhyurya goes, the Gauḍī is devoid of what the Vaidarbhī has. But as regards the Mādhurya of Agrāmyatā of both varieties, it cannot be said that it is present in Vaidarbhī only and absent in Gauḍī. Agrāmyatā¹ is a Doṣa to be avoided in both the Mārgas. Daṇḍin himself says :

एमवादि न शंसन्ति मार्गयोरुभयोरपि ।

Similarly, Arthavyakti is a Guṇa of both Mārgas. It is the avoidance of the Doṣa of Neyārthatva, which both Mārgas must avoid. Daṇḍin himself says so :

नेदृशं बहुमन्यन्ते मार्गयोरुभयोरपि ।

The Guṇa of Udāra, according to one reading, is a feature of all styles.

तदुदादाह्यं तेन सनाथा सर्वपद्धतिः ।

Taking Samatā, there are three varieties of Samabandha or even collocation: Mr̥du or all-soft, Sphuṭa or all-harsh, and Madhyama or the alternation of soft and harsh. All these are Samatā and its reverse is Vaiṣama. The Vaidarbhas use only the Madhyama bandha samatā whereas the Gauḍas use a collocation which is all-soft, or all-harsh or Viṣama. (See K. Ā. I. 47-50 and the Com.). Then, Ojas is described as one of the Prāṇas of the Vaidarbhī. As a matter of fact it is not so. In verse, it is a flaw which the Gauḍī loves

1. Anuprāsa mādhyurya is Śabda mādhyurya and is referred to by the words 'Madhuram Rasavad Vāci' and Artha mādhyurya which is of the form of Agrāmyatā is referred to by the words 'Vastunyapi Rasasthitiḥ'. The latter is of two kinds, of Śabda and Artha. Artha agrāmyatā is purely conceptual and Śabda agrāmyatā is avoiding the use of such words which when they combine with the accompanying word create in the middle an indelicate word. Says Daṇḍin

अग्राम्यार्थो रसावहः शब्देऽपि ग्राम्यतास्येव ।

Simhabhūpāla who almost follows Daṇḍin on Guṇas, casts off this threefold Mādhurya of Daṇḍin, the Anuprāsa mādhyurya and Sabhyapada mādhyurya of Śabda and the Agrāmyatā of Artha and simplifies it by taking Daṇḍin's word Rasa here and elsewhere in relation to Mādhurya in a sense not intended by Daṇḍin. That is, Simhabhūpāla takes

मधुरं रसवद् वाचि वस्तुन्यपि रसस्थितिः

as the clear presence of Rasa, Śṛṅgāra etc., in Śabda and Artha.

तन्माधुर्यं भवेद्यत्र शब्देऽर्थे च स्फुटो रसः ।

R. A. S. I. 234. P. 66. TSS.

to indulge in. As a Guṇa, it is defined as Prāṇa not of the Vaidarbhī, but of Prose.

ओजस्समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्द्रव्यस्य जीवितम् ।

The Vaidarbhas are not used to it in verse but perhaps Vaidarbha prose employs it. But this is not clear, for Daṇḍin says definitely that the Vaidarbhas favour only the Anākula and Hṛdya type of Ojas even when they want to employ it.

अन्ये त्वनाकुलं ह्यम् इच्छन्त्योजो गिरां यथा । I. 83.

Thus, Anojas or Anākula and Hṛdya Ojas is the Prāṇa of Vaidarbhī. Simha-bhūpāla gives Ojas as a Prāṇa of Vaidarbhī and defines it as Samāsabāhulya, but while interpreting it, he says that the Vaidarbhī of which Ojas is a Prāṇa employs Ojas only with an eye to Aucitya. He says :

यथोचित समास बाहुल्यमोजः R. A. S. pp. 64-67.

This makes the difference between the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa styles that while the Vaidarbhas employ Ojas according to Aucitya only, the Gauḍas employ it everywhere. R. A. S. pp. 64 & 67. T. S. S. Further the Guṇa called Samādhi cannot be a speciality of the Vaidarbha only. Its Viparyaya is not specified and Samādhi cannot be found to be absent in the Gauḍī. This is realised by Daṇḍin himself and hence it is that he says that the Viparyayas of these Guṇas are *generally* (Prāyas) to be found in the Gauḍī एषां विपर्ययः प्रायो दृश्यते गौडवर्त्मनि । The commentators draw attention to the significance of the word Prāyas.

प्रायःशब्दः अर्थव्यक्त्यौदार्यसमाध्यादयो गुणाः उभयसाधारणा इति दर्शयति ।

Taruṇavācaspati. p. 28.

प्रायोग्रहणं साकल्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । तेन अर्थव्यक्त्यौदार्यसमाधिगुणाः उभयमार्गतुल्या इति गम्यते ।

Hṛdayaṅgamā p. 29.

The Samādhi guṇa takes us to another kind of analysis of Daṇḍin's ten Guṇas. Samādhi does not stand on a par with the other Guṇas. It stands for metaphorical expression and personification and prosopopœia. Mādhurya of the second kind resulting from Śrutynuprāsa is a Śabdālarikāra. Or, rather it is the result of a Śabdālarikāra. To this class belongs the first variety of the Udāra guṇa also.

उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिदस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते ।

It is illustrated by a verse from which is suggested the greatness of Tyāga, and this is a case of Dhvani. It will be bald to straightaway say that such and such a person is munificent ; instead the poet suggests the great quality of munificence by a winding expression. This is called Udāraguṇa. The other definition of Udāra is

श्लाघ्यैर्विशेषणैर्युक्तमुदारं कैश्चिदिष्यते ।

यथा लीलाम्बुजक्रीडासरोहेमांगदादयः ॥

This Udāra is the qualifying of words like Saras with Viśeṣaṇas Kṛiḍā and so on. This is the second kind of Udāttālarīkāra given by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Both writers are not clear about the definition of the Udāttālarīkāra. Their definitions revolve round the word 'Ratna'. The exact definition can be made out as has been made out by later Ālarīkārīkas. उदात्तम् ऋद्धिमद्वस्तुवर्णनम् । In his illustration of the second kind of Udāttālarīkāra, Bhāmaha mentions Kṛiḍāgrha and Śaśikāntopala and Daṇḍin mentions Ratnabhitti. These are the points in Udāttālarīkāra. The same are the points in the second Udāra guṇa ; these are the Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇas Daṇḍin speaks of in defining the Udāra for a second time. Simhabhūpāla, in following Daṇḍin, omits the second variety of Udāra guṇa since there is the Udāttālarīkāra for cases of Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇas. R. A. S. p. 67. Towards the end of chapter V Bhāmaha gives a similar thing without a name and says that certain writers adorn their expressions in this manner.

अंशुमद्विध मणिभिः फलनमैध शाखिभिः ।

फुल्लैश्च कुसुमैरन्यै (न्ये) वाचोऽलंकुरुते यथा ॥

शुभमरकतपद्मरागचित्रे ०-॥

Bhāmaha sometimes does not give the general law or definition but simply illustrates. One such case is this. On analysis this turns out to be the Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇa udāttā. If we examine minutely Daṇḍin's Udāttālarīkāra, we see that Daṇḍin is repeating there what he said of his Udāra guṇa. He describes the Udāttālarīkāra also in two ways, one as the delineation of a great idea or Bhāva, Āśaya utkarṣa or Mahattva and the other as Vastūtkaṛṣa or Vibhūti as in the case of Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇas. K. Ā. II. 300-3.

आशयस्य विभूतेर्वा यन्महत्त्वमनुत्तमम् ।

उदात्तं नाम तं प्राहुः अलंकारं मनीषिणः ॥ etc. II. 300-303.

In the first illustration there is Āśayamāhātmya and Rāma's great regard for the command of the father is *suggested*. In the second there is Ratnabhitti which *suggests* opulence, Vibhūti māhātmya.

पूर्वत्राशयमाहात्म्यम् (१) अत्राभ्युदयगौरवम् (२) ।

सुव्यञ्जितमिति व्यक्तमुदात्तद्वयमप्यदः ॥ II. 303.

This Āśayamāhātmya and Vastu vibhūti māhātmya are exactly identical with the Pratīti of Utkṛṣṭaguṇa and the Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇas in the two Udāraguṇas in the first chapter of Daṇḍin. Thus, Daṇḍin's Udāraguṇa and Udāttālarīkāra are identical in all respects.

The other Guṇas are Bandhaguṇas. Śleṣa is the Guṇa the reverse of which is the Doṣa called śaithilya. A well-knit style is śliṣṭa and a loose style is śithila. The Saithilya doṣa is not cared for by the Gauḍas whose love for Anuprāsa bring in its wake this Doṣa. It is clear that Daṇḍin's Śleṣa is a Śabdaguṇa. Prasāda is such expression as is easily understood or has well-established meaning known to all, 'Pratītiśubhagam vacaḥ' and 'Prasiddhārtha.' The Viparyaya of this is Anātirūḍha words which the Gauḍī favours.

Samatā is, in the language of the later writers, Ārabdha rīti nirvāha. It is evenness of style. It is of three kinds Mṛdu, Sphuṭa and Mīśra and is clearly a Śabdagaṇa. Mādhurya has already been analysed. Sukumāratā is the Guṇa of the sounds being delicate. Its Viparyaya is harsh sounds, Niṣṭhura-kṣara. Excess of delicateness is also to be avoided ; for it will produce the Doṣa called Śaithilya.

अनिष्टुराक्षरप्रायं सुकुमारमिहोच्यते ।

बन्धशैथिल्यदोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्वकोमले ॥ I. 69.

This Saukumārya is of Śabda. Daṇḍin also gives Arthasaukumārya in the same Svabhāvokti illustration which served to illustrate Śabdasaukumārya. Refined expression avoiding vulgar excess of exaggeration is Arthasaukumārya. It is Anūrjita artha. Daṇḍin's conception of best poetry is very high. He says here that no figure can give that beauty which this Saukumārya of Artha gives.

इत्यनूर्जित एवार्थः नालंकारोऽपि तादृशः ।

सुकुमारतयैवैतदारोहति सतां मनः ॥ I. 71.

The Viparyaya of this Arthasaukumārya and Padasaukumārya is the vain quality called 'dīpta' which is really a flaw. Dīpti may be of Śabda or of Artha. Dīptaśabda is what Daṇḍin calls Kṛcchrodya, hard to pronounce, illustrated by the line

न्यक्षेण क्षपितः पक्षः क्षत्रियाणां क्षणादिति

Arthasaukumārya will overlap with the Arthaguṇa Kānti. Arthasaukumārya is the Guṇa of resorting least to Arthālarīnkāras or figurative expressions. Its Viparyaya is highly adorned artificial expression. Neyārthatva is the reverse of the Arthavyakti guṇa. There must be enough words to give the idea fully. The Śabdanyāya or nature of expression is that sufficient words should be used to clearly convey the idea and this is the Guṇa of Arthavyakti. When analysed, this Guṇa seems to come under Prasāda. The two kinds of Udāra have been examined above. Their Viparyayas are not easily derivable from the text. We can say that straight and bald expression may be their Viparyayas. Ojas also has been dealt with above. The Vaidarbhas, if they resort to it, resort only to its Anākula and Hṛdya variety.

अन्ये त्वनाकुलं हृद्यमिच्छन्त्योजो गिरां यथा

The Gauḍas use it even in verse and it is to illustrate a case of uninvolved and beautiful Samāsa in Vaidarbha that Daṇḍin gives the verse पयोधरतटोत्संग etc. Thus, Ojas which is Samāsa is a Śabdagaṇa. Kānti is a Guṇa of Artha. It is not very different from Arthasaukumārya or the Saukumārya of Anūrjita-rtha. In Vārtā and Varṇana, in speech generally, refined and restrained utterances are beautiful. Flat exaggeration is a fault. Refined expressions are pleasing because they do not set at nought the ordinary nature of things. The Viparyaya of Kānti is hyperbole or Atyukti. Thus, Kānti is an Artha-

guṇa in Daṇḍin. Of the tenth Guṇa Samādhi, we have spoken above. It is a Guṇa of Artha. So śleṣa, Prasāda, Samatā and Ojas are purely Śabda-guṇas. Kānti and Samādhi are the only two that are purely Arthaguṇas. Arthavyakti embraces both Śabda and Artha though it primarily rests on the former. Mādhurya has two varieties, one pertaining to Śabda and one to Artha. Saukumārya and Udāratā have each two varieties pertaining to Śabda and Artha.

I.

<i>Guṇas.</i>	<i>Their Viparyayas.</i>
Śleṣa.	Śaithilya.
Prasāda.	Nātirūḍha or Vyutpanna words.
Samatā.	Vaiṣamya. All-soft or all-harsh
(Aviśama miśra bandha)	which mean Śaithilya or Pāruṣya.
Mādhurya.	Arasāvaha and Ulbaṇa Varṇanu-
1. Rasāvaha śrutyanuprāsa.	prāsa, Nātidūrānuprāsa and result-
2. Agrāmyatā.	ant Bandha pāruṣya and Śaithilya.
Sukumāratā.	Grāmyatā.
Arthavyakti.	Niṣṭhura or Dīpta Śabda.
Udāratā.	Ūrjita or Dīpta Artha.
Anākula and Hṛdya Ojas.	Neyārthatva.
Ojas only in prose.	No Viparyaya shown.
Kānti.	Ojas as such. Ahṛdya and Ākula
Samādhi.	Ojas.
	Ojas in verse also.
	Atyukti.
	No Viparyaya shown.

II.

(a) Single and unclassified Guṇas : śleṣa, Prasāda (Prasiddhārtha and Pratītiśubhaga), Samatā, Arthavyakti, Ojas, Kānti and Samādhi.

(b) Guṇas that have varieties : Mādhurya ; this is also called Rasa. It has first two varieties, Anuprāsa and Agrāmyatā. The latter is again of two kinds, of Śabda and of Artha. Sukumāratā has two varieties : Anīṣṭhurākṣara which is Śabdasaūkumārya and Anūrjita artha which is Artha-saukumārya. Udāratā : Utkṛṣṭaguṇapratīti (Artha udāratā) and Ślāghya-viśeṣaṇa Śabdodāratā).

Note : The two cases of Vārtā and Varṇana are not two kinds of Kānti.

III.

<i>Sabdaguṇas.</i>	<i>Arthaguṇas.</i>	<i>Sabdārthaguṇas.</i>
Śleṣa. Prasāda. Samatā. Ojas. (Anuprāsamādhurya) (Śabda-agrāmyatā mādhyurya). (Aniṣṭhurākṣara Sau- kumārya). (Arthavyakti). (Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇa Udā- ratā).	Kānti. Samādhi. (Agrāmyārtha mā- dhurya). (Anūrjitārtha Sauku- mārya). (Arthavyakti). (Ukrṣṭaguṇa pratīti- udāratā).	Mādhurya. Sukumāratā. Arthavyakti. Udāratva.

Note. Bhoja utilises Daṇḍin's Guṇas twice, once in the Doṣaprakaraṇa and again in the Guṇaprakaraṇa. Bhoja utilises completely chapter I of Daṇḍin on Guṇas under his Doṣa called 'Arīmatat', which is a description of the Viparyayas of Daṇḍin's Guṇas, all except Samādhi. There Bhoja gives this classification of the nine Guṇas of Daṇḍin :

Śabda guṇas : Śleṣa, Samatā and Saukumārya.

Artha guṇas : Prasāda, Arthavyakti and Kānti.

Ubhaya guṇas : Ojas, Mādhurya and Audārya.

This is not faithful to Daṇḍin. See below section on Bhoja.

IV.

<i>Characteristics of Vai- darbhī.</i>	<i>Characteristics of Gauḍī.</i>	<i>Characteristics that must be in both Mārgas.</i>
Śleṣaguṇa. Prasādaguṇa. Madhyama miśra ban- dha. Avaiṣamya.	Śaithilya doṣa. Vyutpannatā, Anati- rūḍha śabdatā, two Doṣas. Śaithilya, Pāruṣya and Vaiṣamya. Anuprāsa and Arthā- laṃkāra ḍambara.	

<i>Characteristics of Vaidarbhī.</i>	<i>Characteristics of Gauḍī.</i>	<i>Characteristics that must be in both Mārgas.</i>
<p>Śrutyānuprāsa Mādhurya. Dūrāntarasthitya- nuprāsa mādhurya.</p> <p>Sukumāratā. Aniṣṭhura śabda and Anūrjita artha. Ojas only in Gadya. If in Padya, only Anā- kula and Hṛdya Ojas. Kānti.</p>	<p>Utkāṣa varṇānuprāsa and Nātidūrasthitya- nuprāsa resulting in Bandha pārūṣya and śaithilya.</p> <p>Niṣṭhura dīpta śabda and Ūrjita dīpta alaṅkāṛa artha.</p> <p>Ākula and Ahṛdya Ojas and Ojas in verse also.</p> <p>Atyukti.</p>	<p>Mādhurya of both kinds of Agrāmyatā. Arthavyakti. Udāratā. Samādhi.</p>

Note : (1) Bhaṭṭa Nṛsimha, in his commentary on chapter I of Bhoja's *S. K. Ā.* (Mad. Ms.), says that two Guṇas in Daṇḍin are *Asādhāraṇa*, 'special'. They are *Saukumārya* and *Ojas*; the former distinguishes *Vaidarbhī* and pertains to it exclusively; the latter characterises the *Gauḍī* and is present only in it. The rest are *Sādhāraṇa* Guṇas, common to both *Mārgas*.

(2) Of the four Guṇas given as features of all *Mārgas* of poetry, *Agrāmyatā* *mādhurya* and *Arthavyakti* go together into a class, for, they must be looked to by all poets and their absence will unmake poetry. The *Sahṛdaya* or the grammarian of poetry will not tolerate *Grāmyatā* and the grammarian of language will not tolerate *Neyārthatā*, the *Viparyaya* of the latter. The former Guṇa is an essential *Kāvyanyāya* and the latter a *Śabdanāya*.

Udāratā and *Samādhi* go together similarly. Of both of them Daṇḍin says सनाथा सर्वपद्धतिः । कविसार्थः समग्रोऽपि तमेनमनुगच्छति । They are not as necessary as *Agrāmyatā* or *Arthavyakti*. Without *Agrāmyatā* or *Arthavyakti*, there can be no *Kāvya*. Without *Udāratā* and *Samādhi*, there can be *Kāvya*. If they are present, they add to the beauty; they are *śobhātīśaya*hetu, if we can apply here what *Vāmana* says of *Alaṅkāra* while distinguishing it from *Guṇa*.

3. The Doṣa of Śaithilya results from Śleṣābhāva, Sarvaṃṛdu or Sarva-komala, Nātidūrasthityanuprāsa, and Atyantasukumāra or Atyanta anīṣṭhura śabdas. In all these forms, it is dear to the Gauḍas.

4. Śleṣa, Samatā, Śabdasaukumārya, and Ojas are features of whole collocation or Śabdaracanā while Prasāda, Agrāmyaśabdamādhurya and Ślāghyaviśeṣaṇa-udāratā pertain to separate words singly. Udāratā of the first variety and Samādhi touch Dhvani, and Anuprāsa mādhyurya and the Viparyaya of Kānti viz., Atyukti are Alamkāras.

Bhāmaha.

As he opens chapter II, Bhāmaha just gives a running treatment of a very meagre character to Guṇas. He gives here three Guṇas, Mādhurya, Prasāda and Ojas. This fact of Bhāmaha mentioning only three Guṇas does not mean the later theory of Guṇas being only three as a corollary of the theory of Guṇas as Rasadharmas established by Ānandavardhana.

Madhurakāvya is sweet to hear and is not overloaded with Samāsa.

श्रव्यं नातिसमस्तार्थं काव्यं मधुरमिष्यते ।

A Kāvya has Prasāda, if its meaning is understood by women and boys as easily as by learned men.

आविद्वदज्ञनावालप्रतीतार्थं प्रसादवत् ।

Both these Guṇas, Mādhurya and Prasāda, would seem to go together, avoiding profuse compounds. For, Bhāmaha says :

माधुर्यमभिवाञ्छन्तः प्रसादं च सुमेधसः ।

समासवन्ति भूयांसि न पदानि प्रयुञ्जते ॥

Ojas is said to be liked by some and it is the use of profuse Samāsa.

केचिदोजोऽभिधित्सन्तः समस्यन्ति बहून्यपि

यथा मन्दारकुसुमरेणुपिञ्जरितालका ॥

The illustration is not suitably given by Bhāmaha. In it, there is no Ojas ; there is only Samāsa. Previously, Bhāmaha said that Mādhurya and Prasāda are secured by avoiding Samāsa. Here is not an instance of a long Samāsa. It is further Madhura as well as Prasanna. Ānandavardhana quotes this line of Bhāmaha as an instance of Dīrgha samāsa sanghaṭanā in Śrīṅgāra. P. 135 *Dhvanyāloka*. Śrīṅgāra is a *Madhura* rasa.

While speaking of the Rītis, Bhāmaha gives some Guṇas. From here, we can know something of the relation between Guṇas and Rīti, a relation which is not expressly stated by Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha says of the Vaidarbhī that the very name of Vaidarbhī does not mean good poetry ; that Guṇas pertaining to it can be carried to excess and that thus a faulty or bad Vaidarbhī is also possible. Similarly, though the available specimens of Gauḍī are bad, a good Gauḍī is theoretically possible. Qualities pertaining to it, when they are not overdone, produce a good style. In such a case, even the former is bad and the latter is good. So, judging poetry as good or bad must be, not

by the conventional catch-words of Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī but by an appreciation of what lies as the fundamental features at the basis of both.

अपुष्टार्थमवकोक्तिं प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम् ।
भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥
अलंकारवदग्राम्यम् अर्घ्यं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।
गौडीयमपि साधीयः वैदर्भमपि नान्यथा ॥ I. 34-35.

Here are found the following Guṇas mentioned : Prasāda, Rjutā, Komalatva, and Śrutipeśalatva with reference to the Vaidarbhī; and Anākulatva and Agrāmyatā with reference to the Gauḍī. Prasāda and Rjutā go together; the latter is straight statement with least Vakrokti. An over-emphasis on this leads to the faults of Apuṣṭārthatva and Avakratva. Vakrokti is what nourishes beauty of expression. It is Alarṅkāra and by that alone ideas can be made beautiful. It will be stale to be saying always in a straight manner in one's anxiety to be simple and straight that a thing is *very* beautiful, *very* charming etc. The use of '*very* etc.' alone cannot beautify expression. *It is, like Rasavācyaṭva, the Svāśabdavācyaṭva of ideas.* Immediately after his two verses on the Ritis above given, Bhāmaha says :

न नितान्तादिमात्रेण जायते चास्ता गिराम् ।
वक्त्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचमलंकृतिः ॥ I. 36.

The Guṇas, Komalatva and Śrutipeśalatva, mentioned in the verse criticising Vaidarbhī go together. The latter is Mādhurya. It is not very much different from the former. When this quality of sweetness is overdone, we have the flaw of Śaithilya born of Sarvakomalatva as has been pointed out by Daṇḍin.

बन्धशैथिल्यदोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्वकोमले ।

The Guṇa Agrāmyatā mentioned in the verse on the Gauḍī is one of the varieties of Mādhurya described by Daṇḍin. What is the Grāmyatā which the Gauḍī is liable to commit? Bhāmaha may refer here to Grāmyānuprāsa which the Gauḍī resorts to as against the good Anuprāsa which is the Prāṇa of the Vaidarbhī according to Daṇḍin. Says Bhāmaha in chapter II. 6.

ग्राम्यानुप्रासमन्यतु मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे ।
सलोलमालानीलालिकुलाकुलगलो बलः ॥

So, Bhāmaha thinks that a good Gauḍī must avoid Grāmyānuprāsa. Grāmyānuprāsa is closely related to Ojas and Samāsa. Good Ojas and Samāsa must be such as resorted to by the Vaidarbhas, Hṛdya and Anākula as Daṇḍin says. Bhāmaha refers to the same Anākulatva in his second verse on the good Gauḍī.

While pointing out the circumstances under which one can stand Yamaka in II. 18, Bhāmaha gives some more Guṇas : Pratīta śabda (Prasāda), Ojasvitā, Suśliṣṭsandhitva, Prasāda (again) and Svabhidhāna.

In III. 53-54, Bhāmaha speaks of a Guṇa of a Prabandha as a whole called Bhāvika and this Daṇḍin also gives at the end of chapter II. Bhā-

maha gives it as a composite Guṇa, the result of other Guṇas like Citra-udāṭṭa-adbhuta-arthatva, the Svabhinitatā of the Kathā (obscure) and Śabda-anākulatā (uninvolved expression or expression which is *not word-ridden*).

In an article on Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, in the volume of Indian studies in honour of LANMAN, Dr. KEITH prefers to vote with those who consider Daṇḍin as earlier than Bhāmaha and Bhāmaha as criticising Daṇḍin. As regards the Guṇas in Bhāmaha, Dr. KEITH makes remarks in this article which must be here noted. He is already possessed of the idea of Daṇḍin's priority and hence interprets Bhāmaha's treatment of Guṇas as a criticism of Daṇḍin. He says that Bhāmaha "found a solution by reducing the number of Guṇas to three, which though not stated in Bhāmaha, rest on fundamental distinctions of the manner in which the mind of the reader was affected". Again "we need not claim for Bhāmaha precise appreciation of the emotional states to which his Guṇas were to correspond; but the reduction to three must clearly have been based on the principle of this kind, and in any event the advance on Daṇḍin is enormous". Now, unless one is already prepossessed with the priority of Daṇḍin, one cannot interpret Bhāmaha's Guṇas like this. For, the above is not borne out by facts. Even though Dr. KEITH clearly accepts that Bhāmaha cannot be credited with such a critical, scientific and subjective formulation of the Guṇa concept as found only from the time of Ānanda, he goes to the extent of saying that Bhāmaha himself, as a critic of Daṇḍin, reduced Guṇas to three, basing himself on some principle of the kind of Ānanda's definition of Guṇas as Rasadharmā. No such principle can be suspected to exist even unconsciously in Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha's definition of Guṇa as such is not available; his definition of Mādhurya, Prasāda and more especially Ojas are definitely and very clearly related to such objective physical features as Śravyatva, *Asamastārthatva*, sweetness to the sense of ear, absence of compound, simplicity as regards the understandability of the meaning even by boys and women as much as by learned men, and compounding numerous words. In the face of such definition of these three Guṇas, which do not make even the smallest advance over Daṇḍin and which are not on the way to make Guṇas what they are in Ānanda, we are not able to see the reasonableness of Dr. KEITH's interpretation. The few verses on Guṇas at the opening of chap. II in Bhāmaha stand detachedly, without being clearly constituted into a topic or section. Bhāmaha just mentioned the Guṇas, because his predecessors had treated of them. If Dr. KEITH wants to stick to the logicity of his view, we may ask this question: Dr. KEITH says that as regards the Ritis,¹ Bhāmaha's attitude is "a criticism of Daṇḍin in the usual insulting manner of Bhāmaha". But why does not Bhāmaha

1. Dr. KEITH says here (p. 178 of the above said Volume) that Bhāmaha "is reproaching Daṇḍin with following blindly a wrong tradition" and that Bhāmaha's attitude is severely critical. But KEITH contradicts himself soon on p. 183 where he says that as against the reactionary Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha "is often more wedded to tradition" and "was content to accept the tradition as handed down." If he was a "traditionalist," why did he grow 'severely critical' towards the Ritis?

treat the Guṇas of Daṇḍin also to a similar insult? Bhāmaha's attitude towards Ritis is no doubt "severely critical" but the attitude is against those predecessors who, without really understanding the fundamental characteristics of poetry, such as पुष्टार्थत्वम्, वक्रोक्तिः, अग्राम्यत्वम्, अर्थ्यत्वम्, न्याय्यत्वम्, अनाकुलत्वम् were simply led away by mere catchwords like Vaidarbha and Gauḍa, and not against Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha, if he had criticised Daṇḍin either on Riti or on Guṇa, must have given us some clue to his knowledge of Daṇḍin's clear formulation of Riti as intimately connected with and essentially based on the Guṇas.

Therefore, as pointed out earlier in the section on Māgha, there were before the time of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin different traditions, one which Bhāmaha chose to follow, another which Bhaṭṭi chose to follow and still another which Daṇḍin chose to follow. The criticism in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are of the different currents of thoughts on one or the other of which the two authors based their texts. Otherwise the consistent mention of only two Guṇas, Ojas and Prasāda, by Māgha is unintelligible.

Vāmana.

Vāmana was the first to definitely classify Guṇas into the two classes of Śabda guṇas and Artha guṇas. He gives the same ten Guṇas found in Bharata and Daṇḍin. First he treats of them as Bhandhaguṇas or qualities pertaining to the collocation. (वन्धः पदरचना) Vāmana has changed the nature of the various Guṇas considerably. We shall first examine his Śabda guṇas.

Ojas is defined as Gāḍhabandha ; Prasāda as Śaithilya. This Śaithilya by itself is a Doṣa but is called the Guṇa of Prasāda by its association or coexistence with Ojas. It is said to be clearly experienced by knowing critics that these contrary qualities of Gāḍhatva and Śaithilya exist together.

नन्वयमोजोविपर्ययात्मा दोषः, तत्कथं गुण इत्यत आह-गुणः संज्ञवात् । गुणः प्रसादः, ओजसा सह संज्ञवात् । शुद्धस्तु दोष एवेति । ननु विरुद्धयोरोजःप्रसादयोः कथं संज्ञ इत्यत्राह—
स त्वनुभवसिद्धः । स तु संज्ञस्तु अनुभवसिद्धः तद्विदां रत्नादिविशेषवत् । अत्र श्लोकः—

करुणप्रेक्षणीयेषु संज्ञवः सुखदुःखयोः ।

यथानुभवतः सिद्धः तथैवौजःप्रसादयोः ॥

This seems to be a very clumsy view of Prasāda. Others have criticised it. See *Kāvyañuśāsana vyākhyā* p. 196. Śleṣa is defined as Masṛṇatva or that quality which makes even a number of Padas appear together as one. Samatā is stated to be Mārga-abhedha, uniformity of style. Samādhi is described as the rise and fall of a verse, Āroha and Avaroha. Certain critics consider this Āroha and Avaroha as not different from Ojas and Prasāda. They say that Ojas is of the form of Āroha or a mounting up of the heart and Prasāda is of the form of Avaroha, a coming down or lowering of the key. These critics mean the subjective reaction to Ojas and Prasāda. Vāmana refutes their view with two arguments. Āroha and Avaroha are separate but Ojas and Prasāda coexist. Then, there is no strict law that in Ojas there is Āroha and in Prasāda there is Avaroha. But in a way, Vāmana succumbs in the

end. Vāmana attempts to reply that it is only Tivra Ojas and Tivra Prasāda that are of the form of Āroha and Avaroha and the Guṇa responsible for the Tivratva is Samādhi. Mādhurya is defined as the absence of Samāsa and words standing separate, Pṛthak padatva. समासदैर्घ्यनिवृत्तिपरं चैतत्. It is Bhāmaha who says that writers who favour Mādhurya compound their words little. Saukumārya is Ajarāṭhatva or Apāruṣya which is the same as Daṇḍin's Anīṣṭhurākṣaraprāyatva. The Śabdaguṇa of Udāratā is described as Vikaṭatva, the dance of words. Arthavyakti is defined as the quality of words giving their meaning quickly. It is because Vāmana has this Arthavyakti as a Śabdaguṇa that he has to give Prasāda the curious character of Śaithilya. Kānti is brilliance without which the verse looks like an old faded picture.

Vāmana is a poet and a connoisseur of painting. He infuses poetry into his conception of Guṇas. He speaks of Ajarāṭhatva which surely an imaginative Sahṛdaya feels. The dance of words, the brilliance of words, the rise and fall of verse, these are very poetic conceptions of Guṇas. Earlier, praising drama as supreme literature, Vāmana compares it to picture.

सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः । तद्धि चित्रं, चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात् । I. 3. 30, 31.

His Śabdaguṇa Kānti is borrowed from painting. It is described as Aujjvalya. The faded and dull appearance of old pictures, Purāṇacchāyā, is what results when verses have no Kānti.

औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिरित्याहुः गुणं गुणविशारदाः ।

पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन वन्ध्यं कवेर्वचः ॥¹

Again Vāmana borrows a comparison from the field of painting.

यथा विच्छिद्यते रेखा चतुरं चित्रपण्डितैः ।

तथैव वागपि प्राज्ञैः समस्तगुणगुफिता ॥

Guṇas in general are poetic conceptions and Vāmana's conception of many of them are more so. That is why Vāmana takes pains to refute sceptical and unimaginative readers to whom such Guṇas are non-existent, are mere

1. The means to achieve this Kānti is the choice of those words only which are poetic. Only certain names of objects have a poetic flavour. The use of these only gives a lasting brilliance to a verse. The dull words of daily use make a verse look like an old effaced picture. Ratneśvara says in commenting upon Bhoja's Śabda kānti which is the same as Vāmana's :

कान्तिविपर्ययः पुराणी च्छाया × × × अत एवाह 'पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन वन्ध्यं कवेर्वचः' इति । तस्मादप्रहतपदैः आरंभः सन्दर्भस्यैव कान्तिः । तद्यथा— 'कुसुमस्य धनुः' इति प्रहतं, कौसुममिति अप्रहतम्; 'जलनिधौ' इति प्रहतं, 'अधिजलधि' इति अप्रहतम्; गुरुत्वमिति प्रहतं, गौरवमिति अप्रहतमित्यादि । अत एव प्रहतशंका । चमत्कारित्वं तु सहृदयाहादित्वम् । अस्ति हि तुल्येऽपि वाचकत्वे पदानां कथिदवान्तरो विशेषः, यमधिकृत्य किञ्चिदेव प्रयुज्यते महाकवयः, न तु सर्वम् यथा पल्लव इति वक्तव्ये किसलयमिति । स्त्रीति वक्तव्ये कान्तेति । कमलमिति वक्तव्ये राजीवमित्यादि । ”

illusions, or are only the accidental effects, caused by reading verses in different ways.

नासन्तः, संवेद्यत्वात् । न भ्रान्ताः, निष्कम्पत्वात् । न पाठधर्माः, सर्वत्र अदृष्टेः ।

Hemacandra records on p. 200 of his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana vyākhyā* the view that some hold only five Guṇas and even those as *Pāṭha dharmas*.

Let us examine these Guṇas of Vāmana. Ojas seems to be the old Śleṣa. Śleṣa itself is taken as Masṛṇatva or Ekapadavad bhāna ; Ojas seems to be 'well-knitness', Śleṣa is cohesiveness. For the old conception of Ojas as Samāsa bhūyastva, Vāmana has no counterpart in his scheme. His conception of Prasāda is very clumsy. Samādhi is taken as Ārohāvaroha which is not a stylistic Guṇa but a consequence of Metre. In the Śikhariṇī metre, where the line begins with a short letter, rises up with five long, runs down again with five short, rises again with two long and makes again a final glide, one sees the Ārohāvaroha of Vāmana clearly. Hence it is that the metre itself is called Śikhariṇī. In other metres, long and short alternate at short intervals and the rise and fall is very marked, there being no long curve. In his Parikara ślokas on these Śabda guṇas on p. 82 (Vanivilas Edn.), Vāmana himself says in the verse on Samādhi that it pertains to the Yatis. It has also to be noted that all the instances given by Vāmana are cases of Śikhariṇī where the Ārohāvaroha is very clear. Bhoja seems to modify Vāmana but really means the same thing in his Śabda samādhi. Ratneśvara actually interprets the Guṇa as related to metre and says that such Guṇas as Rise and Fall must be felt, that they are Ānubhāvika. On pp. 200-201, Hemacandra records a view of Guṇas as metrical characteristics. Mādhurya is defined as Pṛthak padatva ; but there is Mādhurya in compounds also as Ānanda points out. Udāratā is defined as the dance of words and Kānti as brilliance of words and these two are entirely new conceptions of Vāmana.

Arthaguṇas. The same ten Guṇas are taken as Arthaguṇas also. Ojas is interpreted as Arthapraudhi. This Praudhi itself is of five kinds : Padārthe vākya vacanam ; Vākārthe padābhidhā ; Vyāsa ; Samāsa ; Sābhiprāyatva. There is no logic in putting all these together under some name called Praudhi and identifying that as Ojas. Praudhi in general is a feature of poets' genius and expression, and is of various kinds. Hemacandra offers the proper criticism of this Ojas of Vāmana when he says

“ इति या प्रौढिः ओजः, तद्वैचित्र्यमात्रम् ” । P. 195.

The difficulty springs from the writers attaching some sanctity to the number ten regarding Guṇa and their strain to take the same ten as Śabda-guṇas and Arthaguṇas, while as a matter of fact, only some can be made Śabdaguṇas and some only, Arthaguṇas. There is no harm if some of the ten are taken as Śabda guṇas only and some others again, as Artha guṇas. If each should be taken once as a Śabda guṇa and again as an Artha guṇa, ignoring the individuality of each, there is bound to be Kleśa, far-fetchedness.

Prasāda is plain, being defined as Arthavaimalya. As such, it has to be differentiated on the one hand from the Śabdaguṇa called Arthavyakti and

on the other from the Arthaguṇa called Arthavyakti. The Arthavyakti of Śabda is the use of words which deliver their sense easily. Prasāda, as an Arthaguṇa, has a somewhat restricted sense in Vāmana. It has affinity with the second rescension of Bharata's Samatā. The use of just sufficient words is Prasāda. Certain writers simply pile beautiful words which do not add to the meaning and such writing is the Viparyaya of Vāmana's Prasāda.

अर्थस्य वैमल्यं प्रयोजकमात्रपदपरिग्रहे प्रसादः ।

The Aprayojakapadas, useless verbiage, here given as Prasādaviparyaya is referred to by Bhāmaha also at the end of chapter V.

विरुद्धपदमस्वर्थं बहुपूरणम् आकुलम् ।

कुर्वन्ति काव्यमपरे व्यायतामीप्सया यथा ॥

एतत्तत्कोलनागस्फुटवकुललताचन्दनस्यन्दनादिवः^०—

These Aprayojakapadas are what Mahimabhaṭṭa calls 'Apratibhodbhava' or Avakara. They form the Śabdadoṣa called by Bhoja 'Aprayojaka.' Stevenson calls them *Cheville* in his essay on the *Technical Elements of Style*. "The genius of prose rejects the Cheville no less emphatically than the laws of verse ; and the Cheville, I should perhaps explain to some of my readers, is any meaningless or very watered phrase employed to strike a balance in the sound." Those who write in this manner are called Racanā kavis by Rājaśekhara. K. M. p. 17.

The Arthaguṇa called Śleṣa is similar to the Arthaguṇa of Ojas, comprising as it does many things under some kind of name. Arthaśleṣa is given as Ghaṭanā and what is this Ghaṭanā? Vāmana describes it as Krama, Kauṭilya, Anulbaṇatva and Upapattiyoga. How are these related together and how does the word Ghaṭanā mean these things? And how does Śleṣa mean Ghaṭanā? Vāmana illustrates from Amaruka and adds that illustrations for this Arthaguṇa are profuse in the works of Śūdraka and others. Krama is, as we gather from the illustrative verse from Amaruka and from the commentary, the order of things or description in a certain order. This is taken by Bhoja as a Śabdālaṃkāra variety, the Kramakṛta Gumphanū. S. K. Ā. p. 156. Kauṭilyaghaṭanā occurs in Cāṭus, Vakroktis, Vyājoktis and such other kinds of expression common in love. The path of love itself is crooked, Kuṭīla. Anulbaṇatvaghaṭanā has affinity with Daṇḍin's Kānti and Saukumārya of Artha which are Anūrjita artha or Lokasīma-anatikramaṇa. The *Kāmadhenu* and the S. K. Ā. *Vyākhyā* of Ratneśvara take the whole as one क्रमकौटिल्यानु-ल्वणत्वोपपत्तिघटनाना and point out all these in the single illustration. A clear exposition of Vāmana's Śleṣa is available in Ratneśvara under Bhoja's Arthaśleṣa. In fine, it is thus put by Ratneśvara : अघटमानस्येव वाक्यार्थस्य बुद्धिचा-तुर्येण घटनमिति वाक्यार्थः । See below under Bhoja's Arthaguṇas.

Samatā of Artha is the avoidance of the Doṣa called Prakramabhaṅga. This can be included in the Kramaghaṭanā, a variety of the above-noticed Arthaśleṣa. Vāmana is not satisfied with this view and says in the end सुभगत्वं वा अवैयम्यमिति and illustrates it with a verse from act V of the *Sākuntala* कास्विदवगुणनवती etc. What special quality Vāmana means by Subhagatva

and how such a quality is seen in that verse art not understandable. As regards the Pratyudāharaṇa which, if given, may give us some help, Vāmana simply goes away by saying प्रत्युदाहरणं सुखमम् । Samādhi is a curious idea as an Arthaguṇa. It is said to be Arthadr̥ṣṭi or Arthadarśana. It is called Samādhi because only a concentrated mind can see the thing which is to be put in the verse. समाधिकारणत्वात् समाधिः । अवहितं हि चित्तम् अर्थान्पश्यतीति उक्तं पुरस्तात् । This is no Guṇa of Arthasandarbhā. It is a Guṇa of the poet and his Pratibhā. It is out of place here and ought to have occurred earlier in I. 3 along with the general Sūtras on Poet and Poet's Sāmagrīs described in Sūtras 16-20 चित्तैकाम्यमवधानम् etc. The Artha conceived and expressed by the poet is here classified as 'quite original', 'imitative', and 'resembling that of other poets'—Ayoni and Anayachāyāyoni, a subject further developed by Ānanda-vardhana in the last Uddyota, by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and by Kṣemendra in his *Kavikanṭhābharaṇa*.

Mādhurya is defined as Uktivaicitrya which however is characteristic of poetry in general. Vāmana does not further explain it but simply gives an illustrative verse and passes on to Saukumārya. The Arthaguṇa saukumārya is a mark of refinement in expression ; it is defined as Apāruṣya. The words of distress and danger are not shot straight by refined speakers ; they do not shock with terrible words ; they do not say Mr̥ta, they say 'Yeśāśśeṣa'. Instead of saying 'go', Gaccha, they say 'Sādhaya'. The Arthaguṇa Udāratā is Daṇḍin's Agrāmyatā Mādhurya. Vāmana says : अग्रम्यत्वमुदास्ता । Arthavyakti is the pictorial quality in a word-picture. In a composite picture painted by the poet, the various things composing the picture must be distinct and clear. This seems to me to be the correct meaning of the phrase 'Rūpabheda' which has been given as one of the six essentials (Ṣaḍaṅga) of a picture in a verse on painting in the *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtras* and which has not been properly interpreted by the many writers who have written upon it. The graphic Svabhāvoktis, minutely portraying to us every detail clearly and powerfully, have this Guṇa called Arthavyakti as their very life.

Vāmana's Kānti is important as the only place where Vāmana mentions Rasas. The formal brilliance giving a lasting colour to the words is the śabdaguṇa of Kānti. The real brilliance of a piece that gives it life and makes it long-lived is its Rasa brilliantly developed. If Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin held Rasa as an Alar̥kāra, the Rasavadalar̥kāra, Vāmana took it as a Guṇa, the Arthaguṇa called Kānti. There is an advance in considering Rasa as *Arthaguṇa*, for Vāmana considers Guṇa as superior to Alar̥kāra and as inseparably related with Kāvya.

Vāmana's contribution is the classification of Guṇa into that of Śabda and that of Artha and a clearer and a more definite description and illustration of each Guṇa. The greater contribution of Vāmana is his attempt to define Guṇa in general and to indicate its difference from Alar̥kāra and its place in Kāvya. That, we reserve for another section and note here some

other general observations of Vāmana on Guṇa. Vāmana says that maturity of style or Kāvya-pāka is the *clear* and the *complete* presence of these Guṇas. The style is to have all these Guṇas completely and clearly (Sphuṭa and Sakala) and then only can it be said to have Pāka. Mere parading of grammatical niceties and striking expressions, Suptiṇ samskāra, devoid of Guṇas is bad Pāka. It is Apārthaka, if it is devoid of the ten Guṇas.

गुणस्फुटत्वसाकल्ये काव्यपाकं प्रचक्षते ।

चूतस्य परिणामेन स चायमुपमीयते ॥

सुप्तिद्विसंस्कारसारं यत् क्लृष्टवस्तुगुणं भवेत् ।

काव्यं वृन्ताकपाकं स्यात् लुप्तसन्ते जनास्ततः ॥

गुणानां दशतात्पर्यको यस्यार्थः, तदपार्थक्यम् ।

दाडिमानि दशेत्यादि न विचारक्षमं वचः ॥

Vāmana therefore considers that best poetic diction must have all these ten Guṇas of Śabda and Artha clearly and completely. That best diction, he would call Vaidarbhī which is the complete and clear presence of all these Guṇas.

समग्रगुणोपेता वैदर्भी ।

अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः समग्रगुणगुणिता ।

विषब्दीस्वरसौभाग्या वैदर्भीरीतिरिष्यते ॥

To suit this idea of his, Vāmana has changed the meaning of many Guṇas. Guṇas are not for him features which characterise one kind of style or one poet but they are essentials which best poetry as such must possess. In the Śabda-guṇas, he has omitted the feature of Ojas as Samāsabhūyastva, since it is not a feature of the Vaidharbhī. This position is slightly illogical since it supposes that in a single verse chosen as a specimen of the best diction of Vaidarbhī, as for instance the verse गहन्तां महिषाः etc., one must show the presence of all the ten Guṇas of Śabda and Artha. According to the theme, only certain Guṇas will be found. For instance, not in all cases can the Padas be dancing with the Guṇa called Udāratā.

Gauḍī is described by Vāmana differently from Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin said that the ten Guṇas are the life of the Vaidarbhī and that the Gauḍī generally has the reverses of the ten Guṇas. Thus, Gauḍī was a defective style almost. Vāmana says of Gauḍī that it is the same style of Vaidarbhī but with Ojas and Kānti displacing Mādhurya and Saukumārya.

ओजः कान्तिश्च विद्येते यस्यां सा ओजःकान्तिमती गौडीया नाम रीतिः । माधुर्यसौकुमार्य-योरभावात् समासबहुला अत्युल्बणपदा च । अत्र श्लोकः—

समस्तात्युद्धटपदामोजःकान्तिसमन्विताम् ।

गौडीयामपि गायन्ति रीतिं रीतिविक्षणाः ॥ P. 20 Vanivilas edn.

When all the Guṇas are present, we have the Vaidarbhī and we have to take also that the Vaidarbhī is marked by an emphasis on Mādhurya and Saukumārya. For, Vāmana himself says so and gives the Gauḍī as the same Rīti minus Mādhurya and Saukumārya and plus Ojas and Kānti.

What are the Ojas and the Kānti here? Vāmana says in his Vṛtti "Samāsa bahulā, Atyulbaṇa padā ca". These two are the meanings of the Ojas and Kānti which are said to create the Gauḍī. We face here a contradiction; for, in the Guṇa prakaraṇa itself, Ojas is never Samāsa bāhulya and Kānti has nothing to do with the Udbhaṭatva or Ulbaṇatva of Padas!

The third Rīti of Pāñcālī is brought in to explain the two Rītis of Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. Vāmana says that the Pāñcālī is the style which is marked by the emphasis on Mādhurya and Saukumārya.

माधुर्येण सौकुमार्येण च गुणेनोपपन्ना पाञ्चाली नाम रीतिः । ओजःकान्त्यभावाद् अनुत्पन्न-
पदा विच्छाया च । P. 21. Vanivilas edn.

Ojas and Kānti which are the dominant Guṇas of the Gauḍī are entirely absent in the Pāñcālī and in their place we have Mādhurya and Saukumārya. The Pāñcālī is described in a verse also :

आश्लिष्टश्लयभावां तु पुराणच्छाययान्विताम् ।

मधुरां सुकुमारां च पाञ्चालीं कवयो विदुः ॥ P. 21, *ibid*.

Therefore it seems that the Vaidarbhī becomes the Gauḍī if Ojas and Kānti are emphasised and the Pāñcālī, if Ojas and Kānti are eliminated and instead, Mādhurya and Saukumārya are emphasised. Vaidarbhī itself has all the Guṇas in an equal measure. When Vāmana says of the Pāñcālī that it is 'Ślatha', the reverse of the Ojas of his Guṇaprakaraṇa is meant here. Śaithilya is the reverse of Ojas which is Gāḍhabandhatva. In the Vaidarbhī, it coexists with Ojas and hence is the Guṇa of Prasāda. It is a flaw by itself :

गुणः प्रसादः, ओजसा सह संभवात् । शुद्धस्तु दोष एवेति ।

In the verse describing the Pāñcālī however, we find Ojas and Kānti as described in the Guṇa-section proper.

Thus the Guṇas which play a part in the differentiation of Rītis are Mādhurya and Sukumārata and Ojas and Kānti. The other six Guṇas must be taken as present in all the three Rītis.

The History of the Distinction of Guṇa from Alamkāra.

We have two main topics in the history of the concept of Guṇa, compared to which the number and nature of each particular Guṇa is a matter of detail only. They are the classification of Guṇas into those of Śabda and those of Artha and the formulation of the difference between Guṇa and Alamkāra; and these two affect the other topic of the number and nature of Guṇas also.

Until the Guṇa was exactly defined by Ānanda, writers were having twenty Guṇas, ten of Śabda and ten of Artha and each writer added or subtracted as he pleased and described each of the Guṇas accepted by him according to his own wish. The pre-Dhvanyāloka period of Sanskrit Poetics was a period of research in figures of speech. That period laid emphasis on formal beauty which it found to be of various kinds. All formal beauty of Kāvya, all beauty of Kāvya as such, was put down as Alamkāra, which was an omnibus concept comprehending all points of appeal in Kāvya,—Guṇa, 'figure-

alaṅkāra', Rasa, Vṛtṭyaṅga, Sandhyaṅga, and Lakṣaṇa. (Daṇḍin II 366). The concept of Alaṅkāra, which applied normally to śabdacitra like Yamaka and Anuprāsa and Arthacitra like Upamā, Rūpaka etc., came to be widened till it became 'Poetic Beauty' as such—SAUNDARYA—when it burst and again sank to its normal significance of Yamaka etc., and Upamā etc. During this reign of Alaṅkāra, the concept had many votaries who held it as the mark of Kāvya. Alaṅkāra seems to have lost its individuality; either it meant very big things or it meant very poor things. We have a glimpse into the other extreme position of Alaṅkāra in this period of Alaṅkāra-chaos. The anonymous commentary *Hṛdayaṅgamā* on the *Kāvyaḍarśa* refers to a very odd view of Alaṅkāra which reduces that concept to something very trifling.

अपरे अलङ्कारलक्षणमेवमाहुः—

चतुर्णामपि पादानाम् आदौ मध्येऽन्त एव वा ।

स्थितिरेकपदस्यैव तदलङ्कारलक्षणम् ॥ P. 29. Mad. edn.

This will be the marking of a verse with the same word at the beginning, the middle and the end. Such vagaries are found in the post-Dhvani period also, as for instance in Bhoja's list of śabdālaṅkāras. We shall now trace the thread of the distinction of Alaṅkāra from Guṇa from the beginnings up to Ānandavardhana and see how, even after Ānandavardhana, some writers like Bhoja chose to follow only the ancients.

In Bhāmaha's work the three Guṇas, Prasāda, Mādhurya and Ojas are described. But they are not called Alaṅkāra definitely anywhere. Nor do we find the word Guṇa mentioned anywhere in Bhāmaha, even in verses describing these three Guṇas. He mentions Doṣas, defines and illustrates them at length at the end of chapter I and in chapters IV and V. At the end of chapter I, he says that sometimes certain Doṣas cease to be Doṣas and actually give beauty,—'śobhām Dhatte,' 'śobhate'. Not even here is it mentioned that these Doṣas become Guṇas. There is only one place where the word Guṇa occurs and it is in the definition of Bhāvikatva at the end of all the Alaṅkāras, at the end of chapter III.

भाविकत्वमिति प्राहुः प्रबन्धविषयं गुणम् ।

This Guṇa pertains to the whole of a work and this soon becomes an Alaṅkāra. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin do not club it with Mādhurya and other Guṇas, though it is called a Guṇa; and though they call it a Guṇa, a Guṇa of the Prabandha, they treat of it at the end of Alaṅkāras.

The beginning of some sort of differentiation between Guṇa and Alaṅkāra is first seen in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Daṇḍin considers all the topics in poetics, and in drama also, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Vṛtti, Sandhi, their Aṅgas and Lakṣaṇas, as Alaṅkāra. But as regards Guṇa and Alaṅkāra, Daṇḍin points out some difference which his commentators elucidate.

The Kāvyaśarīra is in many styles or paths, Mārgas, two clearly definable paths among which are the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī. There are certain qualities which constitute the life-breath of the various paths. What exactly is

the nature of these Guṇas which constitute the life of a style? Daṇḍin replies that Guṇas are the special features of the Kāvyaśārīra, its Asādhāraṇa dharmas, going to distinguish the various styles. From a functional point of view these Guṇas or special features of styles are Alarṅkāra. What is Alarṅkāra? Any feature, Dharma, which gives beauty to the Kāvya is Alarṅkāra.

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।

ते चाद्यापि विकल्पन्ते कस्तान् कास्त्र्येन वक्ष्यति ॥

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काञ्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थमुक्ताः प्रागप्यलङ्काराः ।

साधारणमलङ्कारजातमद्य प्रदर्शयते ।

K. A. II. 1-3.

In chapter III, while speaking of the Doṣa called Sasamśaya, Daṇḍin says, as in the case of other Doṣas also, that it is sometimes not a Doṣa. For Doṣas depend on circumstances and cease to be so sometimes. Daṇḍin must say here that when they cease to be Doṣas, they become Guṇas, but instead, he says that they become Alarṅkāra. Alarṅkāra is here used as a synonym of Guṇa.

ईदृशं संशयायैव यदि जातु प्रयुज्यते ।

स्यादलङ्कार एवासौ न दोषस्तत्र, तद्यथा । K. A. III. 141.

न दोषः पुनरुक्तोऽसौ प्रत्युतेयमलङ्क्रिया । K. A. III. 137.

As distinguished from the Guṇa-asādhāraṇa-alarṅkāras described in chapter I, the figures of speech described in chapter II are called by Daṇḍin Sādhāraṇa alarṅkāra. Thus, to Daṇḍin :—

1. Guṇas are Alarṅkāra, since they are also features beautifying Kāvya-śārīra.

2. Alarṅkāra means feature imparting beauty to Kāvya ; in a restricted sense, it also means the figures of speech, Upamā etc.

3. Guṇas, which were dealt with in chapter I as the distinguishing features of the two Mārgas are Asādhāraṇa or special Alarṅkāras. Their Asādhāraṇa, speciality, consists in their occupying the status of features that separate and distinguish poetic expression into different styles (Mārga vibhājakatva).

4. The figures of speech are Sādhāraṇa, general or common to all styles. This is clearly pointed out by the *Hṛdayaṅgamā*.

पूर्वस्मिन् परिच्छेदे वैदर्भगौडमार्गविभागार्थं काव्यशरीरप्रदर्शनार्थं च असाधारणधर्माः केचिदलङ्कारा उक्ताः । इदानीं शब्दरचनालक्षणतः प्रतिष्ठापितस्य काव्यशरीरस्य साधारणा ये अलङ्काराः ते अस्मिन् परिच्छेदे वक्ष्यन्ते । P. 59. Rangacharya's Madras Edn.

In interpreting the verses of Daṇḍin quoted above, Taruṇavācaspati refutes Vāmana's theory of the difference between Guṇa and Alarṅkāra. He says the view that Guṇas are Śobhāhetu while Alarṅkāras are Śobhātīśayahetu is no distinction. For, we are not speaking of Śobhā at all, but of Śobhā-atiśaya only. Taruṇavācaspati therefore holds that both Guṇa and Alarṅkāra are Śobhātīśayahetu and are to be distinguished by some other distinguishing mark. The

figures of speech are Alamkāras which are not employed as the differentia of Mārgas of poetry whereas the Guṇas are employed so. This is the difference between the two.

शोभाहेतवो गुणाः, शोभातिशयहेतवोऽलङ्कारा इति कैश्चिदुक्तम् । शोभातिशयस्यैव विवक्षितत्वात् नायं भेदहेतुः इति गुणा अलङ्कारा एव इत्याचार्याः । ततः श्लेषादयो गुणात्मकालङ्काराः पूर्वं मार्ग-प्रभेददर्शनाय उक्ताः । अधुना मार्गद्वयसाधारणा अलङ्कारा उच्यन्ते । P. 60 *Ibid*.

Therefore, the difference according to Taruṇavācaspati is that Guṇas are special features that present themselves as characteristics of a certain style in some place only, whereas Alamkāra is common to all styles of poetry and exists everywhere. The latter does not go to characterise style and its presence or absence does not make or unmake a Mārga of poetry.

Rudraṭa. Rudraṭa does not have a subject called Guṇa, clearly formulated in his mind. The word Guṇa occurs in a very general significance in his work. In chapter II, after treating of the division of Śabdās into Nāman, Ākhyāta etc., and the Rītis, Rudraṭa has a verse on what his commentator Namisādhū calls 'Vākya guṇas'.

अथ वाक्यगुणानाह—

अन्यूनधिकवानक-सुकम-पुष्टार्थशब्दचारुपदम् ।

क्षोदक्षममशुण्णं सुमतिर्वाक्यं प्रयुज्जीत ॥

The first 'Anyūnādhika vācaka' means the absence of many Doṣas. It is also the Śabda guṇas of Arthavyakti and Prasāda according to both Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Namisādhū explains it at length with illustrations and shows what Doṣas should be avoided to secure this Guṇa. Sukrama refers generally, even as Puṣṭārthaśabda, to what Stevenson calls the logical nature of web. The 'web', Stevenson says, must at once be sensuous and logical. Sanskrit Alamkāras emphasise a third quality, which of course is absolutely necessary and hence must be taken for granted. It is the grammatical correctness of the web, of the words in it. The quality of being logical is emphasised by many a Guṇa in Sanskrit Alamkāra. Aspects of Anyūnādhikavācakatva, which emphasise precision, clarity and cutting away of all surplusage, refer to some part of logicity. The quality of Sukramatva also emphasises the same. The avoidance of the Doṣa called Prakramabhaṅga, which is the sense in which Namisādhū takes Rudraṭa's Sukramatva, is only one small aspect of the logical virtue of the web. The Cārupadatva of Rudraṭa stands generally to denote the sensuousness of the web of Stevenson. Namisādhū takes Kṣoda-kṣama and Akṣuṇṇa to refer to Prasāda and Paripūrṇatā, the result of the avoidance of all Doṣas and the securing of all Guṇas.

In the next two verses, Rudraṭa returns to what he said in the above-quoted verse as Cārupadatva. There are any number of synonyms and any number of words for ideas. But only such as make the expression beautiful are used by the poet. This quality of giving beauty to the web is what Rudraṭa calls Sanniveśa cārutva. This, Rudraṭa definitely says is a Śabda-guṇa.

रचयेत्तमेव शब्दं रचनाया यः करोति चास्तुतम् ।
सत्यपि सकलयथोदितपदगुणसाम्येऽभिधानेषु ॥ II. 9.

Then Rudraṭa gives an example of the absence of this Guṇa, an example of a harsh unpronounceable expression तर्वास्त्युर्वेवर्षे तरुपङ्क्तिरसंकटैव मुने । II. 10. The 'Sanniveśacārutva' comprises within itself all the Guṇas, it being considered a comprehensive Guṇa and the Cārutva of the word in the collocation being of many kinds from the many points of view. It is the general beauty of expression as a whole.

In the last verse of Chapter XI which closes the section on Alarṅkāras and Arthadoṣas, Rudraṭa uses the word Guṇa, though only generally.

शब्दार्थयोरिति निरूप्य विभक्तरूपान्
दोषान् गुणांश्च निपुणो विसृजन्नसारम् ।

Namīśādhu. In the history of Guṇas, Namīśādhu occupies an important place for he exhibits a strange notion of Guṇa in his commentary on Rudraṭa. It has been pointed out above that it is Namīśādhu who introduces Rudraṭa's verse II. 8 as mentioning Vākya guṇas. In I. 4, Rudraṭa uses the phrase ज्वल-दुज्ज्वलवाक्प्रसर where 'Jvalat' is taken by Namīśādhu as 'Alarṅkārayukta', and 'Ujjvala' as 'Doṣābhāvena vimala', pure, being rid of flaws. Namīśādhu, unlike Rudraṭa, mentions the name Guṇa often, but shows himself in abject confusion. There were writers who were under an Alarṅkāra-stroke and Namīśādhu is one who had a Guṇa-stroke. In chapter II, Rudraṭa says that words have two Vṛttis or two kinds of collocation, the compounded and the uncompounded, Samāsavat and Asamāsa. The Samāsavat class is further divided into three classes which are the three Rītis of Pāñcālī, Gauḍīyā and Lāṭīyā. In the Pāñcālī, the compound word has only two or three word units; the Lāṭīyā compounds five to seven words; the Gauḍīyā uses the longest Samāsas. These three are thus Laghusamāsa, Madhyama-samāsa and Āyatasamāsa collocations respectively. The Asamāsavṛtti has only one variety. It is the Vaidarbhī Rīti. II. 3-6. Namīśādhu says here that the Rīti is Bhaṅgi or Vicchitti. रीतिर्भङ्गिर्विच्छित्तिरिति पर्यायः And what is the nature of their place in Kāvya? Namīśādhu says that the Rītis are not Alarṅkāras but they are GUṆAS, of Śabda. He seems to emphasise Śabda while saying Śabdaguṇas.

एताश्च रीतयो नालङ्काराः, किं तर्हि शब्दाश्रयाः गुणाः इति । P. 10.

It is to this view of Namīśādhu that Vāsudeva, commentator on the *Karpūra-mañjarī* refers while commenting upon the Rītis mentioned by Rājaśekhara in the Nāndī verse of that drama.

केचित् रीत्यादीनामपि गुणत्वं मन्यन्ते । P. 2. K. M. Ed.

Namīśādhu has yet some more surprise for us. In the chapter on Rasa, chapter XII, p. 150, Namīśādhu observes in his comments on the second verse :

अलङ्कारमथ एव रसा अपि किं नोक्ताः ? उच्यते । काव्यस्य शब्दार्थौ शरीरम् । तस्य वक्रोक्तिवा-
स्तवादयः कटककुण्डलादय इव कृत्रिमा अलङ्काराः । रसास्तु सौन्दर्यादय इव सहजा गुणाः
इति भिन्नः तत्प्रकरणारम्भः ।

The Śabdālarṅkāras and the Arthālarṅkāras are considered as artificial orna-
ments like bangles and pendants while Rasas are the natural Guṇas like
Saundarya and other qualities of a woman. Namisādhū seems to emphasise
the latter. Thus, this writer has two kinds of Guṇas, the Kṛtrima guṇas, which
are the Alarṅkāras and the Sahaja guṇas which are the Rasas. That Nami-
sādhū considers Alarṅkāras also as Guṇas is plain from what he says in his
comments on Rudraṭa, XI. 36 :

“शब्दस्य हि वक्रोक्त्यादयः पञ्च गुणाः । दोषास्त्वसमर्थादयः षट् । अर्थस्य पुनर्गुणाः
वास्तवादयः चत्वारः । दोषास्त्वपहेतुत्वादयो नव ॥ ” P. 149.

The Śabdālarṅkāras and Rītis are Śabda guṇas ; the Arthālarṅkāras are Artha
guṇas ; all these are Kṛtrima guṇas ; (but it must be stated that Namisādhū
does not definitely say whether the Rītis also are Kṛtrima) ; as contrasted with
these, the Rasas are Sahaja guṇas. It is in Namisādhū that Guṇa attained
the greatest proportions and became a concept that could stand compa-
rison with the concept of Alarṅkāra in the sense of Saundarya.

The view that Rasas are the 'Guṇas' of poetry finds a scholastic and
polemical position as a Pūrvapakṣa in the third Uddyota of Ānandavardhana's
Dhvanyāloka. Ānanda refutes the view which holds the Rasa as the Guṇa
of poetry. The Pūrvapakṣa refuses to adopt the phraseology of Śarīra and
Ātmam and the view that Kāvyaśarīra is 'Śabdārtha' and Kāvyaātman is
Rasādi. It says that Rasa is the Guṇa of the Kāvya.

अत्र केचिदाहुः—गुणगुणिव्यवहारः रसादीनां इति श्रुतादिभिस्सह, न तु जीवशरीरव्यवहारः ।
रसादिमयं हि वाच्यं प्रतिभासते, न रसादिभिः पृथग्भूतम् । अत्रोच्यते । P. 182. *Dhva. A.*

Udbhaṭa. The *Kāvyaalarṅkārasārasaṅgraha* of Udbhaṭa which is a short
resume of figures of speech has no place for Guṇas. But Udbhaṭa's ideas on
Guṇas, expressed by him in his lost commentary on Bhāmaha, *Bhāmahavi-
varaṇa*, are available to us. His ideas on Guṇas are always kept in view
both by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in their discussion on Guṇa
in Uddyotas II and III. His opinion as such is definitely set forth in
the *Kāvya prakāśa* and is identified as his by Māṇikyacandra and following
him, by others also afterwards. Hemacandra identifies the opinion as Udbhaṭa's
in his commentary on his own *Kāvyaśūśāsana*. Udbhaṭa advanced the argu-
ment that since Guṇas and Alarṅkāras are both of them features that beautify
Kāvya, Kāvyaśobhākaradharmā, there is essentially no difference between these
two and the distinction alleged to exist is due to the blind traditionism of the
indiscreet and the ignorant. Also, he considered both Guṇas and Alarṅkāras
as subsisting in Kāvya through inherence, Samavāya sambandha.

ओजःप्रभृतीनाम् अनुप्रासप्रभृतीनां च उभयेषामपि समवायवृत्त्या स्थितिरिति गङ्गुलिकाप्रवाहे-
णैषां भेद इत्यभिधानमसत् । *Kāvya prakāśa*. VIII.

शब्दार्थालङ्काराणां गुणवत्समवायेन स्थितिरिति भामहवृत्तौ भट्टोद्भटेन भणनमसत् ।

P. 289. Māṇikyaacandra. Mys. Edn.

इह तु उभयेषां समवायेन स्थितिरिति अभिधाय 'तस्माद् गङ्गारिकाप्रवाहेण गुणालङ्कारभेद' इति भामहविवरणे यद् भट्टोद्भटोऽभ्यधात्, तन्निरस्तम् । P. 17 Hemacandra.

उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम्, विषयमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनात् । P. 7. *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.

It is also known to us that Udbhaṭa held Guṇas as Samghaṭanādharmas, qualities pertaining to the collocation and he must have differentiated the Alaṅkāras as features of Śabda and Artha.

Vāmana. It is to refute Udbhaṭa who definitely denied any difference between Guṇa and Alaṅkāra that Vāmana, his contemporary, attempted to distinguish the two.

तत्र ओजःप्रसादादयो गुणाः यमकोपमादयस्त्वलङ्काराः इति स्थितिः काव्यविदाम् । तेषां किं भेदनिबन्धनमित्याह—“ काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मा गुणाः । ” ये खलु शब्दार्थयोर्धर्माः काव्यशोभां कुर्वन्ति ते गुणाः । ते च ओजःप्रसादादयः, न यमकोपमादयः । कैवल्ये तेषामकाव्यशोभाकरत्वात् । ओजःप्रसादादीनां तु केवलानामस्ति काव्यशोभाकरत्वमिति । “ तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्काराः । ” तस्याः काव्यशोभायाः । तस्य हेतवः । तुल्यो व्यतिरेके । अलङ्काराश्च यमकोपमादयः । “ पूर्वे नित्याः । ” पूर्वे गुणा नित्याः, तैर्विना काव्यशोभाया अनुपपत्तेः । K. A. Sū. and Vṛ. III. 1.

The essential notion of the word Alaṅkāra in Daṇḍin viz., Kāvyaśobhākara dharma has not changed in Vāmana who equates Alaṅkāra with all beauty in Kāvya, Saundarya, and says that the distinctive mark of a Kāvya is Alaṅkāra. Even as Daṇḍin, Vāmana had one comprehensive and wide concept of Alaṅkāra, and another smaller concept of Alaṅkāra. The bigger and smaller concepts are both seen in the second Sūtra where Vāmana says that *Alaṅkāra* is achieved by avoiding flaws and introducing Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. It is between Guṇa and the smaller Alaṅkāra that Vāmana points out the difference in chapter III. They both are means of Saundarya but they have a slight difference. Saundarya or Śobhā of a Kāvya is due to Guṇas. Alaṅkāras are added for additional Śobhā. This is one difference. The second difference is a consequence of the first. The absolutely necessary Śobhā without which there is no Kāvya, is by Guṇa. Thus Guṇas are in all Kāvyas. The connection between Kāvya and Guṇa is eternal. पूर्वे नित्याः । Guṇas are therefore Nitya, niyataśobhākara dharma. Alaṅkāras are Anitya since they are for additional beauty only and they may or may not be introduced. They are Śobhātisāyāhetus. By themselves, they do not beautify poetry. कैवल्ये तेषामकाव्यशोभाकरत्वात्. It is implied here that Guṇas subsist in Kāvya through inherence (Samavāyasambandha) and Alaṅkāras exist simply through the separable relation of Samyoga.

Thus the contribution of Vāmana to the Śāstra, besides the word Ātman, is some kind of definite distinction of Guṇas from Alaṅkāras, as also the definite classification of Guṇas as Śabda guṇas and Artha guṇas. Many fol-

lowed Vāmana's differentiation of Guṇa from Alarṅkāra. Pratīhārendurāja, commentator on Udbhaṭa, accepts it and so also Bhoja. In his definition of Kāvya, Mammaṭa may appear to subscribe to this view of Vāmana, a view which he definitely refutes in the eighth chapter. Mammaṭa defines Kāvya as Adoṣa, Saṅga and Sālarṅkāra and adds that sometimes Kāvya may be Analarṅkāra. This means that Guṇas are of greater importance, they being invariably present, Nityasambaddha, in Kāvya. Commenting on this text, Vidyācakravartin says :

अनेन गुणालङ्कारयोर्भेदोऽप्यासूचितः । यतः शब्दार्थयोः परिस्पष्टगुणयोरेव काव्यत्वम् । क्वचित् स्फुटालङ्कारविरहेऽपि न काव्यत्वहानिः ।

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla subscribes to this same view in a longer discussion on the subject. But this does not mean that these writers, Mammaṭa and his two commentators, follow Vāmana. They are followers of Ānanda who also hold Guṇas as eternally related to Kāvya, and Alarṅkāras to be less intimately related and less important. Their agreement with Vāmana is only apparent. In the Guṇa chapter, Mammaṭa himself criticises Vāmana's Guṇālamāra-viveka. If Mammaṭa holds Guṇas as Nitya, it is because he holds them as 'समवायेन काव्ये अचलस्थितयः'. He holds that, in the absence of Guṇas also, Alarṅkāras may make a Kāvya. It is possible in cases of Citrakāvya. Guṇa pertains eternally only to Rasa and hence to Rasakāvya only.

Pratīhārendurāja. Pratīhārendurāja commented upon Udbhaṭa's *Kāvya-larṅkārasārasaṅgraha* and availed himself of certain opportunities to expound things not dealt with by Udbhaṭa in his small work devoted exclusively to Alarṅkāras. Pratīhārendurāja makes himself a follower of Vāmana on the question of the difference between Guṇa and Alarṅkāra, and differs from him in other respects. He is aware of the Rasa doctrine and accepts Rasa as the Ātman of poetry. He does not accept Dhvani. He says Guṇa is the eternally associated beauty of a Kāvya without which there is no Kāvya. Alarṅkāras by themselves and in the absence of Guṇas, are not only not features of beauty but they look also ugly and ludicrous, pp. 75-76.

यथैवमिदानीं गुणैरेव कृतकृत्यत्वात् काव्यस्य अलङ्काराणां तत्र निरुपयोगता प्राप्नोति । नैवम् । गुणाहितशोभे काव्ये अलङ्काराणां शोभातिशयविधायित्वात्, लौकिकालङ्कारवत् । × × × न खलु निर्गुणे काव्ये निबध्यमानानामलङ्काराणां जरयोषिदलङ्कारवत् शोभाविधायित्वं दृश्यते । × × × तथा काव्यालङ्काराणामपि निर्गुणे काव्ये निबध्यमानानां काव्यशोभाहेतुत्वाभावः स्वशोभाहानिश्च भवति । यद्वोचद्भट्टवामनः "युवतेरिव + सदलङ्कारविकल्पकल्पनाभिः ॥ यदि भवति वपुश्चयुतं गुणेभ्यः + दुर्भगत्वं, नियतमलंकरणानि संश्रयन्ते ॥ × × × अत एवालङ्काराणामनित्यता । गुणरहितं हि काव्यं अकाव्यमेव भवति, न त्वलङ्काररहितम् । अलङ्काराणां गुणोपजनितशोभे काव्ये शोभातिशयविधायित्वात् । He then quotes Vāmana's Sūtra on the distinction of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra and gives instances of poetry with Guṇa only and no Alarṅkāras, from the *Amaruśataka*.

लक्ष्ये च अलङ्काररहितमपि केवलगुणसंस्क्रियमाणशब्दार्थशरीरं काव्यं दृश्यते, यथा अमरकस्य कवेः अनि(नु)वदभ्यङ्गारसरस्यन्दी श्लोकः 'कथमपि कृतप्रत्यासत्तौ ० — ॥' न खल्वत्र अलङ्कारः कश्चित्परिदृश्यते माधुर्यौजोभ्यां परिवृंहितस्य प्रसादस्य विश्रमानत्वात् काव्यरूपता । P. 76.

Prathihārendurāja would therefore define Kāvya as Śabdārtha beautified by Guṇas. He actually does so.

“काव्यं खलु गुणसंस्कृतशब्दार्थशरीरत्वात्—” P. 75.

“मुख्यया तावद्गुणैः गुणसंस्कृतशब्दार्थशरीरमेव काव्यम्।” P. 78.

But he followed Vāmana only so far. In the number of Guṇas and the nature, he differed. In their number, he followed Ānanda by accepting only the three Guṇas Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda. He says on p. 75, Varga VI, under Kāvyaśiṅga :

तथा हि गुणाः काव्यस्य माधुर्य-ओजः—प्रसाद लक्षणाः ।

In his conception of the nature of these three, he differs from Ānanda. He never says that they are Rasadharmas. He says that they are the differentia of Kāvya, Kāvya being Śabdārtha beautified by Guṇa. This means that Guṇa is a Dharma of Śabda and Artha, but he says that they are to help and be in accordance with Rasas. Mādhurya is defined as was done by Ānanda, as Āhlādatva. Ojas is not defined as Dipti, but as Gāḍhatā, following Vāmana. Prasāda is not changed. It is said that of the three, Prasāda is the most important. The other two are in all Kāvyaas but the proportion of these two will vary according to the Rasa. In a verse, Mādhurya and Ojas help Prasāda in delivering the Rasa.

तत्र माधुर्यमाह्लादकत्वम्, ओजो गाढता, प्रसादस्त्वव्यवधानेन रसाभिव्यक्त्यनुगुणता । तदेतेषां त्रयाणां गुणानां मध्यात् प्रसादस्य प्राधान्यम् । माधुर्योऽसौ तत्तद्रसाभिव्यक्त्यानुगुण्येन तारतम्येन अवस्थितयोः प्रसाद एव सोपयोगता । एवं च तत्र तत्तद्रसानुगुण्येन माधुर्योऽसौ तारतम्येनावस्थिताभ्याम् उपकृतो योऽसौ प्रसादात्मा रसानामव्यवधानेन प्रतीतिहेतुर्गुणः, तदुपेतशब्दार्थशरीरत्वेन काव्यस्यावस्थानात् सरसतैव भवितुमर्हति, न तु नीरसता ।

He accepts Rasa as the Ātman of poetry and that Kāvya is said to live or have life, Jivadrūpa, only by having that Ātman of Rasa. He separates Rasa, the Ātman of Kāvya, from its Śarīra which is Śabda and Artha. To this Śarīra belong the Guṇas. The Śarīra has Prasāda helped by Mādhurya and Ojas in a certain proportion and such Prasāda is the means of the manifestation of Rasa.

न खलु काव्यस्य रसानां वा अलंकार्यालंकारभावः, किन्तु आत्मशरीरभावः । रसा हि काव्यस्य आत्मत्वेन व्यवस्थिताः, शब्दार्थौ च शरीररूपतया । यथा हि आत्माधिष्ठितं शरीरं जीवतीति व्यपदिश्यते, तथा रसाधिष्ठितस्य काव्यस्य जीवद्रूपतया व्यपदेशः क्रियते । तस्माद्रसानां काव्यशरीरभूत-शब्दार्थविषयतया आत्मत्वेन व्यवस्थानं, न त्वलङ्कार्यतया । रसाभिव्यक्तिश्च यथायोगं माधुर्योऽसौ तारतम्येनावस्थिताभ्याम् उपबृंहितो योऽसौ प्रसादात्मा गुणः, तेन क्रियते । P. 77.

Kāvyaas are thus Sarasa as contrasted with Śāstra. The Rasas are the soul and life in whose absence the Kāvya is a corpse. These Rasas are manifested by Prasāda helped by Mādhurya and Ojas. These Guṇas are invariable and permanent characteristics of Kāvya even as the Rasas, the difference being that the Guṇas pertain to the Śabdārtha, the Śarīra, of which Rasa is the soul. The Guṇas are the primary requisites without which there is no Kāvya and

Alaṅkāras may sometimes appear for giving additional beauty but they can be added only when a Kāvya is already Sarasa and Saguṇa.

Pratihārendurāja then makes a great blunder. He says that it is because of this that drama is not Kāvya though it is Sarasa ! Kāvya has to be Sarasa and Saguṇa. Vyākaraṇa is not Kāvya because it is nīrasa, and drama because it is Nirguṇa. If however, drama also is called Kāvya, it must be through courtesy ! Perhaps he thinks here of the enacting of the drama itself, the art of Abhinaya or dramatic representation and not the text of the drama, but even that cannot be devoid of the three Guṇas.

यद्येवं गुणशून्यत्वाग्नीरसे व्याकरणादौ, भरतादौ च (निर्गुणे) काव्यव्यपदेशो न प्राप्तः ×
× × उच्यते । मुख्यया तावद्वृत्त्या गुणसंस्कृतशब्दार्थशरीरमेव काव्यम् । गुण-
रहितशब्दार्थशरीरे तु काव्यमात्रे काव्यशब्दस्य काव्यसादृश्याद् उपचारात् प्रयोगो भविष्यति ।

We are not able to understand this viewpoint of Pratihārendurāja.

Bhoja.

As will be shown in the chapter on Alaṅkāra, Bhoja follows Vāmana on the difference between Guṇa and Alaṅkāra and quotes the two verses of Vāmana on the point. In the fifth chapter of the S. K. Ā.¹ he points out that like Rasāviyoga, Guṇayoga is Nitya in Kāvya as contrasted with Alaṅkārayoga which is Anitya.

नित्यो हि काव्ये गुणयोग इव रसादियोगः । p. 614.

कदाचिदलङ्कारयोगोऽपि त्यज्यते, न तु रसावियोगः गुणयोगश्च व्यभिचरितसंबन्धाविति ।

In chapter V, while beginning the topic of Guṇālaṅkāra saṅkara, Bhoja says that Guṇālaṅkāra saṅkara must always be there, for it is only to a sentence already having Guṇas in it that an Alaṅkāra is added.

गुणवत्येव वाक्येऽलङ्कारयोगः P. 620. S. K. Ā.

That means that without Guṇa, Alaṅkāra has no meaning.

Again Bhoja says that certain Alaṅkāras themselves are made up of certain Guṇas. There is cause and effect relation between the two. The Rītis which are Śabdālaṅkāras are made up of or are due to various assortments of the Guṇas, Śleṣa etc.

गुणैर्हि गुणभूतैरेव अलङ्काराः प्रायः आरभ्यन्ते । तद्यथा—अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः etc.

Pp. 622-3 S. K. Ā. P. 403, Vol. II. Mad. Ms. Śr. Pra.

Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha clearly states the distinction of Guṇa and Alaṅkāra in his commentary on the S. K. Ā. P. 28 Mad. Ms.

नियतो धर्मो गुणः, आगमापायी अलङ्कारः ।

Following Daṇḍin, Bhoja considers all elements of beauty in Kāvya as Alaṅkāra. That is, Bhoja has the bigger conception of Alaṅkāra as Saundarya found at the beginning of Vāmana's work also. He, however, distinguishes the Guṇas, as Vāmana did, by holding them to be inseparably related

1. On Doṣas, Guṇas and Alaṅkāras, the Śr. Pra. simply reproduces the S. K. Ā.

to Kāvya and to be of greater importance than Alarṅkāra. At the beginning of the Guṇa section, he says in the S. K. Ā.

अलङ्कृतमपि श्रव्यं न काव्यं गुणवर्जितम् ।
गुणयोगस्तयोर्मुख्यो गुणालङ्कारयोगयोः ॥

He says in the Śr. Pra.

‘तत्र गुणोपादान-अलङ्कारयोगयोः गुणोपादानं गरीयः ।’ अयमेव गुणालङ्कारयोर्विशेषः यद्वगुपादाने नियमः, अलङ्कारयोगे तु कामचार इति । Mad. Ms. Vol. II., p. 211.

To the two verses he quotes from Vāmana on this subject युवतेरिव रूपम् and यदि भवति वपुश्च्युतम्, Bhoja adds a third of his own in which he emphasises the same idea that only when the Kāvyaśarīra has already the beauty of Guṇas can it be further beautified by the addition of Alarṅkāra.

दीर्घापाङ्गं नयनयुगलं भूषयत्यञ्जनश्रीः
तुङ्गाभोगौ प्रभवति कुचावर्चितुं हारयष्टिः ।
मध्ये क्षामे वपुषि लभते (लगति) स्थानकूर्पासलक्ष्मीः
श्रोणीविम्बे गुरुणि रशनादाम शोभां विभर्ति ॥

See Alarṅkāra chapter.

According to Ratneśvara's exposition, Bhoja accepts neither the Kashmerian view of Guṇas that they are three and are Rasadharmas nor Vāmana's view of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra as differing on the basis of their being Śobhāhetu and Śobhātīśayahetu respectively. The passage in Ratneśvara's S. K. Ā Vyākhyā is quoted in the coming section on Ratneśvara. Ratneśvara's position is curious. Bhoja accepts Ānandavardhana partially and gives in chapter V of the S. K. Ā., and in chapter XI of the Śr. Pra., a special status to the three Guṇas of Ānanda as vitally connected with the three Rasas. That apart, Bhoja formally gives the name Alarṅkāra to Guṇas and Rasas for the sake of one kind of synthesis. There is little meaning in what Ratneśvara gives as the difference between Guṇa and Alarṅkāra. The difference that the former is Mukhya and the latter Amukhya leads to Vāmana's position. Taruṇavācaspati also casts off Vāmana's distinction of Śobhāhetu and Śobhātīśayahetu but he has the feature of Mārgavibhājakatva to effectively distinguish Guṇa from Alarṅkāra. Ratneśvara has no such thing. Therefore we must conclude that though Bhoja did not use the words Śobhāhetu and Śobhātīśayahetu, the words which he uses, Mukhya and Amukhya, mean the same thing and Ratneśvara is wrong and stands independent when he says that this position differs from that of Vāmana.

Bhoja classifies Guṇas into three classes, Bāhya—the Śabda guṇas, Ābhyaṅtara—the Artha guṇas, and Vaiśeṣika guṇas or Doṣa guṇas which are cases of Doṣa turning out to be Guṇas under certain circumstances.

त्रिविधाश्च गुणाः काव्ये भवन्ति कविसंमताः ।
बाह्याश्चाभ्यन्तराश्चैव ये च वैशेषिका इति ॥
बाह्याः शब्दगुणास्तेषु चान्तरास्त्वर्थसंश्रयाः ।
वैशेषिकास्तु ते नूनं दोषत्वेऽपि हि ये गुणाः ॥ S. K. Ā.

In the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja adds an illustration. In a damsel, her pedigree, age, form and physical beauty are the Bāhya guṇas ; her conduct, character, artfulness, culture etc., are her Ābhyantara guṇas ; Vinaya or modesty is a Guṇa of women and Avinaya, lack of Vinaya, is a Doṣa or fault. But in courtesans, it is Avinaya that is a Guṇa even as smoke which is Doṣa elsewhere is Guṇa when it emanates from scent-wood like sandal. The last is Vaiśeṣika guṇa.

तत्र अन्वयायवयोरूपलावण्यादयो बाह्याः, शीलवैदग्ध्यमाहाभाग्यसौभाग्यादयः आन्तराः । ये तु दोषा अपि आश्रयविशेषावस्थाविशेषाद्युपाधेः गुणत्वमाश्रयन्ते ते वैशेषिकाः । यथोच्यते (छाया)—

‘सामान्यसुन्दरीणां विभ्रममावहत्यविनय एव ।

धूमोच्चयः प्रज्वलितानां बहुमतः सुरमिदारुणाम् ॥’

काव्यशरीरेऽपि ते [ति] त्रिवैव । तत्र बाह्याः शब्दगुणाः, ते ह्यन्वयादिवत् बाह्यत्वेन अवभासन्ते । आन्तराः अर्थगुणाः, ते सौशील्यादिवत् विमर्शेन ज्ञायन्ते । वैशेषिका दोषगुणाः, ते हि पात्रविशेषाद्युपाधेः दोषा अपि गुणत्वेन विहायन्ते । *Śr. Pra.*, Vol. II., pp. 211-212.

The Vaiśeṣika guṇas are thus constituted into a special class and given regular treatment for the first time by Bhoja. The Vaiśeṣika guṇas of poetry are such flaws as Punarukti which becomes a Guṇa in the speech of an emotion-filled lover, in drunken state etc. Some of these Vaiśeṣika guṇas have been indicated in the Doṣa sections by earlier writers like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa. Bhoja only constituted them into a class of Guṇas and gave them elaborate treatment. In chapter I Bhāmaha speaks of Doṣas ; of the Doṣa Ayuktimat, he says that making messengers of clouds, wind, moon etc., are liable to be called Ayuktimat but adds that, if the man who sent the message is mad in lovelornness, it is no fault.

यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।

तथा भवतु भूमेर्दं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

Bhāmaha again says that according to the particular setting, even the bad adds to the beauty.

सन्निवेशविशेषात्तु दुरुक्तमपि शोभते ।

नीलं पलाशमाबद्धमन्तराले स्रजामिव ॥

किञ्चिदाश्रयसौन्दर्याद् धत्ते शोभामसाध्वपि ।

कान्ताविलोचनन्यस्तं मलीमसमिवाञ्जनम् ॥

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अनयान्यदपि ज्ञेयं दिशा युक्तमसाध्वपि । I. 54-7.

These verses are incorporated by Bhoja in his text in the section on Vaiśeṣika Guṇas. In chapter IV, Bhāmaha speaks of Punarukta doṣa ceasing to be a Doṣa in utterances in fear, sorrow etc.

भयशोकाभ्यसूयासु हर्षविस्मययोरपि ।

यथाह गच्छ गच्छेति पुनरुक्तं न तद्विदुः ॥

Daṇḍin shows also that Doṣas become Guṇas. Of Apārtha he says :

उन्मत्तमत्तबालानामुक्तेरन्यत्र दुष्यति । K. Ā. III. 128.

इदमस्वस्थचित्तानामभिधानमनिन्दितम् । K. Ā. III. 130.

Of Vyārtha :

अस्ति कचिदवस्था सा साभिषङ्गस्य चेतसः ।

यस्यां भवेदभिमता विरुद्धार्थापि भारती ॥ K. Ā. III. 133.

Of Punarukti :

अनुकम्पाद्यतिशयो यदि कश्चिद्विवक्ष्यते ।

न दोषः पुनरुक्तोऽपि प्रत्युत्तेयमलङ्किया ॥ K. Ā. III. 137.

Of Sasariśaya :

इदं संशयायैव यदि वातु (जातु) प्रयुज्यते ।

स्यादलङ्कार एवासौ न दोषस्तत्र तथा ॥ K. Ā. III. 141.

Of Apakrama :

यत्नसंबन्धविज्ञानहेतुकोऽपि कृतो यदि ।

क्रमलङ्घनमप्याहुः सूर्यो नैव दूषणम् ॥ K. Ā. 146.

And finally Daṇḍin says that, by the powers of the poet, all these flaws will cease to be such and be utilised as Guṇas.

विरोधस्सकलोऽप्येष कदाचित्कविकौशलात् ।

उत्क्रम्य दोषमणानां गुणवीर्या विगाहते ॥ K. Ā. III. 179.

Rudraṭa ends his section of Doṣas with the same idea :

अनुकरणभावमविकलमसमर्थादि स्वरूपतो गच्छन् ।

न भवति दुष्टमतादृक् विपरीतक्लिष्टवर्णं च ॥ VII. 47.

Ānandavardhana has pointed out that Śrutiduṣṭa and other Doṣas are by nature Anitya, in Uddyotas II and III and Abhinava has fully explained this doctrine of the Anityatva of Doṣa. Abhinava has fully explained this in his commentary on the Doṣaprakaraṇa in chapter XXVII of Nāṭyaśāstra, where he shows how Doṣas are Anitya and how the Doṣas become Guṇas sometimes. *Abhī. Bhā.* Vol. II. Mad. Ms. pp. 409-410 & 420. This has been explained in the Doṣa chapter in this thesis and in my paper on Aucitya also. It is Aucitya that lies at the basis of this principle of Anityatva of Doṣa. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* is the one later work which treats of this topic of the Vaiśeṣika guṇa of Bhoja. It says :

अनुकारे च सर्वेषां दोषानां नैव दोषता । VII. 32.

अन्येषामपि दोषाणामित्यौचित्यान्मनीषिभिः ।

अदोषता च गुणता ज्ञेया चानुभयात्मता ॥ VII. 31.

Bhoja takes all that Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa have said upon this subject and adds much more. He shows all the Doṣas, of Pada, Padārtha and Vākyaārtha becoming Guṇas, each with a definition and illustration.

Bhoja gives 24 Śabdaguṇas which are taken also as the 24 Arthaguṇas. Of these, ten are the old ones in Daṇḍin and Vāmana. In the definitions of these, once as Śabdaguṇa and again as Arthaguṇa, Bhoja combines Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Some of his new Guṇas, Bhoja creates out of the definitions of these ten Guṇas themselves in Daṇḍin and Vāmana. For instance,

Bhoja casts away Vāmana's idea of Śabdasaṁādhi as Ārohāvaroha, only to take it as the new Guṇa called Gati. This we shall see by and by.

The following are the 24 Guṇas given by Bhoja :

Śleṣa, Prasāda, Samatā, Mādhurya, Sukumāratā, Arthavyakti, Kānti, Udāratva, Udāttatā, Ojas, Aurjitya, Preyas, Suśabdatā, Saṁādhi, Saukṣmya, Gāmbhīrya, Vistara, Saṅkṣepa, Saṁmitatva, Bhāvikatva, Gati, Rīti, Ukti and Prauḍhi.

Sabdaguṇas.

Śleṣa : Vāmana is followed.

Prasāda : Vāmana's clumsy notion of Śabdaprasāda as Śaithilya co-existent with Ojas is cast away by Bhoja and Daṇḍin's definition of Prasāda as 'Prasiddhārtha' is followed.

Samatā : Daṇḍin is followed.

Mādhurya : Daṇḍin's conception of Mādhurya as Anuprāsa of an agreeable variety and as Agrāmyatā is abandoned and Vāmana's idea of Śabda-mādhurya as Pṛthakpadatā is accepted.

Sukumāratā : Daṇḍin is followed. Vāmana's Śabdasaṁādhi agrees with this. The illustration given by Daṇḍin is taken by Bhoja.

Arthavyakti : Daṇḍin is followed.

Kānti : Vāmana is followed. Daṇḍin does not have an aspect of Kānti which can be related to Śabda. Hence Bhoja resorts to Vāmana. This principle Bhoja follows throughout.

Audārya : Vāmana's description of it as Vikāṣatva and the dance of words is taken by Bhoja.

Udāttatā : Udāttatā and Udāratā are identical in Daṇḍin, and Vāmana did not have two such Guṇas. Bhoja makes two Guṇas out of the two synonyms, gives the former according to Vāmana and the latter according to Daṇḍin. In Daṇḍin himself, there are two kinds of Udāratā, Utkṛṣṭa-guṇapratīti and Ślāghya-viśeṣaṇayoga. The latter can be related to Śabda and Bhoja takes it as the Śabdaguṇa of Udāttatā. As we shall see presently, the other Udāratā in Daṇḍin is utilised by Bhoja for defining the Udāratā and Udāttatā of Artha.

Ojas : Daṇḍin's Ojas which is Saṁāsabhūyastva is taken.

Aurjitya : Having followed Daṇḍin on Ojas, Bhoja creates this Guṇa of Aurjitya defined as Gāḍhabandhatva out of Vāmana's Ojas of Śabda. This is another way by which Bhoja creates new Guṇas.

Preyas : This is an altogether new Guṇa of Bhoja. It is defined as follows : प्रेयः प्रियतराख्यानं चाटुकौ यद्विधीयते । It is the use of words expressing love. It is said to occur in Cāṭus. The definition consists of what Daṇḍin said of his Preyolaṅkāra. It is not easy to understand how Bhoja included it among the Guṇas.

Suśabdatā : This is the old Sauśabdyā ; Suptiṇ vyutpatti. This is made a Guṇa for the first time. See Alaṅkāra chapter.

Samādhi : Vāmana neglected Daṇḍin's Samādhi, Anyadharmāropa ; he gave a new idea, Ārohāvaroha, to define Śabdasaṁādhi, Daṇḍin is followed by Bhoja and Śabdasaṁādhi is given by Bhoja as Anyadharmāropa.

Saukṣmya : This is another altogether new Guṇa of Bhoja. It is defined as follows :

अन्तस्सञ्चल्यरूपत्वं शब्दानां सौक्ष्म्यमुच्यते ।

We can gather from the illustration and Bhoja's comments thereon that this Guṇa means an expression meaning one thing on the surface and having within an idea of a different nature. Ratneśvara illustrates this Guṇa by comparing it to the stone in which the form of horse, elephant etc. which the sculptor is going to draw out is in Sūkṣmāvasthā.

Gāmbhīrya : This again is a new Guṇa of Bhoja. It is an expression having Dhvani. Bhoja defines this as ध्वनिमत्ता तु गाम्भीर्यम् । Dhvani is made here a Guṇa. It must be noted how it is made a Śabda guṇa. In his comments, Ratneśvara gives Bhoja's classification of Dhvani into Śabda dhvani and Artha dhvani in his *Sr. Pra.*

Vistara : This is also a new Guṇa of Bhoja. Bhoja defines it as high-flown expression.

व्यासेनोक्तिस्तु विस्तरः । Bhoja.

यत्र स्तोकेऽपि वाच्ये वचनपल्लवश्चमत्कारकारी तत्र स एव गुणकक्षाधिरोहणक्षम इति शब्दगुणेषु युक्तो विवेक्तुम् । Ratneśvara.

This is the same as a variety of Vāmana's Arthaguṇa or Ojas, the expression of a word in a sentence, पर्थे वाक्यवचनम्. Ratneśvara says so :

एतेन पदार्थे वाक्यरचनमिति यदन्यैर्गुणान्तरमभिहितं तद्विस्तारमेकमेव । p. 57.

Ratneśvara also mentions here that it is this that is called Pallava. It is then not different from the Padakṛtā variety of Bhoja's Śabdālarinkāra called Racanā, under which also Ratneśvara refers to Pallava and quotes from some writer the following two Anuṣṭubhs on it :

न वा तामन्तरेण लङ्गलादीनामभिमतस्ते ते विशेषाः प्रतीयन्त इति पल्लवप्रतिष्ठैव हि सरस्वती सहृदयानावर्जयतीति—

‘वाक्यप्रतीतिमात्रार्थमुपात्तेषु पदेषु यः ।

उपस्कारः पदैरन्यैः पल्लवं तं प्रचक्षते ॥

अपल्लवं तु यद्वाक्यं कविभ्यस्तत्र रोचते ।

प्रयुज्यते तथाभूतमुदीच्यैः कविगर्हितम् ॥

p. 157.

Under Vivakṣā in his *Sr. Pra.* (Chap. VII) Bhoja has a verse which refers to this Guṇa of Vistara as well as the Guṇas of Saṁkṣepa and Saṁmitatva.

कचित्स्वल्येऽप्यर्थे प्रचुरवचनैरेव रचना

कचिद्वस्तु स्फारे कतिपयपदैरपितरसम् ।

यथावाच्यं शब्दाः कचिदपि तुलायामिव धृताः

त्रिभिः कल्पैरेवं कविवृषभसन्दर्भनियमः ॥

Samkṣepa : This new Guṇa of Bhoja is the opposite of Vistara. It is brief or condensed expression and corresponds to what Vāmana says is a variety of the Praudhi which is the Arthaguṇa of Ojas. 'Vākyaṛthe ca padābhidhā'. Bhāmaha has an idea similar to this Samkṣepa or condensed expression towards the end of chapter V.

कथमेकपदेनैव व्यज्येरन्नस्य ते गुणाः ।

इति प्रयुज्यते सन्तः केचिद्विस्तरभीरवः ॥

Śl. 60.

Sammitatva : This is another new Guṇa of Bhoja. This is neither Vistara nor Samkṣepa. It is equal expression. This Guṇa means more. It is the 'mutual commensurateness' of Śabda and Artha, which writers have called Śabdārtha Sāhitya, Śabdārtha Sauhārda, Śabdārtha Saubhāra and Vāgartha Pratipatti. I have dealt with this Sammitatva of Bhoja in the chapter on Sāhitya. Bhoja defines and explains it thus :

यावदर्थपदत्वं च संमितत्वमुदाहृतम् ।

अत्र अर्थस्य पदानां च तुलावृत्तवस्तुत्वेन संमितत्वम् ।

Bhāvikatva : This is a Vākya-guṇa for the first time in Bhoja, who defines it as follows :

भावतो वाक्यवृत्तिर्या भाविकं तदुदाहृतम् ।

This Guṇa is related to Bhāva and Rasa and will be examined in the Rasa section. Ratneśvara takes it as the expressional flux of emotional tide.

इषादिभावितचेतसो हि वीचिप्राया उक्तिभेदाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति × × × ।

× × × प्रवर्तन्ते हि लौकिकानां स्नेहार्थानामुक्तिकाप्राया वाचः, स्वदन्ते च । यथा—इयं गेहे लक्ष्मीः pp. 58-9.

Gati : This is Ārohāvaroha, Vāmana's Śabda samādhī. It must be noted that Bhoja also illustrates it by a Śikharīṇī verse. Ratneśvara says here that some take this Ārohāvaroha as a metrical quality and that it must be taken as the quality of the 'Svaras' and Bhoja himself says : अत्र पूर्वार्धे स्वरस्यारोहादुत्तरार्धे चावरोहादुत्तिः । But the difference between the two Ardhas is not plain. Ratneśvara adds that one must feel this Guṇa in the verses, that this is an 'Ānu-bhavika guṇa' : सोऽयमानुभविको गुणः । p. 59.

Rīti : This new Guṇa of Bhoja is Prakrama nirvāha whose absence is the flaw called Prakrama bhaṅga.

उपक्रमस्य निर्वाहो रीतिरित्यभिधीयते ।

अत्र प्रत्येकपदानन्तरं नवो विनिवेशाक्रमभेदो रीतिः ।

This is a Guṇa or a feature of beauty only sometimes. If stuck to and carried out to a length, it becomes monotonous and unbearable. Ratneśvara rightly points out :

— क्वचिच्छोभावहो भवति । अत एवात्र नात्यन्तनिर्वाहोऽभिमतः । p. 60.

Ukti : Another new Guṇa of Bhoja. I have examined all the concepts in Bhoja called Ukti in the chapter on Ukti. This is not any particularised

Guṇa of restricted scope ; it stands for charming poetic expression itself. Bhoja's definition tries to narrow it but fails to do so and Ratneśvara is plain that it means the peculiar expression of a thousand varieties which are the creations of the poetic genius.

लोकोत्तरास्सन्ति हि भणितिप्रकाराः लोकप्रसिद्धाः । × × एतत्प्रसिद्धिव्यति-
क्रमेण तु या काचित्कविप्रतिभया भणितिराकृष्यते सा भवति लोकोत्तरा । × × ×
कविसहृदयानामेव तादृशोक्तिपरिचयसंभवात् । p. 60.

Praudhi : This is the last new Guṇa of Bhoja. It was seen at the beginning of this section that Bhavabhūti and Yaśovarman mentioned Praudhi. Vāmana gives Praudhi as the Artha guṇa Ojas. Bhoja makes it the well-known Pāka, Nālikera pāka, Mrdvikā pāka etc. Ratneśvara quotes here Vāmana's verse on Pāka as the unalterability of the words. One cannot meddle with the poet's expression and try to substitute other words in the place of some. A poet should write in such a manner that those words alone which he has used there are effective and none else. Ratneśvara says :

उक्तेर्वाक्यस्यायं पाकः सा प्रौढिः । शब्दानां पर्यायपरिवर्तिसहृत्वं पाकः । यदाह—'यत्पदानि
त्यजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिसहिष्णुताम् । तं शब्दन्यायनिष्ठाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥' इति

Vāmana. p. 32, Vanivilas ed.

× × × ×
भवति हि सहृदयानामेवमन्यत्पदं नास्तीति व्यवहारः । Pp. 61-62. *Ibid.*

Arthaguṇas :

Śleṣa : This is Vāmana's Arthaśleṣa. While Vāmana describes it as Ghaṭanā and Karma-Kauṭilya-anulabhaṭva-upapattiyoga, Bhoja says :
तेषां श्लेष इति प्रोक्तः संविधाने सुसूत्रता. Bhoja means the same thing as Vāmana as his illustration (which is the same as that given by Vāmana) and remarks on it show. Ratneśvara expressly relates Bhoja and Vāmana in his comments on this Guṇa.

'घटना श्लेषः' इति सूत्रयित्वा क्रम-कौटिल्य-अनुलब्धत्वोपपत्तियोगः घटनेति वामनेन व्याख्यातम् । अस्यार्थः—इदं कृत्वा इदं कर्तव्यमिति क्रमः । तत्रैव कौटिल्यं लोकातिगमिनी वक्रता । अव-
क्रयोः शब्दार्थयोः बचनमात्रत्वात् । अतिमात्रतया प्रतिभासाभावः अनुलब्धत्वम् । कथमेवमर्थः सङ्गच्छत
इत्यनुपपत्तिसमाधानौपयिकविशेषनिवेशनमुपपत्तिः । तथा च क्रमेण कौटिल्येन अनुलब्धतया उप-
पत्त्या योजनमर्थस्य श्लेष इति । तत्र संविधानक्रमानुलब्धत्वे [न] सूत्रशब्देनोपाते ; स्वपदेन (मुपदेन ?)
कौटिल्यमुक्तम् । अघटमानस्येव वाक्यार्थस्य बुद्धिचानुर्येण घटनेति वाक्यार्थः । p. 63.

Prasāda : Arthaprākāṭya. From the illustrative verse and Bhoja's comments thereon, it is clear that this is altogether a new idea of Bhoja. The illustration is a description of the Sun. But the Sun itself is not mentioned in it. Several Viśeṣaṇas describing the various conditions associated with the rising sun are described and from this it is very clear that the Sun is described.

—अनुक्तोऽपि सूर्यलक्षणोऽर्थः प्रकटमुपलक्ष्यते ।

Samatva : This is the Guṇa of observing the natural order of things as found in the world while describing them ; this follows Vāmana. When this order is not observed, the Doṣa of Kramabhaṅga results.

Mādhurya : This is also a new conception of Bhoja. Bhoja defines it as sweet-temperedness or mildness even in anger.

माधुर्यमुक्तमाचार्यैः क्रोधादावप्यतीव्रता ।

This has nothing to do with Vāmana's Arthamādhurya which is Ukti vaicitrya. The Mādhurya spoken of by Bhoja is more a Guṇa of the Nāyaka or the Nāyikā to be treated under Sāmānyābhinaya. Bharata has this same Mādhurya in that place in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

सर्वावस्थाविशेषेषु दीप्तेषु ललितेषु च ।

अनुत्पन्नत्वं चेष्टायां माधुर्यमिति कीर्तितम् ॥ XXIV. 27.

Saukumārya : This is almost similar to that of Vāmana, Apārūṣya. Bhoja gives it as Anīṣṭhuratva.

Arthavyakti : Same as in Vāmana. For further discussion on Arthavyakti, see section on Bhoja and Svabhāvokti.

Kānti : Same as in Vāmana.

Udārātā and Udāttatā : Bhoja defines the two as follows :

भूयुत्कर्षे उदारता ।

आशयस्य य उत्कर्षस्तदुदात्तत्वमिष्यते ।

This is the Udātta alamkāra as described by Daṇḍin in II. 300.

Ojas : Vāmana is abandoned here and Bhoja gives his own original Ojas here. Its significance is not clear at all, the commentary giving us as little help as the text.

Aurjitya : Bhoja defines it as 'Rūḍhāhamkāratā'.

The definition is what Daṇḍin gave for Ūrjasvi alamkāra. Bhoja refers here to the dignified attitude of great persons, who refer to themselves with an exalted 'We'. (एते वयम्)

Preyas : प्रेयस्त्वर्थेष्वभीष्टता ।

Nothing more is clear here except that this is expression emanating from love.

Suśabdatā : This is Vāmana's Saukumārya of Artha, and is only the roundabout way of saying unpleasant things. E.g., saying Yaśaśśeṣa for Mṛta ; Dīrghanidrā for death and so on.

Samādhi : This has nothing to do with Vāmana's 'Arthadrṣṭi'. Bhoja defines it as artfulness and exhibiting one's feeling artfully by adopting some pretext.

व्याजावलम्बनं यत्तु स समाधिरिति स्मृतः ।

This again is hardly any definite Guṇa of expression. Bhoja illustrates it with the verse in *Śākuntala* दर्माङ्कुरेण चरणः etc.

Saukṣmya : This is the presence of some subtle meaning in expression. This seems to be a case of Dhvani of Vastu or Rasādi.

‘सौक्ष्ममित्युच्यते तत्तु यत्सूक्ष्मार्थाभिदर्शनम् ।’

‘अत्र × × दंपत्योरनुरागलक्षणस्य सूक्ष्मार्थस्य दर्शनात्सौक्ष्म्यम् ।’

Ratneśvara ‘× × व्यतिरेकरूपकिलकिञ्चिताख्यं शृङ्गारभावोन्मेषः ।’

Gāmbhīrya : This is expression containing technical ideas pertaining to Śāstras. शास्त्रार्थसव्यपेक्षत्वं गाम्भीर्यमभिधीयते ।

Vistara : विस्तरोऽर्थविकाशः स्यात् ।

This is ‘elaboration.’

Samkṣepa : This is summing up in a few words.

Sammitatva : This looks like the Śabda guṇa of that name, but Bhoja's illustration and explanation of it make its meaning very much restricted. The illustrative verse cited by Bhoja describes Śiva having the sickle-moon on his head and Pārvatī having Śiva's nail-print on her bosom ; these two, the sickle-moon and the nail-print together make the letter of the Praṇava, and it is appropriate that the two parts of the Praṇava are on the two centres of meditation, the Brahmarandhra and the heart ; this equal and proper apportioning of the Praṇava is the Artha guṇa of Sammitatva !

Bhāvikatva : This is Vyājokti and the illustration is the artful utterance of a loose woman who, while going astray, misleads her husband into the belief that she was going for some legitimate purpose such as bringing water. As a Guṇa, this again is unintelligible. This is nothing but Rudraṭa's Bhāvālamkāra.

Gati : गतिस्सा स्यादवगमो योऽर्थोऽर्थान्तरस्य तु ।

This is clearly a case of Dhvani. In explaining it, Ratneśvara uses the comparison of the resonance of bronze, Anusvānadhvani.

Rīti : This is also another kind of Krama, observing the order of things found in nature.

Ukti : This is another kind of Bhaṅgi bhaṇiti. This is merely Vakraṭā or Vaicitrya and no definite Guṇa is perceptible here.

Praudhi : In the definition, this is the writer's successful expression of the idea which he undertakes to convey. In his comments however, Bhoja comes round to one of the varieties of the Praudhi given by Vāmana as the Arthagūṇa of Ojas. It is the expression of a large mass of ideas in the smallest number of words possible. Ratneśvara says :

कवेरभिमतस्य भूयसोऽप्यर्थस्य स्वल्पेनैव वाक्येन प्रतिपादनम् प्रौढिः । × × इत्यादिको भूयानर्थः स्तोकेन वाक्येनोपनीत इति । p. 74.

Of these Guṇas of Śabda and Artha, Bhoja has attached some importance to the ten Guṇas of old. One of his Vākya doṣas is called Arītimat and it is defined as the reverse of the nine Guṇas, Śleṣa etc., Śleṣādi nava guṇa vipar-yaya. Samādhī is omitted here.

गुणानां दृश्यते यत्र श्लेषादीनां विपर्ययः ।

अरीतिमदिति प्राहुः तत् त्रिधैव प्रचक्षते ।

शब्दार्थोभययोगस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रथमं त्रिधा ॥ S. K. Ā. I, 28-29.

Bhoja defines the Viparyaya of each and illustrates. These nine guṇas are classified into three sets, those of śabda, of Artha and of both. Śleṣa, Samatā and Saukumārya belong to śabda ; their Viparyayas also pertain to śabda ; Kānti, Prasāda and Arthavyakti belong to Artha. Ojas, Mādhurya and Audārya belong to both śabda and Artha. The following table shows the Guṇas and their Viparyayas.

Śleṣa × Śaithilya ; Samatā × Vaiṣamya ; Saukumārya × Kaṭhoratva ;

Prasāda × Aprasannatā ; Arthavyakti × Neyārthatva ; Kānti × Grāmyatva.

Ojas × Asamastatā ; Mādhurya × Anirvyūḍhatva ; Audārya × Niralarṅkāra. Most of the matter in this section is taken from chapter I of the *Kāvyaadarśa* of Daṇḍin. The illustration of the unpronounceable, Kaṭhora or Kṛchrodya, is not from Daṇḍin but from Bhāmaha, I. 46. Daṇḍin's Mādhuryaviparyaya, Grāmya, is given by Bhoja as the Viparyaya of Kānti. Daṇḍin, for no good reason, I. 59, which illustrates Bandhapāruṣya and śaithilya through bad Anuprāsa as pointed out by Daṇḍin in I. 60 is completely taken over by Bhoja but given as the Viparyaya of Ojas. Bhoja gives it so because it is the uncompounded nature, Samāsābhāva, that is responsible for the bad effect of the verse. Bhoja's Mādhurya viparyaya is the absence of his own Guṇa Rīti and has no basis in Daṇḍin. Though without much meaning, Bhoja reproduces here Daṇḍin's two verses on Mādhurya in general and on Anuprāsa mādhurya. Bhoja gives the two verses of Daṇḍin on Udāratā and interprets them in his own way. He says that description of things must be either beautiful in wording or in the portrayal of some charming aspect of the thing. If neither is present, the expression is bald and has no charm ; it is Niralarṅkāra, the Viparyāya of Audārya. This is not to be traced in Daṇḍin.

The third class of Guṇas in Bhoja are the Vaiśeṣika Guṇas or Doṣa guṇas of which I have spoken already. See Doṣa chapter and my paper on Aucitya. See the above chapter on Bhoja and Aucitya also.

There is a work called *Śrīgāra sūtra* in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Library, written by one Veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita. The work dates after Vidyānātha from whom, besides many others, it borrows. This work does not treat of the Guṇas,—Śleṣa etc. though it mentions the Komalā Rīti, otherwise called the Vaidarbhī, as "Daśaprāṇa samanvitā." It has a small section on Guṇas but here the work deals with only the Vaiśeṣika guṇas of Bhoja, those Doṣas which become Guṇas according to the principle of Aucitya. (Mad. MS. R. 12958. 23. 3. 16).

Bahurūpamiśra, author of a commentary on the *Daśarūpaka* (Mad. MS. R. 3670 & R. 4188) follows Bhoja on Guṇas. He gives the three classes of Guṇas of Bhoja and all the Guṇas of the three classes as given by Bhoja. (P. 105 R. 4188).

तत्र त्रिविधा गुणाः शब्दगुणाः, अर्थगुणाः, वैशेषिकगुणाश्चेति । × × ये स्वतो दोषास्सन्तोऽपि विषयवशेन रसानुगुण्येन वा गुणत्वं भजन्ते, ते वैशेषिका गुणा इति । तत्र भरतमुनिना दश गुणा उद्दिष्टाः × × भोजेन अन्ये गुणाश्चतुर्दश उक्ताः ।

At the end, Bahurūpa gives Bhoja's view also, that Guṇas are also Alarṅkāra, Alarṅkāra of the class called Svabhāvokti. See Alarṅkāra chapter and my paper on Bahurūpamiśra's Daśarūpaka vyākhyā. JOR., Madras Vol. VIII. pp. 324-5.

Acyuta rāya, a recent writer and author of *Sāhityasāra*, published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, accepts only three Guṇas, the three of Ānanda, mentions the additional Guṇas of Bhoja found in the S. K. Ā. and shows how all of them can be brought under these three Guṇas or cases of Dhvani or Alarṅkāra. (Chap. VII. sls. 198-208).

Both in the S. K. Ā. and the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja makes, with reference to the saṃsṛṣṭi of Guṇas, a classification of the three classes of Guṇas into Sollekha and Nirullekha. See S. K. Ā. V. pp. 614-615. He does not explain this classification and its meaning can be made out from Bhoja using these expressions 'Ullekha' and 'Anullekha' during his treatment of the Śabdālarṅkāra yamaka in ch. II. S. K. Ā., pp. 173-4. Both Ratneśvara and Bhaṭṭa Nṛsimha explain 'Ullekha' as "standing out prominently" and 'Anullekha' as being the opposite. My attention to this explanation was drawn by Mm. Prof. S. K. SASTRI.

It was noted above, how under the Doṣa Aritimat, Bhoja speaks specially of nine of the ten old Guṇas, omitting Samādhī. He seems to place them on a special footing by that treatment. In a similar manner Bhoja separates the three Guṇas of Ānanda, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda and subscribes also to Ānanda's view of Guṇa, in his own way. Though apparently a big plodding compiler, Bhoja does disclose some critical faculty when we examine him minutely. His big list of 24 Guṇas, he classifies into three classes, two of which are intimately, inseparably and inevitably associated with Rasas and the third is purely of Śabda and Artha, a viewpoint which, we saw above, Abhinava put forward in his Abhinavabhāratī. The first two classes are Rasārambhaka and Rasa bhāva-ārabdha, manifesting Rasa and manifested by Rasa or Bhāva. Speaking of the Saṅkara of Guṇas with Rasas in a verse, Bhoja says that one can talk of a poet combining the two only in the cases of the third set of Guṇas which he introduces specially and not in the cases of the first two which come into being along with the Rasas and at once. They are 'Apṛthag yatna nirvartya,' while the third set of Guṇas is 'Pṛthag yatna nirvartya.' Bhoja says :

यत्र × × अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यानां गुणरसानां वाक्ये सन्निवेशः तत्र सङ्करव्यवहारो न प्रवर्तते । तथा—

मधुरं रसवद् वाचि वस्तुन्यपि रसस्थितिः ।

येन मायन्ति कवयः मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥

कामं सर्वोऽप्यलङ्कारो रसमर्थे निषिद्धतु ।

तथाप्यग्राह्यतैवैनं भारं वहति भूयसा ॥ (Both from Daṇḍin, I. 51 & 62.)

शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः ।

तन्मयं काव्यमाश्रित्य माधुर्यं प्रतिष्ठिति ॥

शृङ्गारे विप्रलम्भाख्ये करुणे च प्रकर्षवत् ।

माधुर्यमाद्रतां याति यतस्तत्राधिकं मनः ॥

रौद्रादयो रसा दीप्त्या लक्ष्यन्ते काव्यवर्तिनः ।

तद्व्यक्तिहेतु शब्दार्थावोजोऽधिष्ठाय तिष्ठति ॥

समर्पकत्वे काव्यस्य यत्तु सर्वरसान्प्रति ।

स प्रसादो गुणो ज्ञेयः सर्वसाधारणक्रियः ॥ (Ānandavardhana, II. 8-11).

सयं गुणानां रसारम्भकत्वे सङ्गराप्रसिद्धिः । एवं रसानां गुणारम्भकत्वेऽपि । तद्यथा-रुढाहंकारता और्जित्यम्, भावतो वाक्यवृत्तिर्भाविकत्वम्, क्रोधादावप्यतीव्रता माधुर्यम्, आशयोत्कर्ष उदात्तत्वम्, अर्थस्य अभीष्टतमता प्रेयः, दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः इति । (Pp. 628-9, S. K. Ā. This text is produced in the *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, pp. 397-9).

Here Bhoja follows Ānanda completely, incorporating his verses into his own text. Only Bhoja adds to Ānanda's Mādhurya, Daṇḍin's Agrāmyatā mādhurya. Agrāmyatā has been emphasised by Bhoja often and there can be no poetry devoid of it ; hence there is no place where Agrāmyatā mādhurya is not present. Similarly, Mādhurya is the Guṇa of the two aspects of Śrī-gāra and the Karuṇa Rasas and it cannot have a separate existence from them. Ojas is similarly fused with Raudra and such other Rasas. Prasāda, like Agrāmyatā mādhurya, must exist everywhere, along with every Rasa. Without it, there is no realisation of Rasa. Thus there can be no talk of Saṅkara between these Rasas and these three Guṇas ; and there is no Saṅkaravya-vahāra for Agrāmyatā Mādhurya and Prasāda in any part of Kāvya. These are Rasārambhaka or Rasa-manifesting Guṇas.

There is the second set of Guṇas which are invariably and inevitably manifested as a consequence of certain Rasas, Rasārabdhā. These are Aurjitya which is 'Rūḍhāharṇkārātā,' Bhāvika which is a case of Bhāva, Mādhurya which is softness in expression even in a stress of anger, dignity of mind which is Udāttatva, Preyas which is love for an object and Kānti which is Rasa guṇa pre-eminently, 'Dīpta rasatva.' These also are 'Apr-thag yatna niṣpanna' and do not have Saṅkara. That is, they are not said to be mixed or combined with Rasas.

Bhojas Prabandha guṇas.

The concept of Guṇa is taken by Bhoja not only with śabda and Artha in a Vākya, but also with śabda and Artha in a Prabandha as a whole. Rasāviyoga or the eternal presence of a Rasa in a poetic composition as a whole is secured by the same means as Rasāviyogā by avoiding Doṣas, and by securing Guṇas and Alarṇkāras, in the Prabandha. Thus, there are two sets of Doṣas, Guṇas and Alarṇkāras, those of the Vākya and those of the Prabandha. The changing or the modifying of the original story to suit the Rasa is the Doṣahāna of Prabandha. What are the Guṇas of Prabandha ?

Bhoja says on p. 411 of the *Śr. Pra.*

गुणोपादानं तु वक्ष्यमाणप्रबन्धभेदानां सम्यक्लक्षणयोगेन संविधानसुसूत्रता ।

Vol. II. Mad. Ms. Chap. XI.

After describing the different kinds of work, the many varieties of drama and poetic composition, Bhoja comes again to the topic of Prabandha guṇa on p. 430. The Guṇas of the Prabandha are of three classes, of Śabda, of Artha and of both. Bhoja enumerates them and then defines each and gives illustrations.

तत्र महाकाव्यादी यथासंभवम् (अ)संक्षिप्तग्रन्थत्वम्, अविषमबन्धत्वम्, (श्रव्यवृत्तत्वम्), अनतिविस्तीर्णसर्गादित्वम्, श्लिष्टसन्धित्वं चेति शब्दगुणाः ।

चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्वम्, चतुरोदात्तनायकत्वम्, रसभावनिरन्तरत्वम्, विधिनिषेधव्युत्पादकत्वम्, सुसूत्रसंविधानकत्वमित्यर्थगुणाः ।

रसानुरूपसन्दर्भत्वम्, पात्रानुरूपभाषत्वम् अर्थानुरूपच्छन्दस्त्वम्, समस्तलोकरञ्जकत्वम्, सदलङ्कारवाक्यत्वम् इत्युभयगुणाः । (*Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, pp. 430-1).

The explanation of each of these Guṇas follows :

तत्र असंक्षिप्तग्रन्थत्वमित्यनेन ग्रन्थगौरवमाचक्षाणः कथारसविच्छेदशङ्किनां मनांस्यावर्जयति । अविषमबन्धत्वमित्यनेन शब्दसन्दर्भवेदिनां मनोमुदमादधाति । श्रव्यवृत्तत्वमित्यनेन यद्यपि पद्यभेदत्वान्महाकाव्यादेः सर्वापि चतुष्पदी समाकृष्टा, तथापि यान्येव श्रुतिसुखमुपजनयन्ति वृत्तानि तान्येन निबन्धनीयानीति दर्शयन् श्रोतृजनं प्रोत्साहयति । अनतिविस्तीर्णसर्गादित्वमित्यनेन ग्रन्थविस्तरभीरूणां चित्तमाकर्षयति । श्लिष्टसन्धित्वमित्यनेन तु सर्गादीनां परस्परमेकवाक्यतया महावाक्यात्मकस्य प्रबन्धस्योपकारित्वं दर्शयति ।

चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्वमित्यनेन चत्वारो वर्गा धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः त एव व्यस्तास्समस्ता वा फलम्, तत्सन्धानोपायविषयं महाकाव्यादीति ज्ञापयन् मुक्तकादिभ्यो भेदमाचष्टे । चतुरोदात्तनायकत्वमित्यनेन कथाशरीरव्यापिनः नायकस्य धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यमभिदधानः आशयविभूत्योरुत्कर्षमभिदधाति । रसभावनिरन्तरत्वमित्यनेन रसग्रहणेनापि तत्कारणभूतानां भावानां परिग्रहे, पृथग्भावग्रहणेन रसभावानां परस्परं कार्यकारणभावमभिदधत्, रसेभ्यो भावाः, भावेभ्यो रसाः, रसेभ्यश्च रसा इति नैरन्तर्यस्य रसभाव- (बहुलत्व साध्यत्वेन) भोजनस्यै (स्ये) व एकरसस्य प्रबन्धस्यापि वैरस्यमपाकरोतीति । विधिनिषेधव्युत्पादकत्वेन तु गुणवतो नायकस्य उत्कर्षप्रकाशनेन दोषवतश्चोच्छेदप्रदर्शनेन जिगीषुणा गुणवतैव भाव्यम्, न दोषवतेति व्युत्पादयति । सुसूत्रसंविधानकत्वमित्यनेन प्रोक्तलक्षणा वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाश्च पदार्थास्तथा निबन्धनीयाः यथा प्रबन्धस्य शोभायै भवन्तीति कवीन् शिक्षयति ।

रसानुरूपसन्दर्भत्वमित्यनेन रतिप्रकर्षे कोमलः, उत्साहप्रकर्षे प्रौढः, क्रोधप्रकर्षे कठोरः, शोकप्रकर्षे मृदुः, विस्मयप्रकर्षे तु स्फुटः शब्दसन्दर्भो विरचनीयः इत्युपदिशन् “नैकमोजः प्रसादो वा रसभावविदः कवेः” (*Māgha*, II. 83) इति ख्यापयति । पात्रानुरूपभाषत्वमित्यनेन उत्तमपात्राणि संस्कृतेन, उत्तमाधमानि प्राकृतेन, मध्यमानि शौरसेन्या, जघन्यान्यपभ्रंशेन, तदपराणि मागधिकया भाषन्त इति ज्ञापयन् भिन्नभाषेषु भाषाचित्राणामवकाशं ददाति । अर्थानुरूपच्छन्दस्त्वमित्यनेन शृङ्गारे द्रुतविलम्बितादयो, वीरे वसन्ततिलकादयः, करुणे वैंतालिकादयः, रौद्रे स्रग्धरादयः, सर्वत्र शार्दूलविक्रीडितादयो निबन्धनीयाः इत्युपदिशति । समस्तलोकरञ्जकत्वमित्यनेन अलौकिकतां परिहरन् कीर्तिप्रीतिनिबन्धनस्य (प्रबन्धस्य) प्रतिष्ठया कवेः प्रयासवैयर्थ्यमपाकरोति । सदलङ्कारवाक्यत्वमित्यनेन तु यद्यप्युपात्तलक्षणानां शब्दार्थो-

भयगुणानां स्वरूपसौन्दर्येणैव काव्यशोभाकरत्वं, तथापि अलङ्कारवत्तैव एनं भारमुद्रोद्धमलमित्येतदुपर्युपदेश उपपादयति ।

तेऽमी शब्दार्थोभयगुणाः महाकाव्येषु रसावियोगहेतवो भवन्ति ।*

Bhoja gives here a list of features which go to make up the best poem. It is almost a statement of the criticism of the work as whole. Śabda guṇas are the physical or formal features ; Artha guṇas pertain to the content and theme ; the Ubhaya guṇas embrace both. Of the Śabda guṇas, two deal with size. The Mahākāvya is an epic and it proposes to portray a great theme and as such, must be of sufficient length. It cannot be a minor poem. This Guṇa is called Asamkṣiptagranthatva. Side by side with insistence on this Guṇa, one should bear in mind that the epic must not be very long and become stupendous, for, none will ever read it fully. The Sargas must not be each very long. This Guṇa is called Anativistīṣṇa sargatva. The Guṇa called Aṣṭama bandhatva is not well explained by Bhoja. Śravyavyūttatva is a Guṇa of the metre. The Mahākāvya must be written in such metres only as are sweet to the ear. Though the theme is big and variety in metre all over is necessary, one should not resort to the unheard of metres, deficient in musical quality. Related to this is the Ubhayaguṇa of Arthānūrūpa-cchandastva which also refers to metre. The situations should forge their own metre. The very metre must be suggestive of the Rasa of that canto. The ideas should express themselves in appropriate and suggestive metres. Thus, the Vīyoginī is suited for Karuṇa and so on. The last Śabdaguṇa is Śiṣṭa sandhitva which is a structural Guṇa ; Bhoja says that each canto must run into the next and all must fit themselves in the main theme like words in a sentence.

The Arthaguṇas emphasise the essence of a Mahākāvya, the hero, his greatness, development of Rasas and the social purpose of poetry namely the educating of man in the fourfold aim of all humanity, Caturvarga vyūtpatti. The epic is different from the sundry Muktakas and minor poetry by the grandeur of its theme. It is heroic and this quality is emphasised by the first Guṇa of Caturōdāttanāyakatva. The Guṇa called Rasabhāvanī-rantaratva emphasises that the whole poem shall have one Rasa as its main motif ; but in the development of that one Rasa through the story, all the rich variety of human sentiments shall be intricately portrayed without hindrance to the unity of Rasa. Two of the Arthaguṇas emphasise the fruit or the social end of poetry, Caturvarga phalāyattatva and Vidhi niṣedha vyūtpādatatva. An epic must show man in action in pursuit of one or more of the four Puruṣārthas. The theme of an epic is the problem of these four aims of man and not the passing sentiments recorded in Muktakas. Finally, the epic should depict how the good ultimately succeeds and evil ultimately perishes and thus should instruct that one desirous of happiness here and hereafter should strive to be good like the hero and must never be like the

* See Hemacandra, K. A. and Vyā. pp. 334-337, where this text from the Śr. Pra. is reproduced.

villain in the story. The last Arthaguṇa is a general one which we shall consider at the end.

The Ubhayaguṇas pertain to both Śabda and Artha. They relate Śabda and Artha with each other and lay emphasis on some principles of harmony and appropriateness, Aucitya. The first is Rasānurūpasandarbhātva. The collocation of words as well as the conceiving of ideas must be in perfect harmony with the Rasa. Sandarbha applies to both Śabda and Artha. Thus this Guṇa emphasises Vṛttyaucitya and Rityaucitya. The next Guṇa of Pātrānurūpabhāṣatva is explained by Bhoja as the quality pertaining only to drama, though Bhoja is generally describing here the features of a Mahākāvya only. Hence it is, that while reproducing these in his work, Hemacandra omits this item. In a drama, this Guṇa emphasises the Lokadharmī of each character speaking in his or her own proper tongue. This is not possible in a narrative epic which is in one language from beginning to end. Of the next Ubhayaguṇa which is 'metre suited to the idea' we have already spoken. The two other Guṇas of this class stand on a different footing. One of these two goes along with the Arthaguṇa applying to the secondary aim and purpose of poetry viz., Puruṣārtha vyutpatti; it is Samastaloka rañjakatva and emphasises, not the secondary end of Vyutpatti but the primary end of poetry, the immediate end named Ānanda.

Lastly, we have to examine the Arthaguṇa called Susūtra samvidhānakatva and the Ubhayaguṇa, Sadalāṅkāra vākyatva. The former according to Bhoja's explanations reviews all the Guṇas of the three sets given above and says that the Guṇas must find their proper places and they must be so well knit that the work as a whole may have great beauty. The Ubhayaguṇa of Sadalāṅkāravākyatva has nothing to do with the Guṇas. It emphasises that the Guṇas by themselves are not enough and that there are other features like the Guṇas viz., Prabhandhālāṅkāras. Their presence is the Guṇa of Sadalāṅkāravākyatva. This last is strange and absolutely unnecessary.

These features of the Prabandha are called Guṇas by Bhoja because they contribute to the beauty of the poem. These are not wholly Bhoja's original idea. Though dealing with them as Guṇas and in three sets is certainly a novel idea of Bhoja, the features themselves are those given by Daṇḍin in his description of the Mahākāvya in chapter I of his *Kāvyaadarśa*. Thus, Asamkṣipta granthatva, Śravayavṛttatva, Anativistīrṇa sargatva, Śliṣṭasandhitva, Caturvargaphalopetatva, Caturōdāttanāyakatva, Rasabhāvanirantaratva, Samastalokarañjakatva and Sadalāṅkāravākyatva are all borrowed from Daṇḍin's description of the Mahākāvya.

चतुर्वर्गफलोपेतं चतुरोदात्तनायकम् ।

× × ×

अलङ्कृतमसंक्षिप्तं रसभावनिरन्तरम् ।

सर्गैरनतिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यवृत्तैस्सुसन्धिभिः ॥

सर्वत्र भिन्नवृत्तान्तरूपेतं लोकरञ्जकम् ।

काव्यं कल्पान्तरस्थायि जायेत सदलङ्कृति ॥

K. Ā. I. 12-19.

The rest of the features characterising the Mahākāvya in Daṇḍin's description of it are taken by Bhoja as the Alarṅkāras of Prabandha which are dealt with in the Alarṅkāra section. The verses of Daṇḍin on Mahākāvya are themselves quoted fully as a final review at the end of the eleventh chapter of the *Śr. Pra.*

Ratneśvara.

Ratneśvara, the commentator of Bhoja's S. K. Ā. deserves some attention in a history of Guṇas. He does not follow the Kāśmīrakas, though he uses some of Ānanda's verses on Guṇas. Similarly, he borrows from and differs also from Vāmana on the same subject of Guṇa.

He first considers that nine of the ten old Guṇas Śleṣa etc. without Samādhī are responsible for an expression being Vakra, poetically beautiful and consequently Kāvya. Here he slightly follows Vāmana but expresses himself in a phraseology familiarised by Kuntaka.

एतद् (श्लेषादिगुण) योगाद् वाक्यं वक्ररूपतामासाद्य काव्यव्यपदेशं लभते ।

Ratneśvara here seems to accept only nine Guṇas, those of Daṇḍin without Samādhī, and these as the more important Guṇas. For, he says that an expression becomes Kāvya and gets the necessary strikingness or Vakratā only by the introduction of these nine Guṇas. In the absence or in the case of the Viparyaya or reverse of these, Ratneśvara says that the thing becomes Kāvyaśābhāsa, the Rīti being broken. Rīti, he takes according to Vāmana, as Guṇavat pada racanā and as Ātman. 'Ātman' here means 'essential,' 'Sārabhūta.'

तेषां गुणानां भङ्गः काव्याभासत्वपर्यवसायी दोषः । ते (गुणाः) च श्लेषादयो नवैव । तेषामन्यतमाभावे काव्यस्याभासत्वात् । तेषां हि विपर्यये रीतिरवश्यं भज्यते । तस्या गुणवत्पदरचनारूपत्वात् । × × रीतिः साररूपतया काव्यस्यात्मेत्युच्यते । pp. 24-25.

That Ratneśvara attaches special importance to these nine Guṇas is plain from his saying again twice :

गुणाः श्लेषादयः काव्य-अव्यभिचरिणो नव । p. 133.

श्लेषादयो नव गुणाः, तैर्गुम्फिता (वैदर्भी) । p. 134.

It can also be said that Ratneśvara completely follows Vāmana in considering Rīti as the essence. This Rīti is only the nine Guṇas mingled together to produce something like the Pānaka rasa of Citrāsvāda, a description of Rīti which is borrowed by Ratneśvara from Abhinava's Locana.

Ratneśvara follows Bhoja in considering Guṇas as Mukhya śobhāhetu and Alarṅkāras as Amukhyaśobhāhetu. He refutes the theory that Guṇas are Rasadharmas and Alarṅkāras, Dharmas of Śabdārtha. He says that such a classification can hold good only if Rasa is accepted as Pradhāna everywhere. He does not accept it as Pradhāna everywhere. Rasa is not present everywhere but Guṇas are present everywhere. If Guṇas should hang by Rasa, Guṇas which are invariably associated with Kāvya, they would have to become Anitya. If Guṇas are called Rasāvalambins because they are intended

for the sake of awakening Rasa, Alarṅkāras also must be taken as Rasāvalambins.

रसावलंबिनो गुणाः, शब्दार्थावलंबिनस्त्वलङ्कारा इति काश्मीरकाः । तदगमकम् । तथा हि—यदि काव्यस्य रसप्रधानात्मकतामाश्रित्यायं विभागः [अलङ्कारा अपि तर्हि तत्प्रवणा एव] अथ नायं नियमो यत्सर्वत्र रसः प्रधानमिति । तदात्र गुणेष्वपि कथं तदालम्बननियमः ? किञ्चात्र प्रसादादिवत् श्लेषादयोऽपि शब्दार्थगता एव प्रत्यभिज्ञायन्ते, तत्कथमयं विभागः ? यद्यपि शब्दार्थाः (शब्दार्थगताः) ज्ञायन्ते तथापि रसप्रवणा इति चेत् (अलङ्कारा अपि तर्हि तत्प्रवणा एव) । किमिदं रसप्रवणत्वम् ? रसाश्रितत्वं तावन्न संभवत्येव । रसप्रतीतिपथवसानं च यथाऋचिदलङ्कारेष्वपि तुल्यमिति अविचारितरमणीयोऽयं मार्गः ।

p. 43.

Ratneśvara similarly refutes Vāmana's distinction of Guṇas from Alarṅkāras, as Śobhāhetu and Śobhātisaya hetu. Both are Śobhākara and hence it is, Ratneśvara says, Bhoja made them (the Guṇas) also Alarṅkāras. But one difference Ratneśvara accepts, following the text of Bhoja. It is that Guṇa is more important, Mukhya, than Alarṅkāra and that a verse with the former and devoid of the latter has yet poetry in it.

उद्धृतगुणं तु स्फुटालङ्कारहीनमपि चमत्कारमावहत्येव ।

× × यतो गुणयोगो मुख्यः, ततः प्रथममुद्दिष्टो लक्षितश्च ।

In the above quoted criticism of the Kāśmīrakas' theory of Guṇa, Ratneśvara has also shown that since Prasāda, Mādhurya and Ojas appear as Guṇas of Śabda and Artha even as Śleṣa and the rest, there is no meaning in showing a partiality to the three alone, separating them as Rasaguṇas from the rest.

किञ्चात्र प्रसादादिवत् श्लेषादयोऽपि शब्दार्थगता एव प्रत्यभिज्ञायन्ते, तत्कथमयं विभागः ?

p. 43.

Thus Ratneśvara rejects the theory that Guṇas are only three, the view held by the Kāśmīrakas i.e., followers of Ānanda. He says

‘माधुर्यैजःप्रसादास्त्रय एव गुणाः’ इति ध्वनिकारस्य मतं निरस्यति, चतुर्विंशतिरिति ।

Ratneśvara would take Bhoja himself as refusing to accept Ānanda's position ; but we have seen above how Bhoja appreciates Ānanda's view of Guṇas being Rasadharmas and three in number ; Bhoja incorporates Ānanda's idea and his verses into his own scheme and text, and introduces a division in his Guṇas called Rasārambhaka guṇas which are the three, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda. Ratneśvara himself utilises Ānanda's definitions of the three Guṇas. He considers Guṇas as Rasavyañjaka, certain Guṇas being suggestive of certain Rasas only. He says, Mādhurya is suggestive of Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa ; he calls both these Rasas Mādhura, though he gives Mādhurya as a quality of Śabda and Artha.

शृङ्गारकरुणौ हि मधुरौ, ततस्तद्व्यञ्जकोऽर्थोऽपि मधुरः । p. 64.

On p. 29 Ratneśvara speaks of Mādhurya, quoting Ānanda's definition of it. Under the Doṣa called Asamasta, the Viparyaya of Ojas in the section on the Arītimat doṣa (p. 28), Ratneśvara accepts Ānanda's Ojas and quotes his definition of it as the Dharma of Raudra. But, Ānanda is

interpreted differently, his Ojas being taken as Prauḍhi. This Prauḍhi again is not Vāmana's Artha Ojas. Ratneśvara has his own notion of Ojas and Prauḍhi. He says :

शब्दार्थयोः उचिता प्रौढिरोजः । × × शब्दस्य तु (प्रौढिः) पारुष्यशैथिल्यव्यति-
करलक्षणा । सा च क्वचित् समासदीर्घतया व्यज्यते । × × क्वचिदन्यथापि व्यज्यते ।
p. 28.

Under the Doṣa called Mādhurya vyatyaya, he says

शब्दार्थयोश्चित्तदुतिविधायित्वं माधुर्यम् ।

It is also given as the Ādratā of the mind, following Ānandavardhana. It is said to occur in expressions suggesting Śrīḡāra and Karuṇa.

सा च शृङ्गारकृष्णान्यतरप्रकाशानुगुणव्यापारावेशेन भवति । p. 29.

and he quotes Ānandavardhana's two verses on Mādhurya. Thus, though Ānandavardhana is often used by him, Ratneśvara is definite in his statement that Guṇa pertains to Śabda and Artha.

As we noted above, Ratneśvara holds that an utterance attained the Vakratā necessary for becoming Kāvya by the presence of the nine Guṇas śleṣa etc. Otherwise, the utterance becomes Kāvyaābhāsa. He seems also to identify this general and necessary Vakratā with Riti; for in the absence of the nine Vakratā-producing Guṇas, Riti is said to be lost. There is then the Doṣa Arītimat. Though at the beginning Ratneśvara holds thus all the nine as Vakratāprajojaka, he selects the ninth viz., Audārya specially and considers it as the means of producing the Vakratā which is necessary to make an expression Kāvya. For, in its absence, we have a bald statement, the flaw called Analamkāra. He says :

काव्यरूपताप्रयोजकं शब्दार्थयोः वक्ता उदारता । न हि वक्तामन्तरेण काव्यपदवीप्राप्तिः ।

p. 30.

Later, in the Śabdaguṇaparakaraṇa, he picks out Samādhī and gives it this same special position. He considers this one Guṇa as infusing the necessary Vakratā.

सम्यग्गाधानमारोपणं समाधिः । सम्यक्त्वं च वक्ता, लोकातिगत्वम् × × ।
p. 54.

Ratneśvara has criticised Ānandavardhana, but his views are very confused. He interprets Bhoja according to circumstance and he discloses lack of systematic exposition and uniformity of opinion. He borrows from Ānandavardhana and Vāmana, all the while criticising them. Though Bhoja clearly follows Vāmana, he interprets Bhoja as criticising Vāmana. Though Bhoja adopts Ānandavardhana's theory of Guṇa into his own system, Ratneśvara interprets Bhoja as criticising Ānandavardhana. Ratneśvara does not accept Rasa as Pradhāna everywhere. He means that there are places in Kāvya, where Guṇas and Alamkāras alone are important and prominent. But this does not mean that Rasa is not all in all in poetry for him. For, in interpreting the text of Bhoja 'Kāvyaasarvasva' in one place, he says that

'Kāvyaśarvasva' is the manifestation of Rasa : काव्यसर्वस्वं रसप्रकाशः This manifestation of Rasa is due to the first Śabdaguṇa called Prasāda. He says प्रसादो द्विधा-वाच्यविषयः प्रतीयमानविषयश्च । तत्र प्रतीयमानविषयो यथा- 'एवं वादिनि देवर्षी' etc. अत्र ध्रुतावगतादेव वाक्यात् लज्जादयः हस्तदत्ता इव प्रकाशन्ते । pp. 44-45.

Cases of Rasa and Dhvani are considered Guṇa by Ratneśvara following Bhoja. On p. 102 Ratneśvara says :

ध्वननव्यापारोन्मेषाच्च गुणत्वलाभः ।

Following Vāmana, he holds Rīti as 'Sāra' in poetry and this Rīti is the Vakratā given by the nine Guṇas. Thus Rīti and Vakratā are identical. With Vakratā, Ratneśvara begins to follow Kuntaka.

वक्रत्वं च अलङ्कार इति । p. 116.

अवक्रयोः शब्दार्थयोः वचनमात्रत्वात् । p. 63.

He holds the Kāvyaśarvāṇa to be Vakratā and Alarṅkāra as Vakratā and that, without it, there can be no poetry. He takes Vāmana's Kauṭilya in his Arthagūṇa, Śleṣa, as this Vakratā.

The Agnīpurāṇa.

The Alarṅkāra section in the Agnīpurāṇa contains a chapter on Guṇas (346). Even as on Alarṅkāra, on Guṇa also, the writer of this section draws upon Bhoja. Guṇa, he says, is very important and that, without it, even Alarṅkāras are useless, an idea borrowed from Vāmana and Bhoja. Then he says that Guṇas are positive and must be accepted. They cannot be dismissed as the absence of Doṣas. He accepts Bhoja's two main sets of Guṇas, Sāmānya and Vaiśeṣika. The latter, he does not deal with in chapter 346 but deals with in chapter 347 devoted to the Doṣas. The Sāmānyaguṇas are divided into those of Śabda and Artha and both. The Śabdaguṇas are given as seven, Arthagūṇas as six and Ubhaya guṇas as six. The text of the Agnī Purāṇa in the Anandasrama edition is highly corrupt and I may draw attention here to my article on Rīti and Guṇa in the Agnī Purāṇa in the *IHQ.*, X, 1934, pp. 767-69, in which I suggested many corrections and interpretations which have since been adopted by writers. In that paper there, I examined the verses dealing with the Guṇas on pp. 776-779. The Purāṇa gives the seven Śabda Guṇas thus :

शब्दमाश्रयते काव्यं (व्य) शरीरं यः स तद्गुणः ।

श्लेषो ललित्यगांभीर्ये सौकुमार्यमुदारता ।

सत्येव यौगिकी (?) चेति गुणाः शब्दस्य सप्तधा ॥ 346/5-6.

Of these, Śleṣa, Lālitya, Gāmbhīrya, Saukumārya and Udāratā are the five Guṇas which are clear. What 'Satyeva yaugikī' means is not known. While describing these Śabda Guṇas one after another, the Purāṇa does not speak anything relating to this passage "Satyeva yaugikī" but has instead the definition of 'Ojas' as the sixth Guṇa. The definitions have only six Guṇas, corresponding to the six Artha Guṇas and six Ubhaya Guṇas. "Satyeva Yaugikī" has a variant "Rūḍhiśca Yaugikī" but the likelihood is that the

whole line needs correction or reconstruction. Mm. Prof. S. K. SASTRI would reconstruct it as "sattvam ca yaugikam ceti" and take 'sattva' as a variety of udāttatā and 'yaugika' as Sāmāsika or Ojas (Yoga = samāsa); thus accepting seven Guṇas in all. The definition of Lālitya is obscure; in the definition of Gāmbhīrya, the expression '—लेख्यमुत्तानशब्दकम्' must be '—लेख्यमुत्तानशब्दकम्'. Anuttāna means Gambhīra. Again in the definition of the same Guṇa, the text 'तदेवान्येषु शब्दताम्' must be 'तदेवान्ये सुशब्दताम्'. The Purāṇa includes Suśabdatā in Gāmbhīrya and stands alone in this respect. Audārya is defined in the line उत्तानपदतौदार्यं युतं श्लाघ्यैर्विशेषणैः । 'Ślāgya viśeṣaṇa yoga' is one of the two varieties of Daṇḍin's Udāratva. 'Uttānapadatā' of the Purāṇa is evidently corrupt. In the definition of Ojas, 'Padyādijīvitam' must be 'Gadyādijīvitam,' and in the additional description of Ojas in the second line आत्रद्वास्तम्भपर्यन्तमोजसैकेन पौष्ट्यम्, the Purāṇa records Ānanda's view of Ojas as the Guṇa of Raudra and Vīra.

The six Artha Guṇas are Mādhurya, Samvidhāna, Komalatva, Udāratva, Prauḍhi and Sāmayikatva. Mādhurya follows Bhoja's Artha Mādhurya, Samvidhāna, which is defined संविधानं परिहरः स्यादपेक्षितसिद्धये, is the same as the Samvidhāna susūtratā, a Prabandha guṇa of Bhoja, or it may be Bhoja's Arthaśleṣa which also is described as 'Samvidhāna susūtratā.' Udāratva which is "Āśaya sauṣṭhava" is one of the varieties of Daṇḍin's Udāratva: Prauḍhi is the full delineation or Poṣa of Artha or the power of the poet to develop the idea contemplated; it is the same as Bhoja's Arthagūṇa of that name. The next Guṇa, Sāmayikatva, may mean the suggestion by the poet of an etymology as in

क्षतात् किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः

क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रुढः । *Raghu. II.*

यथा प्रह्लादनाचन्द्रः०—” *Raghu. IV.*

But one must prefer to take it as the reverse of the Doṣa Asāmayika (see *Agnipurāṇa*, 347/10-11) which is the same as the Doṣa Rūḍhi cyuta of Bhoja. Sāmayika hence means 'Rūḍher acyuta.'

The six Ubhayaguṇas of the Purāṇa are Prasāda, Saubhāgya, Yathā-saṁkhyā, Prasāsyatā, Pāka and Rāga.

शब्दार्थानुपकुर्वाणो नाप्रोभयगुणः स्मृतः ।

तस्य प्रसादः सौभाग्यं यथासंख्यं प्रशस्यता ।

पाको राग इति प्राज्ञैः षट् प्रपञ्च (द्याः) विपश्चिताः ॥ 346/18-19.

Saubhāgya is only another name for the first variety of Daṇḍin's Udāratā; and the name 'Saubhāgya' is taken from Kuntaka. V. J. pp. 74-77.

उत्कर्षवान्गुणः कश्चिद्यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते ।

तत्सौभाग्यमुदारत्वं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः । 346/20.

It is another stroke of eccentricity that made this writer hold Yathāsaṁkhyā which is Anūddeśa * and which all the writers have held as an Alankāra, as

* On the correction of the corrupt passage defining this Yathāsaṁkhyā, see my article on *Riti and Guṇa in the Agnipurāṇa*, *IHQ.* X. p. 778.

a Guṇa of Śabda and Artha; or it may be Bhoja's Arthagūṇa, Rīti which is the observance of the natural order (Krama) of things when describing them. Praśasyatā or Prāśastya is Bhoja's Artha guṇa Suśabdatā which is the use of delicate and periphrastic expressions to mitigate the effect of depressing and tormenting ideas such as death. Says Bhoja :

अदारुणार्थपर्यायः दारुणेषु सुशब्दता ।

This writer chooses to call this Prāśastya and says of it similarly

समये वर्णनीयस्य दारुणस्यापि वस्तुनः ।

अदारुणेन शब्देन प्राशस्त्यमुपवर्णनम् ॥ 346/29-30.

The next is the well-known concept of Pāka which as a Śabda guṇa, Bhoja defines as Prauḍhi.

उक्तेः प्रौढः परीपाकः प्रोच्यते प्रौढिसंज्ञया ।

The *Agnipurāṇa* puts Bhoja's definition thus :

उच्चैः परिणतिः कापि पाक इत्यभिधीयते ।

and then mentions the several Pākas, Mrdvika, Nālikera, etc. The last Ubhaya guṇa is Rāga. Of this Bhoja treats in connection with love as its varying degrees of maturity. पाकाद्याः प्रेमभक्तयः in ch. V. S. K. Ā.

Ratneśvara, while commenting upon Śabda guṇa pāka in Bhoja, says that there are also the Artha pākas of the same nature dealt with in Chapter V.

एत एव अर्थपाकाः पञ्चमे प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयिष्यन्ते ।

These are Nili rāga, Kasumbha rāga etc. What is wonderful in this Purāṇa making it an Ubhaya guṇa called Rāga.

Thus, an examination of the Guṇa section also shows how the compiler of the *Alamkāra* section in the *Agnipurāṇa* borrowed a great deal from Bhoja and how the whole section is a mix-up.

Viśveśvara's Camatkāracandrikā.

Viśveśvara, author of the *Camatkāracandrikā* and court-poet of Simha-bhūpāla, the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, follows Bhoja in respect of Guṇas with one difference regarding one Guṇa. Bhoja gives Guṇas as twenty-four and Viśveśvara accepts twenty-three of them. He omits Bhoja's Prauḍhi which is a new name for Pāka. प्रौढिरुक्तेः परीपाकः He separates this and deals with it in a separate section along with similar general subjects, Rīti, Vṛtti and Śayyā, which Bhoja has brought under his Śabdālamkāras.

Chapter IV, Section I of the *Camatkāracandrikā* deals with Guṇas.

श्लेष प्रसाद समता माधुरी सुकुमारताः ।

अर्थव्यक्तिहृदारत्वमोजः क्रान्तिरुदारता ॥

प्रेयान्समाधिरौर्जित्यं सौम्यं (सौकुम्यं) गंभीर्यविस्तरौ ।

संक्षेपः शब्दसंस्कारः भाविकत्वं च संमतः (संमितिः) ॥

गत्युक्तिरीतयः काव्ये ते त्रयोविंशतिमताः । Mad. MS. R. 2679.

Śabdasamskāra is Sauśabdya. Samrpati is Sammitatva.

Prakāśavarṣa's Rasārṇavālaṅkāra.

As on other topics, on Guṇas also, Prakāśavarṣa follows Bhoja completely. See my paper on Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇavālaṅkāra*, *JOR*, Madras, Vol. VIII p. 269.

Bahurūpamiśra's Daśarūpakavyākhyā.

It has already been noticed how Bahurūpamiśra follows Bhoja completely in his commentary on Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*. See above and my article on his *Daśarūpakavyākhyā*, *JOR*, Vol. VIII. p. 324.

Vidyānātha.

Vidyānātha follows Bhoja to some extent. In Chapter VI of his *Pratāparudriya*, he gives the twenty-four Guṇas of Bhoja. The order of enumeration is slightly different and there is no classification of these into Śabda guṇas and Artha guṇas. Most of the definitions are taken from Bhoja's *S. K. Ā*. Vidyānātha points out that some only of these twenty-four are by themselves excellences, the others being Guṇas only as the reverses of certain Doṣas and that hence some writers do not accept those of the latter category as Guṇas. Illustrations given by Vidyānātha for the various Guṇas are mostly on the model of those in the *S. K. Ā*.

The reason for Vidyānātha not classifying Guṇas as Śabda guṇas and Artha guṇas is that he does not accept Artha guṇas at all. He considers Guṇa as Saṁghaṭanāśraya.

एतेषां गुणानामर्थगतत्वमपि केचिदिच्छन्ति । प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन सङ्घटनाश्रयत्वमेव गुणानाम् । तदुक्तमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे 'सङ्घटनाश्रयत्वेन शब्दार्थधर्मत्वेन गुणालङ्काराणां व्यवस्थानम्' इति । अनयैव भङ्ग्या गुणालङ्काराणां निरूपितः स्वरूपभेदः । *Pratāparudriya*, p. 242.

Kumārāsvāmin points out that it will be difficult to take certain Guṇas with Artha. This is the first time we meet with such a view.

बहुनां पदानामेकपदवदवभासमानत्वादिलक्षणे श्लेषादौ अर्थगतत्वस्य दुर्घटत्वादिति भावः ।

p. 242.

There is no rule that one and the same set of Guṇas must be twice taken as pertaining to both Śabda and Artha. But it must also be added that there is no meaning in denying Artha guṇas completely. If Vidyānātha had analysed his Guṇas of Śabda reproduced from Bhoja, he would have found that many naturally link themselves with Artha and not with Śabda. Some are even no Guṇas at all. Thus Vidyānātha's views on Guṇa are

1. There are twenty-four Guṇas as given by Bhoja.
2. But some do not accept certain of these Guṇas since they are only the absence of certain flaws and are not positive excellences.
3. Guṇas are to be taken with Śabda and Saṁghaṭanā.
4. Some have Artha guṇas but Vidyānātha does not accept them.
5. The Guṇas differ from Alarṅkāras; the former are Saṁghaṭanāśraya and the latter Śabdārthāśraya.

6. The general definition of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra is that both of them are beautifying features of Kāvya.

Vidyānātha thus follows the pre-Ānanda view, and does not say that the Guṇas are three and that they are Rasa dharmas. But Kumārasvāmin says that though Vidyānātha obviously follows the ancients he is at heart only a follower of Ānanda. For, his Śleṣa and other Guṇas can be included here and there in others and his Guṇas can be reduced to the three,—Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda. This, Vidyānātha himself meant at the beginning of Ch. II. For, Vidyānātha there compared Guṇas of Kāvya to Guṇas like courage which do not pertain to man's body and which, in the words of Vidyānātha, are Ātmoṭkarṣāvaha.

वस्तुतस्तु × × अन्तर्भावे श्लेषादिगुणानां रसचर्मत्वम् । अलङ्काराणां तु शब्दार्थधर्मत्वमिति
विद्यत एव स्वरूपभेद इति रहस्यम् । अत एव स्वयमेवोक्तवान् काव्यप्रकरणे—

हारादिवदलङ्काराः तत्र स्युरूपमादयः ।

श्लेषादयो गुणास्तत्र शौर्यादय इव स्थिताः ।

आत्मोत्कर्षावहाः—

II. 2-3.

Pratāparudrīya, p. 243. Balamanoramā edn.

Keśavamiśra.

Keśavamiśra, author of the *Alarṅkāraśekhara* (Kāśī Edn.), treats of Guṇas in III. 1 pp. 21-28. Following Bhoja, he considers Guṇa as more important than Alarṅkāra.

गुणयोगस्तयोर्मुख्यो गुणालङ्कारयोगयोः ।

and अलङ्कारसदृशैः किं गुणो यदि न विद्यते ।

We have pointed out, in the next chapter on Bhoja's conception of Alarṅkāra, the extent to which Keśavamiśra is indebted to Bhoja on Alarṅkāra. Keśavamiśra does not accept Bhoja wholesale and borrows only a little according to his own mind. He chooses a few of Bhoja's Guṇas and casts the rest away. The notable point is that many of the Guṇas chosen by him are not of the traditional ten of Śleṣa etc., but from those fourteen which Bhoja added. Bhoja's classification of Guṇas into those of Śabda and Artha and the Vaiśeṣika guṇas is accepted by Keśava. The Śabda guṇas are given as five : Samkṣiptatva, Udāttatva, Prasāda, Ukti and Samādhī.

संक्षिप्तत्वमुदात्तत्वं प्रसादोक्तिसमाधयः ।

अत्रैवान्यसमावेशात् पञ्च शब्दगुणाः स्मृताः ॥

Of these Prasāda, Samādhī and Udāttatva are the three old Guṇas. The other two are Bhoja's Samkṣepa and Ukti. Keśava adds that the other Guṇas are included in these, and this is only a conventional remark, it being impossible to include the rest in these five. The Artha guṇas are only four : Bhāvikatva, Suśabdatva, Paryāyokti, and Sudharmitā ; and it is said that the rest are included herein.

भाविक्त्वं सुशब्दत्वं पर्यायोक्तिः सुधर्मिता ।

चत्वारोऽर्थगुणाः प्रोक्ताः परे त्वत्रैव सङ्गताः ॥

Following some authority, perhaps the Buddhist writer Śrīpāda whom he quotes, Keśava says that since some Guṇas are identical with some Alarṅkāras, some others with the absence of certain Doṣas, those besides these four are unnecessary. Bhāvikatva and Suśabdatva are the same Arthagūṇas as in Bhoja. Paryāyokti is a name familiar to us as an Alarṅkāra but here it is used by Keśava as a substitute for Bhoja's Arthagūṇa called Rīti, which is the description of things and their aspects in the same order as found in the world. According to Keśava's own statement, Rīti or Paryāyokti can be dismissed, for it is only the absence of the Doṣa Kramabhaṅga. The Arthagūṇa, Prasāda, of Bhoja is made into the fourth Arthagūṇa called Sudharmitā and Keśava's definition of it is based on Bhoja's text. It is the Dhvani of an object by the description of its attributes.

Keśava accepts Bhoja's Vaiśeṣikagūṇas and the principle underlying them.

Candrāloka.

The *Candrāloka* accepts only eight guṇas—Śleṣa, Prasāda, Samatā, Samādhi, Mādhurya, Ojas, Saukumārya and Udāratā. The work includes Kānti in Śrīngāra and Arthavyakti in Prasāda.

भृङ्गारे च प्रसादे च कान्त्यर्थव्यक्तिसङ्ग्रहः । IV. 10.

Jayadeva would have been more logical if he had included Kānti, not in Śrīngāra only, but in Rasa as such. For, Vāmana does not define Kānti as Dīpta śrīngāratva but only as Dīpta rasatva and though he illustrates with a Śrīngāra verse, he says in his Vṛtti that one can see this Guṇa in other Rasas also. एवं रसान्तरेष्वप्युदाहार्यम् । Similarly, it would have been more logical to include Arthavyakti in Svabhāvokti-alarṅkāra than in Prasāda. See above—chapter on Bhoja and Svabhāvokti, Vol. I. part 1, pp. 142-3.

In his definitions, Jayadeva follows Vāmana mostly. He takes Śleṣa both as śabdagūṇa and Arthagūṇa. The latter is described as Ghaṭanā (Vāmana). Samatā is defined in two ways : Alpasamāsatva, which is an original view and the use of the same Rīti or the same Samāsajātī (Rīti as Samāsajātī is a view following that of Rudraṭa) throughout in a verse. Alpasamāsatva is one kind of Samatā. The other definition is a kind of Svarānuprāsa. वर्णाद्यैस्तुल्यतायना । Samādhi is taken as—अर्थमहिमा लसदनरसात्मना—which is original. It is not illustrated. Mādhurya is taken as Arthagūṇa only, even as Samādhi. It is described according to Vāmana as Ukti vaicitrya. Ojas is taken only as an Artha guṇa and Vāmana is followed on it. On Saukumārya also Vāmana is followed ; so also on Udāratā, which, however, is taken only in relation to Artha. Śleṣa is taken in relation to both śabda and Artha. Prasāda, Samatā and Saukumārya are taken only as Guṇas of śabda ; and Samādhi, Mādhurya, Ojas and Udāratā only as Arthagūṇas.

Kavikarṇapūra Gosvāmin.

Kavikarṇapūra Gosvāmin in his *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* accepts only the three Guṇas of Ānanda and says that the other seven are included in these three. While mentioning the other seven, he omits the old Saukumārya and mentions Prauḍhi, which, as a separate Guṇa, Bhoja alone gives, though Vāmana speaks of it as the meaning of Artha ojas.

Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

It is the question of Rasavad-alaṅkāra and the discussion of how and when Rasa actually becomes an Alaṅkāra that leads on Ānandavardhana to the topic of Guṇa in the second Uddyota of his *Dhva. Ā.* to clearly state the Kāvya ātman and the relation of Alaṅkāras and Guṇas to that Ātman.

यः पुनरङ्गी रसो भावो वा सर्वाकारमलङ्कार्यः स ध्वनेरात्मा ।

किञ्च— तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनं ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।

अङ्गाश्रितास्त्वलङ्कारा मन्तव्याः कटकादिवत् ॥

ये तमर्थं रसादिलक्षणमङ्गिनं सन्तं अवलम्बन्ते ते गुणाः शौर्यादिवत् । वाच्यवाचकलक्षणानि अङ्गानि ये पुनः आश्रिताः ते अलङ्कारा मन्तव्याः कटकादिवदिति । *Dhva. Ā. II. p. 78.*

So long as they had not formulated the soul of Poetry, the ancients could not distinguish properly Guṇa from Alaṅkāra. Crude theories of differentiation they advanced and did not realise that the real reason for their trouble in not realising the difference between the two lay in their lack of insight into the real soul of poetry. Going no deeper than the surface, the Vācya-Vācaka, they found that both Guṇa and Alaṅkāra gave beauty to it. Some said that since that was so, there was little difference between the two ; or the two differed slightly, Guṇa being the Dharma of the collocation as a whole and Alaṅkāra of Śabda and Artha. Someone else proposed the view that Guṇas were Śobhāhetu, Nitya, and Kāvya-tva gamaka, while Alaṅkāras were for extra beauty, Śobhātiśaya-hetu and Anitya. They realised only this much that both imparted beauty to Kāvya. To what in Kāvya do they impart beauty is the vital question. The ancients, who held to the form of Poetry, said that Rasa also beautified only the Vācya-vācaka and hence was an Alaṅkāra. Thus the logical end of this was that in Kāvya, the only two major topics were Guṇa and Alaṅkāra, the main single subject being kāvya śobhā hetu ; and in this big sense, the word Alaṅkāra itself was used, thus making it comprehend within itself Guṇa also. The ancients were "Ālaṅkārikas" in the strictest sense of the term. They saw Alaṅkāra everywhere ; they moved in an 'Alaṅkāra prapañca'.

This inability to make a more scientific definition of Guṇa and Alaṅkāra and a differentiation of a substantial nature between the two was due to their blindness to the fact that Guṇa and Alaṅkāra are relative terms and that they mean a Guṇin and an Alaṅkārya. Kāvya like man, has two constituents, body and soul. The Vācya-vācaka, the form of poetry, the words and their meanings—these constitute the body or śarīra of poetry. Of a conception of some soul, Ātman, in Poetry, we have just a glimpse in Vāmana. He stumbled

upon something more than Guṇa or Alarṅkāra, upon Rīti. Rasa was known long before but that too was made Alarṅkāra, form alone being the thing for the ancients. The neo-critics came and disturbed these calm vagaries. They hold that the Vācya-vācaka is the śarīra of poetry, its Aṅga, and the Aṅgin or the Ātman is Rasa. The śarīra is subordinate and is considered to have life only so long as there is the Aṅgin or the Ātman called Rasa. A Kāvya is soulless, mere verbal vomit, if there is no Rasa in it, if the poet sits only to play with sounds, to jingle and to pun. Rasa being the Aṅgin, it can never be Aṅga, just as the Ātman can never be śarīra. All cases of Rasa in Kāvya are not Rasavad-alarṅkāra as Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin or his late followers considered. There can be places in poetry where there is no Alarṅkāra, if only one can give the name Alarṅkāra its proper connotation, without putting under it all things under the sun. Alarṅkāra need not be everywhere. Alarṅkāra is not invariably concomitant with Kāvya. Its presence is 'Vyabhicarita.' Cases of Rasas are cases of Rasas only. But there are instances where it is possible to subordinate Rasa and use it even as an Alarṅkāra is used, as a means of beautification of another idea, which, in that particular case, is not Rasa but something else. Thus, in Cāṭus where the Bhāva, viz., love for a king or in Stotras of God where the Bhāva called Bhakti is the main idea suggested by a description of the Vīra Rasa or the Śrīgāra Rasa of the king or God, the Rasas, Vīra and Śrīgāra, are effectively used for the sake of adorning and ornamenting the main idea of love or devotion to king or God. Here, Rasa is used as Alarṅkāra. In such cases Rasa is Alarṅkāra. Here is the proper scope of the name Rasavad-alarṅkāra.

This being clearly formulated that Kāvya must have an Aṅgin, a Guṇin and an Alarṅkārya, to have Guṇa and Alarṅkāra, the problem of the differentiation of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra came as a matter of course to be solved. In the world, we see that Alarṅkāras like dress and jewels rest on the śarīra and are for the beauty of the body. The body may not need them, being itself beautiful. Ornaments as such have little beautifying capacity by themselves. Beauty consists in Aucitya. A woman in love (Rati) wishes to enthrall her lover ; wants to please him and decks her body with ornaments. One sees her and says, she is in a joyous mood, she is evidently preparing to meet her lover. Ornaments have their logic in suggesting the mind, the Manobhāva. Sometimes, when there is no Bhāva, ornamentation may slowly induce the Bhāva to spring up but if the mind is absolutely devoid of Bhāva, Alarṅkāra is completely meaningless. If temperaments are such as to be enthralled by response of Bhāva only, in those cases there is no need for any Alarṅkāra. Inner joy may exuberantly express itself in outer decoration but extravagant outer decoration becomes a hindrance to the realisation of Rasa ; even if it is present, it does not count. There is a saying in Tamil which puts the thing finely : "Cast away the nose-pearl which hinders the kissing." Thus Anaucitya of Alarṅkāra is in both extremes, where there is full Bhāva and where there is no Bhāva at all ; in the one case it is unnecessary and in the other case, useless.

रक्ते विरक्ते च वरे वधूनां

निरर्थकः कुङ्कुमपत्रभङ्गः । *Kṛṣṇakarmāmyta.*

For the poet's attention is in Rasa. Not only Alarṅkāras but Guṇas of narrower connotation like Śleṣa of Śabda also, like the Mārdava and Aśaithilya of a Nāyikā's body, become meaningless in the absence of the essential thing, the Aṅgin, Guṇin, Alarṅkārya, which is the Ātman, viz., Bhāva or Rasa.

कल्या मूर्तिः कुलममलिनं यौवनं रूपसंपत्

सौभाग्यद्विः प्रियवचनताशालिवैदग्ध्ययोगः ।

शालीनत्वं विनयपरतेत्यज्ञानभूषणं यत्—

तत्प्रेमार्द्रं प्रणयिनि मनो नास्ति चेत्—नास्ति किञ्चित् ॥¹

Quoted by Bhoja at the beginning of the Rasa section in the *Śr. Pra.* to emphasise the importance of Rasa.

Therefore, the scope of Alarṅkāra is very limited, and if it is to be rendered sensible, it has to be related to a soul whose body it is to beautify. Even as an ornament on the body beautifies the body and through it helps the presentation of a Bhāva, so also an Alarṅkāra in Poetry.

Guṇas of Kāvya resemble Guṇas of men like bravery, courage, straightforwardness, sweetness of temper etc. These rest in a place deeper than the body. Certain physical conditions, certain kinds of the build of the body, certain physical poses, particular ways of walking etc., can suggest the Guṇas of a man's character. But these Guṇas do not belong to the well-built body or the dignified pose or the stately walking. One's courage pertains to his soul, and so also in the world of Kāvya regarding the Guṇas of Kāvya. This discrimination alone provides any intelligible distinction between Guṇas and Alarṅkāras. Only in this view of a soul of poetry different from its Śarīra can one maintain any difference between Guṇa and Alarṅkāra. If Śarīra alone is recognised and everything accepted as its beautifying element, there can be no tangible difference between Guṇa and Alarṅkāra. If the Ātman, as distinct from Śarīra, is realised and accepted, there can be this differentiation that Guṇas pertain to the Aṅgin named Rasa and Alarṅkāras to the Aṅga, the Vācya-vācaka.

गुणालङ्कारव्यवहारश्च गुणिन्यलङ्कार्ये च सति । स च अस्मत्पक्ष एवोपपन्न इत्यभिप्रायेणाह ।

Locana, p. 78.

Guṇas are thus established as Dharmas of the Ātman, the Rasas. But how is it that there is the usage, the Vyavahāra, that words are sweet, Madhura? Ānandavardhana replies that this Vyavahāra is through Upacāra. The Guṇa called Mādhurya is the Dharma of both phases of Śṛṅgāra and of Karuṇa. Words and ideas having the power to suggest the Mādhurya of these Rasas are also called, through extension, Madhura.

1. "Be she fairer than the day,
Or the flower mead in May,
If she thinks not well of me,
What care I how fair she be",

George Wither,

एतदुक्तं भवति—वस्तुतो माधुर्यं नाम शृङ्गारादे रसस्यैव गुणः । तन्मधुराभिव्यञ्जकयोः शब्दार्थ-
योरुपचरितम् । मधुर-शृङ्गार-रसाभिव्यक्तिसमर्थता शब्दार्थयोर्माधुर्यमिति हि तद्वक्ष्यम् ।

Locana. III Ud. p. 79.

The older writers, Udbhaṭa and his followers, held Guṇas as pertaining to the collocation, as Saṁghaṭanāśraya, a view that persists till such a late time as Vidyānātha's. When summing up the old view as Pūrvapakṣa, Ānandavardhana says in Uddyota I. p. 5 :

सङ्घटनाधर्माश्च माधुर्यादयः, तेऽपि प्रतीयन्ते ।

Abhinavagupta explains this text clearly that the old writers held the features of the words themselves to be Anuprāsa and other Śabdālaṁkāras, and the features of the word-collocation, Śabda saṁghaṭanā, to be Śabdaguṇas ; the features of the Artha separately to be Arthālaṁkāras and of the Arthasaṁghaṭanā to be Arthaguṇas. Thus, while Ālaṁkāras belong to the Śabda and Artha themselves, the Guṇas pertain to Śabdārtha saṁghaṭanā. The former is of the Avayavas and the latter is of the Avayavin.

तथापि द्विविधं चारुत्वम्, स्वरूपमात्रनिष्ठं, संघटनाश्रितं च । तत्र शब्दानां स्वरूपमात्रकृतं चारुत्वं शब्दालङ्कारेभ्यः । संघटनाश्रितं तु शब्दगुणेभ्यः । एवमर्थानां स्वरूपमात्रनिष्ठमुपमादिभ्यः, संघटनापर्यवसितं त्वर्यगुणेभ्य इति—।

Ānandavardhana established the real Āśraya of Guṇa as Rasa and said that Guṇas can be spoken of in relation to Śabda through Upacāra. Even when the Guṇas are spoken of in relation to Śabda, the distinction however should be kept in mind. They are never on a par with Anuprāsa, Śabdālaṁkāra, pertaining to Śabda. The Guṇas are greater, being related more to Artha and through it to Rasa and if they are said to be of Śabda also, it is just like talking of Śaurya as existing in a hero's physical frame.

ननु यदि सङ्घटना गुणानां नाश्रयः, तत् किमालम्बना एते परिकल्प्यन्ते । उच्यते, प्रतिपादितमेवैषामालम्बनम् ।

‘तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनं ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।

×

×

×

×

अथवा भवन्तु शब्दाश्रया एव गुणाः । न चैषामनुप्रासादितुल्यत्वम् । यस्मादनुप्रासादयोऽनपेक्षितार्थविस्ताराः शब्दधर्मा एव । शब्दधर्मत्वं चैषाम् अन्याश्रयत्वेऽपि शरीराश्रयत्वमिव शौर्यादीनाम् ।

P. 135, Ud. III. *Dhva. Ā.*

Udbhaṭa would ask, if Guṇas are not Dharmas of Saṁghaṭanā, they should be of Śabda and Artha since there is nothing else to be their Āśraya. If that is so, what difference is there between Guṇa and Ālaṁkāra ? The reply is that there is some other Āśraya, the Aṅgin, the Ātman of Kāvya named Rasa. It is Aviveka, and it is also permissible through Upacāra, if one speaks of the Ātmaguṇa as Śarīraguṇa.

शब्दार्थालम्बनत्वे हि तदलङ्कारेभ्यः को विशेष इति उक्तं चिरन्तनैरिति भावः । × ×

अपि तु भवत्वेषामविवेकिनामभिप्रायेणापि शब्दधर्मत्वं, शौर्यादीनामिव शरीरधर्मत्वम् । अविवेको हि उपचारकत्वविभागं विवेकुमसमर्थः । तथापि न कश्चिद्दोष इत्येवं परमेतदुक्तं भवति । × ×

उपचारेण यदि शब्देषु गुणाः तत्रेदं तात्पर्यं— शृङ्गारादिरसाभिव्यञ्जकवाच्यप्रतिपादनसामर्थ्यमेव शब्दस्य माधुर्यम् । तच्च शब्दगतं विशिष्टघटनयैव लभ्यते ।

So the Guṇas primarily pertain to Rasa and are brought into relation with Śabda and Saṁghaṭanā through Upacāra and spoken of as Śabdadharmā and Saṁghaṭanādharmā. Just as words and even sounds also suggest, so also Saṁghaṭanā suggests. That is, there is Dhvani in Saṁghaṭanā ; there is Asamlakṣyakramadhvani.

यस्त्वलङ्कारकमव्यङ्ग्यः ध्वनिर्वर्णपदादिषु ।

वाक्ये संघटनायां च स प्रवन्देऽपि दीप्यते ॥ III. 2.

How does a Saṁghaṭanā suggest Rasa ? Saṁghaṭanā varies with Guṇas. It depends upon Guṇas ; it is the embodiment of certain Guṇas. It suggests those Guṇas and the Rasas to which those Guṇas pertain. The Rasa is the controlling factor, the Niyāmaka. A Saṁghaṭanā may suggest Mādhurya and through that Śṛṅgāra rasa. That means that in Śṛṅgāra rasa, the Saṁghaṭanā, if it is to be suggestive, must have the Guṇa called Mādhurya. In Raudra the Saṁghaṭanā will be Ojasvinī. This Rasaucitya is however to be slightly modified by the larger Aucitya of Vaktā and Vācya.

गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती माधुर्यादीन् व्यनक्ति सा ।

रसांस्तन्निगमे हेतुरौचित्यं वक्तृवाच्ययोः ॥ III. 6. Dhvā. Ā.

We need not consider here the Aucitya of the speaker and the context ruling Saṁghaṭanā but shall restrict ourselves to the suggestiveness of the Saṁghaṭanā and its relation to Guṇa. Saṁghaṭanā does suggest Rasa. What is its relation to Guṇa ? Certain writers hold that Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇa are not different while others hold the two to be different. The latter set of writers differ again among themselves ; some say that Saṁghaṭanā is Guṇāśraya and others that Saṁghaṭanā is the Āśraya of Guṇas. Of these views, if Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇas are identical or if Guṇas are Saṁghaṭanāśraya, there is a danger that like Saṁghaṭanā, Guṇa also will become 'Aniyata viśaya'. That is, Guṇas, we know, have their definite scope ; Mādhurya in Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa ; Ojas, Raudra and Adbhuta. Saṁghaṭanā is of three kinds, Asamāsa, Madhyamasamāsa and Dīrghasamāsa. These have no defined scope. As for instance, it cannot be said that Dīrghasamāsa occurs only in Raudra. They are seen often in Śṛṅgāra also. Similarly, Asamāsa saṁghaṭanā is not restricted to Śṛṅgāra but is found in Raudra also. So Saṁghaṭanā is Aniyataviśaya. As a consequence, if Guṇa is to be identical with or dependent upon Saṁghaṭanā, it will, contrary to its own nature, become Aniyataviśaya. Therefore neither can Guṇas be of the form of Saṁghaṭanā i.e., they cannot be identical with Saṁghaṭanā, nor can they be Saṁghaṭanāśraya. Their real Āśraya is Rasa, though Upacāra makes it possible to bring the Guṇa in relation to Saṁghaṭanā and Śabda also.

It may be objected that if Guṇas are Śabdāśraya, they are also Saṁghaṭanāśraya or Saṁghaṭanārūpa since there are no Śabdās which are not in the form of collocation, i.e. Asaṁghaṭita. It is through Saṁghaṭanā that

śabdhas have to give a meaning and to suggest a Rasa. It is replied that this is not a necessary consequence. It is only Asarīghaṭita śabdhas that can be accepted (through Upacāra) as Āśraya for Guṇas. Sarīghaṭanā need not peep in here. Mere sounds are suggestive. If a Vākya suggesting Rasa has to be necessarily in a Sarīghaṭanā, the Sarīghaṭanā can never be said to be the Āśraya of the Guṇas. For, Sarīghaṭnās are Aniyata. Their nature is not definite as that of Guṇas, and indefinite things like that cannot be said to be the Āśraya of Guṇas. So it is only śabdhas, without any reference to the Sarīghaṭanā, which is by nature Aniyata, that are the Āśraya of Guṇas. By Upacāra, Guṇas can be made to be śabdāśraya ; never Sarīghaṭanāśraya even by Upacāra.

The critic then objects that Sarīghaṭanā cannot be said to be always Aniyata. As regards Mādhurya and Śrīṅgāra, it may be said that no particular Sarīghaṭanā can be said to be the only Vyañjaka of that Rasa, since all the three kinds of Sarīghaṭanās are found in Śrīṅgāra. But as regards Ojas, it must be accepted that there is a Niyama. For, an Asamāsa sarīghaṭanā is never the Āśraya of Ojas. The reply to this is that the notion of Ojas as Dīrghasamāsa is mere traditional indiscretion and that there is Ojas in such verses as यो यः शङ्खम् etc. even though there is no Dīrghasamāsa. Therefore, one view will conclude that Guṇas and Sarīghaṭanās are not identical and that they are different ; and that Guṇas are not Sarīghaṭanāśraya.

तस्मादन्ये गुणाः अन्या च संघटना, न च संघटनामाश्रिताः गुणा इत्येकं दर्शनम् ।

Dhva. A. P. 173.

The objector again says that, as regards Ojas at least, Niyataviśayatva must be accepted for the Sarīghaṭanā. In the verse यो यः शङ्खम् there is the fault of lack of proper Sarīghaṭanā. There is Vyabhicāra of the Niyama that Ojas *must* have Dīrghasamāsa sarīghaṭanā. If we do not clearly see the fault in the verse, it is due to the fact that the poet's Śakti hides this technical flaw. Ānanda does not accept this veiled compliment to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's Śakti. He rejects the point saying that Sahṛdayas do not see any Vyutpatti-doṣa in the verse. If it is contended that, in that case, there is no Ojas in that verse, well, let it be even so. There is no Ojas but there is Prasāda and the Rasa is most clear. There is no Acārutva. It is so because of the more comprehensive Aucitya of Vaktā and Vācya. Further, it is a verse in a drama to be enacted, Abhineyārtha. Much more than Ojas, the Guṇa of the Rasa of that situation, it is Prasāda, the Guṇa of all Rasas, that is important in a drama or Abhineyārtha. This is Viśayaucitya and this must also be taken into consideration. From this point of view there is no flaw in this verse.

Thus, from the point of view of Rasas, there is Niyama, only as regards Guṇas. For them alone are Rasas Niyāmaka. From the stand-point of Rasa, Sarīghaṭanā has no Niyama, i.e. Rasas are not Niyāmaka for Sarīghaṭanā. But it is not that Sarīghaṭanā has absolutely no Niyama ; a more comprehensive Niyama for it, more comprehensive than that of Rasa, has to be pointed out. That Niyāmaka is Vaktā, Vācya, Viśaya etc. Even in

the view that Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇa are identical, such a bigger Niyāmaka other than Rasa must be accepted, more so, in the view that holds the two separate.

तस्माद्गुणव्यतिरिक्तत्वे गुणरूपत्वे च संघटनायाः अन्यः कश्चिन्नियमहेतुः वक्तव्य इत्युच्यते ।

Dhva. A. P. 138.

From the point of view of this comprehensive Niyāmaka, Saṁghaṭanā also is Niyataviṣaya. Saṁghaṭanā is suggestive, Vyañjaka, only from the point of view of this Niyama of Vaktā, Vācya and Viṣaya. This comprehensive Aucitya applies to Guṇas also. Though Rasas are Niyāmakas for Guṇas, we have to postulate a larger and a more comprehensive Niyama than pure Rasaucitya for Guṇa sometimes. Or, rather, everywhere, it is not absolute Rasaucitya that controls Guṇas but only modified Rasaucitya, Rasaucitya modified by Prakṛtyaucitya, the nature of the character and context from which one cannot isolate Rasa. Thus in the Śṛṅgāra of Bhīma, there will be some Auddhatya and it will not be that Mādhurya of the case of Arjuna. The difference is due to the difference in their natures, Uddhata and Lalita. Even so, the anger of Yudhiṣṭhira will have little of that Auddhatya which characterises Bhīma's anger. Yudhiṣṭhira's calm nature modifies the general Ojas of his anger.

Since the larger Aucitya of Vaktā, Vācya and Viṣaya applies to Guṇas also in this manner, the same Niyamas apply to both Guṇas and Saṁghaṭanās in the view that the two are identical. In the view that Saṁghaṭanā is Guṇāśraya also, there is little difficulty in accepting the Niyāmakas of Guṇas as the Niyāmakas of Saṁghaṭanā also. In the third view that holds Guṇas as Saṁghaṭanāśraya also, there is little difficulty in accepting the Niyamas to be given by Ānandavardhana, since they are the Niyamas also for Guṇas.

तस्माद्गुणव्यतिरिक्तत्वे गुणव्यतिरिक्तत्वे वा सङ्घटनाया यथोक्तादौचित्याद् विषयनियमोऽस्ति इति तस्या अपि रसव्यञ्जकत्वम् । तस्माच्च रसाभिव्यक्तिनिमित्तभूतायाः योऽयमनन्तरोक्तो नियमहेतुः, स एव गुणानामिति नियतो विषय इति गुणाश्रयेण व्यवस्थानमप्यविरुद्धम् । P. 140. *Dhva. A. III.*

यदि गुणाः सङ्घटनैकरूपाः, तथापि गुणनियम एव संघटनाया नियमः । गुणाधीनसङ्घटनापक्षेऽप्येवम् । सङ्घटनाश्रयगुणपक्षेऽपि सङ्घटनाया नियमकत्वेन यद्वक्तुं वाच्यौचित्यं हेतुत्वेनोक्तं, तद्गुणानामपि नियमहेतुरिति पक्षत्रयेऽपि न कश्चिद्विद्भ्रवः इति तात्पर्यम् ॥ P. 140. *Locana.*

This Saṁghaṭanā-grantha in the third Uddyota of the *Dhvanyāloka* is a very clumsy section. Ānanda adopts here a serpentine style, the best style for confusing the readers. As a matter of fact, he is not very serious about the relation of Guṇa to Saṁghaṭanā, whether the two are identical or different or Guṇa is Saṁghaṭanāśraya or Saṁghaṭanā is Guṇāśraya. His fundamental conception is that Guṇas are Rasadharmas and that they can be brought into relation with Śabda through Upacāra and that they can never be said to be dependent on Saṁghaṭanā, Saṁghaṭanāparādhīna. As Rasadharmas, the Guṇas have Rasas as Niyāmakas and they have also the other Niyāmakas like the Aucitya of Vaktā, Vācya, Viṣaya etc. Saṁghaṭanā is also Rasavyañjaka through some Niyama. That Niyama is not however Rasa,

since the rule connecting certain kinds of Saṁghaṭanā to certain Rasas, such as the Dīrgha samāsa saṁghaṭanā to Raudra, shows Vyabhicāra. Nor is Saṁghaṭanā absolutely Aniyata; its Niyama is the more comprehensive Aucitya of the context. This analysis of Ānanda dispels from Guṇas unintelligible associations. It casts off ancient definitions of Guṇas involving dependence on Saṁghaṭanā. Ānanda relates Guṇas to the Guṇin or the Aṅgin, the Ātman which is Rasa. But, Bhāmaha defined the Guṇa of Ojas as Dīrgha-samāsa saṁghaṭanā.

केचिदोजोऽभिधित्सन्तः समस्यन्ति बहून्यपि ।

यथा मन्दारकुसुमरेणुपिञ्जितालका ॥

This definition makes Ojas the name of Samāsabhūyastva, without any reference to Rasa. Thus, this Ojas can be in Śrīṅgāra and actually the illustration of Bhāmaha for Ojas is a case of Śrīṅgāra. (Ānanda. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 135.) In this case Guṇas will be either identical with Saṁghaṭanā or determined by and dependent on Saṁghaṭanā. Then the name Guṇa has little significance. Guṇa like the Śaurya of man belongs to the Ātman i.e., Rasa. It cannot be of Śabda or of Saṁghaṭanā and from this it follows that the Guṇas of Rasa cannot be more than three. Guṇas are not ten or more. They are only three, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda. Of these, Prasāda is the Guṇa of all Rasas and it must be present everywhere. Even the Mādhurya of Śrīṅgāra may be present but if there is no Prasāda, the Śrīṅgāra rasa is not manifested. This Prasāda is not mainly of Śabda or Artha, but is of Rasa. It is the quality of quick emotional infection or spreading, the quality of quick spreading seen in the fire on dry wood.

समर्पकत्वं काव्यस्य यस्तु सर्वरसान्प्रति ।

स प्रसादो गुणो ज्ञेयः सर्वसाधारणक्रियः ॥

प्रसादस्तु स्वच्छता शब्दार्थयोः । स च सर्वरससाधारणो गुणः सर्वरचनासाधारणश्च व्यङ्ग्यार्थापेक्षयैव मुख्यतया व्यवस्थितः इति मन्तव्यः । *Dhva. Ā. p. 82.*

सर्वासु च संघटनासु प्रसादाख्यो गुणो व्यापी । स हि सर्वरससाधारणः सर्वसंघटनासाधारणश्चेत्युक्तम् । प्रसादातिक्रमे ह्यसमासापि संघटना करुणविप्रलम्भशृङ्गारौ न व्यनक्ति । *Dhva. Ā. p. 140.*

समर्पकत्वं सम्यगर्पकत्वं हृदयसंवादेन प्रतिपत्तुन् प्रति स्वात्मावेशेन व्यापकत्वम् । श्रुतिरिति शुष्क-काष्ठाग्निदृष्टान्तेन । [अकलुषोदक दृष्टान्तेन च तदकालुष्यम्] प्रसन्नत्वं नाम सर्वरसानां गुणः । उपचारात्तु तथाविधे व्यङ्ग्येऽर्थे यच्छब्दार्थयोः समर्पकत्वं तदपि प्रसादः । *Locana II. Ud. p. 82.*

Such Śabda and Artha as have the quality of quickly delivering the Rasa are also described through Upacāra as having Prasāda.

Ojas, as we have seen above, was defined by the ancients in such a manner as to make it identical with or dependent on long Samāsa. Prasāda and Mādhurya also were defined by Bhāmaha in that manner, though in Daṇḍin these two Guṇas came to be defined in a different manner. But Ojas is defined all through its history from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin downwards, by Bhoja and by others, as Samāsabhūyastva. Vāmana in the midst of these makes a solitary cry that Ojas is Gāḍhabandha. Bhāmaha says that this Ojas

which is *Dirghasamāsa* is characteristic of certain writers : “*Kecid ojo 'bhi-dhītsantaḥ*”. He gives two kinds of writers, one loving *Mādhurya* and *Prasāda* and refraining from long compounds.

माधुर्यमभिवाञ्छन्तः प्रसादं च सुमेधसः ।

समासवन्ति भूयांसि न पदानि प्रयुज्यते ॥ II. 1.

and another loving *Ojas* and using long compounds

केचिदोजोऽभिधित्सन्तः समस्यन्ति बहुन्यपि । II. 2.

Bhāmaha does not want to stamp these into two separate styles with the name of *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍa*. He is against that kind of treatment of the subject. He refutes the view that the former is good and the latter bad. Without mentioning the names he simply says that certain writers resort to single or uncompounded words for the sake of *Mādhurya* and *Prasāda* while others compound very much for the sake of *Ojas*. *Bhāmaha* likes both, if both have *Alaṅkāra*, good meaning, and are decent and uninvolved. (I. 35) If *Gauḍiyā* should have these excellences, it is good. If *Vaidarbhī* is devoid of these, even that is bad. And *Vaidarbhī*, loving *Mādhurya*, must have restraint and also respect for idea as much as the other *Mārga*. If not, its mere pleasing sense for the ear cloy. It is only like some song. (I. 34) Thus, in *Bhāmaha*, we see that though he does not accept any narrow compartment attitude towards style, being led by the nose as it were by two catch-words, *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍa*, he yet indicates at the beginning of chapter II in the course of his brief treatment of *Guṇas*, that one set of writers prefer a style with little compounds, while the other prefers a style with long compounds ; that of the former, the *Guṇas* are *Mādhurya* and *Prasāda* and of the latter, the *Guṇas* is *Ojas*. In *Daṇḍin*, it is definitely stated that *Ojas*, as long compounds, is a darling of the *Gauḍas*. Outside verse, in prose, whether they are *Vaidarbhas* or *Gauḍas*, writers use *Ojas*. *Daṇḍin* considers *Ojas* as the life of prose ! The *Vaidarbhas* do not resort to it in verse while the *Gauḍas* are addicted to it even in verse. (I. 80-84) Sometimes there occur stray instances of *Samāsa* even in a *Vaidarbha* verse but even then it will be a *Vaidarbha's* *Samāsa*, its essential feature being uninvolvedness. (*Hṛdya anākula Ojas*—I. 83). Thus the old writers connected *Ojas* with the two current styles called the *Vaidarbhī* and the *Gauḍī* and spoke of it as being absent from the one and present in the other. In both *Bhāmaha* and *Daṇḍin*, *Ojas* is identical with or dependent upon the *Dirghasamāsa saṁghaṭanā*. *Ānandavardhana* took up this *Ojas* and cut off from it all these ideas. He said that *Ojas* is *Dīpti*, flaring up. It is not a *Guṇa* of *śabda* or of the collocation of long compounds. It is a *Rasaguṇa*, the *Guṇa* of the *Raudra* and *Adbhuta* *Rasas* in the main. Just as *Prasāda* is seen in all *Rasas*, this *Ojas* is seen in *Raudra* and *Adbhuta* as the flaring up or the flaming up of the heart. It is to be seen in *Vīra* also.

रौद्रेत्यादि । आदिशब्दः प्रकारे । तेन वीराद्वनयोरपि ग्रहणम् । Locana. p. 80.

This *Guṇa* of the *Sahṛdaya's* heart seen in the realisation of the *Raudra*, *Adbhuta* and *Vīra* *Rasas*, can be suggested by long compounds, as well as by

a collocation of no compounds. Older critics contended that Ojas was Dīrgha-samāsa saṁghaṭanā, itself identical with or dependent on it and that the Dīrghasamāsa saṁghaṭanā alone could suggest Raudra Rasa and that if a verse of Raudra was not in compounds, it was a case of the poet's lapse in Vyutpatti. Ānanda casts off this view by linking Guṇa to Rasa and shows how, in such cases of Raudra not having long compounds, Sahṛdayas who are not obsessed with the traditional ideas of long compounds manifesting Ojas and Raudra, do feel the Ojas.

रौद्रादयो रसा दीप्त्या लक्ष्यन्ते काव्यवर्तिनः ।

तद्व्यक्तिहेतु शब्दार्थावाश्रित्यौ व्यक्थितम् ॥

रौद्रादयो हि रसाः परा दीप्तिम् उज्ज्वलतां जनयन्तीति लक्षणया त एव दीप्तिरित्युच्यते । तत्प्रकाशनपरः शब्दो दीर्घसमासरचनालङ्कृतं वाक्यम् । यथा—“चबद्धजन्मिति ०—” । तत्प्रकाशनपरस्वार्थोऽनपेक्षितदीर्घसमासरचनः प्रसन्नवाचकमिधेयो यथा—“यो यः शब्दं विमर्ति ०—” इत्यादौ द्वयोरोजस्त्वम् । *Dhva*, Ā. II. pp. 80-81.

Ojas related to śabda through Upacāra or śabda capable of presenting Ojas may be 'long compounds'. Artha capable of presenting Ojas need not be couched in long compounds. Artha has its own Dīpti in spite of an uncompounded Vācaka. In such cases, the śabdās have only the Guṇa of Prasāda (of course through Upacāra). Ojas of Artha (through Upacāra) can be couched in long compounds.

Coming to Mādhurya,—the ancient Bhāmaha defined it as sweetness and absence of compounds.

श्रव्यं नातिसमस्तार्थं काव्यं मधुरमिष्यते ।

Mādhurya became Śrutyanuprāsa and Agrāmyatā in Daṇḍin. It got itself freed from the Asamāsa Saṁghaṭanā to which Bhāmaha tied it. It continued to have Śravyatā as part of its connotation. Śravyatā is not meant as absent from Ojas. For, Bhāmaha does not say so actually. He only says that in the style where there is little of compounds, where there is Prasāda as well as Mādhurya, Śravyatva is in abundance. This style is very sweet to the ear. Vāmana exactly gave śabda Mādhurya as absence of Samāsa or the use of single uncompounded words, Pṛthakpadatā. His Arthaguṇa Mādhurya, which is Uktivaicitrya, can be ignored. Mādhurya was thus related to the Asamāsa Saṁghaṭanā, Śrutyanuprāsa and Agrāmyatā. Ānandavardhana made it the Guṇa of Śrīngāra pre-eminently. This Mādhurya has two phases. It is sweetness in Śrīngāra; in Vipralambha and Karuṇa it takes the aspect of Ārdratā, extreme suppleness or melting of the heart. Thus Mādhurya is more and more in the ascending order in Śrīngāra (Saṁbhoga), Vipralambha and Karuṇa. As we shall see in a further section, we have a third phase of this Mādhurya viz., the Mādhurya of Śānta. Ānanda never gave Mādhurya as the Guṇa of Śānta. Those who developed him made Śānta also a Madhura rasa. Its Mādhurya is of a separate kind. In realisation, Śāntarasa being the Rasa of Brahman-experience, has an unworldly Mādhurya. It is Mādhurya of the heart devoid of all miseries.

शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः ।

तन्मयं काव्यमाश्रित्य माधुर्यं प्रतितिष्ठति ॥

शृङ्गार एव रसान्तरापेक्षया मधुरः प्रह्लादहेतुत्वात्प्रह्लादनः । तत्प्रकाशनपरशब्दार्थयोः काव्यस्य स माधुर्यलक्षणो गुणः । श्रव्यत्वं पुनरोजसोऽपि साधारणमिति ।

शृङ्गारे विप्रलम्भाख्ये करुणे च प्रकर्षवत् ।

माधुर्यमार्द्रतां याति यतस्तत्राधिकं मनः ॥ *Dhva. Ā. II. p. 79.*

Mādhurya and Ojas, Ārdratā and Dīpti, are the two main Guṇas, standing opposite to each other. Prasāda pertains to all Rasas. These two, Mādhurya and Dīpti divide the Rasas into two sets : Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa on the one hand having nothing but Mādhurya, and Raudra, Vīra and Adbhuta on the other having nothing but Ojas. As regards the other Rasas, Hāsyā, Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa, Abhinava tries to show that there is a varying proportion of Mādhurya and Ojas. Hāsyā being an ancillary in Śṛṅgāra has Mādhurya and Ojas also in an equal degree since it is of the form of the expansion of the heart. In Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa, the Vibhāvas have Ojas and hence Ojas predominates.

एवं माधुर्यदीप्ती परस्परप्रतिद्वन्द्वितया स्थिते शृङ्गारादिरौद्रादिगते इति प्रदर्शयता तत्समावेश-
वैचित्र्यं हास्यभयानकबीभत्सशान्तेषु दर्शितम् । हास्यस्य शृङ्गाराङ्गतया माधुर्यं प्रकृष्टम्; विकासधर्म-
तयात्रौजोऽपि प्रकृष्टमिति साम्यं द्वयोः । भयानकस्य मग्नचित्तवृत्तिस्वभावेऽपि विभावस्य दीप्ततया
ओजः प्रकृष्टम्, माधुर्यमल्पम् । बीभत्सेऽप्येवम् । *Locana, p. 82.*

Hāsyā need not be an ancillary to Śṛṅgāra only. It can be introduced in other Rasas as well. It is mainly of the form of Vikāsa and springing from Ānanda, it can be justified that it has Mādhurya and Dīpti as Abhinava says. But, as regards Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa, there is strain in accepting the Samāveśa vaicitrya of Mādhurya and Ojas or in holding even a little amount of Mādhurya in them. Both of them are of the form of mental depression, Magnatā. There is difficulty in completely attributing to Rasa, the quality of its Vibhāva. Bībhatsa can be from such a Vibhāva as a woman. When a Yogin flies away from a woman and his loathing for carnal pleasure is depicted, the Vibhāva is not necessarily one of Ojas. He may think not of her fine form but only of the absolute final worth of her body in terms of blood, germs, the five Bhūtas, bones, flesh etc., and feel loathsomeness. The Vibhāvas here are loathsome, Jugupsya. They are not exactly of the form of Ojas. In the case of Bhayānaka, there is a great possibility of Ojas in Vibhāvas. For Raudra is the proper cause of Bhayānaka. But, the Ojas of the Vibhāvas cannot be the Guṇa of the resultant Rasa of Bhayānaka. The quality of the heart in Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa are thus not Dīpti but Magnatā and Saṅkoca. Some such cittavṛtti and Guṇa corresponding to it must be recognised for these two. Speaking of the four-fold nature of the mind in connection with the four primary Rasas producing four secondary Rasas, Dhanañjaya says that Bībhatsa is of the form of Kṣobha, agitation. (IV. 43-45.)

Though Ānandavardhana did not speak of the Guṇa of Śāntarasa, Abhinava did. He said :

शान्ते तु विभावैचिञ्चात् कदाचिदोजः प्रकृष्टम्, कदाचिन्माधुर्यमिति विभागः ।

The text is poor and we have not been given much idea by Abhinava here. Here again the Guṇa of the Vibhāva is attributed to Rasa also,—a questionable procedure. Further, there is no Vyavasthā in the Vibhāva of Śānta. From another aspect and more logically, the later writers establish Mādhurya as the Guṇa of Śāntarasa. Śānta should be the supreme type of Mādhurya.¹

In my paper on the four Vṛttis, I have shown, how dramatic themes, even as actions in the world, can be divided into two main classes, the soft and the wild, the tender and the terrible,—Masrṇa and Lalita as opposed to Āvidha and Udbhaṭa. These two divide dance into Lāsya,—the Sukumāra variety and Tāṇḍava,—the Uddhata variety. So also in the Daśarūpakas, dramas are Sukumāra or Uddhata. Kaiśikī vṛtti predominates in the former and Ārabhaṭī in the latter. The basis is Vyavahāra or Itivṛtta which is of the form of Rasa. The Rasas themselves form into two classes in dramas. This in Kāvya has its counterpart in the Guṇa of the Rasa. Getting behind Vṛtti, we find Guṇas in Rasas. Thus Śrīṅgāra is Madhura, hence Masrṇa and Sukumāra and hence has Kaiśikī as its vṛtti. Raudra is Ojas and hence is Uddhata and has Ārabhaṭī. Thus in Kāvya, the analysis yields Rasas, then Guṇas and then Vṛttis and lastly Rītis. The first controls the rest up to the last. In Śrīṅgāra there is Mādhurya, the Guṇa. It is embodied in an Arthavyavahāra which is in accordance with Mādhurya and that Arthavyavahāra is the Vṛtti of Kaiśikī. Its corresponding Śabdavyavahāra is the Rīti, the Vaidarbhī. See my paper on Vṛttis.

According to Abhinavagupta who states Ānanda more explicitly, the Guṇas are of the form of realisation in the Sahṛdaya. They are attributed to the Rasas realised and through them to Artha and Śabda. Such Guṇas are only three, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda.

एवं माधुर्यौजःप्रसादास्त्रयो गुणा उपपन्नाः भामहामिप्रायेण । ते च प्रतिपत्तु-आस्वादमया मुख्य-
तया, तत आस्वाद्य उपचरिता रसे, ततः तद्व्यञ्जकयोः शब्दार्थयोरिति तात्पर्यम् । एवमस्मत्पक्ष एव
गुणालङ्कारव्यवहारो विभागेन उपपद्यत इति—। *Locana* II. p. 82.

Guṇas are thus Cittavṛttis ; they are the names of the Vṛttis Kaiśikī etc. from a different aspect. Naming a particular mental state is by the rule of predominance ; for Druti which is Mādhurya is a feature present in all kinds of Rasa realisation ; so also, there is Vikāsa and Vistara in all kinds of Rasa realisation.

Rājaśekhara.

In the very beginning of his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Rājaśekhara says that he devotes the penultimate section of his proposed treatise to Guṇas, Gunaupādā-

1. See pp. 51-52 my 'Number of Rasas' Adyar Library Series.

nika, i.e. on Guṇopādāna. This section along with the others, except the first, is lost to us.

In Chapter IV of his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, Hemacandra deals with Guṇas. He follows Ānandavardhana and accepts only three Guṇas, and these, as Rasa dharma. He briefly states in his Vṛtti that Guṇas are not five or ten but only three. He takes up this bit of his Vṛtti and elaborately states in his commentary the ten Guṇas of Śabda and Artha according to Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Maṅgala's view is also referred to in the course of the discussion. The style of the passages here resembles that of Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. Firstly Bharata's view is given with the words 'Iti Bharataḥ'. Then others' refutations follow. The results are summarised then and there. The names of the several authors on Guṇa are referred to then and there, 'Iti Vāmanīyāḥ' and so on. The impression is created while reading this portion that Rājaśekhara is the original author of this critical survey of Guṇas and that Hemacandra reproduces the whole thing from the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* which is now lost to us except for its first chapter. There is however no additional evidence except the fact that Hemacandra is a great borrower and that from the available chapter of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* itself he has borrowed six times, all the cases being mostly wholesale reproduction.

Hemacandra.

On Guṇas, Hemacandra is a follower of Ānanda and he draws upon Maṃmaṭa and probably from Rājaśekhara also as we have suggested above. He establishes the Rasāśrayatva of Guṇas through Anvaya and Vyatireka. This argument of his is worked out of a verse and the Vṛtti thereon in Ānandavardhana and out of Abhinava's Locana on them. Closing his discussion on Guṇas in Uddyota II, pp. 82-3, Ānanda says :

श्रुतिदुष्टादयो दोषा अनित्या ये च सूचिताः ।

ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदाहृताः ॥

अनित्या दोषाश्च ये श्रुतिदुष्टादयः सूचिताः तेषां न वाच्यार्थमात्रे न च व्यङ्ग्ये शृङ्गारे, शृङ्गार-
व्यतिरेकिणि वा ध्वनेरनात्मभावे । किं तर्हि ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे अङ्गितया व्यङ्ग्ये ते हेया इत्युदाहृताः ॥
अन्यथा हि तेषामनित्यदोषतैव न स्यात् । *Dhva. A.*

बीभत्सहस्परौद्रादौ त्वेषाम् अस्माभिरुपगमात् शृङ्गारादौ तु वर्जनाद् अनित्यत्वं समर्थितमेवेति भावः ।

Locana, p. 83.

There are some faults Śrutiduṣṭa and Aślīla. They are not as such Doṣas. They are Doṣas only in Śṛṅgāra and such others. Śrutiduṣṭa in Bībhatsa and Raudra, and Aślīla in Śṛṅgāra ābhāsa and Hāsyā are Guṇas. They are thus Anitya doṣas. Their Anityatva and Doṣatva are related to the particular Rasa in which they are Doṣa and in which they are not. Therefore the Rasas decide their character and the avoidance of them is prescribed only with reference to the Ātman of Rasa. This argument is utilised by Ānanda to show the existence of Ātman. Ānanda adopts many an argument to prove the existence of Rasa-Dhvani as Ātman. He proves that the Ātman is a necessity

if the terms Guṇa and Alarṅkāra are to be rendered intelligible, if the name Rasavadalarṅkāra is to become sensible, and finally if Śrutiduṣṭa and other Doṣas are to be held as Anitya doṣas. This Hemacandra utilises and develops into an argument to prove that Guṇas pertain to Rasa.

ते (गुणाः) च रसस्यैव धर्माः उपचारेण तु तदुपकारिणोः शब्दार्थयोरुच्यन्ते । रसाश्रयत्वं च गुणदोषयोरन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधानात् । तथा हि यत्रैव दोषाः, तत्रैव गुणाः, रसविशेषे च दोषाः, न तु शब्दार्थयोः । यदि हि तयोस्तस्युः तर्हि बीभत्सादौ कष्टत्वादयो गुणा न भवेयुः, हास्यादौ च अश्लीलत्वादयः । अनित्याश्चेते दोषाः । यतो यस्याङ्गिन्स्ते दोषाः, तदभावे न दोषाः तद्भावे तु दोषाः इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां गुणदोषयोः रस एवाश्रयः । K. A. p. 16.

Guṇas are like Doṣas and exist in the same place. Doṣas are in Rasas and not in Śabda or Artha. If the Doṣa called Kaṣṭa should be in Śabda, then that Pada which is Kaṣṭa will eternally be Duṣṭa. So also a Pada will have to be eternally Aślīla. The real fact is that these Doṣas are Guṇas in Bibhatsa and Hāsyā. So the Doṣas are Anitya, Doṣas not by themselves but with reference to the Rasa of the context. Hence, that whose presence or absence makes them Doṣa or Guṇa is their Āśraya.

Hemacandra says that of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra, the former is more important since there can be Kāvya without the latter, provided those cases have Guṇas.

Sūtra : अदोषौ सगुणौ सालङ्कारौ च शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।

Vṛtti : चकारो निरलङ्कारयोरपि शब्दार्थयोः क्वचित्काव्यत्वख्यापनार्थः ।

Vyākhyā : अनेन काव्ये गुणानामवश्यंभावमाह । तथा हि अनलङ्कृतमपि गुणबहुलं स्वदत्ते, यथोदाहरिष्यमाणं 'शून्यं वासगृहम्' इत्यादि । अलङ्कृतमपि निर्गुणं न स्वदत्ते ।

P. 16.

न चालङ्कृतीनामपोद्धाराहाराभ्यां वाक्यं दुष्यति पुष्यति वा ।

×

×

× गुणानामपोद्धाराहारौ तु न संभवत इति ।

P. 17.

This he says to show how Alarṅkāras exist through Samyoga and Guṇas through Samavāya, to refute Udbhaṭa's contention that both exist through Samavāya. Hemacandra also refutes Vāmana by showing how verses which have no Guṇas at all may be Kāvya and verses which have many Guṇas may not be Kāvya. (See p. 17 K. A. Vyākhyā).

As regards the three Guṇas, Hemacandra considers Mādhurya is of the highest degree in Vipralambha, a little less in Karuṇa, and still less in Śānta. शान्तकरुणविप्रलम्भेषु सातिष्ठयम् । This is one of the views recorded by Jagannātha.

Coming now to the commentary (pp. 194-201) of Hemacandra on his own text with which we began the section, we have already referred to the discussion about the ten Guṇas in it which, we suggested, Hemacandra took from Rājaśekhara. In these discussions, sometimes Daṇḍin is presented as refuting Vāmana. It is anachronistic but the whole discussion contains Pūrvapakṣas and Khaṇḍanas fashioned only in an imaginative manner. None

of the ancients refuted definitely others' views on Guṇas. Maṅgala is first cited as criticising Bharata's idea of Ojas. But Maṅgala's idea of Ojas is not given and Daṇḍin is next referred to as refuting Bharata's Ojas. Maṅgala and Vāmana are next quoted as refuting Daṇḍin's idea of Ojas. From here we may take it that Maṅgala took Ojas as Gāḍhatva, like Vāmana. Maṅgala is no more quoted. The names occurring in the rest of the text are only Vāmana, Daṇḍin and Bharata. To the authors' criticisms of one another, the text adds its own criticism. The line of criticism seen in Mammaṭa is followed. Certain things are shown to be no Guṇa at all, being Vaicitrya or Vaidagdhya of a very general nature ; certain others are Alamkāras etc., and certain others are dismissed as absence of flaws.

The value of this part of Hemacandra's commentary is enhanced by his reference to strange views on Guṇas which we do not find referred to anywhere else.

Five Guṇas as Pāṭhadharmas.

On p. 200, after a critical scrutiny of the ten old Guṇas, Hemacandra says :

ओजःप्रसादमधुरिमाणः साम्यौदार्यं च पञ्चेत्यपरे ।

Even earlier, he referred to the view of five Guṇas. This view holds Ojas, Prasāda, Mādhurya, Sāmya and Audārya as the five Guṇas. And these are curiously held by their advocates not as Guṇas in the sense in which we have been talking of Guṇa till now, but as Pāṭhadharmas. Hemacandra thoroughly pooh-poohs this theory. The advocates of this theory hold that 'non-stop' reading is Ojas, reading with stops here and there is Prasāda, reading with rise and fall, perhaps in a sing-song manner, is Mādhurya, clear and perfect reading with proper pronunciation (Sthāna) is Audārya and reading in neither too low nor too high a pitch is Sāmya.

यददर्शि(त)विच्छेदं पठतामोजः, विच्छिद्य पदानि पठतां प्रसादः, आरोहावरोहतरङ्गिणि पाठे माधुर्यम्, ससौष्ठवमेव स्थानं पठताम् औदार्यम्, अनुबन्नीचं पठतां साम्यमिति । तदिदमलीकं कल्पनातन्त्रं, यद्विषयविभागेन पाठनियमः स कथं गुणनिमित्त इति । P. 200.

The Guṇas as Pāṭhadharmas may refer to the speeches of the text in dramas and we saw above under Bharata how the definitions of some Guṇas in Bharata might be taken to refer to speaking also.

Five Guṇas as Metrical Qualities.

Another interesting view then given by Hemacandra is that some consider these five Guṇas given above as belonging to certain metres : Ojas in Srag-dharā etc., Prasāda in Indravajrā, Upendravajrā etc., Mādhurya in Māṇḍākrāntā etc., Samatā in Śārdūlavikrīḍita etc., and Audārya in the Viṣamavṛttas. Hemacandra criticises this view also as of those who have not seen much poetry ; for he shows cases where these metrical associations are Vya-bhicarita.

छन्दोविशेषनिवेष्ट्या गुणसंपत्तिरिति केचित् × × × ×
 × × सोऽयमनवगाहितप्रयोगाणां विभागक्रमः । Pp. 200-201.

In the section on Vāmana, we have referred to the views of those who considered Guṇas as Pāṭhaharmas and to Samādhi in Vāmana as a Guṇa of the metre.¹

Kuntaka.

Kuntaka is a valuable name in the history of Guṇas and his treatment of the concept is full of originality.

In I. 22, Kuntaka defines Bandha thus :

वाच्यवाचकसौभाग्यलावण्यपरिपोषकः ।

व्यापारशाली वाच्यस्य विन्यासो बन्ध उच्यते ॥

In defining Bandha in this manner, Kuntaka has spoken of two features which he himself calls Guṇas. They are Saubhāgya and Lāvaṇya. They have been given as Guṇas of both Śabda and Artha, of Vācaka and Vācya. He says on the above Kārikā :

वाच्यवाचकयोर्द्वयोरपि वाच्यस्य अभिव्येयस्य, वाचकस्य च शब्दस्य वक्ष्यमाणं सौभाग्यलावण्य-
लक्षणं यदुणद्धयं, तस्य परिपोषकः, दुष्टतातिशयकारी ।

He then briefly indicates the nature of these two Guṇas. We speak of the Saubhāgya of women consisting in their beautiful qualities fulfilling themselves by contributing to the delight of their lovers.

प्रियेषु सौभाग्यफला हि चारुता । Kālidāsa, *Kumāra Sambhava*, V.

So also the Saubhāgya of Śabda and Artha consists in their fulfilling themselves by achieving that for which they are intended. That is, they must be for the delectation of the Sahṛdaya by most effectively developing the Rasa. This is the chief virtue of Śabda and Artha even as Saubhāgya of women. Next only to this comes Lāvaṇya, the beauty of Śabda and Artha as such, even as Lāvaṇya of Women.

सौभाग्यं प्रतिभासंरम्भफलभूतं चेतनचमत्कारित्वलक्षणम्, लावण्यं सन्निवेशसौन्दर्यम्— ।

P. 43.

Both these qualities of Saubhāgya and Lāvaṇya are comprehended in the Sāhitya and the Śabdārtha-pāramārthya, which have been dealt with by Kuntaka earlier in the same chapter. Kuntaka promises to speak of these two qualities again in a further context. In the meantime he speaks of three Mārgas or styles and the Guṇas pertaining to them. To this set of Guṇas constituting the Mārgas, we shall come last. After giving the different Guṇas that characterise the three Mārgas, Kuntaka again speaks of two general Guṇas. Here it is that we must expect him to treat again at

1. The text of Hemacandra's commentary on his own *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* above referred to is almost reproduced by Māṇikyaacandra in his *Sarhiketa* on Mammaṭa. The *Sarhiketa* is dated 1160 A.D. and Hemacandra was born in 1088-89 A.D. He became Sūri and Ācārya in 1110 A.D. and passed away in 1173 A.D. It is likely that the text of Māṇikyaacandra having a critique of the ten old Guṇas is borrowed from Hemacandra. (See also P. K. Gode's article on Mammaṭa and Hemacandra in the J. of the Tanjore S. M. Library, Vol. I. No. 1 pp. 9-13).

length of the two general Guṇas Saubhāgya and Lāvanya. Kuntaka, however, leaves Lāvanya, having treated of it as a minor Guṇa pertaining to a variety of Mārga. We shall examine later this Lāvanya and the Lāvanya of the Mārga called Sukumāra. The two major guṇas of all poetic expression spoken of by Kuntaka in the further context are not Saubhāgya and Lāvanya, but Saubhāgya and Aucitya.

Beginning with Kārikā 53 and going up to the end of the first Unmeṣa, Kuntaka deals with the two Guṇas of Aucitya and Saubhāgya, which he calls 'Sādhāraṇaguṇa' in the phraseology of Daṇḍin to distinguish them from the Guṇas that go to distinguish Mārgas. For Daṇḍin calls the Mārgavibhājakaguṇas 'Asādhāraṇa (guṇa) alarṅkāras' and the figures of speech pertaining to all Mārgas, 'Sādhāraṇa alarṅkāras.' Says Kuntaka :

एवं प्रत्येकं प्रतिनियतगुणग्रामरमणीयं मार्गत्रितयं व्याख्याय साधारणगुणस्वरूपव्याख्यानार्थमाह ।
p. 72.

In Kārikās 53 and 54, Kuntaka elucidates the nature of the concept of Aucitya of which Ānanda has said so much in the third chapter of his work. Kuntaka relates it to his Sāhitya and Saubhāgya. The concepts of Aucitya and Saubhāgya as general Guṇas are applied by Kuntaka to Pada, Vākya, Prakaraṇa and Prabandha.

अनन्तरोक्तस्य गुणद्वयस्य विषयं प्रदर्शयति ।

एतत् त्रिष्वपि मार्गेषु गुणद्वितयमुज्ज्वलम् ।

पदवाक्यप्रबन्धानां व्यापकत्वेन वर्तते ॥ I. 57.

एतद्गुणद्वितयमौचित्यसौभाग्याभिधानम् उज्ज्वलमतीव भ्राजिष्णु पदवाक्यप्रबन्धानां त्रयाणामपि व्यापकत्वेन वर्तते सकलावयवव्याप्त्यावतिष्ठते । केत्याह त्रिष्वपि मार्गेषु सुकुमारविचित्रमध्यमाख्येषु ।

P. 76.

सौभाग्यमपि पदवाक्यप्रकरणप्रबन्धानां प्रत्येकमनेकाकारकमनीयकारणकलापकलितरामणीयकानां किमपि सहृदयसंवेद्यं काव्यैकजीवितमलौकिकचमत्कारकारिसंबलित(त)या अनेकरसास्वादसुन्दरं सकलावयवव्यापकत्वेन काव्यस्य गुणान्तरं परिस्फुरतीत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन । Pp. 77-78.

I. 53-54 define Aucitya :

आज्ञसेन स्वभावस्य महत्त्वं येन पोष्यते ।

प्रकारेण तदौचित्यम् उचिताख्यानजीवितम् ॥

यत्र वक्तुः प्रमातुर्वा वाच्यं शोभातिशायिना ।

आच्छाद्यते स्वभावेन तदप्यौचित्यमुच्यते ॥

In ideas as well as in the use of words, there is to be appropriateness or Aucitya. In presenting things and men, in Svabhāvollekhā, the ideas introduced must be appropriate to the character, theme and Rasa. Aucitya is, as Kuntaka says in the first Kārikā, Ucitākhyāna. This is what Kṣemendra says in his *Aucityavicāracarṇā*. उचितस्य च यो भावः तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ।

The very life of poetic expression is this Aucitya and Kuntaka calls it Jivita.

उचिताभिधानजीवितत्वात् वाक्यस्य —।

Both Abhinava and Kṣemendra speak of Aucitya as the Jivita. Kuntaka illustrates Aucitya in six verses and Anaucitya in four verses of Kālidāsa himself and remarks that he pointed out Anaucitya only in the master-poet who had immense Śakti besides Vyutpatti, and not in any other poet depending upon Vyutpatti only. He means to say that the expressions of the latter abound in Anaucitya (p. 77). At the beginning of Unmeṣa II Kuntaka speaks of the Aucitya of Varṇas (p. 80). On p. 84 he speaks of Śabdālamkāraucitya where he says that if by special effort, a poet exerts himself in Śabdālamkāras he ruins Aucitya and through it ruins Sāhitya.¹ Kuntaka then explains Saubhāgya, expanding the brief description of it given already. It is the guṇa which emphasises the idea that all features of poetic expression must fulfil the purpose for which they are intended.

इत्युपादेयवर्गेऽस्मिन् यदर्थं प्रतिभा कवेः ।

सम्यक् संभते तस्य गुणस्तीभाग्यमुच्यते ॥

सर्वसंपत्परिस्पन्दसंपाद्यं सरसात्मनाम् ।

अलौकिकचमत्कारकारि कव्यैकजीवितम् ॥

Just as he called Aucitya, Jivita, he also calls Saubhāgya, Kāvyaajivita.

Coming now to the Guṇas that distinguish the various Mārgas, i.e., the Asādhāraṇagūṇas : Kuntaka recognises that style is the embodiment of the qualities, Guṇas, and that Guṇas are the more basic features. He says in Unmeṣa II under Kārikā 5 :

तत्र गुणानाम् आन्तरतम्यात् प्रथममुपन्यसनं, गुणद्वारेणैव मार्गानुसरणोपपत्तेः । p. 85.

Not only are Kuntaka's Mārgas original but his Guṇas of the three Mārgas also are somewhat original. Firstly, he speaks of the Sukumāra mārga and its Guṇas. The Sukumāra mārga is a restatement of the old Vaidarbhī. Its first Guṇa is Mādhurya, then come Prasāda, Lāvaṇya and Ābhijātya. The first two are old ones and the latter two, new. The Guṇa called Mādhurya applies both to Śabda and Artha and comprises 'Asamstapadatva,' 'Śrutiramyapadatva' and 'Uktivaicitrya.'

एवं सुकुमाराभिधानस्य मार्गस्य लक्षणं विधाय तस्यैव गुणान् लक्षयति—

असमस्तमनोहारि पदविन्यासजीवितम् ।

माधुर्यं सुकुमारस्य मार्गस्य प्रथमो गुणः ॥

The first line mentions three minor features making up Mādhurya. The first is contained in the words 'Asamastapada,' no Samāsa or very little Samāsa.

असमस्तानि समासवर्जितानि ।

असमस्तशब्दोऽत्र प्राचुर्यार्थः, न समासाभावनियमार्थः ।

This kind of Mādhurya is taken from Vāmana who gives Śabdāmādhurya as Pṛthakpadatva and absence of long Samāsa.

पृथक्पदत्वं माधुर्यम् । Vāmana III. 1. 20. समासदैर्घ्यनिवृत्तिपरं चैतत् । Ibid. Vṛtti.

1. On Kuntaka and Aucitya, see my paper on Aucitya ; also above, Vol. I. Part 1, p. 107.

The second aspect of Mādhurya is contained in the word 'Manohāri' in the Kārikā which Kuntaka interprets thus :

मनोहारीणि हृदयाह्लादकानि श्रुतिरम्यत्वेन अर्थरमणीयत्वेन च यानि पदानि सुपतिङन्तानि, तेषां विन्यासः etc.

This Śrutiramyatva is the reverse of the old Doṣa of Śrutikaṣṭa ; it is emphasised by the word 'Śravya' in Bhāmaha's definition of Mādhurya and forms part of Daṇḍin's Śrutyanuprāsamādhurya.

The idea 'Artharamaṇīyatva' in the above explanation must be taken with the third aspect of Mādhurya contained in the Kārikā in the word Vinyāsa which is interpreted in the Vṛtti as Sanniveśavaicitrya. Commenting upon an illustration for Mādhurya, he says

अत्र पदानाम् असमस्तत्वं शब्दार्थरमणीयता विन्यासवैचित्र्यं च त्रितयमपि चकस्ति ।

Thus, these constitute Mādhurya and of these the last, Vinyāśavaicitrya, is to be related to Artharamaṇīyatva, and it gives the Mādhurya of Artha, even as Śabdaramaṇīyatva taken along with 'Asamastapadatva' gives us the Mādhurya of Śabda. In that case, the third becomes the Uktivaicitrya which is the Arthaguṇa Mādhurya of Vāmana. (Vāmana III. 2. 10).

The next quality of the Sukumāra style is Prasāda and there is little change in its conception in Kuntaka. He shows how, even when the Vakroktis are introduced, those Alarṅkāras must have the Guṇa of Prasāda.

The third Guṇa is Lāvanya :

वर्णविन्यासविच्छित्ति पदसन्धानसंपदा ।

स्वल्पया बन्धसौन्दर्यं लावण्यमभिधीयते ॥

The Lāvanya of Bandha or collocation is a result of mild Śabdālarṅkāras, of Varṇavinyāsa, both of which come off easily and do not cost much special energy, Nāti nirbandha nirmita. Kuntaka means here the physical beauty of a verse on hearing which, as in the case of a song, one is thrilled, even before making out its meaning. It is this Guṇa of which he speaks in an Antara śloka on p. 29 :

अपर्यालोचितेऽप्यर्थे बन्धसौन्दर्यसंपदा ।

गीतवद् हृदयाह्लादं तद्विदां विदधाति यत् ॥ I. 37.

Of this Guṇa especially Kuntaka says that it cannot be sufficiently conveyed through words and that it can be known only by experience.

अत्र सन्निवेशसौन्दर्यमहिमा हृदयसंवेद्यो न व्यपदेष्टुं पार्यते । p. 54.

Of this again he says on p. 56 :

तस्य बन्धसौन्दर्यमेव अव्युत्पन्नपदार्थानामपि श्रवणमात्रेणैव हृदयहारित्वस्पर्धया व्यपदिश्यते ।

The fourth Guṇa of the Sukumāra mārga is the Ābhijātya of words. This Guṇa is explained as 'Śrutipeśalatva,' dulcet to the ear, 'Cetasā susparśa,' easy and pleasant for the heart to reach, and 'Svabhāvamasṛṇa-cchāya,' with a delicate beauty existing by nature. This Guṇa again can only be felt and cannot be more concretely explained through words.

Of these four Guṇas, we can clearly see how Lāvanya and Abhijātya overlap with Mādhurya and all together stand for the same composite effect of sensuousness.

The same four Guṇas are again taken as pertaining to the style called the Vicitra. But their connotation now differs. Kuntaka explains the Vicitra mārga and its Guṇas in Kārikās 44-48 and in the Vṛtti thereon. Mādhurya of the Vicitra mārga contains more Vaicitrya; that is, Ukti vaicitrya as regards Artharamaṇīyatva. As applied to Śabdās, it means greater vigour in the Vicitra mārga. In the Sukumāra mārga, all the words are sweet and the Bandha is Sarvakomala, and has a tendency to become liable to the flaw called Śaithilya. This Śaithilya is eliminated in the Vicitra mārga and the Bandha is rendered more 'Bandhura.' Kuntaka here derives much from Daṇḍin.

वैदग्ध्यस्यान्द माधुर्यं पदानामत्र बध्यते ।

याति यत्त्यक्तशैथिल्यं बन्धबन्धुरताज्ञताम् ॥ I. 44.

Here 'Vaidaghyasyandi' is interpreted as 'Vaicitrya samarpaka'; 'Tyakta śaithilya' as 'Ujjhita komala bhāva' and 'Bandha bandhuratā' as 'Sanniveśa saundarya.'

The second Guṇa of the Vicitramārga, Prasāda, is likewise interpreted very briefly. It is first given as Asamastapadatva with slight Ojas or Samāsa. Kuntaka follows Vāmana here who speaks of Ojah-prasāda samplava.

असमस्त पदन्यासः प्रसिद्धः कविवर्त्मनि ।

किञ्चिदोजः स्पृशन् प्रायः प्रसादोऽप्यत्र दृश्यते ॥

Another kind of Prasāda, where the idea of one word is clarified by another and of one sentence by another, is also given by Kuntaka here. Further the illustration makes it clear that this Prasāda is the appropriate delineation of an idea, Arthollekha, for clearly and completely conveying a picture.

गमकानि निबध्यन्ते वाक्ये वाक्यान्तराण्यपि ।

पदानीवात्र कोऽप्येष प्रसादस्यापरः क्रमः ॥

The third Guṇa, Lāvanya, of the Vicitra mārga is of a different nature from the Lāvanya of the Sukumāra mārga.

अत्रालुप्तविसर्गान्तैः पदैः प्रोतैः परस्परम् ।

हस्तैः संयोगपूर्वैश्च लावण्यमतिरिच्यते ॥ p. 47.

Here the feature contained in the words पदैः प्रोतैः परस्परम् is the old Śleṣa, many words knit together so well that it looks as if they are one word.

मसृणत्वं श्लेषः । यस्मिन् सति बहून्यपि पदानि एकपदवद् भासन्ते ।

Vāmana, K. A. Sū. & Vṛ. III. i. 10.

Kuntaka explains himself thus : परस्परम् अन्योन्यं प्रोतैः संश्लेषं नीतैः ।

The other aspects of Lāvanya are given as 'Aluptavisargāntatva' 'Hrasvapadatva' and 'Samyogapūrvapadatva.' Finally he says that the Lāvanya of the Sukumāra mārga is heightened or made Atirikta by these features in

the Vicitra mārga. The three features given together, besides Śleṣa, promote Ojas. So, in the technique of the old writers, we can understand this Lāvanya of the Vicitra mārga as produced by Śleṣa and Ojas. The fourth, Ābhijātya, of the Vicitra mārga is explained as the Guṇa of the words being neither too soft nor too harsh.

यत्रातिकोमलच्छायं नातिकठिन्यमुद्रहत् ।

आभिजात्यं मनोहारि तदत्र प्रौढिनिर्मितम् ॥ I. 48.

In applying the same four Guṇas to the two Mārgas, Kuntaka has not clearly expressed himself. The Sukumāra is in essence a style in which there is natural elegance and grace, born of the poet's Pratibhā or genius mainly. The Vicitra is the Sukumāra itself burnished up, highly coloured with flights of figures, a style in which special decoration is resorted to and which is the product more of the art and technical skill of the poet, his Vyutpatti. The Alarṅkāras abound in the latter Mārga and hence additional Vaicitrya also, while in the former there is minimum Alarṅkāra and Vaicitrya, there being only the portrayal of the beautiful Rasa and the Svabhāva of men and things. Even so, the qualities of the Vicitra mārga are only those of the Sukumāra but exhibiting greater Vaicitrya ; there is some additional Ojas and Uktivai- citrya ; generally speaking, the same Guṇas are in the Vicitra in a greater measure and with great Vaicitrya. This, Kuntaka clearly states at the end of his treatment of the Vicitra mārga.

एवं सुकुमारविहितानामेव गुणानां विचित्रे कश्चिदतिशयः संपाद्यत इति बोद्धव्यम् ।

आभिजात्यप्रभृतयः पूर्वमार्गोदिता गुणाः ।

अत्रातिशयमायान्ति जनिताहार्यसंपदः ॥ p. 69.

Of these four Guṇas of Kuntaka, Mādhurya and Prasāda are old ones and in treating of them he derives much from Daṇḍin and Vāmana as has been shown above. Besides these two, he has taken one of the Guṇas of the Vaidarbhī of Daṇḍin, viz., Sukumāratā and has named his own first Mārga itself by that Guṇa. Besides having Sukumāratā in the name of his first Mārga, he speaks of Saukumārya while explaining the Guṇa, Lāvanya, also :

शब्दार्थसौकुमार्यसुभगः सन्निवेशमहिमा लावण्याख्यो गुणः कथ्यते । p. 54.

He further speaks of Maṣṇatva, while explaining Ābhijātya of the Sukumāra-mārga ; but that has nothing to do with the Maṣṇatva which is Vāmana's Śleṣa. It is allied to the ideas of Saukumārya in Daṇḍin and Vāmana. While speaking of Mādhurya in the Vicitra mārga, Kuntaka mentions the Śaithilya of Daṇḍin. In the next Guṇa, Prasāda, he accepts and includes the Ojas of old writers meaning Samāsa.

‘ किञ्चिदोजः स्पृशन् ’ Kārikā 45.

‘ तथाविधस्त्वौजसः समासवती वृत्तिः ’ ओजः ’ शब्देन चिरन्तनैरुच्यते ।

And he follows Vāmana in maintaining a case of style with Prasāda and Ojas mixed up.

तदयमत्र परमार्थः—पूर्वस्मिन् प्रसादलक्षणे सति, ओजस्संस्पर्शमात्रमिह विधीयते । p. 67.

Thus Kuntaka who refutes actually the old Mārgas does not completely cast away the old Guṇas.

Two main sets of Guṇas are thus accepted by Kuntaka, Sādhāraṇa and Asādhāraṇa. The former belong to all Kāvya in general and the latter belong only to particular Mārgas. Saubhāgya, Lāvaṇya and Aucitya constitute the former class and Mādhurya, Prasāda, Lāvaṇya and Ābhijātya, the latter. The latter are used in both the Sukumāra and Vicitra mārgas with a difference of meaning.

An examination of the *Vakroktijīvita* discloses the fact that Kuntaka followed the ancient conception of Guṇa also being Alamkāra, since he considers these Guṇas to be so many varieties of Vakratā. That Aucitya, one of his Sādhāraṇaguṇas, is of the form of Vakratā is said by himself.

तत्र पदस्य तावदौचित्यं बहुविधभेदभिन्नो वक्रभावः । स्वभावस्य आज्ञसेन प्रकारेण परिपोषण-
मेव वक्रतायाः परं रहस्यम् । p. 76.

In the instance given for illustrating the Guṇa, Saubhāgya, Kuntaka shows Upacāravakratva, Pratyayavakratva, Samvrtivakratva, and Kāravakratva. Mādhurya results from Varṇavinyāsavakratva. Finally, Kuntaka says clearly that Guṇas also are Alamkāras and Alamkāra means Śobhākara-dharma or Vakrokti.

अलङ्कारशब्दः शरीरस्य शोभातिशयकारित्वान्मुख्यतया कटकादिषु वर्तते, तत्कारित्वसामान्यादु-
पचारादुपमादिषु, तद्वदेव च तत्सदृशेषु गुणादिषु — । p. 3.

Thus, Kuntaka has interesting agreements with Bhoja and these we have elaborately set forth in the section on Bhoja and Vakrokti. (Vol. I. Part 1, pp. 126-134).

Kṣemendra.

Another out of the way treatment of the concept of Guṇa deserves notice here. As a follower of the system of Ānanda, Kṣemendra must have treated of the Guṇas in his lost *Kavikarmikā*. In the *Aucityavicāracaracā*, he has nothing original to say on Guṇas. It is his minor work, the *Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa*, that has made us include his name in this account of the Guṇas.

In the fourth section of the *Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa*, Kṣemendra deals with Guṇa-doṣa-vibhāga. He speaks of a new kind of three Guṇas, simple and general.

तत्र शब्दवैमल्यमर्थवैमल्यं रसवैमल्यमिति त्रयः काव्यगुणाः । शब्दकालुष्यम्, अर्थकालुष्यम्, रस-
कालुष्यमिति काव्यदोषाः । सगुणं, निर्गुणं, सदोषं, निर्दोषं, सगुणदोषं च काव्यम् ।

He says that there are three Guṇas of Kāvya, clarity of Śabdā, clarity of Artha and clarity of Rasa. Prasāda is the prime requisite of all poetry. So it is that Kṣemendra, speaking of poetry in general and its dominantly needed quality, speaks of Vaimalya in the three departments of Śabda, Artha and Rasa. Some verses are simple in words; yet their meaning as a whole is involved. The Śabdā Vaimalya will be judged from the point of view of Artha. Similarly Arthavaimalya will be judged from the ease with which Rasa is

realised from a verse. Arthavaimalya can also be seen separately in verses which have a simple meaning in spite of lack of clarity in words. Rasavaimalya is the most important of the three and the other two are only for its sake. Rasavaimalya is illustrated by Kṣemendra by a verse of his own describing the moonrise from which description of Uddīpana vibhāva, Śṛṅgāra is roused. But Kṣemendra means by Rasavaimalya much more. The Rasa-realisation must not be impeded by working in irrelevant things, and many principles of Rasa-aucitya are comprehended in it, even as all Śabdaguṇas and Arthaguṇas are included in Śabdavaimalya and Arthavaimalya. Kṣemendra illustrates the Doṣa called Rasakāluṣya, the reverse of Rasavaimalya, by an instance having Prakṛtyanaucitya.

रसकालुष्यं यथा भट्टनारायणस्य वेणीसंहारे भानुमत्या नकुलप्राणिस्वप्नदर्शने पाण्डवनकुलस्त्वैरसंग-
मेर्व्यासद्भावः चक्रवर्तिमहिष्याः सामान्यनीचवनितावत् ।

Acyutarāya.

A strange conception of Guṇas is to be had in the recent book *Sāhitya-sāra* of Acyutarāya published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press. It takes Guṇas as something like topics or subject-heads. There is as much difference between the Guṇas of others and Acyutarāya's Guṇas as between Kaṇāda's and Akṣapāda's Padārthas. Acyutarāya says that poetry has six Guṇas viz., Dharmas, Rasas, Lakṣaṇas, Ritis, Alamkāras and Vṛttis.

धर्मा रसा लक्षणानि रीत्यलङ्कृतिवृत्तयः ।

रसिकाङ्गदका ह्येते काव्ये सन्ति च षड् गुणाः ॥ I. 20.

To distinguish these new 'Guṇas' from the old Mādhurya etc., he gives the old Guṇas the name Dharmas, because Ānanda has decided that Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda are Rasadharmas.

Mammaṭa.

Having examined the views on Guṇas which are out of the way, we come to Mammaṭa whose work is the earliest we have now, which worked out the theory of Guṇas formulated by Ānandavardhana, by refuting other Guṇas and by dismissing them, some as Alamkāras etc., and some as the reverses of Doṣas. Mammaṭa follows Ānanda and Abhinava completely and refutes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana on Guṇa; defines the three Guṇas Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda and then discusses the ten Guṇas of Daṇḍin, Vāmana and their followers.

कुतश्चय एव न दशेत्याह—

केचिदन्तर्भवन्त्येषु, दोषत्यागात्परे त्रिताः ।

अन्ये भजन्ति दोषत्वं कुत्रचित्—न ततो दश ॥

Three ways are shown to eliminate the other Guṇas. One : certain Guṇas can be included in the three, Mādhurya or Ojas or Prasāda. Two : some of them are only the absence of certain flaws and as such need not be accepted

as positive Guṇas. Three : a few others are sometimes no Guṇas at all ; on the other hand they are positive Doṣas that have to be avoided.

Mammaṭa brings Śleṣa, Samādhi, Udāratā and Prasāda, the Śabdaguṇas as defined by Vāmana, within Ojas. The Mādhurya of Śabda defined by Vāmana as Pṛthakpadatva is included in the Rasamādhurya which can be extended to Śabda through Upacāra. Arthavyakti is included in Prasāda. Samatā of Śabda is dismissed on the ground of its being Doṣa sometimes. It is said by Mammaṭa that Samatā is monotony and hence Doṣa, since the Rīti must often change with the ideas. This however is unfair to the old critics, since Samatā of a Rīti means only Samatā within a limited sphere ; all Guṇas and Doṣas are Vaiśeṣika. Saukumārya and Kānti, Mammaṭa says, need not be recognised, since they are the absence of the two Doṣas of Kaṣṭatva and Grāmyatva. Vāmana's various kinds of Prauḍhi forming his Arthagūṇa called Ojas are dismissed as mere Vaicitrya and no Guṇa.

—इति या प्रौढिः ओज इत्युक्तं तद्वैचित्र्यमात्रं न गुणः ।

Prasāda is the absence of the Doṣa called Adhikapadatva ; Mādhurya of Anavikṛtatva ; Saukumārya of Amaṅgalatva and Udāratā of Aślīlatā and Grāmyatā. Here, the bit of the Kārikā ' केचिदन्तर्भवन्त्येषु ' must be taken, as Māṇikyācandra interprets it, that some are included in *these, these* meaning Guṇas, Rasadhvani and Alarṅkāra. In accordance with this interpretation, we find Mammaṭa dismissing Arthavyakti as Svabhāvokti-alarṅkāra and Kānti as Rasadhvani and Guṇibhūtavayāṅgya. The Arthagūṇa, Śleṣa, is nothing definite, being only some Vaicitrya. Samatā is only the absence of the Doṣa, Vaiṣamya. Samādhi of Artha, which is Arthadrṣṭi is, Mammaṭa says, absurd as a Guṇa.

Mammaṭa follows Ānandavardhana and holds that Guṇas are Rasa dharma, and are brought into relation with Śabda through Upacāra. They are not really Śabdāśraya.

अत एव माधुर्यादयो रसधर्माः समुचितैर्वर्णैः व्यञ्ज्यन्ते, न तु वर्णमात्राश्रयाः ।

He developed the suggestions contained in the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Locana*, criticised Udbhata's theory of the identity of Guṇa and Alarṅkāra and of both subsisting in Kāvya through Samavāya. He criticised also Vāmana's differentiation of the two.

Of the nature of the three Guṇas, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda, some additional ideas are given by Mammaṭa. He, for the first time, casts off Abhinavagupta's statement regarding the Guṇa of the Śānta rasa and says that Śānta has the maximum Mādhurya. According to him, the order of Mādhurya ascends from Saṁbhoga śrīgāra to Śānta through Vipralambha and Karuṇa. Mammaṭa thinks that there is more Mādhurya in Vipralambha than in Karuṇa.

आह्लादकत्वं माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे वृत्तिकारणम् ।

करुणे विप्रलम्भे तत् शान्ते चातिशयान्वितम् ।

On this point of the relative degree of Mādhurya in these three, Ānanda gives the order Saṁbhoga, Vipralambha and Karuṇa. Other views change the

order and these are briefly stated in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*. One prominent view given by Jagannātha is that in Vipralambha, Karuṇa and Śānta there is more Mādhurya than in Sambhoga, but among Vipralambha, Karuṇa and Śānta there is no difference in the degree.

संभोगश्चकार कर्णविप्रलम्भशान्तेषु अतिशयितमेव, न पुनस्तत्रापि तारतम्यम् ।

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Similarly as regards Ojas also, there is a slight change in Mammāṭa. Ānanda gave Ojas as the Guṇa of Raudra and similar Rasas; Abhinava gave the other Ojas-Rasas as Vira and Adbhuta. Mammāṭa, however, says that Ojas, which is Dipti, is primarily of Vira; a greater degree of it is in Bībhatsa and it is greatest in Raudra. Thus, he puts Bībhatsa in the place of the Adbhuta given by Abhinava.

दीप्याहमविस्तृतेहंतुः ओजो वीररसस्थिति ।

बीभत्सरौद्रसयोः तस्याधिक्यं क्रमेण च ॥

Jagannātha paṇḍitarāja follows Mammāṭa, though Mammāṭa's view is not correct. There is little Dipti in Bībhatsa, but much in Adbhuta.

Jagannātha.

In later times, the *Rasagaṅgādhara* began to enjoy a position which the *Kāvya-prakāśa* had in an earlier stage. On Guṇas, as on many other subjects, Jagannātha has little to offer originally but he restates the best accepted ideas and does some 'Pariṣkāra' here and there, removing slight hitches and difficulties in the system of Ānanda and Abhinava as condensed by Mammāṭa. On Guṇas, he introduces a small innovation, just as in the theory of Rasa-realisation, where he introduces Advaita-ideas. He adopts, as usual and in keeping with his age, some methods of Navya Nyāya and discusses the Prāmāṇya by which Guṇas are known as Dharmas of Rasa. The pūrvapakṣa shows how neither Pratyakṣa nor Anumāna can be the means of knowing that.

The Advaitic conception of Ātman, its related ideas having been introduced even in the theory of Rasa, affects the concept of Guṇa in Jagannātha. The Ātman of Kāvya, like Ātman, is Nirguṇa; there can be therefore no Guṇas at all. The Ātman, Rasa, has the Upādhis called Rati etc., and Mādhurya and other Guṇas can be the Guṇas of these Upādhis. There is no proof for this and this may also be disputed since there cannot be one Guṇa in another. Then, how is it that we say, 'Śṛṅgāra' is Madhura? Jagannātha gives his Pariṣkāra through the 'Prayojkatā-sambandha'. In Āyurveda, some Mūlikā like the Aśvagandhā is said to be 'Uṣṇa'; it means that, if taken in Aśvagandhā produces heat in the body; it is Uṣṇatā-prayojaka. So also Śṛṅgāra is Mādhurya-prayojaka or Druti-prayojaka. And what is this Prayojakatva? It belongs to Saṁghaṭanā, Śabda, Artha and Rasa. Thus can the Vyavahāra be explained. This Prayojakatva (necessary antecedence, remote as well as immediate) is so comprehensive that there is no difficulty in accepting Vyavahāra which speaks of the Guṇas of Śabda and Artha. It also obviates the necessity of postulating Upacāra for explaining Guṇas in connection with Śabda and Artha.

किंवात्मनो निर्गुणतया आत्मरूपसगुणत्वं माधुर्यादीनामनुपपन्नम् । एवं तदुपाधिरत्यादिगुणत्व-
मपि । मानाभावात्, पररीत्या गुणे गुणान्तरस्य अनौचित्याच्च । अथ शृङ्गारो मधुर इत्यादिव्यवहारः
कथमिति चेत्, एवं तर्हि द्रुत्यादिचित्तवृत्तिप्रयोजकत्वं, प्रयोजकनासंबन्धेन द्रुत्यादिकमेव वा माधुर्यादि-
कमस्तु । व्यवहारस्तु 'वाजिगन्धा उष्णा' इति व्यवहारवद् अक्षतः । प्रयोजकत्वं च अदृष्टादिविलक्षणं
शब्दार्थसरचनागतमेव ग्राह्यम् । अतो न व्यवहारातिप्रसक्तिः । तथा च शब्दार्थयोरपि माधुर्यादेरीदृ-
शस्य सत्त्वाद् उपचारो नैव कल्प्य इति तु माहृशाः । P. 55.

Jagannātha would not accept Guṇas as Dharmas of Ātman, which is Rasa, nor would he say that they are Dharmas of Śabdārtha. He would say that Śabdārtha, Racanā and Rasa, all produce Mādhurya and other Guṇas which are the states of the mind. All of them go to produce that kind of Cittavṛtti called Guṇa which is also equivalent to the Cittavṛtti itself. Mādhurya is nothing but Druti. Guṇas cannot be called Rasa-dharmas since Ātman is Nirguṇa. A comprehensive Prayojakatā-saṃbandha must be accepted to explain the three Vyavahāras connecting the Guṇas with Rasa, Racanā and Śabdārtha. If this is accepted, there is no need for Upacāra to explain Guṇa in Śabdārtha and Racanā. For, the basis of Upacāra would be the Mukhya-vṛtti in Ātman. That being illogical, Upacāra elsewhere is meaningless. Guṇas spoken of as pertaining to Śabdārtha are also intelligible if only the logical Prayojakatā-saṃbandha is accepted.

Having put this modified view of the old critics' theory of Guṇas, of which he accepts that aspect which makes Guṇas only three in number but rejects that which makes them Rasa-dharmas, Jagannātha puts forward the view of the very ancients, 'Jarattaras', Daṇḍin and Vāmana, of the latter especially. In defining each of these ten Guṇas of Śabda and Artha, Jagannātha makes slight changes for the better and improves upon Vāmana. Thus "औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिः" is explained by Jagannātha as अविदग्धवैदिकादिप्रयोगयोग्यानां पदानां परिहारेण प्रयुज्यमानेषु पदेषु लोकोत्तरशोभारूपमौज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिः ।

He casts away Vāmana's Ārohāvaroha and gives a new definition for Samādhi : but adds inaccurately

बन्धगाढत्वशिथिलत्वयोः क्रमेणावस्थापनं समाधिः

अनयोरेव प्राचीनैरारोहावरोहव्यपदेशः कृतः ।

In defining the ten as Arthaguṇas especially, he introduces much change. As for instance, in Śleṣa. He also finally states how Mammaṭa and others criticise these Guṇas and establish the three only as Guṇas.

Prabhākara, a very late writer, says in his *Rasapradīpa* :

वस्तुतस्तु गुणानां वस्तुधर्मत्वं शब्दार्थमात्रधर्मत्वं चेति निवेदितं मया अलङ्काररहस्ये, तत एव अवगन्तव्यम् । P. 8. Sarasvatībhanavan Studies.

Prabhākara's *Alaṅkārahasya*, where he says he has dealt with this subject fully, is not available to us now. Prabhākara considers Guṇas as Vastu-dharmas and as Dharmas of Śabdārtha. Perhaps there is some mistake in the text and a 'Na' is omitted before 'Vastu-dharmatvam'; otherwise we must

take that Prabhākara held Rasa and Vastu as totally different and unrelated, and attributed Guṇas only to the latter as also to Śabdārtha. Perhaps he recognised two sets of Guṇas, the three Guṇas of Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda as Vastu dharmas and the ten Guṇas or more as Śabdārtha dharmas.

Some such distinction is really necessary. We can appreciate the view of Ānanda of Guṇas being Rasa-dharmas and being only three in number brought into relation with Śabda and Artha through Upacāra. But we must separate these three Guṇas as a different category, the greater Guṇas, pertaining to the Ātman named Rasa. Side by side with these, there is no harm in accepting ten Guṇas of Śabda and Artha as features of style. Abhinavagupta, in explaining the concept of Lakṣaṇa in his *Abhi. Bhā.* according to the third view, makes such a differentiation of Guṇas into two sets. Vide above and also my Paper on Lakṣaṇā. Mammaṭa and others need not try to dismiss or include these Guṇas in one or the other of the three. No doubt, certain Guṇas of the ancients overlap and some are no Guṇas at all being very general, comprehensive and of the form of some variety of Vaicītrya. Surely some of them can be discarded. As regards Guṇas that overlap, it must be realised that there is a good deal of a poet's appreciation of poetry in these Guṇas, some differing from others only because of small shades of difference. The function of the Rasika, beyond being immersed in his own mute joy, is to explain and render into verbal account his appreciation and judgment. Nicer aspects shall have each a special name and every shade shall be described in a rich vocabulary. There is no meaning in putting many things in a lump under one name Mādhurya or Ojas. Economy of phraseology is not the end but fuller and richer expression of literary experience and appreciation which, when done as it ought to be done, is itself literature and is the work of an artistic mind as imaginative as the poet's. The same applies to the vain logic that says that certain Guṇas need not be recognised, they being only the absence of certain flaws. Their being so need not obviate the necessity of their existence. It is dry Tarka that Tamas or Darkness can be dismissed as no padārtha, since it is only the Abhāva of light or Tejas. That line is bad for literary critics to pursue. The positive Mādhurya etc. also can be shown as unnecessary by accepting certain other Doṣas as their reverses. Instead of having a Doṣa-prakaraṇa and a Guṇa-prakaraṇa, Alampkāra works can become briefer by omitting one of the two, because Guṇa or Doṣa is only the reverse or Viparyaya of the other. Regarding the other argument that Mādhurya of Śrutyānuprāsa (Daṇḍin) need not be accepted because Anuprāsa has been accepted among Śabdālampkāras, Kānti need not be accepted as Dīpta-rasatva has been accepted as Rasadhvani and Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya, that Artha vyakti need not be a Guṇa since there is Svabhāvokti alampkāra—this argument is of the same nature as that which dismisses Guṇas as Doṣa-abhāvas. These critics have not realised that one thing can be stated in terms of another. How is Kānti as a Guṇa of the nature of Dīpta-rasatva unnecessary, if one says that cases of that Guṇa are cases of Rasadhvani? Let there be Rasadhvani but can we not sum up that result in terms of Guṇa? A verse is *brilliant* because it has Rasadhvani; a

verse is *Madhura* because it has *Śrutyanuprāsa* ; Svabhāvokti verses derive their life only from the Guṇa of Arthavyakti. Of a similar nature is Bhoja's Śabda-guṇa of Gāmbhīrya, which is quality of 'having Dhvani.' The Guṇa-Gāmbhīrya is not 'gatārtha' or 'nirarthaka' by the acceptance of Dhvani. The verses having Dhvani are said to be *profound*, Gambhīra. Gāmbhīrya is a result of Dhvani, the resultant beauty. One cannot appreciate a verse having Dhvani by prosaically saying that the verse has Dhvani, Dhvani of this kind and that. He says that the verse is *profound*, Gambhīra, and that is literary appreciation, and the natural mode of it. From this point of view we can even re-understand the ancients' view of Rasas as beautiful Alarṅkāras, of Lakṣaṇas and certain Dhvanis also as Alarṅkāras or Guṇas. As for instance, the same verse can be enjoyed as having Samāsokti alarṅkāra and the Guṇa of Samādhi (Daṇḍin). While it is beautiful literary appreciation to call an expression Vakrokti, saying that it is a case of Sādrśyamūlalakṣaṇā is pedantic and nothing more. As the acceptance of Sādrśyamūlalakṣaṇā does not make Daṇḍin's Samādhī guṇa and Vāmana's Vakrokti alarṅkāra unnecessary, even so in the cases of those Guṇas which are attempted to be dismissed as included in the three Guṇas, in certain Doṣābhāvas, certain Alarṅkāras or in Rasadhvani.

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