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[PART I

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Bhandarkar Oriental
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Volume XVIII
1936-37**



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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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[PART I

EPIC STUDIES

BY

V S SUKTHANKAR

VI THE BHĪRGUS AND THE BHĀRATA. A TEXT-HISTORICAL STUDY¹

The Bhīrgus are unquestionably an interesting old clan² tempted by the tantalizing affinity between the Sanskrit name Bhīrgu and the Greek φλεγγυ in the name of Φλεγγυας and of the Φλεγγυαι. A Weber postulated a genetic connection between the Indian and the Greek names, and even ascribed Indo-germanic antiquity to a certain legend about Bhīrgu Varuni preserved in the Satapatha Brāhmana (11 6 1) a legend of which he thought he had discovered a parallel in Greek mythology. The facile phonetic equation put up by Weber has not however commended itself to other scholars and we are not specially concerned with it either. But it cannot be gainsaid that the clan is very ancient and that some of their legends are of hoary antiquity. There are scattered notices about the Bhīrgus to be found from the Vedic Samhitās onwards through the Brāhmana Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad literature up to the Epics and the Purāṇas steadily growing in volume and importance.

¹ For the first instalment of the Series of *JEBRAS* (No) 4 187ff the following four have appeared in these Annals vol 11 pp 165-191 259 283 vol 16 pp 90 114 vol 17 pp 185 202

² The best general account of the Bhīrgus has been given by D Sieg in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (edited by Hastings) s v Bhīrgu. For Vedic references see also Macdonell and Keith *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* s v Cyavana Bhīrgu etc

Not only is the clan ancient its legends also are highly interesting. So suggestive in fact are the early myths of this clan that they had in former years engrossed the attention of many a student of Indian mythology and called forth a variety of interpretations. Thus Bergaigne looked upon the Bhagu myth of the R̥gveda as merely a more developed form of the early tradition about the descent of fire and identified Bhagu with Agni. A Kuhn and A. Barth agreed in regarding the Bhagus as personifications of the lightning flash and Kuhn tried to harmonise the Greek myth regarding the descent of fire with the Vedra. A Weber as already remarked saw in a legend preserved in the Satapatha Brahmana a relic of primitive Indo-European mythology. But even the later legends of these people are not without a certain amount of grandeur. Just consider the figure of Parasurama a mythical annihilator of the Kshatriyas and finally an *avatar* of Vishnu all in one.

The popularity of the Parasurama legend in India is attested by the number of places scattered all over India which are associated with his name and his exploits and held sacred to his memory¹. Near the Kangra District of the Punjab there is a very ancient temple dedicated to Parasurama a name not yet applied to him in our epic. In the State of Udampur there is a sacred pool where Rama is said to have bathed and atoned for his sin. In the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency an axe shaped rock marks the spot where Rama is represented as having washed his famous axe (*parashu*) which has given him his nick name Parasurama Parame-with-the-Axe. Even this irresistible axe of his has been deified and there is in Mysore State a temple dedicated to it. Gokarna shows an old tank dedicated to Mahadeva, which is said to have been built by the son of Jamadagni. Even the Lakhimpur District of distant Assam has a pool to show to which according to popular belief Parasurama had surrendered his dreaded axe, and which attracts pilgrims from every part of India.

Notwithstanding the absorbing interest of the Bhāgavata myths, it is primarily not their interpretation that is attempted here

¹ Cf. Anujin Acharya (ed.) *1000 of Gokarna: Parasurama Legend and its Significance* p. 81. The spot was noted at the Light Session of the All India Oriental Conference (Mysore 1935) and has since been published separately with the special sanction of the Government of Cochin.

That is a task fraught with difficulties and uncertainties as also one for which the present writer feels he is not adequately equipped. The modest aim of this paper is to collect and collate the Bhargava references in the Mahabharata in other words to give a succinct account of all that the Great Epic of India has to say about the Bhrgus. The choice of the source-book is abundantly justified because the Mahabharata as I believe is the richest mine for the exploration of the Bhargava material a veritable thesaurus of Bhargava legends containing as it does the largest number and the greatest variety of such legends. Even this material is not entirely new having already attracted the attention of scholars but it seemed to me that it has not been studied with that degree of attention to details which it deserves. It is a little observation but it is nevertheless true that even what appears on the face of it to be a most insignificant detail might be found to yield a valuable clue if looked at from the correct angle which is often difficult to get. I therefore propose to re-examine here the Bhargava references in our Great Epic in considerable detail subjecting them to a critical analysis.

My intention is to pass under review here all the myths and legends relating to the different Bhrgus, which occur in the Mahabharata study the manner in which they are presented investigate their repetitions and even discrepancies. We shall find that there are many more Bhargavas mentioned in our epic than commonly known and many more references to Bhargavas than commonly suspected.

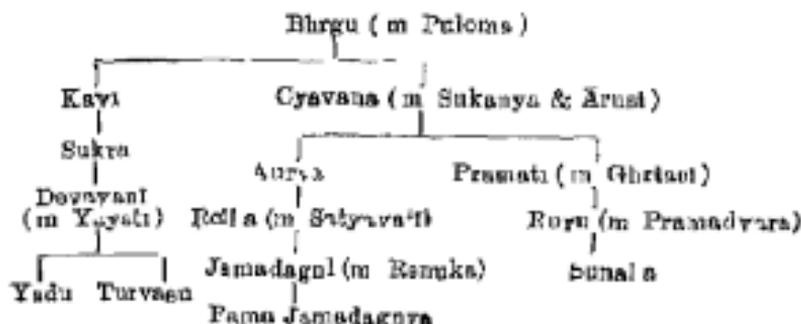
In essence, it must be admitted this is merely a text critical study a subject which having engaged my attention for a number of years has acquired considerable fascination for me. But at the end of the paper it is shown that the investigation might at the same time yield results which are not without general value for a partial elucidation of the obscure history of this venerable old text.

The Bhargava references could have been presented here in many different ways but it appeared best to take them up for study in the sequence in which they appear in our epic to examine the material book by book and chapter by chapter. The total number of passages of the Mahabharata in which the Bhargavas are mentioned is astonishingly large. Exigencies of space,

however compelled the writer to restrict himself to the discussion of only the more important of the references

I add here a genealogical table which will enable the reader to follow the legends of the Bhargvas and the discussions about them with greater ease. The table is made up from the data of the Mahabharata itself but it is undoubtedly not complete; it appears to be very much abridged, lacking many details and intermediate links

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE BHARGVAS



ĀDIPARVAN¹

Strangely enough already in the second chapter of the Adiparvan the Parvasaṅgraha which is in fact for the greater part of it something like a Table of Contents we make our acquaintance with one of the Bhargavas the most famous of them, Rama Jamadagnya not yet a full-fledged *gautra* a character which in reality has no connection whatsoever with the action of the sublime tragedy which is going to be unfolded in the epic. That comes about in this way. The place where the Mahabharata war was fought as everybody knows who knows anything at all about the war was called Kuruksetra (Gita 1.1)

¹ In the Ādiparvan the references are to the *Critical Edition* of that book published by this Institute (Poona 1933) also with to the *Vulgate* the edition used being the Chitrachala edition (Poona 1928 1933). References to the Vulgate are distinguished by prefixing B to them.

² Special studies on Parāśurāma: Irvani Karve, 'The Parāśurāma Myth', in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* vol. 1 (1932) pp. 115-139 and the paper by Anand Acharya cited above, 'Parāśurāma Legend and its Significance' (1935).

*dharmaksetre Kuruksetre samuctā yuyutsavah |
māmalāh Pūndravās caiva*

But the Suta Ūgrasravas son of Lomaharṣya who recites the epic at the twelve-year sacrificial session held in the Naimiṣa Forest under the auspices of Saunaka gives the name of the place as Samentapañcaka and is careful enough to add that he had visited that sacred spot and was as a matter of fact just returning from it (1 1 11 f)

*Samantapañcakam nāma puṇyān dvijamśevitam |
gatvān aśmī tam dāśam yuddham śatrūbhavaḥ purā |
Pūndravānām Kurūpām ca arveśam ca mahil satam ||
didekva āgataḥ tasmāt samīpam bhavātām iha |*

That obviously needed a little explication. Accordingly we find in the beginning of the second chapter a query about this Samentapañcaka from the sages who formed the audience. They want to know all about this new place of pilgrimage (1 2 1)

*Samantapañcakam itī yad uktaṁ śītanandana |
etat sarvaṁ yathānyāyam śrotum icchāmahe varṣav ||*

And from the story narrated by the Suta it proves to be a Bhargava place of pilgrimage situated probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kuruksetra. It was in fact as the Suta proceeds to explain the sacred spot where the Bhargava Rama the foremost of weapon-bearers (śastrabhīrām varah 1 2 3) after extirpating the warrior race during the interval between the Tietā and the Dyapara Ages had made five pools of blood probably forming a circle (hence obviously samentapañcaka) and standing in the middle offered the uncanny oblation of congealed blood to his forefathers until the shades of the departed ancestors appeared before him and pacified him giving him the boon that those sanguinary pools of his would become holy places of pilgrimage (1 2 3 ff)

*Tretādūparayoh saśālik ḥ Rāmāḥ śastrabhīrām varah |
asakrī pārthivāḥ ksatriam jaghānuṁśa śacoditah ||
sa saivam ksātram utādya vaivarṣenāmāladhyutih |
Samentapañcako pañco cakāra ṣu.śhrāhavadān ||
sa tesu rudhīrūmbhavaḥ hradesu krodhanūreśutah |
pitru samīparpayāmāsa ṣudhīrenaiḥ nah śrutam ||*

The next reference to the Bhargava Rama occurs in adhy 58 of the Ādi and the theme is the same. The chapter as a matter of fact describes the circumstances which led to the incarnation of the gods and goddesses of the Puranic pantheon on this earth of ours. But the account begins with an allusion to the great exploit of the Bhargava Rama his total extirpation of the bad old kings of yore (1 58 4)

śhacpāl śtubh prthivīm / rāṅ nikhśatrayām purā |

Jñanadāyinas tāpas topa Mahendri parvatottame || (1)

The first line of this stanza is worthy of special note. It occurs with slight variations over and over again in our Mahabharata its exultant note ringing like a distant echo in the remotest corners and crevices of this huge epic which was composed by Krishna Dvaipayana to spread in this world the fame of the high-souled Pandavas and of other pious-kṣatriyas (1 56 95 f.)

Kṛāna-Dvaypāyanena tam kṛtam paṅpakṣiḥ vanū ||

I rāṅ prthivyāṅ lola Pīndalūṅm mahātmanām |

antyeṣām kṣa rājānām ca bhūṛvdrasmatasyām ||

When the Bharava Rama after making a clean sweep of the Kṣatriyas retired to Mount Mahendra to practise austerities there remained of the warrior caste only the females and the Kṣatriya race was in imminent danger of becoming totally extinct (Ādi 58). When the earth was thus bereft of Kṣatriya manhood the Kṣatriya women casting aside their pride approached the Brahmins for offspring. With these Kṣatriya women cohabited the Brahmins of rigid vows of those times in pity for their sad plight. They cohabited with the Kṣatriya women not from passion only in season never out of season. Thus thousands of Kṣatriya women conceived from their intercourse with pious Brahmins. Their offsprings were the virtuous Kṣatriyas who ushered in again the Golden Age. Thus sprang up a second Kṣatriya race from the surviving Kṣatriya women owing to their intercourse with ascetic Brahmins. The new generation blessed with long life thrived in virtue. And there were again established the four castes having Brahmins at their head (1 58 8 10)

evam tad brāhmarāḥ kvairāṁ Kṣatriyasā tapasvibhaktā |
jātam ṛṣigata dharmena sudraḥsvāḥyugasthūtam |
catvāro pa tadā svaṛṣā bhāḥṣṭar brāhmanottarāḥ ||

tāḥ prajāḥ paktvāp ita dhāḥ masratāpaḥ ḥyanāḥ |
ātibhūtar svāddābhā s catvā vamaḥ tāḥ svaṛṣāo narāḥ ||

Later the Asuras defeated by the gods and expelled from heaven, in order to continue their fight for supremacy, took birth in royal families and elsewhere on this earth and so again godless kings were born here on this earth. The goddess Earth oppressed by this vicious and godless creation lodged a complaint with Brahmā who with a view to freeing her from the tyranny of her oppressors ordains that the various gods and goddesses *vanidhāras* and *aparvatas* incarnate themselves in different forms and shapes to wage war with the Asuras.

In this legend which is here skilfully interwoven with the much lauded exploit of the Bhārgava Rama, the Brahmin appears in the rôle of the *de facto* Creator of the Later Kṣatriyas. But in a variant version of the same incident which occurs in the Śānti (adhy 48-49 of the Vulgate) and which will be discussed in due course the narrator Sri-Kṛṣṇa himself, while admitting that there was a general slaughter of the Kṣatriyas allows that some Kṣatriyas had escaped death at the hands of the Bhārgava Rama and after his retirement to the forest emerged from their places of concealment and resumed sovereignty. But in this prologue to the Ādiparvan Vaitampayana is quite certain that the Kṣatriyas were *totally* annihilated by Rama and the race was *entirely* regenerated by Brahmins.

Another little digression adhy 60 which explains the origin and genealogy of the different orders of beings from the gods downwards contains also a genealogy of the Bhārgavas the only Brahminic genealogy considered by the epic bards worthy of inclusion in this chapter.

This confused cosmogonic account (1.60.1) begins with the enumeration of the six mind-born (*svimānā*) sons of Brahmā and the eleven sons of Sthannu namely the eleven Rudras. The six mind-born sons of Brahmā are Marici, Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu, which list does not include Bhṛgu. Dakṣa

was born from the right thumb of Brahma and Dakṣa's wife from his left thumb. Dakṣa begot fifty daughters on his wife of whom he gave away thirteen in a lot to Kaśyapa son of Marici. Kaśyapa's offspring were the gods and the titans (*asuras*). The list of gods and demi-gods closes with the progeny of Kaśyapa (1.60.39)

*esa devagano rājān / irtitas te 'nupūrvatān |
janā hi tāntū mānujān an upāpān pramucyate ||*

Immediately after this list of celestials come Bhṛgu and his descendants (1.60.40)

Brahmano hṛdayam bhūtvā nāharo bhagavān Bhṛgūn |

The close proximity to the gods is perhaps a covert indication of the high position of the Bhṛgus in the Precedence List. The genealogy given here is short and mentions only the well-known descendants of one branch of the Bhṛgava clan, the branch made famous by Rama Jāmdagnya. The pedigree begins with Bhṛgu who also was a son of Brahma, being born by piercing his heart.

But this ancestry of Bhṛgu is in conflict with another account found in the epic (Anusasana 85 of the Vulgate) according to which Bhṛgu was born from the seed of Prajāpati which had fallen in the fire. The latter account has partial Vedic support for we read in the Aitareya Brahmana (3.34) that the seed of Prajāpati became divided into three parts from which were born Āditya, Bhṛgu and Angiras. On the other hand in the Pañcavimsa Brahmana (18.9.1) the paternity of Bhṛgu with two others is attributed to Varuna. Further in the Taittiriya Upanisad (1.3.1.1) Satapatha Brahmana (11.6.1.1) Taittiriya Āranyaka (9.1) also Bhṛgu is said to be the son of Varuna. From Varuna he obtained the knowledge of Brahma. There seems to be a partial synthesis of some of these divergent versions in the confused Anusasana account cited above according to which while Mahadeva in the form of Varuna was performing a sacrifice *Brahmā* was presiding and all the gods and the goddesses were present. Seeing that assemblage of celestial damsels of exceeding beauty desire sprang up in the mind of Brahma. As soon as the seed came out Brahma took it up with the sacrificial ladle and poured it as a libation of clarified butter with the necessary mantras on the burning fire. Thereupon

three beings emerged from the sacrificial fire. One arose from the flames and hence he was called Bṛṣṇu, another came out of the burning charcoals and hence he passed by the name of Angira; the third originated from a heap of extinguished coals and was called Kavi. This tradition we find faintly reflected in a stanza (Adi 216*) interpolated in most MSs of the Northern recension after 1.5.5

*Bhṛguḥ mahar-ṣi bhagavān kaviḥ śarvāṅgī vai vāyavānām ॥
Kaviḥ saṅgī bhū vaṅgīḥ pṛthivī ad itī nah brūvaṃ ॥*

Here we see that the great seer Bhṛgu is said to have been produced by the self-created Lord Brahma during Vāyu's sacrifice from Fire.

However, to return to the pedigree of the Bṛṣṇu given in Adī 60 we find the statement that Bṛṣṇu had two sons, Kavi (whose son was Sukra) and Cyavana. About both Sukra and Cyavana we hear a great deal in our Mahābhārata. From Cyavana the pedigree runs as follows: Cyavana—Anvī—Reṭka—Jamadagni—Rāma. About Reṭka alone the epic has not very much to narrate but it is full of the wonderful exploits of the remaining Bhṛgus mentioned here, for whom our epic shows great predilection.

Thus we find only a few chapters later the epic relating at great length the well-known story of Yayāti (Yayātyupakhyaṇa, Adī 71-80) in which Sukra and his haughty and ambitious daughter Devyānī play a prominent role. Between Yayāti and the Pāṇḍavas there intervene according to the computation of Parāśara nearly ninety generations. And thus although the connection of this episode with the main epic story is of a very slender character it possesses considerable Bhṛgava interest which is probably the reason why it has been excerpted here from some Puranic source.

In adhy 70 Vāisampayana briefly sketches the early history of the Lunar Dynasty mentioning Yayāti and his five sons. But Janamejaya is not satisfied with this sketchy account and requests Vāisampayana to relate in detail the story of Yayāti, a remote ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas (tenth in descent from Prajāpati) (dātāma saḥ Prajāpateḥ 1.71.1). The story of Yayāti is as follows:

Bṛhaspati son of Angiras was the preceptor of the gods the Bhārgava Sukra (Kavya Uśans) that of the Asuras Sukra a powerful sorcerer like all the other Bhārgavas had the knowledge of the secret of reviving the dead (samjivana vidyā) not so Bṛhaspati the gods were therefore handicapped in their wars with the Asuras So at the instance of the gods Bṛhaspati's son Kṛca goes to Sukra who was then the court chaplain of the Asura king Vṛcāparvan and lives with him as his disciple in order to obtain from him a knowledge of the art of reviving the dead Sukra's daughter Devayāni falls headlong in love with Kṛca and openly proposes marriage an honour which Kṛca politely but firmly declines Subsequently one day when Devayāni and Sarmisthā Vṛcāparvan's daughter are having a bath in a neighbouring river Indra tossed their clothes about which had been left by the girls on the river bank so that Sarmisthā by mistake took up the dress of Devayāni There ensues a hasty quarrel between the girls and Sarmisthā throws her rival into a dry well overgrown with grass And there she remains until she is seen and pulled out of the well by the gallant king Yayāti who with the approval of her father Sukra marries her Previously as a recompense for her overhearing conduct towards Devayāni Sarmisthā had become Devayāni's slave She now accompanies Devayāni to the capital of Yayāti and the three people live in happiness for some time Yayāti has been warned beforehand by Sūtra that he must on no account call Sarmisthā on to his bed But Sarmisthā prevails upon the soft hearted and indulgent Yayāti by dint of importunity and feminine logic to act so that her menstrual period will not be wasted for the husband of one's friend is the same as one's own husband Yayāti is constrained to admit the logic and begets on her secretly three sons while Devayāni has only two Devayāni learns the truth of the whole affair one day by accident and goes in a huff to her father complaining bitterly of the perfidy of her husband The enraged Sukra curses Yayāti that he would instantly suffer the effects of premature decrepitude and so it happens He relents however and adds that Yayāti might transfer his premature old age at will to any one who is willing to take it on in his stead Accordingly Yayāti exchanged his decrepitude for the youth of his youngest son

Puruṣon of Sarmistha who was the only one of his five sons willing to take on his old age and to whom he subsequently handed over his vast kingdom as a reward for his filial affection.

In this version of the Yayāti legend the Bhāṣārī Devayāni has it all her own way and poor Sarmistha has been thrust in the background except in the finale which raises Sarmistha's youngest son to the throne and the tables are turned on Devayāni. In spite of the Yayātyupakhyaṇa Indian tradition honours Sarmistha as the pattern of a wife most honoured by her husband for in Kalidasa's famous drama when Kāśyapa gives his parting blessing to his beloved daughter Sakuntala he could think of no better boon than to wish that she might be like Sarmistha.

Yayātiḥ ca Sarmisthā bhāṣārī bahumatā bhavaḥ ।

Be thou highly honoured of thy husband as was Sarmistha of Yayāti.

The extermination of the Kṣatriyas by the Bhārgava Rama and the subsequent regeneration of the Kṣatriya race by pious Brahmins find a mention already for the third time in adhyāya 38 of the Śāṅkhya. This time in the course of a conversation between Bhīṣma and Satyawatī. The continuance of the royal family of Kurus was sorely jeopardized by the untimely death of both the sons of Santanu Oitrangada and Vicitravīrya. Satyawatī asks Bhīṣma to marry the young and beautiful widows of his half-brother Vicitravīrya and beget children on them for the continuation of the race of the Kurus a proposal which Bhīṣma firmly rejects as that would mean a deliberate breaking of his vow of celibacy. He proposes instead that a Brahmin be called to officiate (*argarya*) and do the job. He cites a precedent for this *Spadikharma*. It is no other than the story of the Bhārgava Rama and its sequel. To avenge the death of his father Bhīṣma relates the Bhārgava Rama slew Arjuna the son of Kṛtāvīrya king of the Hathayas. When he set out on his war chariot to conquer the world. And taking up his bow he hurled his mighty magical missiles (*astras*) and exterminated the Kṣatriyas more than once. In days of yore this illustrious descendant of Bhārgu annihilated the Kṣatriyas thrice seven times (1983).

trīṣaptāśvāḥ pṛthivāḥ kṛtāśvāśvāḥ cāśvāḥ parāḥ । (II)

Then from a high sense of duty the virtuous Brahmins of the

day cohabited with the widows of the Kauriyas massacred by the Bhargava Rama and begat on them offsprings and thus revived the almost extinct race of the Kauriyas. Satyawati should unhesitatingly follow this excellent precedent and arrange for the revival of the dying race of the Kurus.

So far we have come across only legends of the past achievements of the Bhargavas. The first reference to a direct contact between a Bhargava and one of the epic characters occurs in adhy 171 of the Adi. In this pseudo-historical epic the myth may not be properly regarded as concerned with events in time. Therefore the Bhargava Rama, who only a few chapters previously is said to have lived in the interval between the Treta and the Dvapara Ages is here represented as the teacher (*guru*) of Ācarya Drona, who lived in the interval between the Dvapara and the Kali Ages. The pupilship is only symbolical but the basis of the symbolism is significant. Ācarya Drona is the *guru* of the Kauravas and the Pandavas and of all the other valiant Kauriyas of the time. He was also one of the greatest warriors on the side of the Kurus in the Bharata War. But Ācarya Drona must also have a *guru*. And who would be more suitable as *guru* than the Bhargava Rama, who is the foremost of all weapon-bearers (*śarvasastibhīrtān varāh*)?

Once the symbol is accepted, it is treated as real and the myth is worked out in great detail. Thus we are told that when Drona had finished his studies and taken up the duties of a householder, he began to feel the pinch of poverty. He then happened to hear that the Bhargava Rama was bestowing wealth on Brahmins. No inconsistency or anachronism is felt because Rama is "ever-living" (*asṛjita*). So Drona presented himself before the great Bhargava, who was about to start for the forest and asked for some wealth for himself. Rama ruefully confessed to him that whatever wealth he at one time possessed he had freely presented to the Brahmins; he had even presented the earth to Kasyapa, his sacrificing priest. And now he had nothing left except his mortal body and his weapons and magical missiles (*astras*). He asked Drona to choose what he wanted. Drona, of course, chose the famous missiles with which Rama had conquered the whole earth. Rama accordingly gave all his

weapons to Drona instructing him at the same time fully in the science of arms.

The story of Drona was apparently popular for we find it repeated in an abridged form in Adhy 154. It here related there to the Pandavas by a Brahmin who was urging them to proceed to the capital of Drupada to attend the *angamanyu* of Drupadi.

We learn another fragment of Bhargava history from Adhy 159 to 172 of the *Adi* the *Auvopakhyaṇa* which is as a matter of fact a digression within a digression.

While the Pandava brothers were proceeding by slow stages to the capital of King Drupada to attend Drupadi's *angamanyu* they are opposed on the way by Citraratha King of the Gandharvas whom Arjuna after a brief fight overcomes. Citraratha and Arjuna soon become close friends. This sudden friendship gives the necessary opportunity to the skilful *vaedhi* to entangle in some stories Citraratha as a matter of fact relates to Arjuna a number of interesting but finely introduced anecdotes which are a pure and unadulterated light story. Among them the well-known story of Vasudeva. It is related how Vasudeva King of Kingakubja tried to see a Vaishṇava sacred cow (*Kamadhenu*) and failing turned ascetic and in the end became a Brahmin; how King Kalmesapada Saudasa was cursed by Vasudeva's son Sali (or Sakṛi) to become a cannibal and how he began his career as a cannibal by devouring Vasudeva's own sons including Sakṛi; how Vasudeva subsequently freed the king from the effects of the curse. Then finally to discuss his enraged grandson Parasara son of Sali from destroying the whole creation in his frenzy Vasudeva relates to him the story of the Bhargava Anura. It will thus be seen that the Bhargava legend is embedded within the Vasudeva legend which is itself a digression (*upākhyāna*). This story of Anura is as follows:

Once upon a time there was a king by name *Kitavira* of the *Kaitavyas* whose family priests were the *Bhrgus*. On them he bestowed great wealth. After his death the princes of his family for some reason or other demanded it had. The *Bhrgus* came out with some of it but not all. It then happened that one of the *Katriyas* accidentally digging the ground in the settlement of the *Bhrgus* came upon a large store of wealth buried under

ground Enraged at what they naturally considered deceitful conduct on the part of the Bhrgus the Ksatriyas used violence to the Bhrgus and slew them all indiscriminately The Ksatriyas even hunted down the women of the Bhrgus and with a view to exterminating the race killed all those that were pregnant Unsusued by the Ksatriyas some of the Bhrgu women took shelter in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Himalayas One of these women in order to perpetuate the race of the Bhargavas had concealed her embryo in her thigh The Ksatriyas when they came to know of it pursued her with the intention of decimating her embryo when lo and behold the child was born from his mother's thigh blinding the Hathayas with his lustre Bereft of sight they roamed about in the forest and meekly approaching the faultless Brahmin lady prostrated themselves before her begging that their eyesight might be restored My good sire said the Brahmin lady I have not robbed you of your eyesight nor am I angry with you But this scion of the Bhrgus seems certainly to be angry with you Your eyesight has no doubt been destroyed by this high souled Bhargava whose wrath has been kindled by the massacre of his kinsmen When you took to destroying even the embryos of the Bhrgu race the child was held by me concealed in my thigh for one hundred years That he may do good to the Bhrgu race the entire Veda with its six *ANUKAS* revealed itself to him when he was still in the womb Being enraged at the slaughter of his kinsmen he desires to kill you It is by his divine effulgence that your eyesight has been destroyed Pray therefore my good sire to this excellent son of mine born of my thigh (*Uta*) and pacified by your humbly prostrating yourself before him he may restore your eyesight " Thereupon all those Ksatriyas on their bended knees said to that high-born child Forgive us " and the high-born child forgave them But that descendant of the Bhargava race did not forget that outrage and resolved in his mind upon destroying this wicked world With that object in view he started performing the most severe austerities By the intensity of his austerities he afflicted all the worlds On learning what Aurva was doing to avenge the wrong done to them by the Ksatriyas the shades of his ancestors came to him and addressed him as follows

O Aurva O child the prowess of thy fierce asstributes has been seen by us. Control thy anger and forgive the people. They explain to him that the Kshatriyas were really *not* to blame for the slaughter of the Bhrgus! How could those puny Kshatriyas ever hope to kill the Bhargavas? That *contretemps* was a little contrivance of the Bhargavas themselves. The fact was that the Bhargavas were tired of their lives and longed to die but death dared not touch them those sunless effulgent specimens of humanity and suicide was a cowardly act and a sin. They had therefore staged that little quarrel with those foolish and arrogant Kshatriyas, so that the Kshatriyas might get enraged and kill them as they did. Of what use could wealth be to those emancipated souls whose sole desire was to obtain honou? Aurva replies that that may be all true but he had made a vow to destroy the world in order to calm his own anger and he must destroy it or else he would be destroyed himself by the fire of his uncontrollable wrath. And so the world was in imminent danger of being totally destroyed! But the ancestors of Aurva show him a way out of the dilemma. They wisely advise him to fling the fire of his wrath in the waters which are the primal source and support of the world and Aurva does so. And now in the shape of horse's head (*Agastya's* his wrath dwells in the ocean consuming its waters which are the world (*20th & 21st chapters* 171-19).

In the above legend we may notice some of the repeated motives of Bhargava stories. There is first of all the feud with the Kshatriyas which finally develops into the creation of the figure of the Bhargava Rama 'the foremost of all weapon-bearers' who single-handed with the aid of his magical weapons the *asura* conquers the whole earth annihilating the Kshatriyas three seven times. Then there is the motif of the opportune birth of a marvellous child whose effulgent lustre either blinds the oppressor (as here) or consumes him (as in the case of Cyavana). There is lastly the appearance of the shades of the ancestors who step in to stop the carnage either contemplated (as here) or actually perpetrated (as in the case of Rama) to avenge some private wrong done with reference to the family.

SABHAPARVAN

The short Sabha which is a compact little book with 81 chapters and about 2700 stanzas (in the Vulgate) begins with the Election of the Daiba Hall and ends with the Second Gambling Match. Here the story marches forward by rapid strides consisting as it does mainly of spiced dialogue and dramatic action. The digressions are few and far between and of upā khyānas as such there are none. The real important digressions which occur early in the beginning are two firstly the some what lengthy and imaginative descriptions (ākhyānas) by Nārada of the halls of the celestials Indra Yama Varuna Kubera and Brahmā preceded by a short Niti tractate (adhy 5-12) and secondly the previous history of Jarasandha narrated by Kṛṣṇa (adhy 17 1). Consequently in this parvan the Bhārgava material is extremely scanty.

The Bhārgavas are nevertheless briefly mentioned several times. Thus naturally many of the Bhārgavas to wit Bhṛgu Mārkandeya Rama Jamadagnya are several times mentioned as being present along with other famous sages and seers of the past in the halls of the celestials mentioned above as also as a matter of course in the newly elected hall of Yudhisṭhira. In adhy 9 Rama has been placed by mistake among the royal sages (rajanas). They are likewise present at the coronation of Yudhisṭhira. These static figures are like mural decorations and of no special interest to us. We shall therefore ignore them.

Rama's extermination of the Kṣātriyas which is really never quite forgotten by our bards is mentioned in adhy 14. Kṛṣṇa prefaces his long reply to Yudhisṭhira regarding the prerequisites of the Rajasuya sacrifice by pointing out quite irrelevantly that the contemporary Kṣātriyas were far inferior to that old race of Kṣātriyas that was exterminated by the Bhārgava Rama (B 2 14 3).

*Jāmadagnyaṅka Kṛṣṇeṅka kṣātrīya yad avasthitaṅka
tasmiṅka avarajam loka yad idam kṣātrīyasābhyaṅkīdānaṅka ॥*

It was mentioned above that the high esteem in which our epic bards held Rama Jamadagnya had led to his being represented as the teacher of Āsarya Drona in the science of arms. The same ideology is responsible for the sedulously fostered belief that Rama was the teacher of Bhīṣma also an idea which is taken hold of

and further developed in that late addition to the Udyoga the Amba episode (Ambopakhyaṇa) Rāma is represented as standing in the same relation to Karna the protégé and ally of Duryodhana. So in his denunciation of Karna Sisupala mentions Karna's pupilship under Parma as one of Karna's qualifications entitling him to receive the *arjha* (B 2 37 15 f.)

arjha ca kartarāryaḥ : *vas bahasārjha mahābalaḥ* :

Jā nāparyagasya dāyakaḥ sayo vepasya : *Bhāṛata* ||

pa āśācaka n āśraḥ : *ṣṭyāno yudhā suryāḥ* ||

kuṇ ca karmam atkroṣya : *latham kṛpamā tanyā cātā* ||

ARANYAKAPARVAN

This book is a veritable thesaurus of ancient Brahmanic myths and legends. We accordingly find that a fair amount of Bhargava material has been incorporated in it. We further find that one Bhargava takes a considerable share in the story-telling that is done here.

The first important reference to the Bhrgus is in the Tirthavra section. The list of *tirthas* given in adhy 82 ff. (of the Vulgate) is said to have been first communicated by the sage Pulastya to Bhishma and then repeated by Nārada to Yudhisṭhira. It is in reality a metrical compendium of *tirthas*, which gives in the space of a stanza or two the necessary details about the particular *tirtha*—the name of the *tirtha*, the ritual acts to be done there, and finally the merit (*paṇya*) accruing from these acts. Thus for example we read (B 3 89 18 ff.)

O king going to Saluktā and bathing in the Datasvamedha the pilgrim obtains the merit of performing 10 *śucamedha* sacrifices.—Then going to Saipaḍevi that excellent *tirtha* of the Nāgas one obtains the merit of performing 1 *agnīstoma* sacrifice and goes to the world of the Nages.—One should then proceed O virtuous man to (the shrine of) Tāntuka the gate-keeper. Staying there only for one night one obtains the merit of giving away 1000 kine.—Then going to the Pāścanada with regulated diet and subdued soul and bathing in the Kotāṭirtha one obtains the merit of performing 1 *śucamedha* sacrifice.—Going to the *tirtha* of the Āśvins a man is born handsome (in a future birth of course).—One should then go, O virtuous man, to the excellent

tirtha called Varaha where Vishnu in times of yore appeared in the form of a boar. Bathing there O foremost of men one obtains the merit of performing 1 *agnistoma* sacrifice—O king of kings one should then visit Somasthira situated in Jayanti. Bathing in it one obtains the merit of performing 1 *r̥̄yas̄ȳya* sacrifice—Bathing in Ekahamaa one obtains the merit of giving away 1000 kine—O ruler of men going to the Kraesuca the pilgrim becomes purified and obtains the merit of performing 1 *p̄̄n̄̄dar̄̄ika* sacrifice—Then going to Munjavata the place sacred to Sthanu and fasting for one night one acquires the position of *ḡ̄n̄̄ap̄̄tya*— And so on and so forth.

Only very rarely is this dreary enumeration interrupted by a brief account of some myth or legend connected with the place of pilgrimage in question. Now we find embedded in this list the legend connected with the Ramshradas (B 3 8^a 26 ff.) which appears to have considerably roused the interest of the compiler and to which he has devoted not less than 32 lines. The story is of course no other than that of the extirpation of the Ksatriya race by the Bhargava Rama of which this is already the *fourth* repetition in some form or other. The story is as follows.

The greatly effulgent and heroic Rama after exterminating the Ksatriyas with great valour formed five lakes filled with the blood of the slaughtered warriors. And he offered that blood as oblation to his forefathers who were most gratified by this supreme act of filial piety. The shades of these ancestors appeared before him and addressed him as follows. O Rama O Rama O fortunate one! We are pleased O Bhārgava with thy filial piety and with thy great valour. Ask for a boon O greatly effulgent one. What dost thou wish to have? Having been thus addressed by his ancestors Rama that foremost of smiters (*Rāmah p̄̄haraññ̄m̄ varāñ* B 3 83 31) thus spoke with joined hands to his ancestors. If you are pleased with me and if I have deserved your favour then by your grace I desire that I may again derive pleasure in asceticism. By your power may I be freed from the sin I have incurred by killing these Ksatriyas in a fit of wrath. Also may these sanguinary lakes become holy places of pilgrimage celebrated throughout the world. Hearing these righteous words of Rama, his ancestors were highly pleased,

and filled with joy they thus replied to Rama: 'For thy unstarved prosper especially by virtue of thy great filial piety. For sooth thou hast exterminated the Keshayus in a fit of wrath, but thou art already freed from that sin, for they have fallen owing to their own misdeeds. These lakes of thine shall without doubt become places of pilgrimage. He who will bathe in these lakes and offer here oblations to his ancestors will please his manes and they will gratify all his heart's desire and lead him to the eternal celestial regions. Having granted these boons to Rama and affectionately taken leave of him, the shades became invisible. It was thus that the bloody lakes of that illustrious descendant of Bhrgu became sacred places of pilgrimage—Leading the life of a student of the sacred lore and observing sacred vows, if a person bathes in the Lakes of Rama (Ramabhadra) and worships Rama, he will obtain much gold.

The reader will easily recognize this as the story which was briefly related already in connection with Samantapancaka. In fact Ramabhadra appears to be only another name of Samantapancaka, one of the *trithas* explicitly mentioned as having been visited by the Suta (that is the putative narrator of the *Mahabharata*) before he came to Saunaka's sacrifice. It will be recalled that some information was asked then about Samantapancaka in adhy. 3 of the Adi and in that connection this story was briefly narrated by the Suta to the sages of the Naimisha Forest. There the story was originally summarized in four stanzas but some subsequent reviser apparently not satisfied with such a cursory allusion to this epoch-making feat of Rama had interpolated at that place the dialogue between Rama and his ancestors (compressed into eight lines) made up mostly of bits and pieces of verses borrowed from the present context and like all interpolations proving itself to be somewhat of a bad fit.

A few chapters later we have a strange story of a conflict between two different incarnations of the same god Vishnu between the Jamadagnya Rama and the Dasarathi Rama told in connection with a Bhrgutirtha celebrated in the three worlds which Yudhishthira and his party are said to have visited (B 3 99-34 ff). Once upon a time the story goes Rama Jamadagnya went to Ayodhya to meet Rama Dasarathi and to test his strength

Rama D was sent by his father to the boundary of his kingdom to receive Rama J hospitably but was flagrantly insulted by the latter. Rama D nevertheless bends the bow given to him by Rama J to test his strength and shoots an arrow which convulses the whole world astounding Rama J. Rama D further confounds Rama J completely by showing him his cosmic form (*visva-rupa*) made popular by the Gita (adhy 11) and rebukes him for his overweening conduct. Abashed Rama J returns to Mount Mahendra having lost his lustre (*tejas*), which he regains later at some *tirtha* or other. Yudhishthira is asked to bathe in the same *tirtha* that he might regain the lustre he had lost in his conflict with Duryodhana.

This grotesque story composed probably with the object of glorifying the Ksatriya Rama at the cost of the Brahmin Rama must be quite a modern interpolation in the Mahabharata. Contextually it is an obvious misfit being incongruously wedged in between two halves of the Agastya legend with which it has absolutely no connection. Not only is this bizarre story contextually a misfit it is a very poor piece of composition and it strikes moreover a discordant note involving disrespect towards the Bhargava Rama who in our epic is otherwise throughout held up for our admiration as the foremost of weapon bearers and fighters. Fortunately we are not left to deduce the spuriousness of this passage merely from intrinsic arguments which are apt to be discredited for the passage is missing entirely in the Southern recension an omission supported by the Kashmiri version and even by some ancient Devanagari MSS. The story which is narrated at some length in the Ramayana, is not even alluded to in the Ramopakhyana of our epic and belongs evidently to a different complex of legends quite inharmonious with the Mahabharata context. It appears to have been smuggled into the capacious folds of the *Ānanyakapavān* in quite recent times by some well-meaning but ignorant Northern interpolator anxious to vindicate the boast of the epic to be a complete encyclopaedia of the Hindu legendary lore.

But the next chapter (100) again contains a Bhargava story, the legend of Dadhiva. Lomasa relates how the Kalakroyas under the leadership of Vritra persecuted the celestials who betook them

selves to Brahma asking for his protection. The latter advises them to go to the (Bhargava) Dadhiva and ask for his bones. The sage magnanimously gives up his body for the good of the three worlds. The celestials took the bones of Dadhiva to Vîśva-karman the architect of the gods who fashioned out of his bones the thunderbolt with which Indra vanquished the enemies of the gods. The story is repeated in the account of the pilgrimage of Baladeva (Salya 51 in the Vulgate) where it is said of Dadhiva that he was the strongest of all creatures tall as the Himalayas and that Indra was always mighty afraid of him on account of his lustre.

Yet again a few chapters later the arrival of Yudhisthira and his party at Mount Mahendra the headquarters of Rama now a *sanctuary* affords a welcome opportunity to the bard for the presentation of a full-length portrait of the hero of the Bharga as Rama son of Jamadagni (Ananyaka 115-117 in the Vulgate).

The Pandavas bathe at the mouth of the Ganges and proceed to the river Vastara in Kalinga where the altar of Kaśyapa is. They rest on Mount Mahendra and hear there from Akita vrasa a disciple of the Bhargava Rama the well-known story of Rama which may be summarized as follows.

Gadhi King of Kanyakubja had retired to the forest to practise his religious austerities. There a most beautiful daughter was born to him *satyavati* whom the Bhargava Rishi wooed. Gadhi perhaps did not relish his suit and tried to evade it by demanding a present of a thousand peculiarly coloured horses but Rishi supplied them and gained her. Then a Bhrgu (perhaps Aurva is meant) who was a great sorcerer visits the newly married couple and gives his young daughter-in-law the boon that she would give birth to a gifted son and so would her mother. To fortify the boon he prescribes that she should embrace an *advantara* tree her mother an *asvattha* and both should partake of different dishes of some special *cura* prepared by him with powerful incantations and endowed with magical potency. These good ladies go and exchange the trees as well as the dishes of *cura* which were apportioned to them by the great sage with the result that the daughter was about to give birth to a Brahmin son with Kṣatriya qualities and the mother a Kṣatriya son with

Brahmanic qualities. But the Bhṛṅgu who comes to know of this interchange by occult means comes rushing to the hermitage and tells his daughter-in-law what was going to happen. Moved by her entreaties he gives a further boon to the daughter-in-law who had really been deceived by her mother postponing the action of the potent charm. Thus her son Jamadagni was saved from the taint of Kṣatriyahood which ultimately fell upon her grandson Rama who turned out to be as prophesied a revengeful and blood-thirsty warrior perpetrator of cruel and sanguinary deeds. Jamadagni though a peaceful Brahmin who excelled in the study of the Vedas as desired by his mother was not without martial equipment for the entire science of arms with the four kinds of magical missiles spontaneously came to him who rivalled the sun in lustre without any instruction from anybody' (B 3 115 45). Jamadagni married Renuka daughter of King Pīśanajit. She gave birth to five sons. Ramanvat, Kusona, Vāsu, Viśvavāsu and last but not least Rama. The family lived happily for some time. Then one day when Renuka of rigid vows happened to see Citrāraṭha the handsome king of Mārtikāvataka sporting in water with his numerous wives her fortitude forsook her and she felt the pangs of desire. When she returned to the hermitage Jamadagni noticed her pollution and guessed her secret. In a fit of rage he called in turn upon each of his sons to kill their unchaste mother. Four of them refused to do the atrocious deed and were cursed by the angry and disappointed father for their disobedience. Then came last of all that slayer of hostile heroes' Rama Jamadagnya. A military type accustom'd to receive and obey orders Rama when sternly commanded by his father 'to slay his mother' took his axe and without hesitation chopped off his mother's head. Jamadagni mightily pleased with the instant obedience of his son granted Rama several boons among them the boon that the mother whom Rama had decapitated might be restored to life. And the family lived again happily for some time. Then one day Arjuna Karta-vīrya Sahasrabahu came to the hermitage and was hospitably received by the Bhārgavas. The ungrateful king intoxicated with the pride of power not heeding the hospitality seized and carried off by force from the hermitage the calf of the sacred cow of the sage (a variant of the *kāmadhenu* motif of the Vasiṣṭha-

Vivānitra (son of) and spitefully broke the big trees in the hermitage grounds. This was the beginning of a terrible feud. Rama first slew the arrogant Arjuna Kārtavyya and Arjuna's sons then slew the unresisting Janak's son. Then Rama slaughtered the sons of Arjuna's K and finally destroyed all Kārtavyya off the earth three or seven times and made five pools of blood in Samantapancaha (B 3 117 9)

śāntāni śītaṅ pānāni śītaṅ mūṅ śītaṅ śītaṅ pānāni śītaṅ
Samantapancaha pavon calāra rudhū chratūn ॥ (117)

Standing in these pools of blood—as has already been narrated several times above—Rama offered oblations to the manes until at last his ancestor Bolka appeared and stopped him. Rama then performed a great sacrifice to gratify Indra in which he bestowed the earth upon Kasyapa his priest. Then this annihilator of the Kārtavyya race was at last satisfied and retired to Mount Mahendra engaging himself in austerities of a rather severe type. Thus did hostility cease between Rama and the Kārtavyyas of this earth and the entire earth was conquered by Rama of immeasurable lustre" (B 3 117 15). It is then narrated that the Bhārgava Rama appeared there in person on Mount Mahendra to meet the Pandavas. He was duly received and honoured by Yudhishtira and his party and he honoured them in turn.

This account has been amplified in later times—like several other Bhārgava episodes—by the addition of a passage of 23 lines (B 3 118 9-19) which is prefixed to it and which is chiefly of interest on account of the vague suggestion it contains to the effect that the Bhārgava Rama was an *uxōrū* or Vishnu. This interpolation begins with the previous history of Arjuna Kārtavyya king of Hastinā. He is represented here as a worshipper of Dakṣiṇya by whose favour he had obtained a golden chariot and a wonderful chariot. Intoxicated with the pride of power Arjuna Kārtavyya insulted Indra, trampled upon the angels and even upon the celestials and persecuted all creatures. Thereupon the celestials and the sages met together and went in a body to Vishnu to ask for his protection. Then the exalted god (Vishnu) held a consultation with Indra. The god of gods (Indra) told Vishnu what had to be done. Thereupon the exalted god, promising to do the needful, went to Badari, his

favourite retreat—Here the introduction suddenly breaks off and the story narrated above about Gadhi and Roika begins (B 3 115 20). The suggestion probably is that at the consultation between Indra and Visnu it was decided that Visnu should incarnate himself on the earth as the son of Jamadagni as Rama Jamadagnya who should in the fulness of time slay Arjuna Kartavilya but that is left unsaid. The passage is missing in the entire Southern recension and in some Northern manuscripts including those of the Kashmiri version. There can therefore be no doubt about its being a comparatively recent interpolation.

As already remarked above Rama Jamadagnya and the other Bhargavas such as Cyavana, Rika and so on are generally used as static figures along with other ancient sages like Nradra in the description of largely attended and important meetings and state functions and such treatment of these characters is quite intelligible if not natural. But the Bhargava Rama—and especially the Bhargava Rama—are accorded a somewhat different treatment—they are represented as taking part in the action more definitely and more frequently. We have seen that the Bhargava Rama is said to have given all his *astras* to Drona. He is also said to have taught Bhishma and Karna. Here he is represented as having shown himself to the Pandavas, as a special favour. In another context Rama is said to have fought with Bhishma a fight which lasted for twenty three days but was absolutely barren of any consequence. Elsewhere also we shall find Rama and some of other Bhargavas represented as taking some innocuous part in the action which in no way affects the course of events but which serves to establish and maintain contact between the Bhargavas and the epic characters.

The above story of Rama which is miscalled the Kartavilya pakhyana ends at adhy 117 of the Vulgate. At adhy 122 we have another Bhargava story which covers adhy 122-124 and about half of adhy 125—the story of the great wizard Cyavana, son of Bhrgu.

The Pandavas reach the Payasni and the Narmada rivers and hear from Lomada the story (*upākhyāna*) of Cyavana how he demanded in marriage a young princess by name Sukanya wh

had innocently and unwittingly blinded him how he recovered his sight by the grace of the Aśvins and how he gave them on that account the Soams libation paralyzing the arm of Indra who would have prevented it. The story runs thus:

Oyavana son of Bhīgu, practised asceticism in a forest so long that an ant hill was formed round him. There came one day to that place king Śaryati accompanied by his daughter Sukanya with beautiful eyebrows and tapering thighs. The sage imprisoned within the ant hill gazed longingly at the youthful princess clad in a single garment and adorned with costly ornaments, and addressed some words to her which she did not hear. Sukanya saw, however, the gleaming eyes of the sage engaged in self-mortification in the ant hill and mistaking them for a species of glow-worm in youthful headlessness peered the eyes of the sage with a thorn. Little did she think of the dire consequences of her childlike act. For through the anger of the offended sage smarting with the pain thoughtlessly inflicted on him by the headless princess the king's entire army suffered suddenly from a complete stoppage of urine and excreta. The bewildered king inquired about the cause of this strange mishap but none of his soldiers and companions could enlighten him. The occurrence remained a mystery until the guilty princess confessed her misdeed. Śaryati forthwith set out to pacify the irate sage. The sage would relent only if the mischievous but fascinating princess be given to him in marriage. Without reflecting the king agreed to bestow his beautiful daughter on the high-souled Oyavana and returned to his own city. Some time later the Aśvins saw the faultless Sukanya bathing in the lake adjoining the hermitage of the sage. They also were smitten by her ravishing beauty and asked her to accept one of them for her husband instead of the blind old sage. As she would not consent they propose that they would rejuvenate Oyavana, and then she should choose. With the permission of her husband she consents to the second proposal. Oyavana had to dip into the waters of the lake, into the primordial element the womb of all creation along with the Aśvins (Fountain of Youth motif).¹ The three of

¹ An alluring explanation of the idea underlying this intriguing motif has been given by H. Zimmer in his *Magna Der indische Mythos* (Stuttgart 1936) pp. 41 ff.

them came out of the water all looking exactly alike. Here is a dilemma (Nala-Damayanti motif). By virtue of her unswerving loyalty to her husband, Sukanya is however able to choose the right man. In gratefulness for the gift of youth and beauty, Cyavana promises the Asvins a draught of the Soma juice during a regular sacrifice. Soon afterwards, Saryati comes to visit his son-in-law, Cyavana, and the latter arranges a great sacrifice for Saryati at which he offers the first draught of Soma to the Asvins who used to be altogether excluded on these festive occasions on account of their being medicine men. Indra tries to stop the sacrilegious act, but as Cyavana will not heed Indra, then attempts to hurl the thunderbolt at him. But Cyavana was too quick for him. Instantly Cyavana paralyzed Indra's arm and brought him to his knees. At the same time the great sorcerer created by his magic a terrible demon (*krityā*) called Madā (Intoxication). When Madā rushes towards Indra to slay him, Indra grants the wish of Cyavana who triumphantly continues the sacrifice and gives the Asvins, the promised libation of Soma. Since that time the Asvins participate regularly in the sacrificial offerings on a basis of equality with the other god. Indra at the same time apologizes and explains that he had opposed Cyavana merely to spread the fame of Cyavana and his father-in-law, Saryati, throughout the world, a significant and prophetic utterance.

Bhrgu, the father of Cyavana, had only cursed Agni, a minor god, in fact merely the 'mouth' of the gods, to be *sarvabhakṣya* (devourer of all things) good and bad (1.6.13). Cyavana did even better. He thoroughly humbled Indra, the king of gods, who had to submit to the will of Cyavana.

In the next chapter again we have a passing allusion to a Bhargava who remains unnamed. The background is a Bhargava hermitage though the main actors are not Bhrgus. The pious Yuvanāśva Saudyumnī is practising austerities for the sake of progeny. One night he became very thirsty. Searching for water, he enters the hermitage of the Bhargava who was engaged in performing some magical rites in order to make Yuvanāśva's queen give birth to a son. This sorcerer had actually prepared a potion endowed with magical efficacy for administering it to the queen and kept the jar containing the dose in a corner of the

hermitage. The thirsty king found it and not knowing that the water was charmed and intended in fact for the queen, drained the potion to the dregs. Here was a mess. But the potion prepared by a Bhṛgu is infallible in its effect. Whoever drinks it must give birth to a son. Consequently the king became himself pregnant and a son, Mandhātṛ, was born to him, ripping open his left side, but owing to some propitiatory rites performed by the Bhṛgu, Yuvansāva himself escaped unhurt.

It is interesting to compare this version of the story of Mandhātṛ with the one which occurs in the Dronaparvan (adhy. 6^o of the Vulgate). There we are told that once upon a time king Yuvansāva, when out hunting, became thirsty and his steed was exhausted. Seeing at a distance a curl of smoke, the monarch, guided by it, reached a sacrificial enclosure and found there some sacrificial butter (gṛha) which he greedily swallowed. Thereupon the king became pregnant and was delivered of a son (Mandhātṛ) by the Āśvins. The rest of the story is nearly the same.

In this version, king Yuvansāva was not practising austerities for securing the birth of a son, but had gone out hunting. Nor did he partake of the magical preparation at night in the dark, but presumably in full daylight, when the smoke from the sacred hearth could yet be seen by him. The second version moreover makes no mention of any Bhṛgu, playing the rôle of the officiating priest and saviour of Yuvansāva, like the first, which is an important discrepancy. The second story is sketchy and lacking in definition, and appears to be the older version. In the first the details are filled out by adding a Bhṛgu as an officiating priest and generally making the picture more vivid and realistic.

The next Bhārgava of importance we meet with in the Aranyakas is the sage Markandeya, whose discourses on the most diverse topics extend over 51 chapters (182-232) in the Vulgate, containing about 2200 stanzas (Markandeya-samāsya) which he delivers for the delectation and edification of the Pāṇḍavas. This is not his first visit to the Pāṇḍavas by any means. For early in the beginning of their exile, when the Pāṇḍavas had settled in the Dyāvāyana Forest, Markandeya had paid a flying visit

to them (adhy 25) He turns up again as a matter of fact also towards the end of their exile without notice or warning to console Yudhishthira and relates to him the Ramopakhyana the popular story of Rama and Sita as well as the Savitryupa khyana that immortal story of a wife's splendid devotion These two *upākhyānas* narrated by Markandeya together comprise about 1060 stanzas Thus the Markandeya samasya together with the two latter *upākhyānas* comprise 3260 stanzas which is nearly one fourth of the entire extent of this extensive *parvan*

Markandeya was one of the *atyayins* eternally youthful though many thousand years old How he was exactly connected with the two well-known Bhrgu families of our Mahabharata (Bhrgu-Cyavana-Rama and Bhrgu-Cyavana-Sunaka) is not exactly known but that he was a Bhargava is beyond doubt He is referred to as *Bhārgava* in B 3 183 60 189 97 190 2 18 22 15 as *Bhārgava saktama* in B 3 201 7 217 5 as *Bhrgu-mandana* in B 3 205 1 as *Bhrgu-ula-sastha* in B 3 205 15 Moreover Markandeya is explicitly declared to be a *gotra* founder of the Bhrgu clan in the Matsya Purana (190 20)

Some of the subjects of Markandeya's discourses to the Pandava are the following great power of Brahmins; merit of benevolence to Brahmins wife's duty to her husband and different forms of Agni He relates among others stories of Manu Yayati Visadasbha Sibi Indradyumna (father of Janaka) Kunalasva and of Skanda Karttikova He is also responsible for the famous story of the Righteous Hunter (*dharma upādha*) of Mitula Besides these there is, as is well known a whole Purana named after him the Markandeya Purana

The most interesting of Markandeya's stories however is how he actually witnessed the act of creation and dissolution in progress We have here in fact in Markandeya a Brahmanic counterpart of the Ksatirva Manu that distant cousin of the Semitic Noah with his ark seeds and so on

The legend of Manu like that of Noah is a childish story According to this legend (Matsyopakhyana also related by the same sage Markandeya Aranyaka 187 in the Vagats) Manu son of Vivasvat while saying his usual prayers on the bank of a river sees a tiny little fish which asks the sage to protect it

Manu rears the fish in a small earthen vessel which the fish soon outgrows. The fish keeps on growing larger and larger. Manu places the fish successively in a tank in the river Ganges and in the ocean. Before parting from Manu, the fish warns him of the impending catastrophe and advises him to build an ark and keep carefully a store of seeds of all kinds. When the deluge comes, Manu gets into the ark with the Seven Sages. The ark is towed by the horned fish on the ocean which during the deluge flooded everything. The ship like a drunken wench¹, staggered from side to side on the bosom of the agitated ocean. In the end the ship is fastened on to the peak of the Himalayas called Naubahana which is projecting out of the water. When the flood subsides, Manu quietly gets out of the ark and as he has all the necessary seeds with himself in the ark there would be no difficulty in creating the world anew. Before parting again from Manu and the Seven Sages the Fish says: 'I am Brahma, the lord of creatures. None is greater than I. In the form of a fish I have saved you all from this peril. Manu will create all beings: gods, *asuras* and human beings, the mobile and the immobile creation.'

This story which appears to belong to a different complex of myths and does not at all fit well in the Mahabharata cycle is, as has been surmised probably of Semitic origin¹. If Manu creates all beings, Brahma is thrown out of employment. The Puranic theory of creation is that there is a deluge, nothing remains of the universe except Vishnu-Narayana reclining on the coils of the Eternal Serpent (*Shesha Ananta*) floating on the waters. Then out of Narayana's navel emerges Brahma, seated on a lotus, the creative aspect of the deity. From Brahma are born his mind-born sons (*manasa putras*). Then other beings, male and female, emerge from his heart, breast, thumbs and so on. These are the *Prakritis*. They propagate this world of ours. The process is repeated at each dissolution; it is an eternal recurrence. In this complex there is clearly no room for the Semitic legend which would imply a parallel creation by Manu, a state of things which is not at all what is intended by the legend. Since a

¹ Cf. Winternitz: *Die Lehren des Altertums und der Naturvölker in Mitteleuropa für die Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. 21 (1901) pp. 31 f. 377.

variant version of this legend is found even in the Satapatha Brahmana: (1.8.1) it should seem that the Semitic legend was introduced into India at a fairly early date but has remained unassimilated. Its exotic character however appears to me to be clearly betrayed by the *phalaris* at the end of the chapter: an addition which accompanies all late associations to the Great Epic (B 3.187.58 *emended*)

*ya idam srastyaṁ nityaṁ manoh ca dam bhūtaḥ |
sa suktaḥ sa vasiddhārthoh svarajitānam iṣṭin narah ||*

The Indian Noah is a man of a very different character. He requires neither boat nor horned fish to save him: nor does he keep a store of seeds with himself. The man who could live through the dissolution of the world can only be a perfect Yogi and a perfect Yogi is deathless. There is none equal to you in years save Brahma Parameśhūn' says Yudhishtira to the Bhargava Markandeya. But he requires neither food nor drink to live. He can walk on water as easily as on land. So when the world was overwhelmed with floods and the creation was gradually submerged Markandeya found himself alone walking on the waters of the ocean. After some time Markandeya being human after all begins to feel a little tired and lonely tramping about all by himself on the surface of the endless ocean. He also felt inexpressibly sad at that awful destruction. Then all of a sudden he noticed a little child resting on the extended branch of a huge banyan tree (*nyagrodha*). Markandeya could not at all imagine how that little helpless child could have survived all that cataclysmal devastation and he kept pondering over that matter standing near the child. Seeing his confusion the child softly told him to go into his body and rest there and the child opened its little mouth and drew him gently inside. And lo and behold inside the child he found the world whose destruction he had seen with his own eyes. The sun the moon and the stars all the oceans, seas and rivers of the world all the men women and children whom he had known all animals gods and demons — they were all there inside the little stomach of that wonderful little child. He wandered about inside for hundreds of years and still he could not find the end of it all when he suddenly found

himself outside the child blown out by his gentle exhalation. Then the child spoke to the sage and then it suddenly dawned on Markandeya who the Child was. He sees and recognises God¹.

As this Brahmin Nish had no need for the air, he had no need for any seeds. The seeds are there permanently. There had been in fact no destruction at all. That destruction was an illusion. There was only a involubus in the world had been only withdrawn into the interior of God. Creation moreover was not Markandeya's concern: it was the business of Brahma. Like the seed which has been well planted, the universe will grow of itself putting forth in due time blossoms and fruits and other seeds. Markandeya, the Yogi, is interested only in knowing and understanding things. He had seen God, but that is not sufficient for him. He wants to know God, know about His nature and character, His Maya that Māya which had not been understood even by the gods themselves (B 3 188-195).

janam vohānam dāsa tōtām māyānā caśām tadvāpāmām |

The divine Child declares itself to be Narayana, the indestructible source of the world and reveals to Markandeya His real nature and character.

The Bhārgava Markandeya is according to this account the only man who had survived the last deluge, witnessed the act of dissolution and creation in progress, stood in his own person face to face with Narayana in the utter solitude of total annihilation, but it is nowhere made clear why Markandeya was singled out for this unique honour, an unmotivated theme. It is left to us infer that the Bhārgava Markandeya is the only perfect Yogi that ever lived.

A little later as already mentioned Markandeya relates to the Pāndavas the famous Ramopakhyana (Āraṇyaka 273-292 in the Vulgate) an abridgement of the Rāma story in about 750 stanzas. The occasion for relating the story arises in the following way:

Jayadratha a near relative of the Kurus and the Pāndavas tries to carry off Draupadi but is defeated and captured and ultimately pardoned and released. Yudhishthira mourns his fate

¹ An illuminating commentary on a different version of this same myth is given by H. Zimmer *Mythos Derivatives Mythos* pp. 52 ff.

and asks Markandeya who seems to be rather abruptly introduced for the purpose of the story if there is any mortal more unfortunate than himself. Thereupon Markandeya relates the story of the Dakṣiṇī Rāma. Now the entire story of the attempted rape of Draupadī by Jayadratha is so ill conceived and unconvincing that it appears to have been invented solely for the purpose of introducing a summary of the Ramayana. Who could be now a better narrator of the story of Rāma than the Bhārgava Markandeya, age old and yet eternally young, the only man who had witnessed the happenings in this world in all the different ages, witnessed even the dissolution and creation of the world?

After hearing the story of Rāma Yudhishthira the dummy of the bard says that he did not grieve so much on his own or his brother's account as he did on account of the daughter of Drupada, and then asks Markandeya if he had ever seen or heard of a woman as devoted to her husband as Draupadī. To console Yudhishthira Markandeya then relates the well-known story (*apārīkhyāna*) of Savitrī who rescues her husband from death by the insistent importunity of her pleading, by her deep feminine intuition and by her unflinching devotion to her husband (Āraṇyaka 293-299 in the Vulgate). And that is the last episode of the Āraṇyaka narrated by the Bhārgava Markandeya and in fact the last episode of this parvan in which a Bhārgava is concerned.

VIRĀTAPARVAN

In the short Virātaparvan as in the Sabhā the narrative is plain and straightforward, unembellished by any episodic enlargement and the story marches rapidly forward. This book contains consequently no *apārīkhyānas* and there is no room for any Bhārgava digression. The references to the Bhārgavas are few and far between and they are incidental allusions to the greatness or heroism of the Bhārgavas. One of these may be adduced for the purpose of illustration. Addressing Duryodhana Bhīṣma asks: "Who is superior to Drona except Rāma, the son of Jamadagni?" (B 4 51 19)

UDYOGAPARVAN

The Udyogaparvan finishes its quota of references to the Bhargava at least to the Bhargava Rama. Here at an Rama Jamadagnya emerges from the obscurity of myth and legend, and we find him coming into direct contact—and in one case actual conflict—with some of the epic characters.

In adhy 1^o ff of the Vulgate version of the Udyoga we have an account of a council held by the Pandavas where Krishna is commissioned to go and treat with Dhritarashtra which is followed in adhy 83 ff by a description of Krishna's journey to Hastinapura. On the way he meets a company of ancient sages whom he duly honours. On his asking them whether they were bound the Bhargava Rama who is apparently their spokesman explains that they were on their way to attend the council meeting, which was going to be held at Hastinapura in order to witness the proceedings and listen to the discussion. The sages then take leave of him and proceed on their way. Led by Rama Jamadagnya they arrive in due course at the capital of the Kurus and present themselves in the darbar hall where they are received with due honours by Bhisma (adhy 94). The proceedings begin with a long peroration by Krishna in which he announces that the Pandavas were ready to obey implicitly the commands of Dhitarashtra provided they were assured that they would be treated with fairness and given what is theirs by right (adhy 95). The Bhargava Rama, taking advantage of the spell of silence which followed Krishna's diplomatic speech gets up and advising peace relates unasked the story of Dambhodbhava (adhy 96). The foolish king Dambhodbhava who wants to be acknowledged the unconquered and unconquerable hero challenges in his cupidity the sage Nara and Narayana (who were then practising penance at Badari) to fight with him. The ascetics meekly decline but Dambhodbhava is importunate. So in the end Nara takes up a handful of grass and charging the blades in his hand with mystic potency flings them at the enemy. They change into deadly missiles overpowering the soldiers of Dambhodbhava and compel him to surrender and acknowledge his defeat. Nara reads Dambhodbhava a sermon on self control, on kindness to all creatures and humility towards Brahmins. The Bhargava Rama appearing here in the rôle of a

peace maker concludes by advising conciliation and pointing out that Nara is Arjuna while Narayana is Krishna. The story is an unnecessary digression with the very obvious object of reiterating and emphasizing the identity between Nara Narayana and Arjuna Krishna.

The Udyogaparvan closes with a story (Ambopakhyana) in which the Bhargava Rama plays a very active and prominent part (adhy 173-196 of the Vulgate). Bhishma explains to Duryodhana that because of a vow he had taken he would not fight with Sikhandin who at birth had been a girl and then relates the whole life history of Sikhandin who in a previous birth was Amba the daughter of the king of Kasi. Bhishma narrates how Amba having been disappointed of marriage through Bhishma's action vowed to compass his death and how the Bhargava Rama having promised to help her fought with Bhishma at Kuruksetra for twenty three days a fight which ends in a stalemate. The story is developed in this way.

When Amba was repulsed by Salva to whom she was engaged and who subsequently refused to marry her on account of her abduction by Bhishma she left him and wandered about alone in a neighbouring forest nursing her grief and vowing vengeance. There she meets a company of ascetics who sympathize with her and devise means to help her. While the ascetics are cogitating as to how they should help her there comes along by chance Amba's grandfather the royal sage Hotravahana who advises her to seek the help of his friend Rama Jamadagnya. While these deliberations are proceeding Rama's disciple and faithful follower Akrtivarna appears on the scene. Hotravahana tells him the previous history of Amba and also her future plans. Akrtivarna decides that Bhishma is certainly responsible for Amba's misfortunes and is the party deserving punishment. By a fortunate accident Rama—on the war path armed with a bow and a sword and his famous axe (*parashu*)—comes there the following morning. Amba again relates the whole story of her unfortunate life to the Bhargava Rama and beseeches him to slay the offending Bhishma. But since Rama has taken the vow that he would on no account take up arms except at the bidding of the twice born, he has to be persuaded by the sages to espouse Amba's cause.

He then proceeds with Amba and all the assembled sages to the banks of the Sarasvati and from there sends a messenger to Bhishma, who meets him at the boundary of the Kuru kingdom. Rama orders Bhishma to take back Amba or failing that fight a duel with him. Since Bhishma cannot do the former he decides to fight. Goes back to the city and returns furnished with all arms and accoutrements in a chariot made of silver drawn by white horses. Bhishma's mother Gangadevi (identified with the river Ganges) tries to stop the impending fight but without success. The fight lasts for several days when at last Rama, wounded by an arrow of Bhishma falls down in a swoon. Bhishma stops fighting: it is a gentlemanly duel following minutely all the strict rules of chivalry and unlike the deadly combats of the Bharata war. The fight is continued on the following days with varying luck. Even after many days of constant fighting in which millions and billions of arrows are showered by each combatant and cut up by the opponent various magical missiles are flung by which alternately the combatants get wounded, fall down, recover and resume the fight. The grim contest continues indecisively. Then one night Bhishma, who was one of the Vasus, saw in a dream a group of eight Brahmins (the Eight Vasus), who had supported him and encouraged him that same day while he was lying wounded and unconscious on the battlefield. They remind him of a magical missile of his by discharging which he could put the Bhārgava Rama to sleep on the field of battle. Next day the fight began again and the combatants hurled at each other simultaneously the terrific Brahma missile which is capable of shattering the earth. The two missiles clash in the middle and neutralize each other. During the commotion caused by these weapons Bhishma thinks of the sleep missile. As he is about to discharge that missile the gods intervene. With Bhishma's mother Ganga the gods go from one to the other of the combatants trying to pacify them. Seeing that neither of them is prepared to yield and be the first to retire from the field of battle the gods stand between the combatants and make the fight impossible. Still the combatants are not pacified and will not leave the field. Finally the shades of his ancestors persuade Rama to lay aside his weapons which he then reluctantly does. That is sufficient for Bhishma. He puts down his bow and arrow goes to Rama, his guru, and prostrates

himself at his feet. They soon forget their quarrel and become friends again. Thus this titanic conflict between Bhishma and the Bhargava Rama which is said to have lasted for three and twenty days is utterly barren of any result beyond adding a few hundred lines to the text !

One peculiar thing we notice about this story is the sudden change of heart on the part of the Bhargava Rama. While in all other accounts of him he is represented as the inveterate foe of the Ksatriyas and the epic bards are never weary of telling us that he had exterminated the Ksatriyas three seven times, here we find him befriending the royal sage Hotravahana and championing the lost cause of an unhappy Ksatriya damsel ! The episode shows another inconsistency in the behaviour of Rama for here we are surprised with the statement that in Bhishma Rama had taken a *Ksatriya* pupil and had apparently taught him so well that the pupil knew not only as much as the *guru* but perhaps even more. This does not prevent him subsequently from cursing Karna who had learnt the secrets of the science of arms from Rama in the guise of a Brahmin but later had to confess that he was a Ksatriya. There Rama is reported to have said to Karna that the Brahma weapon can never be learnt by one who is not a Brahmin (B 12 3 31) though Bhishma had used the Brahma missile successfully against Rama in the combat mentioned above.

BHISHMAPARVAN

With the Bhishmaparvan begin what may be called the ' battle books ' which in some shape or other must have formed the kernel of the Mahabharata which kernel has served as a nucleus for the growth of a vast amount of secondary material cohering together so as to form a more or less harmonious whole. A rough sketch of the original plan of the epic is preserved in a stanza occurring in one of the chapters of the first book (1 55 43)

evam clat purāvṛttāṃ tesāṃ akṣatākārmṇām ।

bhedo rājyaṃnīśas ca jayas ca jayāṃśh vasa ॥

The Bharata according to this statement was a trilogy consisting of the story of the disension, loss of the kingdom and victory among some descendants of Bharata.

The Bhismaparvan according to the Vulgate is divided into four sections (*aparvanas*). Of these the first two are mainly geographical treatises Jambukhandi-nimana-parvan and Bhumi-parvan. The third is the famous philosophical discourse the Bhagavadgita which is so to say the keystone of the whole new superstructure of the remodelled Bharata and which has passed into world literature. The fourth and last section of this book is a lengthy account in eighty chapters (or about 4500 stanzas) of the fight of the first ten days of the Great War up to the fall of Bhishma. After the Bhagavadgita the account of the fight runs on smoothly and is not allowed to be interrupted by any digressions. Consequently this sub-section also contains no Bhargava episode or for that matter any other episodic narrative at all. But passing allusions to the Bhargavas are not by any means wanting even in this final section of the Bhismaparvan. They are however for the most part trivial and confined to the glorification of Rama Jambavantha playing on the theme of his encounter with Bhishma. The Bhargava Rama is subtly praised by saying that Bhishma was a hero whom even Rama could not defeat.

But the Bhagavadgita itself contains an interesting allusion to the Bhargvas and that is in the tenth chapter, in the enumeration of the so called *śaktis* of Śrī-kṛṣṇa. The *śaktis* are said to be infinite (*anāṅkaḥ śaktiḥ śāstrāṅgaḥ* as Git. 10. 19 in the Vulgate version) but about sixty of them have been specifically enumerated and they are worthy of close study. Some of these *śaktis* are pure and simple gods such as Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva and so on. Some are yet other supernatural beings, such as Kubera, Citraratha and others. Some are celestial luminaries such as the Sun and the Moon. Some are merely terrestrial features such as mountains, rivers, the ocean and so on. Some are even animals such as the serpent (Śeṣa), elephant (Anavata), eagle (Garuda) and so on. There are mentioned among these *śaktis* only nine human—or at least semi-human, that is semi-divine—beings whom we may regard as historical or semi-historical personalities. Three of them, Vasudeva, Arjuna and Vyāsa are well-known and important epic characters and as such their inclusion in this list is expected and may be said

to be quite natural. They may therefore be ignored. Then further of divine sages (*detarṣas*) Śrī-Kṛṣṇa declares himself to be Nārada the official messenger between the gods and the men. Of perfected beings (*śādhīs*) Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says he is Kapila a celebrated sage probably the codifier of the Sāṃkhya the system most popular with the epic bards. Of household priests Śrī-Kṛṣṇa identifies himself quite naturally again with Brh̥spati the priest of the gods one of the Angirases a clan closely connected with the Bhṛigus from very ancient times. There remain three of these all—or at least two—are clearly Bhārgavas. Of Kavis Śrī Kṛṣṇa says he is Sukra the Bhārgava priest of the Asuras the asuric counterpart of Brh̥spati. Of weapon-bearers (*śastra bhṛt*), Śrī Kṛṣṇa declares himself to be Rama who is identified by some authorities as Rama son of Dasaratha but who in my opinion is meant to be no other than the much lauded hero of the Mahābhārata Rama son of Jamadagni, the Bhārgava Rama. Lastly of great sages (*maharṣis*) Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says he is Bhṛgu (*maharṣinḥ Bhṛgur aham* GIta 10 25). All other *śādhīs* are more or less intelligible for each *śādhī* is or may be regarded more or less as the foremost or the first of a class but why Bhṛgu should be considered as the *greatest* of the great sages (*maharṣis*) is somewhat enigmatic. He is not reckoned among the Seven Sages (*saptarṣis*). He is no doubt said to be a son of Brahma but Brahma had nearly a dozen sons of that kind who all became Prajāpatis and founders of *gotras*. And about Bhṛgu's greatness even the Mahābhārata has nothing to narrate beyond the fact that his wife Puloma was abducted by a cannibal called Puloman (*Ādi*) or Damsa (*Santi*) and that he had cursed various people.

DRONAPARVAN

The Dronaparvan supplies what is for our purpose one of the most interesting of Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata.

On the thirteenth day of the Great War during Arjuna's temporary absence Abhimanyu with a small following pierces the Kaurava ring formation (*cakṛz vyūha*) but Jayadratha intercepts his followers and isolates him and Abhimanyu is slain after a brave fight one of the most tragic episodes of the Great Epic.

To console Yudhishthira for the untimely death of Abhimanyu, Vyasa tells him many stories illustrating the transitoriness of human life. At that time he relates how Narada comforted Sri Jaya in a time of bereavement by telling him of the sixteen kings of great merit who nevertheless all died when their time came (adhy 55-71 of the *Vulgate*). These kings were as a matter of fact all *caesars* or sovereigns who had conquered surrounding kingdoms or brought them under their sway and established a paramount position on more or less extensive regions around their own kingdoms. The episode which is known as the *hola* *harajakiya* recounts the heroic deeds and the meritorious actions of sixteen of such famous kings of antiquity. The sixteen kings are these (1) Marutta son of Aviksit, (2) Suhotra Atithana; (3) Paurava (Bhadraatha king of Anga) (4) Saha son of Usinara (5) Rama son of Dasaratha (6) Bhagrathe son of Dilipa (7) Dilipa Alavala (8) Mandhat son of Yuvanesva (9) Yavati son of Nahusa (10) Ambarisa son of Nabhaga; (11) Saahabindu, son of Oitrasatha (12) Gaya son of Amurtarayas (13) Ranti deva son of Samkrit (14) Bharata son of Duhvanta (15) Pitlu son of Vana and last but not least (16) the Bhargava Rama, son of Jamadagni.

Accordingly we have here a vivid and colourful description of that great feat of the Bhargava Rama, the extirpation of Kshatriyas an account which courts mistrust by its appalling exaggeration and staggering figures (adhy 70 of the *Vulgate*). We are told how Rama took a vow to relieve the Earth of her burden of Kshatriyas. Thereafter he first slew Kartavirya, who was never before defeated in battle. Then of Kshatriyas he slaughtered 64 000 cutting off their ears and noses and breaking their teeth besides stifling in smoke 7000 Hathayas (the clan to which Arjuna Kartavirya belonged) and torturing them and butchering 10 000 with his own axe. Then the puissant son of Jamadagni marching against the Kasmitras the Daradas the Kuntus the Kandrakas and Malavas the Angas Vangas and Kalingas the Videhas the Tamraliptakas the Rakshasas, the Vihotras, the Trigartas the Martikavatas the Sibis and other warrior races thousands in number, slew them all with arrows of exceeding sharpness. Going, from country to country, he slew

thousands and hundreds of thousands of Ksatriyas creating a veritable deluge of blood and filling many lakes with it. Then bringing under his sway all the eighteen divisions of the earth that descendant of Bhagu celebrated a hundred sacrifices like a second Indra when he gave away costly gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) to Brahmins. The sacrificial altar full eight *akṣas* high and made entirely of gold embellished with hundreds of gems and adorned with thousands of banners as also this earth abounding in domestic and wild animals was accepted by Kasyapa from the Bhargava Rama as his sacrificial fee for performing the sacrifice. Rama also gave him many thousands of huge elephants adorned with golden ornaments. Breeding the earth of robbers that infested her making her full of righteous and amiable people Rama gave the earth to Kasyapa at his great horse sacrifice. Then comes the Bhargava *śloka* (B 7 70 20)

trīsaptakṛtvāḥ pṛthivīm kṛtvā nīkṣatriyaṁ prabhūḥ (IV)

Having cleared the earth of Ksatriyas three seven times having celebrated a hundred sacrifices Rama gave the earth to the Brahmins. When the earth with her seven grand divisions was bestowed by him upon Kasyapa then the latter said to Rama

Go thou out of this earth at my command! Hearing these words of Kasyapa that foremost of weapon-bearers obedient to the command of a Brahmin caused the omen to roll back and to give him a new strip of land to live in and Rāma took up his abode on Mount Mahendia.

It is instructive to compare this Story of Sixteen Kings with a variant version of it in the *Sānti* (*adhya* 29 of the *Vulgate*) as related to the same Yudhishthira by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. After the battle the month of mourning is spent outside the capital on the banks of the Ganges. Yudhishthira very dejected proposes to renounce the kingdom and retire to the forest. At Arjuna's request Kṛṣṇa tries to console him and so relates to him the Story of Sixteen Kings which Narada had once related to king Śrī Jayas. The stories are naturally almost the same as those related to Yudhishthira by Vyaśa after the death of Abhimanju. There is however one very striking difference. Fifteen of the kings in the list are the same the sixteenth 'king' of the Drona list namely the Bhargava Rāma is conspicuous by his absence in the *Sānti*

list! He is replaced by a real King, Satyaki son of Bhishma who was indeed a very famous king, fully deserving to be included in this list of the celebrated sixteen kings of antiquity whereas the Bhārgava Rama was not in at all and does not properly fall into this enumeration. His extermination of the Kauravas was merely an act of vendetta. And although he is said to have conquered the whole earth he never was crowned a king. Therefore the propriety of including his exploits in the *śōlasara-jakya* is more than questionable. In fact it would never strike anybody except an unscrupulous Brahmin *radhōta*—with strong Bhārgava leanings—to perpetrate such a tendentious perversion and fabricate upon Vyasa.

KARNAPARVAN

Karna is represented in our epic as a pupil of the Bhārgava Rama like Bhisma and Drona. So there are several casual references—in his capacity as the *guru* of Karna—to Rama Jambudagnya in the course of this parvan.

In adhy. 1 (of the Vulgate) we have a reference to the bow (*viśaya*) which Karna had received from the Bhārgava Rama who in his turn had obtained it from Indra himself. Indra had used it in his fight with the Dakṣyas. Rama had used it in his campaign against the Kāśītyas of the earth which he had conquered three even times (B. 8. 31. 46).

trīṣṭapahrtaśch yā śhiva dharmajñā yama nijaṣṭi (V)

On the seventeenth day of the war Duryodhana perambles Salya to be Karna's charioteer and to encourage him tells the story how Karna had become possessed even of celestial weapons through the Bhārgava Rama.

To emphasize further the great importance of Karna Duryodhana then narrates a story which shows the greatness of Karna's *guru* Rama Jambudagnya (adhy. 34 of the Vulgate). Rama is generally represented in the Mahābhārata as a man—or rather a Superman—who had fought his battles on this earth with other human beings like himself. Here we are told that he had fought with and vanquished even the Dakṣyas. The story is thus to obtain celestial weapons from Mahādeva Rama (like the Paṇḍava Arjuna later) was practising terrible austerities. At that time

the Asuras had become so powerful that even all the gods together could not subdue them and so Mahadeva asks the Bhargava Rama to fight with them (as Arjuna later fought with the Nivata kavacas and other demons). Rama went up to the Asuras and said to them: Most invincible in battle as you are, O Daityas, give me battle. Then the Daityas began to fight with Rama. Then that delighter of the Bhargava clan slaughtered those Daityas on the battlefield by strokes that were like the strokes from Indra's thunderbolt. After Rama had vanquished the invincible Asuras without the use of any special weapons, then Mahadeva gave him those celestial missiles for which Rama was practising the terrible austerities. Perhaps feeling that the story might be disbelieved, Duryodhana hastens to add that he had heard it himself from the lips of a pious and truthful Brahmin while the latter was relating it to king Dhritarastra, Duryodhana's father.

Then in adhy 42 (of the Vulgate) Karna relates that under the guise of a Brahmin he had been a disciple of the Bhargava Rama in order to learn from him the secret of certain magical missiles known to Rama alone. One day while Rama was sleeping with his head resting in the lap of Karna, the thigh of the latter was bored through by Indra (Arjuna's *de facto* father) in the form of a ferocious centipede and Karna was weltering in blood but did not move a muscle for fear of disturbing the sleep of his guru and thus incurring his displeasure. When Rama woke up and saw this state of things, he concluded that his disciple was no Brahmin, as only a Ksatriya could suffer such agony and keep still. Then Karna confesses his guilt and begs Rama's pardon. Rama pronounces a curse on Karna saying that at the critical moment the magical missiles of which he had obtained knowledge from Rama by such a dastardly trick—even the great Yogi could not see through it—would fail him. Brahma could never reside firmly in one who is not a Brahmin. *abrāhmane brahmana na hi śhrīyante yāt* (B 8 42 9). And so it happened, needless to say.

In a variant version of this tale (Santi 3 in the Vulgate) the worm which had bored through Karna's thigh is said to have been not Indra in disguise but a demon suffering the effects of a curse pronounced on him by Bhugu!

SALYAPARVAN

In the Salyaparvan there are only stray references to the Bhārgavas especially in the account of Balarama's pilgrimage—another very obvious digression—during which Balarama visits of course all the places sacred to the Bhārgavas such as Rama-tirth, Samantapanaka, and so on which lay on his way.

At Bhāmalīrtha we have a repetition of the story that Kāśyapa officiated at the sacrifice celebrated by Rama Bhārgava after conquering the whole earth and annihilating the Kātriya (B 9 49 * f)

*yoatra Rāmo mahābhūgo / bhārgavaḥ samskārapāṭi ||
 ośaktiḥ pṛthivīm jātāḥ / kṛtāḥ śatāyugaḥ pṛthivīm ||
 upādhyāyāṅgāḥ parashritya / Kāśyapam anuvācāraṇam ||
 āyājat cāyapayama so 'śvamedhāśakāḥ sa ca ||
 pṛadadaḥ dahantām cāna pṛthivīm vai vācāyāntām ||*

SAUPTIKAPARVAḤ

The Sāputika is one of the few books of the Mahābhārata which are entirely or almost entirely free from reference to the Bhārgavas. The book is short consisting of 18 chapters and about 800 stanzas in the Vulgate version and comprises only two *śūparvas* the Sāputika and the Aśika. The first *śūparva* describes the slaughter of the sleepers in the camp of the Pāndavas while the second gives an account of the use of the world-destroying dart Aśika by Aśvatthama.

STRIPARVAN

In the next book the Striparvan which like the former is short consisting of 27 chapters and about 800 stanzas in the Vulgate version there are only three incidental references to the Bhārgavas. The partan consists almost wholly of the description of the obsequial ceremonies of the warriors killed in the war and lamentations of women over their dead kinsfolk which is fortunately held free from digressions and interpolations. The tragedy also does not permit the development of any other sentiment. The absence of reference to the Bhārgavas who as already remarked, had strictly speaking, no connection whatever with the Kuru-Pāṇḍita heroes, is not only thoroughly

appropriate but is an omission for which we may be truly grateful to the redactors of our Mahabharata.

SANTIPARVAN

The Santi which is in essence a manual of instruction in king craft (*rajadharma*) conduct in time of calamity (*apaidharma*) and emancipation (*mol vidharma*) compiled in the peculiar pedagogic technique developed by the redactors of the Great Epic for the edification of the people combined with their entertainment supplies its quota of Bhargava material making up in some measure for the deficiency of the last three books.

Already in adhy 2 f (of the Vudgate) we hear of the Bhargava Rama. The month of mourning is spent by the Pandavas outside the capital on the banks of the Ganges. There Narada relates to Yudhishthira the story of the early career of Karna which is here said to be a secret of the gods (*deva-guhya*). In the course of the narrative Narada repeats with more details the story we have already noticed as to how Karna had easily deceived the Bhargava Rama and obtained from him the carefully guarded secret of the famous Brahma missile (*brahmāstra*) under the false pretence of being a Brahmin and a Bhrgu too. An interesting point of difference between this version of the story and that given in the Karnaparvan is as mentioned already that the worm which bites Karna and bores a hole through his leg is not Indra but a demon called Damsa who had tried to carry off Bhrgu's wife. If this wife be Puloma then her ravisher's name was given as Puloman in adhy 4 of the Ādi where however there is no mention of Bhrgu's curse but we are told on the other hand that the ravisher of Puloma was reduced to ashes by Bhrgu's son Cyavana. But perhaps this demon Damsa is some other ravisher of Bhrgu's wife.

In any event the happy result of this discourse of the sage was that Yudhishthira casting off grief enters the capital in state is installed on the throne and performs the obsequial ceremonies of his departed kinsmen. Later Krishna in an ecstatic trance communes with the distant Bhishma who remains lying on the battlefield on a bed of arrows and who in a long hymn of adoration invokes Krishna. Krishna then sets out with the Pandava brothers and his followers

to visit Bhishma on his deathbed. The arrival of the party at the battlefield which it will be remembered has been identified by the redactors of the epic with the Bhargava *lanka* *banantapaneka* affords an easy opportunity for another repetition of the legend of Rama's heroic exploit. That was the very spot where the Bhargava Rama had established those five lakes of blood. Sri Krishna in passing points to those lakes and says (B 12 48 9)

trishap aṅgāḥ ca vas athāṁ lokaṁ nīlāṁ vāṣṭānāṁ pṛsthāṅk 1
śāntānāṁ lokaṁ pṛsthāṅk 1 rājanāṁ vāṣṭānāṁ hāṁ 1 (VI)

Yudhisṭhira the "dummy" of the episode has an insatiable longing to hear all about the extermination of the Kauravas by the Bhargava Rama though he had heard it all before from other story tellers and he has besides some doubts which he forthwith refers to Krishna (B 12 48 10)

śiṣyākrishṇaḥ pṛthivāṁ pṛṣṭvā nīlāṁ vāṣṭāṁ pṛṣṭvā 1

Rājanāṁ lokaṁ pṛthivāṁ vāṣṭāṁ vāṣṭāṁ pṛṣṭvā 1 (VII)

To solve this doubt of Yudhisṭhira Krishna gratuitously volunteers to repeat the whole story of Rama from the very beginning a full-size account of the birth of the Bhargava Rama of the extinction of the Kauravas and of the subsequent regeneration of the race. Here we have now an abridgement of the entire story by Sri Krishna a variant of the story told by Akhavyana a disciple of Rama to Yudhisṭhira himself in the *Āraṇyaka*. There are naturally several discrepancies between the two versions two of which are noteworthy. In the first version it was Satyawati's father in law who prepares the medicinal ointment which were subsequently exchanged by the good ladies who were to partake of them here it is Satyawati's husband himself Rokea who prepares them. The other is a somewhat more serious discrepancy. In the *Āraṇyaka* version Janadagn was robbed of his cult by Arjuna Kartavyaya himself who is represented there as a perfect fiend. In the story as told by Sri-Krishna Arjuna is a perfect angel of a man always devoted to power ever obedient to Brahmans and ready to protect all classes. He had given away the earth to Brahmins in a horse sacrifice which he had performed. His sons on the other hand were 'proud and cruel' and it was they who brought away the cult of Janadagn's sacrifice]

cow. As it is difficult at this distance of time in the absence of independent evidence to say whether Akilavya or Sri Krishna was more truthful it must remain a moot point whether the guilty party is Arjuna Kārtavyīya or his sons. Then Sri-Kṛṣṇa goes on to tell Yudhishtira that the Kṣatriyas were annihilated by the Bhārgava Rama thrice seven times speaking exactly like a Bhārgava (B 12 49 64)

śiṣṣaptatīśah pṛthivīm śrīvān nīhkaśāyām pṛbhuḥ |

lakṣmīm asīamedhūnā Kāśyapāpūṣādūśatā tātā || (VIII)

The matter being now attested by Sri-Kṛṣṇa himself it cannot be described by revilers of Brahmins as a fabrication made by the Brahmins themselves.

It must always have been something of a puzzle to all thoughtful persons where Kṣatriyas like the Kāmavas and the Pāndavas and even Sri-Kṛṣṇa himself came from after the Kṣatriya race had been wiped out thrice seven times by the Bhārgava Rama and that was in fact Yudhishtira's doubt which he had expressed to Sri-Kṛṣṇa. Various explanations of the mystery have been propounded. In the earlier chapters of the epic as we have seen several times it was the pious Brahmins who procured children on the widows of the Kṣatriyas slain by Rama and they became Kṣatriyas by the Vedic rule *pānigrāhasya tanvayāt* (1 98 5) the child belongs to him who has gone through the form of marriage with the mother. That was however not the view of Sri-Kṛṣṇa. His explanation was that the Earth had concealed some Kṣatriyas. She had concealed some Haihayas among women, some Pauravas among the bears of Mount Rksavati. Some other Kṣatriyas were brought up in the forest among the kins, some in the cowpens among the calves. Some were protected by the Ocean, some by the wolves on Mount Gidhrakuta. These had all escaped destruction at the hands of the formidable Bhārgava. And the old Kṣatriya dynasties were reconstituted by Kāśyapa who first ordered Rama to clear out from the earth which he had given to Kāśyapa as a part of the sacrificial fee and restored by and by those scions of the old Kṣatriya families to their rightful heritage. Sri-Kṛṣṇa evidently did not know anything about the procreation of Kṣatriyas by pious Brahmins on the widows of the Kṣatriyas slaughtered by the bloodthirsty Bhārgava. He con-

cludes by remarking that the present Kshatriyas are the legitimate offspring of those ancient Kshatriyas (B 12 49 88 f)

*Uśāh pṛthivīṃ nardhātān itā sanātānān Kṣatriyān ।
abhyasūjan mahāpātrān । satpānān māyān mātrān ॥
teṣāṃ patrīb ca pautīb ca yeṣāṃ vāśāṅg pātrāśchātān ॥*

At the beginning of the third great subdivision of the part the Mokṣadharmā we have a lengthy discourse attributed to Bhṛgu called the Bhṛgu-Bharaḍvaja-sarvavāda (adhy 182-192 of the Vulgate) which summarizes in the form of questions and answers almost the entire Brahmanic teaching, on the subject of (1) the elements (2) life and death (3) caste distinctions (4) good and evil (5) the four stages of life and finally (6) the other world. It will be seen that it is a complete treatise on Hindu Ontology Sociology Eschatology and Ethics that is here attributed to Bhṛgu the eponymous ancestor of the Bhārgavas.

The oft cited stanza B 12 49 103 f

*Harasāh Kṛmāś ca Yajusāś ca pṛṣṭān bhūnāt bhṛgotama ।
Varūho Narasimhāś ca Vīmanā Rāma eva ca ।
Rāmo Lātarathāś caiva Śatavah Kālāś ca ca ॥*

from the Mokṣadharmā is important as containing one of the two actual references in our Mahābhārata to the Bhārgava Rāma as an avatāra of Viṣṇu one of his ten avatāras but the passage is suspect, as it is missing in some Grantha MSS and some old Devanagari MSS which have been collated by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for a critical edition of that book. The other reference is in the same chapter a few stanzas earlier (B 1^o 339 84)

*Tretayuge bhavaṣṣṭāna Rāmo Bhṛgubhṛtśchakāh ।
Kṣātrām avatīkṣyāyātra saṃvādhabalavāhanam ॥*

This stanza cannot be impugned on the score of documentary evidence which is unanimous in its favour. But both references occur in the Nārayanīya section of the Mokṣadharmā which is notoriously a late addition to our Mahābhārata. This shows that the theory of avatāras is still developing in the epic and their number is not yet fixed nor are the avatāras fully canonized. It should thus seem that the Mahābhārata does not

necessarily presuppose the Bhargava Rāma to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu

ANUSĀSANAPARVAN

The Anusasana for some reason that is not yet quite clear, is the richest in Bhargava material

Early in the beginning of this book (adhy 4) we have the *third* repetition of the legend of the birth of Jamadagni. The previous chapter (3) relates the mighty deeds of the Kṣatriya Viśvamitra which led to his attaining the coveted status of a Brahmin. In adhy 4 Bhīṣma explains how it came about that Viśvamitra who was of mingled Brahmin and Kṣatriya parentage was born in the Kṣatriya caste with Brahmanic qualities while his nephew Jamadagni under similar conditions, was born in the Brahmin caste with Kṣatriyan qualities. We have here a repetition of the old story how Roṅka married Gadhi's daughter Satyawati who obtained some boons for herself and her mother. The mother and the daughter exchange the trees they had to embrace and the *caru*s of which they had to partake. The wise Roṅka had purposely made the prescriptions differently. He had in fact put the entire accumulated energy of Brahmanism in the *caru* of his wife while he had put the entire accumulated energy of Kṣatriyahood in the *caru* intended for her mother. The consequence of the exchange slyly effected by the mother was that the son of Gadhi's wife turned out to be a man with Brahmanic propensities while the son of Roṅka's wife would have been a model Kṣatriya but owing to the pleadings of Satyawati the great sage graciously gives his consent to the postponement of the doom to Satyawati's grand-son.

This story we have had at Āraṇyaka 115 and Śānti 49 of the Vulgate. In passing it may be mentioned that the present version agrees with the Śāntiparvan version in making Roṅka the giver of the boons whereas in the Āraṇyaka version this person is some ancestor of Roṅka either Roṅka's father or perhaps Bhṛgu himself.

The mere mention of Bhargava Rāma in B 13 14 273 at once calls forth the reaction

śāhāpātālakṣṇa yathā: uena uktā vāhāyā kṛtā |

Jāmadagnyaśa Gāndhāra Itamukhāśāśa m. nī | cto (IX)

In adhy 30 (of the Vulgate) we are told how a Kṣātrīya Vīhavya was made a Brāhmin by the mere word of a Bhṛgu. The story is as follows.

Vāśa a descendant of Śaryāti had two son Hathvya and Lalāngāha. The hundred sons of Hathvya attacked and killed Haryasva king of Kasi whose son Sudeva succeeded him on the throne. Sudeva was likewise defeated and killed by the Hathvya. Sudeva was succeeded by Divodasa who built Varanasi on the northern bank of the Ganges and the southern bank of the Gomati. Lukewily detested by the Hathvya he fled to his priest Bharadvaja who obtained for him through sacrifice a son Prataradana. The son of Divodasa defeated in turn all the Hathvya when Vīhavya pursued by Prataradana fled to the hermitage of Bhṛgu. When Prataradana demanded from Bhṛgu the surrender of Vīhavya who was hiding in Bhṛgu's hermitage Bhṛgu in order to save the life of Vīhavya said that there were only Brāhmins in the hermitage. Through that declaration of Bhṛgu who could not tell a lie Vīhavya actually became a Brāhmin. His descendants are set out for fifteen generations. His son was Gānadhā whose eleventh descendant was Pramati: his son was Ruru his son was Śunahya from whom came the Śaunaka.

In adhy 10 Bhṛgu expatiates on the fascination and frailty of women: the root of all evil and to support his statement he relates the story of Vipula another Bhṛgava: an interesting story in which mesmerism or hypnotism plays some part (Vipula pākhyana adhy 40-43 in the Vulgate).

The sage Devāsarma: the story goes had a beautiful wife Ruci (Beauty) by name who had attracted the attention of the gay king of the gods Indra. Once upon a time it so happened that Devāsarma had to go away from his hermitage on some sacrificial business. Not feeling quite sure about his little Ruci, the old sage taking into his confidence his disciple the Bhṛgava Vipula told him to protect his slender waisted wife especially against the amorous advances of Indra who was an adept at assuming different forms at will. Devāsarma pathetically sen-

joined his disciple to take every care and see that lascivious king of the celestials did not defile that frivolous wife of his like a wretched dog licking the *hasas* placed near the sacrificial altar. To protect the virtue of Ruci who was peerless on earth in beauty Vipula decided to enter into her by his yogic power and live in her without her being conscious of it until the critical moment was passed. Indra comes as expected and makes overtures to the beautiful Ruci who had captivated his mind. Ruci though anxious to reciprocate remains externally indifferent to the blandishments of Indra through the influence of Vipula who was living within her and guiding her motions. Indra puzzled by the behaviour of Ruci reflects and realises how matters stand. At that moment Vipula leaves the body of Ruci and re-enters his own body. Then Vipula faces the philanderer and soundly rebukes him and Indra slips away abashed. Only one man had been able to protect a woman and that was the Bhargava Vipula (B 13 43 27)

tenauṁ sma ha va sã sa Vipulena jãtã utyijãhã

aññyahã sãtãtã tãtãtã s'evã sãtãtã nãpã gũtãtã ||

This story was told by the Bhargava Mandevya to Pãtãna (B 13 43 18) and repeated by the latter to Yudhisthira.

A few chapters later we have again a Bhargava story the Cyavanopakhyaṇa in seven chapters (50-56) which is divided into two parts. The first two chapters (50-51) illustrate the sanctity of cows, the last five deal really with that topic of perennial interest, the mingled Brahmin and Katriya parentage of the Bhargava Ruci.

In the first story in which a cow was found to be the only equivalent possible for the ransom of the sage Cyavana may be passed over.

In the second story (adhy 52-56) we come back to the anecdote of Rama Jamadagnya and we have here practically a repetition of the explanation given above (in adhy 4 of this very *parvan*) of the circumstances under which Visvamitra who was of mixed Brahmin and Katriya parentage was born in the Katriya caste with Brahminic qualities while Rama under similar conditions was born in the Brahmin caste with the oppo-

site qualities. The repetition comes about in this way. Yudhishtira, whose curiosity about the Bhargava Rama is as already remarked never satisfied says to Bhishma: (B 1. 52. 1 ff) 'I have a great curiosity O Lord about Janadagni's son Rama that foremost of all righteous persons. You should satisfy that curiosity. How was Rama born that truly valorous hero? He belonged by birth to a family of Brahmin sages. How did he become a follower of Ksatriya practices? Relate to me in detail the circumstances of Rama's birth. Also how did a man born in the family of the Kusthas who was a Ksatriya become a Brahmin? Great indeed was the power of the high souled Rama as also that of Visvamitra!

The answer is given by Bhishma by relating the prophecy which had been made by Cyavana, an ancestor of the Bhargava Rama. Cyavana wants to prevent the harm that will come to his clan by Rama's adopting the practices of the Ksatriyas a danger of which he has prophetic knowledge. He repairs to Kuska through whose descendant the harm was to happen in order to vex him and if he finds a favourable opportunity to pronounce a malediction on Kuska damning him and his descendants to eternal perdition. When the sage presents himself before the king and says that he wants to observe a certain vow while living in the palace with the king he is warmly welcomed with unfeigned joy and also served with meticulous care and obsequiousness by the king and the queen. The sage has a meal and he then sleeps for twenty one days during which the king and the queen wait upon him without food or drink gently shampooing his legs. Suddenly the sage wakes up and goes out followed with trepidation by the king and the queen and as suddenly vanishes! The king looks for him in vain and returning in a dejected mood to the room set apart for the sage finds him again stretched as before on his luxurious bed! The sage practises many tricks of this type calculated to try the patience of the unfortunate couple and ultimately yokes them to a heavily laden war chariot. During the drive through the city, the sage gives the royal couple vicious digs with a heavy iron goad distributing all the while in charity the entire wealth of the king. Still the sage finds no change in their behaviour. So in the end he has to

express himself as satisfied with their treatment of him and he goes back to the forest asking the royal couple to come there on the following day. The king and queen take a little rest for the first time after forty-two days of trial and spend the night happily in each other's company. The next morning the king and queen go to the forest to pay their respects to the sage and see there a magnificent palace standing in a big park a fair imitation of Indra's paradise. After a short while the magical palace and the park vanish and there sits in the solitude of the forest the sage who had yoked them to the chariot and ill-treated them in other ways. Then the king feels that Brahmic power was the *summum bonum* of life. When he approaches Cyavana the sage gives him a boon. Kusika wants to know why Cyavana had come to live with him and what all those incidents implied. Cyavana tells him frankly what his intention was and also prophesies that Kusika's wish would be fulfilled in so far that a descendant of Kusika's (Visvamitra) would become a Brahmin. *Through the lustre of the Bhrgus* Kusika's grandson (Visvamitra) would be an ascetic endowed with the splendour of fire (B 13 55-58).

Bhrgūnām eva tāpaḥ :

Paśuras ta bhavitā uspras tāpasas pāvahadguthā v

Then follows in the final chapter Cyavana's prophecy about the persecution of the Bhrgus, about Ūrva (or Aurva) about Rōka and Jamsdagni who will marry Gadhi's daughter that is Kusika's grand daughter. Of the boons that will be given to the two ladies by Bhrgu the exchange of the trees and the *carus* by the mother and the daughter about Visvamitra and so on and so forth. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this is the fourth occurrence of this interesting story of the birth of the Bhargava Rāma it having occurred already at adhy 4 of this very *parva* and before that in the Santi (adhy 48) and the Āraṇyaka (adhy 115-117).

Some chapters later we again meet with the Bhargava Rāma when Bhīṣma tells Yudhishthira about the merit of the gift of gold. The shades of his ancestors had appeared to Bhīṣma and told him that the gift of gold purifies the giver. Now it happens that the same advice had been given to the Bhārgava Rāma by Vaiśiṣṭha and other sages. In this connection we have again an

admission to the extinction of the Kurukshetra and the conquest of the earth by Rama (B 19 84-81)

Iti saptaśvataḥ pātho vaśiṣṭhā nakhāntre jñāpārāḥ

Iti jñānī mahimā bhāṣitā itā no rājastāle caiti ॥ etc (X)

The next chapter (85) a long, rambling, chapter with 168 stanzas deals with the mystery already alluded to above of the birth of Bhīṣma, Kuru and Kuntī. They are said to be progenitors of many tribes and clans in fact of the entire mankind.

It will be a surprise to many that our sandals and umbrellas we also owe to a Bhīṣma. Chapter 85 relates how the practice arose of giving umbrellas and sandals to Brahmins at *śrāddhas* and other religious rites. Once upon a time Jamadagni was amusing himself by shooting arrows at a distant target and his wife Reṇvā was fetching the arrows shot by him. So sorely afflicted by the scorching heat of the midday sun she rested just for a moment under the shade of an umbrellaous tree. Being kept waiting, the irascible Bhīṣma scolded his wife for her tardiness but on learning the real cause of the delay wanted to shoot down the offending sun from his high position in the heavens. The frightened luminary comes to him in the guise of a poor Brahmin who tries to dissuade him from carrying out his terrible threat but is recognized by the Bhīṣma and repudiated. In the end Jamadagni is pacified and receives from the sun the first umbrella and the first pair of leather sandals. To make a gift of them to Brahmins is highly meritorious. This account of the origin of shoes and sandals is I believe not found outside the Mahabharata.

In adhy 98 (of the *Vulgate*) we have a report by Dhṛma of a discussion between the Bhārgava Śūta and Bah about flowers, lamps, aromatic substances appropriate to be offered to gods on divine occasions and the merit accruing from the presentation.

Above while discussing the *Draupadya* version of the *Śoḍaśatikya* I had referred to palpable evidence of the "bhagvatization" of a legend. We have another illuminating instance of the process in the next story (adhy 99-100 of the

Vulgate) told by Brahma to Yudhishthira. It is another version of the well-known legend of Nahusa's fall from heaven.

Nahusa, when king of the gods, neglected the daily offerings to the gods, including the *havi*, losing thereby some of his spiritual power. Subsequently having oppressed the sages, he was hurled down from heaven and turned into a boar by the curse of a Brahmin sage Bhrgu.

A simpler version of this legend occurs in the Udyoga (adhy 11-17) and is again alluded to in the Santi (adhy 342). There it is related that Nahusa becomes extremely arrogant and caused the sages to carry his palanquin. While being carried about in this way his foot touched the head of Agastya, who by his curse turned him into a boar. The defect in the construction of this naive story is very obvious and must have been early noticed by the diskenasts themselves. Nahusa, by the terms of the boon which Brahma and the gods had foolishly given him, could absorb the power of any being on whom he set his eyes. Under these circumstances even the resourceful Agastya could not effectively curse Nahusa because Agastya, when kicked by the tyrant, being in full view of the other, was *ipso facto* deprived of all his spiritual power like all the gods and sages who had been oppressed by Nahusa and were utterly powerless before him.

The revised version of the legend in the Anusasana stages beforehand a confabulation between Bhrgu and Agastya. Agastya wants to damn Nahusa but does not know how to. Bhrgu befriends him and gives him the assurance that he (Bhrgu) would somehow bring about the downfall of the tyrant. Bhrgu, who knows beforehand by spiritual prevision that Nahusa was going to kick Agastya, proposes to Agastya in anticipation of it that on a certain day he would sit *hadda* in the matted locks of the sage and from that position he would curse Nahusa. So when the opportune moment came Bhrgu, possessed of great justice, addressed Agastya as follows: "Do you shut your eyes, Agastya, while I enter into the matted hair of your head. Having said this, Bhrgu, of un fading glory and great energy, entered into the locks of Agastya, who stood still like a wooden post. Soon after Nahusa saw Agastya approach for being yoked to his chariot, Bhrgu, who was sitting in the matted locks of Agastya, took

care not to look at Nahusa. Fully acquainted with the power which the illustrious Nahusa had acquired on account of the boon which Brahma had given him Bhrgu had noted thus. Agastya though thus treated by Nahusa did not yield to anger. Then Nahusa urged Agastya with his goad. The pious sage Agastya still did not yield to anger. The lord of celestials himself enraged at this pusillanimity then struck Agastya on the head with his left foot. When the sage was thus struck on the head then Bhrgu who was sitting within the matted locks of Agastya, became incensed and cursed the sinful Nahusa saying: 'Thou hast knocked the head of the great sage full down the earth on the earth changed into a bowl.' Thus imprecated by Bhrgu who had not been seen Nahusa forthwith became transformed into a bee and in that form dropped down on the earth.

Yudhisthira who had heard a different version of the story from Satya as narrated in the Udyoga maintains naturally a discreet silence about these discrepancies and proceeds to question Bhishma about some other matters on which he wanted information.

Next in the course of a long passage devoted to the praise of Brahmins showing that the Brahmins are mightier than even the gods the story of Cyavana is repeated (adhy 156)

Cyavana who had been rejuvenated and cured of blindness by the Aśvins had as we have seen promised them that they should drink Soma with Indra and the other gods. The gods were wavering in their mind but Indra was adamant. He refused to accept the Soma libation in Cyavana's sacrifice if those low caste Aśvins were invited at the same time. When Cyavana was going to put his magic in operation Indra rushes on him with a mountain and thunderbolt but is instantly paralysed by Cyavana and brought to submission. Then Cyavana creates a fearsome monster, Meda, who is about to gobble up all the gods. Beseeched by the gods who were frightened to death by this terrible apparition Indra apologises to Cyavana and the Aśvins patronised by the great wizard are allowed to share the Soma libation with the other gods. This story was already narrated to Yudhisthira by the sage Lomasa in the Āranysaka (adhy 133 of the Vulgate)

AŚVAMEDHAPARVAN

An echo of the above story we find early in the course of the Aśvamedhaparvan. In adhy 9 we find Agni taunting Indra about the humiliation of the latter at the hands of Casyapa which has been just described (B 14 9 31)

yaśa śaryūṣm Cyaṇo yāyayāṣva

śāśvubhīyāmi somaṁ agrhūd śhah |

taśa tvam kṛ uddhah pratyasedhah paraśtāc

Chayatyayāṣvaṁ smara tam Mahendra ||

Agni may have added the story of his own humiliation at the hands of another wizard of the same clan Bhrgu when he was indiscreet enough to divulge some secret to Puloma the seducer of Bhrgu's wife Puloma but for obvious reasons he does not do so.

In another digression the Anugītaparvan we have an allusion to the annihilation of Kṣatriyas by the Bhargava Rama used this time for a different purpose (adhy 29-30 of the Vulgate). It is here made the basis of a homily on the vanity of life. After the murder of Ajuna Kātavīrya and the extermination of the Kṣatriyas the Bhargava Rama was taught by the shades of his ancestors that greater than any victory over kings was the conquest of one's own self the ascetic ideal. This conquest is made by self mortification. Thus admonished by his departed ancestors the Bhargava Rama practised the most austere penance and as a consequence of this exercise of self control that highly blessed one acquired that supreme felicity which it is so difficult to obtain.

The last Bhargava story of the Mahābhārata is the Uttankopkhyāna of this parvan (adhy 53-58 of the Vulgate) which we shall next consider.

After the death of Bhīṣma Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārakā. On his way he meets in a desert the sage Uttanka who is ready to pronounce a malediction on Kṛṣṇa when he learns that the latter had not brought about peace between the contending Kauravas and Pandavas. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa pacifies Uttanka by enlightening him about his divine nature and divine mission, complaining that the Kurus intoxicated as they were by the pride of pomp and power had not listened to the wholesome advice he had given.

them for their welfare. At Uttanka's request Śri Kṛṣṇa shows him his cosmic form (*vāṣpaṇaśakāntam*) made popular by the Gīta giving him rare boons.

This story impels the intelligent Janamejaya to ask Vaisampāyana what panacea the great Uttanka had practised so that he had the temerity to threaten even Viṣṇu (Śri Kṛṣṇa). Vaiśampāyana replies that it was his supreme devotion to his *guru* that had endowed him with this great spiritual power and he proceeds to relate the story of Uttanka. He relates how Uttanka had escaped being eaten by his cannibal king, Saudasa and obtained the ear-jewels of Saudasa's queen Madayanti as fee for his guru Gautama, how on the way the ear-jewels were stolen by a snake (*nāga*) and how Uttanka recovered them from the subterranean world of the Nāgas.

It will be noticed that this Uttankopakhyaṇa is but a variant (metrical) version of Paṇḍyaparvan's (prose) sub-section of the Ādi (adhy 3) but with some significant differences in the details. The *gramatis per omnes* are in part different. The preceptor is not Veda as in the Ādi but Gotama, the husband of Ahalya, likewise the king from whom Uttanka gets the ear-jewels is here not Paṇḍya but Saudasa (Kalmāṣapada) who had become a cannibal by the curse of some great sage whom the arrogant king had belaboured with a hunter. Moreover, in the first version the name of the snake is given as Tulakaka, the snake which had bitten king Iśkṣit and been the cause of his premature death; in the second he remains nameless. The only reason for citing the story of Uttanka here in this paper is that in the Aśvamedha version of the story Uttanka is several times called a Bhūrgava a fact which does not appear from the Ādi-parvan version. We have thus here a documentation for a Bhūrgava who by the power of his austerities—devotion to one's *guru* is a kind of *tapas*—was in a position to curse an *atithi* of Viṣṇu himself for his apparent fault in not conciliating the Pandavas and the Kauravas and preventing the fratricidal war and who had to be gently pacified by the great god by showing him his cosmic form to support his observations.

If we now go back to the Ādi we shall find that this figure of Uttanka has been further softly woven into the fabric of

the epic and not allowed to remain merely as a loose appendage. For in the short *metrical* tail of the (prose) Pausanepurān it is narrated that after his adventure in the world of the Nagas Uttanka betakes himself straight to the Pandava Janamejaya in Hastinapura and prevails upon the king to punish Taksaka for causing the death of Paiketi. At Uttanka's instance Janamejaya instituted the snake sacrifice and at this sacrifice Vaisampayana first recited the Mahabharata. Now the Mahabharata that we now possess is said to have been recited by the Suta Ugrasravas before Saunaka exactly as he had heard it during the recitation of the poem by Vyasa's own pupil Vaisampayana at the famous snake sacrifice which was instituted by king Janamejaya at the invitation of Uttanka. Our debt to this Bhargava is therefore very obvious. This Uttankopakhyana contains the last important reference in the Mahabharata to the Bhargava linking up with that in adhy 3 of the Ādi.

There are still a few more Bhargava stories in the Mahabharata the consideration of which I had intentionally postponed and to which we shall now turn.

We run into a nest of Bhargava legends as a matter of fact already in the fourth subsection of the Ādi the Pañcama-parvan which have not been discussed above.

The Mahabharata as is well known has two variant openings. In the first (Ādi 1) when the Suta (or according to some editions Sauti) Ugrasravas who is to recite the Mahabharata presents himself at the hermitage of Kulapati Saunaka during the twelve year sacrificial session inaugurated by the sage in the sacred Naimisāra forest and offers to recite stories for the edification and entertainment of the guests the sages assembled there express their desire to hear the celebrated Mahabharata (1.1.18 f.)

*Janamejayajasya yam tujno Vaisampayana uktaṣṭi |
yathān il sa tvaṁ tujyāṁ sa te Dvaparyakūṅṅayā ||
veśānt catuṣbhūṣaṁsātām Vyāsanvābhūṣatāḥ man ih |
yatkhilam arcitum n ekānto ihuṁṁyāni parabhāṣāprahāṁ ||*

The Suta accordingly commences with some *manjara* stanzas (1.1.20)

Sdyam puruzam isānān purukūṭān pū urūdam |

śam śhukā u aśi brahmar ayāśāśyaktam sanūtanam || o |

which are followed by a sort of prologue which latter languishes and breaks off somewhere

In adhy 4 of the Ādi we come upon another opening which totally ignores the first! The Suta is re-introduced. The scene is the same but the programme is changed. Here the assembled sages do not themselves order the entertainment but ask the Suta to wait until the Kulapati Saunaku comes. When in the next chapter (5) the Kulapati joins the company after having duly performed his round of daily duties he instead of asking the Suta to narrate the Mahabharata as the sages in the first instance had done tells him strange to say to relate first the history of the Bhārgavas (1 5 3)

Ita vāndam akṣa pūrvaśi sratam sakhāna Bhārgava am |

kathayasa kalūtas śhīna kalyaś am srazant tava ||

The Suta obediently proceeds to relate the history of that most illustrious family of the Bhārgvas which is honoured even by the celestial with Indra, Agni and the Maruts" (1 5 5). Here the Bhārgava interest is very clear and unmistakable. Accordingly eight chapters (5-13) which form the Paulomapsivan are entirely consecrated to an account of the wonderful deeds of some of the Bhārgavas an account which is not even remotely connected in actual fact with the incidents or characters of our epic. It is a digression pure and simple introduced with the very obvious object of glorifying the Bhārgavas and fixing a permanent form to some of the Bhārgava myths and legends. These chapters are a short history of one special branch of the Bhārgava clan represented by Bhṛgu, Cvavaṅ, Pramati, Baru and Sunka. The significance of this branch and its connection with our version of the Mahabharata will become apparent presently.

Bhṛgu, a sage of almost mythical character the eponymous ancestor of the family is here said to have been created from Brahma from the sacrificial fire during Varuṇa's sacrifice (216)

Bhṛgur nāharṣur bhāgavān Brahmaṅam va u ayāśāśhīnā ||

Varuṇasya kṛccham jaish pavakūṭ at nath śhrūtam ||

This interpolated stanza (found only in N) contradicts the statement in the main body of the text (documented jointly by N and S) to the effect that Bhāgu was born by piercing the heart of Bīahma (1 60 10)

Brāhmanō hr layam bhittvā ubhāto bhayavān Bhāguḥ t

While Bhāgu's wife Pulomā was pregnant the story continues (adhy 5-6) there came to Bhāgu's hermitage during his absence a demon (*rakṣas*) Pulomān who became enamoured of her and wanted to carry her off To make sure of his facts however the demon asked Agni who then she was really Bhāgu's wife The fact was that this Pulomā was first betrothed to Puloman and afterwards given by her father to Bhāgu and Puloman wanted to have her Pulomā back On getting from Agni an answer in the affirmative the demon assuming the form of a boat carried her off On the way Cya vana is born His lustre instantly reduces to ashes the demonic ravisher of his mother and saves her from a very awkward predicament Pulomā returns home safely with the baby Bhāgu only learns of this incident after his return to the hermitage Incensed at the outrage he curses god Agni whom he regards as the prime cause of the disaster saying that Agni would be an eater of all things good and bad (*surā-bhāga*)

There follows in adhy 8 the story of Ruru son of Pramati Menaka an *apsaras* abandons her beautiful daughter near the hermitage of the sage Sthulakṣa She is called Pramadvāra Pramati arranges her marriage with his son Ruru who has fallen in love with her Shortly before the celebration of their marriage Pramadvāra is bitten by a venomous snake and dies leaving Ruru disconsolate By the miraculous powers of his austerities penance this Bhārgava gives up half of his life to Pramadvāra and revives her and ultimately marries her Ruru takes a vow to destroy all the snakes in the world like Janamejay before him whose father Parikṣit had died as the result of a snake-bite One day Ruru comes across a harmless old snake of the variety known as *dhantabha* (adhy 9) The snake begs to be spared and so Ruru does not kill it The serpent body only concealed the metamorphosed soul of a sage who was suffering the effects of a curse pronounced on him in a previous birth (adhy 10) The

राजो दक्षिणोऽप्यसौ to be the highest duty of a Brahmin. Janaka's motive had once tried to destroy the race of snakes by performing a snake sacrifice they were saved by the Brahmin Astika (adhy 11). Ruru subsequently hears the story of Janaka's snake sacrifice from his father Pramadā (adhy 12). This story of the snake sacrifice as told by Pramadā to his son Ruru was repeated verbatim by the Suta to Saundāya and forms in our version of the Mahābhārata the Astikaparva in the fifth sub-section of the Ādi (adhy 13-53).

It will be noticed that from adhy 4 to adhy 13 of the Ādi a section which is already mentioned is entirely concerned with the history of a branch of the Bhārgava clan there is no mention of the Mahābhārata at all. Nor is there even a matter of fact any mention of the epic in the immediate sequel up to adhy 53 of the Ādi! Only in adhy 53 after having heard first the Bhārgava legends and then the story of the snake sacrifice (which had been previously related by the Bhārgava Pramadā to his son Ruru) Saundāya at last expresses the desire to hear the Mahābhārata or Krishna Dāśarjanyā which was narrated to him by Vyasa by Vaisampāyana in the intervals of that snake sacrifice (153 d f).

*Mahābhārataḥ śiṣyaśca Prāṇān mātṛaḥ kṛṇoṣi vacaḥ |
Janakaḥ saṅgṛāhṇaḥ śiṣyaśca Kṛṣṇa-Dāśarjanyānān tadā ||
saundāyāḥśāntaḥ sūtaḥ śiṣyaḥ kṛṇoṣi vacaḥ ||
saundāyāḥśāntaḥ sūtaḥ śiṣyaḥ kṛṇoṣi vacaḥ ||*

This complete survey of the Bhārgava material in the Mahābhārata.¹ But even this analysis does not give an adequate idea of the total number of Bhārgava references in the *Gītā*.

¹ The following names I did probably further be included among the Bhārgvas: (1) *Āryapāna* a sage mentioned several times in the *Upaniṣads*; (2) *Upaniṣads* told him in the *Baladeva śiṣyāyā* (Baladeva's son); (3) *Upaniṣads* was the teacher of Upaniṣads and taught him the *Āstika*; (4) *Upaniṣads* was the teacher of Vyasa and taught him the *Āstika*; (5) *Upaniṣads* who taught Dharma in the *Upaniṣads* (6) *Upaniṣads* of Anurājan in the *Ādi* chapter the *Upaniṣads* in our epic is small and their names have been given in this paper. More over none of them were *Upaniṣads* as actually a *Upaniṣads* Bhārgava in our epic. The *Upaniṣads* was directly connected with the Bhārgava lineage and descended from the *Upaniṣads* by the Bhārgava Dāśarjanyā.

In the Bhārgavas regularly occur as static figures along with other ancient sages in the descriptions of martial combats, festive gatherings, state functions, council meetings, and all important assemblies. Outstanding incidents of their history are frequently alluded to briefly even in the course of other narratives. The names of their heroes are habitually introduced in similes and metaphors. They are the standards of comparison (*upamāna*) to which everybody else is compared especially the epic heroes. Thus a man is praised by saying that his intelligence is like that of Sukra. A warrior is eulogized by saying that in heroism he was the equal of the Bhārgava Rama. Bhisma is once praised by saying that he could not be defeated even by Rama. In other places the valour and affluence of Cyavana and Arva are utilized for the sake of a passing comparison. The devotion of Suktinya to her husband Cyavana has been made proverbial by constant citation. These details could not be considered in the present paper for want of space.¹

RETROSPECT

From the legends preserved in our epic it should seem that the Bhārgavas were a Brahmin clan perhaps more intimately associated with the ancient Ksatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans being largely connected with them by matrimonial ties. Thus Cyavana is said to have married Sukanya, the daughter of king Saryati. Roka had married Satyawati, the daughter of king Gadhi of Kanyakubja and sister of the famous Vśvāmitra. Jamadagni's wife Benuka is likewise said to have been a princess by birth being a daughter of king Prasenajit of Ayodhya. The Bhārgavi Devayani was moreover married to king Yasyati, the only *pratiloma* marriage on record in Brahmanical literature. King Vitahavya had been adopted and made a Brahmin by a Bhrgu and his descendants became Bhārgavas. On the other hand some of the ancient Bhārgavas seem to have come suddenly into conflict with the Ksatriyas. The relations of Rama Jamadagnya with the Ksatriyas are so well known and have been repeated above so often that it is

¹ Even these may be considered later if a suitable opportunity presents itself.

unnecessary to dilate upon them here. But even in the case of Aurva and Jamadagni the epic has to relate conflicts with the Kshatriyas which have been alluded to above.

In these conflicts the Bhargavas are represented in our epic as terrible egotists, domineering, arrogant unbending and revengeful. To our epic bards they are at the same time omniscient and omnipotent Supermen who had become so chiefly by virtue of their mind-austerities and the magical or spiritual powers acquired by them. Owing to these occult powers the Bhargavas are like gods walking on earth or rather greater than men on earth. Thus Bhrgu pronounces a curse on Agni—a god fervently lauded and worshipped by the simple Aryans—for no fault of his. He also cursed (according to one version) Nahusa who had been elected king of gods and who had become arrogant and irreligious owing to this sudden elevation to power. The wizard Cyavana paralysed the arm of the recalcitrant Indra, a high god of the Vedic Aryans. Jamadagni would shoot down the Sun, another Aryan god. The Bhargava Uttanka when about to smite Sri Kṛṣṇa the supreme god of the Bhāgavatas or Vaiṣṇavas was rudely punished by the *avasthā*. The kings of the earth are of course like vermin before these Bhargavas. The mighty Hastyas tremble before the infant Aurva who blinds them by his effulgence and they have to beg for mercy on their bended knees. King Kusika grovels at the feet of Cyavana and meekly submits to all varieties of indignities for fear that the great sage might curse him.

Bhrgu the eponymous ancestor of the Bhargavas was one of the *ṛṣayopādya*. While the other *ṛṣayopādya* like Dakṣa are said to have issued from different limbs of Brahma, Bhrgu is represented as having sprung from Brahma's head, the noblest of the internal organs of man or god. In another context in our epic it is implied that Bhrgu was the greatest of the *maharṣis* though his name is not included even in the list of the famous Seven Sages.

But the Bhargava most popular with our bards is surely Rāma Jamadagnya. The bards love to dwell on his martial exploits repeating them whenever the slightest opportunity for it presents itself. The shadow of this colossus overspreads the entire epic, excepting the short tail at the end of the poem. In our epic he is not yet a full fledged *narāṅga*, but on the high way to be ele

voted to that rank and reputation efforts being made to make the epic document his divinity. He conquers the whole world alone and unaided such is the prowess of his fierce austerities. He frees the earth of the burden of Kestriyas thrice seven times and makes the gift of the earth to Kaiyapa his priest who divides it among Brahmins. Rama fights even the enemies of the gods with the same assurance and success enemies whom the gods themselves could not subdue. As the Bhargava Rama is the perfect warrior (*sarvato-tribhram sarah* a phrase the bards love to apply to him) three of the leading warriors of the Kaurava army—Bhisma, Drona and Karua—are said to have been initiated into the science of arms by Rama Jamadagnya though the latter according to the epic itself lived at the end of the Treta Age and the Kuru-Pandava war took place at the end of the Dvapara.

The epic contains a number of episodes (*upākhyānas*) relating to the Bhargavas such as the Aurvopakhyana (Adi) Kartavirvopakhyana (Aravuka) Amhopakhyana (Udyoga) Vipulopakhyana (Santi) and Utankopakhyana (Asvamedha) and so on. The entire Paundava and a large section of the Pausya too independent sub portions of the epic are also devoted to the legends of the Bhargavas. Besides these there are important discussions and discourses attributed to some of the celebrated Bhargavas such as the Bhigu-Bharadvaja-samvada the Cyavana-Kusika-samvada and the Markandeya-samasya.

Another striking feature of these Bhargava legends in our Mahabharata is the frequent repetition of these legends on different occasions in the course of the epic. Thus the legend of Utanka the myth of the altercation between Cyavana and Indra the story of Drona's obtaining weapons from the Bhargava Rama and the account of Karua's pupilship under him is each told *twice* in different contexts. The legend of the birth of Jamadagni and Rama is related in all *four* times. That the Bhargava Rama exterminated the Kestriyas thrice seven times is mentioned *ten* times in nearly identical form (*trihaptakrtvah pithus krtā nahkstriyā parā* which appears to have been a slogan of the bards) but the humiliation of the pride of the Kestriyas by the Bhargava Rama is mentioned about a *score* of times.

It is to be noted that the Bhargavas spring into this promi-

nence all of a sudden in the Mahābhārata. We look in vain for any reflection of their phenomenal power and glory in the Vedic literature.¹ There the Bhargavas are frequently alluded to as devoted to the fire cult and they appear in the rôle of a group of ancient fire priests. They are said to have procured fire for mankind. In the Battle of Ten Kings the Bhargavas are mentioned with the Drūhyas. In many passages they are also cited with the Angirases. The Atharvaveda is also known as Bhargu-angiras and it seems certain that both the Bhargus and the Angirases dabbled a great deal in the black art and were feared on that account. That they probably came into conflict with other clans and especially perhaps the Kṛatryas is indicated by the fact that in the last named Veda the name of Bhṛgu is chosen to exemplify the dangers incurred by those who oppress Brahmins. The Śrajaṇya V utahvyaś succumb as the result of an attack on Bhṛgu. The Aitareya Brahmana shows Bhṛgu in a similar light.

Thus we see that the Vedic references give no ground for explaining the eminence of the ancient Bhargavas implied by the epic account. These references supply nevertheless rudimentary clues of ideas and sentiments which were probably magnified in the imagination of the remote descendants of a powerful ancient clan influenced strongly by the cult of ancestor worship. Thus for example the close connection of the Bhṛguś with the fire cult may perhaps serve to explain the part that Agni plays in many of the Bhargava legends in the Mahābhārata. The Cyavana Aśvins legend of the epic finds some support in the statement of the R̥gveda to the effect that the Aśvins rejuvenated Cyavana making him "acceptable to his wife and a husband of maidens." The Brahmanas amplify this account. The connection of the Bhṛguś with the Atharvaveda explains the element of witchcraft in the Bhargava legends of our epic such as for example the revival of the dead by the Bhargava Sukta, or the paralyzing of the arm of Indra by Cyavana and of the creation of the monster called Madu mentioned above. That the Bhṛguś had in some way championed the cause of Brahmins against other clans is as

¹ Macdonell and Keith *Vedic Index* vol 2 p 109

already mentioned supported by a reference in the Atharvaveda. Their intimate association with the Angirases implied in the Vedic literature is reflected faithfully in many of the stories and genealogies of our epic.

Taking a collective view of these Bhārgava references in the Great Epic we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvas—which is said to depict the Bharata War—filling up as they do much of the available space of the background. And it is more than probable that if the epic is examined yet more minutely still further evidence of Bhārgava material hitherto undiscovered will be brought to light. The figures of the Bhārgavas have also been magnified to colossal proportions painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths and legends are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic with the exception of some short and unimportant passages (10 and 15-18) at the end (comprising in all not more than 2500 stanzas a negligible fraction of the epic) books on which the average reader of the poem bestows but scant attention. In short, the Bhārgavas are represented in our epic throughout as *the* people. How does that come about? — *Cui bono* " as the Roman lawyer would have asked.

To imagine that all this fulsome eulogy liberally showered upon the heroes of the Bhārgavas and the interminable repetition of their stories and legends are entirely unconscious—at least unintentional—and without any ulterior motive being just ordinary features of epic treatment would be indeed naive. In the first place we have very clear and definite evidence of the fact that our epic has been consciously and deliberately expanded at least in *one* instance—the surreptitious addition of a bunch of Bhārgava legends to the Kuru-Pandava epic in the shape of the so called Pañdomaparvan in the Ādi which is *entirely* made up of Bhārgava legends and has not even the *remotest* intrinsic connection with the story of the epic. Then we have equally clear and definite evidence of the tendentious bhārgavization of older legends which occur in the epic itself in *two* forms one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element to wit the Stories of Sixteen Kings (Ṣoḍaśarajakṭya) and the Nahusa-

were probably not entirely without their preferences and prejudices and that they do not apportion anything like the same amount of space and breadth of treatment to the myths and legends of other Brahmanic families such as the Āgaetyas Ātreyas Kanvas Kasvapas Gautamas Vasisthas and so on. The legends of these other families or clans are by no means entirely ignored in our Mahābhārata but they are comparatively few in number and hardly ever repeated. They appear like negligible details on the vast canvas of the epic and are easily lost sight of in this colossal accumulation of apparently most heterogeneous elements which are all the same carefully balanced so as to produce a more or less homogeneous impression. Very differently treated are the Bhārgava legends in our Mahābhārata. To make any impression by the side of the titanic figures of the old epic like Bhīṣma and Karna Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna the Bhārgavas had to be magnified a great deal and their legends which were probably not so well known then as now had to be repeated. And we accordingly find that the legends have been repeated so often that the redactors themselves must have in time come to believe in them and the figures have been magnified, so liberally that they appear almost to eclipse the heroes of the Great Epic itself.

Just for the sake of contrast we might compare the other great epic of India the Rāmāyana for Bhārgava references. That epic also is a Brahmanic epic containing a host of Brahmanic legends and stories. The result of his quest for Bhārgava references will astonish the reader. The references are remarkably few and extremely meagre. About our Bhṛgu a *śloka* of Sri-Kṛṣṇa the only thing recorded in the Rāmāyana is that his wife was decapitated by Viṣṇu! Oṃvāna has been introduced in Valmiki's epic only to narrate some stories. The solitary reference to our Rama Jamedagnya (*sarvasastrabhāṅgān varāh*) has been noticed above. It is the one in which he challenges Rama Daśarathi and is worsted in the encounter! We learn nothing more about Jamedagni from the Rāmāyana than the bald fact that he was slain by Arjuna Kaitavīrya. Anīva who was an important had blinded the Hāshayas by his effulgence is not mentioned at all so far as I know. Comment is superfluous.

Now there can be no question that all this Bhāṅgava material in our present Mahabharata is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bharatas occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. There should be therefore in my opinion no hesitation in concluding that *in our version of the Mahabharata there is a conscious—not deliberate—coming together or rather stitching together of the Bhāṅgava legends with the Bhāṅgava stories.*

The question how precisely this Bhāṅgava element which we find concentrated mostly in the *aparādhina* came into the cycle of the Bharata legends is interesting but unfortunately the answer is largely a matter of speculation. Even according to the traditional view it was not the work of Vyasa, the reputed author of the Mahabharata, because the disbelievers have been fortunately frank enough to admit that his work the Bharata which originally consisted merely of 24,000 stanzas had no epodes to speak of (1.1.51)

catvāḥ śākhābhāṅgavā ca kṛya Bhāṅgavāḥ śākhābhāṅgavā

śākhābhāṅgavā śākhābhāṅgavā Bhāṅgavā śākhābhāṅgavā

It could again hardly have been the work of Vṛṣasampayana, the direct pupil of Vyasa according to tradition, who is said to have recited the Bharata of Vyasa in the presence of Vyasa himself as he had been taught by his guru during the intervals of the short snake sacrifice celebrated by king Janamāyaya.

The case was different with the next recorded recitation of the Mahabharata: it was by the Śuta Upariśravas in the presence of the Bhāṅgava Saunaka during the twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter. Even before the recitation commences Saunaka explicitly asks the Śuta, who had come there to recite his Mahabharata, to narrate first of all the history of the Bhāṅgavas and as directed by his host the Śuta obediently does so. There is a very clear shifting of the centre of gravity. Here we have a different milieu and a different interest. The scene changes from the bustling and scintillating pageantry of the Kaurava Court to the reflective calm and leisure of the sylvan retreat of the Bhāṅgus.

Few scholars I imagine would now be inclined to deny that our epic text has undergone momentous alterations in the course

of its long and eventful history. It is now generally recognized that the Bharata like the popular lays, ballads and early epics of all countries and all people has always been a *fluid* text adjusted to the varying needs of the occasion and the differing tastes of the audience. No disparagement or condemnation of the text is thereby implied. The process is quite normal, inevitable and in a wider sense wholly right. To continue to be a vital force in the life of a progressive people the epic must be a slow-changing book. The fact of expurgation and elaboration is only an outward indication of its being a book of inspiration and guidance in life and not merely a book lying unused and forgotten on a dusty book-shelf. And this is no drawback in the case of our text. Therein lies on the contrary its capital interest and importance for us. It is a rapid-motion picture reel of many ages of Indian culture—not necessarily fictitious history—arranged in a naive fashion something like the sculptured panels on the gateway, and the railings of the Buddhist Stupa at Sanchi or the mural frescoes of Ajanta—with scenes telescoped all in one plane without much regard to perspective or perhaps with its own peculiar technique of perspective.

As already remarked it seems probable that in the formative period of the epic a powerful Bhargava influence—direct or indirect—has been at work so to say behind the scenes in shaping our epic for us. This element had obviously obtruded itself upon the original nucleus certainly after the time of the original author Vyasa and probably after that of Vaisampayana. The next traditional link however in the transmission of the epic is the Suta. Is the Suta then responsible for the conversion of the Bharata into the Mahabharata? Now I do not doubt that some of the Sutas probably were gifted versifiers able to compose *ex tempore* short bardic poems and to improvise lays to suit them to the varying tastes and requirements of the audience. But if we consider these Sutas capable of composing on the spur of the moment such masses of narrative episodes and didactic discourses as we find in our Mahabharata we shall be crediting these minstrels with an accomplishment far beyond their natural capacity. Nobody is, however so credulous nowadays as to imagine the Suta as the author of those extensive innovations that must

have been necessary in order to convert a heroic poem of about 75,000 stanzas (taking the traditional figure as a rough guide for our speculations) into an encyclopaedia of the present dimension.

We are not in any case as far as I can see constrained to accept every single statement of the epic in its *exact* literal sense. And when I say that I mean no disparagement either of the text or of the fact that our epic does not pretend to be a dry prosaic matter of fact chronicle nor a statistical history in the modern sense based upon a laboriously compiled official apparatus. If it were that it would surely not have lived for 2500 years. We have on the shelves of our libraries hundreds of ponderous tomes and compendiums of national and world history prepared along approved lines by laborious professors of history. But hardly anybody reads these works twice and they are mostly forgotten in a generation or two by an ununderstanding and ungrateful posterity. The Mahabharata never was a scientific chronicle of that type and it would be egregious folly to regard it as such. It is above all an inspired poem. It was actually regarded by later generations as a *kāvya*.

śrīyam magadhān bhāgavan kāvyaṁ paramapūjyam |

the highest type of Indian poetry like its sister epic the Ramayana. It was for everything else a work of art, creative art idealistic in conception, informed with deep religious feeling, permeated by a conscious didactic purpose, focussed more on ideas and ideals than on facts and figures. In which people were not interested then so much as now, a work in which a moral was conveyed by a parable, an elusive truth by a tangible fable, myth. And to the inspired creators of a traditional book of that type we must at least allow poetic licence and common imagination.

The entire story that the Suta had heard the epic at its first recitation by Vaisampayana and reproduced it *verbatim* at Saunaka's bidding, having committed it to memory after a single hearing, is so obviously unnatural and improbable that it seems clearly more appropriate to regard it merely as a poetic fiction, a 'frame story', the most popular of Indian devices of literary composition. But there is no symbolism without a basis, however difficult it may

be for us to reach the elusive subconscious or unconscious. To my mind the frame-story of our Mahabharata is directly an unconscious admission of the fact that the Bharata had at a critical stage of its evolution passed into the sphere of influence of the Bhrgu through the medium of the wandering minstrel The Bhargava influence is implied in the person of the Kulapati Sainaka. The Suta who used to recite the poem in the Heroic Age is kept on with due regard to traditional usage to give the new recension a setting appropriate to it and indicating the source at the same time.

The influence of the Bhargavas in the narrative portion of the Great Epic is very evident and can hardly be disputed. But their influence in an entirely different sphere though less tangible and therefore more difficult to demonstrate is to my mind nevertheless probable. I mean the incorporation into the epic of large masses of didactic material concentrated chiefly in the Santi and Anusasana especially so far as it concerns the Dharma and Niti elements. Though the philosophy of the Mahabharata is often times rather shaky being in places abstruse and confused and though the religious beliefs which find expression there are perplexingly eclectic oscillating between Vaishnavism and Saivism, between Henotheism and Pantheism there can be no two opinions about the fact that the Mahabharata offers a very sound and complete exposition of Dharma and Niti according to Indian theorists a feature which has given this venerable old monument of Indian antiquity its rank as Smṛiti and its abiding value and interest to the Hindus nay to all true children of Mother India.

Now it happens that Dharma and Niti are just the two topics in which the Bhrgu had *specialised* and with which their names are prominently associated. The connection of the Bhargava Sukra with Niti which is proverbial in the Mahabharata is so patent that it does not need to be especially pointed out. The connection of the Bhrgu with the Dharmashastra is perhaps not so well known but is nevertheless equally certain. One has only to recall that according to a tradition preserved in the work itself our Manusmṛiti the most famous and popular of ancient Indian works bearing on the Dharmashastra, is the ancient Code

of Manu in the form in which it was communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu and is therefore even commonly known as the Bhṛgu samhita, an explanation which I see not the slightest reason to question or doubt. It is also recognized that there is intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛiti. The Manusmṛiti it may be pointed out, has an introduction not unlike in conception to the first chapter of our epic—a few stanzas agree to some extent even in their wording. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in our Mahābhārata (*itṛ evaṁ Manu abavat*). According to Bühler's computation there are about 350 stanzas of the Manusmṛiti that is nearly 10 per cent of the total which are again found *verbatim* (or with only slight variations) in parva 3.1. and 16 alone of the Great Epic. Then on the side of the Mahābhārata Dharma is the foundation on which the whole stately edifice of the Great Epic has been reared—and to a great extent also the material of which it is composed. Our Mahābhārata is itself a *dharma-grantha*. The hero of the epic is Dharma rāja himself a son of Dharma—he is Dharma incarnate. The Bharata war was a *dharma-yuddha yato dharmas tato jagah*. The field of battle was a *dharma-kṣetra*. Narayana incarnated himself as Sri-Kṛṣṇa to restore the fallen Dharma. The essence of the book (*Bhāratā sūtras*) embodying the moral of the story is given as (B 18 5 63 f.)

Śrīdharmākṛt viraṭpṛṣṭy eva na ca kaḥśo dhṛṇoti na ।
 dharmād arthā ca kāmā ca sa karmakāṅ n.ś. sevate ॥
 na jānī kāmā na bhāgīn na lobhīn
 dhas mam tyāgṛ jyatasyāpi hetoh ।
 nityo dharmā sukhadāhīhe te anitye
 jīvo nityo hetuḥ asya te anityāḥ ॥

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Nīti elements, which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mahābhārata, thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation in the assumption of an important *century displacement of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence*. But this does not at all

imply that the text has remained untouched after this first diaskousis far from it. Like all traditional works it was a slow-changing book and additions and alterations as already remarked, must have been made in it continuously throughout its long history of about 2500 years.

These further additions were in the main probably made in the first instance by the Bhargavas themselves in the centuries that immediately followed the first important diaskousis under Bhargava supervision since it is most likely that just as the different collections of Vedic hymns the various Brahmanas and the ritualistic manuals were all for some time the closely guarded property of diverse Vedic schools and families of sages which had respectively cultivated and developed them so also our remodelled Bhārata now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhargavas as their close literary preserve. That would in my opinion account for the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass: it all came from different hands but out of the same mould.

If the above considerations have any validity they might help us to lift up a corner of the thick veil enveloping our Great Epic and allow us to have a covert peep into its history. Such a peep would show that there existed in India in very ancient times an epic poem of about 24 000 stanzas attributed to Vyasa (the 'Expander') which described in great detail the Bhārata War and sang the glory of the Pandavas. This heroic poem the Bhārata which used to be recited by the Sūtas mostly at royal courts and had in course of time become very popular was at a critical stage of its history appropriated by the Bhṛguṣ (who had certainly specialized in the Dharma and Nitiśāstra and probably also developed leanings towards Viśnuism), with the idea of developing the epic into a vehicle of popular instruction and edification combined with entertainment. These anchorites full of age-old wisdom and wonderful masters of the art of myth-weaving took from the Sutas the Bhārata and gave back to the world the Mahābhārata the same book yet different. In the process of the redaction by the Bhṛguṣ the work, naturally and to an extent unconsciously, received that characteristic and indelible stamp

which was predetermined by the eventful history the natural peculiarities the special endowments and the peculiar "Weltanschauung" of the Bhṛguḥ. This little episode in its history necessarily gave our poem the anomalous character of an Epōs and 'Rechtsbuch' combined. It may be surmised that this remodelled Bharata remained for some considerable time in the hands of the Bhārgavas who had developed it and so to say re-created it as their exclusive literary property and they exploited it thereafter and propagated it in their own way. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bhāratas a success which in one sense was richly deserved was the indirect cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem which must have still existed at the time of the composition of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra. Like other branches of the hieratic literature when the epic at last passed out of the hands of the Bhṛguḥ and became the common property of the literati of India it still remained a fluid text not entirely closed to minor alteration and expansion but retained its character as a traditional work revered and cherished by the people as the work of Mahatṛ Vyasa and serving still as a vehicle of popular education, inspiration and edification as intended by the Bhṛguḥ. The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence on the Epic of the Bharatas the clearer it seems to me will become the history of our Mahābhārata the Great Epic of Bharatavarsa.

AN ANALYSIS OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN THE
SARNGADHARAPADDHATI

BY

Prof Dr HAN DUTT SHARMA M A Ph D

It was in 1888 that Prof P Peterson edited the Sarngadhara paddhati in the Bombay Sanskrit Series No 37 and remarked in the Prefatory Note to the Text¹

A full critical apparatus with notes to the book and an Introductory Sketch of the Literature embraced in it will appear in a second volume which I hope to put out next year²

But the promised volume never appeared Today we do not even know as to what authors or works are quoted in the Sp (= Sarngadhara paddhati) If we want to refer to any author we must go through the whole book and then only find the information desired for And now Sp has even gone out of print Hence in order to facilitate the work of scholars it is proposed to give the names of authors and works quoted in Sp together with the numbers of the verses ascribed to them in Peterson's edition Information about these authors and works and cross references to other anthologies poetical works etc I reserve for some future occasion I have only indicated under the name of each poet (in Italics) if he is quoted in Saduktikarnāmrta (= Skm) Kavindravyasanasamuccaya (= Kvs) Subhasitavali (= Shhv) and Jalhana's Suktimuktavali (= Sml) as described by R G Bhandarkar *Rep of 1887-91* pp 1-117

The brackets enclose the total number of verses ascribed to a work or author

1 अकारलजलव (1)-777	}	6 अभिन व (2) <i>Shm Kvs Sml</i>
2 अचल <i>Skm Kvs Sml</i> (3)- 784 3564 3803		3763 3917
3 अच्युत <i>Kvs</i> (2)-1108 1185		7 (गौड) अभिन व <i>See</i> अभिन व <i>above</i> (2)-1090 3485
4 अङ्गसङ्घ (2)-9528 3680		8 अभिनवग्रह (1)-1152
5 अल तद्वै (1)-150		9 अभिरामपट्टपाति (1) 533

- 10 अमरक *Skm Kur Smi Sdk*
(28) 2366 3.68 3395 3416
3424 3165 67 3486 3535 3544
36 3551 3558 3575 3668 3678,
368.-81 3700 3706-7 3715,
3740 41 3747 3847
- 11 अमरक *Skm* (1)-393
- 12 अमरक *Skm* (1)-76
- 13 अमर *Skm* (1)-3613
- 14 अवतारक *Skm Sdk* (2)
3004 383
- 15 अमरक *Skm* (2) 3128 3515
- 16 अमर *Skm* (1) 507
- 17 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (2)
308 906 970
- 18 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (1)-9
- 19 अमर *Skm* (1)-1052
- 20 (अमर) अमर *Skm* * अमर (2)-
1217 3530
- 21 अमरक (5) 84 943 1082 1130
4078
- 22 अमरक *Skm* (1)-3968
- 23 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3063
- 24 अमर (1) 576
- 25 अमरक *Skm Rsk* (1)-1017
- 26 अमरक *Skm* (2)-3073-74
- 27 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (2)-355,
3490
- 28 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3 87
- 29 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3315
- 30 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (1)-3922
- 31 अमरक *Skm* (1)-1027
- 32 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3674
- 33 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3645
- 34 अमरक *Skm* (1)-1119
- 35 अमरक (1)-3975
- 36 अमरक *Skm Rsk Sdk*
(6) 414 544, 60 3238,
3271 3239 3286 3317-18 3330
- 37 अमरक *Skm Rsk Sdk*
(1)-3644 3356 3504 3897
- 38 अमरक *Skm* (1)-3691
- 39 अमरक (1)-119
- 40 अमर *Skm Sdk* (1)-11 5
- 41 अमरक (2)-3507 3887
- 42 अमरक (1) 175
- 43 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (5)-106
470 378 3081 4067
- 44 अमर *Skm* (19)-3112 40 3.10
35
- 45 अमरक (1)-96
- 46 अमर *Skm* (5) 195, 200-7 286
335 78-79, 4 8-12 390 1.04
27 3076 3078 3474 3023 354,
3765 3892, 3897 987 4129 90
4075-9, 4041 4046-53 4107
- 47 अमरक (10)-4634-48
- 48 अमरक (1)-313
- 49 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3906
- 50 अमरक *Skm* (1) 3259
- 51 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (1)-3389
- 52 अमरक (1) 982
- 53 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (9)
1570-76 383-14
- 54 अमरक *Skm* (1)-3662
- 55 अमरक *Skm* (1)-4099
- 56 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (2)- 39 382
- 57 अमरक (1)-3400
- 58 अमरक *Skm* (1)-466
- 59 अमरक *Skm* (1)-925
- 60 (अमर) अमरक *Skm Sdk* अमरक
Skm (1) 1031
- 61 अमरक *Skm Sdk* (1)-87, 571 3.61
3657
- 62 अमरक (1) 863

- 63 च प्रश्न *Sbh* - २ २ (३) 3565
3506
- 64 चन्द्ररि (३) - 69 818 49
- 65 च श्रेय (२) 1:7 871
- 66 चाणक्य (6) 140 334 304 413
418 452
- 67 छमच्छमिहार न (1) -3455
- 68 छिन्नम *Ś/m Kṛs Śml* (1) 98
- 69 जपनस्थरीपत्रक (1) -3354
- 70 जयगुप्त *Sbh* (1) -3909
- 71 जयलक्ष्मीदेव (२) 3275 76
- 72 जयवक्त (35) -1674-1709
- 73 जयदेव *Ś/m Sbl e Śml* (25) -
69 80 3380 3431 3460-61 34
81-82 3498-3500 3502 3520
3548 50 3609 3617 3658 3681
3686 87 3697 3704 3820
- 74 जयमाधव *Ś/m Sbh Śml* (७) -
151 3653 3801 3848-49
- 75 जयवधवा *Śkm Sbh Śml* (1)
896
- 76 जीवनाथ *Sbh* (1) -3890
- 77 जीवनाथक (1) 951
- 78 (भद्र) ज्ञानधम्म (1) -971
- 79 जिलाचन *Kṛs Śml* (३) 186-87
76
- 80 जिविकम *Śkm* -वैश्वधिविक्रम (३) -
136 3418 9459
- 81 जिविकमभट्ट *Sbh* (8) -142 159
162 191 3309 3030 3611 3865
- 82 स्वधमरण (१) 3449
- 83 क्षुण्डन *Śkm Kṛs Śml* (19) -
127 275 449 518 540 546
548 559 569-70 3080 3360
3 93 94 3642 3655, 3997 4023
4068
- 84 दामाधरगुप्त *Sbh* (1) -4967
- 85 दामाधरदेव *Ś/m Kṛs Sbh*
(4) -1216, 4100 4109 4116
- 86 दिनकरदेव (1) -3956
- 87 द्विपरिकिर्दारण (1) 574
- 88 दीपक *Sbh* (३) 74 37.1 4039
- 89 दुग्धसेन *Sbh* (1) -3889
- 90 दुर्बलण (1) -453
- 91 दुर्बलण (10) -256 463 4123-
26 4158 59 4169
- 92 दुर्बलण (३) -3852 4101 4110
- 93 दुर्बलण *Śkm* दुर्बलण *Śml* (1) -
3521
- 94 दुर्बलण (14) 63 91 181 210-12
217 240-44 545 4004
- 95 दुर्बलण (३) 1251-53
- 96 दुर्बलण (1) 3419
- 97 दुर्बलण (13) 88 159 169 182
697 819 841 874 1140 1210
1277 3323 3815
- 98 दुर्बलण *Śkm Śml* (1) -185
- 99 दुर्बलण (२) 3417 3973
- 100 दुर्बलण *Śkm Kṛs Sbh*
Śml (1) 947
- 101 दुर्बलण (३) -520-21 523 21
556
- 102 दुर्बलण (२) -949 1002
- 103 दुर्बलण *Sbh* (1) 3829
- 104 दुर्बलण *Sbh* (1) -3450
- 105 दुर्बलण *Ś/m* -वैश्वधिविक्रम (1) -
1161
- 106 दुर्बलण (34) -1629-59 1666-73
4261
- 107 दुर्बलण *Sbh* (1) 3650
- 108 दुर्बलण (२) 1006 1051
- 109 दुर्बलण *Ś/m Kṛs Sbh*
Śml (1) 1154
- 110 दुर्बलण (1) -981
- 111 दुर्बलण (1) 86
- 112 दुर्बलण (1) -3880
- 113 दुर्बलणभट्ट *Sbh* (9) 173 3972
3981 4073-74 4081 4080-86
4008
- 114 दुर्बलण (1) -3454

- 115 निजातगण (२)-165 4009
- 116 सुगन्धसिंघापापायपत्रपत्रिका (२)-
125-55
- 117 वेदशिक्षापरमहंसपरिचय (1) 3464
- 118 पद्मसूत्र (1)-738
- 119 पद्मसूत्र (19)- 134-41 3144-51
3260 3262-3
- 120 परिसर *Śrīm. Śāhā*-पद्मसूत्र (1)-
74
- 121 पाणिनि *Śākhā Kāśā śāhā*,
Śmī (२) 3624 3669
- 122 पाण्डवसङ्घ (1)-1558
- 123 पाण्डवसूत्र (३८)-156० 69 1577-
97
- 124 पण्य *śāhā* (1)-3 88
- 125 पुष्पाकर (२)-589 920
- 126 पुष्पाकर (२) 829 928
- 1 7 इतिहास (1)-3436
- 1-8 पद्मसूत्र *śāhā* (1) 3405
- 129 पद्मसूत्र *śāhā* (२)-383 783
- 130 पद्मसूत्र (1) 3368
- 131 पद्मसूत्र (4)-748 765 1058
1041
- 132 कलहसिंघा *śāhā* (1) 3620
- 133 कलहसिंघा (०) 1096-97
- 134 कलहसिंघा (1) 763
- 135 कलहसिंघा *śāhā Kāśā śāhā*
Śmī (18)-60 69 112 152
157 160 230 380 498 3500
३३९; ३६९५ ३६९५ ३९३४ ३९६६
३९६५
- 136 कलहसिंघा (1) 531
- 137 कलहसिंघासूत्र (4) १०३ 115
130
- 138 कलहसिंघा *śāhā śāhā Śmī* (47)
144 161, 167 193 94 775
915 964 966 1559 3218 3207
3304 3306-7 ३०३४ 3354
335० ३६५९ 64 ३४११ ३४२७
३४३०, ३४३९, ३४३९-७०, ३४७५
- 3593 372० ३७२६ ३७७० ३७९३
३७९९-३८०० ३८०१ ३८५४ ३९
३८५९ ३८७८-९० ३९९१ ४०१८
- 139 कलहसिंघा *śāhā śāhā* (२) 972,
3919
- 140 कलहसिंघा (1) 3509
- 141 कलहसिंघा (1) - 1020
- 142 कलहसिंघा *śāhā* कलहसिंघा (1)
३७८८
- 143 कलहसिंघा (1)-4072
- 144 कलहसिंघा (1) - 37०८
- 145 कलहसिंघा (1) 3007
- 146 कलहसिंघा (1) - 593
- 147 कलहसिंघा (1) - 3587
- 148 कलहसिंघा (1) - 3540
- 149 कलहसिंघा (1) - 252
- 150 कलहसिंघा *śāhā śāhā* (1)-305
- 151 कलहसिंघा (1) - 3904
- 152 कलहसिंघा *śāhā śāhā Śmī* (62)
203-६ 208-9 225 227 23०
254-255 263 264 303 308
332-33 377 418-16 419,
435-38 46० 679 ६९७ ३७३
907 1093 1६०९-३०, ३०९३
३६९८ ३८८५ ३९०० ३९५४ ४०९३
96 4098 4102-5 4112-14,
414०-47 4150-56 4164 66
4176-79
- 15 कलहसिंघा *śāhā Śmī* (1) -
3९३२
- 1०४ कलहसिंघा (11) - 745-46, 798,
846 ९८१, 999 950 1043 1 1६,
३४०४ ३१८०
- 15० कलहसिंघा *śāhā Kāśā śāhā*
Śmī (९) - 91 99 14० १६
७४) 791 ३४५३ ३८५० ४०७०
- 15० कलहसिंघा (२) - 790 ३६८५
- 15७ कलहसिंघा (1) - 95
- 15९ कलहसिंघा *śāhā śāhā* (६) - ३६४५
३६४९ ३६६५, ३९४१-४३

- 150 भाष *Skm Sbhv Smi* (1) -
3292 3330 3640 3906
- 160 विज्ञानद (3) - 3776-78
- 161 भीम *Sbhv* (3) - 3537 3828 38
85
- 162 भीमसिंहवाणित (2) - 1211 3367
- 163 वैरीभाङ्गार (5) - 58 66 97 844
908
- 164 भालवैष भोजनरुद्र or भालरान
Skm Kuv Smi (13) 809
842 993 1004 1028 1147
1164 3589 3897 3833 3884
3933 4002 (to सुख)
- 165 भालरान चार (1) 4106
- 166 भाङ्ग (1) - 3925
- 167 मदन (2) - 594 756
- 168 मङ्गलदा (1) - 671
- 169 मङ्ग (1) - 3085
- 170 मङ्ग *Sm Kuv Sbhv Smi*
(5) - 137-38 585, 597 3847
- 171 महादेश *Skv* (3) 740 980
1012
- 172 महानाटक (6) - 108 3989 90
3995 4010 4080
- 173 महामनुष्य *Skv Sbhv Smi*
(2) 890 3938
- 174 महीपतिमण्डलीकर (1) - 912
- 175 माघ *Sm Kuv Sbhv Smi* (32) -
216 223 265-67 287 347-
48 407 450 461-62 547 34
40 3525 3570 3585 3652
3723-25 3729 3736-37, 3742
3796 3805 3814, 3993 4020-
22
- 76 मातङ्गविद्यानर *Sbhv* (1) 1227
- 77 माधवभाष्य (1) 1033
- 78 माण्डव्यपुराण (113) - 705-8
715-30 4194-95 4228-32 45
05-46 4517-63 4564-90
- 179 माण्डव्यसूत्रि (1) - 4089
- 180 मालवप्रज्ञ (1) 1021
- 181 मन्नावाङ्ग *Sbhv* (1) 945
- 182 मुरारि *Sm Kuv Sbhv Smi*
(0) - 510 3279 3325 3661 3992
3994 4070 4083-84
- 183 मृग (1) - 3690
- 184 मेघ (1) - 512
- 185 मेण्ड *Sbhv* (1) - 3594
- 186 मोरिञ्ज *Sbhv* (2) - 3403 3496
- 187 यज्ञात्मन् *Skv Kuv Sbhv*
Smi (1) - 4071
- 188 योगदानवली (46) - 3189-3218
3236 49 3455-56
- 189 योगरसायन (77) - 4181-92 4271
4335
- 190 (द्विधमादित) योगरसायन (13) -
4258-70
- 191 रत्नकर *Skv Sbhv* (4) - 1209
3345 3584 3648
- 192 रत्न (2) - 913 989
- 193 रविदत्त *Sm Sbhv Smi* (3) -
237 351 384
- 194 रविदत्त *Sbhv* (1) - 580
- 195 राघवचैतन्य (6) - 70-71 168 877
1557-58
- 196 राघवदेश (1) - 4108
- 197 राजवित्तमहामहादेश (2) - 1194-95
- 198 राजशेखर *Skv Kuv Sbhv*
Smi (14) - 85 174 188 90
251 3423 3559 3750 3757
3837 4926 3928 3936
- 199 राघवक (1) 1059
- 200 राघवक *Sbhv* (1) - 3875
- 201 रुद्रावधिष्ठ (1) - 3420
- 202 रुद्र *Skv Kuv Smi Sbhv* (9)
3409 3567-68 3578-79 3670
3675 3754 3774
- 203 रुद्र See रुद्र above (2) - 575
3473

- 248 साङ्गधय (11)-130 169-70
 172 464 507 52 538 512-
 43 577 751-32 776 790 816
 868 890 909 1014 1022 10-
 44 1076 1116 1133 1148
 1217 1238 1561-62 1598-
 1610 1664 66 1712-19 3122
 93 3258 3299 35 6 3553
 3601 3627 3688-89 3710 37
 33 3745 3765 3830-31 3839
 4032 4065 4166-67 4247-71
 4497 4504
- 249 सालिहान (18)-1611-28
- 250 शिवदासवर (2)-9701 4128
- 251 शिवरथानिष्ठ Śkm Kṛ, Śhr,
 Śnl (9)-3396 3511
- 252 शिलाभट्टारिण Śkm Śhr, Śnl
 (4)-3117, 3507 3578 9768
- 253 शूर (1)-1083
- 254 श्रीकण्ठवर्षित Śl m Kṛ (1)-
 550
- 255 श्रीकण्ठसम्भ (2)-3253 51
- 256 श्रीचन्द्र (1) 965
- 257 (प्वताभर) श्रीच द्र (1)-3939
- 258 श्रीवर (31) 3001-3121
- 259 आचलकविराज (1)-3789
- 260 आह्व Śkm Kes Śhr, Śnl
 (11)-3301, 3401 3621 3656
 3660 3672 3790 3797-98 40
 12-13
- 261 अक्षय Śhr (2)-1144 9910
- 262 अकृष्ट (1)-3588
- 263 स 7, निमित्त (1) 9149
- 264 नरस्यतीकृदम्भ (2)-1005 1218
- 265 नरस्यतीकृदम्भकुण्डिल (1) 311
- 266 सन्याससूत्र (1)-1606
- 267 सचयान (1)-3862
- 268 सावभोग Śhr (3)-62 64 1260
- 269 सिद्धय Śhr (1)-566
- 270 सिद्धादिदि (1)-3291
- 271 सदान्तपि (1)-1764
- 272 सुप्र वृ Śkm Śhr (6)-59 78
 145 349 50 4001
- 273 सुकिसमस्त (4)-581 3883 3804
 3868
- 274 सन्मज Śhr -अरमज (1) 101
- 275 सौख्यपि Śhr (1)-3577
- 276 सामनायकविराज (1)-109
- 277 शृंगमत् Śkm Śhr Śnl (10)-
 83 90 122-25 178 139 1348
 3418 4066
- 278 शृंगीरवर (1)-974
- 279 इन्दिण Śhr (8)-131 357-58
 990 3572 4129 4173-4
- 280 इन्दिर (4)-77 3494 3705 37
 60
- 281 इन्दिरवेर (2)-183 559
- 282 हेतु (1)-1019

VERSES HAVING DOUBLE AUTHORSHIP

561	—	Bhoma	and	a	Brahmann
562	—				Pandita
563	—				Thief
564	—				Śl-ābhatīrīkā
565	—	Vikramāditya			Bhaṅḡarīkā

568	—	Bhāskara and	Guru
567-68	—	,	Bilhana
8°20	—	Vikramāditya "	Meṣha
9°10	—	Govindarāman ,	Vakantambha
10°11	—	Rakṣasa	Landila
568w	—	Ramā	Samā

VERSES BELONGING TO ŚĀRNOADHYĀYĪ THE AUTHOR
OF THE PADDHATĪ

1-56 4617-20 4650-51

VERSES ON DIFFERENT TOPICS ASCRIBED TO VARIOUS WORKS

Topic	No. of Verses	Works
1 सदाचार	598-604	धर्मशास्त्रपुराणयोः शारदाभ्य ।
2 धानप्रवृत्ति	699-704	धर्मशास्त्रेभ्य ।
3 राजन्यासि	1281-1419	राजन्यासभ्य स्मृतिभ्यो भारतवर्षात् पञ्चाङ्ग ।
4 नीति	1420-1503	नारिकेलीभ्य भारतवर्षात्पञ्चाङ्ग व्याख्यानत्रय ।
5 यज्ञव्य	1714-1741	शिवधनुःत्रयस्य अथर्वतो पञ्चमस्य च ।
6 मा धर्मशास्त्रम्	1942-2381	राजाव्यवहृत् इ राजभ्य भारतवर्षात्
7 वृक्षाष्टकम्	2082-2381	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
8 अक्षयज्ञानम्	2319-2616	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
9 अक्षयज्ञानम्	2617-2658	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
10 विद्याप्रदम्	2859-2965	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
11 अक्षयज्ञानम्	2966-2973	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
12 अक्षयज्ञानम्	2974-2977	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
13 अक्षयज्ञानम्	2978-3028	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
14 अक्षयज्ञानम्	3027-3028	नामवृक्षाष्टकस्य च ।
15 योग	43,2 4496	पुराणभ्यो योगशास्त्रस्य च ।

VERSES ASCRIBED TO MORE THAN TWO AUTHORS

3717-18 एते भारतवर्षकविर्भवन् ।

Verses which are anonymous or of doubtful authorship have been let out of this paper

MISCELLANEA

BHĀNUDATTA AND A VERSE ASCRIBED TO HIM

BY

V RAGHAVAN M A, Ph D

In his comment on Dr Haradatta Sarma's article on Bhanukara in the *Annals of the B O R* Vol XVII Pt 131 Dr S K De says —but one should take very cautiously the evidence supplied by anthological compilations" (P 218) Pace Dr H D Sarma who replies on page 258 one has still to agree with Dr S K De regarding the general unreliability of the evidence of anthologies. An anthology should be the last evidence any careful research should call in. And if the anthology should be late it is to be neglected rather than considered in problems of authorial identifications. I shall cite an instance from Dr H D Sarma's article itself. On pp 256-8 Dr H D Sarma has collected the yet unpublished verses of Bhanudatta or Bhanukara extracted in some anthologies. At the end of p 257 of the article we find the anthology *Rasikajivana* ascribing to Bhanukara the verse—

पञ्चा मृत्तास्तरलगतय सञ्चिता लाचनाभ्यां
 शोणीभागर-वजति तद्गता सेवते मध्यभाग ।
 पत्ने चहृ कु[क]चसचिप्यतामङ्गितिव्यनास्य
 त्वद्वात्राणा उणाषिनिमय कल्पितो यौवनेन ॥

This is a well-known verse. Though *Madhyabhāga*' may explain *Sronibhāga* as the correct reading the reading *Sronibandha* is also available. Line two is often found as line one. Further *Cakus* in line three is a mistake for *Vaksas*' and consequently the correction of *Kuca*' into *Kaca*' is unnecessary. *Advitiyastvam asyam*' is also read as '*Advitiyam tu vaktram*'.

Who will take it in if the *Rasikajivana* says that Bhanudatta is the author of this verse? It is a verse of *Rajasekhara* occur

ring in his unfinished drama *Belabharata* *obas* *Pracandapandava* Act I Sl 28. See *Kavyamala* 4 p 7 where *Sronibandha* etc ' forms the first line and *Padbhyam* etc ' the second. The correct reading of line three 'Vaksas' and *Kusa* is given there. See also p 10 C Capeller's Edn where line three reads correctly as in the K M Edn but lines one and two are given as found in the *Rasikapriya*. The *Saduktikarnamra* of *Sridharadasa* edited by Dr H D Sarma himself, gives this as a verse of *Rajasekhara*, on p 69 (Here *Sronibandham* and *Tadgātranam* for *Tadgafranam*)

According to some commentators on the *Kavyaprakasa* and other writers also like *Appayya* and *Jagannatha* this verse is quoted in the *Kavyaprakasa* as an illustration of the figure *Paryaya* in ch X. See *Vidyacakravartin* and *Bhattagopala*, T S S Edn K Pra part II p 361. But the *Pradipa* and some other commentaries have a text of the *Kavyaprakasa* without this verse. For the rejection of this verse see p 844 com *Vamanacarya*'s Edn of the K Pra and for its retention see p 63 *Rucaka*'s *Kavyaprakasa-sanketa* and notes on that page edn K *Chattopadhyaya* *Calcutta Oriental Journal*

REVIEWS

RAJATARANGINĪ (The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir),
Translated from the Original Sanskrit of Kalhana and
entitled the River of Kings with an Introduction,
Annotations Appendices Index etc by Ranajit Sitaram
Pandit Anand Bhawan Allahabad 1935 Printed by the
Indian Press pp XXXV+645+21 Plates Size 9 in x 12
in Price Rs 18/-

An English historian¹ of the Maratha period of Indian History criticizes the Persian authorities on Maratha history with the remark "in a history composed in verse something will be sacrificed to measure and much to rhyme". To a certain extent this remark is applicable to many of the historical *Kāvyas* of Sanskrit literature. But the case of the *Rajatarangini* stands on a somewhat different footing and this fact has been admitted by such a distinguished scholar and explorer as Sir Aurel Stein who published in 1892 his first critical edition of the *Rajatarangini* and translated the work into English in 1900. He observes — "it is reassuring to find Kalhana fully alive to the value of *historical impartiality*". Dr Stein rightly brings to our notice the judicial attitude adopted by Kalhana in his work as a narrator of historical events. This attitude is expressly indicated by the poet-historian in a verse² translated by Mr Pandit as follows —

That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language
like that of a judge in recounting the events of the past has dis-
carded bias as well as prejudice."

As regards the sources of history utilised by Kalhana Dr Stein has already pointed out that Kalhana reviews in his work

¹ Edward Booth Waring *History of the Marathas* London 1810 Preface p X

² This verse is vol. 67 of *Trist* inraaga and reads as follows —

श्राव्यः स एव गुणसागरप्रपङ्क्तिरुता ।
सुवर्णरूपेण यस्य लेखयेत् सग्वती ॥५॥"

many earlier chronicles.¹ Modern historians lay great stress on inscriptional evidences in dealing with historical questions and Kalhana is not behind them in making use of inscriptions and other original records for he states² that he has overcome the trouble arising from many errors by the inspection of ordinances of former kings, religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records.³ In spite of these good points in favour of Kalhana his critical horizon was necessarily limited if we judge his work by the modern standards of historical criticism. Such an attempt has been already made by Dr Stein in his elaborate Introduction to the English Translation⁴ of the *Rajatarangini*. But as Mr Pandit observes⁵ the *Rajatarangini* is both a history and a poem and these two perhaps go ill together. We must therefore judge Kalhana by the standards of inductive criticism and not haul him up for cross examination before the full bench of bi-wigs of modern history. It would be equally inappropriate to discard the cultural value of Kalhana's work on the ground that it is "a story of the kings and the royal families and nobility, not of the common folk" (Foreward by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, p. xi). To judge everything old by everything up-to-date is a standard of value which sets too much value on everything modern. This standard when applied to the works now considered perfect after a period of a thousand years is sure to turn the tables against those who judge ancient works by standards of value evolved by trial and error through centuries. The *up to date* theories of the present are bound to be *out of date* in the immediate future and those who live in the Ocean of Eternity cannot afford to laugh or even smile at Kalhana's River of Kings. We agree entirely with the Translator when he observes (p. XXVII) — Kalhana wrote centuries before the Industrial Revolution and Technocracy, before even the

¹ Stein, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (Eng. Tran.) V | I 1900 p. 64

² *Ibid.* Chap. I verse 15—

इतिमं पुस्तकं सर्वविद्यालयानुगतमे ।

महाविद्यालये हारिषेय द्वा विद्यालयसङ्गमे ॥ १ ॥”

³ *Rajatarangini* (Eng. Tran.) 1900 pages 1 to 11

⁴ Foreward, p. 1.

invention of gun-powder and the printing press. Life was not complicated as it is now and the problems of government not so complex although his contemporary rulers found them difficult enough. He had not heard of the advocacy of the rights of man nor the denunciation of monarchy but he says many things about them in the strictures and caricatures of kings and priests, their morals and methods. He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state and it is certain he had not known want and had never worked for a living. But his heart goes out to the poor and down-trodden, he reveals his sympathy for the underdog, denounces forced labour and expresses his horror of the slave trade of the Mlecchas (Barbarians). As a historian his tendency is however towards humanistic studies and towards art rather than towards economic life although descriptions of famine, food prices, taxation, currency and other details of economic life are not lacking in his work.

The foregoing estimate of Kalhana's achievements and criticism of life as stood exposed to his searching gaze as a poet-historian is quite balanced and reveals the Translator's sympathetic understanding of the basis of Indian culture and history. The translator has preferred 'a literal rendering sometimes even at the cost of grace of language' and we heartily join with the writer of the *Foreword* when he states that the Translator 'has chosen rightly for in a work of this kind exactitude is necessary'. The volume under review contains besides the English translation (1) *Translator's Note* (pp. XIV-XVIII) which sums up briefly the history of the *Rajatarangini* since its composition by Kalhana (1148-1150 A. D.) and the method followed by the Translator in translating the work (2) *The Introduction* (pp. XIX-XXXV) which is a critical introduction to the volume dealing with numerous aspects of the contents of the *Rajatarangini* in a general way and their evaluation in the light of modern knowledge (3) *Appendices A to K* dealing with much historical matter having a direct bearing on the contents of the *Rajatarangini* and last but not least, (4) *A Bibliography*, a good *Index* and *21 Plates* of historical and archaeological value. All these useful features of the present volume when coupled with excellent printing and

simple but sumptuous get up make it indispensable to every student of Indian history and Sanskrit Literature. The price at which the volume is offered by the publishers is also very modest looking to the costly printing and excellent exterior of the book. We congratulate the Translator-Editor, the Publishers and the Printers on the production of this fine volume which is bound to stimulate the interest of the new generation of Indologists throughout the world.

P. K. Gode

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES OF "THE FIRST INDIAN CULTURAL CONFERENCE" (Organised by the Indian Research Institute Calcutta) Pub. by S. C. Seal M. A. B. L., Hon. General Secretary, 170 Manikata Street, Calcutta, 1936. Pages 56. Price Rs. 1.5 (Foreign 2/6). *Contents*—Preface (pp. 1-2). Proceedings of the Conference from 10th to 13th April, 1936 (pp. 3-18). Summaries of Papers (pp. 1-20). Addresses (pp. 1-56).

Title of Papers Summarised—I—Vedic Section (1) *Dispensation of Gods or Yajñas* in *Tis* by Mrs. Vanamala Bhawalkar; (2) *Authorship of the Vedas* by B. R. Karyak; (3) *Orta system as found in the Rgveda* by Madhavadas; (4) *Winteritz and Rajawalkari on the Integrity of the Rgvedasamhitā* by Kshetreschandra Chatterjya; (5) *Rgveda Orthodoxy* by Bala Krishna Ghosh; (6) *Padapāṭha of the Sixth Mandala of the Rgveda* by Mandak Patel.

II—Philosophy Section—(1) *Logic and Philosophy of the Bengali Vaisnavism* by S. K. De; (2) *Concept of Definition in Vedānta* by I. Nagaraja Rao; (3) *Prasānta and its Scheme in Advaita Epistemology* by P. Nagaraja Rao; (4) *Fundamental Ideas of Indian Suffer* by Enamal Hug; (5) *Conception of Avidyā in Vedānta Philosophy* by Sathari Mukerji; (6) *A Study of Bhartṛhari's Philosophy* by Goura Nath Bhatnagar.

III—Sanskrit Section—(1) *An Adhvāya of Taittiriya commentary on the Rikavāṅgīra interpreted with meanings of Text words in the Old Original Language* by P. K. Gode; (2) *A Note on the Śābharīya* by Mahanlal Mukerji; (3) *Use and Abuse of Atāhikāra in*

Sanskrit Literature by V Raghavan (4) *Our Present Phase in Purāna* by R C Hasia (5) *Study of Maa* by Chintaharan Chakravarti (6) *Lakṣmī in the Abhinavabhāratī*—its bearing on the respective *Chronology of Kuntala and Abhinavagupta* by P C Jathi (7) *Greatness of Saṅkṛit* by K Sundararam Aiyar (8) *Origin of Music* by M S Ramaswami Aiyar

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V—*Buddhist Section*—(1) *Dharma Samuccaya* by B M Barua (2) *Family Life in Pre-Buddhist days* by Ratilal Mehta (3) *Abhayāhara-Gupta* by N N Dasgupta, (4) *Rebirth and Omniscience in Pali Buddhism* (5) *Prof L V Pocson on Sākya Vanam* by Sten Konow

VI—*Jain Section*—(1) *Predecessors of Tirthankara Mahāvira* by K P Jain, (2) *Doctrines of Relativity in Jain Metaphysics* by Saikar Mookerji (3) *Jainism—its Metaphysics and Ethics* by R O Ghose (4) *A Study in Proto-Jainism* by A K Sur

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We have given the above list of papers submitted to the Indian Cultural Conference to acquaint the readers of the Annals with this new activity of the Indian Research Institute Calcutta which is designed with a view to furnish an occasion for an annual work taking of the results achieved so far in different parts of the globe by the assiduous ethnologists in their efforts to resuscitate the magnificent religio-cultural heritage of India. The venue of the conference will be Calcutta and the conference will hence forward meet in the winter season. The conference is not meant to create a rival to other Oriental Conferences.

P K Gode

SĀRADĀTIIĀKĀ of Lakṣmanadeśikendra with the Commentaries *Paṭarībhāṣya* of Paṅgabhaṭṭa (Kāśī Sanskrit Series No 107) Pub by Jyotirmūladas Haridas Gupta Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office Benares city 1934 pp 55. Price Rs 5/-

Before an authoritative history of Tantra Literature comes to be written the publication of all important Tantric texts is an indispensable preliminary and the edition of the Saradātīkā under notice closely printed and cheaply priced as it is goes a great way in that direction. Raghavabhaṭṭa's commentary replete

with references to earlier Tantric treatises supplies to a critical student that veritable mine of literary strata which if unearthed would lead to new lines of historical investigation in the field of Tantra literature and its chronology. We have proved elsewhere¹ that our commentator is identical with the commentator of the same name whose commentary on the Sakuntala and other works have been much exploited by the modern annotators as Raghavabhatta is a literary connoisseur *par excellence*. As the colophon to the present edition tells us, he was a Maharashtra Brahmin his family having migrated from Nasik to Benares and he was trained at Benares in different branches of learning the present commentary being a fine specimen of his deep erudition and vast learning even in a special branch of learning like the Tantra literature.

This commentary was completed in Samvat 1550 (= A. D. 1494) i. e. about 443 years ago. His grandfather was Rameśvara and his father was Prthivīdhruvabhatta who migrated from Nasik to Benares and lived there till his death having attained proficiency in the different sciences. Raghavabhatta of such an illustrious parentage being brought up in the creative literary atmosphere of the time-hallowed Benares the seat of learning even to this day naturally flashed forth into the domain of commentarial literature and contributed his quota to it in a remarkable way.

The volume under review is marked 'Tantra Śāstra Section No 1' and hence we presume that many more volumes in this Tantra section are contemplated by the publishers. We congratulate the publishers on the successful commencement of this new section which in course of time is bound to give a new impetus to the study of this mistakenly underrated field of literature.

P. K. Goda.

¹ *Calcutta Oriental Journal* March 1936

THE KATĪA UPANISAD (Death's Teaching on Immortality)

An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God—
By J. N. RAWSON—Oxford University Press—Calcutta
Association Press 1934 Price Rs 7/8/- net—xviii 212
Carey Centenary Volume

Professor Rawson of the Serampore College is to be congratulated on what he called an original contribution to the study of the Upanisads and in particular that poetic and highly philosophical work the *Katīa Upanisad*. The volume is intended to commemorate the passing away of the founder of the Serampore College WILLIAM CAREY and as such is a very fitting contribution to Oriental Literature. The sub-title of the work is 'An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny' and clearly explains the object and scope of the book. For all the ancient Upanisads the *Katīa* alone deals systematically for the first time with the problem of God and Man.

The book is divided into three sections. The first part is the Introduction which is subdivided into two sections, one for the general reader explaining the scope of the work and the other the general introduction describing the nature and classification of the Upanisads in the Vedic literature, their date and the history of their philosophy. At the end of this general introduction there is a special introduction to the *Katīa Upanisad* discussing the question of its school and place of composition, its integrity and date and its relationship with other Vedantic and Vedic works. The author places the work to a period ranging from the 5th to the 3rd century B. C. The earliest part of *Katīa*, viz. chapter I is definitely placed between 500 and 550 B. C. while the *Gīta* is placed about 200 B. C. While it is possible to differ from the author in these vexed questions of date, it should be mentioned that he has presented all the other current views on the topic in a critical spirit and any difference on these questions does not take away from the value of the general observations.

Before proceeding to the Upanisad translation and commentary Prof. Rawson has wisely given the argument of the *Katīa*

in order to make an understanding of the subsequent portion easier. The method adopted is as follows: first the text is given in Devanagari characters followed by a transliterated text and the translation which attempts as far as possible to reproduce the original music of the Upaniṣad. Then follows the author's commentary on the verse which discusses not only individual words but also the ideas and implication based on such words and on the passages as a whole. In the course of these comments the opinions of the Acaṅkya like Sankara and Ramanuja are cited critically. The author covers the entire Upaniṣadic literature (so far as the principal ones are concerned).

The aim of the author is to present the origin of the doctrine of God and Human Destiny in relationship to Him. In this he has admirably succeeded. He shows that the Katha teaches "the mystery and wonder of the Supreme Being" (p. 38) and the necessity for a *guru* to unfold the Self within not by mere intellectual methods but by direct vision. In fact the author could have further demonstrated that this Self or Inner Being is really the *Sadguru* in the final analysis and the outer *guru* is but an instrument in those divine Hands.

Towards the end there are five appendices. The first gives the Paṭisṛīya Śākhya version of the Naṅdiketa legend the second and perhaps the most instructive deals with the parable of the Chariot as occurring in R̥gveda I 164 At̥ Ā: II 111; Chāgaleya Upaniṣad; Dharmapada; Milinda-pañha and the Maṅgla. The third deals with the practice of Yoga in the Sveta-svatara and the Gīta. The last two are in the form of notes. There is a very useful index, just as there is a full bibliography of works cited or otherwise used in the preparation of the edition.

In the author's own summing up is the quintessence of the Katha: "So today the same message comes to India's youth as came to Naṅdiketa: Arise awake! Obtain your boons and understand — the boon of the knowledge of God promised to those who truly seek: no philosophic abstraction but Soul of our soul, our Creator, Redeemer and Sustainer, the boon of the knowledge of ourselves, utterly weak and unworthy if we live in selfish isolation, yet sons of God of infinite worth and unmeasured potency if yoked in communion with Divine wisdom."

and power and the boon of service of the privilege of using all the powers of our being raised to their highest through communion with Him in His service through the service of our fellowmen

Thus the book at once scholarly and deeply mystical treated in its proper length without going away from the main issues and quite original in its method deserves a place on the book shelf of every person interested in true spiritual growth in particular and Indian Philosophy in general

S M Katre

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1937**

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AND

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[PART II

THE FORMATION OF KONKANI

BY

S M KATRE M A Ph D (London)

INTRODUCTION

§ 1 I propose to deal in this sketch with the origin and development of the Konkani language as represented by some of its principal dialects. In my Comparative Glossary of Konkani¹ I have attempted a study of nearly twenty dialects materials for all of which are available in a varying degree. But in the present sketch I shall limit myself to the following six dialects which beside being representative provide rich material in the form of grammars, dictionaries, glossaries and contemporary literature. These dialects are

a Konkani spoken by the Kanara or Chitrapur Sarasvats

g K spoken by the Gauda Sarasvats

g K of the Goa Hindus represented particularly in the writings of Mr Valavakar and in the Quarterly Journal *Nova Gôy* published by the Gomantak Press in Bombay

x K of the Christians of Mangalore and South Kanara

nx K of the Christians of North Kanara

¹ See the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* vol II no 18 wherein the Glossary is appearing serially

gx K of the Christians of Goa

Thus we have here three representative Hindu and three Christian dialects of Konkani which are principally dealt with, where necessary I have made reference to the other dialects also and the abbreviations will be indicated in the appropriate places

§ 2 In the writing of this study I have constantly referred to the following works

A *ON KONKANI*

(i) Grammars

- 1 *A Konkani Grammar* by Father Angelus Francois Xavier Maffei, Mangalore, 1882
- 2 *Elementos Gramaticos da Lengua Concani*, pelo Obnago José de S Rita E Souza, Lisboa 1929
- 3 *Grammatica da Lengua Concan*, composto pelo Padre Thomas Rotevão, segunda impressão, Nova Goa, 1857
- 4 *Gramatica da Lengua Concani*, by Mr V G Rangel, 1933

(ii) Dictionaries

- 1 *Diccionario Portuguez-Concani*, composto por um Mtesorario Italiano, Nova Goa, 1868
- 2 *Diccionario Konkani-Portuguez*, pelo Monsenhor Sebastião R Dalgado, Bombay 1893
- 3 *Diccionario Portuguez-Konkani*, by Mgr Dalgado, Bombay 1905
- 4 *English-Konkani & Konkani English Dictionary* by Father A F X Maffei, Mangalore, 1883
- 5 *An Etymological Glossary of Southern Konkani, part I*, by H Narayan Rao, B A, B L, Bombay 1917
- 6 *Furtadacho Novo Concani-Ingles Diccionar*, Bombay 1930
- 7 *A Dictionary of Concanum into English*, by A O José Francisco, Bombay 1916
- 8 *A Comparative Glossary of Konkani*, by S M Katre, published serially in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. II seq

(iii) Literature

- 1 Mr Valavilkar's writing such as *Konkani Bhasha* *Jati* etc
- 2 Dr Chavan *Konkani Janmagata* Bombay 1924 *Konkani Proverbs* Bombay 1926
- 3 Rao Bahdur S S Talmaki *Konkani Proverbs* Bombay 1933 1936
- 4 *Nati Goy* Quarterly Journal in gK published by the Gomantsak Press Bombay
- 5 S M Katis *Konkani Phonetics* Calcutta University 1935
- 6 Dr Santana Rodrigues *The Origin of Konkani Language* Coimbra 1929

B ON ALLIED LANGUAGES

- 1 Meillet *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-eur. orientales* Paris 1934 (7th ed)
- 2 Jules Bloch *La formation de la langue marathe* Paris 1926 and *L'indo aryan du Veda aux temps modernes* Paris 1934
- 3 S K Chatterji *Origin and Development of Bangali*, Calcutta 1926
- 4 Banarsi Das Jain *Phonology of Punjab* Lahore 1934
- 5 R L Turner *A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Nepali*—(of capital importance for Indo-Aryan Linguistics) London, 1931 and *Gujarati Phonology* in JRAS 1921
- 6 *The Wilson Philological Lectures*, delivered by (a) Sir R G Bhandarkar and (b) Prof N B Divatia
- 7 *Linguistic Survey of India* vol VII 1905
- 8 Wackernagel *Altindische Grammatik* I II-1 III 1896-1930

The other sources will be referred to in their proper places

§ 3 This study is divided into three parts Phonology Morphology and Syntax The fourth and concluding part will

deal with the position of Konkani in Indo-Aryan and the various historical and other details available from different sources for a proper evaluation of the development of Konkani and its breaking up into a number of dialects. In this terminal essay I shall also deal with the influences at work in Konkani and give a detailed description of all the dialects.

As the subject of the growth and development of these dialects is dealt with here for the first time with some degree of scientific accuracy by the application of the canons of modern linguistics, it will be of some use to the serious student of General as well as Indo-Aryan Linguistics in that Konkani is pre-eminently fit to illustrate the case of a non-literary language, which has kept its unique characteristics through the passage of centuries.

The lack of authoritative pronouncing dictionaries for the different dialects has been a great handicap to me in as much as no two dictionaries agree in a common orthography. But I have surmounted most of these difficulties by verifying the pronunciation of all such words. I am advisedly using the Roman transcription in preference to others as more convenient and logical, besides being useful to General Linguists.

§ 4 For a general description of Indo-Aryan languages reference may be made to Prof Jules Bloch's *L'indo-aryen*,¹ where he deals separately with the three stages through Vedic and Sanskrit to Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, literary and inscriptions) Prakrits and Apabhramsas) and the modern vernaculars of Northern India. The relationship of Konkani to the other vernaculars of Northern India will be considered in the terminal essay. It will be sufficient to mention here that Konkani belongs to the same group which includes Marāṭhī and shows clear affinities with Gujarātī also.

PART I PHONOLOGY

§ 5 Konkani possesses the following sounds, a description of which is given in my Konkani Phonetics.

Vowels: a, ā, e, i, u, ī, ē, o, ō, ṛ, ṝ

Consonants: k, kh, g, gh, c, č, j, ĵ, ch, čh, jh, ĵh, ñ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, s, h, l, (r)

¹ See also his "La langue marāṭhī" pp 1-26

VOWELS

§ 6 It will be seen from the above that Konkani possesses the vowels $a : u$ short and long as well as $e o$ which are also short and long but not indicated in the Devanagari orthography as such. For actual pronunciation of these vowels see *Konkani Phonetics* §§ 33-40.

The primitive Indo-Aryan (PI-A) diphthongs were already lost in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MI-A) stage and they have come down as $e o$ or u in Konkani (K) but new diphthongs of recent origin have come into being due to the dropping of single intervocalic consonants in MI-A where the *schwa* vowel i did not combine with the preceding or following vowel but did so in the New Indo-Aryan (NI-A) stage. Though i is really [O] and as such the equivalent of o I have retained this symbol for the sake of a special discussion (see §§ 32-45).

TREATMENT OF R VOWEL

§ 7 In my paper on the treatment of R in Pali¹ I have already mentioned that r of Sanskrit (Sk) was represented by a, u, ra, re, ru or $rū$ in Pali. This breaking up of r (as well as l) evident even in certain isolated forms in the Rgveda was completed in MI-A, except in certain borrowed words and in NI-A $a : u$ represent this Sk r besides the corresponding Sk vowels. These three treatments are generally found side by side in all NI-A languages. By an examination of the development of this vowel in Aśokan inscriptions Prof Jules Bloch has come to the conclusion that $r > a$ is the usual treatment in the south-west and $r > u$ in the north and east². The predominant treatment in Panjabi is thus $r > i$ ³.

§ 8 $bk r > K a$ s *kaśi* x *kaśi* (*kṣ*-) agriculture cultivation s *ghṛtīka* (*ghṛtī-*) to churn s *ge tana* (*tṛṣa-*) grass s *ge tāna* g *tāna* (*tṛṣnā*) desire thirst gx *asval* (*iḥṣa-*) bear, s *ge māc ika* (*vītyati*) to dance x *pāti* gx *pāt* g *pāti*, s *ge pāti* (*prīṣṭhā-*) the back s *ge maḍe* (*mṛtaka-*) corpse s *ge māṭis* g x *gx māṭis* (*mṛtikā*) earth s *ge vāḍi* (*vādhā-*) growth, interest s *ge saḍḍu* x *vaḍḍi* (of **śiṭhira-* Sk *tikhā*-and root *śraṭh-*) loose s *sannāḷi* x *sāṅkaḷ* (*śrīṅhāḷa*) chain fetter

¹ ABORI vol XVI pp 189-201

² *La langue marathe* § 31

³ Jain § 95

§ 9 Sk \int K ϵ s ge *rma* (*ṛmā-*) debt, s ge *distā* (*dr̥syāte*) appears, seems, s *distā*, ge *distā*, x *dist* (*d̥iṣṭi-*) sight, s *taccu*, ge *vāṭṭu*, gx *māṭṭu* (*vīṣṭika-*) scorpion, s *kasā* (*k̥ṣā-*) proper name, s ge *māṭṭā* (*m̥ṣṭā-*) sweetmeat s ge *śiṅga* x *śiṅga* (*śiṅga-*) horn

§ 10 Sk ϵ \int K μ gi *kaupā*, x *kaupā* (*k̥aupā*) p ty, compassion, ge *pāṣu*, x gx *pāṣu* (*p̥āṣa-*) rainy season, rains, s ge *māṭṭu*, x *mos* (*m̥ṣā*) deception (of Kanarese *mosa*, der fr Sk), gx *gusohi* (*gh̥iṣ-*) to enter, s *kuttanu* (*k̥ṣṭā-*) proper name, s *humgā* (**siṅghā*) smells

§ 11 It will be clear from the above that in Konkani the normal change ϵ \int a. The explanation of the third treatment (except in the case of s ge *māṭṭi*, x *māṭṭi*) is that due to the presence of a labial element in the neighbourhood ϵ is changed to μ . The variations in the treatment of ϵ are found in all I-A languages and are due not only to phonetic influences but also to borrowing from the central dialects¹

§ 12 That the vowels a, i, u represent normally the corresponding Sk sounds will be clear from the following examples

A K \bar{a} \angle Sk \bar{a} s *agaṣu* bar, latch, *aggaṣu* nx *agvaṣ*, sv *āroḥ*, *aggaḥ* (*agra-śalaya-*) hraid of hair, tress, s ge *agvaṣṭe*, x *āgvaḥ* nx *āgṭe* (*agnishikā*) braziers, s ge *attigā* (*attānikā*) wall plank used as doopetery, x nx gx g *āḥ*, s ge *āḥ* (*adyā-*) today, s ge *āḥṭu* (*āḥṭa-*) taboo, nx *āghāḥ* (*āghāḥ-*) a plant, s ge *āḥṭo*, x nx gx *āḥo* (*āḥa-*) grandfather, s ge *kaṣṭā* (*k̥āḥi*), *māṣṭā* (*m̥āḥyā*), *gaḥ* (*gāḥ-*), *kāṣu* (*k̥āḥa-*), etc

B K ϵ \angle Sk ϵ s ge x gx nx *imḥo* (*im̥ḥa-*) live coal, x gx *imḥ*, s ge *hiḥḥu* (*hiḥḥa-*) flock, gx *imḥo*, *imḥḥo* (*himḥḥa*) hammoak, gx *iv* (*himḥ-*) cold, s ge *vḥu*, gx, *vḥ* (*v̥ḥyāte*) light ning, nx *iv*, s ge *ivḥḥā* (*iv̥ḥḥā*) brick, s ge *vḥḥā* (*iv̥ḥḥyāte*) is cooked etc

O K \bar{u} \angle Sk \bar{u} s ge *udḥā*, x *udḥ* (*ud̥ḥa-*) water, s ge *mudḥ*, x nx gx *mudḥ* (*mud̥ḥā*) ring, ts *umḥḥu* (*umḥḥa-*) rat, etc, s ge *mūḥā*, x nx gx *mūḥ* (*mūḥa*) wine, s ge *śūḥā* (*śūḥa-*) string, etc

¹ In language marathi, § 31

§ 13 PI-A differed from MI-A in that it admitted of a greater variety of sounds (including γ l as an n $\#$) and combination of consonants beside its comparative richness in morphology. Besides the changes in the above mentioned vowels, MI-A had affected primarily a change in the conjunct consonants through the general principle of assimilation and reduced them to double consonants and in the case of original single intervocalic consonants reduced them (from unvoiced to voiced and from voiced to spirant and as) according to the development of the particular dialect concerned. Thus $-t-$ and $-th-$ were reduced to $-d-$ and $-dh-$ in Saurashtra but were completely reduced by loss of occlusion giving $-A-$ in the aspirated consonant only in Maharashtra. With the loss of these intervocalic consonants the *udatta* vowel came into contact with the preceding or following vowel without combining with it. But when we come down to the NI-A stage we find further changes¹ affecting even the PI-A and MI-A vowels which are the least affected sounds in I-A. Excepting the loss of PI-A γ l as an all the vowels have preserved their quality and quantity with very few exceptions in MI-A but when followed by a closed syllable the long vowels have become short except in NW Prakrits.² After the literary Apabhramsa stage vowels in unaccented syllables have undergone fundamental changes.

§ 14 This naturally leads us to the question of accent. In Vedic the accent was mainly musical but whether there was in addition a stress accent is open to doubt in view of the Hindu Grammarians' silence about it. In the explanation of certain Pk forms Pischel ascribed to the musical accent functions similar to those of the stress accent. Criverson and Jacobi on the other hand assumed a stress accent to explain the vowel changes.³ Whatever may have been the state of affairs in PI-A and MI-A it is convenient to consider the syllabic prominence of a word or its quantitative rhythm in the study of the regular changes of quantity or even quality in Konkani as in Marathi or Panjabi.⁴ This

¹ T. Michelson JAOI vol XXVI p 232

² Jain § 10 Pischel §§ 141-147

³ Jain p 8 for a further discussion on accent see *La langue marathe*

§§ 88 seq Jain §§ 10 12

syllabic prominence is characterised by three factors, viz., length, pitch and stress. The change will naturally depend upon the position of the vowel in the word, whether it is final, penultimate or prepenultimate: i.e. whether it is in accented or unaccented syllables.

A FINAL VOWELS

§ 15. Already in MI-A the final consonants of Pf-A had dropped out with the result that all words ended only in vowels, reducing even the different classes of noun and verb inflexions to the standard type with a few exceptions only. Thus MI-A knows only words ending in vowels, even here there was a tendency to reduce the final long vowels, though not to a very pronounced degree. Even in Sk in the forms *yātrā*, *tatā*, etc. the vowel has been reduced from the Vedic stage and come down only as *yātrā*, *tatrā*, etc. Some of these reductions have been attributed to contamination or analogy. At the time of the literary Apabhramśa stage the final *o* of the nom. sg. of masculine nouns ending in *-a* tends to become more and more *-u*, though not universally. Similarly *-e* and *-o* have been reduced to *-i* and *-u* respectively in the fragments of Dutreuil de Rhins.¹ This tendency only emphasises the fact that the final vowels in MI-A were pronounced with very little accent and in course of time were lost in NI-A.

In almost all NI-A languages this final vowel was lost, the sole exceptions being Bihari, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Singalese and some of the dialects of Konkani (see §§ 17-ff.) The northern group of Konkani dialects following in the footsteps of other NI-A languages, drop the final vowel.

§ 16 a.) MI-A *-a* and *-am* (final) are lost in *gx nx g ā* (*adyā s gē ān*) today, *gx ās* (*hāhā-*) a diake, *nx āo* (*āmā-*) mucous, *n gx āt nx ālā* (*usā-*) eight (but *s gē ālā*), *gx nx g lāl* (*lāyā-*) yesterday (but *s gē lāl*), *gx g pāy, pāv* (*pāda-* *s gē pāyā, pāvā*) meaning respectively the foot and a measure of weight, *gx g nx lāl* (*tākrām s gē lālā*) buttermilk, *gx mōnus, mānus* (*mānusā-*) man, *gx mōn, g mān* (*mānas manim, s gē mānā*) mind.

¹ *La langue marathe*, § 37.

ages. But *s* and *g*s end to some extent *x* and the southern most dialect of Konkani spoken in Cochin have preserved this vowel. Now the whole of the Konkani territory was under the influence of Calukya and Yadava rule from the 6th to about the 14th century, A. D., and consequently we may expect to find Dravidian traces in the Indo-Aryan languages which developed from MI-A to NI-A within this region. The only point in this connection is the consideration of an alternative hypothesis: (i) the final vowel of MI-A is retained, or (ii) a new vowel has developed after the final vowel once disappeared.

The Rev. Dr. Caldwell's remark: "Short *u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest, and is largely used, especially at the end of words, for euphonic purposes, or as a help to enunciation." Thus in grammatical and literary Telugu every word without exception ends in a vowel as in modern Canarese. But in old Canarese and Tamil an *u* is added only after the surds *k*, *c*, *t*, *p* or *v*, but this *-u* is so short that the grammarians consider it equal to half of short *u*, and it is even mistaken for a short *a* both of which in these circumstances are written as *u* and *ə*. In Malayalam this sound is still more short as not to be written at all or if written indicated by the short circle above.

If we accept the second alternative and hold that *s*, *g*s, *x* and *c*, after the dropping of MI-A final vowels, as in *na*, *gx*, and *g* followed the mode set by these Dravidian languages, we shall have to fix the period of these new developments from the 16th century A. D. downwards, for it was in consequence of the Portuguese persecution which commenced on 30th June 1541 and continued unabated for over six decades, that a general exodus of the Brahmins of Goa took place, and they sped southwards, first overrunning North Kanara and then South Kanara and even Cochin, although there had been sporadic emigration long before this time. But against this we should consider the forms like *devo*, *bhavo*, *mānu*, *ritu*, *bhoiv* *śābhāṅṅṅṅ*, etc. quoted by Padre Thomas Estevão.² These forms prove beyond doubt that even in this period the Konkani of the Goa Brahmins preserved

¹ *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* 3rd ed. 1913, p. 134.

² *Grammatica da Lingua Concani*, 2nd ed. 1857, 1st ed. 1640, §§ 23, 24.

the final vowels of MI-A and consequently the loss occurred at a much later date so far as K dialects were concerned. We are thus restricted to the first alternative that when *s* *gs* and *x* separated from the Gox stock the final vowel was still pronounced and it was only subsequent to this separation that the northern dialect *g* *gx* and *nx* lost this vowel. This theory then limits the Dravidian influence only to the retention of the MI-A vowels of the Aphoramsa stage and not to their introduction after they were once lost.

§ 18 *s* *gs* and *τ* have two series of words deriving from Sk nouns ending in *-a* the masculine and the neuter the masculine ends in *-u* and the neuter in *-a* and this applies not only to inherited words but also to learned borrowings.

Examples 1) Masc *s* *gs* *pāya* *paṇu* (*pādaḥ* Pa *pādu*) *phāṭṭeru* or *phāṭṭaru* (*paśārah* Pa Pk *paṭṭarā*) *ṣ* stone *uḥṭeru* (*uṣāṭṭrah*) peacock *ṭāṇṭi* (*ṭāṇṭah*) ear *devo* (*devah*) *vāṇu* (*vāṇah*) *kāṭu* (*ṭāḥ*), etc. Now in the example Sk *paśārah* Pk Pa *paṭṭarā* Ap *paṭṭaru* *s* *gs* *phāṭṭeru* the final *u* is seen affecting even the penultimate *-a-* and changing it to *-ō-* or *-a-* depending upon the number as seen even in *g* *gx* *phātor* (sg) and *phāṭar* (pl). The forms *devo* *ḍhevo* etc given by Father Stephens are to be similarly explained the *-o* being retained and not reduced to *-u* due to the presence of the bilabial *v*.

2) Neuter *s* *gs* *phata* (*phalam*), *kāṅṅala* (*kāṅṅalam*) *manā* (*manas* Pk *manam*) *tonḍa* (*tonḍam*) *piṅḍa* (*piṅḍah* but neut in K) *kāṇṇa* (*kāṇṇas* Pa *kāṇṇam*) besides *kāṇṇa* *ghara* (MI-A *gharam* through Sk *gṛha*) etc.

That *s* *gs* etc have not been directly influenced by Kanarese is illustrated by the following examples *kāḍa* (Can *kāḍu*) forest *māḍa* (Can *māḍu*) roof etc. All neuter nouns thus end in *-a-* (with a few exceptions dealt with later on) which are derived from Sk nouns in *-a-* or from Dravidian.

§ 19 Another case of such retention but with reduction of quantity is of feminine nouns in MI-A *-a-* *s* *gs* *vāṭa* (*vāṭias* Pk *vāṭā* f) quoted also by Father Stephens in his grammar § 36 as *vāṭṭ* where *ṭ* represents this short *a* and *-tt-* represents *-ṭ-* *vāṭṭa* (*vāṭṭā*) the nape of the neck, *ṭāḍa* (*ṭāḍā*) the tongue,

tāna (tānā) thirst, etc., *jāngra* (jāngḥā) the thigh, *āya* (āyā) abame

§ 20 As in other NI-A languages, Konkani has kept the final vowel in all learned borrowings, with the exception of some semi-learned words in *g* and *gx* *lāpḥānā* (quoted by Father Stephens, § 36), *mānuta*, *dayā*, *sri*, *nānūt*, etc. It will be clear from these examples that with the exception of Sk words ending in *-ā* (masculine) and *-u-* (masc fem or neut) the other words borrowed represent the unaltered final vowel. All MI-A words ending in *u* and coming down to K either as inherited or semi-learned words, are masculine, and therefore end in *u*, as *ma*, *ga*, *māḥu* (*mādhū māhu*)

B PENULTIMATE VOWELS

§ 21 Since the Prakrit stage the penultimate vowel has generally been preserved in Konkani as in other NI-A languages. But as Konkani has been principally a spoken language with very little literature, a secondary change has affected this vowel in certain cases, even in learned borrowings from Sanskrit or Prakrit (see § 22)

Examples *-ā* for *-a-* *s ga kapāta* x *kaiaḥ* (*kapāta-*), *s ge phūttara* (*prastarāh*) stones, slabs, *mānūlāḥa* (*maḥlāta-*) monkey, etc. It will be seen that the length of the vowel is liable to change, but not the quality. We find the short vowel also in such cases where it is derived from a short vowel followed by an original double or conjunct consonant x *saat*, *s ge saata* (*sapaata*) co-wife, x *ūas* (*blasya*) etc. Similarly the length is reduced in *x kaiaḥ* (*kapāta*), etc.

ḥ for *-i-* and *-u-* *nx bhāḥān* (*bhānī*), and in *ts s lāḥina*, *nx lāḥin* etc., *gx māḥuv*, *monuv* (*manuḥva-*) man *s ge lāḥina* x *gx nx loḥun* (*lāḥina-*) garlic, *s ge rūḥkūḥa*, x *gx rūḥkūḥ* (*lāḥita-*) wood, firewood, faggot, etc.

§ 22 Exceptions — In certain dialects, as a subsidiary change, the Sk and Pk penultimate *ie* altered over in pronunciation, with the result that in the existing forms it is completely lost. Corresponding to *nx bhāḥān* there is also the form *nx bhāḥān* and *gx bhāḥān* or *baḥān* and *s gx bhāḥān* (*lāḥān*),

in *nx* and *gx* the penultimate has been blurred over completely whereas in *g* *ge* it is lost but the final vowel is preserved. This tendency is seen even in *ta* *sama* (*is*) words, Sk *nahni* / *s* *ge* *nahni* or *nanni* (through assimilation) Sk *nāruṭi* / *s* *nāṭi* or *nāṭiṭi* (with accent)

§ 23 The penultimate syllable of MI-A has developed into the final vowel in Konkani as in Marathi (see *La langue marathe* § 44 ff) (1) either the penultimate was separated from the final vowel by a double consonant in which case the final MI-A vowel was lost as in *g* *gx* *nx* *hāth* (Sk *hastar-* Pk *hathar-* but *s* *ge* *hata*) hand or (2) the penultimate and final vowels came into contact due to an early loss of a single intervocalic consonant and coalesced in the NI-A stage. The first case holds good for the northern dialects only (as *g* *px* *nx* etc.) and the second for all. As pointed out above (§ 17 ff) *s* *ge* and to some extent *x* and *e* preserve the final MI-A vowel in case (1).

§ 24 In a certain number of polysyllabic words the penultimate vowel has undergone changes of quality which are only proper to the prepenultimate unaccented vowels *a* *ge* *nāli* (for * *nāli*) *x* *nx* *nāli*, *g* *gx* *nx* *nāli* (*nāli* *āli*) cocconut *e* *ls* *nāni*, *x* *nāni* *nx* *gx* *x* *nāni* (*nāni* *nāni*) ladder escalator *e* *ge* *hāthkād*, *g* *gx* *nx* *hāthkar* (*hāthkar*) fowl *a* *ge* *hāth* *gx* *oḥ* (*hāthā*) turmeric *g* *hāthi* *nx* *hāthi* (but fem *hāthi*) beside *e* *ge* *hāthi* (*hāthi*) etc. Some of these variants may be explained by the principle of assimilation or dissimilation, but it is difficult to account for all these variants. For this discolouration of the penultimate in disyllabic words see § 29b.

O PREPENULTIMATE VOWELS

I In the Initial Syllable

§ 25 In general the initial syllable in Konkani bears the accent and this therefore is the least affected of all vowel sounds. We have to consider several cases here separately in order to evaluate the general treatment in the different dialects treated here. These are (1) conservation of the etymological quantity i.e. (1) short vowel of K < short of MI-A and (2) long vowel of K < long of MI-A, irrespective of the nature

of the syllable, whether closed or open, and β) nonconsonantiation of this quantity, 1 e, (1) long vowels of K \angle short of MI-A 2) regularly in closed syllable, and b) sporadically elsewhere, and (1) short vowel of K \angle long of MI-A

§ 26 x) (1) a>a s gs *karū* (karū-) bitter, *karō* essence, *karāyā* boils, *karāyūtī* gisel (karāth-), *kanu* (kāna-) grain *kalera*, scored vessel used in divine service, *kaśo* pitcher (kaśā-), *kaśo* (kaśā) bud, *kaśā* (kaśa-) knows, *kaśo* (Deś kaśāso) shoulder, *kaśā* (kaśā-) hinders *kaśa* (Sk *kaśana* Ap *kaśam*) where, *kaśā* (kaśā-) rough, *kaśā* (kaśā-) starch or any liquid extract, *garu* (gāra-) hot, heat, *gaśo* (gāśa-) throat, *ghaḍā* (ghat-) happens *ghaḍā* (ghat-) a moment, *ghaśa* (Sk *ghaśa*- Pa Pk *ghāra*-) house, *caḍā* (Pk *caḍ*) climbs, rises, *caro* (caraka-) horse-gram, *carā* (car-) grazes *caḍā* (caḍ-) moves, continues, *caśa* (semi-te *caśma*-) hides, *jaḍā* (jaḍā-) heavy, *jaśa* (jāśa-) person *jaśo* (jaśa-) fever *jaśā* (jaśā-) leech, *jaśā* (jaśa-) burns, *jaśā* (Deś *jaśā*) fine rain, *jaśā* (kaśa-) wastes, *jaśā* (jaśa-) lightens, shines, *tāḍā* (**tāḍā*- of Avesta *tāḍā*-) a small glass or metal vessel, *tāśa* (tāśa-) young, *tāśo* (tap *akā*-) roasting pan, *tāśo* (**tāśā*-) pond, lake, *tāḍā* (Deś *tāḍ*-) fries, *tāśa* (trapasa-) a vegetable, *thā* (Sk *tasman* Ap *taśa*) there, *thartharā* (thartharāyate) trembles, *daḍā* (daḍā-) fine, *daśa* (daśa-) the tenth day *daśo* (daśarā) the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of *Āṣvina*, Dusserah, *daḍā* (daḍ-) grinds, *daśā* (Sk *dāśu*- Pk *dāśam* curds), *dhā* (dhā-) holds, *dhāśā* (Deś *dhāśā*-) trembles, *naśā* (naśā-) new, *naśā* (naśā) tube *naśā* (naśa-) pipe, *nā* (nā-) no, *nanāda* (nānāda) husband's sister, *nanāra* (anantardm) after, *nāśā* (nāśā) river, *panḍāśa* (Deś *panḍāśa*) fifty-five, *paḍā* (paḍ-) falls, *paḍā* (paḍā-) a vegetable *paśā* (paśā-) jack-fruit, *paśā* (paśā-) grand-son, *paśā* (paśā-) the leaf of *Laurus Cassia*, *paśā* (paśā-) the fifth day of a lunar fortnight, *paśā* (paśā-) fifteen, *panḍā* (panḍā-) fifty, *paśā* (paśā-) bed-spread, *paśā* (paśā-) sees, *paśā* (paśā) files, *paśā* (paśā-) fruit, *paśā* (paśā-) plank, *paśā* (paśā-) light refreshments *paśā* (Deś *paśā*) babbles *paśā* (**paśā*-) goods *paśā* (**paśā*-) bracelet, *paśā* (paśā-) sits, *paśā* (paśā-) sister, *paśā* (paśā-) fills, *paśā* (semi-te *paśā*-) polluted, *paśā* (paśā-) corpse, *marā* (mar-) dies

mas̄ (mas̄-) lamp-black mas̄as̄ (śamas̄śnam) place of cremation
 crematorium m̄has̄ (m̄has̄-) buffalo m̄hant̄ (bh̄m-) eays ragala
 (rak̄a-) blood rad̄t̄ (rat-) ories r̄as̄as̄ crying r̄ath̄nom̄ (r̄atha
 nom̄) a festival day r̄as̄u (ras̄-) essence r̄as̄ (ras̄) or
 r̄as̄am) pus tad̄ (Des tar̄id̄) horse dung las̄na (las̄na-)
 garlic r̄ath̄na (r̄pr̄ath̄na-) residence vad̄ (vā-) bunyan
 val̄at̄ (val̄at̄-) hanging, resolutely vad̄ (Des vad̄) a savoury
 var̄ (var̄-) above var̄as̄ (var̄as̄-) year val̄ (val̄as̄-) a half of
 a coconut val̄ (val̄-) a cover val̄h̄a (Pk vac̄-) to go
 vah̄ (vāh̄-) takes vah̄d̄ (vadh̄-) marriage van̄
 bh̄as̄ (bh̄as̄-) hundred van̄t̄ (van̄-) Sntu; day van̄ (van̄-)
 garland van̄ (van̄-) moves van̄t̄ (van̄t̄-) quiet
 person van̄ (van̄-) whole van̄t̄ (van̄t̄-) at dawn in the
 morning van̄ (van̄-) seventeen and in omp̄, val̄t̄ or
 val̄t̄ (val̄t̄-) van̄t̄ (van̄t̄-) van̄t̄ (van̄t̄-) a quarter above
 van̄ (van̄-) van̄ van̄t̄ (van̄t̄-) (Des van̄t̄) 'instrument hap̄o
 (lw Pers through Av hap̄o Sk van̄) a week van̄ (van̄t̄)
 myrobalan van̄ (van̄-) green unripe etc

g gh̄a (gh̄a-) par̄ (para-) m̄h̄as̄ (bh̄as̄-) var̄t̄
 (var̄at̄-) van̄ (van̄-) van̄ (van̄-) etc
 (11) ā 7 ā s gs l̄as̄o (l̄as̄-) equ nt eyed l̄ȳo (l̄ȳo-)
 a crow l̄as̄ (l̄as̄-) brass l̄as̄o (l̄as̄-) black l̄h̄na l̄h̄t̄
 (l̄h̄t̄-) eat l̄h̄na (l̄h̄na-) saltish r̄as̄ (MI-A r̄as̄) a cow
 r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) village r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) smell r̄as̄ (Des r̄as̄)
 a fried savoury r̄as̄ r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) a wound r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-)
 or from r̄as̄) a mouthful r̄as̄ (r̄as̄) tenement r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-)
 jasmine van̄ (van̄) knows r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) son-in-law
 r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) awake r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) a sieve r̄as̄ (Des r̄as̄-)
 shrub r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) camp r̄as̄ copper, r̄as̄ copper-smith
 r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) red r̄as̄ (r̄as̄-) throat voice d̄r̄as̄ (d̄r̄as̄-)
 porch van̄ (van̄-) name van̄ (van̄-) coconut van̄
 (van̄-) bath van̄ (van̄-) fertilisation van̄ (van̄-)
 a quarter less van̄ (van̄-) foot van̄ (van̄-) a measure of
 weight van̄ (van̄-) reaches van̄ (van̄-) rain van̄
 (van̄-) husband van̄ (van̄) 7 * van̄ (van̄) wife
 van̄ (van̄) Ap van̄) twelve van̄ (van̄-) a large
 vessel van̄ (van̄-) out-seid van̄ (van̄-) brother van̄
 (van̄-) van̄ (van̄-) brother's wife van̄ (van̄-) a out
 van̄ (van̄-) maternal uncle van̄ (van̄-) meat—in the
 case of van̄ and van̄ we cannot say whether they are directly

1 Through *śesh̄h̄ar̄:

connected with PI-A forms, it is possible that they may be more reasonably treated under: *b*) (1) a — *rāna* (*rānā*) a queen, *rājya* (*rājya-*) a king *rājāsā* (*rājāsā-*) a palace, *rājā* (*rājā-*) touches, *rājā* (*rājā-*) saliva, *rājā* (*rājā-*) habitude, habitation *rājāsā* (*rājāsā-*) dotation, *rājā* (*rājā-*) a Bumia *rājā* (*rājā-*) breeze, *rājā* or *rājā-* (*rājā-*) a half over *rājā* (*rājā-*) shadow *rājā* (*rājā-*) astride, on the heart, *rājā* (*rājā-*) a laugh, etc

g *jāh* (*jāh-*), *jāh* (*jāh-*), *bhās* (*bhās-*), *ūlla* (*ūlla-*) *māh* (*māh-*), *śala* (*śala-*), etc

β) (1) a — *ā* in heavy syllable *āpāna* (MI-A inflected (*im āpāna*) *āpāna*) oneself, *kāpāna*, x nx gx *lāpāna* (*lāpāna-*) unguent, *lāpāna* (*lāpāna-*) scissors, *kāpāna* (*kāpāna-*) ear, *lāpāna* (*lāpāna-*) camphor, *kāpāna* (*kāpāna-*) tortoise, *kāpāna*, x *kāpāna*, nx gx *kāpāna* (*kāpāna-*) armpit *lāpāna*, x nx gx *lāpāna* (*lāpāna-*) shoulder *kāpāna* (*kāpāna-*) pillar, *gāpāna*, x *gāpāna*, nx *gāpāna* nx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) ass, *gāpāna*, x *gāpāna*, etc (*gāpāna-*) knot, *gāpāna*, x gx nx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) hall, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) plishes, tube, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) wheel, stone, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) moonlight, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) bites, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) hide, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) thigh, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) yawn, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) butter-milk, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) naked, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) to dance *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) is spoiled or destroyed, *gāpāna*, *gāpāna*, x nx gx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) grand-son or grand-daughter, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) boiled sugar, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) wing, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) lid, *gāpāna*, x nx *gāpāna*, gx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) back, *gāpāna*, g gx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) stone, slab *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) to tie, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) looses weight, wastes, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) roasts, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) rice *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-* MI-A *gāpāna*) begs, seeks, *gāpāna*, x gx nx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) mud, *gāpāna*, x nx gx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) head, scalp, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) nape of the neck, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) protects, guards, *gāpāna*, x nx gx *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) rope, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-* MI-A *gāpāna*) wood, *gāpāna* (of *gāpāna-*) stays remains, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) touches *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) shame *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) crooked *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) increases, growth *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) grows, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*), *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) wick, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) bamboo, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) young (of cows, etc), *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) dusk, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) seven, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) umbrella, sunshade, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) bone, *gāpāna* (*gāpāna-*) moves,

being twice as long as the second, similarly in *koma* and *konāḥ*, the first *o* is the lengthened variety of the second

§ 29 Exceptions In spite of this general tendency of preserving the vowel in the initial syllable, there are some inexplicable exceptions —

a) in polysyllabic words — *amgā* (*angūstha-*), *vasi* (*upāsi*), etc

b) in dissyllabic words *e ga* etc *pkā* (*pakā-*), but *pāmka* with differentiation in meaning

II In the Non-initial Syllable

§ 30 In the interior of a word: and *u*, both short and long, lose their proper articulation¹ and become confounded with *a*, and so treated in the rhythmic scheme of a word. Examples —

1 — *nx āgā* (*agā-*) brassier, *a ga paṁmā* (*paṁmā-*) scent, *pāpā* (*paṁpā-*) first day of the lunar fortnight, *gx x pākā* (*pākā upā-*) bird-like, bird, *akāyā* (*uśkā-*) drops, etc

2 — This is first reduced to *i*, and if retained at all, is always short, *a g [jaḡ]* (*jyotā-*) astrologer

u — *a ga āpāḡā* (*āpāḡā-* / *appūtthā*) touches, *amgā* (*angūstha-*) thumb *uḡā* (*uḡāḡā-*) reverse, *gūgū* (*for guru gūgū-*) gurgling noise, *taṁ* (*tāṁ-*) young, *purāḡā* (*purāḡā-* / *purāḡā-*, see under *o* —) a priest; *sut-sut* (*for sutu-sut*) active, etc

ū — *vāḡā* (*vāḡā-*) a bride, etc

ē — *uḡā* (*uḡāḡā-* MI-A. *uḡāḡā*) jumps,

o — *a ga āḡā* (*āḡā-* MI-A. **āḡāḡā-*, *āḡāḡā-*) a towel; *kaḡā* (*kaḡā-*) coconut shell, *alā*, *alā* (*alāḡā-* [MI-A] *alāḡā-*) insipid, without salt, etc

§ 31 *ā* in the interior of a word

a) *ā* is reduced in *a ga āḡā* (*āḡāḡā*) light waved before the image of god, *nx āḡā* (*Pa āḡāḡā*) eye brows, *kaḡā* (*kaḡā-*) a big vessel, *paḡā* (*paḡā-*) cowherd, *pāḡā* (*pāḡāḡā-*) pigeon; *porāḡā* (*porāḡā-* : MI-A *porāḡā-*) old, ancient, etc

b) *ā* is preserved

¹ *La langue marāḡā*, § 50

we find *pāegga* (*phalga-*), *miāgā* (*magā-*)¹ etc. similarly in Prakrit we have *pakka* (*pakud-*) *puḍhama*, (*puṭhama-*)² etc. When I-A *a* is compared with Dravidian *a*, we feel the difference between the *sonorica* and *uvula* pronunciations, to a certain extent also when a European pronounces this I-A phoneme, the *vivrita* predominates over the *samvrita*. But in the whole group of I-A languages the close, neutral pronunciation is the general rule, with one big exception in the case of Bengali where this phoneme has developed a peculiar sound resembling *o* in English *hot*, but considerably higher than it and slightly lower than the cardinal vowel [o] without any lip-rounding³. When we begin to study the dialects of Konkani the problem of PI-A and MI-A *a* becomes insistent. The mass of material is bewildering and the descriptions of this sound rather confusing in the treatises of this language.

§ 34 In his *Elementos Grammaticos da Lengua Concani*, Canon José de S. Rita e Souza gives two symbols for Sk. *a* (अ) *A* - short, close *a* - short, open. Regarding the pronunciation of these symbols he remarks "this letter (अ) which is termed the central (or middle) vowel has nearly the sound of open *e*, open *a* or close *i* is bound up with all consonants (: *e* inherent in all consonants) in the Devanāgarī script," (p. 8, f. n. 2). At another place (p. 18 f. n.) he observes further — "A difficulty exists still regarding the employment in writing of the central vowel (अ) *a* or *A*, and the diphthong *o* (औ) whose sounds are confused in pronunciation." He also admits that this difficulty leads one to constant errors, and where *o* (औ) is to be used *a* or *A* (अ) may be used or vice versa.

§ 35 Father Maffei in his *Konkani Grammar* (p. 5) gives the following transliteration — *ā* - short *a* (very often near to *é*), *a* - common *a* (nearest approach to *u* in English *but* or the *a* in Latin *farō* as pronounced in Italy) *h* - closed *o*, *ô* - open *o*, *o* - common *o*. The only thing worth noting about Father

¹ Geiger *Pak Literatur und Sprache* 89

² Fischei, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* §§ 101, 104

³ S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Phonetics*, § 41, where the final 'ax vowel is represented by *o*.

Maffei's transliteration is the division of the *a*-phoneme into four groups *a ā ɔ ɔ̄* the last of which he calls the half *a* which corresponds to a whispered vowel *a* appearing only at the end of words

§ 36 In his literary works written in Devanagari characters Mr Valavlikar follows the following notation *a* (अ) *ā* (आ) *ɔ* (इ) *ɔ̄* (ई) about this last *ɔ̄* he says in the foot-note to his book

Gogji Prālo Mhānti kār ' on the first page that this sound is very near to short open *o* (ऋ) in fact half way between *a* and *o*. This corresponds to the inverted signs *u* *d* in Marāṭhī script to indicate the open English *e* and *o* sounds in borrowed words. This system has been generally adopted in all Konkani writings printed in Devanagari script

§ 37 In the second edition of Father Thomas Stephen's *Grammatica da Língua Concani* corrected and annotated by Cunha Rivara in 1807 (p 164) Sk *a* (अ) is represented by *o* *ā* (ऋ) by *a* and (ऌ) by *o*. In the *Dicionario Portuguez-Cancon* edited by the same scholar in 1803 a slightly different transcription is used. Sk *ɔ* is represented by *a*'' (अ) by *a*'' and (ऋ) by *o*. In the first transcription the exact values are shown according to this PI-A and MI-A *a* is developed into an *o*-phoneme which is not exactly the same as the descendants of PI-A or MI-A *o* -*ava*- etc. In this connection we may compare a somewhat parallel development in Gujarati where the *o*-phoneme has slightly different values according to its development from PI-A MI-A *o* or PI-A, MI-A -*ava*- with a corresponding development of the *e*-phoneme

§ 38 For the purpose of our study these systems will be sufficient, in as much as these are uniform and more exact than the others in constant use. We shall first consider the various examples in the different dialects with reference to their true etymology from PI-A and determine from a comparative study of all these examples the nature of the change, its extent and the possible explanation for such a change. It will be clear from the context that Father Maffei stands for *x*, Canon Jose de S Rita e Souza and Cunha Rivara represent *gx*, Mgr Dalgado *nx*, and Mr Valavlikar *g*

§ 39 g — (N B I shall use the symbol δ for श) *anpat* (s gs *anpatya*) necessity, *ambhātu* (*amb bhāva-*) experience *aśā* (s gs *aśāni*, gx *aśān*) difficulty in sing. - pl *aśāni*, *āsa* (s gs *āsā*) is, *aiśh* (*aiśha-*) meaning, *kar* (s gs *karis*) do thou, *khābar* (s gs *khābbāri*) news, *kīlac* (s gs *kīlaca*) shriek, *lātā* (*lātār*) scissors *las* (s gs *lassa*) how?, *ghatt* (s gs *ghatts*) strong, *aukēant* (*-āva-*) oristum, but *culāpāla* *ḍad* (s gs *ḍada*) much, *jaḥ* (*jaḥa-*) heavy *tar* (s gs *tars*) u., *dhā* (*dhā-*) hold, *maḥa* (s gs *maḥa*) ladder, *nitāl* (*-tata-* s gs *nitāla*), *niśāy* (*niśāya-*) determination, *niḥḍ* (s *niḥḍa*) strained liquid, *naḥ* (s gs *naḥa*) no!, *prat* (*prāt-*) copy *śāraspāt* (*śārasvat-*), *śāl* (*śāl-*) power, *soḥḥā* (s gs *soḥḥāni*) escape, *śāg* (*śāgā-*) heaven, *śāḥāy* (M *śāḥāy*) friendship, liking, *samāy* (NI-Ā *samāy-* *samāyā-*) understanding, *śāḥāḥ* (s gs *śāḥāḥā* or *śāḥāḥāḥ*) company; examples may be multiplied without number I shall quote a few also from Mr Valaviskar's writings in Roman characters (where he uses the italicized *a* for this *α*), *śāḥāḥ* (*-gata-*) friendship, *śāḥāp* (s gs *śāḥāpa*) writing, *śāḥāḥ* (*śāḥāḥā-*) at dawn, *śāḥāḥ* (*śāḥāḥā-*) all, *śāḥāḥ* (*śāḥāḥā-*) afterwards, but, *śāḥāḥ* (s gs *śāḥāḥ*) without, *śāḥāḥ* (*śāḥāḥā-*) fruit, etc

It will be clear from the examples quoted above that where the law of labialisation does not apply, we may formulate that in most words which do not end in *-a*, the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-ā-*, and in verbal forms the final *-a-* becomes *-ā* as in *naḥ*, *śāḥ*, etc But there are many exceptions, e g *ghar* (*ghāra-*), and *naḥkū* This vowel *-ā-* is also lost in morphology *bhāḥāḥāḥ* (*-āḥāḥā-*), but *bhāḥāḥāḥ* (gen form), in this function it is the same as the ordinary *samvṛta a*

§ 40 gr — (N B for the italicized *a* I shall use *α* and the *A* will remain as it is) \times) Examples of *α* *udāk* (*udāka-*) water, *āḥāḥ* (s gs *āḥāḥā*, *āḥāḥā*) memory, the prefixes: *āḥā-*, *āḥā-* etc (really prepositions), *śāḥāḥ* (of *g* *śāḥāḥ*) friend, *anāḥ* (s gs *anāḥā*) Anona squamosa *āḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥā-*) excess, *āḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥā-*) vessel, *āḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥā-*) rice, *āḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥā* MI-Ā *āḥāḥā*) self, *āḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥā-*) half, *āḥāḥā* (*āḥāḥāḥā-*) eighteen, *āḥāḥāḥāḥ* (*āḥāḥāḥāḥā-*) heart, *āḥāḥāḥ* (s gs *āḥāḥāḥā*) paper, *āḥāḥ*

(*lāmas-*) act deed *kaḍu*¹ (*ḷaḷu*) bitter *ḷaḍḍān* bitterness
kaḷay (s gs *kaḷāy*) zinc *khāḷḷo* (*khara-*) waste *kāpaḷ* (s gs
kāppaḷa & *ḷarpiḷa-*) cloth *khōo* (Mā: *khārā* s gs *ḷharo*) true
ghar (*ghā-* *ghara-*) house *gavāy* (H *gavayyā*) musician
ghardā (f om *ghar*) household house and wife *garay* (s gs
garay) necessity *ghaḷḷap* (*ghata-*) happening *ghalāy* (s gs
ghalāḷi) strength *gavibpan* (s *gavib-pāna*) poverty *bagar* (s *bagar*)
 without unless *caḷ*² (s *caḷli* s gs *caḷli*) girl *cāka*: (s gs *cākaru*)
 servant *cavecyous* (*catus-*) fortyfour *cavto* (*caturtha-*) fourth;
caḷāle (*caḷ-*) was happening *cano* (*caṇala-*) gram *zāmbaḷ*
 (-*pāla-*) a fruit *zan* (*ḷana-*) person *zhamp* (*ḷhampa-*) jump *tuḷḷ*
 (*ḷriphala*) a fruit or the tree bearing this fruit *tuḷḷi* (s gs
tuḷḷi) brain head *thāpaḷ* (s gs *thappata*) slap *ḷrao* (*ḷaruna-*)
 young *dhan* (*dhana-*) wealth riches *dhalo* (*dhaḷa-*) white *dhar*
 (*dhar-*) hold *nao* (*nava-*) nine *nao* (s gs *naḷḷa*) no! *namaskār*
 (*namaskāra-*) salutation (restin; *nakumk* (s gs *naḷḷāḷi* *naḷḷāḷi*)
 to sleep the suffix -*pan* (-*pāna-*) *paḷAs* (*paḷasa-*) jack *parde*
 (*paradeḷa*) foreign land *paḷu* (*paḷau*) station position *ḷḷal*
 (*ḷhāla-*) fruit *paḷo* (s gs *paḷo*) first *paḷumk* (*paḷaḷāḷi*) to see
paḷalo (s *paḷalo* M *paḷāḷi*) returned *paḷlo* (*paḷ-*) fell *phak*
 (s *phakḷi-*) entirely *barc* (s *barc*, M *barū*) good *bāḷ*³ (s gs
bāḷi NI-A *bāḷi*) plate *baḷ* (*baḷi-*) strength *burumk* (*bari-Oan*)
 to write *bhajan* (*bhājana-*) devotion *bagḷsk* (s gs *bagḷska* NI-A
bagal) aside *bhāmitAsnis* (*bhram-*) *māzai* (*marjāra-*) a oat;
*mānis*⁴ (*manuḷyā-*) man *maḷke* (s *maḷkē*) an earthen vessel,
maḷab (s gs s *maḷapa*) sky, *maḷu* (*maḷ-*) kneading *maḷo* (s
maḷḷo) mine *mada* (*madhya-*) amid, *mhaḷḷū* (s gs *mhaḷ-*) says
mhārag (s gs *mhāraga*) dear *raoḷā* (*rac-*) creator *raḷḷ*
 (**raḷḷū-*) juicy *raḷc* (*rāt-*) cry, s gs *raḷḷay* (s gs *raḷḷāḷi*)
 fight *loḷhan* (*loḷakhaḷḷa-*) iron, *var* (*upari*) above *vā* (MI-A
va ca-) go *sādāthc* (*sadā*) always everyday *sākar* (*śarḷarū*)
 sugar, *sāḷḷū* (*sāḷḷū a-*) worldly life *sāḷḷ* (*sāḷḷa-*) all
sāḷḷap (*sāḷḷāpa-*) regret *savāy* (*sapāda*) a quarter above *sa*

¹ The expected form is *kāḷu*

² Should be *ḷāḷi*

³ The normally expected form is *bāḷi*

⁴ v l for *mAsis*

(*ṣat-*) six, *sakol* (*sal aṭa-*) every, *haṣṛ* (*s gs haṣṛā*) a thousand, *hārsē* (*s gs hārsē, hārsē*) another time, etc

β) Examples of *A* — *ūvAy* (*e gs ūvā*) mother, *ūvāśud* (*ūvāśudā-*) happiness, *ūllAq:* (*-lata-*) on this shore, *ṣṣAṣṣ:* (*s gs ṣṣAṣṣ:*) church *uṣṣAqṭāṭ* (*e gs uṣṣAqṭā*) opening, *ṣṣAt* (*ṣṣat*) respect *keṣA:* (*kesara-*) saffron, *kAṣṣ:* (*kustū-*) sufferer, *hAṣṣ* (*har-*) to do, *kAdi* (*M kadhi*) *qAṣṣ* (*e gs qavū*) wheel, the suffix *-ṣṣAt* (*-ṣṣat-*), *ṣṣṣṣAr* (*ṣṣṣṣar-*), *ṣṣAqṣṣ* (*ṣṣat-*) a clock, *ṣṣAṣṣ* (*caṣṣ-*) twentyfour, *ṣṣA:* (*ṣṣa-*) cascade, *ṣṣAṣṣ* fountain, *ṣA:* (*ṣava-*) fever, *ṣṣṣṣ* (*ṣṣṣṣa-*) wakefulness, *ṣṣṣṣAr* (*besides ṣṣṣṣ, see above*), *ṣṣAq* (*s gs ṣṣāq*) much, *ṣṣAṣṣ:* (*of NĪ-A ṣṣāṣṣ-*) injurious, *vAy* (*navaṣṣ-*) ninety, *ṣṣAqṣṣ* (*-ṣṣa-*) of that side, *ṣṣA:* (*but tar*) even, *ṣṣArkūṣṣ* (*ṣṣrṣṣ-*) (*ṣṣrṣṣ-*) to wrangle, *dṣṣA:* (*sūṣṣa-*) pig, *DudṣṣṣṣAr* (*-ṣṣṣṣar-*), *dṣṣAṣṣ* (*dādṣṣ-*) curds, *nāṣṣṣṣAr* (*s nāṣṣṣṣa*) anchor, *vAṣṣ* (*nāṣṣ*) river, *nṣṣAṣṣ* river, *ṣṣṣṣAs* (*ṣṣṣṣa-*) jack, *ṣṣṣṣAt* (*ṣṣṣṣata-*) mountain, *bṣṣAṣṣ:* (*s bṣṣarṣṣ, Sk bṣṣar-*) full tide, *bAṣṣ:* (*but bava*) good, *bṣṣAṣṣ:* (*s bṣṣarṣṣ*) inside, *bAṣṣ:* (*s gs bṣṣarṣṣ*) thirtytwo, *bṣṣAṣṣ* (*bṣṣa-*) much, *nṣṣAṣṣ* (*s nṣṣarṣṣ, nṣṣarṣṣ*) dear, costly, *ṣṣAṣṣ* (*ṣṣṣṣa-*) time, future, suffixes *-vAṣṣ* (*-vaṣṣ-*), *vAṣṣ* (*-vaṣṣ-*), *vAṣṣ* (*vaṣṣ-*) thing, *ṣAr* (*ṣaṣṣṣa-*) comparable, *ṣṣṣṣAr* (*s ṣṣṣṣarṣṣ*) a hundred, *ṣArṣṣ* (*ṣarṣṣ-*) snake, *ṣAṣṣ:* (*ṣṣṣṣa-* *Ap ṣṣṣṣarṣṣ*) seventy, *ṣṣṣṣArṣṣṣṣ* (*ṣṣṣṣarṣṣ-*) to offer, *ṣṣAqṣṣ* (*-ṣṣa-*) of this side

§ 41 Two things are clear from the examples cited above PĪ-A and MĪ-A *a* has divided itself into two connected phonemes *ā* and *A*, and PĪ-A *ā* has come down as *ā* in accented syllables in *gx* in such places where it is retained in the other dialects of Konkani

§ 42 Alternation of *ā* and *A* in *gx* — The play of these two vowels in morphology may be differentiated into two categories gender and number

(To be continued)

THE MANDANA-SUREŚVARA EQUATION IN THE
HISTORY OF ADVAITA '†

BY

MM PROF S KUPPUSWAMI SASIRE M A I L S (retired)

Mandanamīśra is the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*. In the colophons of this and other works written by him and in the philosophical works of other authors who refer to him he is described as Ācārya Mandanamīśra, Śūman Mandanamīśra, Mahamahopādhyaya Mandanamīśra, Ārya-Mandana and Mandana. In none of these works Mandanamīśra is mentioned as a disciple of Kumārilabhatta otherwise known as *Bhāttapāda* the renowned Vārtikakara of Karma-mīmāṃsā or as a disciple of *Śrī Bhagavatpāda-Saṃhāra* the renowned Ācārya of the Advaita school of Vedānta or as identical with Sureśvarācārya the renowned Vārtikakara of Sāṅkara's Bhasya on the Taittirīya and Brhadaranyaka Upaniśads who is referred to in some works under the name of Viśvarūpācārya¹ and who was one of the four famous direct Saṃnyāsin-disciples of Sāṅkara. There is however an old and generally accepted tradition that Mandana was one of the eminent philosophical writers who received instruction from Kumārilabhatta such as *Prabhākara* and *Bhāttasūtra*. There is also a comparatively recent tradition which supports the general belief that Mandanamīśra was one of the disciples of Kumārilabhatta and equates him with Sureśvarācārya. Whether Mandanamīśra the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* is identical with Sureśvarācārya the author of the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and the Vārtikas on the Brhadaranyakabhasya and the Taittirīya bhasya is the question to be considered here.

This question relating to the *Mandana-Sureśvara* equation is of as great importance in the evolution of the Advaita system as in the history of Advaita literature. In my youth when I

† Paper read at the Bhādaraka O B Institute Poona on the occasion of the Eleventh Anniversary Day of Śrī R C Bhādaraka on 26th September 1936

¹ See Vivara p 5 V 9 S pa. 92 R Va Part II p 110 verse 1931 quoted under the name of Viśvarūpācārya. Also see I trāṣaramādhārya B S P S Vol I part I P 57 Brhad Va part I p 31 verse 97 quoted under the name of Viśvarūpācārya.

was studying the recognised classics of Advaita literature under my Acaryas—the late *Śrī Brahmanāra Sarasvati*, according to the traditional method, as also in the earlier years of my Professorial career, I took the *Maṇḍana-Sureśvara* equation for granted, as several other scholars did then and do even to-day. My belief in this equation received its first shock when I was studying *Māṇḍanamīra's Brahmasiddhi* in manuscript in the years 1921-22, with a view to bringing out a critical edition of the work. In the year 1923, to the April issue of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal of Great Britain and Ireland, my esteemed friend and colleague—Professor M. Hiriyanna of Mysore, contributed a short article¹ on *Sureśvara and Māṇḍanamīra*, in which he drew attention to three noteworthy points of doctrinal divergence between *Māṇḍana* and *Sureśvara*, which he gathered from certain Advaita works like the *Samksepasūtrika*, the *Laghu Candrikā* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Vārtika*, and these three doctrinal distinctions have reference to *Māṇḍanamīra's* views regarding the locus of *Āndyā*, the *bhāvādvaīta* and the special value of meditation (*Upāsana*) in transmuting the Brahman-knowledge arising from the *mahā-vākyas* into Brahman-realisation. Professor Hiriyanna referred also in this article to a tradition preserved at Shringerī and embodied in a poem called *Guru varada kāvya*, according to which *Māṇḍana* should be differentiated from *Sureśvara*. The least that may be said about the valuable evidence adduced by Professor Hiriyanna in that article is that it is sufficient to compel a careful investigation of the *Maṇḍana-Sureśvara* equation. A careful study of *Māṇḍanamīra's Brahmasiddhi*, in comparison with his other known works, all of which are now available in print, and with the known works of *Sureśvara* and *Samkara* and in the light of the works of *Vācaspatiṁśra*, *Vimuktātman*, *Prakāśātman*, *Ānandabodha*, *Prakāśārthakara*, *Citsukha*, *Amalananda*, *Anandagiri*, *Vidyāranya*, *Madhusūdanasarasvatī*, *Brahmananda-carasvatī* and several others representing the Advaita system and a careful consideration of the references to *Māṇḍana* contained in certain important works of the *Mīmāṁsā*, *Nyāya*, *Dvaitavedānta* and other systems have made it possible to assemble here several data of overwhelming cumulative weight

¹ J. B. A. S. 1923, April, and 1924 January.

which would be quite sufficient to kill the common belief in the Mandana-Suresvara equation and to exhibit Mandana and Suresvara as two different individuals maintaining strikingly divergent views within the purview of Advaitism. These data are set forth below.

1. Mandana maintains the *sphōṭavāda* and *Sabdādvaita* of Bhartrhari in an elaborate manner in his *Sphōṭasiddhi*¹ and easily reads it into the *Advaita-vādhānta* in his amplification of the word *aksaram* in the opening verse of the *Brahmasiddhi*. Mandana's attitude towards *Sabdadvaita* is much more than favourable: it is respectful. But Sankara completely differs from Mandana in this respect and criticises and entirely discards the *sphōṭa doctrine* of Bhartrhari. Suresvara who closely follows Sankara completely ignores the *Sphōṭa-doctrine*. While Mandana maintains in his *Brahmasiddhi*² that the Upanisadic texts "Omīti Brahmi, Omītidam Saryam" should be understood as establishing the identity of *Pranava* with Brahman and as supporting the *Sabdadvaita doctrine*, Suresvara following Sankara interprets³ the same text as teaching the meditation on *Pranava* as *Brahman* and as merely commending *Pranava*. Advaitins like *Vimuktatman* who follow Suresvara in many respects assume an attitude which is worse than adverse: is positively derisive towards *Sabdadvaita*. In fact *Vimuktatman* ensues at the *Sabdādvaita* as a travesty of Advaita and places it on a par with *Jar-moussam*⁴ (*ghaṭadvaita*).

2. In his exposition of the nature of erroneous cognition, in the *Brahmasiddhi*⁵ and *Vibhramaviveka*⁶ Mandana gives a prominent and honoured place to the Bhāṭṭa theory of *apartha llyūṭi* or *anyathākhyūṭi* which is the same as the Nyaya theory of *anyathākhyūṭi* with slight variation. He maintains that this

¹ Sph. S. M. U. S. S. No. 6 1931 see verse 95 and the concluding portion of the commentary *Gopālika* on that verse.

² Bra. Sid. Part I p. 1—lines 8 to 20.

³ Tai-Vart. pp. 31-32 verses 37 to 42.

⁴ I. S. G. O. S. LXV-p. 176. तस्मात्तन्नास्ति तमेव जलस्योत्त न द्रव्यादौ पटादौ न वेति सिद्धम् ।”

⁵ Bra. Sid. pp. 136 to 150 part I.

⁶ *Vibhr-verse* 46-57 63-M. L. J. P-1932.

theory is sound and when the nature of the object of erroneous cognition is examined, this theory has to be reduced inevitably to a form in which it becomes hardly distinguishable from the *anivaccanayābhāṣitā*¹ of the Advaitins. In Mandana's opinion, the *anyathābhāṣyāt* or *aparitābhāṣyāt* of the Bhāṭṭas should, for all practical purposes, be accepted by the Advaitins. It may be easily surmised, that Vācaspati-miśra, who follows Mandana, in many details, in the exposition of the Advaita doctrine, should necessarily have followed the latter very closely in his commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi-Tattvavaiśiṣṭī*, in maintaining the soundness of *anyathābhāṣyāt* and this is perhaps the reason why people generally came to believe that Vācaspati-miśra was in favour of *anyathābhāṣyāt*, though he was really anxious to establish the *anivaccanayābhāṣitā* in his *Bhāmātī*, as observed by Amalananda². Śrīnivāsa, on the other hand, has no good word to say about *anyathābhāṣyāt* and refutes it in a cavalierly³ manner.

3 In his *Brahmasiddhi*, Mandana recognises two⁴ kinds of nescience (avidyā) viz. non-apprehension (*agrāhāna*) and mis-apprehension (*anyathāgrāhāna*) and points out how the *alāpāt* doctrine of the Prābhākaras runs counter to the well-established distinction between the two kinds of nescience. Mandana also utilises this distinction in explaining the purpose of meditation in his scheme of the attainment of the final liberating realisation of Brahman and considers meditation necessary for completely removing the second⁵ variety of nescience and for converting the first indirect knowledge of Brahman (*parōkṣajñāna*) into the direct Brahman-realisation (*Aparokṣa-Brahma-sākṣātkāra*). By the way, it may be noted here that Vācaspati also speaks of two⁶ kinds of Avidyā in the opening verses of his *Bhāmātī*.

¹ Bra-Sid-p-9 lines 11 to 20 part I Vibh. VI-verses 35 and 36

² Kalpataru-N-8-P 1917-20 Page 24

“ स्वस्वमेव मदीच्छन्मो ह्यस्य स्वस्वमेवम् ।

अवधारयामिरेवमेत्य यथा जगद्गुर्नाम ॥ ”

³ Brhad Vkr-Part II-p 484 verses 275 to 278 and p 524-verse 453

⁴ Bra Sid-p 149-verse 167 and line *3-Part I

⁵ Bra-Sid-p 35-part I

⁶ Bhāmātī verso 1-“ अमिर्वाच्यवियदाद्वितनसचिपस्य ब्रह्मवतो विपतां परैरे विरुद्वित्त मेजोऽस्वयम् । ”

Suresvara scouts danger in the recognition of two kinds of nescience specifically refers¹ to Mandana's view regarding *avidyābhavādhyā* and argues against it by urging certain reasons.

4 Mandana definitely argues in favour of the view that *Jiva* (the individual soul) should be regarded as the seat or the *locus*² (*Āśraya*) of nescience (*Avidyā*) which obscures the true nature of Brahman and thus has Brahman as its object (*visaya*). Suresvara sets his face wholly against any kind of differentiation between *āśraya* and *visaya* of *avidyā* and maintains that Brahman itself is both³ the *āśraya* and *visaya*. The disagreement between Mandana and Suresvara on this matter served as the basis of the two different views regarding the locus and object of nescience which are associated in later Advaitic tradition with what came to be known as *Vācaspati's school* and *Vīśvanāśāra's* (*Prakāśātman's*) school. By the way it may be observed here that most of the distinctive features of the *Vācaspati-school* have their roots in Mandana's views as set forth in the *Brahmasiddhi* and most of the distinctive features of the *Vīśvanāśāra-school* are derived from Suresvara's views as set forth in the *Vartikas* and the *Naiskarmyasiddhi*.

5 The Upanisadic texts like *Tattvamasī* reveal the identity of *Brahman* with *Ātman* and give rise to the true knowledge of the *one absolute real*. The knowledge which arises from such texts however according to Mandana is indirect and mediate (*parokṣa*) and necessarily involves relation in some manner (*saheta-śayya*) like any other cognition arising from a valid verbal testimony (*śabdapramā*). Mandana maintains⁴ that such indirect knowledge of Brahman should pass through the furnace of meditation (*Upāśana*) before the detractive and recessive elements of relation and mediacy could be removed from it and before it could be refined into the pure efficient and direct realisation of the Absolute Real (*Brahmaavidyā* or *Brahmasūksūtkāra*). It is only this direct realisation which springs

¹ Bṛhad-Vār Part II-p 1065 verse 199

² Bra-Sid pp 10 and 11 Part I

³ Naiṣ-pp 105 106 Bṛhad Vār-Part I-pages 55 to 58 verses 175 to 182 Part II pages 675 to 677 verses 1215 to 1227

⁴ Bra-Sid p 35 lines 1 to 8 line 25 p 134 p 159 Lines 10 to 13-part I

from meditation based upon the indirect knowledge arising from the Upanisadic texts, that is capable of bringing about liberation (*mukti*). Mandana is thus seen to maintain what is known in advaitic literature as the doctrine of *prasaṅgahyāna*. Consistently with this view, Mandana interprets the text¹ "विज्ञाय प्रज्ञा कुवत" in his *Brahmasiddhi*: Vācaspati adopts Mandana's views regarding the relation between *prasaṅgahyāna* and *Brahmasaisthara* and Amalananda² specifically ascribes this view to Vācaspati and says that Vācaspati understands the expression 'Scriptural realization' (*Sāstradīpa*), as used by Badarayana, to mean exactly what Mandana understands to be *Brahman-realisation* springing from *Prasaṅgahyāna*—the true knowledge which arises from meditation on the true import of the *mahāvākyas* (*Śūbrī ārthadhyānaḥ pramā*) and that this view is supported by Badarayana in the *Brahmasūtra*. "*Aṅu ca svitvā dhane pratyakṣānāmānābhāṣām*" It may be said by the way, that this is one of the instances in which Vācaspati is made responsible by later advaitins for a view which was originally put forward by Mandana and only revived and read into Saṅkara's system at a later stage by Vācaspati among the commentators on Saṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. In his *Nāṅkarmyasiddhi*⁴ and *Vartaka*,⁵ Suresvara severely criticises this view with an unmistakable animus that is characteristic of an avowed opponent and emphatically maintains the position that direct *Brahman-realisation* (*Brahmaparokṣayāna*) springs from the Upanisadic *Sabda*—the *mahāvākyas*, and meditation, however useful it may be, is not the cause which effectuates the liberating realisation. He repudiates also the Nyaya view⁶ that *Sabda* can generate

¹ Bra-Sū-p 1.4-Part I

² Kalpataru-N-3 S 1917p 274

अपि सप्तमे सूत्राच्छास्त्रार्थ-मानसा यथा ।

ज्ञानवृत्तिर्ज्ञा या तु वेदि यच्चरति परम् ॥ २ ॥

³ Bra-Sū-3-3-24

⁴ Nāṅ-p 58-verses 1-67 pp 1.9 to 163 verses III 88 to 93 pp 175 to 177-
verses III-123 to 128

⁵ Bṛhad-Vār-part I-pp 225 to 233 verses 818 to 849 Part III-pp 1852 to
1878-verses 796 to 911

⁶ Bṛhad-Vār-Part III-pp 1852 to 1854-verses 799 to 803 and verse 810
ut. seq

only an indirect cognition having a relational content. Relying upon the well-known illustration¹ of the ten men who counted only nine each leaving out himself and of the tenth among them who was thus unable to realise himself as the tenth actually realising his identity as the tenth directly from the statement

Thou art the tenth which revealed his identity as the tenth. Sureśvara argues that *Śabda* in certain special cases is capable of producing an immediate cognition with a non-relational content. In this connection in referring to Mandana's view and similar views and refuting them Sureśvara uses in his *Varāka* sneering and ironical expressions with reference to Mandana and such of his contemporaries and predecessors as happened to agree with Mandana and describes these thinkers as pedantic wisacres (*paṇḍitam-manyūṣh*)² profoundly conversant with recondite principles (*gambhīronyāyaseśūṣh*)³ complacent in their determination of the sense of the Veda (*Vedāḥśūṣh*)⁴ courageous and great Mimamsakas⁵ (mahamīmāṃsake dhīrah)⁶

In a similar context in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* Sureśvara sets forth and refutes the views of Brahmadatta and Mandana in respect of the causal relation between Brahman-realisation and the Upanisadic *Śabda* and in this context Sureśvara says that these philosophers take their stand haughtily on the strength of their own tradition and say what they say in this matter (*śvasampradāyabalāḥśāntambhādāḥ*)⁶ It is clear from the context that the phrase *śvasampradāyabalāḥśāntambhādāḥ* is intended to be applied to both of the views that are clubbed together in the same paragraph as forming the subject of refutation in verse 67 of chapter I in the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*. In order to understand clearly the bearing of these Sanskrit phrases as applied to Mandana by Sureśvara on the contrast between these two advaitins it would be necessary to remember that Mandana's exposition of

¹ *Naiṣ* pp. 146 to 149 verses III 64 to 71. *Bṛhad-Vṛ*: Part I pp. 64 65- verses 206 to 219.

² *Bṛhad-Vai* -Part III p. 1852-verse 796 see also *Anandagiri* s. *avasthika* to this verse. अणुनादित्वा नृणां वा एवमथि ए वलिति ।⁷

³ *Bṛhad-Vṛ*-part III-p. 1854-verse 810

⁴ *Bṛhad-Vṛ*-part III-p. 1854-verse 876

⁵ *Bṛhad-Vṛ* part III-p. 1855-verse 891

⁶ *Naiṣ*-p. 38

the advaita doctrine was based mainly on a pre-Sāṅkara phase of it, while Sureśvara's exposition of that doctrine was entirely dependent upon its Sāṅkara phase. The significance of the expression 'dhirak' as applied to Mandana may be understood fully, if it is remembered that the spirit of philosophical accommodation which Mandana exhibits towards the Naiyāyikas, in respect of the nature of the cognition arising from śabda and which his supporters and impartial critics would describe as the sweet reasonableness of a non-partisan advaitin, is derided by Sureśvara as amounting to philosophical cowardice. It is worthy of notice here that Madhusūdanasarasvati, when he refers to Mandana's view about the mediate character of the knowledge that arises from the Upanisadic śabda, frankly describes Mandana and others who agree with him as ("kecittārkaśobho bādhyatah")¹ 'philosophical cowards afraid of the Ārkaikas

6 Mandana's interpretation of the Īśāvāya text² "vidyam eāvīdyām ca" is entirely different from Saṅkara's interpretation of it as given in his *Īśāvāya-bhāṣya*³ or his *bhāṣya* on Gaudapāda's *Mandūkyakārikā*⁴ and from Sureśvara's interpretation of it as given in the *Bihadaranyakavārtika*⁵. Mandana explains this mantra in two ways; in his first explanation⁶ the first half is taken to refer to the association of *avidyā* and *vidyā* as the means and the end (*upāyāpayaśābhyūt saute*) and the second half states the fact that, when a person removes his *avidyā* by *avidyā*, his self-realisation follows, and in his second explanation,⁷ the first half refers to the fact that *avidyā* never exists without *vidyā* and there is no difference in the meaning conveyed by the second half. According to Mandana, the word *Mṛtyu* in the mantra means *avidyā*, the liberating knowledge,

¹ Ved Kalpa-8-Bh T-No 3-Benares 1920-p 63-line 6

² śā-11

³ śā-bhā on 11 "अविद्यया कर्मणा अविद्धो-अविना, कृत्यु म्वाभाविक कर्म ज्ञान च सु-बुद्धात् वाच्यमुच्यते, अविद्या अविद्यया, विद्यया विद्ययात्वेन, अज्ञान इत्यन्वयभाष्यश्रुते प्राप्नोति । तद्यथा मृत्युशब्दे मर्त्यत्वमाशयम् ॥"

⁴ Ma-ka-3-25 and the Bhāṣya on it

⁵ Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-pp 779-780-verses 1764 to 1766

⁶ Bra-Śā-p 13-lines 7 to 11-Part I

⁷ Bra-Śā-p 13-lines 11 to 18-Part I

which is called *avidyā* is nothing but the ever revealed all revealing and eternal consciousness (which is identical with *Brahman* or *Ātman*) the appearances of *avidyā* are all dependent upon the eternal self-luminous light called *Brahman*. *avidyā* is non-*ātman* and has got a bad phase in the multifarious cognitions of difference and a good phase in the understanding of the truth from textual teachings (*śrautas*) the investigation of the truth in the light of reason (*mānasa*) and repeated contemplation upon the truth (*dhyānābhīṣā*) the bad phase of *avidyā* is the *mṛtyu*, which is removed by the good phase of it consisting in *śrauta*, *mānasa* and *dhyānābhīṣā* and the knower of the truth thus remains what he has always really been — the eternal free self-luminous Absolute. Mandana quotes this mantra as a textual authority supporting his statement that the good phase of *avidyā* removes its bad phase and then passes away. Śaṅkara takes the word *avidyā* in this mantra to mean the scriptural rites like *agni hotra* 'mṛtyu' in the sense of natural activities and knowledge' (*svābhāvikaṁ karma jñānam ca*) *vidyā* in the sense of the knowledge of the particular deity (*devatāṅgīṣā*) and the resultant *avṛta* as amounting to becoming that particular deity' (*devatātmabhāva*). Suresvara's interpretation of this mantra proceeds on entirely different lines. He is anxious that it should be so interpreted as not to give any handle to those vedantins who advocate the combination of *karma* and *jñāna* in some manner (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*) as the means of liberation. He seems to scent some danger even in Śaṅkara's interpretation for the reason that Śaṅkara is prepared to take the first half of the mantra with the two *akāras* and the word *vaḥ* in the natural sense of *samuccaya* though the combination intended to be conveyed, according to Śaṅkara is that of *devatāṅgīṣā* and *śāstrīyākarma* and not that of *Ātma-jñāna* and *karma*. Mandana's interpretation of this mantra is not accepted by Suresvara for the reason that according to Mandana the *avidyā* that is the means of removing *avidyā* admits of being accommodated to the combination of *Ātma-jñāna* with *karma* in a manner which would be unacceptable either to Śaṅkara or Suresvara. As a result of this attitude Suresvara gives a highly laboured¹ interpretation of this mantra,

¹ *Bṛhad-Vēd-Part II-p 778-verses 1765 and 1766*

taking the words *vidyā* and *avidyā* in the first half in the sense of *śāstrīyā karma* and *svābhāvīkākarma* and understanding the same words in the second half in an entirely different way, as denoting *Brahmajñāna* and *śāstrīyā jñāna* respectively the word *vidyā* in the second half being taken to denote what the word *avidyā* in the first half stands for. He also wishes that the two *cahāras* and the word *śāstra* in the first half should be understood as not referring to *samucaya* in any manner, but merely as amounting to a co-mention¹ of two rival factors, even that, not of any kind of *jñāna* and *karma* but of *two kinds of karma*. Thus, Sureśvara squeezes out of this *mantra* the sense that 'anyone who understands the contrast between the scriptural activities as the inhibited (*śāstrīyā*) and natural activities as the uninhibited (*svābhāvīyā*), attains Brahman-realisation and liberation in due course, after inhibiting the natural activities by scriptural activities'. None can miss here the striking contrast between Maṇḍana's interpretation of this *mantra* and Sureśvara's interpretation of it.

7 Maṇḍana's evaluation of *Karma* in relation to the liberating realisation of Brahman (*vidyā*) and his attitude towards the stage in religious life, which is called *sannyāsa* and is characterised by a complete renunciation of *karma*, exhibit certain features of striking contrast when compared with the views of Sankara and Sureśvara concerning the value of *karma* and *sannyāsa*. Maṇḍana notices, in his *Brahmasiddhi*, seven theories² put forward by contemporary and earlier thinkers with reference to the question of the association of *karma* and *jñāna* in the scheme of discipline leading to liberation. These seven theories are—that all the injunctions in the ritualistic portion of the Veda are divertive in their purpose and tend to turn men away from natural activities in the direction of the meditative activity enjoined for the realisation of *Ātman*, that all these injunctions relating to *karma* are intended to kill desires through

¹ *Bṛhad-Āra-*Part II-p 7:9 verse 1765-Ānandagiri says here —

² अविद्याया इत्युच्यते विहितकर्मण निषिद्धिना च सत्त्वं, तद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं, अकिञ्चिद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं च यत् किञ्चिद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं तदेतन्नियतेत्यर्थं । अविद्याया इत्युच्यते विहितकर्मण निषिद्धिना च सत्त्वं, तद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं, अकिञ्चिद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं च यत् किञ्चिद्विद्वत्प्राप्तं तदेतन्नियतेत्यर्थं ॥

³ *Bṛh-Śū-*p 26-line 24 to p 28-line 7-part I

a process of enjoyment and cloying and thus to prepare the way for the meditative activity leading to *Ātmanāna* that the performance of *karma* is necessary to discharge the three congenital debts (*ṛnatraya*) whose liquidation is an indispensable qualification for *Ātmanāna* that the activities prescribed in the *karmakānda* are *bi-functional* in their character and have two distinct functions (*samyōgaprthakāna*) by conducing to their respective fruits and also to the realisation of *Ātman* that all *karma* is intended to purify men and make them fit for *Ātmanāna* that *Ātmanāna* should be regarded as a purificatory subsidiary to the agent subserving the requirements of the various activities prescribed in the *karmakānda* and that *karma* and *jñāna* are fundamentally opposed to each other and have no interrelation whatever Mandana accepts¹ the fourth and the fifth among these theories and discards all the remaining five In doing so he clearly enunciates his own view about the interrelation of *karma* and *jñāna* and is definitely in favour of a particular type of *samuccaya* He is favourably disposed in an equal degree² to the fourth and fifth of these seven theories—*samyōgaprthakāktvapakṣa* and *samsāhārapakṣa* He is emphatically of the opinion that *agrahāṣṭra* and such other obligatory rites form a highly valuable accessory to the repeated contemplation (*abhyāsa*) on the content of the verbal cognition (*śābdajñāna*) arising from the mahavakyas of the Upanisads in bringing about the final manifestation (*abhyakṣa*) of the eternally self-luminous light of *Ātman* which amounts to what is called *Brahmavidya* that those who have chosen to enter the religious order of *sannyāsa* can and do come³ by *Ātman-realisation* exclusively through the tranquillising self-effacing soul-centered non-possessive contemplative discipline without the performance of scriptural rites and that the meditative discipline which brings about the manifestation of the pure *Brahma-udjā* when implemented⁴ by the prescribed *nyānas* and such other rites enables one presumably a *grhastha* to get at the final goal far more quickly than otherwise when *karma*

¹ Bra-Sid-p 26 line 7 to p 26-line 17-part I

² Bra-Sid-p 26 lines 13 to 17-part I

³ Bra-Sid-p 26-lines 18 to 21-part I

Bra-Sid-p 26-line 21 to p 27 line 3-part I

is not comprised in the means employed. In this connection, Mandana clearly advocates his own view regarding *yajñakarma samuccaya*, which consists not merely in the combination of repeated contemplation (*abhyāsa*) – a special form of mental activity – with the indirect knowledge of the One Absolute Reality derived from the Upanisadic *śabda*, but also in the association of that contemplative discipline with the ritualistic discipline of the prescribed *yañās* and such other rites. It would be helpful in understanding Mandana's position in contrast with Sureśvara's to note here that Mandana quotes the *Brahmasūtra* 'sarvāpēka ca yajñādīśruterāśvavat' in support of his view of *samuccaya* and explains the illustrative expression *śvavat* thus:–² "Though the goal may be reached by plodding on without a horse, yet a horse is sought to be employed for gaining time or for avoiding inconvenience," and that Samkara, anxious as he is to avoid giving any handle to the advocates of *samuccaya*, gives deliberately a somewhat strained, though ingenious, interpretation of the phrase *śvavat*, in this way –³ "Just as a horse is employed in drawing a chariot and not in an unsuitable work like ploughing, even so, the prescribed rites like *yañā* are intended to serve the preliminary purpose of preparing the mind by generating the desire to know (*vedāṅgā*) and thus helping in bringing about Brahman-realisation." Though there are certain minor differences⁴ among the post-Samkara advaitins, like Vācaspatiśīra and Prakāśātman, about *Karma* being conducive to *vedāṅgā* or *śūdrāpāda*, it may be safely said that both Samkara and Sureśvara are definitely against the type of *yajñakarmasamuccaya* which Mandana advocates. Sureśvara, as well as Samkara, would urge insistently that the whole function⁵ of *Karma* is restricted

¹ *Bra-sū-3-4-26*

² *Bra-Sū-d-p 37-lines 1 to 3* "सौख्यं — 'खलेन सुतेन' इति अथवात्कर्मण्यपेक्षयते विद्यायात्प्रकारान्वाधानि, यथा कलेन खलं समयात् विद्वयत्वा शेषवाप्येक्षया वाचोविश्यते" — Part I

³ Samkara's *Bhāṣya* on *Bra-sū-3-4-26* "अथवापि योग्यताविज्ञानम् । यथा च योग्यताविज्ञानेन न लक्ष्यलक्षणेन युज्यते, तथाप्यायं तु युज्यते, यथासमकामानि विषया कलविद्धौ नपेक्षयन्ते तथैवैतन्नि ।"

⁴ *Sū-śā-vid-V Press Ben 1916-pp 402 to 408*

⁵ *Nai-p-p 20 to 25-verses 1-48 to 51 Bhāḍ-V5r-Part I-pp 98-99 verses 221 to 225 Part III p 1161-verses 79 to 82 Śā-bhā-on Bra-sū-3-4-26 and on 3-4-26 Bhāḍ-bhā-Ānandāśrama press-pp 412-413, pp 637-658 and pp 684 to 695*

to the preparatory stage and after purifying the mind and definitely orientating it in favour of true spiritual insight all the prescribed religious activities like *yajña* vanish like clouds dispersing at the end of the rainy season. Further Mandana concedes in a rather halting way that it is quite permissible for a person to enter on the stage of *sannyāsa* directly from the stage of *Brahmacarya* and that, exclusively through *abhyāsa* in association with *sama dāna* and such other aids and without performing *yajña* and such other spiritual rites a *sannyāsin* reaches the final goal of *udṛṣṭi* and according to Mandana¹ a *sannyāsin* can at the best plod on slowly to the final goal while a person who harnesses *yajña* in the service of *abhyāsa*—presumably a *gṛhastha*—gallops on very quickly to the final goal. Unlike Mandana Suresvara and Śaṅkara are zealous propagandists of *sannyāsa* and affirm emphatically that *sannyāsa* is indispensable for Brahman-realisation. This position is wholly foreign to Mandana's advaitism as embodied in his *Brahmasiddhi* and it follows as a necessary corollary from Mandana's views in this matter that the advaitic scheme of discipline which is available to a competent *gṛhastha* is more efficient than that which a competent *sannyāsin* can avail himself of for the reason that the former may comprise *yajña* and such other prescribed rites and the latter cannot.

8 The doctrine of *Jivanmukti* or liberation in the living state² is upheld by Suresvara in a form³ which does not come into any kind of conflict with Śaṅkara's views. Mandana also supports the doctrine of *jivanmukti*⁴ but certain features of this doctrine as propounded by him come into direct conflict with

¹ Bra-sūp-p 36-lines 21 to 23 and p 37 lines 1 to 3—Part I सन्तुः। तथा चोत्तरं तं वाचमिना विनापि तैर्विद्वद्भिर्योन्व हृत्कले, विदुः कालकरो विद्वेन साधनविराहादि सा निम पिपसा च “हृत्कले ननुनाये विद्वेन विराजेत च । हृत्कले- सन्ध्यायां च यत्तद्विभ्रुनीयन्त” । एतेऽपि — यज्ञेन दानेन² इति अथगाद् अमात्यैश्चाने विद्यावामन्याहृत्कल्याणानि यथावतिवाच्यं यामज्जी सिद्धं—ना श्रीम-याचक्रुवाथ तयोऽवेक्षते ॥³

² Nais verses IV-70 to 73 Bhad Vkr-Part II-p 343 verse 260 Part III-p 1896 verse 1071 Part III p 1257 verses 108 to 110 p 1374-verses 200 to 204 P 1923-verses 1228 to 1232 and p 1264-1265 Bhad bhā-Āraṇḍ pp 684 to 695 Śā-bhā-ou-Bra a3-3-4 30 and 3-4 47

³ Nais-pp 106 to 903 Bhad-Vkr Part II pp 733 to 741

⁴ Bra-sūp-p 130 to 134 Part I

Saṅkara's views in this matter. Brahman-realisation completely destroys the accumulated *larma* of the past that has not yet fructified and it prevents any future accumulation of *larma*. But there is a special type of the past *larma*, called *prārabdha*, which has fructified and begun to bear fruit and this kind of *larma*, according to Saṅkara,¹ is a live force, which must be allowed to work itself out through its own inevitable workings even in the case of a *jñānin*, who has realised himself to be Brahman. Such a *jñānin*, free from unfructified *larma* and living out only his fructified *larma* without being influenced and bound by it, is called *jīvanmukta* - one who is liberated and yet alive. Saṅkara maintains that there are numerous instances of high-souled *jīvanmuktas*,² like *Apāṅkaratama* reincarnated as *Kṛṣṇadvaipayana*, *Vaṣiṣṭha* reincarnated as *Maitrāvaruṇa*, *Saṅatsumāra* reincarnated as *Skanda*, and *Dakṣa* and *Nārada* reincarnated in many a corporeal form that they are all *śūdrakāriṇas* who are charged by the Lord with the privileged duty of rendering various forms of service in the worlds of men and gods, in accordance with the nature and strength of their fructified *larma*, and that, while such *jīvanmuktas* are not in any way affected and bound by the workings of their *prārabdha*, and live continually in the bliss of their spiritual realisation, their fructified *larma* may come to an end with the death of the body in which they have come by Brahman-realisation or it may lead to their donning³ many other corporeal forms, commissioned by God to do many things before it comes to an end that, in this manner, the force of the fructified *larma* is of varying strength in the case of different *jīvanmuktas*, it cannot be stopped like the force of a discharged arrow⁴ and must spend itself out through its workings being experienced (*bhoga*)⁵ in one embodied form or another that the *jīvanmuktas* who do many other corporeal

¹ Śa-bhā on Bra-sū 4-1-15 and 19 and 3-3-22

² Śa-bhā on Bra-sū 3-3-32

³ Śa-bhā on Bra-sū 3-3-32

⁴ अवातराम मधुतपोऽपिचरा इत्यथोपेण तेषु तेष्वधिकारेषु निवृत्तस्तत्र सवसि सवसुर्वाते वेदान्तद्वैतानन्दसिद्धिप्रकाशाय यावदधिकारमपत्तिदत्ते ॥”

⁵ Śa-bhā on Bra-sū 3-3-32 “ मधुतपोऽपि च कर्मज्ञानस्य सुतेषोऽपि वेदान्तसिद्धिः ॥”

⁶ Śa-bhā on Bra-sū 3-3-32 “ सङ्कल्पवृत्तमेव हिने कलदाय कर्मज्ञानमतिहायतः ॥”

forms remember¹ distinctly all their previous incarnations and should be differentiated from those who are reborn and remember distinctly their previous birth (Jatasmarah) that the state of *kaivalya* which is entirely free from any possibility of living in the present or in any future body is reached by a *jivanmukta* only after a complete annihilation of his fructified karma through the experience of its workings (bhoga) and that the *śūtatprastā*² referred to in the second chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā* is the *jivanmukta* who has realised himself to be Brahman and continues to live in his corporeal form. Mandana's view in this matter exhibits a striking contrast in many respects. In discussing the question of the destruction of *karma* by the realisation of Brahman (tatvadarśana) Mandana holds that two views can possibly be put forward—one view³ being that Brahman-realisation brings about the total annihilation of all karmas the fructified as well as the unfructified and that it is immediately followed by the falling off of the body (dehapatā) and complete liberation from embodied existence (videshkalvalya) and the other view⁴ being that in some cases even after realising Brahman the body in which realisation is achieved does not fall off and persists for some time as a result of a trace of nescience (avyayī-Samskāra) persisting in the form of *pūrabdha* and that this condition is described as liberation in the living state (*Jivanmukta*)⁵. The former of these two views rules out *Jivanmukta* while the latter supports it. While Mandana indicates in unmistakable terms, that the former view is perfectly logical and admits of being harmonised with all the *śrūti*s and *smṛti*s dealing with *mukta* he shows his definite preference for the latter view and elaborately explains and maintains⁶ it. Unlike Sankara who rejects the former view as coming into conflict with *Śrūti*s and *smṛti*s Mandana concedes that it may be maintained to be quite sound.

1 १४ bhā-on Bra sū १-३ ३२- स्मृत-वेनेन महाविदुः युवान्ममेव देहं सम्बन्धेन त्वापि कदापिपतन्वाय अपरिहृतवितस्तदप्य एव देहोद्भवमकृत्वाहित्वास्मिन्नाय देहान्मुच्यपत्नक्रमेण वा अपि-निवृत्ति । न वेने जातिस्मरा इदुच्यन्ते, न वेने उदि म्नादिपुत्रि ।”

2 १३-bhā-on Bhe G: ३ ५४ to ७३ and on Bra sū-4 1-15

3 Bra sū-p 130-lines १ to २०-Part I

4 Bra-sū-p 130-line 21 to p 132-line 5 part I

5 Bra sū-p 132-line 6- 'सा वेदपदत्वा जीव-मुक्तिरिति शीघरे ' part I

6 Bra-sū compare P 130 lines १ to २० with p 130 line 21 to p 133 part

with *śrutis* and *smṛtis* in a more satisfactory manner than the doctrine of *sadyomukta* the Chandogya text *Tasya tūvadēva arani*¹ should be taken to convey only the limit of *dehagṛāta* with reference to the delay (*arāta*) which must necessarily be recognised in the case of *Jivanmuktas* the Gita texts describing a *śhāta prajā* may be taken to refer to a *Jivamuktā*² the trace of *avidyā* (*avidya-samakāra*) that survives in the case of a *Jivanmukta* becomes exceedingly attenuated and is entirely powerless³ to cause any physical experience (*bhoga*) of a binding character though it contributes to the semblance of *dhūga* a *Jivanmukta*'s body and physical environment have really sloughed⁴ off through his realisation though they have not yet completely perished and they bear the same relation to him as a cast-off slough to the snake to which it once belonged and a *Jivanmukta* comes by *kaivalya* on the destruction of his present body⁵ in which he achieved Brahman-realisation. While thus maintaining the latter of the two views regarding *mukta* and accepting *Jivanmukta* Māndana sets his face wholly against Sankara's view that the force of *prārabhā* cannot be impeded and must be allowed to spend itself out through *dhūga* like the force of a darted arrow and that *Jivanmuktas* like *Apāntaratāmas*, *Vasistha* and *Nārada* should be recognised as having had several reincarnations through the workings of their *prārabhā*. From Māndana's observations regarding *Jivanmukta* it inevitably follows that the text dealing with *Adhikārikas* should not be taken to refer to *Jivanmuktas* in the strict sense that the *Adhikārikas* are merely *vībhakas* of the most advanced type that a *Jivanmukta* is absolutely free from the possibility of reincarnation and attains *kaivalya* on the destruction of the body in which he achieved *Jivanmukta* and that the force of the surviving trace of *avidyā* can at the most lead only to the persistence of a *Jivanmukta*'s body for some time and that this force like the force of a darted arrow can be and is

1 Bra-Sūtr-Part I P 131 line 16 to p 132 line 1

2 Bra-Sūtr-Part I P 131 line 21 to p 132 line 1

3 Bra-Sūtr-Part I P 132 lines 1 to 3

4 Bra-Sūtr-Part I P 132 lines 9 to 14

इति कर्मणा वृक्षहीनवृक्षस्य नयेन
 नक्षिणकक्षेपणस्य । तस्मात्प्रारभकारणामलक्ष्यनिवृत्त्यात्प्रकार्यसत्त्वात्तस्य च वेदानाम्
 गणसिद्धयः पत्तिरिति शरीर केवचनमवश्यमापि ॥'

actually impeded and greatly mitigated¹ by Brahman-realisation. It may also be noted by the way that among the post-Saṅkara advaitins Vācaspati-misra, who follows Mandana in many respects, has chosen to deviate from Mandana and follow² Saṅkara in respect of Jivanmukti, Vimuktātman, the author of the *Istasiddhi* who prefers to follow Saṅkara and Suresvara in many respects, has chosen to adopt³ Mandana's position regarding Jivanmukti, and that *Brahmānandarāyaṇī*, who generally follows Saṅkara and Suresvara, and only maintains the reasonableness of Mandana's views as against the adverse criticisms of the Dvaita-Vedāntins, has shown his definite preference⁴ for the view that Jivanmukti is only a so-called mukti and that mukti in the strict sense of the term is videhamukti or kavalya which is invariably concomitant with the total annihilation of the body.

9 In Advaita literature, there is a well-established tradition which recognises two ways of viewing the Advaita doctrine. One of them is generally known as *bhūtvādāvata* or *Sadadvaita*, which may be rendered in English by the expression *ens-monism*. According to this view, there is only one absolute reality of a positive kind—viz., *Brahman*—all the non-dualistic texts of Vedānta, like "*Advaityam*", "*Abhūtanānābhāsvam*" and "*Neti neti*" teach the negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) as the great truth of Advaitism, which can be learnt only from Vedāntic texts and not from any other source, the realisation of Brahman as the only Absolute reality brings about the removal of ignorance (*avidyānāś*), the negation of the world and the removal of ignorance are negative realities and do not come into conflict with the monism of Advaita, which excludes only a second positive reality (*bhūtvā*) and is quite compatible with the recognition of a negative reality

¹ Bra-Sid-Part I P 132 line 20 to P 133 lines 3 "ये ह्य न न-प्रवृत्तयोगान् कर्मणां प्रवृत्तयोगैर्विधिषु चकरोष च स ह्यस्य अविद्य-य, अतो योगेन ह्यप्रवृत्तियेति । तद्वस्तु, हाकवते हीनु मावैव धु क्त्वाविधि नशपितु च उवाचिदि, एवमादिषुपितोसिधतविदाकर्ममाणवेहयोग्य कर्मलवर्णानि च शान्तिरकालि कर्मणि । तस्मात्सस्फलावेवस्थिति ॥"²

See also Bra-Sid Vyāk-Part II page 264—lines 12 to 24 " भवक-वादीयमनद्युव च स्थानि—वैश्वानि । तद्व्यपति—तदिति । "

³ BbSmat-N S S pp 856 to 959

⁴ I S pp 74 to 76

⁵ L. Ca -N S P - 1917 p 3 lines 1 to 5

other than Brahman in the form *ṛ prapañcābhāṣā* or *avhyā dharmat* in view of the necessity for recognising such negative realities the scope of the *advaita* doctrine should be restricted to positive entities other than Brahman and should not be understood as excluding certain negative realities and the *advaita* taught by the Vedānta texts reduces itself in this manner to the accommodating type of *advaita* known as *bhāṣāvāda* or *sādadvaita* (*ens-moum*). In authoritative works on *advaita* and *dvaita* this view is contrasted sharply with the uncompromising type of strict *advaita* which excludes thoroughly the reality of every category positive as well as negative other than Brahman. Vedāntic tradition in *Advaita*¹ and *Dvaita*² classics associates *bhāṣāvāda* specifically with *Māṇḍānamūṣī* and refers to it as *Māṇḍānamūṣī*. Though Mandana does not use the expression *bhāṣāvāda* anywhere in his *Brahmasūtrī* a careful scrutiny of that work in the light of the references in later Vedāntic works to *bhāṣāvāda* as Mandana's view discloses that Mandana is disposed to support *bhāṣāvāda* and to maintain it as a sound doctrine quite in harmony with the trend of Vedānta more especially with the anti-dualistic texts in negative form. In the *Brahma-kāṇḍa*³ of the *Brahmasūtrī* Mandana introduces the *bhāṣāvāda* view in the course of the statement of an objection and while refuting the objection implicitly accepts the reasonableness of *bhāṣāvāda*. If this were all that could be gathered from the *Brahmasūtrī* concerning *bhāṣāvāda* it would not be unfair to say that the text of that work does not adequately warrant the specific ascription of *bhāṣāvāda* to Mandana in Vedāntic tradition. In some places⁴ in the *Brahmasūtrī* Mandana equates the removal of ignorance (*avidyā*) with Brahman-realisation (*vidyā*) and this would appear to militate against the ascription of *bhāṣāvāda* to Mandana and one may justly wonder how his name came to be so prominently associated with this view. However there should be no difficulty

¹ A. S. N. S. P. 1917 p. 467 lines 10, 11 and 15. A. Rat. Ra. N. S. P. 1917 p. 18 line 14 p. 22 line 2. L. Ca. N. S. P. 1917 p. 386 lines 12 to 23. Gurus. Ca. No. 75 Mys. S. S. 1935-pp. 190 and 191.

² N. M. Kumb. Part 1-p. 198 line 1. Part 4 p. 1-line 4.

³ Bra. Sū. part 1-p. 4-para. 2 to p. 6 line 6.

⁴ Bra. Sū. part 1 p. 119 verse 106 and p. 121-last line.

in seeing that Mandana sets forth and maintains, in unmistakable terms the *bhāvādvaita* view, in the *śūdrī-kāṇḍa*¹ of the *Brahmasūdrī*, where he points out that the total negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) is the absolutely irreducible minimum of truth that could be exclusively attributed to Upanisadic teachings, having due regard to the fact that Brahman, in some manner or other, is presented in all kinds of cognition *Brahmasūdrī-Sarasvatī*² explicates, amplifies and vindicates Mandana's *bhāvādvaita* as set forth in the *śūdrīkāṇḍa* of the *Brahmasūdrī*. He points out that Mandana should be taken to hold — that the total negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) and the destruction of ignorance (*avyādhvansa*) are the only negations which should be recognized to be real (*tattva*) in the sense that they are not annulled by Brahman-realisation, that the negation of the world involved in the conception of its unreality has a type of existence (*sattā*) which is superior to that of the world, and that the recognition of the reality of *prapañcābhāva* and *avyādhvansa* does not come into any kind of conflict with the conception of *advaita* as *bhāvādvaita*. The full significance of the *bhāvādvaita* view is brought out clearly in the alternative expression *abhāvādvaita*,³ which is sometimes used by the Dvaitins in their criticism of the *advaita* doctrine. Mandana's name has come to be prominently associated with *bhāvādvaita*, not so much for the reason that he considers *avyādhvansa* to be a real factor, as for the marked manner in which he stresses the reality of *prapañcābhāva* in the concluding part of his *Brahmasūdrī* and emphatically declares⁴ it to form the final and the *otherwise-unascertainable* (*pramāṇātārānadhigata*) import of Vedic texts. While Mandana is prepared to reduce *avyādhvansa* to a positive form by equating it with *achyā*, he points out that these two are coeval and indistinguishable realities and is clearly solicitous⁵ of preserving the negative character of

¹ Bra-Sūdrī Part I-p 157

"मन्त्रस्य प्रतिपद्यमानं तन्मन्त्रं प्रतिपाद्यते"—×××

××× "निर्गमिं तन्मन्त्रं प्रतिपाद्यते ? तन्मन्त्रमात्रम् ।"

² I Ca-N 8 P 1917-p 386-lines 12 to 23

³ N M Kumb p-168 and chapter 4-p 4-line 3 N M tar Kumb p 371

⁴ See footnote 1 above

⁵ Bra-Sūdrī Part I-p 152-lines 1 to 11

avyākāraṇīya in his endeavour to reconcile its reality with the advaita doctrine. In respect of *prapañcābhāva* he would frankly treat it as an irreducible negative reality present as such alongside the absolute Brahman and forming the main theme of non-dualistic Vedāntic texts. There is thus discernible in the text of the Brahmasiddhi more particularly in the *Siddhikānda* ample ground for taking *bhāvādvaita* to be a distinctive feature of Mandana's contribution to Advaita. A careful consideration of Mandana's *bhāvādvaita* in comparison with what Suresvarācārya has said in his works with reference to *prapañcābhāva* and *avyākāraṇīya* would disclose a striking divergence and in some places an irreconcilable opposition between the views of Mandana and Suresvara in regard to *bhāvādvaita*. Madhusudanāśāstrī draws pointed attention in his *Vedāntakalpalatākā*¹ to the uncompromising antagonism which Suresvara has shown to *bhāvādvaita* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakaśāstra*. One of the Vaiśiṣṭika texts quoted in this connection in the *Vedāntakalpalatākā*—*Nābhavaḥ nāsthyonyatrāpi mūlādah kṛmātakāre*—is understood by Madhusudanāśāstrī² to refute the view that *prapañcābhāva* should be taken to be an irreducible negative reality present alongside the absolute Brahman and in fact one may go a step further and find in this Vaiśiṣṭika text *nābhavanāsthyonyatrāpi*³—a direct protest against Mandana's text—*Prapañcācārya pravṛtayah sabdāna pratipūdyate*⁴ which forms the main basis of *bhāvādvaita*. By the way it may be useful to consider here the attitude towards *bhāvādvaita* of the advaitins who came after Mandana and Suresvara. Viṣṇukṛtān the author of the *Iśasiddhi* may be taken to have accepted Mandana's *bhāvādvaita* or *Sādādvaita* as Madhusudanāśāstrī suggests for all practical purposes and the *Iśasiddhi* puts forward two⁵ views about the nature of *avyākāraṇīya*—one view treating it as a *fifth undefinable something* (*pañcamaprakāra*) *anurūpācārya* in the sense that it cannot be said to be absolutely existent (*sat*) or absolutely non-existent (*asat*) or both or *anurūpācārya* as the equivalent of being removable by valid knowledge

¹ Ved-kalpa 3 Bh-1-No 3 Benares 1930 pp 26 to 28

Ved kalpa p 28 lines 6 to 8

Ved kalpa p 28 lines 3 to 9

⁴ I S G O S LXV p 85—para 2 to 86—line 12; and Chapter VIII,

(*Jñānaśakti*), and a second view reducing it to Brahman-knowledge (*Vidyā*) or the pure, absolute Soul (*ātman*) Ānanda-bodha¹ does not vacillate between these two views as Vimuktātman does and maintains in his *Nvayamakarāṇḍa*, the former of these two views and discards the latter and perhaps this is why the view that *audyāmavṛti* is a fifth indefinable something (*pañcama prakāra*) is attributed by Appayya-dīkṣita² to Ānanda-bodha in a specific manner. Otsukha³ in his *Latīvapradīpikā*, notices the views of Vimuktātman and Ānanda-bodha, criticises them and holds that *advaita*, in the strict sense of the term, makes it necessary to equate *audyāmavṛti* with the absolute *Ātman* realised as such (" *Nivṛttrātmā mōhasya Jñātatīenopalakṣitā* ")⁴ Madhu-sūdanaśaraevati and Brahmānandaśaraevati, while, in their polemics with dvaitins, they seriously maintain the perfect tenability⁵ of the *bhūvādvaita* view, in the form in which Mandana put it forward, as well as in the slightly modified form in which Vimuktātman and Ānanda-bodha adopted it, point⁶ out in the constructive parts of their works that it is but an accommodation to the dualistic leanings caused by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika obsessions relating to the category of negation (*atyantābhāva* and *ābhāvāśesa*) and that Otsukha's view embodied in the text (' *Nivṛttrātmā mōhasya* ' should be regarded as decisive and thoroughly in accord with *advaita* in the strict sense. It may be safely stated here that, in the whole range of *advaita* literature before Otsukha, none could be said to have so frankly maintained the soundness of *one-moment*, (*bhūvādvaita*) or *non-ent-dualism* (*abhāvadvaita*), as Mandana did, in the concluding part of his work, in connection with the exposition of his text "*Prapañcasya pravṛttauś śabdāna pratīpādyate*, and none could be said to have so uncompromisingly repudiated this view of Mandana, as Sureśvara did, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakaūṛhika*, in the observation—

¹ Nyā-mak Chow-S S 1907-pp 355 to 357 and p 357 lines 1 to 5

² Śīd-keś-e-Benares 1916-pp 499 to 500 line 1

³ T P N S P 381-line 5 and p 383-line 3

⁴ T P N S P 382-lines 9 and 10

⁵ See footnote 1 on page 139

⁶ A S N S P -1917 P 467 line 16—"बहुतल-निरिच्छामिदमे पञ्चमकार-व भावदेव चाननुपपन्नमहत्तम्" [Ibid p 385 line 18 "वेतु पञ्चमकाराद्विषया वेतु मन्मद्भिर्मुक्तत्वार्था इति न तत्त्वमर्षमर्षव्याप्तम्"] La Ca N S P 1917 p 385 lines 5 to 13

instances at all in which Mandana seeks to support his view with a quotation or extract from Saṅkara's works while he quotes a verse from Gaudapāda's *Māndūkyakārikā*¹ in one place and is inclined to strengthen his adversive views by quoting Bhartṛhari.² There are unmistakable internal evidences, in the *Brahmasiddhi*, showing that the antithesis between *karma* and *jñāna*, which is maintained by Saṅkara by an elaborate process of reasoning and an overwhelming weight of scriptural authority, is wholly unacceptable to Mandana and repudiated by him without any reservation. In the *Brahmakānda*³ of the *Brahmasiddhi*, Mandana summarises and criticises Saṅkara's view about the antithesis between *karma* and *jñāna* rejects this view and gives his own verdict in favour of a certain type of *jñānakāma-samuccaya*, in which karma in the form of agnihotra and such other sacrifices or at least in the form of meditation (*prasaṅkhyāna*), has an important place and function in the final stage of the causal scheme necessary to bring about Brahman-realisation. A careful comparison of Saṅkara's remarks⁴ on *karma* and *jñāna* in his *Ātmasūtrabhāṣya* with Mandana's criticism of Saṅkara's position regarding the antithesis of *jñāna* and *karma*, as also with the relevant portions of Śaṅkarācārya's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*⁵ and *Vārtika*⁶

(continued from the previous page)

an earlier work in this way— 'तथाहि सप्रत्यक्षिदा वचनम्— 'अवशिवाववाह मां निवृत्तं प्रपश्यते ।'⁷ It is obvious therefore that the line— 'अप्राप्तोत्पन्नवाहपदां X' quoted by Mandana in the *Brahmasiddhi* was not taken from any of Saṅkara's works. Perhaps this line was taken both by Mandana and Saṅkara from Ācārya Śaṅkara pāṇḍya's *Vārtika* from which Saṅkara has quoted three verses at the end of the *Saṅkaraopādāśāraṇa bhāṣya* (See J. C. R. V. Vol. I—pages 1 to 15)

¹ Bra-Sid-part I p 150 lines 3 and 4. Mānd-kār 1-11.

² Bra-Sid part I-p 26 line 21. V. pad 3 211.

³ See Bra-Sid-part I-p 32 line 8 to the end of page 34 for a full statement of Saṅkara's view see page 35 to page 38 ibid for Mandana's criticism of Saṅkara's view. See Commentary on Bra-Sid Abh. p. 1 (R. No. 3653 Tr. C. S. Mea in the Govt. Orl. Mus. Lib.) page 47— "तत्रैव वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रेण कृतक-वैकल्य-वमानना महत्प्रयत्नं स्वामिनः ज्ञानरूपणं स च प्रथमतः वेदि-अवशिवावो इति ।" See also commentary on Bra-Sid Bhā. śā. R. No. 3657—Tr. C. S. Mea in the Govt. Oriental Mus. Lib. page 90— "तत्रैव वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रा-वैकल्येच्छया महत्प्रयत्नं स्वामिनः ज्ञानरूपणं स च प्रथमतः वेदि-अवशिवावो इति ।"

⁴ Bra. sū. bhā. N. S. p. 191, pp. 51 to 70 pp. 143 to 146 line 8 to p. 129 line 8.

⁵ Nels. p. 31. I. 49 p. 38-I. verses 81 pp. 145 to 148 III. verses 64 to 70.

⁶ Brhad Vār. part I, verses 357 et seq. and see footnotes 2, 3, 4 and 5 on page 127.

and of Vācaspatiśrīra's Bhamati¹ would compel a critical student of these works to conclude that Mandana's statement of Sankara's view on *kaṃsa* and *jnāna* as *pūrvapakṣa* in the Brahmakānda of the Brahmasūtrībhāṣya was intended by Mandana himself to be understood as a direct epitome of what all Sankara had observed on this subject in his *Ātmasūtrībhāṣya* and such intention was unambiguously indicated by Mandana through the significant manner in which he wove into the closing part of the *pūrvapakṣa* portion of his own text two² of the unforgettable sentences extracted from the end of Sankara's *Samanvayādhikaraṇabhāṣya* that the Naiśkarmyasiddhi was deliberately designed by Suresvara acting at the instance³ of his great master—Sankara to be a clear and effective counterblast to Mandana's attitude towards *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*; and that Vācaspatiśrīra who wrote the Bhamati after writing the *Tattvāsamīkṣa* and who had been deeply steeped in Mandana's Brahmasūtrībhāṣya when he proceeded to interpret Sankara's Brahmasūtrībhāṣya felt constrained to draw attention to the pronounced divergence between Sankara and Mandana in respect of *kaṃsa* and *jnāna* by introducing⁴ certain portions of Sankara's text as implying a refutation of Mandana's views and by weaving relevant extracts⁵ from the *Brahmasūtrībhāṣya* into the *pūrvapakṣa* portions of the Bhamati although Vācaspati would prefer to retain as much as possible of his heritage from Mandana

¹ Bhāṣanī—N S p 1917—p 51 lines 5 to 54 lines 2 p 58 lines 7 to 14 Here it should be remembered that Vācaspatiśrīra summarises Mandana's siddhānta as stated in the portion of the Brahmasūtrībhāṣya referred to in footnote 3—page 144 and incorporates it in the *pūrvapakṣa* which should be refuted before Sankara's siddhānta is maintained In fact Vācaspatiśrīra has woven into lines 7 to 14 on page 58 of his Bhamati almost the very words of Mandana in the Brahmasūtrībhāṣya in lines 23 to 25 of page 35 and in lines 17 18 and 25 of page 12 and line 1 of page 13

² Compare Bra Sūtrī-1 art 1 p 34 lines 20 to 23 with lines 2 and 3 and lines 8 to 13 on page 150 and lines 8 and 9 on page 152 in the Bra sūtrī bhāṣ N S P 1917

³ Vid-ante oom on Nais (R No 2154 Tr Ca S Govt Orī Mee Lib) page 3—
 दाऊतनामवाक्यस्य पूर्वविधा भाष्यकारेण सकृदुपलक्षणमात्रेणोक्तमित्यादि मन्व
 धर्मसूत्रविदोऽकमीदृशेभ्योऽप्याह पुरुषविद्यायां प्राणिनामुपकाराय श्वाकर्मवत्तया तेषां सर्वविधिं शीघ्रं
 च्छरीकर्मकलापुननिश्चयः ॥”

⁴ See footnote 1 above

⁵ See footnote 1 above

and to read it into Sankara's exposition of *Advaita*. In the interpretation of the text of the Upanisads and the Brahmasūtras, Mandana adopts an independent line and has no hesitation to deviate from Sankara's bhāṣyas, where he finds such deviations necessary to maintain his own views. Attention has already been drawn¹ to the differences noticeable in Mandana's interpretation of the Sūtras—"Ōmiti Brahma" "*Vijñāya prajñānā kurvata*," "*Vidyām avidyam ca*"—as compared with the interpretation of these texts by Sankara and his loyal and devoted disciple, Suresvara. Again, pointed attention has already been drawn² to the divergence between Mandana on the one hand and Sankara and Suresvara on the other, in the interpretation of the Sūtra—"Sarpūpekṣā ca yaññōdisruteraśvaatā"³. A careful investigation of those sections of the Brahmasiddhi, in which Mandana discusses the relation between *karma* and *jñāna* and the nature of *Jivanmukti*, would make it clear that his commentators⁴ and Amalananda⁵ are right in taking him as animadverting upon Sankara's views and rejecting them. It is clear in almost every section of Suresvara's Naiskarmyasiddhi and Vārtika that he would consider it a sacrilege on his part or on the part of any other Advaitin to treat Sankara's views on certain questions in the manner in which Mandana has done. It should be remembered here that Suresvara avows⁶ it to be his chief task to interpret, amplify and vindicate the thoughts of his Divine Master-Sankara, while Mandana plays the role of a perfectly independent Advaitic teacher throughout his Brahmasiddhi. It is also noteworthy that, in the interpretation⁶ of what may be regarded as the pivotal aphorism of the Vedānta system—

¹ See footnotes 2 on page 127 & 3 on page 128 1 on page 129 and 1 on page 130 and pages 127 to 133 supra.

² See footnotes 2 and 3 on page 132 and page 133 supra.

³ Bra. Sid. vyāk. part II p. 264 lines 18 to 21— "सर्वत्र पशुद्वयमनसु वल्लवि विविति । हनुष्यनि-नविनि ।"

⁴ Kālpataaru N. S. P. pp. 958-959—"शब्दे विनम्रलक्षणानिहो जीव-मुक्ति-साधक उक्तं, नम विनम्रस्य साधको न सङ्गाकाराविति मण्डविनिवेक हनुष्यद्वयनि-विनम्रप्रथिति ।"

⁵ Nalp-p. 8 I-5 pp. 203 204 205, IV-74 76 and 77 Bṛhad-Vār-part I verse 2 part III pp. 2071 to 2073 verses 22 to 25.

⁶ Bra. Sid. part I p. 155 lines 8 to 11— "नया च 'ननु सप्त वयात्' इति चोदना लक्षणादयान् द्वाभ्येन विविध्य अत्र सप्त-वयस्युक्तम् । सप्त वयोहि पदाभावात् सप्तयो विविधेण नो मङ्ग गन्धे च चोदनात् हनुष्यं ।"

‘*Tattu samanvayāt*’¹ Mandana does not care to follow Śaṅkara and wants us to take the word *tu* to indicate the difference between *dharma* and *Brahman* and the word *samavaya* in the sense of the interrelation of the meanings of words. Mandana’s interpretation¹ of the oft-quoted Mundaka text *Vedāntavyāhāra samāvāyāthā*² is completely at variance with Śaṅkara’s interpretation of the same text and bears testimony to the striking contrast between Mandana and Śrīśvara in respect of their attitude towards Śaṅkara. In the *Bhāṣya* on the Mundaka-panised Śaṅkara takes³ this mantra as referring to *jñānāṅkṛtā* who have renounced all *karma* and firmly stand on *śaṅkṣā* and Brahman-realisation and become finally liberated in the sense that they realise themselves to be the absolute Brahman the expression *Brahmalokeṣu* being understood to be the absolute Brahman itself as *loka* and the plural number in that expression having reference to the apparent plurality of the adepts (*sādhanas*) before their *muktā*. Śrīśvara quotes⁴ this Mundaka text in his *Vārtikā* and follows up Śaṅkara’s interpretation by pointing out that according to this text entering into the order of *samnyāsa* in which all *karma* is renounced is indispensable for Brahman-realisation. According to Śaṅkara and Śrīśvara *Vedāntavyāhāra* in the Mundaka text is the effective Brahman-realisation arising from the *Mahāvākyas* of the Upanisads and *śaṅkṣā sādhana* is the *śaṅkṣāsādhana* itself which is here described as *yoḡa* in the sense of unshakable fixation in Brahman (*kevalabrahmansthā*). Those who are familiar with the traditions of the Śaṅkara school know well that this Mundaka text is usually cited as the distinctive motto of the *śaṅkṣāsādhana* as conceived by Śaṅkara and his followers and that this is solemnly chanted on all occasions when anything is piously offered in the name of Śaṅkara or of any of his pontifical representatives. Mandana, on the contrary dissociates this Mundaka text completely from the *śaṅkṣāsādhana* and explains it in a manner which would be characteristic of one who refuses to believe in the supreme importance of that *śādhana*. According to him,⁴ the expression

¹ *Bis* sū. part I p. 123 lines 5 to 17

² *Muṅḍ. bhā.* on 3.26

³ *Bāhū. V. Śrī. part III* p. 196d verso 149

⁴ See footnote 1 above

former's prasthanā is different from Sankara-prasthanā while the latter closely follows Sankara. Prakasatman in his *Vivaraṇā*¹ and Śābdenārṇaya,² vindicates the views of Padmapada and Suresvara and criticises Mandana's views and where he quotes Mandana with approval he refers to him as the author³ of the *Brahmasiddhi* and not as Suresvara. Ānandabodha quotes extracts⁴ from the *Brahmasiddhi* in many places in his *Nyaya-makaranda* accepts⁵ Mandana's views in some cases and criticises⁶ them in cases where he prefers to adopt Suresvara's views and Citsukha identifies all these references in his commentary⁷ on the *Nyayamakaranda* but nowhere identifies the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* with the author of the *Vertika*. On the contrary Pratyakṣvarupa in his commentary⁸ on Citsukha's *Tattvapradīpikā* carefully differentiates Mandanamisra from Suresvarācārya. Ānandanubhava a great samnyasin of the advaita school who is presupposed⁹ by Citsukha in his *Tattvapradīpikā* and who is the author of an advaita treatise called-*Nyayaratnadīpavali*¹⁰ distinguishes Mandana and Suresvara in unmistakable terms¹¹ in that section of the *Nyayaratnadīpavali* in which the *samnyāsa* of the *Priddānta* type advocated by Bhāskara and his followers is assigned an inferior place and *samnyāsa* in the strict sense of the term is maintained to be of the *Āśādanānta* type involving the total renunciation of all the Vedic rites and the two external symbols of Vedic rites—the sacred thread (*Yajñōpavīta*) and the tuft of hair on the crown (*Śikhā*)

¹ Pa vi viz B S No 5 p 105 lines 4 and 5 see also the relevant portion of the last dip Ben S 3 p 359 lines 23 24

² Śā nr Trv B S p 71 verse 71

³ Pa vi viz B S No 5 p 32 lines 17 18

⁴ Nyā mak ch-B S p 231-line 9 p 154 lines 8 9 page 256-lines 4 5

⁵ See footnote 4 above

⁶ Compare Bra Sid-part I p 13 with Nyā-mak Ch 5 9 pp 338 to 351. See also Nyā mak-p 223 lines 1 and 2 in which Mandana's view is discarded

⁷ Citsukha's commentary on Nyā mak-p 231 p 234 p 256 pp 290 and 291

⁸ See Nayanaprasādin on T P p 332-lines 5 and 6 and p 340 line 18

⁹ See T P p 6 lines 3 and 4 and Nayanaprasādin thereon

¹⁰ Nyā-rā di manuscript R No 5505 Tr Ost Govt Oriental Mus Lib Madras

¹¹ Nyā rā di ms p 153 lines 16 to 18— किंच प्रतिद्वन्द्वसौविधवस्तुसामान्यतमस्य कल्पयन्निवृत्तनिमित्तं द्विष्टाद्यमीदृशं परिहृयितव्यं यत्तु द्वेषनाश्याय विनाशोपयुक्तम् ॥'

In this section of the *Nyāyaraśnadīpāvalī*, Ānandanubhava refers to *Viśvarūpa* Prabhakaraḡuru *Manḡana*, *Vaśeḡpatī* and *Suoaritamāra* as reputed and reliable exponents of vedic religion and as having signified their approval of the *saṃnyāsa* of the *Ēkodaṇḡa* type. It is also stated in the same section of the same work that *Viśvarūpa* and *Prabhakara* themselves¹ became *Ēkaḡaṇḡi-Saṃnyāsīna*, that *Viśvarūpa* expressed himself in favour of *Ēkodaṇḡi-saṃnyāsa*, in the *smṛti*² work which he wrote when he was a *grhaṡṡka* and not subsequent to his becoming a *saṃnyāsīna* and that *Viśvarūpa* came to be known as *Sureśvara* in his *Saṃnyāsīśrama*. It may also be clearly made out from this work that *Manḡana* did not himself become a *Samnyāsīna*, though he was prepared to recognise *sāstra* sanction³ in favour of *Ēkaḡaṇḡisamnyāsa*, while *Bhaṡṡa-Viśvarūpa* himself became a *saṃnyāsīna* of the *Ēkodaṇḡa* type. A reference to *Viśvarūpa's* *Bālakṛiḡḡā*⁴ would show that *Ānandanubhava* is presumably having in his mind in this connection, the strong advocacy by *Viśvarūpa* of the *Ēkodaṇḡisamnyāsa* in the lengthy discussion of this subject which is appended to his commentary on verse 66 in the *Prāyaścittadhāya* of *Yajñavalkya-smṛti*. *Ānandagiri*, who wrote a commentary on *Ānandanubhava's* *Nyāyaraśnadīpāvalī* and also a commentary on *Sureśvara's* *Vārtika*, besides several other works, has no doubt whatever that *Sureśvara* and *Manḡana* are different persons and points out that *Sureśvara* repudiates⁵ *Manḡana's* view in favour of *prasaṡṡkhyāna* in the *Bihadāranya* *kavārtika*. *Amalananda*, in his *Kalpataṛu*⁶ draws attention to the fact that *Manḡana*, as an *advaitīna*, criticises some of *Samkara's* view and assumes that *Sureśvara's* *Vārtika*⁷ should be taken to elucidate *Samkara's* view and that *Manḡana* and *Sureśvara* were

¹ *Nyā ra śi ma* p 133 lines 19-20

"ननु विश्वरूपमकौ मन्मथप्रतिनौ, कल्पकदण्डिनौ ।"

² *Nyā ra śi ma* p 134 lines 2 to 6

"सुरस्यत्वत्वात् विप्रचिते च विश्वरूपे ये द्वाहितकल्पपरिग्रहा इत्यने । न चारी न च संया
मना विप्रचिते ; नवाहि परिग्रहमाचार्यद्वैतपरिप्रचितेति प्रये नाम लिखेत ; लिखित तु मनुचित
स्वरचितेति ॥"

³ See footnote 1 on page 133

⁴ *Bālakṛiḡḡā* Part II Triv 8 8 No LXXXI pp 29 to 31

⁵ See footnote 2 on page 137

⁶ See footnote 4 on page 146

⁷ *Kalpataṛu* p 921

two different advaitins adopting different view-points Vidyā ranya in his *Vivaranaprameyasamgraha* quotes Suresvara¹ under the name Visvarupaçarya thereby clearly indicating the identity of Visvarūpa and Suresvara and refers to Mandana² the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* as a distinct person. In his *Vartikasāra* Vidyāranya refers to Brahmasiddhikara as a great writer³ who had an insight into the spirit of the veda (*Vedarahasyam*) and quotes the verse *Sarvapratiyaya vedye va*⁴ from the *Brahmasiddhi* in support of one of the alternative interpretations of the text *athāta adeṣo neti neti*⁵. It is clear from this portion of the *Vārtikasāra* and the commentary thereon called *Laghu samgraha*⁶ that Vidyāranya and the commentator Maheśvara trītha take Mandanamisia and Suresvara to be different persons. To avoid any possible misapprehension here it would be necessary to observe that, according to Vidyāranya's analysis in the *Vārtikasāra* Suresvara interprets the text *'athāta adeṣo neti neti'* in three ways⁷ in his *vartika* that the first interpretation avoids *lakṣmā* and takes the negative text to express directly the negation of the world (*prapañca*) that the second interpretation has recourse to *lakṣmā* and takes the negative text to indirectly convey an affirmation of the identity of *jīva* with Brahman, that the third interpretation also proceeds on the basis of *lakṣmā* and presents the negative text as conveying indirectly the identity of *jīva* with *Īvara* and that the second interpretation is more satisfactory than the first and that the third is most satisfactory. It should also be noted that while there is some agreement between Suresvara and Mandana as pointed out in the *Vārtikasāra*, in the first of these three interpretations Suresvara's attitude is one of half-hearted acquiescence. None who remembers Medhagudānarasvatī's remarks on Suresvara's opposition⁸ to Mandana's *bhūtvānta* can miss in the *Vārtika* portion setting forth the first interpretation these facts -- that Suresvara expressly repudiates⁹ the *bhūtvānta* implication in

¹ *Viv-pra sam* *Viv* 8 8 No 7 p 92 lines 9 to 11

² *Viv-pra sam* *Viv* 9 8 No 7 p 124 lines 21 to 24

³ *Vrt* 48 *Ch* 8 8 p 573 lines 4 5 and 6

L. S. On Vrt 88 *Ch* 8 8 p 573 lines 5 and 6

Vrt 48 *ch* 8 8 pp 573 574 575 verses 82 83 84 85 87

⁶ See footnotes 1-3 on page 141

⁷ *Bṛhad-Vrt* part II p 1025 verses 196 to 199

it by adducing the argument that the *uṣeḍha* also comes with the scope of *advaita* and, as such, comes within the scope *advaitasūtra*, while Mandana emphasises¹ the *bhāṣāsūtra* interpretation here and accepts it as a position quite consistent with the conception of *advaita-Brahman* and that Suresvara considers it safe in the interest of *advaita* in the strict sense, to discuss the first interpretation which comes dangerously near Mandana's position and, after criticising Mandana's position, proceeds to set forth, in the Vārtika, the second and third interpretations. From the way in which Appayyadīkṣita refers to *Vārtikakāra* and *Brahmasiddhikāra*,² it may be made out that he knows that the authors of the Vārtika and the *Brahmasiddhi* are two different persons. However, in the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*, the first line of a verse from the *Brahmasiddhi* is found to be misquoted³ : an extract from the Vārtika and *Acyutakṣananandaparīkṣa* in his commentary on the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*, assume that the *Vārtikakāra* Suresvara, is the author of this verse. It would be a mistake to suppose from this erroneous reference that Appayyadīkṣita believed Mandana to be identical with Suresvara, for Appayyadīkṣita wrote a complete commentary on the *Kalpataru* and must have been quite aware that Amalananda assumed that the *Brahmasiddhi* was written subsequent to Sankara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* and that Mandana criticised Sankara's views on certain questions, and Dīkṣita must also have been aware that Suresvara's exposition of *advaita* doctrine was based entirely on Sankara's works, while Mandana's exposition of *advaita* doctrine did not follow Sankara's works and constituted a different *prasthāna*, as pointed out by Sarvaśāstramuni, in his *Saṅkṣepasārīraka* a work with which Dīkṣita was thoroughly familiar.⁴ This misquotation, therefore, has to be accounted for as one of the possible oversights, for which he seeks the indulgence of his scholarly readers in the apologetic

¹ See footnote 1 on page 140

² *Śid-śeś-sam-Benras* 1917 p. 418 lines 6, 7, 8

³ *Śid-śeś-sam-Benras* 1916 p. 498

⁴ *Śid-śeś-sam-Ben* 1916 p. 473 lines 5, 6, 7

⁵ See footnote 4 on page 146

⁶ *Śid-śeś-sam-Ben* 1916 pp. 62, 75, 82, 270, 339, 340,

verse¹ at the end of the Siddhānta-saṃgraha or the expression *śyādvārtikāvarcāh*² may be the result of some scribal corruption³ in the manuscripts or this expression has to be explained by understanding Dikṣita to mean that the idea contained in Māndana's texts is in agreement with Suresvara's views as expressed in his vartika and any conflict with this idea would amount to conflict with the vartika. It may be noted here that the last explanation suggested above may be supported by a reference to Vidyaranya's Vartikāśara⁴ and Vyāsātīrtha's Nyāyamṛta which draw pointed attention to the agreement between Suresvara and Māndana in respect of the idea embodied in the lines *Sarvopatyaṅgavyeṣṭi* ५५. Further the Dvaita tradition as recorded in *Dvaita-vādānta* works clearly differentiates Māndana and Suresvara and this is quite evident from the manner in which Vyāsātīrtha quotes⁵ Māndana in his Nyāyamṛta as holding a certain view in a previous sentence and in the next sentence quotes *Suresvara* as a different advaitic writer and as holding a very similar view. Madhusūdana-sarasvatī and Brahmananda-sarasvatī nowhere equate Māndana with Suresvara and assume in all their works that Māndana and Suresvara were two distinct individuals. This is quite clear from the manner in which the Vedāntakalpalatīka quotes⁶ the Vartika and Bīchmāsiddhi in successive sentences as works by two different authorities on Advaita and sets forth Suresvara's vartika in sharp opposition⁷ to Māndana's *bhūtvādānta* or *śādadvaita*. This is also clear from the way in which the Advaita-siddhi⁸ the Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa⁹ the Laghucandrika¹⁰ and the Gurucandrika¹¹ refer to Māndana and his view on advaita.

¹ Śid. let. sam. Ben. 1916 concluding verse.

² Śid. let. sam. Ben. 1916 p. 473 line 7.

³ Śid. let. sam. Ben. 1916 p. 473—*इयादि तामिरेषिणः ।*³ may be a scribal corruption of—*इयादि तामिरेषिणः ।*

⁴ See footnote 3 on page 151.

NyāyMṛta Kamb. Vol. I p. 163 lines 6 to 9.

⁵ See footnote 5 above.

Ved. kalpa p. 12.

⁶ Ved. kalpa pp. 26 to 28.

⁷ A. S. N. I. 1917 p. 318 lines 13 and 14.

⁸ A. Ret. Ra. N. S. I. 1917 p. 21 lines 50-51.

⁹ L. Ca. N. S. P. 1917 p. 326 lines 13 to 23.

¹⁰ Gu. Ca. Mys. S. S. No. 75 p. 434 and pp. 190-191.

* [Ananta, B. O. R. I.]

It is also worthy of notice that the *Siddhantadīpa*,¹ the *Sambandhokti*,² the *Subodhant*,³ the *Anvayarthaprakāśikā*⁴ and the *Sārasaṅgraha*⁵—all these commentaries on the *Samkṣepasārtra*, when commenting on the reference to Mandana by Sarvajñatman in verse 174 of Chapter II of the *Samkṣepasārtra*, differentiate Mandana's advaitic *prasthāna* in such a striking way that it would be impossible to equate Mandana with Sureśvara. It would also be of great advantage to note here that Jñānāmīta in his commentary on the *Naiṣkamyasiddhi* called *Vidyasūrabhi*, while criticising Mandana's view that *prasthābhūta* brings about Brahman-realisation and *Sabdi* cannot and maintaining the soundness of Sureśvara's view that *śabda* can and does bring it about emphatically suggests⁷ that though Mandana is a great *Mīmāṃsaka* his *advaitasārthapradīpa* as embodied in the *Brahmasiddhi* is not *vatsanipradīpa* (good and approved advaitic tradition), while Sureśvara's advaitic tradition, based as it is on Sankara's works, is *vatsanipradīpa*.

There are numerous works in Sanskrit purporting to give an account of Sankara's life. They mix up in a hopelessly confused manner legendary and historical materials. It would be very unreasonable to base any conclusion on the statements contained in these works, without adducing corroborative evidence from other and more reliable sources. The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains over a dozen works⁸ in manuscript form, which purport to give an account of Sankara's life and some of which, like the *Samkaraviṅaya* ascribed to Viḍyāranya and *Sri Govindanātha's Samkaracaryācarita*, are avail-

¹ Viśvareḍa's commentary Ms. B. No. 1558 Tr. Cat. Govt. Ori. Mus. Lib. Madras—*सुसमिधय इ परव्यासतत्त्वानवीय नवी नवायुनिवास्तु।*⁷

² Vedāntasāra commentary Ms. B. No. 918 Tr. Cat. Govt. Ori. Mus. Lib. Madras—*“अनेन नवी धार्मिकान्तिरेवैव वल्लिभ नववचन, नवायुनवा धार्मिकवस्तु।”*

³ Anand S. S. No. 83 p. 555

⁴ Anand S. S. No. 83 p. 555

⁵ Haridās S. S. No. 18 Ben. 1934 chap. 2 p. 105

⁶ Ms. B. No. 354 Tr. Cat. Govt. Ori. Mus. Lib. Madras, p. 350 lines 6 and 7

⁷ Ms. B. No. 3354 Tr. Cat. Govt. Ori. Mus. Lib. Madras p. 331 lines 6-7

⁸ *Samkaracaryācarita* 2 nos. D. O. No. 12171 and D. O. No. 12172. *Samkaraviṅyavilāsa* ms. D. O. No. 12173, *Samkṣepasāhkaraviṅyaya* ms. D. O. No. 12174. *Ācāryadvādasaka* Ms. Tr. O. B. No. 145 (d). *Ācāryadigvijaya* ms. D. O. No. 12380. *Samkaraviṅyaya*-ms. 2b-4-15 O. 20 5, *Govindaviṅyaya* ms. 1. 30 14.

able in print.¹ A poem called the *Guruvamsakāvya*² dealing with the life of Saṅkara and his disciples and written by Vidya-dhalakṣaśīlakemaṇāśāstri about the end of the 18th century is available in print. The late Mr T S Narayana Śāstri in his complete work on the age of Saṅkara speaks³ of ten *Śaṅkaravijaya*s and refers⁴ also to certain other sources of information about Saṅkara and his disciples. Almost all these works refer to Mandana and Suresvara. Some of them⁵ identify Mandana with Suresvara and the *Śaṅkaravijaya*⁶ ascribed to Vidyaranya proceeds further to identify Suresvara with Viśvarūpa. Mandana and Bhaṭṭomveka. Some others⁷ distinguish Mandana and Suresvara as two distinct individuals the latter being known by the name of Viśvarūpa in his *grhaṣṭhāsrama*. In one of these works Mandana is referred to as Kumārila's sister's husband.⁸ Another work⁹ states that Mandana was living in *Vidyābhāradeta* identified with the place called *Cyppakadu*. Citrukha records in his *Tattvaspradīpikā* an old and reliable tradition that Bhaṭṭomveka is identical with Bhavabhūti¹⁰ the author of the *Mālatīmādhava* and other dramas. Almost all the traditions embodied in these works are unanimous in associating Mandana and Viśvarūpa with Kumārila as his pupils in identifying Viśvarūpa with Suresvara and ascribing to him the Naiskarmyasiddhi and the *Vertikāśa* on Saṅkara's bhāṣya on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Taittirīya Upaniṣads* and in not ascribing the *Brahmasiddhi* to Suresvara or Viśvarūpa. The traditions in these works which come down to the level of pseudo-biographies containing more of legendary and less of his

¹ *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* acariṭam by Govindanātha, published by the Kerala publishing house Trichur Cochin State 1926. *Śaṅkaravijaya* attributed to Vidyāraṇya. Ānand S S No 22.

² Sri Vāṇi Vilāsa Press Srirangam Via Trichur.

³ *The Age of Saṅkara* by T S Narayana Śāstri, D A D L Thompson & Co. Madras 1916 Part I Chapter III pp 30-31.

⁴ *The Age of Saṅkara* by Mr T S Narayana Śāstri Part I Chapter III p 31.

⁵ See footnote 3 on page 154 M 18 6 6 C No 12350.

⁶ Ānand S S No 22 Canto 7 verses 113 to 117.

⁷ *Guruvamsakāvya* Sri Vāṇi Vilāsa Press Srirangam Canto II verses 43 to 50.

⁸ See footnote 3 on page 154 C 20-3.

⁹ See footnote 3 on page 154 C 20-5.

¹⁰ T P N S P 1915 p 265 lines 5 to 12 and com thereon.

torical material, must be discarded as unreliable in so far as they come into conflict with the weighty internal evidences in authoritative Vedantic works, to which attention was drawn in the foregoing paras. How unreliable the materials contained in the Śaṅkaraviṇaya attributed to Vidyānāya are may be easily seen from the way in which Vidyānāya, in his *Vivaraṇa-prameyasamgraha* and *Vartikasāra*, differentiates Mandana the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*, from Suresvara, otherwise known as Viśvarūpaśrya and from the arguments adduced by some writers to show the spurious¹ character of the *Śaṅkaraviṇaya* ascribed to Vidyānāya. As a result of a careful consideration of the host of literary evidences adduced in the foregoing paras from authoritative Vedantic literature, besides the conflicting and confused accounts of Mandana and Suresvara furnished in the pseudo-biographies above referred to, three important conclusions emerge — *firstly*, that Mandana, the author of the *Brahmasiddhi* was never a disciple of Śaṅkara, did not become a *saṁnyāsin*, was not identical with Suresvara and represented an advaitic *prasthāna* different from *Śaṅkara-prasthāna*; *secondly*, that Suresvara, who was known as Viśvarūpa in his *śikṣasāra*, was a pupil of Kumārila when he was a *gṛhastha* and came to be known by the name of Suresvara when he became a *saṁnyāsin* and a disciple of Śaṅkara, that, in his *Vartika* and *Naiśkarmyasiddhi*, he controverted many an advaitic doctrine expounded by Mandana in his *Brahmasiddhi*, and that Suresvara nowhere departed from his avowed allegiance to *Śaṅkara-prasthāna* and *thirdly*, that Mandana should have written his *Brahmasiddhi* after seeing Śaṅkara's bhāṣyas, more particularly the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, and that Suresvara should have written his *Naiśkarmyasiddhi*, mainly as a *Śaṅkara-counterblast* to the *Brahmasiddhi*, probably in compliance with Śaṅkara's desire. If the *Mandana-suresvara* equation looms large, at present, in the world of advaitic scholars and continues to hold sway over the belief of many of them, it is because they have not so far

¹ The age of Śaṅkara by Mr T. S. Narayana Sastrī, Part I chapter III pp 148 to 159

J. C. R. M. Vol. I 1927. *The last days of Śri Śaṅkarācārya pages 330 and 331

examined the grounds of this belief in the light of the internal evidence available in the *Brahmasiddhi*; and a host of other advaitic works and it may now be reasonably expected that after the publication of Mandana's *Brahmasiddhi* scholars will see that Mandana and Suresvara are two distinct individuals. It may not be out of place to add here that even in the midst of the scurrilous and blasphemous references to Sankara in the Madhva work called *Maṇimañjarī*¹ one could find that the correct tradition differentiating Mandana from Viśvarūpa is preserved.

DID CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA BELONG TO
NORTH WESTERN INDIA ?

BY

H O SEIH, M A, Ph D, (London)

Conflicting views are held even to day about the origin of Maurya dynasty Vincent Smith gave a wide currency to the story that Candragupta was a son of the Nanda king of Magadha, and that his mother (or according to another version his grandmother) Mūrā was of lowly origin The family name Maurya assumed by the dynasty founded by Candragupta was derived from Mūrā

Vincent Smith seems to have based his views regarding the parentage of Candragupta on the introduction of Dhundirāg, writer as late as 1713 A D¹ to the drama Mudraraksasa of Viśakhadatta It is difficult to trace any older and more satisfactory evidence for the Mūrā story No doubt at one or two places the drama does suggest the kinship of Candragupta with Nandas But at other places the drama also lends itself to the interpretation that Candragupta did not belong to Magadha and was unconnected with Nandas

In the last scene when Canakya, Candragupta, and Rākṣasa are brought together, one feels that Raksasa sees the young monarch and his clever minister for the first time If Candragupta belonged to Magadha and was related to Nandas, it would be highly undramatic to represent that Rākṣasa, the minister of Nandas had not seen Candragupta before Moreover, if Candragupta is taken as born of Nandas the whole story of Mudrā rākṣasa falls flat Canakya took a vow to exterminate the whole of the Nanda family, but in the end put one born amongst them on the throne Equally inconsistent becomes the character of Rākṣasa One supreme thing in his life seems to be his devotion to Nanda family, yet he so bitterly fights one of the ablest of their

¹ Telang's Intr to Mudrārākṣasa p 35 (6th Ed)

descendants and is prepared to put against him Malayaketu a foreign prince and a maleksha on the throne of Magadha.

The fact that Candragupta did not belong to Nanda family is further suggested in the drama by his complete indifference to the murder of the last of the Nanda king Sivarthasiddhi who was avowed to these worldly struggles for the throne and had retired to a hermitage. On the other hand at the death of Parvatika the king of the Himalayan districts and his ally Candragupta performs his obsequies (Para 33 Act I). According to the Hindu customs and 'astras' these rites are performed either by the son or other very near relatives. Thus Candragupta seems to be related to Parvatika and not to Nandas. But because of the fact that original Sanskrit texts have been so greatly modified from time to time it is difficult to cite the authority of the drama one way or the other.

If we turn to Puranas the only fact they record about Candragupta is that with the help of his minister Kautilya he completely overthrew the Nanda dynasty and founded the Mauryan empire. They do not in the slightest degree hint at Candragupta's relationship with the Nandas. It becomes very significant when we know that Mahapadmananda is so clearly mentioned by the Puranas as an illegitimate son of the Mahanandin of the Sisunaga dynasty. If Candragupta was an illegitimate son of Nanda this fact too would have been noted in the Puranic traditions. With slight variations which are not relevant to the present discussion the following account of these facts is found in the Vayu Vishnu Matsya Brahmanda and Bhagavata Puranas

महानां दसुतश्चापि क्षत्रिया कालसवृत् ।
उत्पत्स्यत महापद्म सवक्षत्रा तर नृप ॥
तत प्रभृति राजाना भविष्या कात्रयोनय ।
एकराट् स महापद्म एकपुत्रो भविष्यति ॥
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि पृथिव्या पालयिष्यति ।
सवक्षत्रहरोद्भूय भारिनींश्चस्य वे बलात् ॥
सहस्रास्तसुता क्षत्री समा ह्यदश ते नपा ।
महापद्मस्य पयाये भविष्यति नृपा क्रमात् ॥
उद्भविष्यति तासया कीटिष्यो वे विरट्पि ॥

भुवःवा मही वर्षशत मन्वेन्दु स भविष्यति ॥
चन्द्रगुप्त मृग राज्य कीदित्यः स्थापयिष्यति ।¹

Another view about the origin of the Maurya dynasty which is held by an important group of modern historians of India is based on the Buddhist traditions. The Cambridge History of India, where greater credit is given to these traditions, regards the 'Mauryas a Himalayan offshoot of the noble sept of the Sakyas, the race of Buddha.' And according to these traditions Mauryas originally belonged to Pippalivan. This may be a correct historical tradition. But in Pali books this Pippalivan had been wrongly identified with Nyagrodha forest, which was the site of the Charcoal Stupa. As Cunningham remarks "Fahian does not mention the name of the town (i.e. the site of the Charcoal Stupa) but in the Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles it is called Pippalivan, or the Pippal forest, and in the Tibetan Dulva it is called the town of the Nyagrodha, or Bauman-forest. Hwen Tsang also speaks of the 'forest of Nyagrodha-trees as the site of the 'charcoal stupa', and as he actually visited the place, we must accept his testimony in preference to that of the distant chroniclers of Ceylon." The calling of the Mauryas an offshoot of the noble sept of the Sakyas and the identification of Pippalivan with the site of the charcoal stupa seem to be the result of the attempts of the Buddhist chroniclers to give Asoka a highly distinguished lineage.

Thus the current view that the Mauryas originally belonged to the eastern India and were perhaps related to Nandas is not based on convincing grounds. We give below in brief the reasons which make us suspect that Chandragupta originally came from North-Western India.

(1) Dr Spooner in a paper contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1915 drew the attention to the fact "In the excavations of Pataliputra we find that the palaces of Chandragupta were of pronouncedly Persian character" and that they "bore copies of the Persepolitan." This and other arguments

¹ The above is the version of the *Vayu Purāna* P 582 Harī Narayan Apte's Ed (1905)

Ancient Geography of India p 492, (Kajandara's ed)

put forward in the paper do not warrant us to assume as Dr Spooner does that Persepolis was his (Candragupta's) ancestral home." But it seems that as in modelling a big Indian Empire likewise in modelling his palaces too Candragupta was greatly influenced by the Persian ideals. It also seems likely that he was very intimately in personal touch with the Persian Empire before its final break up by the Greek forces under Alexander.

(2) Appian a historian of Syria of 123 A. D. whose references to Candragupta are worthy of the greatest considerations because of the very intimate relations between Seleucus the founder of the Syrian Empire and Candragupta the founder of the Indian Empire calls him as the 'king of Indians who dwell about the Indus.'

(3) We know from Greek accounts that at the time of Alexander's invasion of India Candragupta was in the north-west. Plutarch mentions his having met the conqueror. How did Candragupta if he belonged to Magadha happen to be there at that time? To reconcile these two facts a highly improbable and fairy-like story is woven round Candragupta by the modern historians. A lad hardly above twenty first tried to overthrow the Nanda king of Magadha. Having failed in this attempt he fled to the Punjab side. Soon after Alexander's retirement from India he there over-powered the mighty Asvakas west of the Indus the powerful Poros the great fighters Katiyas east of the Ravi and the invincible Mallors in Sindh—all of whom gave Alexander the hardest fights of his life. It cannot be believed that all these powerful people submitted to an unknown run-away of doubtful origin. Even Alexander failed to subdue these freedom loving people. If the history is to be more correctly interpreted they submitted only to one great among themselves as Candragupta perhaps really was.

(4) The fact that Candragupta and the Maurya dynasty which he founded belonged to the north-western India can alone fully account for the very strong hold that this dynasty had for several generations on the entire western land frontier of India. It was for the first and the only time in the history of India that this western natural frontier of India along with the main land

formed one compact empire Vincent Smith correctly observes "The first Indian Emperor, more than two thousand years ago, entered into possession of that 'scientific frontier' sighed in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghal monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

(5) The North-western origin of Candragupta will also help us to understand clearly how very soon after Alexander's retirement from India Candragupta completely uprooted the Greek power in the Punjab. Even before Alexander left India most of the Greek satraps he had appointed, including Philips of the royal family, were killed. It is absurd to say as Vincent Smith and some others do, that several years afterwards Candragupta came from Magadha to destroy the Greek forces left behind by Alexander in the Punjab and the north-west when none worth the name were left there within a few months of his retirement.

If our surmise that Candragupta originally belonged to north-western India is correct, the following identifications may be suggested.

(A) If it be true as Appian suggests that Candragupta was originally the ruler of the Indus region, is not he the same person as Śaśigupta? Chandragupta and Śaśigupta are synonyms. It is not an unknown practice in India to substitute synonyms even in names. Śaśigupta (or Siakottos as the Greeks called him) was a remarkable personality west of the Indus, and he played an important part even during Alexander's campaign in India. He was the ruler of some state east of the Hindukush. He went with his forces to Bactria to help the Persians against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in this last stand of theirs, Śaśigupta went over to Alexander. In the region lying between the Hindukush and the Indus Alexander received terrible resistance from the Ksatryia tribe, called Assakenois (Asvakas) by the Greeks. They made a last stand at Aornos, an exceptionally strong rock-citadel, which commanded the passage to the plains of India from the North-west. Alexander after he captured this highly strategic position put it under Śaśigupta.

¹ *Early History of India* P. 130

and then crossed the Indus. Arrian calls Saśigupta as the 'satrap of Assakenoi' ¹

If we take into account the practice that Alexander generally followed of putting in charge of the areas which he conquered the vanquished ruler himself or some one equally influential we find no difficulty in assuming that Saśigupta either belonged to the ruling dynasty of the area of which Massaga and Aornos were the chief centres or to some other influential ruling family west of the Indus. Obviously this was the only way in which Alexander could get the support of the entirely alien people. He did the same in case of Poros and the King of Takshashila during his further progress India. If Candragupta is identical with Saśigupta then Candragupta was left by Alexander in a very advantageous position west of the Indus, whence he started his further conquest of India soon after Alexander's retirement. The neighbouring powers of the Punjab and Sindh were perhaps Candragupta's allies in this venture as suggested by the drama *Mudraraksasa*.

If Candragupta is identical with Saśigupta then Candragupta belonged to the Kṣatriya tribe of Asvakas whose influence extended from the Hindukush to the eastern Punjab at the time of Alexander. With the Mauryan conquest of other parts of India Asvakas or Asmakas settled in other parts of India also. In Buddhist literature we also read of southern Asmaka country on the banks of the Godavari. The Asvakas belonged to the great Lunar dynasty. As Rapson remarks 'The Haihyas Asmakas and Vitihotras like the Surasenans belonged to the great family of the descendants of Yadu' ². The fact that Candragupta belonged to the Lunar dynasty was also reported by Megasthenes ³.

(B) The fact that Candragupta belonged to the Indus region may help us to give more satisfactory explanation of the origin of the name Maurya which the dynasty founded by him bore

¹ M. Crindle *Invasion of Alexander* p. 112 2nd ed.

² *Oem. His. of Ind.* Vol. I p. 316

³ *Oem. His. of India* p. 469 also
M. Crindle *Ancient India* p. 209,

In the heart of the country lying between the Hindukush and the Indus, once ruled by the Asvakas, stands even today 'the three-peaked hill called the Koh-i-(mountain) Mor'¹ the Meros of the Greek classics, and perhaps also the Meru of Sanskrit. As Candragupta belonged to this region the dynasty founded by him was called Maurya. It may be noted that according to "the rules of Sanskrit grammar the descendants of Mura should be called Maneya and not Maurya," which name is given to them in all old Sanskrit books.

(C) As regards Piplivan, we have already noted that it was wrongly identified by the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon with the site of the charcoal stupa. It is likely that the region between Hindukush and the Indus was known by this name. In the upper reaches of the Swat and the Indus lie Dardistan, from which pipilika or ant-gold was obtained. The fact that very large amount of gold was obtained from this area is testified by the heavy tribute of gold paid to the Persian empire.

"The account of the ants who threw up mounds of gold which afterwards became a permanent element in the classic conception of India was given in full by Herodotus. The facts on which the account was based seem now fairly clear. Gold-dust was actually brought as tribute by the tribes of Dardistan in Kashmir and was called by the Indians pipilika 'ant gold'."² Megasthenes in repeating the story of the gold producing ants 'added the useful piece of information that the country the gold came from was the country of the Dardae (in Sanskrit Darad or Darda'a, modern Dardistan in Kashmir)'"³ Large quantity of gold was produced in this area during even Hwen Thsang's time and even now gold washing is found here.⁴ Thus it seems likely that the whole area, between the Hindukush and the Indus, was more popularly designated in those earlier days as Piplivan i. e., the forest of the gold producing ants.

A correct interpretation of the history of India of this period will not be possible unless we clearly realise that during the time

¹ Gates of India by Hedick p. 134

² Cam. His. of India Vol I p. 396

³ Cam. His. of India Vol p. 404

⁴ See Ancient Geography of India Cunningham p. 26

of Alexander's invasion north-western India was the chief centre and the stronghold of the Aryan civilisation. It was the home of scholars like Panini and it had seats of learning like Takṣaśilā which attracted scholars not only from all parts of India but from all parts of the then civilised world. We are too prone as Vincent Smith had actually done to throw in the picture of this region even during the earlier centuries the present state of north-western India forgetting that what it is today is the result of centuries of very bitter religious and racial struggles. A mistake is made when we identify practically the whole of the early history of India with the rise and fall of the Magadhan Empire.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF CANDRAGUPTA II¹
OF G S 61 FOUND IN MATHURĀ

BY

D B DISKALKAR M A

The stone pillar which contains the following valuable inscription was found in a well situated in the Chandur-Mandur English near Rangeshvara Mahādeva temple in Mathurā in July 1928. It was illegally acquired by Pandit Bholanath of Mathurā with the object of selling it and was consequently confiscated by the Government. In last February, immediately after I took charge of the Mathurā Museum, I was asked by Mr W C Dible, I C S, the Collector and President, Museum Committee Mathurā, to report on its importance. I could at once see that, the inscription was of considerable historical importance and with his permission announced the discovery to the public in the Press. The pillar has now been removed to the Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. The pillar measures 4'-4" in height and is square at the base and at the top but octagonal in the middle. It is a typical Mathurā pillar of the Gupta period. The rough mason marks on the top and bottom of the octagonal shaft on one side, would show that the parts were probably embedded in masonry. The pillar seems to have belonged to a hall or porch of the temple where the two Sivalingas mentioned in the inscription were installed. The inscribed portion covers five out of the eight sides of the octagonal portion. It measures 1'-7" by 2'-5" and consists of 17 lines of writing. The portion of the inscription on the front side is much worn out, the most serious loss caused to the record thereby being that of the regnal year of Candragupta II to whose reign it belongs. On the front side of the square portion at the top of the pillar is engraved a big trident (*trishūla*) whose base measures 9" and hands measure 5" each. On the same side of the square base of the pillar is engraved in relief a naked three-eyed figure of

¹ This article was sent to the Government Epigraphist for India by the end of 1929 for publication in the Epigraphia Indica. But it was returned in the October of 1932. Dr D R Bhandarkar's article on the same inscription has since been published in the Epigraphia Indica Vol XXI part I, pp 1-9 January 1931. As I think that my article still gives some new information not known from Dr Bhandarkar's article it is published here without making any changes in it.

Bhairava with a big cudgel in his right hand and a scimitar in his left. The feet of the Bhairava figure are lost and in its present condition the figure measures 1 in height.

The characters of the record may be called early Gupta marking an intermediate stage between the Brahmi characters used in inscriptions of the Kushana period and those found in Gupta inscriptions from 4th century onwards. It is noteworthy that the characters of the present record agree more closely with Kushana than Gupta characters. Although the Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Samudragupta must undoubtedly be earlier in date than the present inscription the characters of the latter are of a distinctly archaic type as compared with the former. To mention one characteristic the present inscription shows angular forms of letters such as *k* *p* *g* whereas the Allahabad inscription shows rounded forms. Another letter of a decidedly early or Kushana type used in the present inscription is *m* the Gupta form without the bottom loop being found in the Allahabad inscription and in another Gupta inscription from Mathura itself referring to the reign of Candragupta II. Regarding orthography as in the Allahabad inscription a consonant following *r* is doubled except in the case of the words *īrtiya* in l. 15 and *pañcabhar mahāpātaka* in l. 16. The numerical symbols for 60 and 1 occurring in l. 4 are worthy of note. The sign of *Jāyāntīya* found in the 12th line deserves to be specially noted as it is the earliest instance of its use in stone inscriptions.

The record opens with the word *siddham* and refers itself to the reign of *Bhattāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Śri Candragupta* the worthy son (*śastraputra*) of *Bhattāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Samudragupta*. The year of his victorious reign was recorded in the third line but unfortunately the portion containing the year is considerably worn out. It is very likely that the regnal year was specified both in words and numerical symbols and the limited space occupied by the missing portion indicates that the number had a single digit. Then the Gupta year 61 expressed both in words and symbols is given. The portion containing the name of the month is also worn out but the month seems to be *Āśāḍha*. The word (*pra*) *śama* preserved after this shows that the month must have been

an intercalatory one. The *tithi* was the fifth day of the bright half of the month. The object of the inscription seems to be recorded in the next position. Ārya Uditacārya, a Śaiva monk, said to be fourth in succession from the holy Parāśara and tenth in succession from the reverend Kauṣka who was a disciple of some Śaiva pontiff, whose name ended in Vṛṇṛṇ and a disciple's disciple of Kapila-Vimala caused to be built a big temple (स्वामि) and installed therein two images of *Śaivalaguru*, one of which was named Kapileśvara (apparently after the name of Kapila-Vimala his preceptor's preceptor) and another after the name of his preceptor, with the object of obtaining merit for himself and for the glory of his preceptors. The latter portion of the inscription contains a request to the Mahesvaras to protect the grant made for the worship and charity at the temple and the imperatory order that whoever disregards the glorious memorial would incur the guilt of the five great and other minor sins. The last line contains an invocation to the ever victorious Bhairava the Chief of those (Śaiva) ascetics who holds a terrific cudgel.

The record is of great historical importance. It gives not only the earliest date for the reign of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II but is also the earliest Gupta date so far published. The earliest date so far known for Candragupta II was 82 G. S.,¹ his latest being 93 G. S.² The present inscription which is dated in the Gupta year 61 thus carries back the period of Candragupta II's reign by twenty one years at one stroke and also shows that he enjoyed a long reign of at least 32 years. It is unlikely that the accession of Candragupta II took place more than two or three years before the date of the present inscription as a copper-plate of Samudragupta recently found at Nālandā is reported to have been dated in the Gupta year 55.³ In the short interval between the years 55 and 61 room must be found for the brief and unhappy reign of Rāmagupta and the series of stormy and romantic incidents that led to the accession of Candragupta II and his marriage with queen Dhruvadevi. It is tempting to suggest that

¹ P. G. I. No. 3

² Ibid. No. 5

³ I am very grateful to Mr. K. N. Dikshit for giving me this information and suggesting me some more points in this article.

the expression worthy son of Samudragupta in the present inscription as applied to Candragupta II hints by implication at the tradition that Ramadragupta the immediate successor of Samudragupta proved to be a perfectly worthless ruler and Candragupta II restored the honour of the Gupta family by setting him aside and defeating the enemies of the Gupta empire.¹

Attention may be drawn to another interesting point in the record viz the word *prathama* in l 3 which shows that there was an intercalatory month of Āśadha in the Gupta year 61. This must be equivalent to the year 380 A D if the era began from 319-20 A D and the year mentioned is expired. It is worthy of note that there were two months of Āśadha in the year 380 A D but not in the preceding or following year. This is a point of sufficient importance to determine the starting point of the Gupta era.

Although a large majority of the sculptures discovered in and round about Mathura belonging to the Kushana period (from circa 1st cent to the 3rd cent A D) pertain to the Buddhist and Jaina faiths there is no doubt that Brahmanical temples had been largely built at Mathura during the Kushana period. The number of Brahmanical sculptures of this period found in Mathura is pretty large and is of great importance for the history of Brahmanical Iconography. The earliest known images of most of the Brahmanical deities such as Surya, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Durgā can be traced in Mathura. Dr Coomaraswamy has rightly pointed out that the early Brahmanical fragments found at Mathura have not been adequately studied.² The present inscription giving a long line of succession of the Saiva preceptors of Ārya Uditacarya who himself lived in 380 A D leads us to believe that Saivism has had a long history in the Mathura region and the cult of Bhairava must have existed at least as early as the Kushana time. Although this is not the place to trace the history of Saivism at Mathura it can

¹ See J B O R S Vol XIV p 223ff March 1928

² *History of India and Indonesian Art* p 86

This is further corroborated by the accounts of Fa Hien and Hsuen Tsang who visited Mathura in about 400 and 654 A D respectively and have recorded that along with many Buddhist monasteries there were some deva temples.

be said that some of the earliest images of Siva have been found at Mathura or were made of the Mathura school of sculpture. It is also seen that Sarvism had a great influence on the minds of the Kushana rulers. Siva is represented with or without the bull, two armed and nimbate, on all the coins of Wima Kadphises who called himself Mahesvara Siva in two and four armed types appears among other deities on coins of Kaniska. The Kushana king Yasudava is well known to be a devotee of Siva and a number of his coins are found which bear the two armed figure of Siva. It is well known that Siva worship was very common throughout India in the Gupta period (ca. 320-600 A. D.) and the present inscription is the earliest example to prove it.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् [1*] भट्टारकमहाराजराजा[धि]राजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य
- 2 सुव्रतस्य भट्टारकम[हा]राजराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्त
- 3 स्व विज[य*]राज्यस्यस्य[रे प्रथमे ? गुप्त]कालाश्रुवर्षमानस
- 4 वसरे एकपञ्चे ६० ? [आषाढमासे प्र]थमे^२ शुक्रदिवसे प
- ५ चम्या जस्या पूज्यार्था [भ]ग[वत्की]शिकादशमेन भगव
- ६ पराशराच्यवृत्तर्षेन^३ [भगवत्क]पिलविमलशि
- ७ प्रशिष्येण भगव[द्व]दित [?]विमलशिष्येण^४
- ८ आर्षोदिताचार्येण स्वप्न[ु]पचाप्यापनामेसित
- ९ गुरुणा च कीर्त्यर्थे [मुदिते ?]श्वरकपिलेश्वरी
- १० गुन्वायतने मु[रु] प्रतिष्ठापिताति^५ [1*]
- ११ तत्कथा ? त्यथमनिकिस्यति सर्व्व[मा]श्वराणा वि
- १२ ह्यति^६ क्लिपते सम्बोधन च यथाकालीनाचार्या
- १३ णा परिग्रहमिति मत्वा विशद्वा पूजापुर
- १४ स्कारपारेप्रहृषारिपाल्य कुर्यादिति विज्ञातिरिति [1*]
- १५ यश्च कीर्षीभिर्दोह कुर्याद्य[श्वा]भिलिखितमुपपद्यते
- १६ दा स पथभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च सयुक्तस्यात् [1*]
- १७ जयति च भगवान्^६ [भैरवो] रीदृग्ण्डोन्ननायको निःपद्य [1*]

1 From the original stone and the impressions

2 The reading is very doubtful as very hitless clear

3 Read चतुर्थेण

4 Read *विनी इति

5 Read *त्यथमनि

6 Read भगवत्

FOLIATION OF JAINA MANUSCRIPTS AND
LETTER-NUMERALS

BY

Prof H R KAPADIA M A

It is a truism commonly accepted that only when the society makes sufficient progress in point of culture and civilization that the art of writing¹ originates and is cultivated for its own sake. Furthermore it is generally maintained that before the numerical characters distinct from letters can be invented and are brought into vogue, at least some time must elapse.

This leads us to infer that the method of using distinct letters or symbols of the alphabet to denote numbers² may evolve either before or after the numerical characters are invented and that the method wherein both the letters and numerals are used to denote numbers comes last in the course of this evolution.

With these general remarks I may turn to the question of letter-numerals. But before I may do so I may mention that the aim of this article is not so wide as to deal with all sorts³ of letter-numerals but to treat only those that are found in manuscripts and there too especially in *Jaina* ones. As the question of letter-numerals is thus associated with *Jaina* Mes it seems desirable that I should say a few words about *Jaina* Mes in particular and foliation in general.

¹ As regards the art of writing the reader may refer to J R A S (1898) pp 241-288 J A S B Vol LXIX (pt I 1900 Dr Hoernle's note) Appendix to Indian Antiquary Vol XXXIII (1904) and Early History of India (1924) pp 28-29 by Vincent Smith.

² The method of denoting numbers by using letters of the alphabet can be traced at least as far back as Papius for in his *Ἀριθμητικὴ* (I 8 11 V 1 3) he has used vowels to denote numbers. Vide History of Hindu Mathematics p 63. This work was not published when I prepared this article as desired by Mr P K Gode M A as the Curator of B O R I in his letter dated 15th Oct 1935. It has been however utilized while revising it.

³ Alphabetical system of Āryabhata I Katyapayadi system along with its four variants as well as letter-systems used in certain Mes from the southern India and some Pāli Mes from Ceylon may be mentioned in this connection. For details see History of Hindu Mathematics (pp 63-75).

The word "manuscript" is here used in its ordinary sense, so it should not be taken to connote any and every thing "written by hand". Taking this factor into account, Ms. may be grouped under different heads according to the stand-points from which they are examined. For instance, from the point of location, Ms. may be said to be Indian or non-Indian. When examined from the stand-point of language, they may be spoken of as Sanskrit Ms., Prakrit Ms., etc. If *dharma* which can be roughly translated as 'religion', is made the basis of investigation, they may be classified as *Jaina* Ms., *Buddha* Ms., *Vaishya* Ms., etc. Thus *Jaina* Ms. can be interpreted as works of *Jaina dharma* in a Ms. form. Uptil now I have not come across *Jaina* Ms. written in characters other than *Devanāgarī*: (mostly *Jaina*) and Chinese, one of the southern characters. I shall, consequently, confine myself to foliation of such Ms. only.

Now a few words about foliation.

In order that the continuity of a work may be realized, one of the methods employed for this purpose is to number it. This numbering (pagination), when consecutively followed in the case of a Ms., is spoken of as "foliation".

The student who has handled Ms., knows it full well that both the sides of a fol. of a Ms. are not numbered; but only one side is numbered. That is why the numbered side can be said to be *sūchā* and the unnumbered one, as *avāchā*. Thus, so far as Ms. written in Devanagari characters are concerned, on recto¹ there is no numbering, whereas on verso,² there is numbering.³ The reverse seems to be the case with most of the Ms. written in southern characters.⁴

¹ The meaning of this word is mentioned in 'The Shorter Oxford Dictionary of Historical Principles' Vol I (1933) p. 727 as under —

² The consecutive numbering of the folios (or leaves) of a book or Ms. 1845 (usage-year)

³ 'Right hand page of open book (opp verso). Compare the words 'obverse and reverse' occurring in numismatology

⁴ The left-hand page of open book

⁵ See Prof. W. Norman Brown's 'The Story of Kikkā' p. 138 plate IX

⁶ In Tibetan Ms. the front side which is indicated by a symbol (३१) written just to the beginning is numbered in the margin to the left. Thus there is no numbering on the back side. Furthermore it is not in numerical figures but in words expressing them e.g. *astān* for eight to give a Sanskrit example

If a Ms is written on paper and contains a work written in Devanagari characters its foliation is usually in ordinary numerical characters in the same script. In paper Ms we find that foliation is mostly assigned a place in the margin to the right while at times it is assigned a place in the margin to the left. There are to be found Ms where foliation occurs in each of these two margins too.

Generally the number for the folio is written in the margin to the right in a lower corner¹ and at times in the same margin in the intermediate space between the lines bordering the written portion of a Ms or very near this space².

When the foliation is to the left it is given the topmost place in that margin but below the title and in the line next to it when the title is there written³. In some cases we find double foliation resorted to in one and the same margin. This can be accounted for as under —

(1) A codex forms a part of a composite Ms. In that case it is at times given a fresh numbering along with the continued one⁴.

(2) The old numbering is about to go

¹ In the Ms of *ḥana vāra* with *vaṅgaḥi vāra* No 809 of 1882-83 of the Govt. Collections (B O R I) numbers for foli are written in the margin to the right just in a corner.

² See the Ms of *baṅgāraṅgaḥi* & *Śuddhaḥḥara* No 296 of 1871-72.

In the Ms of *Pratimāḥaḥi* sa with *vāra* No 187 of 1873-74 there is double numbering for foli 30 to 58. The numbers 1-2 etc for the second set are written in the space between the lines drawn in the margin to the right.

In a paper Ms containing *Saddarāṅga* *vaṅgaḥi* with *ḥaḥi* and some other works No 235 of 1902-1907 there is double numbering in the margin to the right (i) just in a corner and (ii) on the middle line out of three which are drawn as border-lines.

³ In most of the cases this numbering is to the left of border-lines. But at times it is to the right. Such is the case with a Ms of *Pratimāḥaḥi* with *vāra* No 124 of 1887-91.

⁴ Mention of the title folio number division or chapter etc is spoken of as *hapaḥi* in *Qugāḥi*. In short handl numbers we with a few details about a Ms. In Tibetan Ms we find some details like this.

⁵ Even when fol 1 is blank two sets of numbers are found at times. As for example in the Ms of *Māghaḥi* *vāraḥi* No 86 of 1898-99 in the margin to the right we have numbers १ २ ३ etc and in the margin to the left we have numbers २१, २२ etc though fol 1 is blank.

(3) A scribe writes a fresh numbering every day he resumes his work of writing or transcribing the same Ms

Sometimes we find a Ms numbered just in the centre when some space is kept blank there¹, or in the disc², the square³ or the spot which decorates its central portion. As an example of the latter case the reader may refer to a Ms of *Dharmapadetanā* with *vith* No 1183 of 1887-91.

Occasionally foliation is done in an artistic way. For instance, in the Ms of *Vardhamānadetanā* No 239 of 1871-72 folios 301-365 have their numbers written in an artistic way. Out of these, 19 numbers are written in the body of living beings⁴, whereas the rest are circumscribed by floral designs⁵ which seem to differ from one another in some respects. The names of the 19 living beings along with the corresponding foliation-numbers are as under —

Crane (326), (338) and (351), deer (325), elephant (348), gentleman (327) horse (304), (319) (329) and (352), monkey (315), ostrich (306), (350), parrot (361) peacock (358), pigeon (? dove) (318), stag (309), tiger (334) and woman (341).

When a scribe through oversight repeats once more the same number for a subsequent folio, he adds प्रथम and द्वितीय or प्र० and द्वि० to the corresponding numbers. At times he adds one of them to the pertinent number. When he commits such a mistake twice, he writes तृतीय or तृ०. A Ms of *Sudarsanacūtra* No 1174 of 1891-98 may be cited as an example. For, therein the scribe has written प्रथम १६, १६ द्वितीय and तृतीय १६. At times, another

¹ See the Ms No 56 of 1869-70.

² For specimens of Mss having a disc in the centre see 'The story of Kshaka' plate VI figura 14 pl VIII fig 21 pl IX, fig 23 and pl XII, fig 30. Out of these figuras 21 and 22 have one disc in each of the two margins, too. In plate IV figs 11 and 12 and pl V fig 13 given in this work we have discs in the margins only.

For additional examples the reader may refer to figs 71, 107 and 118 given in 'A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of miniature Paintings of the Jainas Kalpasūtra' (1934) by Prof W Norman Brown. In figs 107 and 118 there are discs in the two margins too.

³ Prof W Norman's 'A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue' noted above furnishes us with examples of this type. See figs 15, 21, 91, 104, 110 and 121.

⁴ For illustrations see the picture facing this page.



method is followed viz that of writing १ २ etc below the number to be repeated ¹

Sometimes it so happens that in the course of foliation one number is left out. In that case two numbers are written on one and the same folio ²

It may not be amiss to note that at times foliation is faulty inasmuch as a scribe adds one zero for nothing. For instance in the Ms of *Uttarādīpaganasūtra* with *Sukhobodhā* No 635 of 1892-95 instead of Nos 110 and 111 the scribe has written them as 1010 and 1011. As additional examples may be mentioned the Ms of *Dasasānātīkātīkāra* No 433 of 1882-83 where the scribe has written Nos 3001 to 3009 for 301 to 309 and the Ms of *Samyaktvaparikṣā* with *Bhāṣābodhā* No 818 of 1899-1915 wherein Nos 310 to 338 are numbered as 3010 3011 etc.

This finishes a rough survey of foliation presented in ordinary numerical characters so far as Mss written in Devanāgarī characters are concerned. I shall therefore now say a few words about foliation connected with Mss written in old Canarese characters. Herein as already noted it appears that numbers are written on the front side in the margin to the left in numbers in the Canarese script ³. Such is not however the case with a Ms of *Laghuśāstāra* with *Nyāyāhamaṇḍacandodaya* one of the few Jaina Mss written in Canarese I have handled up till now. In this ⁴ palm-leaf Ms numbers are given on the back side and that too in the space between the 1st two columns out of three.

¹ See the palm leaf Ms of Hemacandra Śūri's *Dvayāśāstra* (Sanskrit) No 22 of 1880-81 wherein 3 leaves are numbered as 95 and two each 94 95 96 and 97.

Here repeated numbers are written as $\left. \begin{array}{c} ११ \\ १ \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{c} १२ \\ १ \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{c} १३ \\ १ \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{c} १४ \\ १ \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{c} १५ \\ १ \end{array} \right\} \text{ etc}$

² For instance in a Ms of *Caṅgasaṅganaśulaka* with *uṭṭa* No 19 of 1880-81 one leaf is numbered as 97 98 in the margin to the right though numbered as only 93 in the margin to the left. Furthermore in this Ms two

leaves are numbered as 163.

³ With a pointed needle or so letters are as it were scratched and ink is besmeared.

⁴ The same remark seems to hold good in the case of most of the Mss written in southern characters. Only Mss written in Malayālam have letter-numerals.

Now, without dilating any more upon the general characteristics of foliation, I may begin the subject of "letter-numerals"¹ occurring in *Mss*. They may be defined as letters or syllables used for foliation in *Mss*, instead of the ordinary numerical characters. These letter-numerals are written in the same script in which the *Mss* is written. As for example, in a *Ms* written in Devanāgarī characters, letter-numerals occur in the same characters, while in a *Ms* written in Malayalam letter-numerals are met with, in corresponding characters.

Before I proceed further with this subject I may here mention some of the articles etc., written by different scholars wherein they have treated any one or more of the following topics—

- (I) A record of only one set of letter-numerals
- (II) Variants of letter-numerals
- (III) Interpretation of letter-numerals
- (IV) Origin of letter-numerals

It is not possible to give here a complete list of all the articles etc. dealing with these topics. So a tentative list is being given as under—

- (1) *Indian Antiquary* Vol VI pp 42-48 143
- (2) "South Indian Palaeography" (2nd edn, p 65) by Burnell
- (3) Sir E Clive Bayley's article "On the genealogy of Modern Numerals pt II Simplification of the Ancient Indian Numeration published in "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" Vol XV (pp 1-72)
- (4) His article in Vol XIV (pp 335ft) of the same journal
- (5) "On a system of letter-numerals used in South India" by Cecil Bendall²—*ibid*, for 1896, pp 789-792

¹ Roman numerals 1 to 1999 may be noted in this connection as they are derived from repetitions and combinations of I V X I C D and M, all of which are letters of English alphabet.

² In his *Cambridge Catalogue* he has given a table of letter-numerals pertaining to Nepalese *Mss*.

(6) Dr F Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81 pp viii-x

(7) Prof Peter Peterson's Report for 1882-83 pp

(8) *Bharatiya Prasna Lipimala* ' alias *The Palaeography of India* ' by Pandit Gaurishankar Hiraohand Ojha 2nd edn pp 103-130 A D 1918 (1st edn A D 1891)

(9) *Indian Palaeography* ' by Dr Johann Georg Bahler A D 1904

(10) *Gujarati Prastavana of Samasti-Prakarana* (pp 18-22) published in *Sri Pujjabhai Jaina Granthamala* no No 6 in A D 1932

(11) *History of Hindu Mathematics* pt I (pp 72-74 111 114 and 116) by Bibhutibhusan Datta and Avadhesh Narayan Singh, A D 1935

(12) *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* " 2 (pp 61-66) published by Sarabhai Nawab 1936

To begin with let me quote Dr Kielhorn's statement made by him on p viii of his Report for 1880-81 It runs as under —

To my knowledge this system of numeration by means of letters or syllables is never employed in any paper Mss and there are indications that it had ceased to be understood even when these palm-leaf Mss were being written

With due deference to this late scholar I may say that letter-numerals are not exclusively to be found in palm-leaf Mss for

¹ This is published as *An Appendix to The Indian Antiquary* Vol XXVIII

² Herein one set of letter-numerals is given and the explanation for origin is attempted

³ The remark made in connection with *History of Hindu Mathematics* on p 171 in note 2 holds good in the case of this work too

I have come across at least eight¹ paper Ms wherein letter numerals occur. As regards the latter part of Dr Kiehlhorn's statement above noted, it appears that it is more or less a personal opinion rather than a dogmatic assertion, so, I need not take a serious notice of it.

On my going through the *Jama* Ms written in Devanagari characters and deposited at the Bhandarkar O R Institute, I am led to form the following opinion about letter-numerals occurring therein —

(I) Letter-numerals occur almost in every palm-leaf² Ms, while they are very rarely found in paper Ms.

(II) Letter-numerals are written in the margin to the left, that is to say they are not written like ordinary numerical characters, in the margin to the right.

(III) The principle underlying the system of letter-numerals is that each of the numbers from 1 to 10 has a separate representation, and that similar is the case for numbers such as 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, and for 100, 200, 300 and 400. For other composite numbers of two digits like 11 to 19, 21 to 29 etc the corresponding letter or syllable is placed above that for 1, 2, 3 etc and for those of 3 digits a sign for the hundred in question is placed top-most and below it, in order are written signs for the corresponding numbers in the tenth place and the unit place.³

An exception to this principle is found in the case of the Ms No 24 of 1880-81 wherein the numbers 1, 2 and 3 are throughout

¹ All of them belong to the Government Ms Library deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Their titles along with their Nos are as under —

(1) *Nandavitra* (No. 54 of 1899-1915) (2) *Nalinyasa* (No 746 of 1899-1915) (3) *Kumārāpāraprabandha* (No 1475 of 1884-87) (4) *Upadeśa māṅgalā* (No 85^a of 1895-98) (5) *Nandugamśekhā* (No 1315 of 1887-11) (6) *Saptatāka* (No 23 of 1877-78) (7) *Sāśvatadīpāyātrā* (No 826 of 1892-95) and (8) *Dharmaratnapeṅkāsama* with *Sāśvatadīpā* (No 361 of 1880-81). On vol 1 of a paper Ms No 1204 of 195-87 two letter numerals are written. One of them is for four.

² There are ordinary numerical characters on both the sides of a palm leaf Ms of *Jitakā*, *magira* No 75 of 1870-81, and on both the sides of a palm leaf Ms of *Dvīśācāra* noted by Peterson in his Report III App p 45.

³ See plates I and II facing pages 176 and 177.

Plate I

Typical I etia-numerals

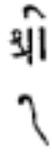
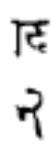
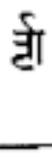
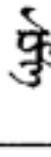
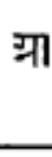
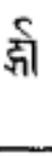
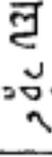
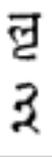
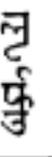
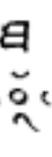
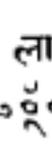
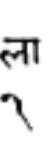
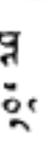
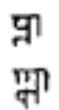
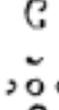
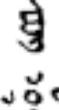
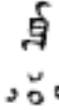
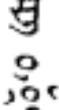
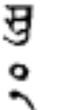
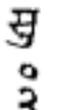
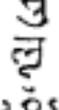
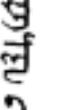
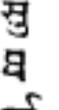
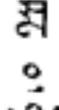
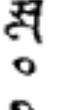
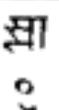
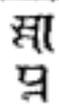
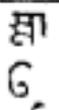
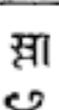
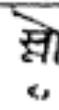
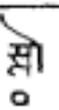
 1	 2	 3	 4
 5	 6	 7	 8
 9	 10	 11	 12
 13	 14	 15	 16
 17	 18	 19	 20
 21	 30	 31	 40

Plate II

(Continued)

 44	 50	 56	 60
 70	 80	 90	 100
 101	 102	 110	 111
 127	 200	 201	 260
 290	 299	 300	 344
 358	 385	 400	 401

N B — Figures in inset squares represent numerical values of the corresponding letter-numerals

denoted by स्व सित and श्री ० १, ख denotes 21 ब denotes 23 घ denotes
 २३ ङ denotes 31 ञ denotes 33 झ denotes 33 etc
 स्व सित श्री

In the case of some Mss wherein some leaves happen to be more modern than the rest those modern ones are at times wanting in letter-numerals and they are numbered with ordinary numerical character employed in *Jama Mss* *Mss Nos 4 26 38* etc of 1880 81 may be pointed out as examples

In this connection I may give as under the substance of the two note-worthy observations made by Muni Purnavijaya in his Gujarati article (p 65) published in *Jama Citrakalpadruma* —

In some of the paper-Mss having letter-numerals letters and syllables for 10 20 30 etc are not used to denote numbers containing two or more digits but that the letters and syllables denoting one to nine are made use of ¹ As for example for 10 20 40 100 115 400 and 1240 etc we have —

स्व सित एक स्व स्व एक and स्व
 ० स्व ० सित
 एक

For economizing space or for some other reason letter-numerals occurring in Mss and denoting numbers of two digits or more are written one below the other as is the case with the Chinese method ² of writing But it should be borne in mind that letter-numerals found in some of the Chedasutras Bhasya Curnia and Viśeśacurnis etc are not written in a vertical line but in a straight line that is to say in the same line as the other matter I may illustrate this remark by quoting the pertinent passages given on p 62 of *Jama Citrakalpadruma* as under —

‘भो कथ्यते अक्षय वा एक वदमाप् पेरिसीप वदिगाहित

—Ksemakṛti's com on *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*
 (*Uddēśaka II gāthā 330*), pt IV p 933

¹ I do not remember to have noticed such a Ms

² From this can it be inferred that the letter-numerals occurring in *Jama Mss* may have their origin in a script or scripts written in a vertical line? This is what Muni Purnavijaya however believes See *Jama Citrakalpadruma* (p 66)

“जति दोन्नि थेरीओ निग्गच्छति भियसस एक्का, तरुणी थेरी य जति एक्का, दो तरुणीओ जति निग्गच्छति एक्का, एणा थेरी जति निग्गच्छइ एक्का, पाळिणा तरुणी जति निग्गच्छइ एक्का, तत्राप्याज्ञादपो दोषा ॥ मा० २०८७ ॥”

— Ibid, pt II, p 601

“उक्खिण्ण० माथाइपम् । उक्खिण्णेइ धिरेइ भियसु टाति मा, अधिरेइ १० । विक्खिण्णेइ धिरेइ १०, अधिरेइ १० मा । विठ्ठिण्णेइ धिरेइ १० मा, अधिरेइ थ । विप्पतिण्णेइ धिरेइ थ, अधिरेइ यमा ॥”

Ibid, pt IV, p 928, fn 3

“अत्तजा विषा पथेण अदिट्ठो १, अत्तजा विषा पथेण विट्ठो २, अत्तजा विषा उप्पथेण अदिट्ठो ३, अत्तजा विषा उप्पथेण विट्ठो ४, अत्तजा रामो पथेण अदिट्ठो ५, अत्तजा रामो पथेण विट्ठो ६, अत्तजा रामो उप्पथेण अदिट्ठो ७, अत्तजा रामो उप्पथेण विट्ठो ८ ।”

— Ibid, pt III, p 781, fn 9

In the beginning of (p 1) of *Sūryaparyāṅga*, the letter-numeral for 4³ is given in the following passage¹—

“तेण कालेण तेण सम्मएण मिथिल्ला नाम नयरी होत्था रिद्धिभियसमिद्धा पढ इत्तजणवया आव पाहादीया एक्क”

(IV) In some cases, there is a difficulty to be experienced in pronouncing letter-numerals though not as much as is the case with the pronunciation of most of the letter chronograms formed according to the system of Āryabhata I²

(V) There are slight or big differences in forms of letter-numerals³ For instance, numbers 1 to 3 are written in 6 distinct ways as under—

(a) Jaina numerals, (b) ए, द्वि and त्रि, (c) श्री, द्वे and त्र, (d) ए सित्त and श्री (e) स्व, सित्त and श्री, and (f) ऊँ, न and न^४

The first method requires no explanation. The second may be explained as representing the initial letter of the word एक्क and the entire words द्वि and त्रि. The third method indicates splitting up of श्रीदेव, a holy formula of recitation. The fourth method suggests

¹ In Weber's Catalogue there is a variant.

² See Indian Antiquary Vol VI p 47

³ See History of Hindu Mathematics (p 69)

⁴ See plates III to VII inserted between pp 180-181

⁵ The sixth variety is here mentioned on the basis of Pūṣyaviṣṇu's article (p 65) in *Jaina Outrekalpadurma* :

Plate IV

(Continued)

5	श्री १	श्री २	श्री ४	श्री श्री ५	श्री ११	श्री १०	श्री ५
6	श्री १	श्री २	श्री ४	श्री श्री ५	श्री ६	श्री ८	श्री ५
7	श्री ३	श्री श्री ५	श्री ७	श्री श्री १०	श्री श्री ११	श्री श्री १२	श्री श्री ५
8	श्री ३	श्री श्री ५	श्री श्री ७	श्री श्री ११	श्री श्री १२	श्री श्री १३	श्री श्री ५

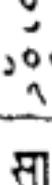
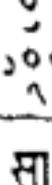
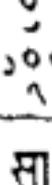
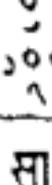
Plate VI

(Continued)

50	60	70	80	90
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

Plate VII

(Continued)

100				
200				
300				
400				

that the word *मल्लि* is split up into two syllables and these two along with श्री make up the well-known *manigata* with which written documents etc frequently begin. Numerals १ २ and ३ written below स्व स्थि and श्री seem to have been used to point out to a layman what they mean. The use of ॐ न and न which together make up ॐ न्म is probably due to the same cause as that assigned to ॐ स्थि श्री

Reserving the question of the interpretation of letter-numerals for toni and onwards, I may try to account for variations in letter-numerals. This may be due to any one or more of the following causes —

- (i) Ignorance of scribes i. e. to say misreadings¹ of older signs by copyists
- (ii) Carelessness of the scribes
- (iii) Similarity² of characters
- (iv) Corruption of characters³
- (v) Dialectical differences in pronunciation

In order that these remarks may be easily understood I may give an example of at least the first two cases. In No 66 of 1880-81 we find that the signs for ॐ and ॐ are interchanged. This is probably due to ignorance.

In No 19 of 1880-81 leaves 1 to 9 have the right sort of letter-numerals but on subsequent leaves instead of these letter numerals ordinary Jaina numerical characters for ५ ६ ७ etc are used. This may be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the scribe.

(VI) For one and the same numeral there is not only one corresponding phonetic value but there are more. Vide letter-numerals⁴ for four five etc

¹ The resemblance of the Kautrupa forms of 5 and the contemporary forms of ५ (Bühler Tafel iii line 14) can account for the confusion or misreading.

The Malayālam character for ५ is a misreading for ५ and that ५ for ५ and ५ for ५ may rest on a misreading of some of the earlier cursive signs (Bühler Tafel ix cols 3 11).

These are the views expressed by Bédail. See p 791.

² *HB* (Gundart) and *ह* are doubtless derived from a form *प* the characters of these letters being very similar to Malayālam. Ibid p 791.

³ *५* is an old form for ५ and is thus a corruption. Ibid p 791.

⁴ In a *Mss* No 473 of 1882-83 on fol 14 ५ is written in a margin. Has it anything to do with a letter-numeral?

(VII) No symbol seems to have been used in *Mss* for numbers from 500 to 600 and for numbers beyond 800. From this remark I am excluding numbers 700 to 799. For, in the paper *Ms* of Nandayantikatha referred to on p. 178 we have letter-numerals for 708 to 720. e. g. for 708 and 720 we have —

०	५
४	०

In a stray folio supposed to be about 400 years old, a list of letter-numerals occurring in palm-leaf *Mss* is given. This list mentions letter-numerals up to 700. Vide p. 65 of "Jaina Citra kalpadruma".

In a *Ms* of *Yrśait* supposed to be about 300 years old and belonging to Sheth Kasturbhāi Lalbhai, letter-numerals up to 10,000 are noted as under —

"सु ४००, से ५००, सते ६००, सता ७००, सतो ८००, सत ९००, सत १०००, सु २०००, सु ३०००, सु ४००० से ५०००, से ६०००, सता १००००, सतो ८०००० सु १००००, स १०,००० । इत मणितमदया जेनाकुमना समाना ॥"

This leads us to infer that letter-numerals for Nos. 500 and onwards, are not likely to be found in *Mss* of which the extent can hardly exceed 499 leaves. Consequently the information in this direction is possible to be derived mostly from coins¹ and inscriptions only.²

In *Jaina Ms* letter-numerals have been used even up to the 16th century at least.

With this digression if it can be so called, I may now resume the question of the interpretation of letter-numerals. At the very outset I may note that some of the letter-numerals occurring in *Jaina Ms* resemble more or less those occurring elsewhere.

(1) The letter-numeral for 50 is met with in the *Asoka* inscriptions. Same is the case with the letter-numeral for 90. It is found in the 6th *dharmaśāstra* of *Asoka*.

(2) Letter numerals for 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 30, 40, 50, 70 and 80 are akin to those corresponding ones occurring in *Baudha Ms* from *Nepal*.³

¹ *Kāstrupa*, for instance.

² *Asoka* inscriptions, *Naxos* inscriptions and *Kusana* inscriptions may be cited as examples.

³ See *History of Hindu Mathematics*, pp. 111 and 114.

(3) In the Miss written in Malayalam we have the following letters representing Nos 1 to 10 and decuples of 2 to 10 respectively —

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १०
 न ज र व ऋ ए ङा (ऋ) ष ष डे म थ ल ष थ व पु (ऋ) ङ (९) ष ङ^१

Out of these ष थ ल and ण can be singled out for comparison

(4) An aksara-system once prevalent if not current amongst the Sinhalese may be also consulted²

It appears that unless a band of scholars well versed in different scripts such as Brahmī Nepalese Malayalam and Sinhalese and proficient with the traditional lore etc. of the peoples wherein these scripts are or were prevalent seriously takes up the question of the origin of letter-numerals attempts made singly are not likely to yield a desired result worthy of universal approval. Nevertheless I take this opportunity of recording an attempt though incomplete and inconvincing recently made in this direction by the joint editors of *Sanmati prakarana* in their (Gujarati introduction (pp 19-22) to this work. These editors have given only one set of letter-numerals out of which evaluation of the following have been attempted by them —

¹ See Table of Letter-numerals given in the Cambridge Catalogue by Cecil Bendall

Of T & A S 1896 p 790 Here this list is given with corresponding Malayalam characters. It is reproduced from the Grammar of the Malayalam Language (§ 148 pp 41-42 2nd edn Mangalore 1868) by H Cudbert Parthenmore. Bendall has made the following observation on this very (790) page —

The British Museum (Add 7 154) possesses a Sanskrit Ms (of the drama Anargharāghava) written in Malayalam character and bearing leaf numerals on the above system. It is undated but from its appearance it may well have been written shortly before the year it was presented to the Museum 1829

² This is what can be inferred from the following remark (p 792) of Bendall —

The Sinhalese as my friend Vikramasīlāhī reminds me have also an aksara system. This might no doubt be easily worked out from the earlier Sinhalese epigraphy. I note in passing the forms of 1 7 and 50 which appear to correspond to forms of ऋ ष and ल respectively

ए (ava), सि (sa), श्री (śrī), एम् (rnka), हु (ītr) ऋ, (rphra) र्ण (rga), ह (hra), औ (om), ॠ (īr), ष (the), ला (la) and ष

These editors have assigned to the particular vowel, consonant or syllable the same value as the place it occupies in the class or *varga*. For instance ऋ and ए are evaluated as one; आ अ ऋ and ए as two, उ, ऋ and ऌ as three, ऋ and ह as four, ष and ष as five; and ऋ as seven. Furthermore, they have made use of three fundamental operations viz addition, subtraction and multiplication. Out of these the first and the third operations connected with vowels and consonants are said to be based upon the *Ārya siddhanta* of Āryabhatta whereas the second is said to be based upon the process employed for Latin¹ numeration. On this understanding they have evaluated the letter-numerals for 4 to 10, 20, 30 and 90 as under—

$$\text{वर्ण (ह + ए)} = 4 (5 - 1^2)$$

They have thus discarded *repha* (अन्व) by taking it to be a mere *pluma* (*chogusa*)

$$\text{इ (इ + ऋ)} = 5 (1 + 4)$$

ऊ (उ + ऋ) = 6 (2 + 3) Here ॠ is neglected but no explanation is given

$$\text{ग (उ + ॠ + आ)} = 7 (3 + 2 + 2)$$

$$\text{घ (इ + ॠ + आ)} = 8 (4 + 2 + 2)$$

ञ (अ + उ + ऋ) = 9 (1 + 3 + 5) Or it signifies nine as it stands for the *navā pades* of the *Jāmas*

ट (इ + ऋ) = 10 (3 + 7) Here the dot placed below ऋ is not taken into account. This is explained in two ways—

(a) It is redundant as no such dot is seen on p 107 of *Practis hīmalā* (Ojha s)

¹ This is a wrong nomenclature. The right one is Roman

² Here IX a Roman numeral is cited as an example. Of course the editors designate it as a Latin numeral and commit further mistake when they say in this connection (p 19) that in Latin consonants such as X and Y denote numbers

³ While mentioning letter-numerals ऋ is mentioned whereas ॠ is taken here. So it seems in the first case there is a slip

(b) It indicates the ten's place

२० = 20 Here as well as in the case of 30 however the dot is taken into account

३० = 30 Here २० is discarded

६३ = 90 Here the post on above dot is read as 6+3 As regards the addition of ३ and ६ XV is cited as an example from the Latin numeration

On this basis though imperfect and unscientific¹ one can explain why २०, ३० and ४० stand for 40, 50, 60 but such an attempt is not made by the editors

In the end I may turn to *Jaina* sources with a view to get the designation for letter numerals. As this is connected with *līpas* it will not be amiss to say a few words about its origin. Lord Rṣabha, the 1st Tīrthamkara who flourished in the 1st *āra* (spoke) of this *avāpanti* cycle of time taught 18 *līpas* and *gāṇṭha* respectively to Brahmī and Sundarī his two daughters. Amongst the 18 *līpas* about which the earliest reference is found in *Samaññya* there is mention of *anāliḥpa*, *Iṛiḥpa* being the first. If the word *līpa* used here is not to be taken in a general sense meaning writing but is to be interpreted as alphabet *anāliḥpa* may mean a letter numeral, i.e. to say a numeral denoted by a letter. If this is correct the earliest designation for a letter-numeral seems to be *anāliḥpa* otherwise the word *akṣarapallī*.²

¹ It appears to be so for the following reasons —

(a) It fails to explain all the letter numerals

(b) Instead of one and the same letter representing a particular number several do so. I do not think the learned editors or any one else can defend this on the ground that in word chronograms one and the same number is denoted by various words

(c) Some times a letter is neglected without any reason whatsoever

(d) The letter *p* is evaluated in two different ways, once as 4 and once as 7. Similarly a dot below a letter is at times neglected and several times taken into account

² In *History of Hindu Mathematics* (p 34) it is remarked that the *akṣarapallī* suggests that the old Brāhmi numerals also might have been fashioned after the letters or the syllables of the Brāhmi alphabet

The word *akṣarapallī* (syllabic system) is used in contrast with *anupallī* (decimal system) by Bandall on p 789

said to be used in a Jaina work may be substituted in its place I do not know if the letter-numeral is given a special name like *an'alips* or *akṣarapallī*¹ in any non-Jaina work. So I am tempted to request veteran scholars to point out, if there is any such designation.

Furthermore, it may be mentioned in this connection that if the order in which the *lips* are mentioned in *Samatīya* is chronological, then *an'alips* comes after *akṣara-lips* as is but natural.

In the end, I may conclude this article with the hope of furnishing additional information regarding this subject in my article viz 'Outlines of Palmography with special reference to Jaina Palmographical data and their evaluation' in connection with which I have been recently given a Research grant by the University of Bombay.

¹ This should be distinguished from the word *an'kapallī* used by the Jains to denote decimal notation.

A system akin to *akṣarapallī* is even now current in Malabar. Cf. J. R. A. S. (1896) p. 799.

THE DATE OF VĀDIRĀJA TĪRTHA

BY

B N KRISHNAMURTI SARMA M A

In his paper on the date of Vadiraja (*Annals* xvii pp 203-216) Mr Gode has convincingly refuted the theory of Vadiraja's demise in 1339 A D Ever since Prof P P S Sastri made the claim in the preface to his Southern Recension of the Epic and followed it up with the remark that the *Laksāmāhāra* may possibly turn out to be the earliest dated commentary on the *Mahābhārata*" (p xi-vel 3) I have doubted the tenability of his position For Madhva tradition is firm in holding Vadiraja to have been a contemporary and disciple of the celebrated Vyasaraja Svamin (1478-1539) There are other evidences also—literary and epigraphic which bid us assign Vadiraja definitely to the sixteenth century Mr Gode has drawn attention to two inscriptions in the name of Vadiraja and to certain very interesting historical references in the *Puthaprabandha* of Vadiraja himself—all of which go to prove that the author of the *Laksāmāhāra* flourished wholly within the 16th century I propose to indicate a few more facts and evidences in this direction here

I

The Genesis of the Kōde Mutts and Vādirāja's place in it

Sri Madhvacarya ordained eight monks to conduct worship at the temple of Sri Kṛṣṇa at Udipi These monks in their turn established apostolic lines of their own with the result that there came to be eight such branches which ultimately developed into the eight Mutts (अष्टमठ) of Udipi Each Mutt maintains a more or less accurate genealogy of its Pontiffs from Madhvacarya down to the present Svami The names of these Mutts together with those of their first Pontiffs are as below —

Table I

1 <i>Palamūr</i>	2 <i>Achamūr</i>	3 <i>Kronāpūr</i>	4 <i>Pullige</i>
1 Hretkeśa Tirtha	Narasimha „	Janardana , <i>Vāgīsa</i>	Upendra „
5 <i>Sīrūr</i>	6 <i>Sode</i>	7 <i>Kāmūr</i>	8 <i>Pejūlar</i>
1 Vamana „	1 Visnu Tirtha „ 2 Vedavyāsa „ 3 Vedavedya „ 4 Vedesa „ 5 Vamana „ 6 Vāsudeva „ 7 Vedavyāsa „ 8 Varāha „ 9 Vedānga „ 10 Viśvavandya „ 11 Viśva „ 12 Vitthala „ 13 Varadaraja „ 14 <i>Vāgīsa Tirtha</i> 15 Vādirāja Tirtha 16 Vedavedya „	1 Rama „ 2 Raghunātha „ 3 Raghupati „ 4 Raghu- nandana 5 Yadu- nandana „ 6 Viśvanātha „ 7 Vedagarbha „ 8 <i>Vāgīsa</i> „	Abhoksa

The first Pontiff of the *Sode Mutt* was Visnu Tirtha the younger brother of Madhvācārya. It was to this Mutt that Vādirāja, the author of the *Lakṣānamāhāra*, belonged and it was over its affairs that he presided during his lifetime. From the preceptorial order of the Mutt given above, it will be seen that Vādirāja is the fifteenth from Madhvācārya and that Vāgīsa Tirtha was his Guru and predecessor on the Pitha of the *Sode Mutt*. It is to this Vāgīsa Tirtha that reference is made in the works of Vādirāja —

वागीशतीर्थमुनिवर्यं भवद्दयानुयोगेन पाशय मनोबुद्धमन्वह मे ।

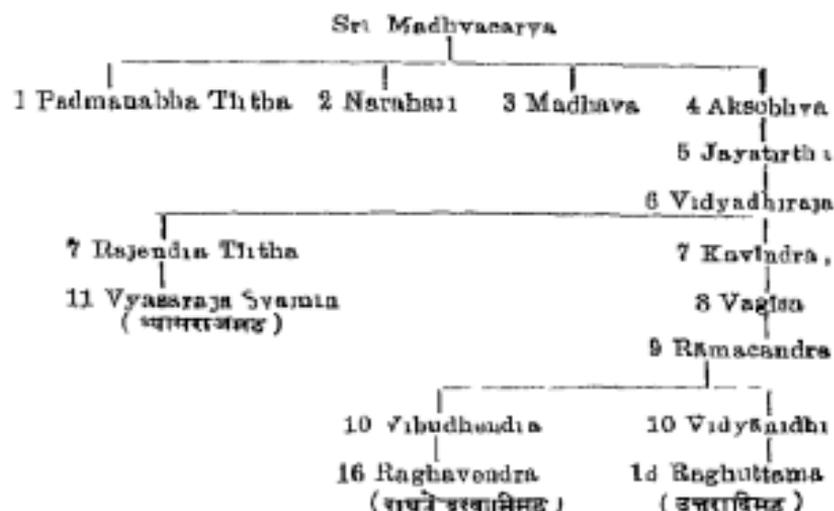
Tirthaprabandha 1, 4

मुनीशवागीशासुत सुरम्या हरे कथा शक्तति वादिराज ।

(*Rukmāṣṭakavyaya* 1 8)

This Vagīsa Tīrtha is the fourteenth—not the 'Seventh' successor from Anandācīrtha—as stated by the late Dr Bhandarkar and Prof P P S Sastri. The mistake is due to a confusion between Vagīsa Tīrtha of the *Sode Mutṭ*—(the real Guru of Vadirāja) and another Vagīsa Tīrtha who appears in a different line of succession from Madhva—and who was a common ancestor of both the present Raghavendraśvami and Uṭṭaradī Mutṭ. The preceptorial line in this case is as below—

Table II



It will be seen from the above that in Madhva hierarchy there are altogether four Vagīsa Tīrthas—three in the Uṭṭaradī Mutṭ¹ and one in the main-line—but only one Vadirāja. In assigning a Guru therefore to the latter regard must be paid to probabilities to the genealogical tables of the Mutṭs and to other historical data available. The name of Vadirāja a Saṁnyāsa Guru was certainly Vagīsa Tīrtha² but seeing that he himself hailed from the Sode Mutṭ² it is but necessary to assume that the

¹ One in the Kṛṣṇāpur, one in the Kōṣṭhī and one in the Sode Mutṭ.

² Cf. महाभारतीयसुखाय सूर्याय इति कथा श्रवणं वादिताम् ।

³ His tomb is at Sode. Vide also Vol III p. xli para 2 line 7 (Introd.) of Prof P P S Sastri's *Mahābhārata*.

Vaḡiṣa Tīrtha referred to by him as his Guru, must also be of the same Mutt. What is more we have actually a Pontiff of that name immediately preceding Vadiraja on the list of the Mutt. Nay we have even the tomb of Vaḡiṣa Tīrtha of the Sode Mutt at Udipi. These facts speak for themselves and further comment is needless. The theorists would not have gone all the way to Kavindra Tīrtha and his line in search of a Vaḡiṣa Tīrtha and pitched upon his disciple,¹ had they been aware of the presence of a Vaḡiṣa nearer home in the Sode Mutt itself. It is obvious from their writings that they have not at all consulted the *śāstrīya* of Vadiraja's own Mutt. The fact at least that Vadiraja succeeded not to the *Piṭha* of Kavindra Tīrtha but to that of Viṣṇu Tīrtha at Sode, ought to have opened their eyes to the truth that his Vaḡiṣa Tīrtha was a different person from theirs!

II. Traditional and Literary Evidences

There are many stories current among the followers of Madhva presupposing Vadiraja's contemporaneity to Vyasa Tīrtha (also Vyasaraja Svamin).² A modern scholar may hesitate to accept them all as genuine. But even he must concede them an ultimate basis on facts. Anyway, tradition is not the only thing that we have in support of the belief in the contemporaneity of the two. There are interesting, literary evidences also, of unimpeachable character:—

(1) In one of his *śūtrās*, Purandara Dāsa,³ the great Father

¹ Elsewhere Dr. Bhandarkar confound Vādirāja with Kavindra (Collect. of Works II p. 7) 1928.

² See Vyāsajñāna of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha for a story of the recovery of Vyāsa mūrti Śa'gram by Vādirāja from Vyāsārāja while on a visit to the latter. Pt. Śrīnivāsaśaṣṭha of the Dvaita Siddhānta Śāstrī College Udipi, recounts in his *Life of Vādirāja* (Kannada) Udipi 1924 how Aṣṭakārjya of Viṣṇayāgar showed marked favour to Vādirāja (p. 35) —

स्वशिष्यावनमरोप्य सतुष्टोऽप्युत भूपति ।

श्रीयादिराजमुखे विद्मदावद्दानमुः ॥

See also *Vyāsajñāna-śāstrīya* by Somantika. Introd. pp. cxi and cxxxi. Bangalore Press, Bangalore city.

³ There is little doubt that Purandara Dāsa flourished in the 16th century.

of Carnatic Music eulogises his Guru Vyāsārāja Svāmīn¹ as the teacher of both Vādirāja and Vijāyāndra Tīrtha —

“यासरायरचरणकमलक्षन

* * *

धरेयोक्तु विजयीन्द्र वादिराजरम्भ

परमशिष्यर पठतु मेरेव वाक्यतियष्टि

यासरायर०

(2) The above is corroborated by the following verse in the *Sripādārāṅgāstā* am a poem in praise of Sripādarāya alias Lakṣmī nārāyaṇa Tīrtha the Vidyāguru² of Śrī Vyāsārāja Svāmīn

यष्टिष्ठया यासराज प्रतिभटजनतासवनवापहत

कर्ता ब्र-धत्रस्य प्रतिभटविजयप्रोष्वशास्त्रोत्तमस्य ।

प्रत्याता यस्य शिष्या जगति च विजयीन्द्रारचयामाद्बचद्-

श्रीम-डीवादिराजप्रमुखयतिवरा सौख्यतामा यतीन्द्र ॥

[*Stotramahodadhī* p 317 Belgaum] (III 6)

(3) On p 524 of his *Aravindu Dynasty* Pt Heins observes³ —

(a) In the state of Ikleri we must mention Vādirāja a man of great erudition and author of several works. One of his

¹ In another of his *Sūtras* he says that Vyāsārāja gave him *śraddhā* and *nachū* and also refers to his Master's temporary occupation of the throne of Vijāyanagar (during the period of Kūkoṃṃya of Kṛmādevarāya) and to the building of the Lake of Vyāsasamudra

देशाधिपये यद् क्लृप्तकाल कलतु

सिंहासनावनेति मेरेदि जगवरिय

यासाशिवय तु कष्टसि देशदोलनेरु

(Song no 20 *Prasādera Dharma Sūtradhyāyā* Mīdhvabhāṣyaṇa Mānjan K. Bhandappa Dharwad 1932) The date of the grant of Vyāsasamudram to Vyāsārāja is 1525 26 (V Rangaacharya Ins Madras Presidency Vol I No 11 of 1905)

² I am indebted to H H Śrī Vidyāsvaminātha Tīrtha Sripādāngalavaru the present Svāmī of the Śrī Vyāsārāja Mutt for this reference

Of लक्ष्मीनारायणमुनी व द् विद्यापुरु मम (*Narasimha* ta 1 6) Also colophon to his *Upaniśāhāṇḍana Māṇḍarānandya*

³ The remarks (a) and (b) are quoted also by I A Gopinatha Rau *Ep Ind XII* p 246

pupils is mentioned in a grant of Veni śaṅga Nāyaka¹ of Ikker in the year 1614 A. D.²

The disciple referred to is Vedavedya Īrtina of the Soḍe Maṅḡ to whom the grant was made. This shows that Vādirāja must have died some years before 1614.

The same scholar writes —

(b) Vādirāja Tīrtha was a student of Vijayendra⁴ Tīrtha under Vyāsarāja. Vādirāja also was a great controversialist and commentator on Madhva's works.³

III *Internal Evidence from the works of Vādirāja*

(4) In my papers on the date of Madhvacarya published in the *Annals of the University Journal* (Vols III & IV) I have shown that 1338-1317 A. D. is the only date that satisfies all the traditional literary and epigraphic data available. In the light of this date it will be obvious that 1339 A. D. would be *too early* a date for the demise of Vādirāja. For, it leaves barely an interval of 23 years between the demise of the two which is ludicrous seeing that we have to accommodate therein as many as *five*⁴ Pontiffs! Even if the date arrived at by me is not accepted, we have another landmark in the inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha one of the early disciples of Madhva. The last of these is dated 1293 A. D. Narahari was Pontiff for *seven* years and Padmanābha Tīrtha before him for *nine*. Even assuming that Narahari died in 1293—(which is not true, his actual date of demise being *Śrīmatika* 1293)—we get at 1277 as the year of Madhva's departure from

¹ His date is 1582-1629 A. D. (*Ep. Car.* vii p. 43 1902.)

² Inscriptions indicate that Vijayendra was alive in 1577-1580. He succeeded to the pīṭha of Śrīrandra Tīrtha in 1579. There are grants to Vādirāja in 1571, 1582 and 1583. These to Vyāsarāja cover the period 1511-1532. There is nothing to disprove the studentship of the two under Vyāsarāja since all of them flourished within the 16th century and Vyāsarāja predeceased his disciples. My friend Dr. B. Nāgaraja Śarma tells me that he has heard it said that there is a refutation of a certain view in Vādirāja's *Vādikaṅkṣā* in the *Gurūśrīmadhva* (c. on *Nyāyāśraṅgī*) of Vijayendra Tīrtha with a comment that the attitude taken by Vādirāja is opposed to the views expressed by their common Guru Vyāsarāja in the *Nyāyāśraṅgī*. This is yet to be verified.

³ Or even nine according to Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, which has been shown to be erroneous.

the world. This again leaves us but an interval of *sixty-two* years which too is preposterous for *fifteen* Pontiffs—especially when we bear in mind that the Udipi-Pontiffs are as a rule recruited direct from the Brahmaṇa-vaṣama and are normally longer-lived and rule longer than other Svamīs elsewhere.

The epigraphic material at our disposal bearing on the Pontiffs of the Udipi Mutta clearly enables us to work out an average of 18-20 years reign for each Svami. An interval of 270 years at least is thus inevitable between Madhva and Vadirāja.

Thus from whichever point of view it is approached the date of demise 1339 A. D. proposed for Vadirāja collapses.

(5) The date of Jayatīrtha also has immediate and important bearing on that of Vadirāja. Jayatīrtha is *the commentator par excellence* (टीकाकार) of the Dvaita System. His works were commented upon by many illustrious writers like Vyasarāja Svami, Vijayindra Raghavendra etc. Vadirāja too has left a commentary on the *Paṭiprakāśikā* of Jayatīrtha—called *Guruarthakalpāṇī*—of which a Ms. is preserved in the Mysore Government Oriental Ms. Library (C 1842 दे. # 125 p. 510). He also eulogises the services rendered by Jayatīrtha to the cause of Dvaita Vedānta in the following stanza of his *Tīrtha-prabandha*—(III 18)

शास्त्रम् था-स्वम्-शून्यं सत्सङ्गदादि-ज्ञान-विज्ञानभाव-
सप्तोऽप्यलङ्कृताभिः स्वसङ्ग-नमानिसंभूतवर्तमिर्वर्धुभिः ।
कृत्वान्योक्तीश्च दासी बुधसङ्घ-वृद्ध-प्रौढवृत्तीश्च वृत्ती-
दृत्वान्यो-याभियोग-जयमुनिरसकृद्दीक्ष-रेमे कृताथ ॥

With the help of the geneo-chronological tables of the Mutta which give the year of Jayatīrtha's demise as *Vishvav* we can easily fix his Pontifical rule between 1365-88 A. D.—if 1238-1317 is admitted as the correct date of Madhva. Even apart from that it would be clear from the passage in the *Mahābhārata-Tālparyā-māṣaya*¹ of Madhva himself that his date of birth *cannot be pushed*

¹ चतुस्रस्र विज्ञानसारे गते सप्त मरणां तु कलौ पृथिवाम् ।

जाल पुनर्दिशिततुः स भीमा दे वनिगुव हरित वनाह ॥ (xxxii 131)

The verse fixes 4300 Kalas=1199-1200 A. D. as the *terminus ad quem* of the Acarya's birth. No date earlier than 1238 squares with the requirements of the Ins. of Narhari Tirtha.

13 [Annals B. O. R. I.]

farther back than 1800 A D Even the most conservative estimate must allow the Ācārya a life of fifty years at least on earth This would place the departure of Madhva, (hypothetically) in 1259 His four disciples Padmanabha, Narahaṅga, Madhava, and Aksobhya, 'ruled' for 48 years in all—and Jayatīrtha who succeeded Aksobhya for 23 years The interval between the departures of Madhva and Jayatīrtha is thus *seventy-one* (71) years According to this calculation, Jayatīrtha's demise must have taken place in 1321 A D If that were so, the demise of Vādirāja—who has not only commented on a work of Jayatīrtha, but is also, according to Prof P P S Sastry, his great-great-grand-disciple (through Vagisa Tirtha of Table II)—could not have occurred so soon as within 18 years after Jayatīrtha!! Vādirāja would then be a contemporary of Jayatīrtha himself which is unthinkable

(6) In the last verse of the *Śrīpādarājyaśākhā* composed by him, Vādirāja acknowledges Vyāsātīrtha as his Guru —

श्रीपादराजमुण्डणनवययदक
श्रीव्यासराजयतिशिष्यगणर्षभेण ।
श्रीपादराजयतिना रचितं हयास्प
स्तेषादरण पठता प्रकरोन्वभीष्टम् ॥ (verse 7)

(7) Another reference to Śrīpādārāja and Vyāsārāja is to be found in one of the songs² of Vādirāja —

श्रीपादरायरादिव्य श्रीपादन भजिसुखे
व्यासरायरिगे वियाभ्यास मादिसुख
स्वगवर्षतीर्थरसुत श्रीपादराय³

(*Vādirājya Kīrtanagāthā*, Udipi, p 37, song 65)

¹ This is different from the *Śrīpādarājyaśākhā* already cited. It is in the *Aśvadhāri* metre which is characteristic of Vādirāja. Its alliterative style also a reminiscence of the author's *Dakṣiṇāra śāstra*, *Yuktiśākhā*, *Śaradaśāstra* etc. The poem was published as part of a lecture on the Life of Vyāsārāja delivered before a meeting of the *Bhāratīya Mādhva Uṇnati* (Vedānta Saṅgha) (Power Printing Press Chickpet Bangalore City 1927).

² Vādirāja was not only a commentator and controversialist but also a devout Dās in the line of famous Dāsas. The Dāsas composed devotional songs in Kannaḍa—many of which have been published.

³ I am indebted to my friend Principal M Ramaoandra Rau, M A of the D S Sanskrit College Udipi, for this reference.

IV Epigraphic Evidences

(8) At Sode ¹ the original seat of the Mutt of Vādirāja is a temple of Trivikrama built and consecrated by Vādirāja himself. This fact is referred to in the following verse of his *Tīrtha prakāśha* (176) —

त्रिविक्रम रम्यमदारिशब्दसरोजमालाधरमिदुवणम् ।
सनोहराङ्ग यतिवदिराजप्रतिष्ठित नीमि तदा प्रसङ्गम् ॥

A stone inscription at the temple gives Saka 1504 *Utrabhānu* (वैशाख शुद्ध पूर्णिमा) corresponding to 1582 A. D. as the year of its consecration.

Eleven years later Arasappa Nayaka Chief of Sode (1555-98) made Vādirāja grants for the upkeep of worship at the temple. The year of this grant is Saka 1515 *Vijaya* (कात्तिकशुद्ध पूर्णिमा) = 1593 A. D. It is mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. xiv pt. 2 *Kanara* pp. 345-48 and by Buchanan in his *Travels*. These two inscriptions prove that Vādirāja was in flesh and blood in the years 1582 and 1593 ². His demise therefore must have taken place only later. This agrees perfectly with the following *चरम-लोक* commemorating the demise of Vādirāja still preserved in the Sode Mutt —

स्वरित श्रीजयशालिवाहनशके साधासहस्रापर
द्वाविंशो शरदा मते प्रभवति श्रीशावरीवल्मर ।
मास फात्सुनके सितेतरमुठायाया तिथा विदिन
स्वामीहर्षणसयुते हरिपद् श्रावादिराजा जत ॥

The verse gives 1500 A. D. as the date of Vādirāja's demise which agrees with other epigraphic and literary data brought together.

(9) Two other inscriptions from the Kṛṣṇa temple at Udipi also support this date. They have been cited by Mr. Gode but I shall refer to them again as their bearing upon the Paryaya system has not been made clear by him. The details are as below —

¹ Sonda or Soonda as it is officially designated. It is a small village situated about ten miles north of Sira in the Karwar District of the Bombay Presidency (North Canara).

² And in 1571 A. D. as shown by Mr. Gode (*Ep. Car.* VII Sb. 55 p. 10).

(a) "On another stone slab built into the northern wall of the Kṛṣṇaśtha—A record of the Vijayanagar king Vikṛ-Venkata pati I recording in Śaka 1536 = 1614 A. D. *Prasādhān* the grant of the village of *Hūṣanakeṛa*¹ by Venkutappa Nāyaka of Kaladi while *Vedāśeḍya Tīrtha*, pupil of Vādirāja Tīrtha was the priest of the Temple"² [Italics mine]

(Rangacharya *Ins of Madras Presidency* Vol 2 pp 870-71)

(b) "A Canarese Ins on another stone slab built into the same wall—A record in Śaka 1535=1613 A. D. *Prasādhān*, mentioning Vādirājātīrtha and his pupil and providing for offerings"³ (No 235, 114 of 1901)

The real date of Vādirāja's demise must therefore be after 1593 A. D. Given the date of his successor's *parvāṭ* as 1614, we can easily fix 1596-97 or nearabout, as the last *parvāṭ* of Vādirāja.⁴ His demise consequently, must have occurred after that date—which again agrees with the date given in the *Varmaśloka-viz* 1590 A. D.

Tradition records Vādirāja a life of 120 years. However that may be, there is no doubt that he was alive between 1539⁵—and 1597,⁶ and flourished entirely within the sixteenth century.

Prof P. P. S. Sastri—following Dr. Bhandarkar—has thus made a mistake of nearly three centuries in the date of Vādirāja. It is very doubtful therefore if his would yet be the earliest dated or datable commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

¹ Hūṣanakeṛa (near Kumbhāṣi) was the native village of Vādirāja.

² ; ; when he was the Officiating Priest or *parvāṭ*—as the Ins. pati 11—*parvāṭ* system of rotation of office of chief priest in force at Udipi whereby the eight *svāmi*s of the eight Mutts officiate in turn each for two years as Head Priest. It is clear from the above Ins. that in 1614 Vādirāja was no more and that his successor Vedaśeḍya Tīrtha was then the *svāmi* of the Sode Mutt whose *parvāṭ* turn⁷ had come in 1614 or so. It is deducible from this that 1596-97 must have been the last *parvāṭ* of Vādirāja *svāmi*.

³ As each Mutt gets its turn once in sixteen years.

⁴ The year of Vyāsaśāstra's demise.

⁵ The year of his last *parvāṭ* as deduced from the Ins. of 1614.

P S Since writing the above I have been able to gather that there are also the following songs of early Dasas in support of Vadiraja's having been a disciple of Vyasaaja Svamin —

(10) (a) यासरायर स्मरितिरा ०

यत्राद्धारकन प्रतिष्ठिति विजयाद्-सतत-
 वादिराज भोविद् पुरन्दर इ तु शिष्यरत्न षडुप-
 देशिति मात्रसिद्धिय तु माडि x x x
 यासाभियङ्गु विगदु x x x
 मध्ववल्लभ नम्म विजयविठ्ठलपादद्वय भक्तियनित्य ०
 यासरायर स्मरितिरो

(Vijaya Dasa)

(b) पल्लवि सत्सु तव पाद सानन्द वङ्ग ०
 चन्द्रिकाचायरलि शिष्यरेऽनिमि आ
 न इदि बलि यासप्रतीकवतु
 तदु निभयदि संवत्ररलि मेरदि यो
 गीन्द्र दण्डकापाय धरिसि सुगुणमान्द्र
 सप्तमहिम वेणुमोपाल विठ्ठल x x x

[Timmana Dasa disciple of (a)]

(c) एदुरारो गुरुवे समरारो ०

श्रीद्विठ्ठल मतिप्रियद श्रापादरायरलि
 आदि अथमल वादिराजविजया द्र प्रसुखरिग
 आदरदलि पाठपेकुतिप्पगे
 एदुरारा गुरुव ०

[Sride Vitthala disciple of Jagannatha Dasaru]

MISCELLANEA

LITERARY NOTES*

BY

V BAGHAVAN, M A, Ph D

X

The B O R I Ms 'Bharatasastra grantha'

The B O R I Ms No 46 of 1916-18 bears the name Bharata sastra grantha evidently a conjectured name given by somebody I perused the Ms some years back and from the identity of quotations found in this Ms with those found in the Sūtrāṅgaṅī vyākhyā on the Gītāgovinda by Cēruḱuṛi Lakṣmīdhara and from the reference by the author in both to a Prasaṅgarāghavavyākhyā of his I concluded that the B O R I Bharatasastra grantha was a Nāṭya work of Cēruḱuṛi Lakṣmīdhara. This I wrote in an article of mine on later Saṅgīta literature in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Vol IV p 56, and on the basis of a letter of mine on this subject, Mr P K Gode wrote a note on the identity of this B O R I Ms in the Annals of the B O R I, Vol XV, pp 240-242. Earlier, Mr Manmohan Ghosh had mentioned this Ms in the Introduction to his edition of Nandikeśvara's Abhinayadāpanā, pp XIX-XX, as appearing to be a curious compilation of passages from the works quoted in it and certain unmentioned sources like Dandin and Nandikeśvara. Immediately after the appearance of Mr Gode's note Mr M Ramakrishna Kavi informed me that as a matter of fact the curious Bharatasastra grantha in the B O R I was but a fragment of Cēruḱuṛi Lakṣmīdhara's Sūtrāṅgaṅī itself. Subsequently, I got the B O R I Ms and found that Mr M R Kavi's information was fact. I compared the Ms with the text of the Sūtrāṅgaṅī, of which there are many Mss in the Madras Govt Oriental Mss Library, and have satisfied myself that this Bharatasastra grantha is a fragment of a very irregular nature

* Continued from Annals of B O R I Vol XVI pp 129-144

of the Srutiranjani bearing a name which somebody must have given on finding the indefiniteness and irregular nature of the Ms in which words and verses on subjects of the Bharatasastra occur. Only one or two Pratikas are discoverable to show that it is a commentary on the Gitagovinda.

Another fact which emerged out of this examination of the B O R I Ms is this. The Ms bears on the top of first page the number 7-6-8. What is this? It is the Shelf Number of a Ms in the Madras Govt Oriental Mus Library which is described in the Descriptive Catalogue under no 12993 and under the title Talalaksana. B O R I 40 of 1916-18 and Madras Descriptive Catalogue 12933 are identical. A comparison proves this though the description given in the Madras Catalogue does not show this being somewhat defective. The beginning extracted in the Madras Catalogue refers to the matter towards the end of page two of the B O R I Ms. In both Ms there are verses on Tala at the end with a Telgu gloss. The Telgu gloss is omitted in the extracts given in the Madras Catalogue.

Madras 12994 is described in the catalogue in the words "same work as above" i. e. 12993. Really it is the same as Madras 12992 Talalaksana attributed to Kohala. The B O R I Ms and Madras 12993 give among the loose verses on Tala at the end the verse विद्युत्सोऽसुत् etc which is the opening verse of Madras 12992 which is the same as Madras 12994 and India Office Eggleston, 1126-1127.

Thus B O R I 40 of 1916-18 is an irregular fragment of Cerukuri Laksmidhara's Srutiranjani on the Gitagovinda with some stray verses on Tala with Telgu gloss at its end and must have been supplied from Madras. The older members on the staff of the Madras Govt Oriental Mus Library are able to identify the hand also in the B O R I Ms.

Laksmidhara's works

There are numerous Ms of Cerukuri Laksmidhara's Srutiranjani vyakhya on the Gitagovinda two noteworthy features of the Ms being the considerable differences in readings¹ and

¹ There are longer and shorter recensions.

the attribution of its authorship to Lakṣmīdhara's patron, King, Iṅrumala in certain Ms^s: 'Seshagiri Sastrī's Report II, Madras, pp 63-64 gives a list of authors and works cited in the *Sauti rangani* and also the other works of Lakṣmīdhara or Lakṣmana. K P Trivedi also mentions the several works of Lakṣmana or Lakṣmīdhara in his introduction to Lakṣmīdhara's *Sadbhāsa candrika* in the Bombay Skr Series (LXXI) / Intro pp 14-17. This Lakṣmana became a Samnyasin in after life and was then known as Rāmapandastāman. The works written by this writer are *The Sadbhāsa-candrika* the *Svaramaṅgari*, *Prasannarāghava vyākhyā*, *Gitagovindavyākhyā-Srutirāṅgani* and *Anurāgha-lāghavavyākhyā*. The last was written by him in his Samnyasa sthāna (Tanjore Catalogue, P P S Vol VIII, pp 3322-5). In the *Srutirāṅgani*, he quotes a *Kāvya* of his also, but of that we do not know the name (Seshagiri Sastrī, Report II pp 63, 209-211). For some of his works, see also Hultzsch Reports Skr Ms in S. India III Intro pp VIII-IX¹.

Dr S K De gives on p 309 of Vol I of his *Skr Poetics* (1) *Alamkāramuktāvalī* (Auf I 32^a) and (2) *Rasamaṅgari* cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gitagovinda* as two works of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara. The latter is evidently a mistake for the *Svaramaṅgari* mentioned as a work of Lakṣmīdhara by himself. See Seshagiri Sastrī Report II pp 64 and 203. It is also doubtful if Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara ever wrote an *Alamkāra muktāvalī*. Aufrecht I 32^a mentions an *Alamkāramuktāvalī* by a Lakṣmīdhara referring us to K 98 and B 3,44. On I p 538^a Aufrecht mentions this Lakṣmīdhara separately from the author of the *Sadbhāsa-candrika*. There is an *Alamkāramuktāvalī* by Viśveśvara found in many Catalogues and available in print also. The father of this Viśveśvara is a Lakṣmīdhara who is praised both at the beginning and end of the work. It is likely Bühler and Kielhorn have entered Viśveśvara a *Alamkāramuktāvalī* as Lakṣmīdhara's and Dr De has mistaken that Lakṣmīdhara for the Cerukūri writer. There is yet a third Lakṣmīdhara, son of Nṛsimha and pupil of Anantasaṅga Rāghunātha who wrote the

¹ Father Hesse says in his *Anavidi Dynasty* I p 817, that Lakṣmīdhara wrote the *Anurāgha-lāgha* a.

Amrtataranginī commentary on the Bhagavata the Advaita makāṇḍa and the Bhagavannamakaśmudī. The note at the end of the Ms of the Bhagavannamakaśmudī in the Tanjore P P 8 Cat XIV p 6385 identifying this Lakṣmīdhara with the Cēruknri namesake is wrong.

XI

Itihāsottama

Aufrecht gives the following references to this work Vol I 53b—Taylor I 302 Oppert 2281 II 5665 Vols II and III of the Catalogus Catalogorum contain no notice of any Ms of this work.

Taylor I 302 gives the name wrongly as Itihāsasamuccaya the name of another work of a similar nature Aufrecht has corrected and entered it as Itihāsottama and the summary of contents given by Taylor also proves that the Ms described by him is Itihāsottama and not Itihāsasamuccaya. Taylor has these remarks on the nature of the work. A discourse between Bhṛṅgu and Saunaka Rṣi in the manner of the Purānas * * * *
* the bearing of the whole is on the glory of Viṣṇu.

Some of the contents are— * * * * * var
ious like matters each having the illustration of a tale. The whole is like a Purānam perhaps gatherings from several 1st to 34th adhyaya and so far complete 3 leaves on the nature of Vaiṣṇava worship seem added.

Some of the contents indicated by Taylor are duties of Guru and Śiṣya Viṣṇu bhakti Tapas gift of food pilgrimage chaṣtity Karma Atithiāṅkars Saṁnyasa Vairagya Anugamañ Vārta dharmas Āśramadharmas.

In both instances Oppert enters Itihāsottama as belonging to Dharmas by subject.

There is a Ms of the Itihāsottama described by Dr A B Keith in Vol II Pt 1 of his IO catalogue under number 6080. Dr Keith says of it. The Itihāsottama a collection of tales here twenty five in number illustrating the greatness of Viṣṇu in the form of a dialogue between Saunaka and Bhṛṅgu. For this work see Taylor, Catal 1 302, who analyses it under the incorrect title

Itihāssamuccaya Madras Catal iv 1351-1352 may be this work, but it is presumably rather a mere variant of the text connected with the *Mahābhārata*.

In the Madras Govt Oriental Mss Library, there are four Mss of the *Itihāssama* Descriptive Catalogue numbers 1978, 14286 (incomplete), 15686 (complete except for small lacunae in the last three pages) and M 54-15 which last is yet undescribed. It is to the first of these, D 1978 (iv pp 1351-2) that Dr Keith refers. The descriptive note in the Catalogue says 'complete in 34 Adhyāyas. This is another compilation from the *Mahābhārata* similar to *Itihāssamuccaya*' (which is described in this catalogue under the immediately preceding four numbers). D 14286 described in Vol XXV-Supplemental p 9596, is a fragment of the same work containing the 19th (without beginning) to a part of the 26th Adhyāya. D 15686 described in Vol XXVII (not yet issued) p 10347, is complete except for some small gaps towards the very end. M 54-15 which has not yet been described is a complete Ms.

Dr Keith says that the first-mentioned Madras Ms is presumably rather a mere variant of the text connected with the *Mahābhārata*. To this presumption, he is led by the incorrect information supplied by the descriptive note at the top of the extracts in the Madras Catalogue which says that this *Itihāssama* is another compilation from the *Mahābhārata* similar to the *Itihāssamuccaya*. The *Itihāssama* is not a compilation from the *Mahābhārata* only, like the *Itihāssamuccaya*. The Madras Ms and the IO Ms described by Dr Keith are identical. The work in full contains 34 chapters. The IO Ms stops with the 25th chapter and the post-colophon words 'समाप्तस्तथाग्रथ' and the scribe's verse at the end of the IO Ms are wrong.

The IO Ms begins with the general benedictory verse नारायण नमस्तथा which is absent in the Madras Mss. The second verse of the IO Ms शोणकस्तु etc is the sixteenth verse (D 15686 Paper, Devanāgarī, was examined) of the Madras Ms which has additional verses in the beginning. The last colophon extracted by Dr Keith runs thus इति श्री द्वापरादीन्तमे भृगुशोणकस्तथा चिन्महापात्रादीनां

वाम दशविंशत्यध्याय । This colophon occurs at the end of Ch 25 of D 15086 Mad Ms. p 200 Ch 25 of the Mad Ms also deals with Citamala's story Thus the Madras Ms called *Ithahasottama* is not a variant of the *Ithahasamuccaya*

The following is an analysis of the work Ch I is introductory Saunaka approaches Bhrgu and asks him to speak of the means to attain Nissreyasa which will not be a bliss that will be short-lived as the one attained by mere heaven-giving Dharmas Saunaka enlightens Bhrgu on Pravritti and Nivrtti or Phalassamyasa in doing Karma and on the Yamas and Niyamas Towards the end of the ch the importance of the Guru is stressed upon Ch II The greatness of the Guru and his worship by the Sisyas This is illustrated by a story of how Sumati Kapila and other pupils attained to high state by worshipping and serving their preceptor sage Gautama Chs III and IV narrate the story of Vikukṣi to point out how even the sinner is saved Ch V—Ahimsa the greatest of all Dharmas and its illustration with the story of Sakala a Brahman of Indra prastha Ch VI Tapas and its greatness illustration by the story of sage Devala and the Gandharva Huhu which forms the prelude to the well-known Gaṅḍarvanoksa story Ch VII The greatness of giving water story of Silavati and Yama Ch VIII Tirthayatra and Annadana compared the latter praised the story of Satyajit and Satyaketa to illustrate the superiority of Annadana Ch IX Pativratya and the story of Svetavati and her husband Somapa Ch X Grief and family worry the story of a Siddha removing the grief of Indragupta becoming his wife's loss Ch XI Atithipuja the chief duty of the householder the story of king Dīlīpa and Yama disguised as a hunter Ch XII Abhayadana and Sadhusamvāda the story of Raghu and a Rakasa Ch XIII Evils of wealth and the greatness of salvation and wisdom No illustrative story Ch XIV How to get Virakti in Samsara? Story of Markandeya and a Brahman Ch XV Release from Naraka by Harinamasan kirtana story of Puskalā's dialogue with the men in charge of Hell Ch XVI Stealing a Brahman's property the worst sin story of a Brahmarakṣasa and a Brahman Ch XVII On creation creator and the universe the worship of the creator,

Viṣṇu's explanation of the process creation to Brahmā Ch XVIII
 Mokṣamārga elaborated as expounded by the young Satyadhara
 to her mother Ch XIX Nature of Māya and the means to over-
 come it, as expounded by Viṣṇu to Nārada Ch XX The fruit
 of worshipping Viṣṇu as taught by Śrīva to Mārkaṇḍeya Ch XXI
 Bhūmīdāna and its greatness the sin of stealing land the story
 of king Satyajit Chs XXII-XXIII Viṣṇubhaktimāhātmya and
 the story of Viṣṇumitra Ch XXIV Who is dear to Viṣṇu?
 The story of the neglected queen Kāntimati and her worship of
 Viṣṇubhaktas Ch XXV On Bhakta, Bhakti and the story of a
 woman-devotee Ośāmalā (Here Keith's IO Ms stops) Ch
 XXVI The path of salvation for erring women, the story of
 Susobhanā Ch XXVII The path of salvation for the erring
 man, Ajāmila's story Ch XXVIII On the fruit of Dāna accord-
 ing to Dasa, Kala, Pātra, Dravya and Bhāva, the story of
 Maudgalya Ch XXX How the sinner, demon Parasu attained
 salvation by contemplating on Viṣṇu Ch XXX Satī Anu-
 gamaṇa, story of Gabbastī, wife of Dadhīca Ch XXVI
 'Māghamañṣaṇā as narrated by Kṛṣṇa to Yūdhiṣṭhira with the
 story of the king Śūrasena of Pratiṣṭhāna Ch XXXII Śrāddha
 and its Phala Garga's exposition of Kauśika's story to his pupils
 Ch XXXIII The greatness of the Gīrthāsārama, story of king
 Vṛśṣadarvīh Ch XXXIV Anukāmaṇi of the 33 Chs and con-
 clusion

In D 15868 alone, there is a half-finished post-colophon list
 of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas

The contents of this work are derived from various Purāṇas
 and not from the Mahābhārata only The work is in the words
 of the author himself who has taken the matter from the Purāṇas
 and has given them his own expression, though here and there,
 old verses and words and phrases of the originals are seen As for
 example Ajāmila story in this work and the same in the Bhāga-
 vata The work is of the same nature as the Itihāsasamuccaya,
 with a few common subjects, the illustrative stories of which
 however differ ¹ The work is not mainly on Viṣṇu's greatness

¹ Most of the illustrative stories in the Itihāśastama are from sources
 other than the Mahābhārata.

There is a Ms of the Itihāśastama in the Adyar Library, Adyar Cata-
 logue I p 135, and there are two incomplete and one complete Ms of it in
 the Mysore Oriental Library (Mysore Cat I, p 147)

XII

Asahaya's commentaries on the Smritis of Sankha and Likhita

In the list of authors on Dharmasastra given at the end of his History of Dharmasastra I Mr P V Kane says of Asahaya 'About 700-750 A D author of Bhasya on Narada-smṛiti of Bhasya on Gautamadharmasūtra and probably of commentary on Manusmṛiti' (p 680^b) Asahaya and the above mentioned works of his are noticed by Mr Kane in section 58

To these three commentaries of Asahaya we have to add now commentaries of his on the Smritis of Sankha and Likhita There is a discussion on Samnyasins in the Nyayaratnadipavali of Ānandānubhava pupil of Narayana-jyotiḥ (Madras Ms B 5606) in which a number of Smṛiti texts are quoted Asahaya is one of the writers quoted here

p 160 'यसु विकल्पवाक्येषु असहायन वाशब्द समुच्चयाय इति यास्पात etc "

Commentin on this Ānandagiri says

"शङ्खलिखितस्मृत्यो यास्पाता कश्चिदसहायनामा समस्ति । तदीयमतमुत्थापयति-परिचरति । स सत्वेवमाह स्म-विकल्पवाक्येषु सत्र वाश-द्वार्षार्थपठित्वा 'मुण्ड शिष्यो च भवत् इयथा गम्यत इति । तत्र वाश-द्वय विकल्पवार्थतया प्रसिद्धतरस्थ चाथे पठन मा-यमात्रनिश्चयनम् ।"

p 116 Madras Ms B 4459

Since Ānandagiri says —स्वया यास्पाता ' we may take Asahaya as having written two commentaries on the two texts ascribed separately to Sankha and Likhita Mr P V Kane's History of Dharmasastra does not mention Asahaya as having commented on Sankha and Likhita but it speaks of an anonymous Bhasya on Sankhalikhita on pp 77 and 317

XIII

Kastavara (Raja) a Smṛiti writer

In the same above-mentioned context¹ in his Nyayaratnadipavali Anandānubhava quotes a Raja

¹ The controversy here is with Bhāskara and his followers Anandānubhava informs us here that there is a story that because of Bhāskara's hatred of the Paramahansa the Kashmirian Pandita rejected Bhāskara's work, despite his erudition (p 163 Mad Ms) and that Bhāskara was a Karṣṭaka (उत्क कर्षकवदुः pp 162-3 Mad Ms)

“यस्तु राज्ञा अनुलिखितत्वात् अस्मृतिव्यवस्थाप, न स चाधु । लिखितानि हि स्मृतिमहाणवे' सुष्ठु सिद्धी वा' इत्यादीनि * * * *
 न हि सव भारतादिवाक्य राज्ञा लिखितम् * * * *
 राज्ञा अलेषन च तद्विपुक्तप्रत्यकर्तृद्वेषादप्युपपद्यते । तद्वैद्वेष्य धार्मिकत्व च अतिन्दूह्यसेवया व्याख्यातम् ।”

p 163 Madras Ms

From this we learn also that a court poet wrote the Smṛti work for the king. Who is this Sūdra king in whose name a Smṛti work is current? Commenting on this passage, Ānandagiri says

“राज्ञा अलिखितत्वात् शाक्यवाक्यवद् इत्याशङ्क्याह—यस्त्विति । विमतानि च स्मृतिवाक्यानि, एकदण्डविषयाद्ये सति काशीश्वरेण अलिखितत्वात् etc etc

p 124 Mad Ms

Neither as Rajā nor as Kāśīśvara is this writer found in Mr P V Kane's list of Dharmasāstra writers

XIV

Mahānibandhana a commentary on the Mānava-Dharma-Sūtra by Lolla Lakṣmidhara

In the long and informing colophon on Lolla Lakṣmidhara and his ancestors found at the end of Lakṣmidhara's commentary on the Saundaryalaharī we are told that Lolla Lakṣmidhara wrote a Ṭīka on the Manusmṛti, called the Mahānibandhana

“—महानिवन्धनाख्यमानवधर्मशास्त्रटीका—”

p 229 Mysore Govt Ori Lib Series Bib Sansk XI

This commentary on Manu is not mentioned in Mr P V Kane's History of Dharmasāstra I

Other Smṛti works of Lolla Lakṣmidhara

Lakṣmidhara has contributed to every branch of Sanskrit Literature, as this terminal colophon as well as the verses at the beginning and the end of his Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā show. Besides the above-noticed commentary on the Manusmṛti, Lakṣmidhara has written many Smṛti works, one of which the colophon fortunately mentions. It is Sarasvatīvilāsa

1 On the Smṛtimahāṅgava, see Kane pp 308, 603^b and 670^b

4 —सरस्वतीविलासायनेकरमृत्तिनिषेधन—

In the same colophon Lakṣmīdhara is described as having been patronised by Gaṅapativīraśudra—गङ्गपतीविराजगजपतिवीरशुद्र. This Gaṅapativīraśudra is none else except the king in whose name the Sarasvatīvilāsa is current. It is significant that the same Mangala Sloka व दामह etc. occurs at the beginning of both the Sarasvatīvilāsa and the Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā. Thus there does not seem to be any doubt regarding the Sarasvatīvilāsa being a work of Lolita Lakṣmīdhara. Mr P V Kane however takes king Pratyaparudhadeva himself as its author (See Section 100 His Dha Sas)¹

¹ See also p VII of the Introduction to the Mysore Edn. of Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā where the question of the authorship of the Sarasvatīvilāsa is discussed. see also Pothal Com. Vol. p 495 fn 1 and P. K. Gode on the authorship of the Sarasvatīvilāsa in the Calcutta Oriental Journal Vol. II pp 238-4 where Lolita Lakṣmīdhara is proved as the author.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P K GODE, M A

No XXXVI

EXACT DATE OF AMARAKĪRTI, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE RĪTUSAMHĀRA OF KĀLIDĀSA — A D 1593

In my note ¹ on "*A commentary on the Rītusamhāra of Kālidāsa by Amarakīrtisūri*" I drew the attention of scholars to the only Ms of this commentary available in the Govt. Mus. Library at the B O R Institute Poona, viz No 372 of 1887-91. I tried also to fix the probable limits for the date of the author of this commentary viz 1550 and 1600 A D and tentatively assigned Amarakīrti to the 16th century.

The evidence for the limits of Amarakīrti's date recorded by me was more probable than direct but since my note was published I have come across the following evidence regarding Amarakīrti's date which corroborates the limits fixed by me tentatively —

In the *Dictionary of Jain Biography* ² the following entry has been recorded regarding Amarakīrti—

"Amarakīrti—Under him a Ms of Jinadatta's *Vivekavāḍā* was transcribed in Vik Sakh 1649-Samvat 1649³ vaise bhādrapada māse Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe, navamīyām tithau, Somadine likhitoyam granthah Sri Nagapuriya tapa gacchā diraga bha Sri Sri 3 Hareḥ kīrtisuri Sri Sri 3 Amarakīrti vijaya rāgyarom Si Si Raja

¹ *Calcutta Oriental Journal* Vol I, pp 254-256

² *A Dictionary of Jain Biography* (Part I-A) compiled by Umrao Slegk Rank B A L I B, Pub by The Central Jain Publishing House Arrah 1917 p 55

³ Vide *Jain Epitome* Vol V p 387—The date of the Christian era corresponding to this date would be Monday 16th September 1593

कृतित्वात् वैयाहिकितम् Muni Rāmsakṛitḥ Sai Akṣipura-madhya
[Ubbāra(Alba)ra]ye

Ref- *Dev. Cat. Cat. Sans. Coll.* XI p 332

The Ms referred to in the above entry is deposited in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It was copied in the year Samvat 1649 = A D 1592 (18th September) at Akṣipura (= modern Nagpur) when Amarakṛitḥ was at the head of the Nāgapura tapogaccha during the reign of the Emperor Akbar.

The above particulars furnished by the Ms of the *Vivekanāṇḍa* are quite definite as regards time and place of the copy in question. We shall now try to identify the Amarakṛitḥ mentioned in the colophon of the Ms of the *Vivekanāṇḍa* with the Amarakṛitḥ the author of the commentary on the *Rūsarṇāhāra* the only Ms of which is available in the Govt Ms Library at the B O R Institute. The B O R I Ms definitely ascribes the authorship of the commentary to Amarakṛitḥ (अमरकीर्तिविनिर्मात्रं तावत्
रावहो ह्यमरकृति प्रथम एव ह्युवाचिरम्) and this Amarakṛitḥ is further stated to be the head of the Nagapur tapogana (‘नागपुरायतपोगणेश्वरभिरमरकृतिविद(हि)तावत् ऋतुवृषणनाथ उवाच’). We are not aware of any other Amarakṛitḥ acting as the head of Nagapur tapogaccha between A D 1550 and 1600 and hence will be justified in identifying the author of the commentary on the *Rūsarṇāhāra* with his namesake under whom the Ms of the *Vivekanāṇḍa* was copied at Nagapur in Sam 1649 i e A D 1592 during Akbar's reign¹ A D 1556-1605.

If our identification of the two Amarakṛitḥs is accepted we shall have to assign the author of the commentary on the *Rūsarṇāhāra* to the last quarter of the 16th century.

The *Dictionary of Jain Biography* mentions two other namesakes of Amarakṛitḥ (1) A Dig. Bhattaraka author of the *Svapnabhāṣā-Sāhjanānāma-Sātrāṅkī* and (2) ‘the Author of

¹ Akbar patronised the Jaina learned men. In A D 1582 he placed Hiravijaya १११; in the first division of the order of the Learned. In 1592 he conferred the title of yugapradhāna on Jinaśāstra १११. An inscription of Samvat 1641 52 (A D 1594-95) at Anhilwāda Pāṭāṇ describes the interview between Akbar and Jinaśāstra १११ (See *Dict. of Jain Biography* pp 37-38).

a commentary on Ratnasekharasūri's *Sambodha-sūtra*: I have not examined the question of the chronology of these two authors and hence am unable to say anything about it in the present note.

The third namesake of our Amarakīrti not recorded by the *Dictionary of Java Biography* has been brought to our notice by Prof Hiralal¹ of Amrota. He is distinct in all particulars of time and place from our Amarakīrti of the Nāgapura tapagaccha. He belongs to the "*Mūrkha Saṅgha*" and the line of spiritual preceptors as recorded by Prof Hiralal is as follows — 'अमित्त गलि-सगतिसेन-अमरसेन-अपेण-अमरसीति-अमरकीर्ति' He completed his work पदसूत्रपदेश in *apabhraṃśa* in "संवत् १२४७, भाद्रपद मास, द्वितीये (शुक्र)पक्ष, १४ तिथि, गुरुवार" when छण्णनेंद्र son of बदिसमेव of the Calukya dynasty was reigning at Godhra in Gujarāt. He wrote seven other works viz (1) नेमिनाथ चरित्र (2) महावीर चरित्र (3) यक्षोपर चरित्र (4) धमचरित्रद्विष्वण (5) सुभाषितरत्ननिधि (6) धर्मोपदेशसूत्रामणि and (7) ध्यानमद्योप. I have verified the date of the पदसूत्रोपदेश as recorded by the author and find that it corresponds to *Thursday 16th August 1190*². It would thus be seen that this namesake of our commentator flourished 400 years earlier.

¹ Vide *Jain Antiquary* Vol II Part 3 pp 80-92 and Vol II, Part 4, pp 120-131 (1935-36)

² Vide *Indian Epitomes*, III p 383

MAHĀBHĀRATA ITIHĀSA

By

Dr Ananda K Coomaraswamy D Sc

In connection with Mr Tadpatrikar's remarks on the Mahābhārata in ABORI XVII 193, p 409 may I suggest that the words of scripture have many meanings and that this general proposition holds good as much for oriental as for Western scriptures and that Professor Thadani's theory of an allegorical meaning whether or not it be valid in itself by no means necessarily excludes the validity of literal (historical) moral or analogic (*pā mōh thika*) meanings

On the other hand Mr Tadpatrikar's citation of such phrases as *Itihāsottamād asmāt* etc is very far from proving a sole validity or even the importance of an historical interpretation One must not be led astray by the modern and *karika* use of the word *itihāsa* In SB XIII 4 3 12 13 both *itihāsa* and *parvāsa* are Veda in AB III 2) the *Sajana* saga (obtaining of Soma by the Gayatri) is called an *itihāsa* and *Sajana* on SB XI 5 6 8 says that *Itihāsa* is an account of primordial events (*parvāsa p atipādakam*)¹ or as others express it *itihāsa* means a *Brahmana* account of creation (*ṛg-*prati*pādakam brāhmanam*) i e what modern scholars would call a creation myth) such as 'In the beginning (agre) all this universe was just the waters' In SB XI 1 6 9 it is expressly stated that it is the conflict of Devas and Asuras that is related partly in the *ākhyāna* and partly in the *itihāsa*

It is difficult to understand how anyone can read the Mahābhārata without recognizing in it a somewhat humanised version of the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras now represented by the Pandavas and Kauravas To cite only one significant moment Arjuna's protest 'Even for the sake of empire over the three worlds I will not fight (BG I 35 and II 9) is not merely like but the same as Indra's 'Not for the sake of empire will I slay (J I 202-3) Mitra's reluctance to slay Soma Vritra 'Surely he misliked to slay' (SB IV 1 4 89) and Indra's 'I will not slay (MS IV 3 4) These are not mere analogies but indications of one and the same *parvāsa*

¹ That is as much as to say that the *śaṅsuarīta* hymns of RV are *itihāsa*

² For some further indications see my *Darker Side of Dawn* Washington 1935 P 12 Note 6

It by no means follows that history may not have reflected the primordial pattern, on the contrary, it is nothing but the fact that history has repeated and still repeats the primordial pattern that gives any validity at all to literal and historical interpretations of scripture. But very surely it was not for the sake of these historical analogies—not as already euhemised documents, that the scriptures were compiled. The "miraculous" elements in epic literature are by no means poetical 'glorifications and enhancements of human events, but metaphysical formulations and the most essential parts of the story, which he only can be said to have "understood" *et aeternum verba*. Whoever restricts himself to the literal and lowest levels of reference is neglecting the greater part of the contents of the texts.

Modern attempts to prove the historicity of the epics are conditioned in part, of course, by a natural reaction against the accusation of a 'lack of any historical sense' in Indian culture generally. But the European scholar is perfectly correct in his diagnosis of an indifference to history in India, the Indian wrong, untrue to himself, and lacking in the courage of his own convictions and traditional indoctrination when he denies this virtue in himself.

There is a way of considering the course of events (*lohasṛṣṭi*) not so much as past and future as over present (*adyam*) and from this point of view assumed in the Samhitās and implicit in the "later" *śikhāsa*, the relation (*pratipādaka*) is not a matter of 'memories,' nor in the scientific sense 'historical.' As Plotinus has so well expressed it, 'Memory is for those who have forgotten.' If the Epic is not true *today* it is not true at all. If we 'exult, cry, and weep' with the epic heroes, it is not because they were so and so or so and so, or lived at such and such a date, but precisely because of their timeless universality. Just as we are touched by the Vedas *Liebesgeschichte Himmels*, the loves of Dyavapṛthivi Sārya and Usas Yama and Yami, Purūravas and Urvaśī Saman and Rik, Manas and Vao—, more deeply than by any modern novel—not because these were once individual essences of our kind, but because their passions are reflected and repeated in our own experience who are their children.¹

¹ Cf my "L'Idée de Création Éternelle" dans le Rgveda," *Études Traditionnelles*, Jan 1926

REVIEWS

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA by Dr Mrs Kamalabai
Deshpande G A Ph D Principal S N D T Women's
College Poona 4 1936 pp 226 Price Rs 2/ Venus
Stores Book-Sellers & Publishers Poona 4

It is a happy sign of the times that Indian women are gradually entering the several fields of intellectual social and political activities hitherto looked upon as the preserves of men. The field of oriental learning has had no fascination hitherto for the best intellect of Indian womanhood owing partly to the dry-as-dust nature of antiquarian studies and partly on account of the absorption of almost all educated women in India in the work of social and educational amelioration of their brothers and sisters. Though all highly educated Indian women cannot take to intellectual pursuits for their own sake there is no reason why some of them having the necessary intellectual acumen should not maintain in later life an unquenchable thirst for knowledge in any specific field of research. We therefore welcome the book under notice as an earnest of future efforts of the authoress in the field of oriental research.

The present volume is a thesis submitted by the authoress to the German University in Prague in the year 1931. Prepared as the thesis was under the almost paternal guidance of the late Dr M. Winternitz it has enjoyed the benefit of his scrupulous regard for fact and method combined with a painstaking study of an unobscured but useful subject viz an analysis of the Indian rites which concern the child. These rites are the so-called *Samskāras* which governed the whole mundane existence of an ancient Aryan. Mrs. Deshpande has dealt with only those *samskāras* which concern the child moulding its future social and religious life. She has given us a workable definition of a *Samskāra* or rite. A *Samskāra* is a socio-religious rite by the performance of which the life of the present Hindu or Brahminical Aryan is sanctified. Elsewhere she defines 'ritual' as a stereotyped expression of belief. As the subject of inquiry has been confined mainly to Ancient India Mrs. Deshpande has had to rely upon the record of the *Samskāras* as found in the

early Brahmanical literature, though the work contains "many interesting references to rites and customs which are still in vogue in India to day "

The beliefs and customs that surround the life of a child in modern India even in the most orthodox circles are a conglomeration of cultures, through which the Hindu Society has passed during several centuries since the Vedic period of Indian civilization. Tantric beliefs and customs, as distinct from purely Brahmanical *samskaras* which mainly governed the life of a child in ancient India, have enriched the Hindu religion and culture to so great an extent that leaders of Hindu thought in modern times have failed to give a scientific definition of the term 'Hindu' in view of these difficulties in the way of a comprehensive and accurate survey of Hindu beliefs and customs, which are the very crux of Indian civilization as it has survived to day. Mrs. Deshpande has done well in studying a single aspect of this vast subject with full documentation of the sources utilized in her thesis under notice. In fact it is a systematic attempt to lay bare all the aspects of the problem in a thoroughly informative manner and clear style. It would prove useful to all students of ancient Indian culture as it gives us a close insight into the social and religious life that surrounded a child in ancient India. We end this short notice of the book in the words of Mrs. Deshpande's guru, Dr. Winternitz, now no more! "Let me express the hope that Mrs. Deshpande in spite of the strain of her practical educational work may yet find time to continue her research work in the field of Indology which she has so ably begun."

VERGLEICHENDES UND ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTER-
BUCH DES ALT-INDOARISCHEN (ALT-INDISCHEN)

von Walter Wüst Dr. Phil. und O. O. Professor an der Uni-
versität München Lieferung 1-3 (Titelbogen und Bogen 1-
13) Heidelberg 1935 —Indo-Germanische Bibliothek Her-
ausgegeben von H. Hirt u. W. Stiefberg Erste Abteilung
Sammlung Indo-Germanischer Lehr- und Handbücher
Zweite Reihe Wörterbücher 4- Carl Winters Universitäts-
buchhandlung Preis RM 9

Sanskrit or to revert to the phraseology of the Comparative Linguist Old Indo-Aryan has had the fortune among the classical Indo-European languages of being the first to have a magnificent and epoch-making Lexicon in the life work of Böhtlingk and Roth as embodied in the Petersburg Lexicon 1855-1875. The magnitude and authoritativeness of this Lexicon when we consider the amount of new research since done is really astounding. But unfortunately this enviable position was not maintained in the case of an Etymological Dictionary Latin and Greek usurped this place in the publication of Walde, Boisacq, Ernout and Meillet. The reason is not far to seek; few people in India were interested in Comparative Linguistics and unfortunately those in Europe and America who had unrivalled opportunities of undertaking this work gave their time to other studies. The first work in this direction to be published was that of Uhlenbeck *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der alt-indischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898. But this was very small and with few bibliographical details. The second effort in this direction came from the Brothers Leumann (Ernst and Julius) but only one part containing the Introduction and entries *a* to *ṣ* appeared as *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache* Lieferung I Leipzig 1907. Nothing further was done until 1924 when the Italian Scholar Ermenegildo La Terza started publishing his *Saggio* in the journal *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia-lingua-antichità*. But the entries covered only a few words (*a* to *ṣ*) for the six years 1924 to 1929. Thus three attempts were made with very indifferent success within 31 years each roughly marking a decade. In the meantime Ralph Lilley Turner in London was busy working at a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Nepali which was published in 1931.

This was but the preliminary work to a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of New Indo-Aryan through the stages of Old- and Middle Indo-Aryan intended as a crowning volume to the monumental work of Sir George Grierson. Still a comparative etymological dictionary of the Old Indo-Aryan was a desideratum. A fourth attempt was announced by Professor Walther West of München some years back and he has been busy working on this for nearly 18 years now amidst his many other shorter and bigger studies, and finally we are here presented with the first three parts of this epoch-making work. Before proceeding to a review of these parts we heartily wish Prof. West every success for his great undertaking and its speedy publication for which the whole scholarly world is waiting. It is gratifying to note that unlike Leumann's and Laenzle's works, Prof. West has got the complete press-copy of his work ready and we earnestly desire and hope that the fasciculi will be published regularly and within a reasonably short period.

This first fasciculus containing three Lieferungen covers viii and 203 pages. We are given to understand on p. ii of the cover that the entire work, divided into three sections will be published in Lieferungen of about four forms each (1064 pp.) at the price of RM. 3 for each Lieferung and when completed it will extend to over 3000 pages (or about 200 forms). The first section consists of a Vorrede or Foreword which is really an Introduction giving very full details about the work, a list of abbreviations and a full bibliography. The second section is the main one dealing with the comparative etymology of Old Indo-Aryan. The third section we are given to understand will be entirely devoted to appendices, etc. so that the work may be referred to by non-Sanskritists even, and incidentally be an indication of the correct etymology of other cognate languages.

The Vorrede, as already mentioned above is more like a Foreword and Introduction that we usually associate with English Publications, and on top of it, as an illustration of the author's method of linguistic approach we have a fairly big study entitled "*Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Ausbreitung I. Eine indo-iranische Dialekt-Isoglossen im Egrveda*", dealing with the hapax legomenon *oñšmid-* (pp. 86-112). A large part of the Vorrede is unfortunately devoted to

personal criticism which however—much deserved—could better have formed part of an independent brochure instead of a scholarly and admirable and painstaking work. Detailed criticism of the other works in the field as for instance that of Uhlenbeck (p 16ff) is worthily given but unfortunate controversy (though no doubt deeply connected with Prof Wust's life-work) with the late Prof Charpentier might have been easily avoided in the Vorrede. What is most striking here however is the clearness of principles and the precision of method enforced by Prof Wust in his linguistic work. This will give a mark to Prof Wust's work which will be hard indeed to emulate. The recording alone of the bibliographical notes would have ordinarily been the life-work of a single scholar over and above this Prof Wust has kept himself in constant touch with present-day work and when this Dictionary is completed, it will not only be the most comprehensive etymological dictionary of a classical I-E language but also the most informed and the best documented.

It may be questioned whether all this bibliographical work will be of any use but Prof Wust quoting that old Master of Sanskrit Linguistics Jacob Wackernagel, tells us that even amidst the accumulated heap of dust we might discover some gold grains justifying the effort. One is reminded of Patañjali's *kṛpā-khanana nyāya* in his *Mahābhāṣya* in this connection. It would perhaps have added to the usefulness of this work if Prof Wust had also included the orthodox Sanskrit Grammarians in this list for however much they lag behind from the point of modern Linguistics their power of observation and love of truth are almost unrivalled.

On pp 112 ff Prof Wust gives us his scheme for a Synthetic Lexicon in nine different groups. This is but an indication of his deep sincerity and conscientious work for that critical linguistic approach which alone can raise the science of Linguistics on a firm basis. His analytical monograph scheme illustrated by the study of *cūksand-* is the only one which will give us some positive result in the vexed problems of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan etymology for here there is no such demarcation as in the earlier I-E field.

The Bibliographical section is subdivided into seven groups and occupies 61 pages (i e pp 134-194) It is only necessary to look at the print to know how much information is packed up within these pages Of the actual comparative etymological dictionary of OI-A we are presented with 12 pages (pp 197-208), wherein only three full articles and part of a fourth are dealt with Thus we have the base of the demonstrative pronoun *a-* as the first entry, the verbal augment *a-* as the second, the privative *a(n)-* as the third and the interjection *a* as the fourth The matter given here is not sufficient to give us an insight into the nature of the work as a whole which insight, however, we hope we shall be given in plenty in the next fasciculus But a perusal of the Vorrede, monograph and bibliography has sharpened our appetite for more of this delectable linguistic fare, and it is our ardent hope that Prof Wust will not disappoint us

There is one suggestive remark in Prof Wust's Vorrede, bound to be of the greatest interest to Indian students and scholars who have not had the fortune of learning German This is about an English edition of this fundamental and epochmaking work (see p 4) It should be urged ardently on the author that the Sanskrit loving public of India, exceeding in number all the rest of the scholars interested in I-E have a right to expect an English edition which is intelligible to a majority of them, rather than a German edition It would be a fitting gesture if the Prof and the Asiatic Society of Bengal work out a scheme in this direction

As one who has been engaged for some years on a comparative etymological dictionary of Middle Indo-Aryan the reviewer is in a fit position to realize the amount of labour, thought and care which Prof Wust has bestowed upon his dictionary In welcoming this unique and magnificent introduction to a scientific study of Sanskrit and Old Indo-Aryan etymology, we extend our heartiest good wishes to the illustrious author, and look forward to reviewing the next fasciculus with the greatest pleasure and hope that we shall soon have the completed work with us

S M Katre

THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY ENGLISH-KANNADA
DICTIONARY Part I (A to Bilow) Bangalore Printed
by the Superintendent at the Government Press 1936 ;
pp 11 96

Lexicographical activities seem to have increased in the present decade in the field of Indian Linguistics and there has been a bumper crop of Dictionaries Lexicons Glossaries etc covering some of the most important languages in India. The year 1936 marks the completion of the Tamil Lexicon under the fostering care of the Madras University only to see the beginning of another venture of slightly different nature this time under the patronage of the Mysore University in the shape of an English-Kannada Dictionary. Universities in Southern India deserve the most sincere thanks of the reading public for the generous manner in which they have subsidised these movements which are necessary for advancement of learning and scholarship in so many directions and thus set an example for the Northern Universities to follow. Though this is not the first occasion to see an English-Kannada Dictionary (for there have been at least three up to now) the book under review is a work on very comprehensive lines and we are given to understand that it will be completed in twelve parts of 96 pages each. It is to be hoped that we will soon be able to get the remaining parts in quick succession.

The object of the Dictionary is 'to help to convey into the vernacular modern ideas expressed in English' in the field of science technology history sociology and other branches of Humanities and from the first 96 pages we can confidently express that the object is more than successfully achieved. Both the Government and the University are to be warmly congratulated for putting into action the resolution of the Mysore Representative Assembly passed at its Dasara Session in September 1935. The plan is as follows: the English word is given first in Clarendon type followed by its phonetic value in Kannada (for which a few special symbols have been devised) and the meaning in Kannada phrases and idioms centring round this are included in the same article. There are certain defects in

the phonetic transcription which might have been easily corrected for instance the broad open *o* in English has been given the Kannada equivalent *o*, & *vv* *abological abónmal, abúsh, abowable, abo l abóob* etc. So far as the main object of the Dictionary (quoted in the beginning of this paragraph) is concerned, this part of the work is redundant. We believe that this is meant for the increasing number of Kannada readers interested in learning the English language through the medium of Kannada, and for such if this part is accurately given the Dictionary will be of inestimable value. We admit that there are difficulties in accurate representation of phonetic values in Kannada script as in other Indian scripts but they can be overcome by the introduction of special symbols as already done in the case of the *a* in *ka*, notwithstanding the peculiar speech habits of the people for whom it is meant. Thus for instance the English spunt *v* is always represented as an aspirated bilabial *v* (= *va*) in Maráthi, but to so represent the English value in Maráthi phonetically would be absurd.

Referring to the actual equivalents the Editor's remark on page ii of the Preface is worth quoting: "With regard to finding suitable equivalents, reference has been made to almost all the dictionaries and glossaries that are available in the several Indian vernaculars—Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Maráthi, Hindi, Bengali—and to Sanskrit dictionaries." While admiring the Editorial Board for its truly cosmopolitan outlook in the search for equivalents it will not be out of place to request them to formulate the general principles on the basis of which they are to be adopted from the other cognate or Indo-Aryan languages, for we have a right to know them. Certain words, whether coming from Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic source, have become the common property of all Indian languages and we cannot escape them. The general principles enunciated should have bearing on ideas not having a widely current equivalent in other Indian languages. The editors have rightly given the place of honour to Kannada equivalents, and it is to be hoped that this system will be uniformly followed, consistent with the particular meanings.

A perusal of the first 86 pages convinces us of the comprehensive nature of the work, they cover practically most of the technical sciences and arts. The editors have done well to consult

the two Oxford Dictionaries in the selection of material for the English part and when the present Dictionary is fully published we shall have the most comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language in a Southern Vernacular and we shall look forward to congratulating the Editorial Board the University and the Government for the splendid manner in which the work is carried on and the beautiful printing and get up of the first fasciculus.

We think that this is an occasion for bringing to the notice of the Mysore Government and the Mysore University the absolute want of a good comprehensive historical and comparative Dictionary of the Kannada Language. This work can only be undertaken by the Government in consultation and combination with the University on such a large scale covering not only the literary strata but inscriptional and dialectical as well with a comparative etymological basis and full references. The Tamil Lexicon has done a great service to Tamil culture but a Kannada Lexicon on the basis outlined above is very essential for a proper evaluation of the Kannada culture. Not only will Kannada culture gain something from this but Dravidian also will gain immensely and we shall have in this a work which will further the study and our knowledge of South Indian Linguistics as well. It will also supplement the English-Kannada Dictionary which has been so ably begun and thus set another example for the remaining South and North Indian languages to follow.

S M Katre

THE BUDDHACARITA or ACTS OF THE BUDDHA—Part I—Sanskrit Text, edited by E H Johnston, D Litt, —Part II—Canots 1 to xiv translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes by E H Johnston—Panjab University Oriental Publications Nos 31 and 32 Lahore 1935 36, pp xxii 166 and xxviii, 232

Āsvaghosa's masterpiece and one of the earliest classical Sanskrit Mahākavyas, the *Buddhacarita*, has at last met with a treatment worthy of its greatness and antiquity at the hands of the learned editor and translator, Dr E H Johnston. In dealing with a work which has come down with a faulty tradition objective handling deserves greater value and importance than a subjective one and the task of emendations however edifying and interesting, is at best a personal approximation and always conjectural. Dr Johnston is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has handled the difficult material with consummate skill and the work before us is certainly more than "a substantial advance in the restitution and interpretation of the extant fragments of a famous poem" (p vi of Part I).

The volumes are meant to be studied side by side, for some of the abbreviations are to be understood from the first part only. The text restitutions are based on a Tibetan translation and a Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*. In the preface to Part I the editor has enunciated the principles on which the text has been based by a study of the materials. All facts relating to Āsvaghosa are ably dealt with in detail in the introduction to the second part. The extant text covers only the first 14 cantos with a few lacunae which have been filled in the English Translation with the help of the Tibetan version. Besides the text the most interesting part of the two volumes is in the notes which are critical, interesting and very scholarly, bearing testimony to the deep study that Dr Johnston has made specially of Āsvaghosa and generally of Sanskrit literature. We have no hesitation in saying that all future researches in Āsvaghosa's works will depend on the two masterly editions of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*.

The get up of the volumes is worthy of the Panjab University and the usual errors connected with printing in India are conspicuous by their absence. The few that occur are already noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* p 231. The only slip we can mention here is not so much due to a misprint as to an omission in detail vide Part II p lxxxii foot-note 1 where *Ind Ant* is mentioned without the volume number.

The learned editor the Panjab University and the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta have combined to place Aśvaghoṣa's masterpiece on a pedestal which will be very difficult of attainment for other critical editions of Sanskrit classics. It is to be hoped that Dr Johnston may be given the opportunity of publishing his translation of the remaining cantos (known only through Tibetan and Chinese translations) in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. Last but not least there is a very full index at the end of words discussed in the notes, which will be very useful to Sanskrit Lexicography.

S M Katze

STUDIES ON PANINI'S GRAMMAR by Barend Faddegon

Verhandeling der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeling Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks Deel XXV VIII No I- N V Noord-Hollandische Uitgeversmaatschappij Amsterdam 1935 Price 7/6 pp 72

The *Aśādhyāyis* of Panini that masterpiece of Grammatical Analysis cum Synthesis due to its manner of composition in the inimitable Sūtra style has no doubt sacrificed clarity for the sake of brevity but the reasons are inherent in the work and the period of its composition. Many of its divisions, ideas and notations have brevity for their aim and as a consequence they may appear to go against modern ideas of Linguistics. But in this monograph the author makes a deep study of the structure of the *Aśādhyāyis* and brings out implications which show that after all when judged from a critical standpoint Panini is as modern as ourselves, and that in certain conceptions he is even in advance of us towards the right direction. Thus for example Panini's conception of an indeclinable noun-form is evidently

more correct than the notion of Occidental grammar in calling
 in finitives and absolutes nominal verb-forms (p 9)

The work is divided into two sections. Division I treats of
 the grammar of the indeclinables and ably discusses such terms
 as *upāṅga*, *auṣaya*, *harna-pranacāntya*, *upā-pada*, *yata* etc. The final
 article of this division can bear repetition here. 'The worth of
 Pāṇini's work for us is not in its linguistic information, however
 valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training
 for our understanding the Indian methods of composition and
 specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advan-
 tages.' Division II deals with the methods and mannerisms
 of composition in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Noteworthy in this sec-
 tion is § 73 giving a concise analytical table of *Aṣṭ*

Finally there is an Appendix discussing some technical diffi-
 culties. The monograph is intended to be a preliminary study of
 Pāṇini whom Prof. Faddegon sums up in § 63 (p 47) as follows:
 'What is it that strikes us most in Pāṇini, the ancient pioneer
 of grammar and auditive witness of the linguistic facts, when we
 compare him with Delbrück, investigator trained by modern
 methods of research and a great reader of literary documents?
 What strikes us then, when taking account of difference and
 agreement, is the trustworthiness of Pāṇini, his power of obser-
 vation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional
 understanding. The Hindu public is deeply grateful to the
 author for such a correct and sympathetic estimate of the Great
 Master of Linguistic Science. The time has come for Occidental
 Linguists to enter into the spirit of Pāṇini in order to break new
 ground in Linguistics, and this little monograph is the best
 primer towards a modernistic and scientific approach to the
Aṣṭādhyāyī. We shall look forward to the major work of Prof
 Faddegon to which this is only an introduction.

S M Katre



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Volume XVIII
1937**

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[PART III

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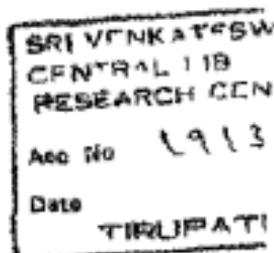
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[PART III

SAPTADVĪPĀ PŪTHIVĪ

BY

HARILAL RANGILDA'S MANKAD B A

JODIYA (Kathiawad)

Before I lay out my plan of the Sapṭadvīpa classification of the globe it would be better to clear some issues which need our careful consideration and scrutiny and which would be helpful to us in pursuing our inquiry

The work done upto now is based I think on certain notions For instance the European way of geographers is taken for granted to be fundamental for such work of non-European origin also Our modern Indian scholars have accepted the present system of western cartography which gives first importance to North and places it on the top of the modern map Next the modern Indian scholars follow the present land masses in the familiar positions- Americas on the left and old continents on the right of the map But perhaps the real deception against the correct allocation of our old geographical units is played on our mind by the particular shapes configurations and outlines of the present continents as fixed on the eyes viewed breadthwise from west to east (Plate I)

On the contrary the ancient Indian practice is very different We have got a valuable bit of Indian cartography in the east

of the horoscope. In that drawing Lagna¹ the point of contact of the ecliptic and the horizon of the eastern quarter is shown on the top, which means our important direction, unlike the European North is East. Moreover the land round our country of residence was quite naturally taken to be the starting point for all ideas and everything was conceived to be proceeding further away from this centre of our daily activities (Plate III).

Now let us study the present map of the world keeping the eastern side on the top (Plate II). The land mass presents a well-defined triangular shape curiously resembling the figure of the outline map of England on a gigantic scale, with Bering Strait as apex and Americas as the base, stretching vertically and lengthwise from east to west. The arrangements of mountains, the main cordilleras, leaving aside the sub-ranges and the branching spurs, present a perpendicular setting. The Rocky-Andean base supports the Alpine-Himalayan verticle, making up the axial framework of the continents as it were. This triangle is washed by the waters of the oceans on the northern and the southern sides. Again the triangle is divided by the Atlantic Ocean into two parts and the base is separated from the apex by an arm of the Pacific Ocean. Another noteworthy feature is that, due to the push given by the western fallback of the waters consequent upon the force of pull given by the eastern rotatory movement of the Earth, both these oceans have carved out a curving coast line on their western margins giving at the same time a convex bulge to the western boundaries of the lands, washed by their eastern waters. The Gulf of Mexico and the China Sea stand for the centres of curvature of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans respectively. Thus the westerling effects of the waters and hence of the lands preeminently give an air of



reality to the Puranic geographical description of its curving configurations

Materials for deriving information of the ancient geography as conceived by the Hindus are scanty as they are scattered in works from the Rgveda to the Puranas. Jain literature¹ gives some geography but it is very meagre and mostly restricted to the Jambudvīpa. Again this information is in many cases² badly tampered with. For example the names of the mountains and the rivers of one Dvīpa have been interchanged and intermingled with those of other Dvīpas. We get another illustration from the Ramayana³ where the word Kutasalmali is twisted to drag in all the Dvīpas in the commentaries though the connexion of this word with Salmali is nothing more than that of New England with England. This has taxed our discretion rather too much and has detracted some researchers to divide the present lands into fantastical continents⁴.

Every Hindu has heard the Scriptural geographical names. The most important of these names are Meru, Saptadvīpas, Jambudvīpa, Bharatakhanda, Aryavarta, Kuruagara, Udayagiri, Astacala and Patala. We find from the Rgveda that they had some knowledge about the 7 races⁵ of men, 7 regions of the earth⁶ and 7 ridges of mountains⁷. But it is strange that Meru the mainstay of the Puranas is not mentioned in the Rgveda. This fixes one limit of our subject. On the other hand in the Epics the Puranic names are already given to Indian places and peoples and hence they represent society which looks rather modern. While though the Puranas are of later production they still preserve the traditional information of earlier times as against the history of the Epics. Geography is one such subject and the beauty of it is that almost all the Puranas are identical in their exposition of the subject. Where variants occur

¹ On the Indian Sect of the Jains by Bühler and Burgess (Lanc. London 1903) Pp. 61ff.

² Texts of the Puranas will show this.

³ IV 40 39.

⁴ Educational Review Vol XXIX Nos 5 7 8. Map of *गणेशपुर* by M. M. Yajnik of Baroda.

⁵ VIII 40 8.

⁶ I 22 16.

⁷ VIII 85 2.

they are mostly interpolations: Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary says 'The number of these divisions varies according to different authorities being four, seven, nine, or thirteen, all situated round the mountain Meru like the petals of a lotus flower, and each being separated by a distinct ocean. In N 1, 5 the Dvīpas are said to be eighteen but seven appears to be the usual number of R 1 65 and S 7 33. The central one is Jambudvīpa under which is included Bharatakhanda or India.' This gives us the other time limit of the subject.

In this paper I am concerned with the 7 principal Dvīpas and as many Oceans. They are in order — 1 Jambu (Asia), Kāroda (Indian Ocean), Pākṣa (Asia Minor - Enlarged), Iksurāsoda (Persian Gulf Red Sea, Aegean Sea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea), Salmāli (Africa), Suroda (Mediterranean), Kuṣa (Europe) Gṛhōda (Arctic), Krauñca (N America), Dadhimandoda (Atlantic), Saka (S America), Kāroda (Pacific), Puskara (Australia and Islands), Suddhōda (Antarctic). After the last named ocean lies the Suvarṇabhūmi (Antarctica) with Mount Lokaleka in its midst.

Amongst these, Jambu is the central Dvīpa with Meru in its midst. All other Dvīpas are said to be lying concentrically round the Jambu and separated from each other by the oceans. Jambu is the innermost of them all, and the other Dvīpas and oceans are said to be getting bigger and bigger in geometrical progression with Suddhōda as the largest and outermost ocean. The usual simile or symbolic expression used in describing the situation of the Dvīpas and the oceans is that they lie round the Meru like the petals of a lotus.¹ This forms the principal data to start with.

Before proceeding further I shall try to explain the two hitches which have decoyed the oriental scholars rather too long. First is the position of Meru. Meru at the North Pole² is a bogey created by the haunting idea of visible circular motion of the

¹ Vāsan 11 35 — अमृतसिंहासनात्पद्मं वायव्यदिशि विरलम् । Also Siva Umā 18 1f

² Yaśhu 75 41E — अमृतसिंहासनात्पद्मं मेघनाथं च कर्णिकम् ।

समुद्रं चतुर्दिशं चक्रे पश्यन् महत् ॥ ४१ ॥

Also Gargaxambhikā VII 43 2,

³ 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas' by B C Tilak Pp 87 70 385 453

heavens at that place. But lands were like a revolving tyre of a cart wheel to our men who had their midday when the sun just passed by the Meru in its zenithal transit. Circular motion connected with the Meru cannot be the rotation effect at the north pole as according to the Tetrahedral Theory¹ of the arrangement of land and water masses on the globe there cannot be land at the north pole. It can therefore indicate the daily solar transits or better as we shall see later on, it can indicate the revolution effects of the sun's attaining the northernmost point in the heavens when it begins to recede southwards after reaching Mount Meru. Relying on this theory I look to Mount Kailāsa and the attendant Manasarovara, the most famous names in the post-Vedic literature to be representing mount Meru and the Jambunadasara round which the Meru spread. I may here point that Meru in reality represents that vast plateau² of Central Asia which extends northwards from the Kailāsa. This dispels the notion that the Dvīpas and oceans were situated in concentric belts round the Meru representing the polar regions. It is physically impossible according to the Tetrahedral arrangement.

Another illusion of this type which has caught fast the rigid mentality of the Pandit is the Lotus Theory. True it is that the lotus is circular but it is equally true that it is not made up of continuous rings of single-petal belts. The petals are arranged bit by bit and one behind and between the two and vice versa in interlocking positions leaving as many interstices as there are petals, outer petals getting bigger than the inner ones. Thus the symbol of lotus stands for neat arrangement of land and water and not for the circular or rather ringular shapes of the continents and oceans. I may therefore say that the lotus symbol only suggests the fan-like spread of the land with well-set

¹ If we take a tetrahedron that is a four-sided pyramid and hold it on its tapering point then the edges of the pyramid and the lower point (the antarctic land) will represent lands and the three sides and the top (the arctic waters) will represent waters. This is actually what will happen if a spherical body shrinks or collapses from within.

Vide Geography—Structural, Physical and Comparative by J. W. Gregory Pp 17ff. Also Ency Br (13th Edn) XXX 177^b

² Śiva Upani 17 19

³ Varāha Cht 77ff

land portions resembling a petalled sector of the lotus. Nothing more is possible. The tetrahedral earth debars any other presumption (Plate II). Similes cannot be too literally interpreted, when in Indian literature the face is a lotus, the eye is a lotus, the hand is a lotus, and the foot is also a lotus! In fact the Purāṇas actually use other terms in describing the contours of the Jambū. They use the Dhanus¹ or the Bow and the Tri-kona² or the Triangle. It may be noted that both these terms strengthen the above-mentioned theory of triangular and fan-shaped spread of the petalled sector of the earth-lotus. The land is also compared with the rabbit³ and the pippala tree⁴. The Meru and the Lotus Theories as explained above will at once prepare us for a progressively widening earth from the Jambū westwards (Plate II). That is what the Purāṇas have virtually preserved for us and that is what the shape of the present earth actually is. This settles the first fundamental requisite of our ancient geography—the fan-like shape of the earth.

This outlook of the earth clears one more important issue, I mean the term 'Dvīpa' which means 'having water on two sides'. A look on the map (Plate III) will at once show that the land-belt of the earth extending as it is from east to west is enclosed on two sides by the water of the northern and southern oceans. 'Dvīpa' was perhaps the Indian rendering of the word 'World' and its seven divisions—the seven petals of the lotus—made it 'Saptadvīpā'.

Now before I proceed to identify the positions of the seven Dvīpā⁵ I should like to make one observation. I do not see any reason to believe that the present configuration of the earth has undergone any material change in its lands and waters since the time of the period under discussion in this paper. The only feature I am inclined to take into account is the Rift Valley of Africa, though not its actual existence as a continuous link

¹ Mbh Bhūma 1 6 38 Varāha 75 35—वज्र सत्ये तु द्वे पथे विहिते दक्षिणोत्तरे ।

² Garuḍa 15 60-61—विश्वेण सन्निपता वैश्वप कीले च मन्तर । and so on

³ Bhūma 1 5 16-17 Bhūma 1 6 54-55

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Pūrāṇi s Aṅgīrāhyāyī, 6 3 97-98 Also Brahmāṅga 1 19 136—द्विष्व

of water. The possibility of the Asiatic Mediterranean Sea¹ is another feature. But there is no mention of such a sea in the instruction given by Sugrīva to his Vanara contingent despatched to search the northern quarter² for Sita. He mentions the only ocean in that direction to be reached after the Uttarakuru and beyond which he forbids to go as it is impossible to do so. This would mean it to be the Arctic Ocean. But even if both these features did exist in more or less manifested form they would on the contrary help me in locating the limits of the Pūthradvīpa as given hereunder.

Now I come to the Dvīpas proper. I have already given the order of the Dvīpas and the oceans which I think to be correct and to which the authorities agree in main though with casual slips. I propose to proceed from the known to the unknown and in doing so I leave off the minute details which are likely to be disputed.

Tradition³ has unequivocally preserved the correct position of Jambū wherein Bharatakhanda India is situated. And India has preserved the old name of its parent land in the frontier State of Kāshmir and Jammu where Jammu stands for Jambū. The Bharatavarsa is described as situated between the sea—the Kāśīoda (Indian Ocean) and the Himalaya.⁴ So the rest of the Jambū should be on the north of the Bharatavarsa. To fix the other boundaries of the Jambū we have the help of the descriptions of the marches of the armies for Digvijaya campaigns as given in the Epic. Arjuna while conquering the northern quarter is stopped short at the outskirts of the Uttarakuru;⁵ but Sugrīva the Ramayana hero bids his lieutenants to go beyond that country and return only after resobling the ocean beyond which, he says none can go.⁶ This would evidently mean the Arctic Ocean. The Mahābhārata also in another place gives the

¹ Rgvedic Culture by A. C. Das pp. 4ff.

² Kis. 4. 53ff.

³ जम्बुद्वीपे मन्वस्रष्टे ०५०

Viṣṇu 2. 3. 1. Nārada 3. 46—सप्तद्वीपेऽस्य यद्विश्वेऽपि वृक्षिनश्च । देव गन् धर्म

या सर्वकर्मफलप्रदम् ॥

⁴ Sabhā Digvijaya 28. 9ff.

⁵ Kis. 4. 53ff.

ocean as the northern limit of Jambu¹. Both the Epics similarly place an ocean² on the eastern limits of the Jambu. As to the western frontier, the Purānas give only one country³ on the west of the Meru. If we read this together with the description of this quarter as given in the Mahabharata where Nakula's armies meet some tribes one of which is said to be Pahlavas,⁴ evidently on the Persian frontier, we can safely fix it as extending up to the present limits of Afghanistan and somewhat along the Trans Caspian Railway in the Russian Turkistan. Incidentally it is interesting to note that the marches and the conquests of the Dighvijaya expeditions were confined to the limits of the Jambu. Thus, generally speaking, Jambu will coincide with Asia excepting the present Islamic Countries.

First neighbour of Jambu on the west is Plaksadvīpa which should be reached by crossing the first sea. The sea will be the Arabian Sea together with its arm the Persian Gulf beyond which should lie the Plaksadvīpa. So in this Dvīpa I include the land surrounded by the waters of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Aegian Sea, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. This will thus comprise of Persia, Arabia, Turkey, a great part of Turkistan. It may be extended to the Aral Sea and the Lake Balkash. Plaksa is said to be a fig tree and there⁵ there are many varieties the Smyrna fig being the finest⁶. We also know that the fruit-bearing area on our side begins from Quetta westwards. It of course includes the date-palm which is so abundant in those parts. Again the word Plaksa is seen in the names like Balkash, and Balkh and the word Iksu contained in the Iksu rasoda the surrounding ocean, is reflected in the words Eurina,⁷ the Greek name for the Black Sea and the Oxus. There is a town called Philippopolis in Bulgaria whose name in the Bulgarian language is given as Ploudiv⁸. There is the ancient word Chaldis (Khaldia) whose derivation⁹ is obscure to the Encyclopaedia

¹ Bh: Bhu 8 10-11

² Rāmāyana, Kī 40 43, Mbh Bh: Dg 30 27

³ Ketumāl

⁴ Bh: Dg 32 16

⁵ Webster's Dictionary

⁶ Ec Br (13th) IV 254

⁷ Ibid IV 776c. Also Phillips New Systematic Atlas p 36

⁸ Ibid. V 805b

dia Britannica. Though it tries to point it out to be from Kasdi Kaidu with the well-known interchange of *k* and *s* the writer of the article feels rather uneasy to account for the Chaldeans of the Black Sea coast. I suggest that Chal (Khal) may be derived from Plaksa where *kh* and *l* have interchanged places and dia is of course Dvīpa. This derivation also solves the mystery of Black Sea Chaldeans as they too belonged to the Plaksadvīpa. It may be noted that these words by the way fix the boundary of the Plaksadvīpa within the limits encompassed by Balkash, Black Sea (Euxine), Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Chaldia (Plaksadvīpa). One more proof is supplied by the Purānas: the people of this Dvīpa worship God in His form of Agni¹ which fact is borne out by the famous fire worshippers of Persia. It might perhaps appear strange that comparatively such a small piece of land be given the dignity of a continent. But we have ourselves done the same at present and we call this very land—let it be a portion—Asia Minor thus recognising its claims to be demarked as a separate entity. In fact we have subconsciously preserved the old Purānic classification of Jambu and Plaksa in the present terms of Asia and Asia Minor respectively.

The third Dvīpa is the Salmali: Salmali is the name given to the silk-cotton trees which I understand grow in Africa to gigantic proportions.² This Dvīpa again is described as the home of eagle³ by which, I am afraid is indicated the birds in general and the big ostriches in particular which are a speciality of Africa as we know. Both the Rāmāyana⁴ and the Mahabhārata⁵ give a mountain called Meru in the western direction and we have a mountain named Meru⁶ near the Kilima Njaro of the equatorial Africa. The Mahabharata further narrates at some length the episode where the people of this part are described as Black⁷. Here it is worth noting that Kēni⁸

¹ Bhṛg 5 20 2

² En Br (13th) I 323b

³ Bhṛg 5 20 8

⁴ Kis 42 38

⁵ Bhī Bhū 11 15

⁶ En Br (13th) I 321b

⁷ Bhī Bhū 11 20f

⁸ En Br (13th) IX 41d.

⁹ [Annals B. O. R. I.]

the ancient name of Egypt means 'Black land'. But we have rather better ground to stand upon when we come to the word Somaliland which of course is the corruption of Salmal. All these reasons lead us to identify the Salmaladvipa with the present African continent.

Kusa is the next Dvīpa in order. In this Dvīpa it is stated that there is a pillar or stump of Kusa grass¹ which shines like the sun. This can refer to the burning volcanoes of the Mediterranean Sea, but may, most probably, mean the phenomenon of Aurora Borealis on the north European tundras. One of the mountains of this Dvīpa is Kanka or Kusesaya² which in all probability is represented by the Caucasus. Other Purāṇic names suggested by the modern words are as follows: Dravina³ or Drona⁴ may be Rhone, Vidyullala⁵ may be Volga, Siva⁶ may be Save, Hradini⁷ may be Rhine, and Abhā⁸ may be Ebro. But more striking proof is supplied by the Mahābhārata. It says that the people of this Dvīpa are Gaura⁹ i. e. white in complexion which tallies with that of the present-day Europeans. Relying on these data I locate Europe as Kusadvīpa.

It is a point to be noted that in all these four Dvīpas their title names are more or less borne out by existing places.

Now comes Krauñcadvīpa. Here we have almost no clues as most of the present American civilization is European and it has given quite different names to the physical geography of the two Americas. The word Krauñca means Heron (Crane). It is quite natural that North America may be represented by a symbol of water-bird owing to existence of the Great Lakes just as Africa is represented by a symbol of land-bird. We have the support of the Webster's Dictionary. It says, 'The common heron of Europe and the great blue heron and the little blue heron of America are well-known and widely distributed species. But unlike the names of other Dvīpas known by their vegetation the Purāṇas make this Dvīpa an exception in naming it after a mountain peak called Krauñca. I take this mountain to be

¹ Bhṛg 5 20 13

² Varāha Ch 87

³ Agni 56 11

⁴ Bhī Bhū 12 16,

one of the Rookian peaks near the Pacific coast after the Bhagavats which places it on the coast of the Ksiroda coast¹ We can also see the word Krauñca in the names of American-Indian languages of Karankawan of Texas and Keresan of New Mexico² Here also the Mahabharata gives the complexion of the people as Bahudha Gaura³ i. e. quasi-white and recognises perhaps the Red Indians by that term So this may justify us in taking the Krauñcadvipa as the North America

The sixth is the Sakadvipa It is said that Udayagiri⁴ and Aetacala⁵ mountains are situated in the Sakadvipa and they are where the sun is seen rising and setting and therefore they must be about the equator and on the antipodal side of Jambu the centre of observation We know that such a place crossed by the equator is the South American continent And this continent should be our Sakadvipa There is another mountain called Rajata which means silver and the richness of the Bolivian Andes in this metal is well-known So Rajata may be a peak of that part of the Andes It may be noted that silver has given Argentina its present name Again the word Saka suggests the profusion of vegetation growth and we get support for this from a good authority⁶ South America is famous for its exceptional wealth in plants of great economic value⁷ Patlas are placed in this Dvipa⁸ on the shores of the Ksiroda⁹ and they are described as rich in vegetation and deficient in light This state of affairs fits in with the condition prevailing in the dense forests of this continent where life is said to be existing in perpetual twilight It is also stated that the people of this Dvipa worship the Surya (Sun) form of God¹⁰ which fact is upheld by the worship of the Sun-God in ancient Peru¹ by the Great Incas

¹ Bhag 5 90 19

² En Et (13th) I 811d

³ Bhi Bhu 12 23

⁴ Siva UmS 18 53

⁵ Ibid 18 54

⁶ Gregory P 257

⁷ Bhag 8 11 46 IHQ Vol II No 2 p 238

⁸ Mth Udyoga 120 4f

⁹ Brahma 18 72 — क्षात्रहौरसिनेर्विष्णु स्वस्वतो हसि । Also Agni 112 21

and Phaviya Obs 72ff

¹ Illus Weekly of Ind 4th Feb 1934

which word itself means the 'people of the sun'¹ And finally the richness of the Patalas is fully manifested in the all-gold images and Palaces and even the gardens of the Incas² In all these facts, I think, we have a good case for Sakadvīpa to be identified with South America.

Puskara is the last of the Dvīpas. It is described as circular or rather annular in shape and broken from the middle. It is divided into two countries by a mountain called Mānasottara by which the sun passes when it is away from the Meru and hence obviously in its southern circuit³ These two mountains are said to be the bearers of the two ends of the axis of the wheel of the sun's chariot⁴ Again sun's doubling round these two mountains is said to be connected with the day and night of the gods which means that the two positions indicate the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn respectively⁵ In this Dvīpa is the Ghata-kikhaḍa. These data determine that the formation of this Dvīpa is coral-stolles with lagoons, that the tropic of Capricorn passes through it and that in all probability there is a desert in its interior as hinted by the Ghātakikhaḍa⁶ meaning arid tract of land. Moreover, I suggest that the word Puskara can be derived⁷ to mean a collection of many water masses and hence almost an archipelago. Such a shape and position exactly fit in with the Oceanic Islands in general and the Australian continent in particular, which should then be our Puskara-dvīpa, south east of the Wallace's Line, with Macdonell Ranges as Mānasottara and Amedeus as the attendant lake⁸.

Now let us take up the oceans separating these Dvīpas. But let me explain first what is meant by the expression 'each Dvīpa is enclosed by an ocean'. It certainly can never mean the encircling of the Dvīpas by the seas. It is improper to interpret the natural and hence accidental regularities as representing symmetries. It only means that each Dvīpa has a well-defined

¹ *Bo Br* (18th), XXI 274c

² See *ibid* above

³ *Siva UmK* 18 59ff. Also *Brahma* 18 79

⁴ *Matsya* 124 40

⁵ *Bhṛg* 21 7E

⁶ Some call it Dhātakikhaḍa

⁷ *सुक्-4-71*

⁸ Cf. *Kailasa* and *Mānasarovara*

coast-line marked out by a separating expanse of water and this actually is the case with the land and water forms on the earth. Thus when we have fixed once for all the location of the Dvīpas the work of naming the oceans becomes merely a matter of course. I have already given my identification.

Now I try to explain the names. Ksaroda the ocean of salt needs no introduction. It is the Indian Ocean situated on the south of Bharatavara. Iksarasoda is the ocean of the juice of sugar-cane. No one will seriously believe that the literal meaning is really meant here though we know Egypt to be a sugar-cane producing country to some extent. It only means that the countries situated round its shores were full of commodities bearing sweet juice such as fruits of all sorts which are profusely found in Asia Minor. I may here remark that though the character of men may materially change the character of vegetation may have in general remained the same at present as in those times. This remark will be true also for the Suroda the ocean of wine, as even now the Mediterranean countries are famous for their wines and spirits. Next comes Ghr̥toda the ocean of ghee or clarified butter. Let one think over that expanse of water in the north, covered as it is with a sheet of ice broken into floes and the spectacle of a layer of frozen and cracked ghee spread upon water will at once present itself before his eyes. Thus Ghr̥toda is perhaps the most exact and appropriate rendering of the actuality prevailing at the north polar seas. Dadhinandoda means the ocean of curdled or churned milk. This term presupposes the foamy character of the water and also its circulating movement. It is quite possible that the ancient Hindus might have felt the Atlantic currents rather stronger in comparison with the greater expanse of the Pacific waters and might as well have detected the flowing waters of the Gulf Stream and the circulating weed-jam of the Sargasso Sea. The latter must necessarily be like milk-curd with its thick and extensive accumulations of sea-weeds covered over with foam through which it is very difficult to sail. This is another realistic simile like the Ghr̥toda. Then Ket̥roda the ocean of milk is an appropriate name for the Pacific. In comparison with the Atlantic waters which are enclosed within narrower bounds, the

Pacific waters must appear calm and hence milk-like. The qualification for both the names—milk and pacific—are the same—calm, smooth, pleasant, etc. It is an agreeable surprise that the two names given by peoples of different ages and different places have essentially identical connotations! Let me here point out that milk, curd, and ghee are only the three stages of one single process of the same article and here also it is in the fitness of things that the three oceans in consecutive order are christened as representing a like phenomenon ending in the frozen mass of water and lands me full help and support for their identification as such. I think it is almost irresistible. The last is the *Suddhoda*, the largest of the oceans encircling as it is the whole southern belt of the earth. It means the ocean of pure water which may mean 'unroasted water' at the most.

This ocean comes after *Puskaradvīpa* and one might raise an objection as to its east-west position. For this I would request to arrange the names of the *Dvīpas* and the oceans in a cyclic order: (Plate V) Now the Indian way of proceeding in a circle is *Pradakṣiṇa*: i.e. going towards the south. When we proceed in this way we first go to *Kṣaroda* and then to *Puskara*, to *Suddhoda*, to *Suvarṇabhūmi*, again to *Suddhoda* that is to *Kṣaroda*, to *Saka*, and so on. Thus by our passage in a *Pradakṣiṇa* circle even though the *Suddhoda* lies east and west, its position lies in our natural path and presents no anomaly (Plate IV). The *Pradakṣiṇa* order arranges the oceans in a correct and interesting sequence in accordance with the Hindu articles of rituals of daily worship, especially the *Abhiṣeka*—the ceremonial bath. I mean the natural order of the constituents of the *Pañcamīa* mixture which consists of milk, curds, ghee, honey (*madhu-Suroda*), and sugar (*Ikṣurasoda*). This, by the way, debars any other order of sequence of the oceans and hence of the *Dvīpas* also.

The last item in the chief divisions of the old geography of the world is that 'beyond this *Suddhoda* ocean lies the *Suvarṇabhūmi*,' which is described as impregnable to man and in whose midst is located the *Lokaloka* mountain standing as it were as a barring sentinel between this and the other world. No elucida-

tion is needed here as all know that sun shining on this ice-cap of the Antarctica will transform its appearance into beautiful golden colour. Southern Lights will have the same effects on this ice as the Northern Lights have on the northern parts of the Kusadvīpa. And the modern exploration has shown to the world that the southern continent—the Suvārnabhūmī—is a vast plateau well nigh high than the surrounding sea level. It is to be noted that the part which faces the South Pacific is a steep mountain scarp around the Ross Sea¹ (Plate IV).

Here the Bhagavata comes to our succour and gives a very realistic description of the position of the Suvārnabhūmī. It says: "There is another golden and mirror-like land as big in size as there is the distance between the Meru and the Mansotīra and if a thing is thrown thereon it cannot be obtained back for which reason it is deserted by all beings"². This statement reduces the position of these Dvīpas in terms of degree measurements and incidentally explodes the theory of concentric lands and waters. We have seen that the distance between the two mountains is about 45° as they are situated on the tropics. So the Suvārnabhūmī must also be of that much expanse which the present Antarctic continent actually is bounded as it is by the Antarctic Circle.

There is one more point worthy of note and explanation. According to the orthodox view the Kraucadvīpa is bounded by Gīrtoda and Dadhimanvoda and Sakadvīpa is bounded by Dadhimanvoda and Kāiroda. So there can be no Kāiroda near the Kraucā and still we have in the Puranas that the Kraucā mountain is situated on the Kāiroda coast³. This means that the Kāiroda washes the coasts of Kraucā as well as Saka. Not only that this fact supports my identification of Kraucā as N. America and Śaka as S. America but supplies another piece of evidence to explode the canard of concentric theory and this time in another hemisphere altogether.

¹ Gregory's Geography P. 279

² Bhāg. 5. 20. 35 — मायं सुलसीतमेवैवितानं तापनीं सुवर्णं
 काचमिव कर्तुं न शक्यमा यस्यां यद्विषं पदस्य वा
 रुचयितुम् अद्रुयलभ्यते तस्मात्सर्वैरप्यनुजिह्वयते ॥

³ Bhāg. 2. 20. 19

These facts together with the identification of the oceans in the Pradaksina and the Pañcāmṛta orders automatically determine the positions of all Dvīpas, if need be, by the process of elimination and at once place me on a very firm ground.

Thus I put forth my exposition of geography of the world as conceived by our forefathers and I believe that I have been able to do so literally that is to say without twisting the sacred texts on the one hand and without disfiguring the present arrangement of land and water on the globe on the other hand. I have done this by simply changing the emphasis — tackling the problem from this side of the picture, I mean the Indian side and starting with the thin end of the wedge which is the Strait of Bering in this case. The identification which I have submitted affects so many issues that they require critical sifting at the hands of abler men. Especially I point to the east-top theory, the meaning of the term Dvīpa, the meru and the Lotus theories, the widening of the lands in geometrical progression, the westering of waters in accordance with the Purānic descriptions, the Pradaksina cyclic order theory and lastly the Pañcāmṛta order theory.

SAPTADVĪPĀ PRTHIVĪ

Showing The World-Lotus and its Petalled Expansion

EAST



HRM

PLATE II

SAPTADVĪPĀ PRTHIVĪ

Surrounding Jambu with Meru in its Midst

EAST



SAPTADVĪPĀ PRTHIVĪ

Showing Pudukānā and (Paścātmā) Order



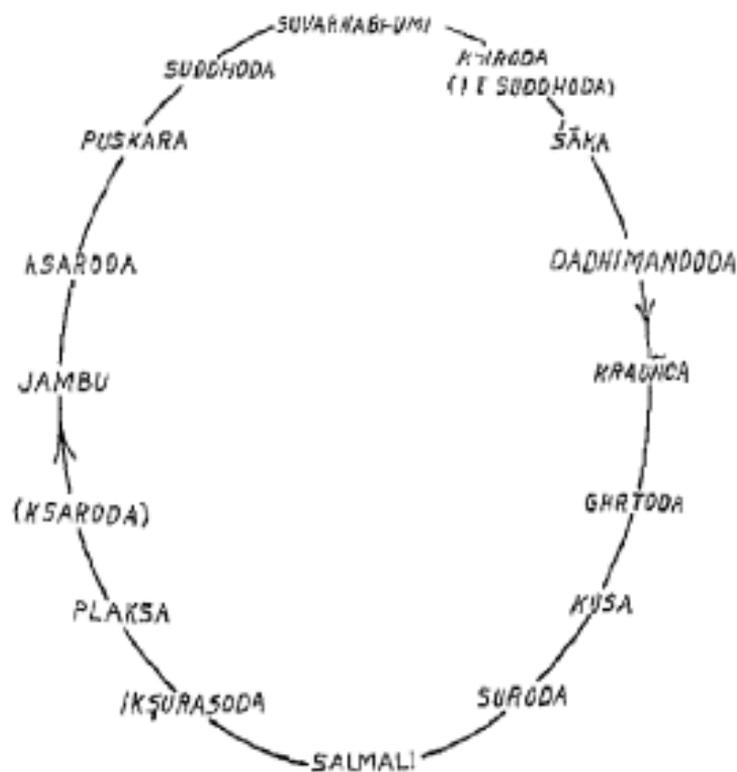
- ORDER
- JAMBUDVĪPĀ
 - KṢĀRODĀ
 - PUSKARĀDVĪPĀ
 - ŚUDDHODĀ
 - SUVARNABHŪMĪ
 - (ŚUDDHODĀ (2))
 - KṢĪRODĀ
 - ŚĀKĀDVĪPĀ
 - DADHIMANDODĀ
 - KRAUṆCĀDVĪPĀ
 - GĪRTODĀ
 - KUSĀDVĪPĀ
 - SURODĀ
 - SĀLMĀLĪDVĪPĀ
 - IKṢVĀKODĀ
 - PLAKṢĀDVĪPĀ
 - KṢĀRODĀ
 - JAMBUDVĪPĀ



SAPTADVĪPĀ PŪTHIVĪ

CYCLIC ORDER OF DVĪPAS AND SAMUDRAS

0



THE FORMATION OF KONKANI*

BY

S M KATRL M A I h D (London)

α) Gender —

maso or fem

bhar Amā

sāmb āl

panAs

cu Au

bhend A-

kerAs

māi Ai

bhendAs

karm āt

ωAī

ī ag Ad

hāi Am

dhuā Ai

mazAi

an.īn

hāimā īo

sakāi ī

nAu

vāmdAr

māhū īg

nibAr

sAu

zAd

thAmā

cAd

neut

bhar amā

-āmbāi

pana

cu an

bhē.mda

keru

māiāu

bhendār

karmāi

ōai

ī agāi

hāiām

dhuāor

māzoi

ōan

kāhādu

sakāi

māu

sūhādu

māhū ag

nibar

zau

zāi

thāmā

cāi

β) Number --

sing

fatAr

māmā īo

vāmgAr

panAs

vāmdAr

ōAd

plur

fatār

māmāu

vāmgār

panās

vāmdār

cāi

Continued from the Annals Vol. XVIII Part (ii) p. 120.

In fact, for every example quoted in α) above we have the plural with *a* instead of *A*. Further, in inflection, the oblique form is obtained by the change of *A* into *a*.

γ) Alternation in the presence of *ɜ* or *u* in the neighbouring syllable *pānāvās* (*pānāva-uvasat*)- twentyfive *panāva* (*pānāvā-dasa*)- fifteen, *khāvaḍa* *khāvaḍo*, *māḍka* *māḍko*, *ṭāḷa* *ṭāḷa*, *pānāvā* *panāva* *pfāḍkūl* *pfuḍ*, *kāḍvī* *kāḍo*, *ṭāḷa* *ṭāḷa*, *pfāḷa* *pfāḷa* *ūstāḷa* *ūstāḷo* *īaco*: *u* *ācūmk* *baḍā-bāḷa*: *ī*, *māḍvā* *māḍva*, etc.

§ 43 We are now in a position to formulate the general rule so far as *gx* is concerned. MI-A *a* becomes *A* or *α* in *gx* depending upon whether MI-A *a* was originally followed by *an* or *u*, or not.

Case α) MI-A masculine nouns ending in *a* in inflection end in *-u* in the Apabhramsa stage in the nominative singular, and this final *u* is lost in *gx*, similarly the feminine nouns end in either *-i* or *-u* which is lost in *gx*, again neuters end in *-am*, thus *māḍva*, masc is derived from Sk *māḍapah*, MI-A *māḍava* Ap *māḍavu* or **māḍavu*, similarly the neut *māḍa* is from MI-A **māḍapam* Ap **māḍavam*, the play of *a* and *A* following the rule formulated above. Of the feminine forms of adjectives like *sūḍar* *vaḍar*, *zāḍ* etc as opposed to the *a* forms of the same in neutre, it is enough to compare them with corresponding *s ga* forms *sūḍari*, *vaḍari*, *zāḍa*, etc deriving from MI-A, forms in *-i*.

Case β) *gx fāḍar*, sing is from Sk *pāḍarā* MI-A *paḍaro*, Ap *paḍaru*, a stone, the plural *fāḍa* is from Sk *paḍarāḥ* MI-A *paḍarū* and hence the *ā*. This can be verified in the case of every example quoted in the previous section.

In § 42 γ) we see this play of the two vowels in the actual presence of *ɜ* or *u* in the neighbouring syllables. In this respect there is no difference between these phonemes and the *o*-phonemes of *s ga* etc and it is difficult to understand the reason for the retention of special symbols when both in actual pronunciation and the behaviour in morphology, etc they are alike. That

¹ Of V J Janji Rangel *Gramática da Língua Concani* Bastor, 1933 p 155 "Em concani não se utiliza presentemente o som da fechoada vaol tendo entre a e o como nas línguas amecrita e maratá. Ihus on the one hand some scholars advocate symbols for special sounds the existence of which on the other hand is completely denied by others."

mistakes are committed even by writers who follow this transcription is evident from only two of the many examples that one may pick up from such writings on page 144 of *Elementos Gramaticas* we find the form *dāḍas* which should really be *dāḍas* according to the orthography suggested by the author since the word is derived from Sk *dāḍas*— the other form in question is *goro* which should be *goro* as deriving from Sk **gaurā-lā-MI-A* **goras* white in these circumstances the retention of such special symbols is redundant and unwise of etymology wrongly applied speech sounds should be represented as correctly as possible and I have tried to find a justification for these symbols but after hearing the Christian community of Goa speak, and after many trials with the examples in the previous sections with different persons for a phonetic evaluation I cannot countenance this innovation mainly on the basis of etymology In the dictionaries of Furtado MI-A or Dravidian *a* is regularly represented as either an *o* or an *ā*¹

§ 44 In *x* also there is a regular tendency to pronounce the MI-A *a* as a *vivṛta* as in Dravidian and it is thus often confused with *ā* of which it is the short variety Where there is no such confusion it is nearly always pronounced as *o* Thus following the system of Furtado's dictionaries every MI-A *a* is either *ā* or *o* in *x* (where *a* is equal to *ō*) A few examples of confusion between MI-A *a* and *o* in *x* may be quoted here *x kulo e ge kalo gx kalo kolu a ḷu habbu Can habbu x goro gx goro* etc where an original *a* is represented as *x o* Thus here too we find that in spite of different symbols used for the *a*-phoneme there is confusion rampant in representation of words

§ 45 In *nx* a similar state of affairs exists Mgr Dalgado uses the etymological Devanagari symbol, though in his *Gósser* sections he says that it is approximate to short close *o* dropped in many cases but close in feminine nouns and open in neutre nouns This corresponds to what we have seen in *gx* which should be taken as the standard for all *x* dialects except in syntax and vocabulary (so far as direct borrowings from Portuguese are concerned) In addition to these different kinds of the *a*-phoneme Canon J de S Rita e Souza mentions the mute *a* which

¹ For MI-A *a* / *gx* *a* see § 26 *a*) ii

is glided over in pronunciation with reference to the rhythm of words

§ 46 In *a* and *ga* the state of affairs is slightly different. Here PI-A and MI-A *a* has regularly come down as *a* except when affected by the law of labialisation. The case of *phāttāra* *phāllāra* has already been discussed. Similar to this, we have the forms *vaga* *vocūka*, *marā* *morūka*, *karā* *kosā* (through *kar^hce*)

A slightly variant case of the above may be seen in the dual pronunciation of such words like *vata* *vata*, *phāllāka* *phāllāka* *phāraṭa* *phāraṭa*, etc. The presence of the bilabial *v* in the syllable explains the labialisation in these cases.

§ 47 We are now in a position to formulate the general behaviour of PI-A and MI-A *a* in the dialects of Konkani. In the Christian dialects it is labialised throughout, except when it is represented as *ā*, as shown in many *ga* words. In the Hindu dialects the labialisation takes place only in the presence of labial elements, and in *g* the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-ā-*, and the final *-a* of verbal forms in dissyllabic words also becomes *-ā*. We have also seen that these altered vowels (short and long open as well as close, the last depending upon the following vowel) play the same rôle in morphology as the neutral vowel *a*. I have therefore not deemed it necessary in the following section to differentiate the two phonemes *a*, *ā* and *a*, *ā*. The latter will represent all the varieties, as it is futile in view of the discussion above to keep to separate symbols merely on the basis of etymology.

E Prakrit Vowels in Contact

§ 48 As a result of the loss of intervocalic single consonants in MI-A we find vowels coming into contact in the Prakrit languages without coalescing, but even here, at times, certain consonants have been inserted to break the hiatus, the most common of these, called by German scholars "hiatus-tilgers" are *y* and *v*, in fact in many Jain Mes a *laghu-pyāyatnatarayā-kāra* has developed. Less common are *r* and *h*, seen in Pāli *ātha-r-na*, etc. There are cases where even *t-* or *-d-* or *-g-* act as "hiatus-tilgers," but the reason for their existence is more

historical than due to a fresh insertion. Now in NI-A we observe the tendency to eliminate the hiatus in three ways: (i) it conserves the individuality of the vowels by the insertion of *y* or *v*; (ii) it combines them into diphthongs; and (iii) finally it contracts them into a single vowel.

I Insertion of *y* and *v*

§ 49 A Insertion of *y* — *y* replaces

Sk *k* in s ga *kāyalo* (*kāka-*)

Sk *ç* in s ga *rāyu* (*rājan-*)

Sk *ç* in s ga *jāyu* (*jāti*) *ghāyu* (*ghāta-*) *nāyu* (*nātar-*)¹

Sk *d* in s ga *pāyu* (*pāda-*)

B Insertion of *v* — *v* replaces

Sk *k* in g *kāvulo* (*kāka-*)

Sk *ç* in *çavulu* (*çavala-*)

Sk *c* in s ga *sāva* (*sūcr-*)

Sk *t* in *māvulo* (*māṭula-*)

Sk *ç* in *rāvu* (*rājan-*)

Sk *d* in *pāvu* (*pāda-*)

Sk *y* in *sāvū* (*ohāyū*)

Pk *h* in *māvu* (*māṭhūka-* Pk *māṭhūka-*) *māvu*
(*māṭhū-* Pk *māṭhū-*)

We note that in some cases both the treatments hold good: in one type the distinction is due to difference in dialects: s ga *lāyulo*, but g *lāvulo* (the *-a-* penultimate being slurred over); in the other it is due to difference in meaning: *pāyu* foot *pāvu* a measure equal to one fourth seer. In the case of *sāvū* s ga *sāvū* there is a possibility of confusion with the verb *śāvayā* since gx *lās sū* the expected form.

II Diphthongs

§ 50 In the southern and Hindu dialects there are only two diphthongs *as* and *au* and since the Christian dialects have the

¹ Perhaps influenced by Sk *māna*!

labial *o* (*a* or *A*) for MI-A. *a*, we have the diphthongs *oi* and *ou*, sometimes also, due to labialisation we have in *s* *gs* *ou*

oi $\angle a + i$ *bausa* (*upaussa*) *mhausa* (*mahausa*), etc.—in *ns* *ngs* *vauri* (*vauri*) we have an anticipation of the final *i*

oi $\angle a + e$ *g* *pass* (*pradesa-*)

ou $\angle a + u$ *cau* (*catuh-*) in *cauku*, *cauto* (besides *cauto*), *cauā* or *caudā*, etc., *mau* or *mou* (*madh-*)

ou $\angle a + o$

oi $\angle a + i$ *gx* *vaur* (*s* *gs* *vauri*)

ou $\angle a + u$ *e* *gs* *mou* (*madh-*), *cauto*, *caudā*, *cautisa*, etc. (Sk *catuh-*), *g* *cauis*

§ 51 If the first vowel is long, the hiatus generally persists, and in most of the dialects a secondary *y* or *v* may be inserted: *māyū* (*māy-*) *ghāyāyoga* (*ghāya-śoka-*), *rāyulāya* (*rājakulāgarā-*), *gāi* or *gāya* (Pk *gāva*, quoted by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*), *āyāyū*, *āyāyū* (*āyāya-*), *pāyū* (*pādāna-*)

Similarly if the second vowel is long, the hiatus persists *nāyū* (*nāy-*), *gāyū* (Pk *gāva*), but it must be remembered that in K all final vowels are short and the length for this purpose should be estimated from the historical standpoint.

III Contraction

×) The first vowel is *a*

a + i, e, u, o

§ 52 So far as *ai* is concerned, we find in K forms like *paia* (*Pratishāhā*, Sk *pratishāhāna-* M *paisham*, but Sk *pratishāhā* M *paish*), but it is more especially at the end of words that the reduction takes place as in Marāṭhī *śasam* (*śaṣipate-*), the termination for the nom-acc pl of Sk neuter nouns -*āni* > Pr *śāni* K -*ā* etc

Here we must consider the curious case of -*ai-* becoming at times -*a-* in the words *bassa*—besides the form here mentioned we have in *e* *bastā*, *bassaka*, *bassyāka*. As discussed by M Bloch (*La langue marāṭhī*, § 58) we cannot take recourse to the theory of contamination with the root *cas-* in view of the double reason of significance as well as Hindi influence for the initial *b-* It is

probable as suggested by him that due to the presence of *s* the diphthong is reduced in those cases where *s* combines with a following consonant as in *ḥosā* *ḥosyāka* (for **ḥasenāku* labialised) On the other hand we find that in K *a* \leq Sk *āstā-* Pk *astā* we have diphthongisation

In the forms e.g. *lāsā* *lāsā* etc from Sk *lādrsa-* etc M *kasā* *lāsā* (besides *kasa* *lāsa*) we have the same phenomenon as above but quite regularly throughout in all the dialects

§ 53 The reduction of *au* to *o* takes place in *ḥovis* (Sk *catuh-*) and to *u* in the absolute *uā* (from an older **auu* or **auuu*)

In the final position *-au* is reduced to *o* regularly irrespective of the length of the initial element of the diphthong

Sk *-ako* Pk *-ao* Ap *-ao* *-au* *ambo* *āvāto* *ghoḥo* *ḥano* etc (deriving from Sk *āniraka* *āmāka-* *ghotaka-* *canāla-* respectively)

Sk *-ato* Pk *-ao* Ap *-au* *āḥo* (*aksata-*)

Sk *-ado* *pāḥo* (*prāpāda-*)

Sk *-ayo* *āsra* (*āśraya-*)

Sk *-avo* *pāllo* (*pālāva-*)

Sk *-āko* Pk *āo*

Sk *-āco* *piśo* (*piśāca-*)

Sk *-āto*

Sk *-ādo*

Pk *-āo* nom fem pl of nouns in *-ā* *mālo* (Pk *mālāo*) etc
a+a

§ 54 —When one of the two vowels is long the result of the contraction is *ā*

A The first *a* is long

Sk *-āya-* *rāyāḥ* (*rāya-kula-*) *āut* (*rāyaputra-*)

Sk *-āta-* *vāre* (*vāta-*)

Sk *-āda* *ūso* (*ādarsā-*) *vāna*¹ (*vādāna-*) *vāya* (*chādāna-*),

¹ *See* *tatsama* with *-n* instead of *-n-*

Sk -āva- *dvāli* (*dipāvāli*-)

Sk -āgā- *īdūtār, kūtār* (-āgāra-)

B The second *a* is long

Sk -ākā *andhā*, s gs *lavābāru, kāmāru, cāmāru, etc* (-a-kāra-)

Sk -avā- *upāra* (*upavāsa*-)

Sk -atā- *cāra* (**catā*) : for *cattāra*, observe the palato-alveolar affricate)

Sk -āyā- *amavāsyā amāsa*

In the case of nom pl of maso nouns of K ending in -o which is -e (*ghofo ghoḍe* / Sk *ghotakāh ghotlakāh*), the -e is not be traced to the inflected form in Sk but to the uninflected form, and therefore to -akā- and not to -akā / Sk -akāh

§ 55 Both the vowels are short

When the two vowels were separated in Sk by *y* (i e if the group in Sk was -aya-) the contraction was already accomplished in MI-A of Pa *neti* Sk *nāyati* As *lena* Sk *layana*-, Pk -e (ending of 3rd pers sing pres) Sk -ayati If they were separated in Sk by a single non- aspirated surd, this surd was lost in MI-A giving rise to *y* (*laghuryayatanatarayakārah*) in the group -aya- which in its turn gives rise to -e- in NI A

Sk -akā- in the nom-acc neut sg in *ā* (-akām), and nom maso pl of enlarged nouns in -e (*akāh -akā-*) *śūnā* (*śūnakā*), *ghoḍe* (*ghotakāh*), *śūbe* (*śūvakāh*)

Sk -aya in *nana* (-na-jan- from *yā*) " do not know

Sk -ata in s gs *gello-*, *me-lio*, x gx *gelo*, *me-lo* (*gatā- mitā-*), *se* (-tatam), etc

Sk -akā- in *kele* (*kadā*), but *bora* (*bada* a-), see below

Sk -aga- in *lena* (*chagana*-)

In the case of K *bora* we have to go back to MI-A **ōmaso* with insertion of *o* in the place of the lost intervocalic -d-, already reduced to *bora* in Desi among cognate languages, Marathi and Gujarati, as well as Dravidian attest to this form

In recent times *az* is combined in the semi-intensive s gs *ghā* *ḥpa* (*grāhāna-*), *agrāra* (*agrakāra-*) *ugrāra* (*udgrāhāna-*), etc, *re*

sulting in \bar{a} in several cases this \bar{a} is further reduced to a and then lost *dasro* (for **dasaro* < Sk *daśahara*)

β) The first vowel is i or e

§ 56 Examples of i or e followed by \bar{a} in Konkani are rare and where they occur are certainly borrowings from other dialects

$e + a \rightarrow e$ e.g. *deru* (*devara-*) *sevo* (*cheda-*)

$i + a \rightarrow e$ or i in the middle of the word i (written i or i in K) at the end of the word

e *sanḍi* (*sikhanda-*) *śeti* (*śitala-*)

i *disu* (*divasa-*)

— In the final position i is the normal characteristic of the fem sg Sk $-ā$ Pk $-i$ $-a$ it is enough to say that this is the vowel characterising the fem forms of all adjectives. Similarly the neutre like *dhat ghat pāta* are to be explained

$i + i \rightarrow i$

$i + e$ — There are not many examples of this combination from Sk *nārikela-* Pk *nāri-ela-* we have e.g. *nāri* (for **nāra* from possible **nāra* of $n\bar{a}$ $g\bar{r}$ *nāra*) and x $n\bar{a}$ *nāri* (see § 24) This is generally the treatment in the interior of the word. In the final position there is first the insertion of y with a subsequent but not necessary loss of i the oblique fem sg of Pk $-e$ K $-ye$ y *mātye* or *mātye-* from nom sg *māti*

$e + i$ in the ending of the 3rd pers sg of causative Pk has $-e$ and K $-ey$ $-ey$ or $-ay$ with reduction of e to a

$i + \bar{a}$ in the interior of the word i disappears but in the final position i survives with the loss of $-u$ developing from $-o$ in the infinitive in $-um-ā$ < Sk $-itum$ u survives with the loss of i $-dano$ (Sk $-danu-$ Pk *dana* *dana-*) *vāna* (*vāna-*) from Pk *vāna(y)* o Ap *vāna(y)* u

γ) The first vowel is u or o

§ 57 When contraction takes place it is the timbre of u or o which determines the resultant

$u + a \rightarrow o$ *hava* (*vadhū-ava-*) *phoppala* (*phiga-phala-*) *sonā* (*suvarakāra-*) etc

u + a > u *gava* (*godhūma-*), *dhutā* (*dhuvā-*) *ī* (Pk *tamā* / *tuam*), further all nouns ending in -u in K when not derived from Sk words ending in -u (see §§ 18-20) are from Sk nouns ending in -ukā and similarly the K neutres in -u are from Sk -ukam

u + o > u nom sg of K in -u < Sk -uko Pk -uo

u + u > u *umbar* (*udumbā-*),

u + u > o in the semi-tatsama *garodar* (*guru-udara*),

u + i > ī *dhūva* (*dhut-*), *sū* (*sū-*),

o + a > o *thok* (*stoka-*), *gk* *ujō*, *g* *ujō* (*uddiyō-*)

o + i either *y* is inserted in the middle of a word, as in *joṃy* or is reduced to o in *oṃ*

Contraction of more than two vowels

§ 58 Examples of this type are quite rare, we have *ar* (*aṃ* *guru-* Pk *aṃgura-*, *arā-*), but *āy-lo* or *ālo* for Sk *āgata-* with the retention of -y- Generally in such cases the diphthong survives In the fem nom pl of nouns in -i, we have Pk -iō > K -ō)yo, *gk* -eo, -e(y)o

Nasalisation of vowels

59 In general, when nasals occupy the final position in a word, and contraction takes place between the last two vowels, we have nasalisation *śāhara*, -*śā* (*śātam*), *sī* (*śātam*), the diminutives -*rī* (*rīpam*) as in *pākhī*, *ā*, *vāerī*, etc, the nom sing of neutres -e, -ī, ī (Pk -aam, -aah, -uam) But if a nasal is preserved in the preceding syllable nasalisation of the final vowel of K does not take place usually thus *pāna*, *īna* or *nūna*, but a secondary nasalisation may affect them subsequently and we may have *īnā*.

The genitive ending of the plural in Sk -*ānām* has become in K -*ā* the -n- having lost its proper articulation, which is difficult to explain on the basis of Pk -*āna*, the explanation is to be found in the Apabhramśa ending -*āhān*, -*āhān*, on the basis of the singular in -*āhā*, reminding us of Vedic *nānām* as opposed to *nārānām* But in the neut pl Sk -*ān* Pk -*ān* or more regularly -*ān*, this loss is difficult to explain, unless based on the analogy of the singular forms -*āhā*, -*āhā*, -*āhā* etc ;

similarly the instrumental singular *Fk -ena* (Sk *-ena*) has already become *-e* or *-i* in Apabhramsa.¹ It will be apparent that *n* in these inflexions has undergone a special development.²

§ 50 It will be seen in the section dealing with consonants that a single intervocalic *-m-* has been spirantised and become *-v-* the nasalisation has then been transferred to the preceding vowel thus *gāva nāva* (*gāvam- nāvam-*) in certain endings also we have this nasalisation first person sing and pl of verbs ends in *-a* and *-o* or *u* (Sk *-ām; -āmō*)

§ 60 In the interior of a word there are several treatments of the group short vowel + nasal + consonant

¹ Sir George Grierson in his critical review of M Jules Bloch's *La langue marathe* JRAS 1921 p 700 observes 'M Bloch derives *o* from the Sanskrit *oa* and here I am unable to follow him. I know of hardly any instances in Prakrit where medial *o* has been dropped or weakened to a mere nasalisation. The one instance that is generally accepted is the form of the nominative plural neutre (*vanāśū* for *vanāḥ*) but the isolation of this fact renders it to me doubtful and I hesitate to accept the equation as conclusive. On the other hand he suggests that Mar *o* < Ap *-oḥ* < *oḥ*; remarking 'It is equally permissible to look upon it as a contraction of the locative termination *-oḥ* extended to the instrumental *na* has occurred in other modern Indian languages. On the genitive termination *o* < Ap *oḥ* he refers to Fischei § 370 where the Ap ending is derived from the pronominal termination *oḥ* and not *oḥm*. Regarding Ap *o* *oḥ* Sk *ena* Bloch *J indo aryan* p 143 observes 'A l'instrumental *putāna*(*ti*) *putā* *putāḥ* la désinence entière peut s'abréger en *oḥ* qui est contraire aux règles du prakrit en outre le nasale perd son occlusion comme en prakrit dans pl neut *-oḥ*. Cf op cit p 144 'étant donné que *putā* *fova* donnait *putā* (et *pāḥ* *pāḥ* dès le prakrit) on s'attendait soit à *putāḥ* soit à **putāva*. Ces formes inconnues ont été remplacées par un double genitif *putāḥ + a* issu de *oḥm*' and 'D'où en prakrit le nasale de *putāvaḥ* avait débordé sur l'inst *putāḥ* et le locatif *putāvaḥ*'.

² Cf Turner *Gujarati Phonology* in IRAS 19 1 pp 525 26 & 66 (3). In inflexional suffixes *n-* *n-* become *MI anuvāra* or a nasalisation of the surrounding vowels. This process is already marked to the Prakrit spellings *-āḥ-* *-ām-* *-āḥ* beside *āḥ*. In other forms *-ena* (Ap *oḥ*) *oḥ* *-a* probably represented *anuvāra* but the spelling lagged behind the change of pronunciation. Thus

- nom plur neut *-akāḥ* > G *-ā*
 instr sing *-akena* > Ap *oḥ* OWR *oḥ* G *e*
 gen plur *-akāḥm* > OWR G *-ā*
 nom plur neut *oḥ* > G *o* in *oḥ* < *oḥm*

For further discussion on this problem refer to the article dealing with intervocalic *paḥ* in the section History of the Consonants, further down.

In case the consonant is unvoiced we have one of the two following treatments

- 1 short vowel + nasal + unvoiced consonant, or
- 2 long nasal vowel + unvoiced consonant —

e.g. *antāntā* (written *antāntāntā* in the Comparative Glossary of Sk *antara-*), s *nambūvo*, ge *hambūvo* (*nambu-*), *vantā* (*vanta-*, etc., s *čape* (*caṣpakam*), nx *āka* (*auka*), etc. In my Comparative Glossary I have not in general indicated this fine distinction due to difficulty in printing but this is the general rule, that when the vowel is lengthened it becomes an *anunāsika* with the loss of the following nasal only when it precedes an unvoiced consonant. When, however, the following consonant is voiced, we have the following treatments

- 3 short vowel + nasal + voiced consonant or
- 4 long nasal vowel + nasal + voiced consonant —

e.g. *āṅga* (*anga-*), x nx *gāṅga*, s ge *āṅgana* (*anganam*), etc but s nx *angā* (*angāntā*), s *aṅgana* (lw Sk id), *ambāntā* (*ambānta-*) etc., thus we have *caṅgāntā* as opposed to *cāṅgāntā* as opposed to *kaṅgāntā*

§ 61 In the case of s ge x etc there is not that special nasalisation in the case of long vowels followed by an earier group of consonants the first of which is r, or when the group contained a sibilant or an separated palatal (see *La laage marathe*, § 69) e.g. *kāṣṭha* (M *kāṣṭha* and *kaṣa*), *pālā* (M *pālāntā*) etc. But there are some special forms like s ge *kāṣṭhā*, s *ambāntā*, gx *ambāntā*, nx *ambāntā*, *ambāntā*, etc. from Sk *ambāntam*, etc which should be attributed chiefly to Mraṭhi influence. A study of the southern dialects like s ge x etc in comparison with other modern Indo-Aryan languages shows that the absence of the nasalisation in these cases is the inherited characteristic while the retention or presence of the nasal is due to Mraṭhi influence.

§ 62 Inversely Konkani, like other Indo-Aryan languages shows a number of words in which denasalisation has taken place. Examples *māsa* (*māmasa-*), *vāṣa* (*vāṣaka*) *kāṣa* (*kāṣa-*) etc., similarly in *bāntā* (*abāntā-*) and in the termination of the 3rd person plural of the present *-āntā* (*-āntā*), etc the nasal is lost

§ 63 Before proceeding to give the table of Konkani vocalism one aspect of the *s* dialect has to be studied. It is the general law in Indo Aryan that the PI-A group vowel + conjunct or double consonant has reduced itself in NI-A to either

1 long vowel + single consonant (after assimilation in MI-A stage and reduction with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, if short before) or

2 short vowel + double consonant (after assimilation in MI-A and retention of the group with reduction of the vowel if long before). Thus we have *nūgdo* (*nagnā-* Pk *sagga-*) *ṛāṭi* (*ṛāṭri* Pk *rattī-*) etc. Now Panjabi preserves the double consonant generally as well as the etymological quantity as in *ṛāt* (*ṛāṭri*) and *ratt* (*ṛakta*). Sindhi preserves the etymological quantity of the vowel as in *raṭṭ* (*ṛāṭi*) and *raṭṭ* (*ṛakta*).¹

Now in *s* we have such forms as *māṭṭi* (*m^liṭkā*) *phāṭṭaru* (*prastaru-*) etc. where the cognate dialects like *g* *gx* etc. give us *māṭi*, *fāṭar* etc. As against these we have in *s* forms like *ṛāṭi* (*ṛāṭṛ^l*) it is indeed difficult to explain this opposition. A study of *s* shows that in the case of inherited words the double consonant is retained, but after it has already been lost elsewhere with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in this way only can be explained the group long vowel + double consonant. It is also interesting to observe here that where Panjabi and Sindhi differentiate between the forms *ṛāt* and *raṭ(i)* coming respectively from Sk *ṛāṭri* and *ṛakta-* *s* gives for the latter the word *ragata* which is a semi-taisama loan word.

Examples

-*kh(h)-* *s* *gs* *lāṅko* *nx* *kāṅh* or *khāṅ* *x* *ṛk* (Sk *kāṅsa-* *kāṅsa-*) the arm-pit *s* *gs* *pāṅka* wings as opposed to the sing form *pāṅa* (*pāṅsā-*) *lāṅka* as opposed to *lāṅa* (*lāṅgā*) *lāṅ* similarly *s* *gs* *ṛāṅkūṅa* *gx* *x* *nx* *rāṅkūṅ* (*lakuta-*) faggot etc.

-*g(h)-* *s* *gs* *māṅguri* *x* *gx* *nx* *māṅuri* *māṅu* (Sk *māṅga-*) but *māṅu* (*māṅgā-*) green gram *lāṅu* *x* *nx* *lāṅu* (*lāṅa-*)

-*cc-* *s* *gs* *pūco*: aunt

¹ *L indo aryan* p 39

-j- s gs *kāḥjāḥa*, nx gx *kāḥjōl* (*kāḥjāka-*) unguent, lamp-black s gs *māḥjāḥa*, nx x gx *māḥjor* (*māḥjāra-*) a oat, but *ay-jānu* (*ay-jāna-*)

-t(h)- *tāḥtāḥa*, nx *tāḥtāḥk* to roll a pastry (*yaḥtā-* Pa Pk *jaḥtā-*) but *phāḥa* (*phāḥa-*) the back, *āḥa* (*āḥa-*) eight

-ḥ(h)- *gāḥḥāḥa*, v *gāḥḥā*, gx *gāḥḥā*, nx *gāḥḥā* (*gāḥḥāḥa-*) an ass, *māḥḥō*, x nx *māḥḥ* the cocoa-nut tree, *māḥḥā*, x nx *māḥḥ* s kind of edible root, -but s gs x *hāḥā*, nx gx *hāḥ* (Sk lex *haḥā-*) bone

-t(h)- s gs *māḥḥa*, nx *māḥḥā*, x gx *māḥḥ* (*māḥḥāḥa-*) the head, v gs *māḥḥi*, x nx gx *māḥḥ* (*māḥḥā*) mud, dust, *ḥāḥā*, x gx nx *sāḥa* (*chāḥra-hāra*) an umbrella, a parasol, -but s gs *sāḥa* (*sāḥā-*) seven, s gs *hāḥa*, x gx *hāḥ*, nx *hāḥ* (*hāḥa-*) the hand

-d(h)- s gs *sāḥḥāḥk*, v nx gx *sāḥḥāḥk* (*sāḥḥāḥa-*) to seek, *gāḥḥā* a field (Kan *gāḥḥā*)

-pp(h)- s gs *ḥāḥḥāḥa*, gx *ḥāḥḥā* (MI-A *ḥāḥḥā*) oneself, s gs *kāḥḥāḥa* x gx nx *kāḥḥā* (*kāḥḥā-*) cloth, *phāḥḥāḥa*, v nx gx *phāḥḥā* (*phāḥḥā-*) a fried oake

-bb(h)- s gx *sāḥḥāḥa* (*sāḥā-*) much *gāḥḥā* (*gāḥḥāḥa-*) the core of the plantain trunk as opposed to *gāḥā* (*gāḥḥā-*) concept ion Of s gs *sāḥḥāḥa* *rāḥḥāḥā* (**rāḥḥā-* *lāḥḥā-*) to stay

Of the exceptions in general we may quote examples of the -s- and -m-

-n- s gs *kāḥḥā*, x gx nx *kāḥḥā* (*kāḥḥā-*) the ear, s gs *pāḥā* x gx nx *pāḥā* (*pāḥā-*) a leaf, s gs *māḥḥā* (*māḥḥā*) the nape of the neck, -but s gs *sonāḥḥā* x gx nx *sonāḥḥā* (*sonāḥḥā-kāḥḥā*) a goldsmith

-m- *kāḥḥā*, x gx nx *kāḥḥā* (*kāḥḥā-*) not, dead, occupation

There is again the case of s gs preserving the group short vowel+double consonant (both of MI-A stage, and later on this analogy) where the other cognate K dialects show the group short vowel+single consonant

-kk- s gs *dḥakkō*, gs *dḥakkō* x nx gx *dḥakkō* (Sk *dḥaḥḥā* *dḥakkāḥa* annihilates: B O H P L M *dḥakkā*, Sdh *dḥakkā*, G *dḥakkā*, M *dḥakkā*, v s v *dḥakkā* in Turner-N) shock

-ḡḡ- s gs *māḡḡ* but x *mōḡḡ* a kind of cucumber, s gs *rāḡḡāḥā* messages but x nx *rōḡḡāḥā*.

-oo- s gs *uol'āla* but τ nτ g< *uol'wāk* (MI-A *uoccu*) lo
go inove on

ɲ- s gs *uɲʃo* x gτ nɲ g *uɲo* (*uɲʃola-*) fire *saɲʃanu* but
τ g *saɲon* (*saɲ ʃana*) a quitoi poison

tt s ɮʷ *bhat'w* x ɮx *bhola* (*bharti-*) a priest

-dʒ- s gs *niʒʒala*, x nɲ gɲ g *niʒol* (*lalāta-*) the forehead
s gs *baɪʒi* x gτ *boʒi* (Kan *baʒi*) a stick

-t- s gs *uittā* (fo: *nič-tā* through **uol'tā*) x gɲ *vetā*
goss s gs *saitas* x nɲ gɲ *ʋoto* (*sipats-* Ap *sattari-*) seventy

-d- s gʷ *muddi* τ nɲ gɲ *mudɪ* (*mudrikā*) a ring

-pp s gs *tappāto* nɲ *tappāi* but x gɲ g *topāi* the post

-bb- s gs *khabbari* x nɲ gɲ *kābor* news tidings *ʒabbo* x
nɲ gɲ *dob* (cf H N M *ʒabba* Sk *dāu*) a small box or casket

As against the form *mūtū* *sūtū* quoted above we should also consider the forms which are apparent exceptions to this gemination like *mūta* *sūta*. Now *mūta* (*mūtām*) urine is opposed to *mūtē* (*mastakam*) head, in the same way as *ʋta* (*sūtām*) string is opposed to *sūtē* (*chātira* lam) in the first case we have dissyllabic words and in the second polysyllabic words in PI-A or MI-A stage. This fact gives us the clue at least so far as s and gs are concerned when etymologically connected with polysyllabic words in MI-A or PI-A s gs preserves the long vowel and double consonant but when connected with dissyllabic words the consonant group is reduced. This fact is further strengthened by morphological evidence for in s gs from the nom sg form *mūta* we have the oblique forms *mūtāla* *mūtāmānu* *mūtāmā* etc., similarly from *ʋta* rice we have *ʋtāmā* *ʋtāmānu* and from *hātu* *hātāmānu* *hātāmā* etc. The characteristic of all K dialects is the indcision in the use of the long and short varieties of : and u and it is possible in some cases that only the short is pronounced. But the actual pronunciation in s gs and the analogy of *hētā* : *hētāmā* justifies the long vowel in the case of : and u. This treatment depending on the number of syllables holds good also in the so-called exception -x- quoted above *māna* *mānneri* *kānu* *lānāmānu* *pāna* *pānāri*. That the syllabic quantity in MI-A, is the cause of this gemi-

nation may be proved by the examples *sūna sūnāra* (*chādana-*) and *śana śanāra* (*chaganā-*)

§ 64 Colouration of vowels in words or word-groups (inflected or otherwise) is a characteristic which Konkani shares with Bengali and other NI-A dialects. Of the most important are the law of labialisation and the law of palatalisation.

A) Law of Labialisation

In the presence of a labial vowel a preceding vowel is labialised if short. Long vowels remain unaffected as also in general the vowels *i* and *u*. Thus we are left with the vowel *a* for most of these examples.

-a- + -a- *marā* (through **mar^aā*) *marāka* (through **mar^arāka*), *parā* day after tomorrow *parā* last year (Sk *para-*), *phālepa phālepa*

Another case of labialisation is the colouration of the vowel through a labial consonant, noticed already in MI-A in the case of the development of the *i*-vowel. The examples we quoted in § 46 of words in *-* suffice.

B) Law of Palatalisation

The scope of this law is not so universal as that of labialisation. Here too only a short vowel can be affected. *mas* pepper, black pepper (Sk *masaka*, Pk *marico*, Pk *marica-*, *masa-*, whence Sk lex *marikā* f a particular plant. B *marī*, H M Sdh *masī*.)

Opposed to this colouration there is also the discolouration of vowels through the principle of dissimilation. In the former case there is an assimilation of the character of the following vowel due probably to anticipation, but in the case of discolouration this anticipation results in dissimilation. Thus we have *a ga wādāu*, *ga wādāru*, *sv wāda*, *g hūnda* x *nx gx wādā* (Sk *undāra-*, *undāra-*, Sk lex *undāra-*, *undāra-*) a rat, mouse. The dissimilation has already been carried out in Sanskrit lexicon forms.

§ 65 The examples of Epenthesis and Anaptyxis will be considered towards the end of our study of the history of the consonants. We are now in a position to give the table of Konkani vowels with reference to their development from PI-A through the MI-A stage.

KONKANI VOWELS

a

§ 66 In the initial syllable

K a = MI-A a / PI-A a see § 12 A
 = MI-A a / PI-A a see § 8

In the interior of a word K a may represent all PI-A or MI-A vowels see § 30

In the final position in e.g. K a represents the final \bar{a} of feminine nouns of PI-A and MI-A see § 19 It may also represent the final -a of neutre nouns of PI-A or MI-A which remain neutre in e.g. see § 18 (b)

K a forms diphthongs ai au with i u derived from PI-A i, e and u o respectively § 50

For K i occurring as a or ai (i e in our notation ð or ð) see §§ 32 47

ā

§ 67 In the initial syllable

K ā = MI-A ā / PI-A ā or a in heavy syllable see § 26
 = MI A a in heavy syllable / PI-A ā or a in heavy syllable see § 26
 = MI-A ā or a in heavy syllable / PI-A ā in heavy syllable, see § 8

In the non initial position K ā is the result of a contraction of ā + ā of the MI-A stage, see § 31 (b)

§ 68 Observations on K ā - K a in the initial position of the word *gaul* (*gopāla*-) a cowherd needs some explanation In fact we have in MI-A form like *gaca-* (for *ga-* through the oblique *gaul*) which in conjunction with *govāla-* *govāli-* (*gi*) *govāli(y)ā* etc have given us for K and other NI-A languages the form *gawāli* through PI-A *ga-pāla* MI-A *govāli* **gavāli*, **gavāli-(yā-)*

i

§ 69 In the initial syllable

K i = MI-A i / PI-A i see §§ 12 B 27
 = MI-A i / PI-A i see § 9

In the final position

5 [Annals B O R I]

- K** : = MI-A *iā* *māttā* (MI A *mattā* / PI-A *m^h(i)ā*)
 = MI-A and PI-A - *i* of feminine nouns s gs
nāi (PI-A *nadī*)
 = MI-A -*in* s gs *jāva(ṅ)ē* (MI-A *jāmātne* PI-A
jāmātī kah) son-in-law We may take this ex-
 ample also under MI-A -*ia* from MI-A *jāmātha-*
 = MI-A and PI-A final -*e* s gs *āsmi, tasmā*
 (PI-A *asmo, tasmā* ¹ MI-A *amha, Mg asme,*
 Pischel § 419, and *tamha, Mg *tasmā, Pischel §*
 422), see § 16 (g)

In the penultimate position

- K** -*i* = MI-A -*i* / PI-A -*i* *oi* -*i* -
 = MI-A -*a*- sporadically, of s gs *pāṅṅarē* (PI-A,
 and MI-A *paṅṅara-*) s cage

Initially in a certain number of cases

- K** : = PI-A *ā* of *anglo* (*angṛārah kah* late Sk *angṛā-*
kah) s live coal, *waḍḍala* (*latāta-*) the forehead

In the final position **K** -*i* also represents MI-A -*ai* *ēpi*
 (MI-A *sepā-cas-*)

In a certain number of cases **K** -*i* is also the result of -*ya* :
bhūyā (of Sk *abhyakta* , *abhy-āyate* 3rd pl) gets wet, *bhūtarā*
 (of Sk *abhy-antaram* ^{*}*abhyantare*) inside, within

K : in heavy syllable may represent PI-A : s gs *bhūto*
 (Sk *bhūtā-*) was afraid

Note Observations on short *i* or *u* of Konkani, particularly
 in the initial syllable, are dependent on the number of syllables
 in the word, whatever be their origin they are always long in
 dissyllabic words, see § 27

1

§ 70 In the initial position

- K** : = MI-A : in dissyllabic s gs words, see
 §§ 27, 69

¹ For the Marāṭhi forms *amāi tumāi* Turner suggests derivation from
 MI-A *amhāi tumhāi*, the plural forms for explaining the long final vowel
 as opposed to the singular forms suggested by Blich in *La langue marāṭhi*
 of *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (BSOS)* Vol VIII, Part I, p 202

PI-A *a* (palatalised either in MI-A or NI-A stage) : *ga* *bēl* (*val*₁) *sejūrta* (*ṣajjā* : *sejṣā*)

= MI-A *e* < PI-A : *khēḷa khēḷ-tū* (*khēḷ-* MI-A *khēḷ-*) unless MI-A *khēḷ-* in unconnected with PI-A *khēḷ-* of Sk *khēḷ-* *khēḷ* sport

K *e* < PI-A *-sya-* in *ga* *nēmu* x *nx* *gx* *g* *nēm* (*ṣyama-*)

In the final position

K *e* < PI-A *-aka-* see § 55

As a result of contraction of PI-A *-aka-* *-apa-* *-aya-* *-ata-* *-ā-* etc though MI-A *-a(y)a-* we have K *e* see § 55

We have also K *e* through the contraction of a MI-A group of vowels whose first element is either *i* or *e* see § 56

o

§ 74 The same observations hold good for *o* as were made in the case of *e*

Initially K *o* = MI-A *o* < (a) PI-A *o* *soḷā* (*soḷasā*)

(b) PI-A *am* *mōḷa* (*māuḷhka-*) a pearl *toṇḍa* (**ṭaṇḍa-* *ṭaṇḍa-*) mouth

(c) PI-A *apa* x *gx* *oḷa* s *ga* *vāḷa* (*āpapa-* > **āpata-* > **apata-* > **avata-*)

(d) PI-A *ama* s *ga* *nōḷa* (*nāvaṇḍ*) the ninth day of a lunar fortnight

K *o* = MI-A *ua* < PI-A *upa* in *g* x *oḷkhatā* (*upa-takṣ-*)

Non-initially K *o* < PI-A *-ua-* in *ga* *soṇḍru* x *gx* *nx* *g* *soṇḍr* (*soṇḍra-kārah*)

Initially *o* alternates with *u* s *ga* *oḷle* x *oḷe* (*ārdra-* MI-A *alla-*) s *ga* *oḷa* *vōḷa* x *gr* *oḷa* We have probably the labialisation first before the disappearance of the initial consonant Both Father Muller and other scholars agree that in the x words beginning with *s* or *o* an initial *y* or *v* respectively is heard in pronunciation

K *o* = MI-A and PI-A *ā* : s *ga* *coḷca* (*caḷca-* H *cō* Guj *cō* Panj *cōṃ* of Jain § 28)¹ The final *i* in *ga* seems to be due to the feminine gender

¹ Already in Sk we have *caḷca-* *caḷca* and in lexicon forms we find *cucudara* *cucucāṅḍara* - a *musk-rāt*

As a result of contraction of MI-A vowels in contact, the first of which is e then u or o, we also find K o, see § 57

In the Christian and Northern Konkani dialects, o represents besides (as a or A, see §§ 32-47) MI-A a (derived from PI-A a or r)

§ 75 Both e and o in Konkani, as we have seen in § 28, show difference in timbre in dissyllabic words through their relationship either with PI-A e and o, or with *aya* and *axa* respectively

HISTORY OF THE CONSONANTS

§ 76 For the general evolution of NI-A consonants through PI-A and MI-A reference may be made to Bloch's *La langue marathe*, §§ 14 ff.¹ These principles have been wonderfully clarified by Prof. Turner in his *Gujarati Phonology*.²

These principles may be briefly summarised here. The general evolution of PI-A MI-A Ap NI-A in general and K in particular has arisen through progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of these stops resulting in (i) the loss of final stops, (ii) assimilation in consonant groups and (iii) sonorisation and finally loss of intervocalic single stops.³ These three roughly indicate the probable historic growth, thus Pali which represents one of the earliest stages of MI-A has consistently lost the final consonants, and in general reduced the consonant groups through assimilation to double consonants with a few exceptions which it shares with some dialects of Asokan inscriptions. But sonorisation or loss of intervocalic stops has not as yet taken place, barring a few exceptions. But in the subsequent history of MI-A we find sonorisation in certain dialects with complete loss in some others.

These threefold developments may be treated in four different categories as follows:

(a) Final consonants of PI-A / lost in MI-A / lost in NI-A

(b) Initial consonants of PI-A / remained in MI-A / remained in Ap / remain in NI-A

¹ See *Lindo-urgen*, pp. 50-94 for a general discussion of I-A consonantism.

² *JRAS* 1921 pp. 505-508, §§ 34-38.

³ The cerebrals are an exception to this rule.

(c) Intervocalic stops of PI-A —

(1) surd in PI-A >sonant in MI-A >probably spirant in Ap (current as a spoken dialect)¹ >zero in K and NI-A

(2) surd aspirate in PI-A >sonant aspirate in MI-A or -h- in MI-A according to the dialect or language concerned > -h- in Ap and NI-A by loss of occlusion

(d) Consonant groups of PI-A >double consonants in MI-A through the general principle of assimilation > (1) single consonant with compensatory lengthening or (2) double consonant in NI-A

It should be understood at the very outset that these principles do not act in any given language without exceptions or with the precision of scientific laws in a given period. They only express the laws under *favourable conditions*. Thus in Sauraseni and Magadhi the dentals seem to have remained after sonorisation long after other consonants had disappeared in the intervocalic position. Closely allied with the dentals but with greater force the cerebrals retained their position after sonorisation from MI-A to the NI-A stage. Thus these laws summarise the tendency in a given language which will ultimately reduce the language to a norm which closely agrees with the form hypothetically arrived at by a rigorous application of these laws.

Under the above limitations and provisions we can now give a table showing the character of Konkani Consonantism

	Initial or resulting from MI-A con- sonant groups or double consonants				PI-A intervocalic consonants	
	unaspir		aspir		unaspir	aspir
	k	g	kh	gh	zero	h
Gutturals	k	g	kh	gh	zero	h
Palatals ²	c	ç	s ^h	çh	zero	
Cerebrals	ç	ç	ch	çh	ç (ç)	dh
Dentals	t	d	th	d ^h	zero	h
Labials	p	b	ph	bh	v	h

¹ These palatals include the dento-alveolar as well as the palato-alveolar affricates the former of which have been indicated everywhere by the symbols ç and ç^h h and çh

² This ç<MI-A çh has become identical with ç<PI-A ç ç or ç

So far we have treated only the class consonants or occlusives. The liquids, semivowels, sibilants and the nasals will be treated in their proper places.

§ 77 Initial single consonants in general have come down unchanged with a few exceptions. Thus initial *w-* of PI-A has become *u-* in MI-A and *w-* again in NI-A, ¹ initial *y-* has become *j-* in most of the MI-A dialects. Apart from these characteristic changes of MI-A with regard to initial consonants, there is yet another change having a wider field than that of initial aspiration. There are a number of words in MI-A and NI-A where an aspirate (initial or non initial) corresponds to an original PI-A unaspirated sound.

Thus under this aspiration we have two cases: initial aspiration and non-initial aspiration. ² But in the case of Konkani the state of affairs is much simpler. Aspirates are not in general tolerated except in the initial position although the orthography used by Mgr. Dalgado or the *Novo Gôy* does not take into consideration the actual pronunciation. Thus being the case, we are left only with initial aspiration.

INITIAL ASPIRATION OF OCCLUSIVES

§ 78 We have two cases of this initial aspiration: (a) this aspiration has already taken place in MI-A and (b) it has not yet taken place in MI-A but has done so in Konkani.

(a) *s* goes *khas-tā*, *kas-tā* (*kas-* and MI-A *khasat*) tills, *khas-khas-tā* (*kas-*, MI-A *khasam* a kind of disease), ³ *koppōra*, *koppōra*, (*kūppara* MI-A *koppara* without aspiration, and this should be classed with (b) below) the elbow, *khal-tā* (*krud* MI-A *khalas*, *khalas*) plays, *jāḍā* (*jāta*; of *jatā* MI-A *jāḍa*, and Sk lex *jāḍa* 'harbour'), *phāṭṭōra* (*pastarā-* MI-A *paṭṭara-*, Ap **phattara*) a stone, *pharsā-phāṭṭōra* (Sk *paraśu-* MI-A *parasaṣu*) a touch stone.

¹ But see *Guj. Phonology* § 48 (2) JRAS 1921, p. 516—'It is doubtful whether initial *w-* became *w-* although so shown in most of the Prakrits, and *La langue marathe*, § 138 (indicated by Prof. Turner himself in his foot-note 1).

² For Marāṭhi see Bloch *La langue marathe*, § 84 ff. for Gujarati Turner, *Guj. Phonology* § 40 for Panjabi Jain, § 123 ff., p. 51 ff. For the whole I-A field, see *L'indo-aryen* pp. 59-62.

³ Cf. MI-A *khasa-phasamōra* falling, *khasa-phas-* affixed.

⁴ See my *Initial jh-* in Indo-Aryan § 12, *Oricusta Oriental Journal*, II, p. 104.

(To be continued)

THE DATE OF THE VISNU PURANA

BY

Dr RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA M A Ph D

The *Viṣṇu Purāna*¹ is one of the most important of the extant Purānas. It belongs to the Pāñcarātras and is the best representative of the whole class of sectarian Purānas since it is purely Vaiṣṇava in its teaching from beginning to end and yet retains with considerable faithfulness the character of the old unsectarian Purānas. In spite of its distinct character it contains like the other Purānas several chapters on Smṛti-matter viz II 6 (on hell) III 8-16 (on the duties of the castes and the Āśramas on customs in general on impurity due to births and deaths and on funeral sacrifices) and VI 1-2 (on Yuga-dharma and Karma-vipaka) and 5 (on hell).

The problem of the date of this Purāna is a very difficult one and scholars hold different opinions about it. F. E. Fargiter says

It is a late Purāna composed as a single whole upon a consistent plan and not a collection of materials of various times as we find in the *Vāyu Brahma* and *Matsya*. From its account of Buddhism and Jainism it appears to have been composed after Brahmanism had recovered its supremacy so that it cannot be earlier than about the fifth century A. D. and it is Brahmanical.²

J. N. Farquhar opines 'The *Harivaṃśa* clearly cannot be dated later than A. D. 400 and the *Viṣṇu Purāna* is so like it in most of its features that it is probable that it belongs to the same general date.' M. Winternitz says 'Fargiter may be right in thinking that it cannot be earlier than the fifth century A. D. However I do not think that it is much later.'³ and C. V. Vaidya tries to prove that the *Viṣṇu Purāna* is not earlier than the ninth century A. D. on the hypothetical assumption that the

¹ This Purāna which has preserved a very good text does not differ remarkably in the different editions.

² Fargiter *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* p. 80.

Farquhar *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* p. 143.

³ Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* Vol. I p. 545 footnote 3.

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.,]

Kailekila or Kainkila Yavansa, mentioned in *Viṣṇu Purāna* IV, 24 16, reigned in Andhra between 575 and 900 A D and were at the height of their power about 782 A D¹ All these views, except that of Winternitz, are not beyond objection It is necessary, therefore to determine afresh the date of the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, which has been referred to by Alberuni and drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers and the religious teachers like Rāmānuja from the eleventh century A D

I have shown in one of my articles that the extant *Kṛṣṇa Purāna* has come down to us through two main stages, that in its earlier form it was a Pāñcāśātra document composed between 550 and 650 A D but was later recast by the Paśupatas between 700 and 800 A D, and that the theology of those chapters which have been retained in it, has considerable Sakta element like that of the *Ashubdhanya Saṃhitā*² Now a comparison, so far as theology is concerned, between the *Viṣṇu* and the Viṣṇuīte *Kṛṣṇa Purāna*, shows that the former is older than the latter In the *Viṣṇu P*, Lakṣmī plays no part in creation as Viṣṇu's Sakti Even except in only one place (viz, I, 8 27—*sviṣṭambho gada pānāḥ saktir lakṣmīr dvijōṣṭama*), there is no second mention of Lakṣmī as Viṣṇu's Sakti The portion (viz, verses 15-32) of *Viṣṇu P*, I, 8, in which this mention occurs and in which the inseparable connection of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī has been put forth seems to have been interpolated later on account of the fact that the *Padma P* (Sṛṣṭi Khanda), which has borrowed *Viṣṇu P* I, 8 along with others,³ does not contain it The *Viṣṇu P* itself also seems to prove the spurious character of these verses In *Viṣṇu P* I, 8 14 Maitreya asks, "It is heard that Sri came out of the ocean of milk during the churning Then, how do you say that she was born of Khyātī by Bhṛgu?" To this Parasara's reply comes in a much later passage in *Viṣṇu P* I, 9, 1, "Hear, O Maitreya, what you have asked me about This (story) about Sri I heard from Marici" He then narrates the story The nature of the above mentioned answer shows that it should follow

¹ O V Yastya *History of Medieval India* I, Poona, 1921, pp 350f and JBRAS 1925 pp 153f

² See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, 1935 pp 263f

³ The chapters borrowed by the *Padma P* (Sṛṣṭi Khanda) from the *Viṣṇu P* will be enumerated in my article on the former

the query immediately and should have nothing intervening. Therefore the irrelevant verses which separate the answer from the query cannot but be spurious. Now if the *Vishnu Purana* was composed between 550 and 650 A. D. then the *Vishnu P.* cannot be dated later than the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

Let the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vishnu P.* be now compared. As regards contents the *Bhāgavata* is closely connected with the *Vishnu I.* with which it often agrees literally and it is undoubtedly dependent upon the latter.¹ By comparing the genealogies in both the Puranas F. H. Pargiter has come to the conclusion that the *Bhāgavata* has used the *Vishnu* in its composition.² Many myths and legends which are found in concise and older forms in the *Vishnu I.* appear in the *Bhāgavata* in a much enlarged and elaborate version. For example the stories of Dhruva, Vena, Prithu, Ptalhada, Jada Bharata and others occurring in both the Puranas may be compared. The *Bhāgavata* (Book X) contains the biography of Krishna which is here given in much greater detail than in the *Vishnu P.* and in the *Harivamśa*. In particular the love scenes with the cowherdesses (gopis) occupy a much larger space.³ In the *Vishnu P.* a part of Vishnu is incarnated as Krishna⁴ i. e. Krishna is an incarnation of an exceedingly small portion of Vishnu but in the *Bhāgavata* he is called simply an *amsavatara*⁵ (of *Bhāg* X 2-9 and 16). In the *Bhāgavata* there are stories which are not found in the *Vishnu P.* The story of Kapala (*Bhāg* III 24-33) may be cited as an example. From all this it appears that the *Vishnu P.* is older than the *Bhāgavata*. If the latter Purana is assigned to the sixth century A. D.⁶ the date of the former should be placed earlier.

¹ Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* I p. 555.

² Pargiter *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* p. 80.

³ Winternitz *op. cit.* p. 557.

⁴ *evam sampratyamānas tu bhagavān paramōvaraḥ |
upahārāmanah kaśan sūta-kṛpau mahāmano ||
uvāca ca surān etan mat kaśau vasudhā tale |
avatarya bhūvo bhāra kṛkṣa-hānūḥ karjyantaḥ ||*

Vishnu P. V 1, 59-60.

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIV 1932-33 pp. 182f. and *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VIII pp. 107f.

In *Viṣṇu P* II, 9, 16 the Nakṣatras are mentioned as begin-
ning with the Kṛitika (kṛitukāśān rāśeṣu) The evidence of
Vaśiṣṭhamahāna (about 550 A D) that the old order of Nakṣatras
from Kṛitika to Bharanī was changed for that from Aśvini to
Revati in his time, shows that the old order could hold ground
to a time not posterior to the end of the fifth century A D
Therefore the *Viṣṇu P*, which speaks of the old order, should
be dated not later than the end of that century

We shall now compare the *Viṣṇu P* with the *Harivaṃśa* to
see if the date of the former can be pushed further up In the
Harivaṃśa the biography of Kṛṣṇa is given at greater length
and in greater detail, and Kṛṣṇa is called an 'amaśvatarā' in
the sense that Viṣṇu divided himself into Kṛṣṇa and Saṃkarṣaṇa
for the good of the world ² In the *Viṣṇu P* the Hallśā episode
has got various erotic touches but ³ in the *Harivaṃśa* the whole
story of his youth is told at greater length and the Hallśā is
treated as involving sexual intercourse ⁴ The stories have
been developed and expanded in the *Harivaṃśa* The story of
Jarāśandha and that of the carrying away of the Pārijāta tree
by Kṛṣṇa may be cited as examples Besides these, there are
many new additions found in the *Harivaṃśa* For example
there are the Āryā-stava (*Harivaṃśa* II 3) and the Puṇyaka-
vrata observed by Satyabhama (*Harivaṃśa* II, 67-81) From all
these we can safely conclude that the *Viṣṇu P* is of earlier ori-
gin than the *Harivaṃśa* If the lower limit of the date of the *Har-*
ivaṃśa, which is named and quoted by Gaudapāda in his *Uttara-*
gītā-bhāṣya ⁴ and cannot possibly, therefore, be later than sixth
century A D be placed about 400 A D ⁵ then the *Viṣṇu P* must

¹ *Harivaṃśa* II 40 32—amaśvatarāṇa kṛṣṇaṃ jṣṇa viṣṇoḥ vicostana

² *Ibid* II, 14 46—

ubhāyeka śaṃṣeṇaḥ sva jagadarāḥa dvidbhūktāu ;
śaṃṣa vā śaśvataḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ tvam vā śaṃṣaḥ purāṇataḥ ||

³ Paraghar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* p 144

⁴ *Uttaragītā* with the commentary of Gaudapāda published by the Vānī
Vilāsa Press Srirangam p 68—

tad uktaḥ haṛiva śaśe-
śaśtikṛtāna-kṛtāra-parivartāna-pūmābhūh ;
vāśam haṛi-kathāśikṣa-gaṅgayāva puṃmāha ;

Also see fol 10a of Ms M66A/17 (valuation number) in the Dacca Univer-
sity Mus Library

⁵ Paraghar, *Outline* p 143 Winternitz *History of Indian Literature*
I, p 464, footnote 2

be dated not later than the middle of the fourth century A D From we get the lower limit of the date of the *Viṣṇu P*

The mention of the vedical signs (Rāsis) at various places in the *Viṣṇu P*¹ shows that at the time of composition of the Purāṇa these signs became quite familiar and were widely used. The familiarity of the ancient people with the Tithis Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term *horā* from all early literature down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāsis earlier than the second century A D. The mention of the word *horā* in *Viṣṇu I* IV 12 13 is also significant. Though the occurrence of the term *horā* in two verses quoted by Varahamihira from *Cṛyā*² shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A D there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A D. Hence it can be held and not quite unreasonably that the *Viṣṇu P*, which is familiar with the Rāsis and the Hora was written not earlier than the end of the first century A D.

Thus the date of composition of the *Viṣṇu P* falls between the end of the first and the middle of the fourth century A D i e between 100 and 350 A D. The nature of the Smṛiti-contents of the *Viṣṇu P* as compared with those of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* tends to show that the former is later than the latter. So it is highly probable that the *Viṣṇu P* was written in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A D.

The view of F E Pargiter that the *Viṣṇu P* cannot be earlier than about the 5th century A D is based on *Viṣṇu P* III 17 and 18 describing the story of the Mayamoha. It will be seen below that these chapters were most probably interpolated at a later date.

The summary of contents of *Viṣṇu P* III 17 and 18 is as follows:

Maitreya asks Paraśara to explain the word *vajra* used by the latter in connection with those who are to be shunned in a Sraddha ceremony. Accordingly Paraśara begins a story which

¹ *Viṣṇu P* II 8 28 and 30 II 9 41 42 II 8 62-63 II 8 70 II 12 19 III 14 5 and IV 84 36

² *Bṛhat saṃhitā* pp 7 and 9

he says, was narrated to Bhīṣma by Parāśara's grandfather Vasistha. This story says that in ancient times the gods being defeated by the Asuras in a war which was continued for a divine year, went to the northern side of the ocean of milk and eulogised Viṣṇu who consequently produced Māyāmoḥa from his own body and gave him to the gods. This Māyāmoḥa, with his body stripped of all garments, his head shaved, and a peacock feather in hand, went to the banks of the Narmada where the Asuras were living, preached to them the religion of 'the naked' (i.e. Jainism) and turned them Ārhatas. Next, the Māyāmoḥa put on red clothes, painted his eyes with collyrium and preached Ahimsa (i.e. Buddhism) to the remaining Asuras. As a result of this preaching the Asuras soon gave up the Vedic religion and got weakened. Consequently, they were attacked by the gods, defeated and massed.

The above story of delusion, in which Viṣṇu creates the Māyāmoḥa from his own body with a view to delude the demons, is certainly later than that found in *Matsya P.* 24, 43-49. This latter Purāna says that once the sons of Rājā became very powerful by virtue of their penance, took possession of the heavenly kingdom of Indra, and deprived him of his share in the sacrifices. Consequently, Indra sought the help of Brhaspati, who first increased the power of the god through various mystic rites and then deluded the sons of Rājā by preaching to them the non-Vedic religion of the Jina.¹ The sons of Rājā thus got out of the pale of the Vedic religion and were killed by Indra. In this story it is Brhaspati who preaches the religion of the Jina. That this connection of Brhaspati with delusion through the Jina-dharma was well known in ancient India is shown by the *Dev-bhāgavata* (IV, 13) in which Brhaspati appears in the guise of Sukra during the latter's absence and deludes the Asuras by preaching the 'Jaina-dharma'. In the *Harivamśa* also, Brhaspati is said to have 'deluded' the sons of Rājā by writing some heretical works for them (see *Harivamśa* I, 28, 29f). Now, the date of *Matsya* 24, in which the above mentioned story

¹ *gatvātha mohayāmāsa rājā-putrān bhṛkapatih*
jina-dharmam samkethāya veda-bhāyath sa vedavit ||

of Brahaspati occurs is to be placed either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A D.¹ Therefore the story of the Mayamoha in the *Viṣṇu P* is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A D. It is probable that the story did not originate earlier than 550 A D.

That the story of the Mayamoha is spurious seems further to be shown by the fact that though the *Viṣṇu P* knows many incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Kalki it is remarkably silent about the Buddha incarnation. So it seems that the Buddha did not come to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu at the time of composition of the *Viṣṇu P*.

The story of the Mayamoha is also found in a much elaborate form in the *Padma P* (Śrī Khandā) chapter 13. The story here is clearly an amalgamation of those in the *Matsya P* (24 43-49) and the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (IV 13) on the one hand and that in the *Viṣṇu P* (III 17-18) on the other. The date of the *Padma P* (Śrī Khandā) being not earlier than about 650 A D,² this story does not affect the above date of *Viṣṇu P* III 17-18.

In *Padma P* (Bhūmī Khandā) 36-39 also Viṣṇu is said to have deluded Vena by preaching the Jainā dharma. As this Khandā cannot be placed earlier than 900 A D the story in it can be ignored.

As to the Smṛti-chapters of the *Viṣṇu P* there is nothing to show that they were added later. Hence it should be admitted that they come from the same general date as that of the *Viṣṇu P* itself. They have been profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers like Jimutavahana, Apararka, Viṇayesvara, Anirudhacharya, Ballalasaṇa, Devanabhatta, Kullukabhatta and others (see Appendix).

¹ See my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XVII 1935 38 pp 11

² *Ibid* pp 17-18

³ My article on the date of the *Padma P* will shortly be published in the *Indian Culture* Calcutta.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the ' *Viṣṇu Purāna* ' in

1 <i>Pālavastā</i> of <i>Jinutavahana</i> ,	<i>Viṣṇu P</i>	<i>Viṣṇu P</i>
		pp 433-434 = III, 13, 30 31 (except 34 ^b and 35 ^a)
p 14 -	II, 8, 64-65	p 502 = III, 15 28 ^b -34
p 17 =	II, 8, 28-30	p 514 = III, 15, 10
p 20 =	III 14, 16	p 515 = III, 13, 5-8 III 10 5 ^a
pp 389-390 =	II, 8, 72-73	p 530 = III, 13, 29
	Many of the quotes & lines are missing in our edition of the <i>Viṣṇu P</i>	p 892 = XII 11, 98
		p 986 = VI 7 31
		p 1022 = VI, 7, 40
		p 1025 = VI, 7, 43-44
		p 1026 (twice) = VI, 7 45 and 89
2 <i>Aparāṅka</i> 's commentary on <i>Yājñavalkya</i>		3 <i>Hāratalā</i> of Anruddhabhāṭṭa,
p 6 =	III, 6 28-29	p 156 = III, 13, 10
pp 20-21 =	III, 8, 11 ^b	p 159 = III, 13, 16 and 11-12 ^a
	The other quo ted passage is not found	
p 50 -	III, 11, 98	4 <i>Dānasūgara</i> of Ballāṣena,
p 79 -	III, 10, 13-15 ^a	fol 21 ^a = III 12, 20
p 126 =	III 11 21	5 <i>Kullūkabhāṭṭa</i> s commentary,
p 151 =	III, 11 88-95	on Manu II 32 = III, 10 9
	The last three lines of the quo ted passage are not found	" " II, 94, = IV, 10, 10
p 172 =	III, 18, 97-102	" " III, 105 = III, 11, 105
p 173 =	III 12 2	" " III, 280 - II, 8, 57
p 174 =	III, 12, 38-39	" " IV, 151 = III, 11, 8 ^b
p 227 =	III, 12, 22	6 <i>Smṛti-candīkā</i> of Devanabhāṭṭa
pp 430-431 =	III, 14, 26 to the end	1 p 28 = VI 2, 15
p. 425 =	III, 14, 12-13 and 15	p 52 = III, 10, 8 ^a

*Viṣṇu P**Viṣṇu P*

p 157	= III 14 12
p 193	= III 10 22-24
p 201	= III 10 19 ^b 23
p 214	= III 10 16
II p 242	= III 11 15-16
p 255	= III, 11 19
p 300	= III 12 20
pp 333-334	= III 11 24-25
p 366 (twice)	= III 11 101
	The other quo- tation is not traceable
p 367	= III 11, 98
pp 510-511	= III 11 26-28
p 525	= III 11 31-32
p 528	= III 11 35 ^b -39 ^a
pp 582-583	= III 11 49-54
p 588	= III, 11 56
p 594	= III 11 105
p 596	= III 11 69
p 608	= III 11 84-85
pp 611-612	= III 11 88-95
p 613	= III 11, 74 ^b and 8 ^b
p 630	= III 11 109
IV pp 8 9	= III 13, 30 98 ^a
p 28	= III 14 15
p 28	= III 14 12 and 15 ^b c
pp 35-36	= III 14 7-9 and 16-18
p 317 (twice)	= III 15 24
	The other quo- tation is not found
p 348	= III 15, 32 34
p 433	= III 10 4
p 434	= III 10 5

7	<i>Śrībhāṣya</i> of Ramanuja
p 12	lines 14-15 = VI 6 12
p 14	lines 15-09 = VI 7 53 I 2 6 I 4 38
	&c &c
	Many quotations which have been traced by the editor of the <i>Bhāṣya</i>
8	<i>Kṛtyācāra</i> of Sṛidatta Upadayaṣa,
fol 1 ^b (twice)	= III 11 5
4 ^a	= III 11 14 ^b
5	= III, 11, 15-16
15 ^b	= III 11 21
18 ^b	= III 12 20 ^b
28 ^b	= III 12 24
39 ^b	= III 12 98
45 ^b	= III 11 26
49 ^b	= III 11 27
54 ^b	= III, 11 31-35
55	= III 11 39
57	= III 11 40
64 ^b	= III 11 102
65 ^b	= III 11 48-55
67	= III 11, 64
71	= III 11 77
71 ^b (twice)	= III 11 78 ^a and 86 ^b
72 ^b	= III, 11 80 ^a
9	<i>Prāyascitta-vivēka</i> of Sulapaṇi
p 7	= VI 5 26
p 31	= II 6 35, 37 and 41
p 32	= II 6 34

<i>Viṣṇu P</i>		<i>Viṣṇu P</i>	
p 285	= III, 11 115-117		The verse 'dhanamūlah kṛiyāh etc is not found
pp 367-8	= III, 11, 115-116		
p 368	= III, 15, 10	p 246	= III, 11, 25
p 399 ^c	= III, 18, 39-42	p 276	= III 12 20
p 474	= III, 17, 6	p 284	= III, 11, 27
10 <i>Madana-pūrvyāta</i>		p 325	= III, 11 56
of		p 333	= III, 11, 84-85
<i>Madanapāla</i>			The verse 'jātha ram etc' is not found
p 43	= III, 11, 9	p 343	= III, 11, 102
p 44	= III, 11 12 ^b and 14 ^b	p 344	= III, 11, 110
p 45	= III, 11, 15		The prose portion is not found
pp 67-68	= IV, 7 40	p 349	= III, 11 111 ^a
	One verse is not found	p 420	= III, 11, 98
pp 117-118	= III 12 22-23	p 478	= III, 13, 33 ^b -38 ^a
	The line 'jiveti etc' is not found	p 515	= III, 14, 30-32
p 121	= III 12, 14 ^a	p 538	= III, 14, 12
p 312	= III, 11, 22-23		

The Mss and editions of the Puranas and other Sanskrit works used in writing this paper are the following

Bhāgavata Purāna—Vāṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1315 B S.

Bṛhat-Saṁhitā—Edited by Kern Bibliotheca India, Calcutta, 1865

Dānasūtra of Ballalāsena—India Office Mss No 1704-5

Dev-bhāgavata—Vāṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1832 S S

Hāratalā of Anruddhabhaṭṭa—Edited by Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛti Śrītha, Bibl Ind, Calcutta, 1909

Harivaṅśa—Vāṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1312 B S

Kāmasūtra of Jimūtavāhana—Edited by Premathansaṭha Tarkabhūšana, Bibl Ind, Calcutta, 1905

Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upadhyaṅya—Ms No M42/39 (valuation number), Decca University Mss Library

Madana-pūrvyāta of Madanapāla—Bibliotheca India, Calcutta, 1893

- Manu-smṛiti* with the commentary of Kullukabhṭṭa --Vanga
vesi edition Calcutta 1320 B S
- Matsya Purāna* --Vangavesi edition Calcutta 1316 B S
- Padma Purāna* --Ānandāsrama Sanskrit Series edition Poona
1893
- Prāyāscitta-uvēka* of Sulapāni --Edited by Jivananda Viḍyā
sagara Calcutta 1863
- Smṛiti-candrikā* of Devanabhṭṭa --Edited by L. Srinivāsā
carya and published by the Govt. of Mysore
1914-21
- Śrībhāṣya* of Ramanuja --Edited by Vāsudeva Sastri Abhyān
kara Bombay 1914
- Uttaragītā* with the Bhasya of Gaudapāda --Published by the
Vani Vilāsa Press Srīrangam 1926
- Viṣṇu Purāna* --Vangavesi edition Calcutta 1331 B S
- Tājnarāṭkya-smṛiti* with the commetary of Apararka --Ānanda
srama Sanskrit Series edition Poona 1903 and
1904

THE PAÑCASKANDHAKA BY VASUBANDHU AND
ITS COMMENTARY BY ŚIHIRAMATI *

BY

V. V. GOKHALE

A large majority of the works, attributed to Vasubandhu,¹ the celebrated author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, consists of commentaries on Canonical texts. The *Pañcaskandhaka*, however, is one of the shorter original treatises written by him, with a view, as Śhiramati interprets it, * to provide the busy householders, who have neither the leisure, nor the patience to apply themselves to his ('*śūbrāgama*') voluminous works, like the *Yogācāra bhūmiśāstra* and its commentaries, with a philosophical handbook, that would develop their powers of concentration and would

* The present article was written during my tenure as a Springer Research Scholar of the University of Bombay

¹ B Nanjo *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford 1883), with Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjo Catalogue with Supplements and Corrections (ed by D Tokiwa and Ō Ogiwara Tokyo 1930) mentions altogether 36 works ascribed to Vasubandhu (Catalogue, p 371) from which No 1385 *Sataśāstra*, which, in the Index p 168 is ascribed to Deva only, is to be dropped. The *Īṣṭāgīria Fāsoulis Annexa* containing *Tables du Taishō Issaikyō* (Tokyo 1931) omits from its own list of Vasubandhu's works (p 147) Nanjo's No 125^o *Tarkaśāstra* (On the authorship of the *Sataśāstra* and the *Tarkaśāstra* see G Tucci *Studi Mahāyānaici* pp 523 ff (Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Vol X, Roma 1935) *Buddhist Logic before Dinnaga* (JRAS 1929 pp 451 ff) *Prolegomena Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese* (Baroda 1929 pp xiv, 12-1) On the other hand two new works (Taishō Tripitaka (= TTP) Nos 1361 and 1512) which are not recorded in Nanjo's Catalogue are added in the list given by Hōbōgirin thus making up again a total of 36 works ascribed to Vasubandhu. For other works ascribed to Vasubandhu see Benoit *History of Buddhism* (translated by Obermiller Heidelberg, 1931-32) Vol I p 56 II p 145 ff and the excellent source book containing Introduction, Index etc to *L'Abhidharmakośa traduit et annoté par I ouis de la Vallée Poussin* (Paris 1911) Pp xxiv 130 etc

² The following literature is to be noted in this connection (1) Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaprakāraṇa* (in Chinese) TTP XXXI, No 151 (Nanjo No 1176) (2) Śhiramati's (?) *Pañcaskandhaprapaścābhāṣya* (?) (in Chinese) ITP XXXI No 1613 (Nanjo No 1175 *Pañcaskandhavalpūyaśāstra*) The question-marks after the author's name and the title of the book, which are accepted by the Hōbōgīria, are mine. For these two

(To be continued)

prepare them for answering confidently all questions on the principles of Buddhist philosophy (*dharmaśāstra*)¹ Literary traditions in India, China and Tibet are unanimous in attributing the authorship of this treatise to Vasubandhu so that the reference made in the above passage of Sthiramati to the Yogaśāstrabhāṣya and its commentaries which are usually ascribed either to Maitreya or Asaṅga must be understood rather as throwing light upon the authorship of those works than calling in question the recognised authorship of the Pañcaskandhaka especially because Sthiramati has made it sufficiently clear in

Chinese texts I have used the Taisho edition (TTP) now available at the Bombay University Library besides the Shanghai edition of the Chinese Tripitaka available at the Visvabharati Library Santiniketan (3) Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhakaśāstra (in Tibetan) Betan-hgyur Mdo LVIII 3 (See Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale par Cordier Paris 1915. A copy of the text was supplied to me from the Narthang edition by the Visvabharati Library. This was collated with the text of the same edition available at the Adyar Library and with a photographic copy of the text from the Peking edition available at the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris) (4) Sthiramati's Pañcaskandhavalbhāṣya (Tibetan) Betan-hgyur Mdo LIX 3 (I have prepared a copy of this from the Narthang edition (fol 1-60^b) of the Visvabharati Library and collated it with that of the Adyar Library Madras) (5) Guṇaprabha's Pañcaskandhāvivaraṇa (Tibetan) (ibid Mdo LIX 2 Narthang ed fol 60^b-93) and (6) Pṛthvivandhu's Pañcaskandhābhāṣya (Narthang ed fol 93-231) (For the last two works the Visvabharati and the Adyar xylographs have been consulted) Besides these Candrakīrti is known to have written a Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa (Cordier's Catalogue III Mdo XXXIV 3 referred to by L. de la V. Poussin in his edition of the Madhyamakavyūṭi: Appendix V p 827 (Bibliothèque Buddhica IV 1913) Mahāvīryapatti 7475 (ed Sakaki) records the name of a Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa

¹ See Sthiramati's P-vaibhāṣya (No 4 from the list in the above note) fol 1^b-3 Tuocel while emphasising the fact that the Yogaśāstrabhāṣya cannot be attributed to Maitreya asserts that it is the work of Asaṅga (Buddhist Logic before Dignāga, JIAS 1929 p 454) It is therefore to be noted that in this passage Sthiramati attributes obviously both the text and its commentaries to Vasubandhu the author of the Pañcaskandhaka Pṛthvivandhu in his P-bhāṣya (No 6 in the above note) also speaks of the Abhidharmakośa and the Yogaeśāstrabhāṣya in the same breath probably implying the common authorship of these two works (fol 95^b) Mention may be made here of the controversy regarding the authenticity of Maitreya as an author see S. Yamaguchi Madhyamavibhāṣyaṅgaṅgā de Sthiramati (Nagoya, 1934) Introduction X-XVII where he summarises and controverts the main arguments in favour of Maitreya's being regarded as a historical figure Obermiller's review of the Madhyamavibhāṣyaśāstrabhāṣyaṅgā de Sthiramati in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol IX p 1024 ff (1933) Stoherbatsky's translation of the same (Bibl. Bud. XXX 1936) p 97 note 72

his *vaibhāṣya*,¹ by quoting from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu and even defending the latter against Saṅgha bhādra's criticisms that he was commenting upon the work of an " *śārya* " who was no other than the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, although, it must be observed he refrains from making a direct mention of Vasubandhu's name anywhere in this commentary. The most important source of information in respect of the contents of the P is " as we shall have occasion to see presently the *Tuṃṣīkavijñaptibhāṣya* of Śhīramatī; yet, here too, his words *vāstavaśārya Pañcaskandhakoṣambandhādāte uyaḥ* " withhold from us the name of the author of the P. It may be mentioned here that this silence on the part of Śhīramatī has led Jacob² to conclude that the *Pañcaskandhakoṣambandha* mentioned in this passage was a treatise written by Śhīramatī himself. He translates the compound with the words "(my) treatise on the five Skandhas " obviously understanding the word " *upambandha* " to mean an independent and original composition. Even supposing, that Śhīramatī was referring to one of his own works, and not to one of Vasubandhu's I do not see, why the word *upambandha* should not be taken here rather in the sense of an ' explanatory composition, ' or ' a close commentary of another text, ' the compound being then interpreted as ' the exposition (written by me) of the basic text of (Vasubandhu's) *Pañcaskandhaka* ' .³ In fact, the P-*vaibhāṣya*, con-

¹ E.g. of a passage on fol 19^a with Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (in Tibetan) p 23, ll 5-10 (Bibliotheca Buddhica XA. 1) further discussion of Saṅghabhādra's definition of *vedanā*, fol 13^b.

² *Vijñaptimātreśāikhāḍhā, Vopśstikk et Trūpāḍikā* publ. by S Lévi (Paris 1925), p 39.

³ *Tuṃṣīkāvijñapti des Vasubandhu mit Bhāṣya des Śhīramatī* übers. von Hermann Jacobs (Stuttgart 1932), p 33 the translation of the above sentence runs as: Die ausführliche Diskussion darüber möge man aus (meiner) Abhandlung über die fünf Skandhas entnehmen. The suffix " *ka* ", signifying ' a treatise relating to ' in the word; *Pañcaskandhaka* would not be properly accounted for in Jacob's interpretation. Comp. titles of works like *Dharmaskandhaka*, *Tathāgastagubhyaka*, *Deśabhūmika* etc. And then, the word ' *upambandha* ' could be understood as determining and not appositional to the preceding word.

⁴ For the meaning of the word *upambandha*, of a Bohtling u Roth Sanskrit Wörterbuch IV p 161 (St. Petersburg 1865) where a *Nibandha* *śaṅkṛā* is mentioned as the title of a commentary to Śaṅkṛā's works. The prefix ' *upa-* ' in the word ' *upambandha* ' makes it all the more likely, that the word is used in the sense of ' an exposition ' of some other text.

sisting as it does of an admirable philosophical exposition arranged in four chapters dealing systematically with Vasubandhu's text can very aptly be described as an upanibandha, in as much as it contains not merely verbal and grammatical explanations of the text but also several discussions and presentations of philosophical standpoints¹ which might easily have been dispensed with in a purely textual and verbal commentary. If therefore it is sought to interpret the above passage in a manner that would lead us to ascribe the Pañcaskandhaka to Sthiramati himself by presuming that he was there referring to one of his own independent treatises we have I believe enough grounds² for regarding such an attempt as bound to be misarrived. The very fact that we know a commentary written by Sthiramati on a work called the Pañcaskandhaka which the commentator implicitly acknowledges to have been written by an ācārya³ not himself and in which he even detects *varnas leśonasa* which he acknowledges as authoritative⁴ is sufficient to discourage such a suggestion. Finally a later commentator, Yaśomitra the author of the *Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* removes all doubt concerning the authorship of the Pañcaskandhaka by bringing up quotations from it in his own commentary on the *Kosa* and thereby announcing it in unequivocal terms as the work of the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*.⁴

We may now turn our attention to the Chinese commentary (No 2 from the list given in note 2 on p 276 above) which has been ascribed not by Bunyū Nanjo but by the editors of the *Hobogirin* to apparently the same Sthiramati as is known

¹ E.g. discussions on *avijñaptirūpa* (fol 11a-13b) *vedanā* (13b-15a) *śuddhā* (20-22a) *atkāyadpṣṭi* (27b-30) *vijñāna* (41a-50)

² Sthiramati's authorship of the *Pañcaskandhaka* itself cannot be easily questioned as we have numerous passages in that *kośa* which are word for word common to the *Tiśhakti* *Vijñaptibhāṣya* known to be Sthiramati's.

³ See note 1 on p 282 below.

⁴ See Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* I p 67 (Bibli. Buddh. XXI). Other references in the index vol to *L. Abhidharmakośa*. In this and the other translation of the *Vijñapti* *Yaśomitra* *Siddhi* of Hsuan Tsang (Paris 1928 '29) L. de la V. Poissin restores in Sanskrit some definitions from the *Pañcaskandhaka* but not always correctly e.g. see note 1 on p 281 below (Further references in my proposed edition of the *Pañcaskandhaka* with Sanskrit reconstruction.)

to be the author of the *Trimsūkāvijñaptibhāṣya* and whom we have acknowledged to be the author of the *P-vaibhāṣya*, existing in its Tibetan version. Had Sylvain Lévi paid a little more attention than he did to the commentaries of the *P* existing in Tib, he would not have been able to reconcile himself so easily with the view, that *Sthiramati*, the commentator of the *Trimsūka*, was also the author of the poor commentary of the *P*, existing in its Chinese version.¹ Even a cursory glance at the volume of these two works, one of which runs through over sixty folios of the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur*, while the other occupies hardly five pages of the *Taisho* edition of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, must give us pause before we accept the suggestion on anybody's faith, that the two commentaries, the Chinese and the Tibetan, are identical with each other. The Tibetan *P-vaibhāṣya*, is, as we have seen, worthy of being called an 'upanibandha', while Lévi himself cannot think more highly of the Chinese commentary than that of an 'annotated edition of the text'. In fact, so far as theoretical interest in the subject matter of the original philosophical text is concerned, the Chinese commentary has very little of it to evince. It restricts itself mainly to quoting the original text and providing here and there, a few technical explanations and synonyms. Whereas *Sthiramati's P-vaibhāṣya* (in Tibetan) quotes nearly fifteen times from the *Sūtras* of the Buddhist Canon in support of its explanations, I have discovered only one quotation given by the Chinese commentary in the course of its dealing with the definition of 'adhimokṣa'. This passage in the *Chin comm* is of some importance from more than one point of view. For it helps us not only in revealing the existing dis-

¹ See Sylvain Lévi *Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra* (Paris 1922), containing among other materials a translation of the *Triṣūkāvijñaptibhāṣya* of *Sthiramati*. Shimaji's article *Historique du Système Vijñaptimātra*, (included in the above volume) refers to the tradition, ascribing the Chinese commentary to *Sthiramati* (p 19). Lévi, in the course of a note on the translation of the sentence discussed above (See note 3 on p 278), observes (p 114), that the Chinese comm under discussion is "une sorte d'édition annotée de ce texte préparée par *Sthiramati*, and with this very doubtful assumption tries to find analogies between explanations found in *Sthiramati's Trimsūkāvijñaptibhāṣya* and in the Chinese comm on the *P* e.g. p 96 note 1 (discussion on the word *saṃplekha*) p 73 note 1 (discussion on *nirodhasamāpatti*). Also Li and others regard the *Ch comm* as identical with the *Tib* one of *Sthiramati*. Cf. A complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons, No 4045 (p 516), Sendai 1934.

partly between the Chin comm and the Tibetan vaibhasya of Sthiramati but also guides us in determining to some extent the real authorship of the Chinese commentary I shall therefore deal with it here at some length.

Pancaskandhaka reads *Adhamokshah katumah ? Nisidite vastum tafhasāvedhānam* ¹ On this text the Tib comm of Sthiramati appear to read [*Ityatra nisiditagrāhanam hi-adhamaksasya vastayo pi varuṣaṅ-na bhāsatite gūḍapavītham nisidite vastum tafhasāvedhānam-na sambhāsatite*] *Yakkhiḥ āptopadesato iḍḍa yalveta-asamā d gḍh.ṣṣ-vaṅṅasotam* *Yanassa anityavābhikkhādīyākārena tad nisiditū kāraṇaṃ tenassa taṅṅa vastunāh cetasyavasthāpanam* *Evamevaṅṅayathā ityavedhānam adhamokshah* *So ca samahāryayā āmahah* *Adhamuktīpādīno hi parapīḍāḍḍābhāḥ-sasādhāḥṅāḍḍā apāhastuṅ-va śakyate* ²

This passage it will be seen is almost perfectly identical with the one in the Sk Trisūkāvīṇḍapīḥasya of the same author.

Now however the Chinese comm ascribed to Sthiramati gives the following explanation of the same definition:

Nisiditāṃ vastu va pañcāskandhāḥ *Yathā- ukhāṃāḍḍiṅga bandhāṃ Pīḥapīḥopamāṃ rūpaṃ vedāṃ budhūpamāṃ marīcaśāstrāṃ samyagāḥ samyaksūtrāḥ kadātābhāḥ māyopamāḥ cāḥ sūyāsaḥ* ³ *is* *Attha vū bhāvūṅṅam avasāḥṅāḥalākṅareṅṅa gūḍhātathāsya vassasayāḥ Nisīcayo' vadhāḥramitīyarthāḥ* *Asaṅghāryavakīrmaḥāḥ tatpradhāna* *tūḥ paravā apāhastuṅ na śakyate* ⁴

¹ L de la V Poussin quotes this definition in L. Abhidharmaśāstra II p 153 note 5 (and also in the Vinayapīḥāḥśāstrāḥ p 208) but omits the word *vaḥṅṅa*.

² Of *Trisūkāvīṇḍapīḥāḥ* (Lavi's ed.) p 25 last 6 lines I have bracketed the first two sentences here to show that the lengthy form in which the same argument is expressed here differs from the pithy and polished sentence of the *Trisūkāvīṇḍapīḥāḥ* *Nisiditagrāhanamamāḥṅaḥ pīḥāḥśāstrāḥ* Shall we say that Sthiramati wrote his comm on the *Trisūkāvīṇḍapīḥāḥ* after he had composed his L.-vaibhasya from which he transfers long passages to the former after polishing them as here?

³ For the word *Āḍḍiyabandhu* the edition of TTP (Vol XXXI p 36; col 3) notes the v l *Vasubandhu* from the Ming edition of 1601 A D This reading undoubtedly indicates a later confusion between the author of the *Pāñcaskandhaka* and the fully authorized designation of the Founder of Buddhism. The old verse quoted here is found in the *Samyuttānikāya* XXII 95 p 142 (Pali Text Society 1916) and quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Mūḍhyamakavyūḥi* (L de la V Poussin's edition pp 41 549)

⁴ [Annals B O R I]

I do not think, it is possible to mistake this passage for the one given above from Sthiramati's own authoritative commentary not merely because of the absence, in the latter, of the well known quotation which, as I said above, is almost unique in the whole Chinese commentary—after all, we have to admit, that there are among them certain identical interpretations as well—but because of quite another circumstance viz that, this passage agrees perfectly well, in all its details, with the corresponding passage in Gunaprabha's *Pañcaskandhavivarapa* (No 5 from the list, given in note 2 on p 276 above), which exists in Tibetan and is likewise neglected by Lévi.

The correspondence between Gunaprabha's comm and the Chinese comm is in this passage so perfect and striking, that it might easily induce us to establish an identical authorship for them. Yet we are confronted by some facts to the contrary, where this relation between them does not hold good—in fact where the Chinese comm appears to make common cause rather with the comm of Sthiramati than with the one written by Gunaprabha. Of these, we shall advert here only to one instance. In the course of a discussion on the *Ālayavijñāna*, the Tibetan version of the *Pañcaskandhaka* (No 3 in the list, given in note 2 on p 276 above) enumerates several reasons, justifying the term *ālaya* ('store') one of which is described as "*kāyālayatva*"—"its being considered as the storehouse of the body (i. e. of Name and Form)". The Chinese version of the text, made by Huan Tsang, (No 1 in the same list), however, reads in its stead "*ātmanāś layatva*"—"its being considered as the storehouse of pride, regarding the Self". Now, while commenting upon this passage Sthiramati expressly acknowledges both the readings, giving separate explanations for both.¹ The Chinese comm quotes the Chinese version of the original text faithfully and makes no mention of the other (i. e. Tibetan) reading. Gunaprabha, however, instead of agreeing with the Chinese comm, as in the

¹ Tib. P.-*rainbāya* of Sthiramati fol 48^b. This circumstance has a special significance of its own inasmuch as it indicates that Sthiramati wrote his commentary so late after the text of the *Pañcaskandhaka* was published by Yasubandhu, that various readings had already cropped up in the latter in his own time and that he must have found it difficult to determine the truly authoritative reading.

above case follows peculiarly enough the Tibetan text and does not betray on his part any knowledge of the Chinese reading.

In short circumstances so varying as these lead us to the fair presumption that the Chinese commentator certainly knew the comm. of Gunaprabha although Gunaprabha in his own turn and probably also the author of the Chinese commentary himself must have known Sthiramati's P—vaibhāṣya and freely borrowed from it. We are not in a position to assert that Gunaprabha himself was the author of the Chin. comm. because his commentary does not uniformly agree with the latter as we have shown above. Especially the introductory part of Gunaprabha's comm. is conspicuous by its absence in the Chinese commentary which dispenses altogether with all introductory remarks and begins to deal directly with the text proper. This part as we on the other hand many affinities with Yasomitra's comm. *Sphuṭārthā* on the *Abhidharmakośa*. The further question therefore of determining the mutual relations between these various commentaries must be reserved for a future occasion. In the meanwhile we are in a position to assert with confidence that the Chinese commentary which Levi and others ascribe to Sthiramati cannot be ascribed to him and that its author whosoever he may be knew and borrowed some of his interpretations from the commentaries of both Sthiramati and Gunaprabha.²

¹ It may be mentioned in passing that during the course of his introductory remarks Gunaprabha (fol. 61b) ascribes the famous stanza *Yacchasi va śāśāripūṇaśāśa* etc. (See *Madhyamakavṛtti* (Bible Buddhas) p. 3) to Āryadeva. It is also found in Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* see to Stcherbatsky *Madhyāntavibhanga* (tra. s.) p. 66 note 45.

² Sthiramati and Gunaprabha appear to have been according to tradition contemporary pupils of Vasubandhu (Buston's *History of Buddhism* (trans. by Obermiller Heidelberg 1932) Part II Pp. 147ff. 160ff. I-Tsang's *Record of the Buddhist Religion* (trans. by J. Takakusu Oxford 1896) Pp. LVIII LIX.) But of note 1 on the last page Sthira is also mentioned as Gunamati's pupil. Index Vol. to L. *Abhidharmakośa* p. XXI Gunaprabha is said to have been the teacher of Harṣavardhana (Rāhula Śāhkyāyana Tibhat ma Bauddhadharma (publ. in the *Hindustani Quarterly of the Hindustani Academy* Allahabad Jan. 1924) App. XII whose reference is made to Klopstal (born 1719 A. D. Gumbuzum) Further Th. Stcherbatsky *Buddhist Logic* (Bible Buddh. XXVI Leningrad 1932) Vol. I p. 32.

Lastly, what is the nature of the exegetical treatise written by Vasubandhu on the subject of the Five Skandhas, which practically constitute the world of existence? While taking a review of the whole Buddhist literature, Busson, the Tibetan historian, characterises the works on Metaphysics in the following terms "The works on Metaphysics demonstrate the (5) groups of elements, the (18) component elements of an individual, the (12) bases of cognition, the difference between them, and their special characteristics,—from the standpoint of Empirical Reality" ¹ This definition applies exactly to the Pañcaskandhaka, which analyses and defines in the form of a catechism, not only the different parts of the universal structure (samskṛta) classified into five groups of elements (skandha), from which the work takes its title, but also of the whole existence (including the nāmskṛta), classified into the twelve bases of cognition (kyāna), and into the eighteen characteristic elements, called 'dhātu', with their sub-divisions and subdivisions "Wherefore are these skandhas etc described here?" asks Vasubandhu in the course of his Catechism, and the answer he gives is "In order to counteract three kinds of prepossessions of the mind regarding the existence of an ego (ātmagrāha) ² viz 1) that it is a unity (eka), 2) that it feels and experiences (bhūta) and 3) that it acts independently (karoti), the first of which is removed by a knowledge of the skandhas, the second by that of the kyānas, and the third by that of the dhatus" The compilation of the Abhidharmakośa, in which Vasubandhu tried to represent faithfully the old teachings of the Mahāvibhāsa, could not have, for obvious reasons, offered him sufficient scope to declare his personal attitude towards various problems of Buddhist philosophy. He, therefore, appears to have represented his own position in this post-Kośa work, so far as the essential points of classified metaphysics were concerned ³ The following tables

¹ Busson: History of Buddhism (trans Obermiller Heidelberg 1951) p 48

² Cf. Maspero: *Études de philosophie bouddhique* (ed. by Lévi and Yamaguchi Nagoya 1934) p 1867

³ Lévi has already referred to some of the deviations in the Pañcaskandhaka from the views, adopted in the Abhidharmakośa see his *Maspero*, Pp 13 84 (note 1), 87 (note 1), 88 (notes 1-4), 89 (note 1) 101 (note 1) etc

enumerating the terms defined in the Pancaskandhaka will give a fairly accurate idea of the nature of this catechism

SYNOPSIS OF THE PANCASKANDHAKA¹

Skandha

I Rupaskandha

i) Bhūta — Pṛthivīdhātu Abdhātu Tejodhātu Vāyudhātu

ii) Bāhūtika — Cakṣurindriya Śrotendriya Gṃhanendriya

Jihvendriya Kayendriya Rupa Śabda Gandha Rasa Spraṣṭa
vṛnakodasa Avijñaptirupa

II Vedanāskandha

III Saṃjñāskandha

IV Saṃskāra-skandha

i) Cetasika—1) *Saṃskāra*—Spāsa Manaskāra Vedanā
Saṃjñā cetana 2) *Pratīyogitav saṃ* Chanda Adhīmolaṇa Smṛti
samādhi Prajñā 3) *Kuśala*—Śīladhā, Rhi Apatrapa Alobbha
kuśalamūla, Advēsakūśalamūla Amohalūśalamūla Virya Pra
brāhmi Apramāda Upēkṣa Avihimsa 4) *Kāra*—Rāga Piśiṅgha
Māna (including atāmāna manātīmāna asmimāna abhīmāna
uśamāna mithyāmāna) Avidyā Dṛṣṭa (including satkāyadhātū
antagrāhadṛṣṭi mithyādṛṣṭi dṛṣṭiparamāsa silavrataparamāsa)
Vicikitsā 5) *Upakāśa*—Krodha Upānāha Māksa Pṛadāsa Īrya
Matsarya, Maya Sāṭhya Madā Vihimsa Kṛbhya Anapatrayya
Styena Auddhatya Āśradhya Kauśīdya Pīṣāda Musita
smṛtita Vikṣepa Asamprajanya 6) *Angata*—Kaukrtya Middha
Vilarka Vicāra

ii) *Ottaviprayukta*—Prapti Asamjñāsamāpatti Nirodhasam
āpatti, Āsṃjñā Jīvitendriya Nikāyasabhāga Jāt Jārā
Bhūti Antyāda Namakāya Padakāya Vyājanakāya Pīṭhag
jauśva²

¹ Cf. O. Rosenburg Die Probleme der Buddhistischen Philosophie (Heidelberg 1924) Pp 177ff Stecherbatsky Central Conception of Buddhism (London 1928)

² To these *ottaviprayukta* dharmas Śālistramati in his own commentary adds definitions of pravṛtti pratīyama yoga java saukrama kṣā dāsa saṃkhyā and āśmagri (fol 40b 41) of Mahāvīyutpatti (ed Sakaki) 2000ff These *viprayukta* saṃskāra s except the last one are wrongly classified as cetasika dharmas in the Mahāvīyutpatti. Cf Stecherbatsky's transl of the Mahāvīyutavibhanga p 63 page 56

V Viññānaskandha

Āyatana

1) Caksurāyatana, 2) Śrotrāyatana, 3) Ghrāṇāyatana, 4) Jihvāyatana, 5) Rūpayatana, 6) Sabdayatana, 7) Gandhayatana, 8) Rasayatana 9) Kāyāyatana 10) Spretavvāyatana, 11) Manasayatana, 12) Dharmāyatana (which includes Asamskṛta, which consists of Ākāśa, Apratisamkhyānīrodha, Pratisamkhyānīrodha, Tathata)

Dhātu

1) Caksudhātu, 2) Rūpadhātu, 3) Caksuvijñānadhātu, 4) Śrotradhātu, 5) Sabdahātu, 6) Śrotravijñānadhātu, 7) Ghrāṇadhātu, 8) Gandhadhātu 9) Ghrāṇavijñānadhātu, 10) Jihvadhātu 11) Rasadhātu 12) Jihvāvijñānadhātu, 13) Kāyadhātu, 14) Spretavyadhātu, 15) Kayavijñānadhātu, 16) Manodhātu, 17) Dharmadhātu, 18) Manovijñānadhātu

Dhatus are further distinguished as Rūpin and Arūpin, Saṅkarsana and Anīkarsana, Sopratigha and Apratigha, Sesaṅga and Anīsesaṅga, Kāmapratīsammyukta Rūpapratīsammyukta, Arūpapratīsammyukta and Apratīsammyukta, Skandhasamgrhīta and Upādhānaskandhasamgrhīta, ¹ Kusala, Akusala and Avyākṛta Adhyātma and Bahya, Sāḷambāna and Anīlambāna, Sevīkalpaka and Avīkalpaka, Upatta and Anupatta, Sabhāge and Tatsabhāga

¹ These two viz. skandhasamgrhīta and upādhānaskandhasamgrhīta are neither quoted nor commented upon by Śhīramatī

FRAGMENTS OF POEMS PERTAINING TO KING
SAMBHU SON OF SHIVAJI

BY

P K GODE M A

More than two years ago Mr K N Deshapande B A LL B Pleader, Kolhapur discovered two fragments of Manuscripts one Sanskrit and the other Marathi in the records of the Rajopadiye family of Kolhapur and he was kind enough to prepare copies of them and forward them to Mr G S Sardesai B A Editor Peshwa Daftar In the meanwhile I published in the Annals Vol XVI pp 262-291 my paper on *Hars Kavi the Court-poet of King Sambhaji and his Works* As some of the fragments of the Mss copied by Mr Deshapande contained new material about the reign of the same Maratha King Sambhaji and appeared to form portion of some unknown complete poems Mr Sardesai desired that I should publish these fragments with their critical analysis I gratefully agreed to this suggestion and wanted to avail myself of the originals of the copies prepared by Mr Deshapande As however I failed to secure the originals I have thought it advisable to publish the copies as they have reached me with a view to facilitate my critical analysis of these fragments and at the same time guard against permanent loss of this important material I wish to draw the attention of research students to these fragments to enable them to trace the whole works of which these are portions My critical analysis of these pieces will have to wait till their publication in suitable instalments With these remarks I present to the readers the following first instalment of the Sanskrit fragment in question

“ श्री गोविंद ॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥ —

अथ प्रोद्दामवीरभी शंभुराजो महानली ॥
सभामगाहिनोदेन कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ १ ॥
प्रकृतीना नतीर्मूण्डम् महानन्दभरालस ॥
सिंहासने विशेषेण विरराज सुरेंद्रवत् ॥ २ ॥
ततो रघु समावीक्ष्य नानालक्षणलक्षित ॥
उपाध्यायाद् द्विजभेष्टाद् मात्रिकाद् तद्विक्रानपि ॥ ३ ॥

कवीश्वरान् पठिताश्च सिद्धान् योगीश्वरानपि ॥
 क्षामाजिकान् मन्त्रिवरान् प्रधानान् प्रथमप्रथाम् ॥ ४ ॥
 मुनीश्वरान् जापकाश्च याचजूकान् तपस्विन ॥
 (चातुर्वर्ष्यभवान् काञ्चिन् मित्राण्यपि च कानिचित् ॥)
 आत्मान् तुलद्वाभवाश्च मातुलान् शालकानपि ॥
 श्वशुरान् शोऽपुरुषान् कुलीनानपि मानवान् ॥ ५ ॥
 बहुश्रुतान् सभास्तारानाहुवाधीयद्वृत्त ॥ ६ ॥

शभुराज उवाच ॥

जिता भवत्सहायेन दुर्मदा रिपवी मया ॥
 सहजा कृत्रिमाश्विव स्वसहाये समायुता ॥ ७ ॥
 कर्भुरा इव दुःसाभ्यां क्षामला सकिरमिण ॥
 इन्द्रजाभ्य वलदेजा आरभा नर्वरा अपि ॥ ८ ॥
 पुरुत्कलिकनिलया शूरा परिजिता पुन ॥
 क्षामता केरुपद्वीनामता शरणार्थिन ॥ ९ ॥
 तुष्टाङ्गिका द्युष्कमुखा विगतारण्यमाभिताः ॥
 वैजापुरीया साहाय्ये चाचपति धल मम ॥ १० ॥
 भामानमरनाथोऽपि नाथंते महया सदा ॥
 ओमशाहयकोसी किञ्चिद्द्वय महस्यहो ॥ ११ ॥
 दिङ्मारा मङ्गटाटोपनिरीक्षणमघाकुला ॥
 स्वबाहुतेजो निन्दन्तो दापयति करान् मुहु ॥ १२ ॥
 मिरिकदरसचारा भिङ्गा मङ्गा इषोद्धता ।
 मन्मथा प्रभवस्त्युष्पिर्व्यसता मनसापि च ॥ १३ ॥
 पुत्रा प्रचडदोर्दृढकदताडयस्वडिता ॥
 अश्वडसडशो दासभावमाकलयन्त्युत ॥ १४ ॥
 सदा मद्भरोद्ग्रा पीलेमारा प्रहारिण ।
 सदा निताजलिपुटा निवसति समागने ॥ १५ ॥
 मामक कटक मीद्वय काडका कटिणा अपि ॥
 मामेव सप्रपचन्ते शरण शरणार्थिन ॥ १६ ॥
 साहीसमाश्रया वारदेशस्या केपि भूभुज ॥
 मन्मतापाग्निसतता निद्रा नोपलभत्युत ॥ १७ ॥
 सीनूरवासिन केपि वरा नृपकदवके ॥
 शोमला मज्जिर्भूयः प्रगृहीता मलयहो ॥ १८ ॥

पजाशिनस्तव्यपराक्रमतामामनाश्विर ॥
 समुद्रतीरस्वस्थाना आभीरा तन्नोऽमुखा ॥ २१ ॥
 विद्वन्वाग्रयसभातप्रतापानिबहोऽञ्जला ॥
 प्रयच्छति कर शान्धजीता मज्जदग्गरे ॥ २० ॥
 नैधिकरा नृपश्रेष्ठा जमगा परमोद्धता ॥
 प्रपुत्रयति मानेव हिन्वा पाण्डुमुत्कट ॥ २१ ॥
 अतिदुग्धमपुत्रस्था नरनिहा महारिण ॥
 भीता बल सदान्नीय वरुति लमुहातरे ॥ २२ ॥
 फलासिन्धु वनाक्रान्ता विक्रान्ता समर दृष्ट ॥
 मामकै सकल भूर नादरातरचारिणि ॥ २३ ॥
 विनिजाश्विराजाय विजाशिवपरा अपि ॥
 नाष्ठापुरुषिका कानिच दहति नमावत ॥ २४ ॥
 वृभोला हलिताः शेषपालडा अतमुत्कट ॥
 आपदति सिमोद्वन जन्वता मामका इति ॥ २५ ॥
 कामुभाका प्रणयमह्ला बह्मलापविधजिता ॥
 मज्जकिमनुगाञ्जति प्रयच्छति धन बहु ॥ २६ ॥
 यजीववावदपुरमाकारातरवातेन ॥
 कटक मामक श्रीशरदरत्नपानक्षेत्रता ॥ २७ ॥
 काञ्चवीना वीनयवना सवने मज्जय सदा ॥
 विशेषयति विरता सिन्दुमागाधनकथा ॥ २८ ॥
 विछहणा कौकणका प्रतिक्षणमहर्निहा ॥
 सुलक्षणावभयति मज्जदाना समाममात् ॥ २९ ॥
 नानेमाधैलका केपि शूरा वरविहकका ॥
 मद्ग्रेसवना प्राण्य धावति विनटाति च ॥ ३० ॥
 तथा पौत्रनमध्वस्था प्रशरत समरद्वल ॥
 वीरा प्रवीरा वर्गोपि रक्षयति जिना मम ॥ ३१ ॥
 पौंड्रस्योरेकनिडया सलथा मडिते सदा ॥
 मज्जत्त धनमासाय प्राणानुत्कति समर ॥ ३२ ॥
 सैन्धवोऽमुखा केपि भटा पौरकडमामि ॥
 आशसयति मज्जस्ताद्वद विजयमव च ॥ ३३ ॥

1 Nand Maval

2 Pavan Maval

3 Pauré-Valley

4 Mutha Maval

मूलैस्तीकास्थिता प्रीयद्याननामसमर्पिता ॥
 मदीयेन प्रभायेण रमन्ति स्त्रीकदम्बे ॥ ३४ ॥
 केचिद् शुंजणसवासा सुभटा रणककशा ॥
 महासता मता शन्त प्रकुर्वन्ति यशो भुवि ॥ ३५ ॥
 तथा हूरणमध्यस्था परेषा हरणोद्यता ॥
 मगशा किंकरा सब निवसन्ति सुख गृहे ॥ ३६ ॥
 तथा हीरलसस्थाना मदाभयसुपागता ॥
 भुवुर्नाण्यगुरक्षति लक्षयति हित मम ॥ ३७ ॥
 पाटणखोरकुतावासा प्रवासेककृतक्षणा ।
 मदाभय सत्रयन्तो भजन्ति शिवमुत्कट ॥ ३८ ॥
 भूप परलखारस्था मध्यता मग्नसमता ।
 त्रैत्रयात्रा, प्रकुर्वन्ति प्रोर्षुसति सभास्वल ॥ ३९ ॥
 तथा तैरलखोरस्था शूरा कचन समता ।
 मत्पक्षिसेना पतिता भाति प्राप्य क्षिती किल ॥ ४० ॥
 महेश्वोराभया माय प्रकनु प्रसभोद्यता ।
 मत्पक्षिन्यपार्श्वस्था प्रस्थानि प्रभवन्त्युत ॥ ४१ ॥
 कुडालखोरे प्रखरा, खराञ्जुरिव ररिमभि ।
 अभिरुवा कामपि भुवि मग्नेष्या उपापयन्त्यहो । ४२ ॥
 फोडेकरै स्वौलसीकास्तथा हेठकुडालका ।
 मंगेरीमर्वनगठहेरेकरनिवासिन ॥ ४३ ॥
 धूर्खलाकरसपुकाश्वादेरीग्रामवासिन ।
 मत्पक्षिसेनावानामगमीकुर्वन्ति सगर ॥ ४४ ॥
 अन्ये दौरुणखोरस्था रोजिडेखोरजे सह ।
 रीजापुरसमावेहास्तथा खौबैलेजा अपि ॥ ४५ ॥
 परासुपत्तनभूमिस्था वरा लैजिकरा ध्रुव ।
 देवैलप्रामसमृता देवकैलभवा परे ॥ ४६ ॥
 सगमेश्वैरमुपाला सीयडैकरजा वृट ।
 प्रपालयन्ति दक्षिण सेनाया मम सर्वदा ॥ ४७ ॥

1 Mulai Valley	3 Gunjan Maval	5 Hirdas Maval	7 Patan Valley
6 Park	4 मीळसति	Teria Vally	8 Medha
9 Kudal	1 Fonda	11 Salsi	10 Maneri
12 लखलीकर	14 Yarna	14 Rohida	14 Rajapur
17 Soudal	18 Pamvas	18 Lanja	20 Devle
21 Devrakh	23 Sangamashwar	23 Savarda	

चिबोलेणभवा कचिद्दामालीप्रभवास्तथा ।
 कुशाग्रस्त कृतावासा धोमणेकविलानिन ॥ ४८ ॥
 हातकाधिकरा केचि मत्ता वैलेकरा पर ।
 सालगविलनष्टहा कचिद्वलिकरा सदा ॥ ४९ ॥
 पुत्रपीडि परिपुता शूरग यपदधी मत्ता ।
 अवति मम सेवाया वृक्षवामकरा अपि ॥ ५० ॥
 कारयभानिका केचिमाजैपभानिका पर ।
 सादेलीपुत्र सजानास्तथा कैतापुरीयका ॥ ५१ ॥
 प्रभावलीपा * प्रौढामसुप्रामकुलविस्मया ॥
 मज ता दक्षिण पान्ध यतीना प्रपथ न्यपर ॥ ५२ ॥
 मरदरा । कैकेवली जयवहीपुत्रजवा ।
 महाकापराळया शूरा गाढीमाळणभव्या ॥ ५३ ॥
 हौरिन्दरीपरिस्मदा कैदोलीकाद्य कचम ।
 सुगण्ठर्भघातस्था करवीरभवे मज्ज ॥ ५४ ॥
 मुधान मम सनाया मत्ता भिरवान रवाग् ।
 वाळक्षयति रम्यत स्वप्नैरभिसङ्गता ॥ ५५ ॥
 नाना नाटकनिमाणविपुला पुण्यधारिण ।
 उग्र मम सेवाया कर्णटा निवमत्यळ ॥ ५६ ॥
 अलकरिण्णवात्यय वीरान जिष्णुपराक्रमा ।
 महाप्राज्ञोभ्या वीरा सेनामन्वे छतव्यमी ॥ ५७ ॥
 रनालकृतकोटीरुद्धडोम्भळमिषहा ।
 सेनावामाकमाप्राप्य लिष्टिनि वत सिपुला ॥ ५८ ॥
 कुलावाचळ देगस्था अचला मुन्धकर्मणे ।
 अजात मम सनाया दक्षाके विभवन्पर ॥ ५९ ॥
 महाकापल्यभरिता कानडीयप्रथा मत्ता ।
 वामकुर्वरता याति मत्तयस्य रणासथा ॥ ६० ॥
 वैरिद्वेषामनिलपरितारलीक शमाभवा ।
 मोळाकुरीया सागुलभवा डौलखनीयका ॥ ६१ ॥

Orchen	2	Dabhol	3	Trangsa	4	Dhamni
Hachhamba	6	Kelo	7	Sald	8	Velo
Kharopstan	1	Rayptan	11	Sainval	12	Jaisapur
13 Kelavali	1	Harsaheri	13	Keshali	14	Araki
15 Taria	18	Balvna		Prabhanvali		

16 It is a portion of the Vishalgad hills

ईयेनग्रामभवा कश्चिद् राक्षिवलकरमिभिता ।
 वामकुर्परतामस्म-सेनाया कल्पयत्युत ॥ ६२ ॥
 प्रसन्नकटकिन केचिन्काटकाः पणमुखीयमा ।
 वामकुक्षिवक्षुकुक्षिं पालयन्ति बलस्य मे ॥ ६३ ॥
 प्रबला प्रथिता खौनवलीग्रामसमुद्भवा ।
 मत्सैन्यमभ्यस्थेनाभिद्योतयन्ति दिशो दश ॥ ६४ ॥
 कल्याणप्रातसजाता भवित्रीजमुष परे ।
 मदीयसेनानेत्रध्रीभर मिभति सर्वदा ॥ ६५ ॥
 नानाभुवुर्गरचितसश्रया क्रूरमानसा ।
 मदीयसैन्यकर्णीभा दीपयन्ति मदीयता ॥ ६६ ॥
 सूवेदारा नायकाभ्य जुम्लेकारा सहस्रदा ।
 हवालदारा प्रख्यातास्तथा सणोचिता अपि ॥ ६७ ॥
 येकाकिनः परे केपि केपि बहुमुद्दद्वुता ।
 अटति मम सैन्येऽस्मिन्नादेशसमुद्भवा ॥ ६८ ॥
 द्विष्वोलीकुञ्जबालस्था शिवेश्वरनिवासिन ।
 आफोलेकर नामानस्तथा चादेकरा अपि ॥ ६९ ॥
 स्वस्वविक्रमसदीता शम्भवत्प्रथिताः पर ।
 मत्सेना प्रपद्यमाना योतति निजतेजसा ॥ ७० ॥
 वर्णदूतसमाखेजप्रगतभधिषणीयमा ।
 लेखका सन्ति मे भूयाश्चित्रग्रहोत्तनोत्तमा ॥ ७१ ॥
 पहास्ताडननिष्णाता गीभ्यते सगता गता ।
 रचयन्ति श्रिय काश्चित् सभासु मम पठिताः ॥ ७२ ॥
 अथर्वण इवाथर्वरहस्यज्ञानशास्त्रिन ॥
 ललन्ति ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मविद् सर्वत्र कर्मसु ॥ ७३ ॥
 चतुर्वेदविद् केचिन्निवेदी पारगामिन ॥
 द्विवेदाध्ययना केचिदेकवेदरता परे ॥ ७४ ॥
 श्रोत्रियाः ज्ञातका मौनव्रतिनो जापका अपि ॥
 तापसाः जटिलाः केचिद्गुल्फलाजिनधारिण ॥ ७५ ॥
 यायजूका योगविदो दीक्षिता अग्निहोत्रिणः ॥
 अयापितव्रता ब्रह्मचारिणश्चोर्ध्वरेतस ॥ ७६ ॥
 अधोमुखा ऊर्ध्वमुखा जीर्णपर्णाशनास्तथा ॥
 पश्चाग्निसाधना वायुभक्षका धूम्रभक्षका ॥ ७७ ॥

तांयाहारा कलाहारा कदमुलाशना पुन ।
 गानावेधधरा केचिज्जटिला मुडिनोपिच ॥ ७८ ॥
 उल्लूखलमुखाः केचिद्गामुखा रामबाशना ॥
 गामुत्रभाशना केचिच्छाकाहारश्च केचन ॥ ७९ ॥
 कुशा अपि दिनशाभमभाभरबिलासिन ॥
 मन्कट्याणपरा सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति मम सशनि ॥ ८० ॥
 मन्त्रयन्त्रहस्यह्लास्तात्रिका मात्रिका अपि ॥
 सक्तुदाये समुदय मन्सभासु गमन्त्यमी ॥ ८१ ॥
 पद्मदानरहरपद्मा प्रणस्ता सकथास्ववि ॥
 आवेद्यन्ति सतत म कयाणपर विधिम् ॥ ८२ ॥
 गणिका गणिन केचिद् गणितप्रहमललाः ॥
 चरन्ति देव बहुश सभासु मम सुवता ॥ ८३ ॥
 मुनयो यतय केचिन्पसजगतय यदा ॥
 चिन्तयन्ति ममाभीष्ट निरुपद्रवसभया ॥ ८४ ॥
 सिद्धा प्रसिद्धा सखत्र भिक्षिपारसुपागता ॥
 आशक्तयन्ति मस्मिद्धि समिद्धाग्निसमप्रभाः ॥ ८५ ॥
 केचि कामणिसार परकृत्यानिवारकाः ।
 अभिन्दारा परकृता वारयन्ति भूतोयना ॥ ८६ ॥
 वायामशिक्षका केचि सन्नमै सञ्चता सदा ।
 कला फाचिद् रमन्भ्ये दर्शयन्ति ममाग्रतः ॥ ८७ ॥
 शान्धर्वविद्यासारस्य वेत्तारो कर्षका अपि ॥
 मायन्ति मायना मायां मुम्बरा वेजि(छ)डे सह ॥ ८८ ॥
 भाद्रगिकाः पाणिवादा लयाकटपनपडिता ॥
 भाडे सह महारगे रजयन्ति मनी मम ॥ ८९ ॥
 नानावायकलानिज्ञा सदाहमतिवर्जिताः ॥
 नटाति विमल-पुष्पीर्नटा केचन तीरणे ॥ ९० ॥
 आभगुरावलग्नश्रीभराः स्तनभरैरल ॥
 नृत्यन्ति धारललनाः सततं मम चत्वरे ॥ ९१ ॥
 नः सत्याविष सर्वासु विकिन्धासु विषक्षणाः ॥
 आथहन्ति भिय काचिन्नामका रोगहारिणः ॥ ९२ ॥
 पुराणा ब्राह्मणा केचिन्पुराजाधमकाशका ॥
 पाराण्यप्रथिता मायाः कथयन्ति ममाग्रत ॥ ९३ ॥

अलङ्कारविद् केपि पिषणापतिबुद्धय ॥
 आतोषयति वाग्जलिमीमक मानस मुर्ध् ॥ ९४ ॥
 तर्कशास्त्रिकपठणात्कर्कशत्वमुपागता ॥
 रजयन्ति महोद्ग्रहै समाज मम तार्किका ॥ ९५ ॥
 पूर्वोत्तरा च मीमासा पठित्वा केपि धीवरा ॥
 समर्थयन्ति सार्थेन स्वार्थान्स्वार्थपरायणा ॥ ९६ ॥
 महाभाष्यप्रवक्तारश्चेत्तार सशयस्य च ।
 प्रदर्शयन्ति धात्वर्थीजानारूपान्ममाग्रत ॥ ९७ ॥
 नानाकान्यकलालापकाविद् कश्चिनायका ॥
 आभूषयति परम समाज मामक सदा ॥ ९८ ॥
 चतु षष्टिकलात्स्वपारगाः कुलदीपका ॥
 कीदन्ति चत्वरे सर्व दर्शय तः कमाकला ॥ ९९ ॥
 चतुर्दश सुविद्यासु शिक्षिता वीक्षिता अपि ॥
 शिवन्ति मिथो वादि स्वमतस्थापिनोऽहुरा ॥ १०० ॥
 विचित्रचित्ररचनाश्चतुराश्चतुल्लोक्तय ॥
 चित्रकाराः केपि मम चित्रयन्ति गृहातरम् ॥ १०१ ॥
 कारवाः फारुशास्त्रार्थविचारश्चारुकुण्डला ॥
 सुरेभ्यश्चभवाकाराश्चनयति मम गृहोत् ॥ १०२ ॥
 परीक्षका परीक्षाभिर्बह्वीभी रन्सचयान् ॥
 परीक्षयन्ति सतत फाशागारे मदीयके ॥ १०३ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयमत्युच्यैः सतत सत्यवादिनः ॥
 घण्टिजना प्रकुर्वन्ति मत्पुरे गतभीतय ॥ १०४ ॥
 क्रुरमवाहनीदप्रवेगा केपि तुरममा ॥
 ह्येपन्ति नुस्वन्त इव चत्वरे यामिके सह ॥ १०५ ॥
 गलन्मदा सदोदवा मत्ता केपि मत्तगजा ॥
 गर्जन्ति घनमभीरमजिरेऽरातिदारुणा ॥ १०६ ॥
 रथिभि सशुता केचिद्मनेऽमी महारथा ॥
 विभान्ति भानुप्रतिमास्तेजोभिर्माल्धियकरा ॥ १०७ ॥
 देवा अपि मया दत्तं पित्राभि सहिताश्चिर ॥
 हृष्यकथयानि गृह्णन्ति वित्तवान्ति मम प्रियम् ॥ १०८ ॥

इत्थ मनोरथोस्माक शक्रेण प्ररित ॥
 नयाप्यका कापि खिता मयि जावति साप्रतम् ॥ १०९ ॥
 कथ सुतो मम भवेत् प्राज्यसाध्याज्यकारक ॥
 मर्वं ब्रूत सभास्तारा प्रविचाय स्वके इति ॥ ११० ॥
 कानुष्ठानस्य रचना पुरश्चर्याथ का पुन ॥
 खाया सया डा वदत मधानमत्रिभि सह ॥ १११ ॥
 इ थ शभुमुप प्रगतभविभव शरुश्रिय भर्तयन् ।
 शम्भाराधनसाधनोपि तुलजासदस्वभूतः पुन ॥
 पुत्रेहा हृदि सबहसिजसभास्ताराजिमयोक्चके ॥
 तूष्णीमास सतृण एव सतत कालीसमाराधने ॥ ११२ ॥

इति कवीन्द्रप्रकाशित इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवशे अध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

The following stray stanza is found on one of the sheet of the manuscript fragments. Its exact place in the text of the poems cannot be determined at present —

‘ जता शत्रुव्रजाना निभभुजविजयी वीरवर्गस्य नेता
 भता धर्मस्य लक्ष्म्या अपि समरविधावप्रभामी महता ।
 धता वीरस्य हताद्भुतदुरिततत पालका भूसुराणा
 कचसिंहो नृसिंहोऽपर इव जयता स्यात (ण्चो प्रथिव्याम्) ॥ ’

WHO WERE THE BHRIGUIDS ?

BY

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In his highly suggestive study entitled "The Bhṛigus and the Bhārata" (=Epic Studies VI, above, vol 18, pp 1-76) Prof V S Sukthankar, the talented organizer and director of the monumental project of preparing a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has thrown light from an entirely new angle on the most difficult and perplexing question in the history of the text of the Great Epic the question how the Bhārata became the Mahābhārata, and conclusively proved the great influence exerted by this very ancient Indian clan of the Bhṛigus on the development and the shaping of the epic text. This illuminating essay, which compresses within a small compass a wealth of material and which is—needless to say—prepared with that thoroughness which we associate with all work originating from this scholar, is a vitally important contribution to Mahābhārata studies, showing at the same time, in many details, how much is to be got out of the new critically edited text.

The following observations, inspired by Sukthankar's paper, may serve to support and confirm the investigations of the learned scholar.

I have always had the impression that the original heroic poem could not have become an *Encyclopaedia Brahmanica*, a book of Brahmanic conception of the world (*Weltanschauung*), unless and until that particular psychological trend of India which we epitomize under the name Hinduism¹ had become so vigorous as to overwhelm and vanquish the theosophic outlook of Vedic India. This victory might perhaps have been achieved about the fourth century B C. The Greek Megasthenes already had before him a hinduized India. Also in the textual history

¹ Unification of the elements of religion and conception of the world (*Weltanschauung*) belonging respectively to the Aryans and the autochthones.

of the Great Epic the decisive step had been taken by that time the heroic poem had been expanded by additions coloured by the Brahminic conception of the world (Weltanschauung) but to be sure the epic had not yet attained its present dimensions.

This metamorphosis took place as has now been shown by Suktisankar chiefly under the influence of the Bhṛguids. Now everybody will admit that the Vedic Age stood more under the influence of the Aryan¹ than of the PreAryan-Indic tribes but that the latter in course of time became more and more dominant and that along with them came to the forefront gods characteristic of the Indian Middle Ages. By the above-mentioned PreAryan-Indic tribes I understand representatives of the most eastern branch of the racial stock stretching from the Mediterranean zone via Arabia to Western India comprising Mediterranean, Oriental and Indic elements. Now I ask: Did this widely ramified Brahmin group calling itself the Bhṛguids belong perhaps to this primeval race, the race which in some epoch of hoary antiquity had caused the earlier inhabitants of India to retreat into mountain fastnesses: the race of the real Graeco-Indic people who (according to Eickstedt) are represented even today in the purest state in Hindustan (Desab) and in the Deccan that highly gifted race which constituted the ruling power in Moheno Daro and which later produced eminent philosophers? To be sure even in Rigvedic times all Brahmins were not pure Aryans (Nordic) even at that time there must have been pure Indic and Aryan-Indic representatives of the caste. And the further the Aryans spread over India the greater must have been the number of non-Nordic Brahmins.

What has been traditionally handed down to us about the Bhṛguids in our Mahabharata contains undoubtedly historical reminiscences. Even when they had partly formed alliances with the older military aristocracy by matrimonial ties at bottom they were inimically disposed towards the ruling class and the

¹ By Aryan I understand the Ind-germanic immigrants who as far as the dominant elements were concerned belonged to the Nordic race.

By Indics I understand what are commonly but erroneously called Dravidians see below.

² For example the Aryan Rudra was so amalgamated with Siva, that the latter came to the forefront.

off-repeated legend of Parasū Rāma, who exterminated all warriors (Kṣatriyas) is evidence of a real tragic conflict in a hoary past. The contradictory traditions to the effect that the later warrior-caste either was the result of marriages between Kṣatriya widows and Brahmīns or else was propagated by concealed survivors of the Kṣatriya caste who had escaped destruction—these conflicting traditions can perhaps be reconciled on the supposition that both eventualities had taken place.¹ Even in the R̥gveda in the famous battle of Ten Kings the Bhr̥gus are but forced vassals of the Arvan King Sudās, like the Dr̥uvas they are really his enemies. As Brahmīns, in a pregnant sense of the word, they possess magical powers and are masters of asceticism (*tapas*), they remind us of the hot-blooded, irascible passionate characters ready with their curses made familiar to us by the Indian epic and drama. Besides their magical powers it is however also their heroic qualities that commanded respect and stamp their Rāma as a Superman. The high panegyric on Bhr̥gus must have, in post-vedic times, especially, found very sympathetic listeners.

They appear as teachers of the Aryans, their Rāma is the preceptor of three Kuru heroes. In this feature also the saga has surely preserved an old reminiscence. The invading Aryans had probably learnt a great deal from them. Think of those specimens of highly developed art that have been resurrected from the sand-buried ruins of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, and of the proverbial virtuosity of this race e.g. in metal work. Thus the remarkable tradition that we are indebted to the Bhr̥gus for our umbrellas and sandals may find its reason d'être.

The divine ancestor Bhr̥gu is naturally a later invention, but the Bhr̥gus, the *bhṛgouch* mentioned in the R̥gveda, are more tangible figures. There are above all two stanzas of the R̥gveda which can give us more precise information. 4, 16, 20 and

¹ The legend exaggerates here, no doubt. There can be no question of a complete annihilation of Kṣatriyas. At most it can be a crushing defeat, restricted to some particular locality. Besides the Kṣatriyas also fought among themselves but not in such a manner that only a small remnant could survive.

etc may be traced back to the zero-grade form *bhig-* Yaska (Nirukta III 17) is decidedly mistaken when he derives the word from *bhagj-* *bhryjdu* "roast", because that belongs to Lat *frigo* ¹

The more technical connection of the Bhrigus with Fire appears to me to follow also from the difference between the fire myth connected with the name Matarisvan and the conception of the introduction of the Fire by the Bhrigus ² There the Indian Prometheus, who fetches Fire from *heaven* here the custodians and the propagators of fire in *human* habitations We notice at the same time that the Matarisvan myth is of Indo-germanic origin because we find it in a more developed form even among the Greeks, whereas the fire-myths connected with the Bhrigus are purely Indian

The highly ancient, indispensable and most respected profession of fire-craftsmen distinguished itself as we have seen, very eminently among the ancient Indians, and lay more and more insistent claim to equality with the hereditary Aryan Brahmans, when through the increasing coalescence of the two chief racial components India's nation-building was accomplished After bitter struggles with the Aryan aristocracy, of which the Parasu Rama legend presents to be sure, a highly exaggerated picture, they ultimately reached their goal ³ In the case of the Bhriguds we have in fact, not a consanguinary sept but a group which was originally held together by ties of common occupation Their descendants, who in course of time, abandoned their ancient calling and accepted the living of the genuine Brahmans considered themselves descendants of the divine Bhrigu, but attained a commanding and influential position only at the end of the Vedic epoch That is evidenced by the history of the Mahabharata-text as revealed by investigations of Sukthankar in the article in question

The so-called Bhriguds, however, retained their individuality A small detail, which is nevertheless quite worthy of note,

¹ From **bhrygō* like *φρυγῶ* (I roast) from **bhrygō* Cf. Harnier's *Lehrbuch-Deutsches Schmelzwörterbuch* s. v. *frigo*

² Cf. Oldenberg *Die Religion des Veda* (1923), p. 122 f

³ Cf. legal and social equality Perhaps on the side of the Aryans the Atharvan and Angiras whose Veda was acknowledged at a comparatively late period, had undergone a similar development

may show this. The versification of the Bhriguid Gītsamānā¹ whose hymn collection is included in the second Mandala of the Rīgveda has its peculiar rhythm & in fact also the metre of Sūktaśāstrī Bhargava (in hymns 10 77 and 78) is quite peculiar recalling the Gītsamānā stanzas of the second Mandala.

The Indic origin of the Bhrigus seems to me to follow from their relation to the Krishna legend. To me the Krishna religion with its sincerity and intenseness with its religious pathos has always appeared as the expression of the Indic soul. Even in the Bhrigu saga the birth of a child working miracles with its resplendent majesty plays some role which reminds one of the Balasrita of Bhasa. And the mighty vision in the Bhagavadgīta is reminiscent of the legend of Markandeya who beholds the whole world with all its stars and creatures in the interior of a wonderful Child. The same saintly Bhrigud is honoured with the privilege of seeing Narayana face to face. No wonder then that in the Bhagavadgīta Krishna says of himself that among the great sages he is Bhrigu. Bhrigu is thus one of his divine manifestations. In the traditional promulgation of the Bhagavadgīta this magnificent attempt to harmonise Aryan world-view (Weltschau) with Indic inwardness the Bhriguids I suppose also had done their share.

If the Bhriguids notwithstanding the name of their chief hero have almost no connection whatever with the Rāmāyana I explain it in the following way². The extremely ancient Rāma

¹ Does the name mean one who has the pride of a person skilled in somnabulism? In any event Gītsamānā is a perfect manner of the Vedic language. The top layers of the Indics had apparently assimilated them almost easily and quickly as regards the Aryan language and vocal order. But one must not forget the enormous influence which was exerted by their own language on the history and development of the Vedic and of the Sanskrit language.

² The history of the Bhargava Rāma who loses his *tejas* and finds it again in a Fire, reminds me of certain passages in the *Avastā* (Yast 5 and 19) which allude to *xtarēnah* the lustre possessed by the warrior and ruler corresponding to the Indian *tejas*. There we have a legend according to which this fire which is above all characteristic of kings rests in the sea. V *urukas* when there is nobody who is fit to possess it. The asuaptra Prauraśyan attempts to seize it by swimming towards it but it eludes him thus at a time like the reflection of the moon. Was the modern interpolator who has smuggled into the Mahābhārata the story of the *tejas* of Rāma mentioned above influenced by a Persian anecdote?

saga contains, in my opinion, reminiscences of a hoary past in which the Ancient Indid people were in possession of India, having overcome the autochthons and compelled them to retreat into the wilderness. The central point of the saga of the Bhrigu is however the struggle with the ancient Aryan military aristocracy, which took place in a much later epoch.

But even so the achievement of the Bhriguids for India is significant enough. To them the credit is principally due for the unification of the Aryan and the Indid spirit in the colossal monument of the Mahabharata. For the preservation and propagation of this folk-book, I may even say, this world-book. They have made the original epic what it even now is: the great sea in which stories, moral (*dharma*), worldly wisdom (*nihi*), in short, all expressions of Indian life, have streamed in. It thus becomes always clearer that we cannot judge this monumental work with those standards which we apply, say to a Greek epic: that it is rather the image and expression of the rich, deep Indian soul, tested in the crucible of suffering and for ever on the quest of eternal peace.

REVIEWS

SVARASIDDHĀNTĀCANDRIKĀ OF SRĪNIVĀSĀYAJVAN
 edited by K A Sivaramkrishna Sastri Department of
 Sanskrit Annamalai University with a Foreword by
 Mahamahopadhyaya Darśanakaśānīdhi Vidyavacaspati
 Kulapati & Kuppuswami Sastri B.A. I. B. S. (Reid)
 Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty
 of Oriental Studies Annamalai University—Annamalai
 University Sanskrit Series No 4 1936 Price 5/- pp x
 lx 474

It is perhaps a welcome sign of the present revival in studies bearing on Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan Linguistics to start with the *Ait Aester* Pāṇini the greatest linguistic genius of all time. With Liebhaf, J. B. B. and F. D. D. in Europe and the Panjab Madras Andhra and Annamalai Universities in India the ever fascinating subject of grammar based on the *Aśādhyāyī* is exerting great influence. It is in the fitness of things that the *Svara sūtras* of Pāṇini bearing so greatly on Vedic accentuation should meet with full treatment. In the words of the learned Honorary Professor (vide Foreword para 2) the *Svarasiddhāntācandrikā* endeavours with remarkable success to interpret the *Svara sūtras* of Pāṇini so as to exhibit them in the form of a methodical and complete exposition of the Indian system of accentuation in its application to the different phases of the Indic language."

The work under review is based on a collated study of eight Mss and has been ably edited. There is an introduction in Sanskrit by the author dealing with the conception of tones accents etc in the discussion of which he makes documented reference to Western Linguists. He also deals with the author of the work who appears to have lived towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Sanskrit introduction is followed by its translation in English. The mistakes in the cited Vedic passages have been wisely kept in the text their correct forms being given in a separate index. A systematic study of these mistakes might yield some useful result.

Besides the *Achya* Pada and *Sūtra* number each *sūtra* is

given a serial number in the order of its appearance in the work. These should be followed in every work of this type. The text is followed by an alphabetic index of Panini's *sūtras* dealt with, a list of the Vedic passages cited with reference to their appearance in the text and their ultimate source, a list of authors and works cited by the author of *Śāstacandrikā* and two errata. It may not be out of place to mention here that with every edition of an unpublished work, it should be the endeavour of the editor to give a complete index of such names of works and authors as are mentioned or cited in the text.

The get up of the work, its price and intrinsic value are such that every devotee of Panini should hasten to possess a copy of the work to study, digest and appreciate the worth of the Master and admire the genius that has guided India's Linguistic destiny for over two millenniums and is still exciting wonder in the two hemispheres.

S. M. Katre

A SANSKRIT PRIMER—By Edward Delavan Perry, Columbia University Press. Fourth Edition, 1936, pp. xii, 230. Oxford University Press, Price 16s. 6d.

The first edition of this useful primer appeared in 1881, the second and third respectively in 1886 and 1901, and within 54 years it has been printed 15 times (2nd ed. twice reprinted, and 3rd ed. 9 times), a figure which speaks volumes for the usefulness of the book. It is essentially meant for American and incidentally European students, striking as it does a mean between the Indian orthodox grammar and Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar representing at least the early American reaction towards the Hindu Grammarians. The primer will also be of use to Hindu and Indian students who take up the study of Sanskrit at an advanced age. Within the space of 230 pages all that is ordinarily required of Sanskrit Grammar (Sandhi, declension, conjugation and syntax) including a chapter on Compounds is admirably treated in the form of graduated lessons. Each lesson has its special vocabulary, Sanskrit sentences for translation into English, and English sentences for translation into Sanskrit,

in this final revision of the lesson the English words are given numbers indicating the position of their Sk equivalents in the translation but this is wisely given us after the 19th lesson.

In the beginning Sk words are given both in transcription and in Devanagari but later on the transcription is given up. In the transcription accents are properly shown but it is to be regretted that the *ā* are not shown in the declensional form but it reflects to the credit and carefulness of the author when we cite the forms *brahmanā* and *brahmanā* (p 160). Similarly in the Devanagari citations a dot below a letter indicates a resulting Sandhi vowel.

It is however to be regretted that the phonetic portion has not been improved with advance in phonetic studies. It would have been the easiest task for the author to bring his Sanskrit Phonetics up-to-date such evident mistakes as the following should be rectified in the next edition. p 9 s 30. Gutturals *k kh* *g gh* *ṅ*. These are the ordinary English *k* and *g* (hard) sounds with their corresponding aspirates and nasal. But there is a slight aspiration which generally follows the English *k* p 9 s 32. The lingual mutes. In practice European Sanskritists make no attempt to distinguish them from the dentals. Dentals these are practically the equivalents of our so-called dentals *t d n*. But Hindus distinguish between the English *t d* and the French or Italian *t d* the first being linguals and the second true dentals.

P 10 s 34. Labials. These are exactly the equivalents of the English *p b m*. But English *p* is always followed by a slight aspiration absent in the Sk *p*-of s 30 above.

p 10 s 38. The labial *v* is pronounced as English or French *v* by modern Hindus a statement which is not borne out by fact for the generality of the people *v* is a labio-dental non-fretative sound differing from the English or French sound which is fricative.

Considering all the qualities of this useful Primer we can safely recommend it to Sanskrit students in India who have not made as yet any study of Sanskrit Grammars written by European writers as a good introduction to the occidental approach towards Oriental studies.

b. M. Katre

JULES BLOCH L INDO-ARYEN DU VEDA AUX TRUQS
MODERNES Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-
Muscouneuve 5, Rue de Cournon, Paris (VI^e), 1931
pp iv, 336 Pi ce Fis 80

Ever since the publication of his monumental and solid work entitled '*La formation de la langue moitike*' in 1920 Prof Bloch has been engaged in the wider field of Indo-Aryan Linguistics as well as Indian Linguistics. The immediate result of his '*La langue moitike*' was the establishment of a scientific circle of linguists interested in the modern Indian languages both of Aryan and non-Aryan descent. Though as Turner remarks¹ that the first and immediate reaction of this work was the undertaking by untrained and unqualified people of similar linguistic studies in other languages by insufficient study of the material, the work gave a direct impetus by its solid and brilliant construction to scientific studies in modern I-A linguistics. In fact it inaugurated the age of scientific linguistics in I-A within the fourteen years intervening between that work and this under notice, there has been solid achievement in Indian studies. The great work of Sir George Grierson which was indeed a pioneer effort, came to an end in 1928, in 1926 another brilliant effort came from Bengal Suniti Kumar Chatterji '*Origin and Development of Bengali*'. The spring of 1931 saw the publication of Turner's unique comparative and etymological dictionary of Nepali dealing with the entire etymology of modern I-A languages for the first time with some degree of scientific accuracy. In the meantime Morgenstierne, Bailey and a number of other European and Indian scholars have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the little known border languages in the North West.

As Sir George has mentioned² the study of I-A can proceed in two ways intensive study of individual languages from a comparative point of view and a comparative study of a group of languages from a higher point view. The first is really the basic one on which the second can be built, and yet without a know

BSOS Vol VIII Part I 204 foot-note
See his reference to Chatterji's O D D

ledge of the second in its broad development the individual problems of a single language may not find their natural explanation. The ideal then would be to develop the two sides of this study at one and the same time by a continued effort of the general and special linguists. Prof Bloch has shown his competence to deal with the general development of Indo-Aryan through the three stages of Old Middle and New I-A through a brilliant series of works in the course of a quarter century. Unlike many basalists he is first in Indo-Europeanist of rare merit with the example of Meillet before him he has concentrated on the different stages of I-A culminating in the only work dealing with the history of I-A. Such histories have formerly been written for Latin or Greek but a history of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the modern I-A languages of Northern India had to wait for a long time. In a manner of speaking we can say that Bloch had already given us a short history of I-A in the Introduction to his *La langue savante* but since then a lot of new work in the field of MI-A particularly Apabhraṃśa had necessitated the re-statement of some of the tendencies in NI-A. The present work is a brilliant successor of the first masterpiece.

In a brief Introduction (pp 1-24) Prof Bloch deals with the general history of I-A through Sanskrit Middle and New Indo-Aryan. Pp 23-25 give us a brief bibliographical indication of the principal works consulted. Excluding the concluding chapter the actual thesis is divided into four parts Phonology (pp 29-95), Morphology of the Noun (pp 99-204) and of the Verb (pp 206-300) and Syntax (pp 303-319) and the Conclusion (pp 321-331).

In each of these parts the method followed is self-sufficient for each of the three stages OI-A MI-A and NI-A. Thus in Phonology the Vedic sounds are studied in relation to I-A and Indo-Iranian then follow a study of the *s* sounds in MI-A (in relation to OI-A) and finally a study of NI-A with reference to OI-A and MI-A. The same holds good for the remaining parts.

In this masterly survey of the whole field of Indo-Aryan studies from the earliest monument to the most modern and youngest members of this group Prof Bloch has given us the results of his deep studies with a lucid and comprehensive method and an unfailing grasp of the essential is possible. I differ

from him in the matter of a few minor details see for example Turner's review in BSOI or Chatterji's in the *Calcutta Review* but in the broad outline he has achieved a result which will form the basis of all further studies in this field. And what is most striking in this work is the fact that Bloch himself is responsible for a large part of the original contribution on which the edifice rests.

That this work will remain the best handbook to I-A studies will immediately be felt by any scholar who will go through a few of its interesting pages. Much of the work that remains to be done will have to be based on the problems that Bloch suggests in all parts of the book. For the science of linguistics as applied to NI-A is still in its early stages, and the study of not only every one of the principal literary languages but also the dialects which form around them has yet to be carried out scientifically and critically.

The publishers have done their part of the work in a becoming form, the printing and paper are good and the final appearance itself so charming as to tempt the book-lover to give it a prominent place in his library. And for a linguistic scholar it is entirely indispensable. There is only one little fault and that is the absence of an index of the words quoted in the body of the work. Though most of these words do find a place in Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* it is not every one who is fortunate enough to possess a copy of this great work. Moreover, in view of some other derivations, etc., such an index would have helped the Indian student and scholar. It is to be hoped that this will be rectified in a second edition.

As detailed reviews have already appeared in the various journals this is not the proper place to point out cases where different interpretations are possible. But when all is said and done the fact still remains that Bloch has given us a book which may be said at once to be the most authoritative, critical and best informed treatise on I-A linguistics. It deserves to be studied every day by a student of languages, and it should be on the right hand side of the work table of every I-A scholar.

S M Katre,

GRASSMANN HERMANN Worterbuch zum Rig Veda
-Neudruck-Leipzig, 1936 Otto Harrassowitz (pp VIII+1775
Price 24 marks)

Hermann Grassmann was one of the greatest Vedic scholars of his time. In order to translate the Rgveda he first compiled its glossary on scientific principles which proved to him so useful in his linguistic and comparative studies that he also published it. This happened in 1873 ever since which date the work has remained a standard guide for all the researches that have been carried on in the Vedic language. This is quite natural for the dictionary contains all words of the language gives their meanings and also grammatical forms together with the places where they occur adds cognate terms by way of etymology cites quotations to illustrate the syntax and the style and last but not least supplies the index arranged according to final letters. Not only the Vedists but also those linguists who investigate the Avesta and furthermore the comparative Indo-European philologists have found the work indispensable for linguistic purposes. And also for other purposes—for the Vedic subject matter for the names of gods and men places and objects has the dictionary served as guide by means of its complete references.

This standard work was long out of print and extremely scarce. Unhappily also no new and complete attempt was made to supply its want. It was therefore decided at the last Congress of German Orientalists to get Grassmann's dictionary reissued by means of a photographic process. The resolution was soon translated into action thanks to Harrassowitz and thus the great work has now been made accessible at a very modest price.

Nobody should think that this old dictionary of the Rgveda is antiquated and therefore useless for in such a case a responsible body like the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft would never have thought of re-issuing it. Of course as to some details in interpretation here and there more recent researches have to be consulted but that does not affect the main character of the work namely as the guide to Vedic

words and forms and the places of their occurrence. Even as to the meanings an authority like Hertel once said to me that Grassmann was better than Bartholomae whose *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* appeared much later and has been enjoying the well earned reputation of being the best work of the type. Let us therefore welcome the new edition of Grassmann's dictionary and make the best of it. Students of the Veda and also of the Avesta cannot afford to remain without it especially for critical and comparative study the importance and necessity of which is undeniable after all what is said and done in the matter.

J. C. Tavadia

THE VAISHNAVAS OF GUJARAT by Dr N A Hoothia
Publ Longmans Green & Co Ltd

Originally submitted and accepted as a thesis for the Doctorate of Philosophy in the University of Oxford in the year 1934 the work was subsequently added upon and has now appeared in print. As stated by the author in his preface. The present study is primarily an attempt at applying and testing, the Godeesian theory and method of investigation and interpretation of social phenomena.

The work is divided into two Part the first part containing six Divisions and fourteen chapters gives out the laborious work of the author in a systematic arrangement while the second part contains an elaborate exposition of the method; and last but not of the least importance is a vast Bibliography extending over 28 pages (pp 437-464) each page recording about 50 works bearing on the subject. No wonder then that the thesis greatly pleased the University examiners at Oxford.

It is interesting to note how a small incident about drinking water aroused the curiosity of the school-going boy Theoddy (p 377) and this led to a detailed inquiry into the customs of the different sections of Hindu community in Gujarat the outcome of all that inquiry being the present large work containing information about the Vaishnavas of Gujarat. The author has worked on approved methods and the present work would serve as a good model for any student working out his thesis on similar social topics.

The ideas that govern the author's thoughts can best be seen at pp 431ff. He is deeply grieved to see among the Vaishnavas of Gujarat how the individual in spite of possibilities of self development does not grow due to his fixed position in respect of Dharma, Cnyas and family bonds (p 428) and as a solution of this lays down his own ideas of social arrangement which though not a plea for Individualism yet tends to the growth of man, and ultimately facilitates the coming of the superman.

It would not be out of place to note a few inaccuracies, which the present reviewer came across, while going through the work.

First, with regard to the correct names of some ancient Sanskrit works referred to (p 35) 'Grihasūtras' should be 'Grhyasūtras' (p 43) 'Srautasūtras' ought to be 'Srautasutras'.

Then at p 96, the learned author has given Goswamis to mean 'lords of cows'. The word 'go' in Sanskrit, means so many things but in this particular case it means 'indriyas' the different organs of sense, a Gosvami being one who has attained perfect control over all the senses. If however, the author has put in the interpretation with a tinge of satire, then there is nothing wrong.

At p 315, we see Madhvācārya made the author of Brahma-vaivarta Purāna, bringing "about a happy combination of the teachings of Nimbarka with Krishna-līlā of the Bhāgavat". This is really a new light and the student of the Purānas would be grateful to the learned Doctor, if he would kindly indicate the Source of his information.

This is, of course, only by the bye, and the author deserves ample credit for having collected together all the scattered information, and presented it in a suitable form, with his own remarks, on the good or bad that the people of Gujrat have reaped from the cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

S N Tadpatrikā



Prof. Wimmer taking the Mahabharata class at Saratkollekta.
(By courtesy of Mr. P. Arrijan Acharya, Cvelin.)

IN MEMORIAM
PROFESSOR MORITZ WINTERNITZ (1863-1937)

The world of Indological studies has suffered a great and irreparable loss in the passing away of Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz of the University of Prag. This Institute has cause to deplore the sudden and premature death of the late lamented scholar, perhaps more than any similar institution in India. Professor Winternitz was not merely an Honorary Member of the Institute, but also an active member of the *Mahābhārata* Editorial Board, and of the *Mahābhārata* Board of Referees. His relations with the Institute were indeed never of a purely formal and nominal character; but they were appreciably strengthened in 1919, when the Institute undertook the work of preparing a *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. In this connection Professor Winternitz gave the young and inexperienced organizers of the scheme much sound advice and very cordial encouragement; and subsequently, from time to time, rendered the Institute especially valuable services in connection with the Institute's monumental project of preparing this critical edition.

His services to the cause of *Mahābhārata* studies, in general, have been indeed of a striking and memorable character, and deserve to be recorded fully in the *Annals* of this Institute.

There is perhaps no scholar who had studied and pondered over the *Mahābhārata* problems longer, and at the same time written, agitated and worked for a critical edition of our Great Epō more energetically, than Professor Winternitz. He appears to have begun his scholar's career by writing a paper on a subject connected directly with the *Mahābhārata*. It was a critical review of Holtmann's *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, published in the *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient* (1884-85). In 1877, he contributed a paper of about 50 pages to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, entitled "Notes on the *Mahābhārata*", which is in fact a very detailed review of Dahlmann's *Das Mahābhārata, als Epos und Rechtsbuch* (Berlin 1855). In the same year, at the session of the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris, he first drew attention of scholars to the importance of

South Indian MSS for the restoration of a critical text of the Great Epic of India. Even at that time he pointed out that for all critical and historical researches the current printed editions of the epic were altogether insufficient and that a critical edition of the Mahabharata was a *conditio sine qua non* of all Mahabharata research. In the following year (1893) he contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a paper "On the South Indian Recension of the Mahabharata" in which he published also for the first time lengthy extracts from the Southern Recension and gave some account of the Southern MSS of the epic. In the same year he contributed an article to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* "On the Mahabharata MSS in the Whish collection of the Royal Asiatic Society." The same volume has two informing letters from him, both of which are about Ganess in the Mahabharata (*JRAS* 1898, 380 ff, 631). In the next year (1899), at the Oriental Congress in Rome he proposed the foundation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society, "with the aim of collecting all the materials as well as the necessary funds" for a critical edition of the Mahabharata. The text of the proposal was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1901, 117 ff. As a consequence of this, "a committee was formed which was to consider the matter and report on the subject at the next congress." Next year (1900), he published a paper in *NZKM* entitled "Genesis des Mahābhārata" which is in fact an elaborate review (27 pp) of Dahlmann's book with the same title, which had appeared in the meantime. This paper was followed next year (1901) by a paper on the "Flussagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker," published in the *Mittheilungen* of the Anthropological Society of Vienna, in which he has ably discussed the flood legends of antiquity, among them our legend of Manu. In the same year he presented a memorandum ('*Pro Memoria*') on the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahabharata to the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, which is published in the *Annuaire des Cours Acad. d. Wiss. in Wien* 1901, 206-210. In 1902, he appears to have again brought his proposal about the critical edition of the Mahabharata before the International Congress at Hamburg. In 1903, he was serving as a member of a committee appointed by the United German Academies and learned Societies to discuss the question of the preliminary work necessary for a critical edition of the

Great Epic which met at München and recommended the presentation of a Pro Memoria to the International Association of Academies. The Pro Memoria was presented and a definite plan was laid before the Association. In 1903 he contributed two papers on the subject of his favourite study one in the *JHAs* on 'The Mahabharata and the Drama' the other in *WZKM* on the Sabhaparvan according to the Southern Recension. In 1904 he published an important study bearing on the snake sacrifice of the Mahabharata in *Kult. wiss. hochsch. aus der Tierwelt*. Das Schlangenopfer des Mahabharata. This was followed in the year 1906 by a paper in *WZKM* on the Bhad devata and the Mahabharata. In 1908 the question of the critical edition of the Mahabharata again came up before the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen and two meetings of the Mahabharata Kommission were attended by Winternitz as a member of the editorial committee (on 14th and 18th August 1908). In the following year (1909) he published the second part of the first volume of his monumental history of Indian Literature (German Version) the only comprehensive and authoritative book on the subject which devotes nearly 100 pages to the Mahabharata and still remains the *most reliable* general account of our Great Epic. Besides containing an accurate summary of the epic story the volume contains the considered views of the author on the interesting question of the beginnings of epic poetry in India and a detailed discussion of the question of the age and history of the Mahabharata. It may also be noted that this is the only work which gives a complete systematic and impartial account of the progress of Mahabharata studies during the last hundred years with exhaustive bibliography and exemplary thoroughness and as such is indispensable to every serious student of the Mahabharata. In 1910 he published a review of Sørensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata* (parts I-IV) in *SDMU* (64: 241-243). Then for about five years from 1911-1915 Professor Winternitz appears not to have published anything about the Mahabharata. This interval he seems to have devoted to his private studies of the Sabhaparvan the book assigned to him in the scheme of the International Association of Academies for a critical edition of the Mahabharata. As a by-product of these studies may be regarded his short paper,

"Mahābhārata II 68 41 ff and Bhāṣa's Dātavākya" in *Festschrift E Kühn* (1916), which was followed in 1917 by a review of Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, which had appeared in 1915. The brief regime of mutual hate, disorder and vandalism prevailing in Europe during the Great War gave its quietus to this international project among others, the undertaking of the Associated Academies was silently abandoned in the years that followed the war. That was a great disappointment to Winternitz.

The end of the war marked however, the beginning of a new project of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata: this time in India. This Institute, making a fresh start, enthusiastically undertook the work in 1919 as a national undertaking—a venture cordially welcomed by Professor Winternitz, for he saw in it a fresh promise of the fulfilment of his dreams, which had been ruthlessly shattered by the cruel war. In 1922, when Winternitz came to India, he took the earliest opportunity to visit the Institute, and to see for himself the work of the Mahābhārata Department of this Institute, which had already made some progress. On the 26th of November 1922, he delivered an address at the Institute, which contains a succinct account of what had been done and planned in Europe, and expressed the fervent hope that ways and means could be found for the collaboration of Indian and Western scholars in the new project (*Annals*, 1922-23, pp 145-152). When he went to Santiniketan, he taught the students there how to collate Mahābhārata MSS and ultimately established there a collation centre for the collation of Bengali MSS of the Mahābhārata, which is even now doing excellent work under the supervision of the Principal of the Visvabharati. In 1924, he contributed a paper entitled "The Mahābhārata" to the *Visvabharati Quarterly*, in connection with the work he had been doing at Santiniketan. In the same year, he appears to have read a paper containing a report on the Institute's edition, before the German Conference of Orientalists at München. Later in the same year (1924) he published in the *Annals* of this Institute, a very detailed review of the late Mr Ugiakar's tentative edition of the *Virāṭaparvan*, containing a frank criticism of the work as well as many valuable suggestions for improvement. When the Mahābhārata Department of

the Institute was reorganized in 1925 Professor Winternitz was made a member of the Honorary Board of Referees and also a member of the Mahabharata Editorial Board. As such in 1928 he read a paper at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford on the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata drawing attention of the delegates to the important work the Institute was doing in connection with its critical edition. A discussion was opened by General Professor Dr. H. Luders who moved three resolutions regarding the Institute's edition as well as regarding the disposal of the collations made and funds collected for the European edition. These resolutions which were seconded by Professor Winternitz were unanimously adopted by the Indian Section of the Congress. The paper read by Professor Winternitz was subsequently published in the first issue of the *Indologische Zeitschrift* (1929) the journal founded by Professor Winternitz. There he declared that after a careful examination of the first fascicule of the new edition he was convinced that this edition would be the edition that is wanted and that he had in mind when thirty one years ago he urged the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahabharata. His frank and evident enthusiasm for our edition did not however blind him to what he considered its shortcomings and to his paper in the *Indologische Zeitschrift* he appended some critical remarks on the first fascicule of the new edition of *Ādiparvan* prepared by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. While expressing his wholehearted agreement with the general principles underlying the reconstruction of the text he gave a list of passages wherein he differed from the editor with respect to the readings of the constituted text qualifying his remarks by emphasizing that he was not offering his criticism to find fault with the way in which the critical edition was being prepared there would always remain differences of opinion in special cases *whence the editor be*. The Institute highly values the considered opinion of the eminent savant expressed before the Oriental Congress at Oxford in the following words: 'And here I may say that in my opinion neither in India nor in Europe any one scholar would be found who would have done the work better than Dr. Sukthankar had done in his first fascicule.' In 1938 he published in the *Zeitschriften und Fortschritte* (a record of German Science) an article entitled 'Die

kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata", giving an account of the work of the Institute in connection with the Mahābhārata edition.

He read a considerable portion of the Ādiparvan (according to the Critical Edition) with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag, to initiate them into the mysteries of Indian textual criticism. From the notes made by him for these lectures, he published in these *Annals* (1934) the last important paper he wrote on the Mahābhārata, which is an appreciation of the first volume of the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, completed in 1933. In the volume of essays presented to him by his pupils, friends and admirers (*Festschrift Mo i z Winteritz*), there were two Mahābhārata articles, written no doubt with the full knowledge that they would be warmly welcomed by Professor Winteritz: the one by Dr. Hermann Weller of Tübingen University, on the Textual Criticism of the Mahābhārata, the other by Prof. F. Otto Schrader of Kiel University on the Recensions of the Bhagavadgīta. Latterly his onerous duties as Professor of Indology in the German University of Prag as well as his failing health had prevented Professor Winteritz from devoting much time to a serious study of the Sabhāparvan, which he had undertaken to edit for the Institute—a study which was suddenly and prematurely terminated by the ruthless hand of *Ńfime*. But even in 1936, when the Raja Sahib of Aundh, his colleague on the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, visited him in Prag, Professor Winteritz was very optimistic and full of buoyant hope of being able to complete the Sabhāparvan in a year or two. Alas that was not to be!

A certain amount of pathetic interest attaches to the letter reproduced below, which was penned by the deceased scholar on the 8th January last,—probably the last letter written by him!—and forwarded after his lamentable death by his daughter-in-law, Frau Dr. Anna Winteritz. It is a tragic piece of evidence of the fact that Mahābhārata problems occupied his thoughts to the very last day of his life! Here is the letter:

January 5th 1917.

My dear Dr. Saksena,

Many thanks for kindly sending me a copy of the copyist of your Epic Studies VI: The Bhrgus and the Mūlans. I have now read it and found it of immense interest. It is truly astonishing, and has not occurred to me before, that the Bhṛgava material was represented in the Mahābhārata so much as extent as you show it to be. Your hypothesis that our Mahābhārata received its present form with its masses of Bhṛgava material, and the substance of Dhṛmā and Nīti material by a Diakrasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhṛgava influence at some time or other (if we could only know at which time!), seems to me plausible enough. Your thesis is strengthened very much by the parallel of the Mānavaṛgi. I should, however, underline what you say about "further additions" being made after the Bhṛgava diakrasis: The great mass of what I have called "Ascetic Literature" (see my lecture in "Some Problems of Indian Literature", p. 22 ff.) which is newer to Jāna and Baddhis than to Bṛhaspati's law and ethics, and which lays so much stress on Ahimsā, and also some of the philosophical sections, must have come into the Epic through other channels. Surely the loss of Bhṛgava Rāma Śālag five lakhs with blood by exterminating the Kṛtavya race three seven times (repeated ten times!) cannot by any means be brought into accord with the doctrine of Ahimsā.

Thinking of the words, "Da wīd sikh manchar Rāmal Kṛm and manchar Rāmal Kṛm/sikh sikh", I hope you will continue, in your excellent "Epic Studies", to solve many a riddle of the Great Epic of India.

I am, with kind regards,
Yours sincerely
M. Winternitz.

PS I am very sorry to have to inform you that my father-in-law Prof. Winternitz passed away this night in consequence of a new attack of his heart-illness.

Yours sincerely
Dr. Anas Winternitz.

For more than fifty years, continuously, Prof. Winternitz took active interest in Mahābhārata studies and in the Mahābhārata problem, contributing himself in a great measure to the elucidation of some of them, both theoretically and practically—a record of deep and sustained interest in the Great Epic of India, difficult to be matched in India itself!

His Mahabharata researches constituted but a small fraction of the multifarious intellectual activities of this broad-minded and versatile scholar. It remains for others, who stood nearer to him and who knew him more intimately, to speak at length on the labours of Professor Winternitz in the several fields he graced. Here we merely record our deep gratitude to him for his manifold services to the cause of Mahabharata studies, as also our profound sorrow upon the untimely death of an honoured member of our Institute and of our esteemed collaborator in the stupendous work, to the completion of which the Institute is pledged.



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[PART IV

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Volume XVIII
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[PART IV

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JULY 1937

[PART IV

THE VARĀHA-PURĀNA

BY

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M A, Ph D

University of Dacca

The extant *Varāha Purāna*¹ is a comparatively late work. It is rather a manual of prayers and rules mainly for the Viṣṇu-worshippers. That it is not the *Varāha P* which the *Matsya*, the *Skanda* and the *Agni P* noticed can be little doubted. These three Purānas describe the *Varāha P* as follows:

'mahāvarāhaseya punar māhātmyam adhikṛtya ca |
viṣṇunā bhūtam kṣaunysi tad vārāham ihocyate ||
mānavasya prasāngena kalpasya (the *Skanda P* reads
'dhanyasya') muni-sāttamah |
caṭurviṃśat sahasraṃ tat purānam ihocyate ||'

(*Matsya P* 53 38-39 and *Skanda* VII, 1, 2, 57-58);

and

'caṭuḥṣaśaśaśrāmī vārāham viṣṇuneritam |
bhūman varāha-caritam mānavasya pravṛtītaḥ ||'

(*Agni P* 272, 16)

According to these descriptions the older *Varāha P* was declared by Viṣṇu and was connected with the Manava Kalpa, but in the extant Purāna of the same title the Boar himself is the narrator, and there is no mention of the Manava Kalpā.

¹ The Vāngavāṇī edition is the same as that in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. There are, of course, slight differences in readings in the two editions.

Moreover of the five characteristics of the Purana there is very little in it. Its account of creation bears the unmistakable stamp of comparatively late age. The Manvantaras and the genealogies of kings and sages have been neglected. The beginning also does not resemble those of the other Puranas there being no mention either of the sacrifice in the Naimisa forest or of the sages who request Suta to narrate the Puranas. On the other hand Suta reports the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth abruptly and without any introduction.

The extant *Varāha P.* consists of four distinct sections (1) chapters 1 to 112 (2) chapters 113 to 192 (3) chapters 193 to 212 and (4) chapters 213 to the end. These four sections which differ from one another in general character and in respect of interlocutors, are most probably the works of different hands hailing from different ages. In the first section (comprising chapters 1-112) Suta is the reporter and the interlocutors are the Boar and the Earth. This section is primarily the work of the Pāncarātras. Here the highest god is Nārāyaṇa and this name of the god is used much more frequently than 'Viṣṇu' and 'Hari'. The names 'Vāsudeva' and 'Kṛṣṇa' are of very rare occurrence. The sectarian Māntṛa is *om namo nārāyaṇa* and there is not even a single mention of the Māntṛa *om namo bhagavate vāsu devaya*. In this section importance is given to everything Pāncarātra. The gifts made to the Licchavītiya Śākyas are said to be productive of immense good (*Varāha*: 50-16). The study of the Pāncarātra Sāmhitas and the observance of the rules of the Pāncarātras are recommended next to the Vedas as the means of realising the Viṣṇu-Brahma. Viṣṇu is brought in to say

paṛuṣam suktaṁ asthaya ye yajanti dvijaṣu mam |
 te nam prapyaṁti satatam sambhataḥhyāyanena ca ||
 alabhe veda-śāstrānam pañcarātrōditeṣu hi |
 mārgena nam śajante ye te nam prapyaṁti manavaḥ ||
 (*Varāha* 66-10-11.)

* The late Dr. Hareprasad Shastri wrongly divides the contents of the *Bib. Ind. ed.* of the *Varāha P.* into three sections (1) from chap. 1 to 112 (2) from 113 to 192 and (3) from 193 to the end. See *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, Introduction pp. 16-166.

* *Varāha P.* 27-21 and 31-49-31.

Though in this section Śiva, Bishmā and Viṣṇu are said to be not different from one another, it is Nārāyaṇa (also called Viṣṇu) who is the highest god and all other gods, including Brahmā and Śiva, are said to be born of him¹. Rudra himself acknowledges the superiority of Nārāyaṇa and describes the latter as 'sakala-vidyā vabodhita-paramātma-svarūpi viḡata-kalinasah paramanur acin tyātmā nārāyaṇah sakala-lokāloka-vyāpi'². The Bear also describes Nārāyaṇa as 'suddha', 'sarvagata', 'nitya', 'vyoma rupa', 'sanātana' and 'bhavābhāva-nirmukta' (Varāha 6, 16) and says that even the gods cannot see his supreme form (paramam rūpam Varāha 4, 4). Nārāyaṇa is further identified definitely with the Puruṣa of the Vedānta (vedānta-puruṣah prokto nārāyaṇātmakah Varāha 17, 73) and the Parama Brahma of the Veda and other holy scriptures³. In spite of this identification, a distinction is made between the Nārāyaṇa- or Viṣṇu-Brahma and the inferior Viṣṇu of the trinity. The latter is born of the former and is incarnated on earth (Varāha 73, 47).

This section was written with a view to popularise the Pāñcātrātra system which was losing popular favour in Northern India⁴. It was mainly directed against the antagonistic non-Vedic Pāśupatas (i.e. the Āgamic Śaivas) who were growing in number probably at the cost of the Pāñcātrātras⁵. Here Rudra is brought in to denounce the non-Vedic Pāśupatas (also called the Raudras) as well as their scriptures. The former are blamed as 'given to mean and sinful acts', 'addicted to wine meat and

¹ Ibid 17 22-25 90 1 etc

² Ibid 74 5

³ yad otat paramam brahma vede āstiroḡa pāṭhyate ;
sa vedah puḡḡarsakḡeḡah svayaḡ nārāyaṇo hariḡ ḡ
Varāha 39 16

⁴ Of yugāni tṛṣṇi bahavo mām upāśyanti mḡnavāḡḡ ;
antiye yuge praviraḡ bhavāśyanti mad-āśrayāḡ ḡ
Varāha 70 34b-35a.

⁵ Of asaḡkhyāḡā tu te raudrā bhavāḡro mahā-tāḡ ;
Varāha 71, 57
kaleḡ mat-kṛta-mḡrgeḡa babu-rūpeḡa tḡmasah ;
tḡyate dveḡa-buddhyā sa paramātmā jaḡśrḡḡanah ḡ
Varāha 70, 25

It is to be noted that the scriptures of the non-Vedic Pāśupatas are condemned as 'tḡmasa' and that Nārāyaṇa and Śiva are proscribed as one. Therefore, those who become non-Vedic Pāśupatas and do so really worship the latter through the spirit of hostility (dveḡa-buddhyā).

women and the *Hike* (*Varāha* 71 58) and the latter are called *vada-hāhya* and *lāmāca* and are said to be meant for deluding and degrading the people (*mohārchaṃ—Varāha* 70 41 *patana kāraṇam—Varāha* 70 40)

The way in which this section ends shows that originally it was not continued further and that it formed a distinct work by itself. Towards its end the Boar says to the Earth: "Thus a beautiful lady I have narrated to you the sanctifying and all-giving *Saṃhitā* named after the Boar (*vaiśākhyā saṃhitā. Var* 112 63)" and then gives two traditions of the rise and origin of the *Purāṇa Saṃhitā*. According to one of these traditions, the *Saṃhitā* arose from the Omniscient in a previous *Kalpa* and was learnt by Brahma who then gave it to his son *Pulastya*. *Pulastya* handed it down to *Bhāgava Rama Bhargava*. *Rama* to his own disciple *Ugri* and *Ugri* to *Manu*. According to the other tradition the Boar received the *Saṃhitā* from the Omniscient in the present *Kalpa* and gave it to the Earth. The *Saṃhitā* would then pass through the sages *Kapila* and others and reach *Vyasa* from whom *Rama-bāraṇa* would get it and declare it to his own disciple *Saunaka*. The Boar next names the eighteen *Mahā-purāṇas* and finishes by glorifying the study bearing preservation and worship of the *Sāstra* named *Vaṛaha*.

In this second section (extending over chapters 113 to 192) *Suta* is the general reporter of what the Earth said to *Sanat-kumāra* and other sages after she had been raised by the Boar. In this section *Sanat-kumāra* son of Brahma asks the Earth to tell him what strange things she experienced while she was upheld by the Boar and what the latter told her. Consequently the Earth narrates the interlocution between herself and the Boar to *Sanat-kumāra* and the other sages invited by him. Thus besides *Suta* there are two sets of interlocutors in this section: (1) *Sanat-kumāra* and the Earth, and (2) the Boar and the Earth.¹

Unlike the first this section bears a distinct *Bhāgavata* stamp and is meant for guiding the *Bhāgavatas* especially in their re-

¹ The late Dr. Haraprasad Shastri wrongly gives the sets of interlocutors in this section as: (1) *Sana* and the *Boar*, (2) *Sanat-kumāra* and the *Boar*, and (3) the Boar and the Earth. Vide *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. ASB, Vol. V Preface, p. 106*.

religious observances. In this section the Viṣṇu-worshippers are termed 'Bhāgavata', and this word is used much more frequently than the generic term 'Vaiṣṇava', viz, the secret 'dharma' proclaimed by the Boar is to be disclosed only to a sincere Bhāgavata (*Varāha* 117-47). Viṣṇu accepts those things which are preferred by the Bhāgavatas (*Varāha* 119-10), the Bhāgavatas are to be honoured at the end of the worship of Viṣṇu (*Varāha* 124, 10), the pure Bhāgavatas are always to be visited and honoured by the people (*Varāha* 125, 168), in initiation the Bhāgavata preceptor and other Bhāgavatas are to be honoured (chap. 127-128), and so on. Though the name 'Nārāyaṇa' for the highest god is not rarely used, the name 'Viṣṇu' is more frequent here than in the first section. The word 'Vāsudeva' also is used at times.¹ This section is named 'Bhagavacohāstra' at the end of almost all the chapters, and its contents are called 'Bhagavatprokta-dharma' (*Varāha* 113, 5) or 'Viṣṇu-prokta-dharma' (*Varāha* 122, 89). Though the sectarian Mantra 'namo nārāyaṇāya' is of more frequent occurrence, the Mantra 'om namo vasudevāya' also is found to occur (cf. *Varāha* 123, 32, 122, 9).

In the third section (chapters 193-212), Sata is the reporter as usual, the interlocutors being the king Janamejaya and the sage Vaiśampāyana.² After the twelve-year sacrifice is performed, the former expiates the murder of a Brāhmana and approaches the latter to hear about the results of actions (karma-vipāka) and the region of Yama. Consequently, Vaiśampāyana narrates the story of Nāciketa in which the latter speaks to his father and other sages about his visit to and experience of the realm of Yama.

This third section, named 'Dharma-samhitā' (*Varāha* 212, 1), constitutes a distinct unit by itself. It does not seem to be connected with the chapters of the first or the second section. The line 'asvamedha tathā vṛtte rājā vai janamejayah' towards the beginning of this section proves its isolated character, because in the preceding sections nothing is said about king Janamejaya or his horse-sacrifice. It is probable that these

¹ Cf. *Varāha* 129, 3 and 51-52, 148, 10, etc.

² Here also the late Dr. Shastri wrongly gives the prominent interlocutors as (1) Rama-harṣana and Janamejaya, and (2) Senat-kumāra and Brahmī. See, *A Deo Out of Sans. Mss.*, ABE, Vol. V, Preface, p. 168.

chapters were taken from some other source in which the story of Janamejaya was narrated. It is to be noted that though in chap. 211-212 the method of Viṣṇu-worship is given the other chapters of this section remarkably lack the characteristics found in the first and second sections.

The contents of the fourth section (chap. 213 to the end) are reported by Suba as an interlocution between Saṅgat-bumāra and Brahmā. This section is strictly Śaiva. It treats of the origin and glorification of Uttara Gokarna and other holy places in Nepal which are sacred to Śiva. In connection with these places Śiva also is glorified. This section was added most probably by an inhabitant of Nepal who wanted to glorify Uttara Gokarna in Nepal over Dakṣiṇa Gokarna (in Mathura). The former is said to contain the greater part of the body of Śiva and to be more sacred than even Prabhāsa Prayaḡa Narmasāyanya Puskara and Kurukṣetra. There is also mention of the Kṣatriya kings of the Solar race who took possession of the kingdom of Nepal from the Mlecchas established the Brahmanical religion and popularised the Lṛṅga-worship (*Varāha* 15 42-46).

From what has been said above it is clear that the four sections of the *Varāha Purāṇa* have different characteristics and are therefore to be ascribed to different authors. In these four sections, again, there are chapters and verses which are later interpolations. Before we proceed to discuss the dates of the different sections we shall try to find out these interpolated portions, especially those in the first two sections.

In the first section chapters 90-97 and 98-112 (verses 1-62) seem to have been added later. Of these chapters 90-96 on the origin exploits and fundamental unity of the three Śakti-Brahmī Vaiṣṇavī and Rāndrī - are distinctly Śakti documents. Chap. 97 has been inserted by the Śaivas to show the origin of the Rudra vrata (also called the Vāhbravya or Suddha-śaiva Vrata) and to establish the sacredness of Paśupata-śāstra. It is clearly a protest made against chap. 70-71 in which the Rudra-vrata and the Paśupata-śāstra have been condemned by the Pāṇḍe-rāṭres. Chap. 98 refers to the Vaiṣṇavī Śakti who killed the demon Mahiṣa on the Mandara hills. So this chapter cannot possibly be earlier than the chapters (90-96) on the Śakti.

Chapters 99 (verses 54ff) to 112 (verses 1-62), on the different kinds of gifts, have been introduced incoherently. As *Varāha P* 99, 54^a-63 and 112, 53-59 tally respectively with *Padma P* (*Srsu-khanda*) chap 34, verses 333-372 and 378-384 it is probable that somebody took these portions from the *Padma P* (*Srsti-kh*), developed them with further additions and then inserted the whole into the *Varāha P*. That this has been the case with these chapters on gifts seems to be shown by the fact that though in *Varāha* 99, 82 the priest of the hungry king Vinitseva advises the latter to make gifts of Tila-dhenu, Jala-dhenu, Ghrta-dhenu, Dhenu and Rasa-dhenu for getting rid of hunger, he is found to describe the methods of making many other gifts in chapters 102-112.

The remaining chapters of the first section may be taken to be contemporaneous, for they are closely interrelated, viz, *Varāha P* 10, 44 and 50, in which it is said that all informations about Indra and the two demons, Vidyut and Savidyut would be given later on, point to chapter 16. *Varāha* 11, 112 points to chap 17 and 35 (Verses 1-8) on the attainment of kingship by the warriors born of the gem given by Visnu to the sage Gaura mukha, *Varāha* 17, 23-26 referring to the origin of all the gods from Narayana, point to chap 18-34, and so forth.

In the second section (chap 113-192), chapters 140-151 (on the holy places and the duties of women under menses) and 152-180 (on Mathura) seem to have been interpolated. Though Kokāmukha a place sacred to the Bear, is already glorified in chap 122, there is no reason why it should be repeated by the same author as late as in chap 140. That chap 122 was already there when chap 140 was added is certain, because in *Varāha* 140, 4 the Bear refers to Kokāmukha as already described (*tava kokāmukham nama yā mayā pūrvavāhasitam*). There are other reasons why chapters 140-151 can be taken as spurious. Some of the Tīrtha-māhātmyas in these chapters are told in the form of predictions, the stories do not resemble those in chapters 122 (on Kokāmukha), 125-126 (Kabyāmraka) and 137-138 (on Saukara-ksetra), the verse ' prabhātāyam tu sarvāryāṃ udīte tu divākare ' or ' vyāhītyāṃ tu sarvāryāṃ udīte tu divākare ' which occurs often in other chapters, not excepting even the chapters

on Kokāmukha Kubjāmraha and Saukhara-ksetra and which consequently seems to be a favourite expression of the author of this section of the Purāna is not found in chapters 140-151 and there is no mention of the duties of women under menues in chap 114 in which the Earth mentions the topics on which the Boar is to speak to her. In chap 140-151 again there are some which appear to have been added still later. In *Vārāha* 140 4-5 the Boar names the three places Kokāmukha Vadarī and Lohargala which he does not leave. Now the Boar speaks on Kokāmukha and Vadarī in chap 140 and 141 respectively but Lohargala is taken up as late as in chap 151. Hence it is highly probable that the intervening chapters 142-150 are later than chap 140-141 and 151.

Chap 152-189 (on Mathura-mahatmya) are ascribed by scholars to Śaṅkara a disciple of Cātanya of Navadvīpa.¹ But this ascription is doubtful because the verse 26 of *Vārāha P* 152 is found quoted in the *Haribhakti-wācā*² with the definite mention that the verse is taken from the Mathura-mahatmya of the *Vārāha P* (varāha ca śrī-mathura-mahatmye etc) That these chapters on Mathura-mahatmya are later than the other chapters on holy places in the second section can be little doubted because the story of the Brahma-saksasa in chap 155 is certainly later than that in chap 128; the performance of Śaddha and the offer of rice-balls to the manes in the holy places in Mathurā are highly spoken of in these chapters only and the name Krishna which is rare in other chapters is used more than once.

It is difficult to detect the interpolated portions if any in the third and fourth sections. These two sections are certainly later than the original chapters in the first two sections.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different chapters of this Purāna. Let us begin with the first section the famous list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu³ given in

¹ *Tanpūjar Outline of the Religious Literature of India* pp 300-310.

² Edited by Śyāmaśāstra Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons Calcutta p 697. It is believed that the *Haribhakti-wācā* was composed by Śaṅkara but was attributed to Gopālabhāṭṭa (another disciple of Cātanya).

³ Mātaya Kṛmā Varāha Narasiṅha Vāmana (Parasū) Rama Rāma (Dāśarathī) Kṛpā Buddha and Kaiki.

chapters 4 (verse 2), 48 (verses 17-22) and 55 (verses 35-37), none of which can be proved to be spurious shows that this list including Buddha was well known at the time when the first section was composed. If Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu about 550 A. D.,¹ then the date of this section of the *Varāha P.* cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 650 A. D. From the description of the ten Vrātas named after the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, we understand that Buddha was not only accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but was popularly worshipped by the Pāñcārātrās. Moreover, the idea of the people regarding the delusive nature of Buddha was forgotten at least by a section of the people who worshipped him for attaining physical beauty (*rupekāmo yaṣed buddham—Varāha 48, 22*). Hence the date of composition of the first section should be placed lower still. A comparison between the stories of Gautama in *Kūrma P.* I, 16, 95f and *Varāha P.* 71 proves the earlier origin of the story in the former Purāna. This earlier date of the *Kūrma P.* is supported by another evidence. In the *Kūrma P.* the Paśupatas introduce a story that Viṣṇu (in the form of Kṛṣṇa) worshipped Śiva for a son. But in the *Varāha P.* (73, 40-50), the Pāñcārātrās say that Śiva first worshipped Nārāyaṇa who at the former's prayer granted the boon that he would worship Śiva for a favour. Thus the attempt of the Paśupatas to raise Śiva over Viṣṇu is baffled by the Pāñcārātrās. That the author of the first section of the *Varāha P.* was acquainted with the *Kūrma P.* is shown by the verses common to the chapters narrating the stories of Gautama in the two Purānas. Hence it is sure that the first section of the *Varāha P.* was written after the *Kūrma P.* had been recast by the Pāñcārātrās. As this recast was made towards the beginning of the eighth century A. D. the date of the first section of the *Varāha P.* cannot be placed earlier than the middle of that century. Thus we set the upper limit.

Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses 7-52 of *Varāha P.* 99 in his *Haribhāṣa-śāśā*. This chapter appearing to be spurious, the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P.* should not be placed later than 1400 A. D. Again, Vidyākṣara Vāṅmāyīn quotes three verses from *Varāha P.* 66 and 70 in his *Nityāra-*

¹ See my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, pp. 17-18.

2 [*Annals, B. O. R. I.*]

padhika Vasopati-māra has a good number of verses from chapter 7 in his *Tirtha-mūlaman*. Sulapani has one verse from chap 68 in his *Vrata-kōka-uvāka*. Candesvara quotes the entire chapters 40 48 and 58 and also a large number of verses from chapters 39 and 41 in his *Prīya-atāhāra*. Apararka quotes a considerable number of verses from chapters 13 56 70 71 and 11⁶ in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* and Jinttavahana draws upon chap 28-30 in his *Kūlavāka*. Hence the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P* cannot be placed later than 1000 A D. As in the Rudra-gīta of the *Varāha P* the words 'Rudra' and Paśupati have been used to mean the Āgamic Saivas and their scriptures these chapters should not be placed later than the beginning of the ninth century A D, because the distinctive terms 'Saiva' and 'Āgama' were well known in the ninth century A D.⁷

Thus the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P* falls between the middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century i e about 800 A D.

As Apararka quotes verses 31-40 from chap 113 the spurious chapters (*Varāha* 99 54 to 112 62) on gifts cannot be dated later than 1100 A D. As Gopalsabhatta quotes verses 7-53 from *Varāha* 99 and as in chap 99 there is mention of the Vaisnavi Sakti who killed Mahiṣa on the Mandara hills chap 90-96 (on the three Saktis) and 99 (verses 1-52) should not be placed later than 1400 A D. The lower limit of the date of chap 97 is not known.

Let us now take up the second section. The use of the pronoun 'tena' for the Bear in the very opening verse 'sa tena śrīvaṁ tayam vai prithivyam yam samagatah / sto' of this section presupposes the chapters of the first. Therefore this section which is the work of a different hand is certainly later than 800 A D. As Gopalsabhatta quotes verses from chapters 119 128 129 131 139 and 152 in his *Haribhaṭṭa-vāka*. Govindasūnda from chapters 187 188 and 190 in his *Śrīmadha-lasūnda*, *Līlā-lasūnda* and *Śaṅkha-lasūnda*; Sulapani from chap 116 in his *Prāyaskṛita-uvāka*; Mādhavacarya from chap 190 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛiti* (Vol I part II) Madanapāla from chapters 188 and 190 in his

⁷ See my article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol XI pp 208f.

Madana-pārijāta, Candesvara from chapters 116 and 139 and his *Kṛtyaratnākhara*, Ānanda-tītha from chap 70 in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, Devanabhata from chap 190 in his *Smṛti-candrikā* IV, Anurūddhabhatta from chap 187 in his *Hāratalā* and *Pitṛ-dāyaka*, and Aparārka from chapters 188 and 190 in his commentary (see Appendix), it is sure that the original chapters of this section were composed not later than 1000 A D.

As chapters 140-151 are earlier than the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, the lower limit of the date of the former is to be placed about 1500 A D. No Nibandha-writer having been found to draw upon them, it is difficult to say anything more accurately.

As to the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, we have seen that they are later than the spurious chapters 140-151 but earlier than the date of composition of the *Havishakti-utāra*.

The third section, which is certainly later than the original chapters of the preceding sections, was added to the *Varāha P* earlier than 1100 A D, because Madhvacarya quotes a verse from chap 202 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Pañcāra-Smṛti* (Vol II, part II), Śrīdhara Upādhyāya quotes verses from chap 210 and 211 in his *Kṛtyācāra*, Candesvara from chap 211 in his *Kṛtya-raimāhāra*, and Ballalāsena from chap 205-207 in his *Dāna-sūtra* (see Appendix). Hence the date of this section is to be placed between 900 and 1100 A D.

The date of the fourth section is not yet known. No Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon it. It does not seem to have been added to the *Varāha P* earlier than 1100 A D.

The results of our investigation are given below in a tabular form.

I First section (comprising chapters 1-112)

(a) Original

Chap 1-89 and 98 about 800 A D

(b) Interpolated

Chap 90-96 and Chap 99 (verses 1-52) not later than 1400 A D

Chap. 97 date not known.

Chap 99 (53f)-112 (1-62) . not later than 1100 A D

- II Second section (comprising chap 113-192)
 (a) Original
 Chap 113-139 and 181-192 800 1000 A D
 (later than the original chapters in the first section)
 (b) Interpolated
 Chap 140-151 not later than 1500 A D
 Chap 152-180 later than chap 140-151 but not later than the date of composition of the *Śiva bhakti-viśēṣa*
- III Chapters of the third section between 900 and 1100 A D
- IV Chapters of the fourth section not known probably not earlier than 1100 A D

Besides the four sections of which we have spoken above the present *Vr̥thā P* contained a fifth section which has been lost. The *Nāradaśya P* (I 103) divides the *Varāha P* into two parts (bhaga) Purva and Uttara and lays down their contents. According to the *Nāradaśya* the Uttara bhaga in which the interlocutors were Pulastya and the king Kuru treated of Dharma Tirtha mahātaya and Puṅkara.¹ Though the contents of the Purva bhaga agree fully with those of the extant *Varāha P* the Uttara bhaga is not found at all in the latter. There are however references in chap 217 which show that the contents of the Uttara bhaga followed this chapter. In 217 1 6 Sanat-kumāra enumerates the topics already spoken on by Brahmā and requests the latter to tell him about the origin of the Tirthas. Brahma consequently refers Sanat-kumāra to Pulastya who Brahmā says would speak on the Tirthas before Kuru raja and the sages.

Though it is difficult to find the provenance of the different sections of the present *Varāha P* we are however, sure that the first three sections of the present *Varāha P* were composed in Northern India for almost all of the numerous holy places named in these sections belong to this part of the country. Had the authors of these sections been the inhabitants of Southern

utāre pravṛtṭiḥ sa pulastya kururajayoh¹

apvāde āreva-śreṣṭhānāḥ mātṛtroyam vantarī pṛthak i
 śāṅgā-dharmāḥ śākyāḥ pūṅkaram puṅgava-purva ca :

Nāradaśya P I 103 13-14a

India they would never have ignored the holy places in their own country. The fourth section, which deals with the holy places in Nepal, was most probably composed by an inhabitant of that place.

The authors of at least the first two sections of the *Varāha P* appear to have consulted other works before composing these sections. In *Varāha P* 2, 2b the contents of this Purāna are said to have been derived from 'all Śāstras' and in 148, 20 this Purāna is said to be the essence of all Śāstras'. The literal agreement between *Varāha P* 13 (33 to the end) and 14 (1-50, except 1 and 8a) and *Viṣṇu P* III, 14 (4 to the end) and 15 (1 to the end, except 1a, 8b-10, 22 23a and 38) shows that the author of the first section borrowed these common portions from the *Viṣṇu P*. The story of Kṛṣṇa's curse on Śamba and the latter's worship of the Sun (*Varāha P* 177) is based on *Bhāgavata P* I, 73f. The latter Purāna is mentioned twice in *Varāha P* 177.

It should be noted that the opening verse

trih sapta saṁ kṛti mite nṛpe vikramaevā
 kāle gate bhagavato hari-bodhanesya |
 vīresvarena saha mādhava bhāṣṭa nāmnā
 kāśyam varāha kathitam lkhitam purānam ||¹

of chap 218 in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Varāha P* cannot be made the basis for any chronological deduction regarding the Purāna. It is merely a post-colophon statement of the scribe.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Varāha Purāna* or *Vārāha*' in

	<i>Varāha P</i>		<i>Varāha P</i>
1 <i>Kāmasūtra</i> of Jīmūtavāhana, p 424	= 28, 40-41, The verse 'mahā navamyām etc' is not found	p 425	= 29, 14 ^b -15, The verse 'kā- rttikasya etc.' is not found
		pp 450-1	= 30, 6 The other lines are not found.

¹ kathayāmi purāṇasya vīṣṇavaḥ sarva-śāstracakṛt |
 yathā ca māthyamknāid vai dādhuā coddhriyate gṛhṭhāt |
 evaṁ sarveṣu śāstreṣu vārāhaḥ gṛhṭhā-saṁhṛtāt ||¹

2 Ap.ārka's commentary on १८	Varāha P	5 Dāna-śāra of Ballalāsana	Varāha P
p 12	= 70 41-42 71 52-54 and 70 35 ^a -36 The verse Luha Lāś candrajalani' is not found	fol 117 ^a	= 205 24-25
		124 ^a	= 207 26
		129 ^a (twice) = 207 50 ^a and 50 ^b	
		, 136 ^b (twice) = 207 26 205 30	
p 13	= 66 71-72 ^a	157 ^b -158	= 206 18 ^b -22
pp 301-302 = 112, 31-40	The line navati etc is not found	158 ^a - ^c	= 206 18 -22
		159 ^a	= 206 18 ^b -22
p 426	= 13 33-35	161 ^b	= 207, 52 ^b
pp 456 = 190 103 ^a -104 ^a	The line vāstra- śaucadi etc' is not found	, 166 ^b	= 207 52 ^b
		168	= 207 45 ^b
		173	= 207 26
p 498	= 190 125	190 ^a —	of 207 51
pp 525-526 = 188 12-22 (ex- cept 14 ^b -15, 18 ^b - -14 and 27-30 ^a)	The lines śvab- karīya ^a and pu- nyayami' are not found	221 ^a	= 206 14 ^b -15
		223 ^b	= 206 14 ^b -15 ^a
		223 ^b	= 206 13-14 ^b
3 Hīnāśi of Aniruddhahatya		6 Śānti-candrakā of Devanabhatta	
pp 128-130 = 18, 88-100	(except 89 ^b 91 ^b - -92 ^a 93 ^b 96 and 104)	IV 189	= 190 103 ^b -104 ^a
		The line 'vas- tra-śaucadi etc' is not found	
4 Pū- dayat of Aniruddhahatya		7 Kṛtyāśra of Sridakṣa Upādhyāya	
p 75	= 187 101-103	fol 15 ^a	= 210 64 ^a and 65 ^a
p 77	= 187 106-107	, 16 ^a	= 211 14 ^a and 15 ^{a-b}
		The line tat- kṣapadeva is not found.	

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3 <i>Madana-pūrvāṅgā</i> of
of
Madanapāla,
p 56L = 190, 103 ^b -104 ^a | Varāha P
fol 192 ^{a-b} = Chap 42 (except verses
8-13)
, 199 ^b (twice) = 139 47 (= 155, 34)
116, 4f
211, 16-18 |
| The line 'vastra-
śaucādi' is not
found | |
| p 611 = 188, 13
The lines 'svah
karisye etc' and
'pūjayisyāmi etc'
are not found | 11 <i>Vratadhāra-ucchar</i>
of
Śūlapāni,
fol 4 ^a = 62, 3 |
| 9 <i>Mādhavacārya's</i>
commentary on
the <i>Parāśara-smṛti</i> ,
Vol I, part II,
p 360 = 190, 103 ^b -104 ^a | 12 <i>Pūṅgavacittatara</i>
of
Śūlapāni,
p 367 = 116, 4 |
| The line, 'vastra-
śaucādi' is not
found | 13 <i>Tirtha-c nāmam</i>
of
Vācaspatimīśra,
pp 270-272 = 7, 13-26 and
27 ^{b-c} |
| Vol II, part II,
p 268 (twice) = 202, 71
The verses 'trna
galma etc' are
not found | The line 'samā
gatas tīrthava
ram' is not found |
| 10 <i>Kṛtya-ratnākara</i>
of
Candāśvara,
fol 167 ^a -169 ^a = 39, 26-77
" 175 ^a -175 ^b = 40, 2 ^b to the
end
" 185 ^b -186 ^a = 41, 1-15
Five lines
'agamyā gam
anam etc' are
not found | 14 <i>Dāna-kāṇḍa</i>
of
Govindānanda,
p 36 = 187, 90 ^b -91 ^a and
92 ^b
p 99 = 188 13, 10 ^b , 13
and 14 ^a
Two lines 'svah
karisye and 'pū-
jayisyāmi are not
found |
| " 190 ^{a-b} = 58, 1 to the end
(except verses
3 ^b -7 and 14) | 15 <i>Suddha-kāṇḍa</i>
of
Govindānanda
p 107 = 187, 90-91 ^a and
92 ^b , |

<i>Varāha P</i>		<i>Varāha P</i>	
p 109 (twice)	= 187 94 ^b -95 187 97 ^{b-c}	p 481	= of chap 130-188
p 110	= 187 99-103 (except 99 ^b)	p 506	= 138 11 ^{b-1c}
p 1/1	= 188 13 10 ^b 12 and 14 The lines 'svah karinye and paṣ ayisyami' are not found	p 507	= 86 11 ^b
p 177	= at 188 36 ^b 41 and 44	p 509	= 68 18
16 <i>Srōddha-kāvya</i>		p 590	= 70 40
of		18 <i>Karibhakti-sūtra</i>	
Govindananda		of	
p 75	= 188 50 ^{b-c}	Gopalabhatta	
p 76	= 190 103 ^b -104 ^a The line 'vasi- śaucadi' is not found	pp 82-80	= 99 7-53 A few lines are not found
p 79	= 190 104	p 130	= 131 1
p 81	= 189 13 ^a	p 158	= 139 17 and 19 Many lines are not found
p 83	= 190 103 ^b	p 164	= 139 2 8 ^b -9 11 and 13-14 A few verses are not found
p 377	= 188 50 ^b	p 206	= 139 17 The other two verses are not found
p 380-381	= 188 13 12 and 16 The lines 'svah karinye etc' 'paṣ ayisyami etc' and pada 'mrakṣasam etc' are not found	pp 304-5	= 119 5-10 Many verses are not found
p 395	= 188 64-66 The line 'namo'- etu is not found	p 396	= 119 13
17 <i>Naiṣṭhika-pañcāśat</i>		p 411	= 139 96-97 ^a and 99c The other lines are not found
of		p 414	= 139 99 The other lines are not found
Vidyākara Vajapeyān,		p 687	= 153 26
p 68	= 190 104 ^a	pp 087-8	= 128 45 ^b and 48 of 128 69 70.

This MS and editions of the Purānas and other Sanskrit works used in writing this paper are the following —

Agni Purāna—Vāngavasi edition, Calcutta

Apārarka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya-Ānandāśrama* edition, Poona

Bhāṣya Purāna—Pub by the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay

Dāna-kāumudī of Govindananda—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta

Dāna-sāgara of Ballāḥana—MS No 1704-5, India Office Library, London

Hāratalā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta

Haribhakti-tiṭṭā of Gopalaḥṭṭa—Edited by Śyāma-caṣana Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta

Kāśyapaśā of Jimūtavahana—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta

Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upadhyaṣya—MS No, M42/39 (Number in the rough valuation list) Dacca University MS Library

Kṛtya-raśnāhara of Candēśvara—MS No 10550 Dacca University MS Library

Kūrma-Purāna—Vāngavasi edition, Calcutta

Madana-pūrijīta of Madanapāla—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta

Madhavaśārya's commentary on *Parāśara-smṛti*—Edited by V S Islampurkar, Bombay

Matsya Purāna—Vāngavasi Edition, Calcutta

Nāradaṣya Purāna—Pub by the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay

Natyācāra-paddhati of Vidyakara Vajapeyina—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta

Padma Purāna (Śṛṣṭi-khanda)—Ānandāśrama edition, Poona

Patr-dagunī of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa—Pub by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta

Prāyāścitta-śāstra of Śūlapāni—Edited by Jivānanda Vidyāśāgara, Calcutta

Śloka Purāna—Vāngavasi edition, Calcutta

Smṛti-candīkā of Devanaḥṭṭa—Pub by the Govt of Mysore

Śraddha-kāumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl Ind, Calcutta

Śuddhi-kāumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl Ind, Calcutta

Tvṣṭa-candāmanī of Vasaspathiśāra—Bibl Ind, Calcutta

Varāha Purāna—Vāngavasi edition, Calcutta

Viṣṇu Purāna—Vāngavasi edition, Calcutta

Vratakāra-śāstra of Śūlapāni—MS No 12780, Dacca University MS Library

THE NĀGAS

BY

DR A. BANERJI-SASTRI

In the early history of India the Nagas appear as a baffling problem. An attempt has been made recently in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* vol XIX by Mr Jayswal to reconstruct their history from literature and archaeology. This reconstruction has been commented on adversely by Sir R. Burn in pp 10-11 of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for the year 1935 vol VIII published in 1935. In order to appreciate the contentions of either it is necessary to review the available information prior to the controversy.

The sources may be roughly divided in four literary groups—

I Vedic—circa 2000-800 B C (Iconic and basylic *Sat* B xi 2 7 12 Mythic Nagas *Ās* G 7 Satia in 4 1)

II Epic (Mbh and Rām) Buddhist and Jain chronicles circa 600-200 B C (Kings and serpent folk Mbh eminent men *Dharmapada*, *Sallon Jama Sūtr*)

III Purana (circa 200 B C 325 A D) and contemporary records The *Periplus*—c 80 A D Ptolemy—2nd cent A D *Mahā māhūrī* (in the *Pāṭha-sālī*) c 3rd cent A D

IV Post-Purana (c 399-414 A D Yuan Chwang—629-645 A D *Mahāvastuśāstra* c 900 A D)

The above four literary groups correspond to the following archaeological evidence—

I and II Excavations in the Indus Ganges Jumna and Nerbudda valleys and results in the form of terra cotta, plaques and sculptures.

III Coins and inscriptions found practically all over northern India.

IV Coins and inscriptions in northern as well as southern India. Sculptures at Bharhut Sanchi and Amravati may be referred to when they actually contain name legends leaving aside controversial interpretation of form and feeling.

In equating the two sources, it should be borne in mind that geography is the eye of history. Mere similarity in names without reference to locality and time is of little value for identification. Similarity in script is a safeguard but cannot ensure absolute accuracy. The possible margin on both coins and inscriptions makes a perceptible difference in assigning precise dates to particular persons who may otherwise be placed in the same general chronology based on the typical characteristics, e. g., on their coins. To quote an instance, Thus Nāgasena occurs as a contemporary of king Mihinda, and also of Samudragupta (Allahabad Pillar Inscr. line 13),¹ *Haravacchita* mentions another Nāgasena, possibly at Padmāvati. They are clearly different persons hailing from different localities. Fleet² & I on p. 328, suggested "other chiefs of this race are probably to be found in Ganapati-naga, Nagadaita, and Nāgreena who were conquered by Samudragupta".³ From a strictly scientific point of view, there is not a shred of evidence that this Nāgasena was a Nāga at all. No inscription, no coin, no piece of literature attests him as such. Cunningham does not know him (*C. A. I.*, pl. VI, C. M. I. pl. II), Vincent Smith⁴ omits him (*C. I. M.*, pp. 162, 164, 178), Rapson⁵ ignores him completely, mentioning only the Buddhist teacher. None of the Purānas mentions him (of—Va. iv, 24, 17, Bh. xii, 1, 32, 33, Va. iv, 24, 18, Bh. xii, 1, 37-40). The only remaining source, therefore, is *Mahābhārata* (circa, 900 A. D.) in verses 610-12

Uttarāṅga des: sarvabā nānārambhāntaṅgavayoh || 610 ||

Anantā nṛpatayaḥ prakṛtā nūnāyātsavānīkrītāḥ |

Śakravānśa tadā trīśāśa manujeshū bhadrāḥ || 611 ||

Dadīśa bhūpatayaḥ khyātā sūrdharmānīkamaḍhyamāḥ |

Ante Nāgasenā tu vāṅmātā te paśā tadā || 612 ||

¹ With the Guptas are mentioned Ganapati-nāga, Nāgīdhyanas and others as reigning contemporaneously—Fergiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*

p. xii

² *Lévi J. A.*, Janvier-Février 1915 p. 8

³ Fleet *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. III *Gupta Inscriptions*, 1886

⁴ Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, Ancient India, pp. 549-550,

⁵ Cf. also Plate XXIII of V. Smith's *C. I. M.* pp. 206-207.

Mr Jayaswal¹ interprets as follows —

" Now the Buddhist historian leaves the West and takes up the Middle Country. These kings he calls *Madhyas* : o the kings of the Madhya country. He begins with North Mid-Land.

In the Northern Quarter on the mountains (*Ṛṣya-vambhāṭṭ*) and tableland everywhere many kings of different births (castes or nationalities-*śū*) have been declared.

The Saka dynasty (*Saka-vaṃśa*) known to be of 30 rulers (T with a wrong reading for *Sakavanta* ' 21+30) 18 kings are known to be Emperors (*Śrāvabhūmi* ' a, T S wrongly, *śrāvabhūmi*) of Madhyadesa (*Madhyama*) (610-12)

The Dynasty of Nāgasena (115 A. D.—384 A. D.)

At the close there (will be) the Nāga-senas, and then they ceased (*śū*) (612) *Comments* on the above.

The important thing to note is that the Saka dynasty is placed in North Madhyadesa and that they were Imperial that is the reference is not to the Western Satraps but to the Kushans.

The Nagasenas are the Naga dynasty of the Bharadvajas where in Virasena Naga was the first king (of the Nava Nagas of the Puranas) who defeated and dislodged them from Mathura and earlier still some king who founded *Āśvatapur* below the Vindhya (Mirzapur) dispossessed them from Eastern Aryavarta (J B O R S XIX, I) It seems very probable that the compound Naga Senas' is made up of the Nagas' and Pravara- Sena" the Vakataka emperor) "

The above commentary contains a confusion of issues. *Mañjuśrī*'s datum about Nāgasena's geography is sought to be corroborated by reference to the Purānas which know no such person but describe the Nava-Naga family and the Vaideśaka Naga family spreading over Vidisha Padmavati Kantipuri and Mathura (Va iv 24 17-18 Va 99 382-88) The next suggestion of Jayaswal² is based on his reading the coin illustrated in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum by Dr Vincent Smith on plate No XXII fig no 15 as *Pravarasena* in place of Smith's reading *V(a)rasena*. As pointed out by Sir Richard Burn in the *Bib Ind Arch* for the year 1935 p 11 the correct

¹ *Imperial Hist Ind* p 25

² *J B O R S*, Vol XIX, Pts I—II pp 37-38

reading is $V(2)$ *asenas* not *Pravarasenas(ya)*. Thus, neither the coins nor the Purānas can make room for the Nagasenas between 78 A. D. and 350 A. D.

Then who are the Nagasenas, and what about Mañjuśrī? The answer is supplied by the passage itself quoted above. Jayaswal's translation is impossible. *Madhyamā* cannot mean *Madhyadeśa* in this context, it is in contrast with *ants* in line 613 and *adū* in line 611, lines 610-12 depending on the same syntax —

"In the Northern region, of all the hills and dales will be termed Kings, innumerable, belonging to various nationalities. Listen about the Sakasamā then of 30 rulers' 611. (Of these) are known 18 kings, half-the-number (i.e., $\frac{1}{2}$ of 18 = 9) intervening or in the middle, at the end the Naga-senas, the rest, however, they then disappear. "The limiting of the Sakasamā to the northern quarter was the work of Samudragupta" and his successors. The Nāgasenas were a continuation of the severely circumscribed Saka succession much after the Imperial Guptas. Their post-Guptan character" is further indicated by the *Mañjuśrī* by continuing the story by bringing in the next line rulers who came after the imperial Guptas, e.g. *Īśana*, line 613. The 9 intervening kings in the north may be the Kidāra kings⁴ of whom so many coins have been found in Kashmir and north-western Panjab, before the accession of the Kākoṭaka or Naga dynasty under Durlabha in 625 A. D. The Nāgasenas may be placed about 600 A. D. There is no evidence in the *Mañjuśrī*, and none else where that the Nāgasenas ever fought the Sakas. On the contrary they appear in their line." As these (Nāga) coins weigh 120 and 121 grains, they are the direct descendants of the gold dinars of the Kushan Prince, Kanishka and Huvishka in weight as well as in type, although the type is miserably degraded" (Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 29). With the Nagasenas out of the way, it would be easier to focus attention on the really important discovery, viz., the *Naga* family of Nagas who ruled along with the Guptas in the early fourth century before the founding of the

¹ *Dasvapurāna-Sāhā-Sāhānushahā-Sāka-Murudāh, Pāni, Gupta Inscriptions*

² V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, Kushān Coins, about 50 A. D. to 350 A. D., p. 63, 67-92

³ V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, 90

latter's empire. The geographical distribution of this Naga dynasty is highly instructive and is discussed further on.

This geographical check however will be of little avail unless at the same time its limitations are clearly recognised. In the note referred to above (I B I A p 10) Sir Richard Burn expresses doubts regarding the ascription of coins— while the coins were certainly struck by rulers in the Doab the Puranas describe the Nagas as rulers of Vidisa. Does Sir Richard suggest that Vidisa has a constant, unique significance throughout the different periods of Indian history and literature? If so he is clearly wrong. None of the names connected with the coinage under discussion Vidisa, Padmavati, Kantipur or Mathura has. Each no doubt refers to a definite area, but the area indicated in the 3rd-4th cent. A. D. is not the same as in the 2nd-1st century B. C. or in the 6th-7th cent. A. D. The purely geographical connotation is coloured by political or cultural considerations. Take Vidisa. Its purely geographical location is according to the Puranas on the bank of the river Vidisa 21 mi. from the Paripatha mountain. But its political orbit is surely more extensive the seat of Asoka's viceroyalty (3rd cent. B. C.) it is used in a provincial sense in the title of Agastya as *Vidisaivar* (2nd cent. B. C.) in *Maha-kāshyapa* (3rd cent. A. D.) *Vandisi* is mentioned by *Mahābhārata* (20) immediately after Girinagara and again after Avantika and Gomardana (40) the *Bhalsa* tope² show its orbit embracing Bharhut in the 2nd-3rd century. A glance at the map published by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. V. Plate I against p. 132 of Bundelkhand and Malwa (1880) makes intelligible the fluctuations within the orbit to the west towards Malwa and to the east towards Kosambi and Mathura. Mathura shows the same vicissitudes of designation from the foundation of the monastery of Natabhata and the birth of Upagupta as predicted by the Buddha to the time of Ptolemy (2nd cent. A. D.) and later Mathura on the Jumna has been placed in the kingdom of Kasperioid (Kashmira Kashmir) by Ptolemy (VII 1 47) who makes this kingdom stretch down to the Vindhya mountain. Ptolemy clearly

¹ V. Smith *O. C. I. M.* p. 90.

² Cf. also Germ. *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* p. 67.

distinguishes this Mathurā in Kaspeitratōi from the meridional Pāndyamathura

(VII, 1, 89) Instead of comparing it with contemporary history and geography as recorded in literature, Sylvain Lévi¹ finds Ptolemy's location of Mathurā "aussi étrange que vague" Perhaps the best parallel to the Vaidīśa are the Malava "In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Malava is applied to various communities and territories, extending from the eastern Panjab to Ujjain Tsrānāth (Schiefner p 251) even speaks of Malava in Prayāga, whatever that may mean The Malava whose coins are here catalogued dwelt in eastern Rajputanā for four or five centuries, and may not have been the same people as the better known Malava further south"²

These pitfalls of the mere numismatist were pointed out vividly by Professor Cardwell³ in his *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans* delivered in the University of Oxford

"The evidence presented by ancient coins is open to every kind of objection, carried to in some instances, to the greatest possible extent, to which any kind of testimony is exposed It is most capricious in its application, being abundant in regard to some places which are almost totally unknown in common history, and most sparing in regard to others of general notoriety and yet coins may still be discovered in great quantities, and even in remote districts, which may change that inequality in any conceivable manner and degree It labours under the disadvantages of fabulous devices, and forgotten languages, and evanescent figures, and when all these difficulties are overcome, it repays your search after it by giving you a remote conjecture It wraps itself up in the associations of distant times, and requires that you should be provided with the aids of ancient learning to explain them, and at last perhaps, when you think you have discovered its meaning and its value, it comes forth an undisputed forgery"

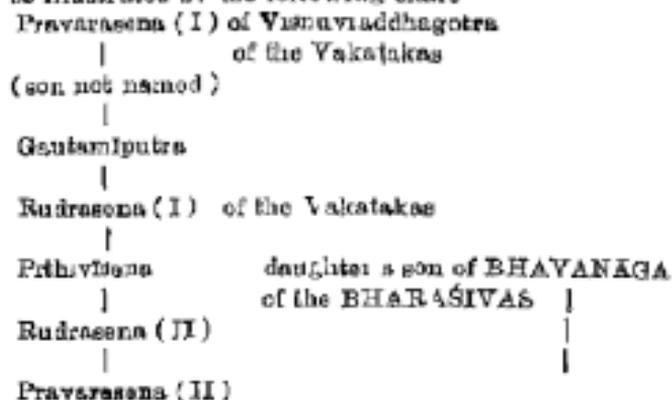
The geographical distribution of the supposed Nāga coins is, however, a minor difficulty of Sir Richard Burn Accepting that the Nāga coins are found from Vidisa to Kausambi, from

¹ *J A Janvika-Pfevner* 1915 p 75

² *V Smith O C I M*, p 161

³ *Oxford, MDCCCLXXII*, p 22

Kalinga to Kashmir the misgivings regarding Mr Jayaswal's thesis may be illustrated by the following chart --



son of Prabhavatsingula 4 generations
grandson of Devagupta (c 660 A D)* 75 yrs-100yrs
(Contrast Pathak IA 1912, 315 Smith J R A S 1914 35)

If Cunningham's date of Devagupta viz 606 A D⁴ be correct (C M I p 14) then Prithvisena can be placed only c 500 A D Mr Jaysawal¹ calculates from the start of Vindhyanakta at 248 A D which is against the Puranic datum which makes him contemporary not anterior to the dynasties of Vidisha

Nrpān Vāśakāhāṣāṣ cāpa and contrast it with expression for posterior to¹ in *Tatah Ko's' Ibhāṣā ca Va mal* as the first reading (i s cāpa) *Caṣa Ed cāha*, whereas Vā substitutes the second reading (i o tatah) by *teṣu cāpaṣu*²

The main contention however is about Bhuvanaga of the Bharasivas Did he belong to any tribe or dynasty of Nagas? Were the Bharasivas a dynasty of Nagas? (1) Is there any other reference to the Bharasivas in the whole range of literature, inscriptions, any other evidence principal or subsidiary—save and except this incidental mention in indirect way in the two inscriptions of the self-same third person viz (a) Chammal plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II and (b) Siwani plates of the Maharaja Pravarasena II The answer is an emphatic

* J B O R S XVI p 229

⁴ Faghter op cit pp 48-9

No attempt has been made to verify if the reading is actually *Bhāraśāsana*, the two inscriptions¹ being in the possession of Major Saczespanski and of Hazari Gond Malguzar respectively in the days of Dr Fleet (1880). Under the peculiar absence of any corroboration, a verification is clearly indicated. The nearest approach is to the term *Varasikha* mentioned in the *Rv* and explained in some of the commentaries of the Nirukta with no connection whatever with the Nagas (Of Varasikha—M N pi eines Feindes des Indra *Rv* 6, 27, 4, 5. *Bohtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, 1871, *Thal* vi, p 718).

(ii) On p 8 of his *Hist. of Ind.*, Mr Jaysawal states that the Bhārasivas were Nagas. Barring the oblique juxtaposition of the two terms *Bhārasivas* and the second part of the compound in *Shakanaga* is there any reference to the Bhārasivas as Nagas in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain chronicles, belles lettres inscriptions or coins²? Is there any reference to a Naga empire anywhere between the 2nd-7th centuries A. D.? Is not the entire demarcation of empires one succeeding the other, the Kushan empire ending on a particular date (248 A. D.)³ followed by another empire ending on another particular date—an assumption at once unreal and gratuitous? Rapson gives a warning against this sort of simplified chronology: "But this is history distorted. Some editors have evidently placed independent lists in a false sequence and supplied appropriate links of connexion"⁴. In the case of the Nagas, however, even the Purānas are careful not to attribute or imply suzerainty to the two branches described separately, the Vaidisa Nagas and those at Padmāvati Kāntipurī and Mathura ruling along with the post-Sungan and Gupta rulers in the adjacent territories, in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.

¹ Inscriptions suggest Davagupta as contemporary of Harsa of Mādhava and Banskara Piston *EI*, iv pp 210-211. *EI* vii, p 155-160. Jaysawal ignores these inscriptions and makes Prabhavati a daughter of Candragupta II whose other name was Davagupta *Hist. Ind.* p 63. Literature and archaeology can be reconciled by postulating two Prthivissas.

² J. B. O. R. B. Pt III, 1936 professes to reproduce a coin of Bhavanaga. The reading is doubtful.

³ Bachhofer in his *Herzacher und Münz en der Späten Kussasas* argues for Vasudeva II in Kashmir after Kanishka II and Kanishka III, and even after 240 A. D. Cf. J. A. O. S., December 1936 pp 429-430.

⁴ Rapson, *Anc. Ind.*, p 310.

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Manjusri does not in this respect differ from the Purānas (*Manjusri* 610-11)

Thus the mighty Bhairava-Naga empire remains one of the might-have-beens of history and cannot be submitted to scientific analysis

On the other hand, substantial additions have been made to our knowledge of Naga history To revert to the Naga groups mentioned at the beginning of this note

NĀGAS

I and II Prior to the Śaśunagas

The Vedic and Epic literature Buddhist and Jain annals especially the Nilamata Purāna show the very wide distribution of these mythic Nagas from their dislodgement from the Khaḍava forest (Mbh. Adī 8050 ff) to Janamejaya's sacrifice their long history in Kashmir at one end (*Nilamata Pur.* -) till their emergence into the historical period as rulers of Magadha in the 7th cen. B. C. (Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* (2nd ed.) App. p. xxxviii ff)

Of this period are

(a) At Mahēno-Daro No. 27 on Pl. OXVI Pl. OXVIII 11 (V 210) Basaltic Size 1.3 by 8.6 by 0.33 in. On the obverse is a seated figure on a dais (The position in which this figure is sitting is typically Indian-Marshall flanked on either side by a kneeling worshipper Behind each worshipper is a cobra in a vertical position On the reverse there are five or six characters some of which are partly obliterated ' 1

(b) Standing serpents with circular and linear markings 1 e at Kōśambī on the Jumna (Allahabad Municipal Museum) and at Buzar 2 on the Ganges (Patna Museum)

(c) Sculptures down to the Topes at Sanchī and Amravatī Serpent Worship has been obliterated or nearly so in the valley of the Ganges by the successive waves of Aryan or Mongolian migrations that have swept over it nor is it found except sporadically in any of the purely Tamilian countries in the Coromandel coast On the other hand it seems to prevail in all the hilly countries south of the Vindhya Hill from Canara to Ootacā,

1 Marshall *Mahēno Daro* vol. I 28 vol. II 395

2 Banerji-Sastri *Pre-Hist. Civilization in Gang Valley* JBHS, and Patlak *Comm.* Vol. JBORS 102, 33

and in Cashmere and Nepal (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873, p 84)

(d) The hoards of Punch-marked Coins, these with the undoubted affinities with the Mahenjo-Daro seals may supply valuable light on Naga origins and story up to the time of their appearance in the historical rulers of Magadha explicitly described as Sisū-(i.e., Oadot)-Nāgas

III & IV Coming to the historical (Kali) age, the Puranas mention the following Naga dynasties —

A SISU—NĀGAS B C (at Girivraja)

(1) Sisunaga	733 B C	(2) Kakavarua	693 B C
(3) Ksamadharmā	657	(4) Ksatrasaja	637 "
(5) Bimbisāra	612	(6) Ajatasatru	572 "
(7) Darbhaka	544	Nāgadassaka	
(8) Udayasēva	519	Udaya	
(9) Nandivardhana	486	(10) Mahapadma Nandī	444

His 8 sons of whom Dhanananda was king in 326 B C, (Alexander's discomfiture)¹

B His (Sisunaga's son) at Varanasi

C VAIDISAKA—NĀGAS 3rd cent A D

- (1) Sesa—evidently not a Vaidisaka, but a Naga king ruling at
 (2) Bhogī (3) Sadraoandra
 (4) Dhanadharmā (5) Vangara
 (6) Bhūtinanda (Sisunanda, Nandiyasah appear to be

long to a dynasty different from the Nagas, though ruling in Vidisa Cf Pergiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p 49) *Sungūdhara* the *kulayānta*—a fresh family

D NAVA—NĀGAS early 4th cent A D

Ruling at Campāvati and Mathura according to Va 99, 382-388, at Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathura accor to Vs iv, 24, 18

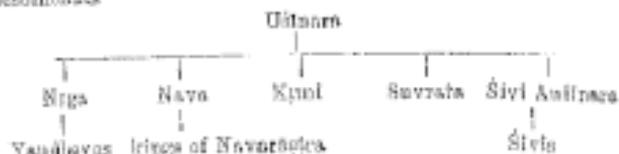
Acc to Vs "Nine or new Nagas will rule at Campavati, and seven Nagas at Mathura"

Acc to Vs Seven of the Nava-Nāgas will rule at Padmāvati Kāntipurī and Mathurā "

Both interpretations are possible, but the second is preferable in view of the use of Sesa (cadet) and of Sesa (name) applied to earlier families and *Nava* may mean either new or a name. This use is fairly common. Of the Uśmāra family as given in the

¹ Rapson, *Anc Ind* p 313

Brahmā, Vā, Brahmā and Harivamśa with the kingdoms of their descendants—



Here *Nava* can have one and only one meaning—name of a person. *NAVA* also was evidently the first king of his line. This view is strengthened by Mr. Jayaswal's¹ reading of the coins illustrated by V. Smith on Pl. XXIII, nos. 15, 16, described on pp. 199 and 206, *C. C. I. M.* "The reading *distra* is due to Prof. Rapson. The first character, being peculiar in form, has been read generally as *Nā*, but *Da* appears to be the correct reading. There is nothing to indicate who *Dava* was." *op. cit.* p. 199. Jayaswal read it as *Dhauśara* in *J. B. O. R. S.*, XX, 6; then corrected it to *Nava* in vol. XX, 303. In his *Biol. Ind.*, p. 13, he reads it as *Nomsa*. The reading is correct as far as it goes. But there is another letter above *na*.

Of the two coins² nos. 15 and 16 on Pl. XXIII against p. 212, *C. C. I.*

(a) No. 15 is clearly within a square incuse, No. 16 has the line of the l. hand incuse, not the r. hand.

(b) In hammering the die on the flan, no. 15 has lost the l. hand edge, no. 16 the r. hand edge.

(c) No. 15 shows the third letter as clearly as no. 16 the first letter of the same line, *vā*, *va*.

(d) There is no doubt about the *va* under the tree in rolling in either.

(e) But corresponding to the hooded snake to the *r.* of the tree in rolling within the incuse on no. 15, to the *l.* of the tree in rolling above the letter *na* is the conjunct letter *Śri*³. No. 16 carelessly hammered has partially lost the *v.* hand incuse the hooded snake, and the clear contour of the same *Śri*.

¹ Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, Pts. I-II, p. 13.

Dr. Richard Dorn, *A. B. J. A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 10, says: "has been very easily read as *Nomsa*, *Distra* or as part of a name—*navasa*."

² See Nos. 1 and 2 in the adjoining picture.

³ Cf. the *Śri* with the *Śri* of *Palava Śivastambā*, 4th cent. A. D. Bühler's *Tafeln*, Tafel III. See No. 3 in the adjoining picture.



(1)



(2)



(3)

Ἰερωδία ἡμετέροισι
ἀπελευθερώσῃ

(4)



(5)

(1) Cf. ¹ this *Śri* on nos. 15 and 16 of Smith's *C. I. I. M.* 19, XXIII, with the *Śri* on nos. 19, 20, 23 and 24 of Pl. 11 of Cunningham's *C. I. I.*, Nino Nāga, Narana.

(2) The correct reading; therefore is, *name* on nos. 15 and 16 of Pl. XXIII.

ŚRI NAYASA.

It finally settles the controversy in favour of Naya being the name of a King of the Naga dynasty (*Naya-nāga*).

Sir Richard Burn is, however, right in contesting the reading of the name Rada. The coin reproduced (photolincographed) by Cunningham on Plate II, (no. 8), vol. X of *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (1890) leaves no doubt that it is part of a *scandapa*. Call it a *scandapa* (Burn, *op. cit.*, 11), *Dharmarājan* Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 4), or Buddhist symbol (Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116), it occurs at Maharajodara (Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 430, no. 60) and on the earliest Punch-marked coins; it would repay further investigation.

It would be seen from the Purāṇic lists, that sometimes whole dynasties (cf. B above), often names of individual kings of a dynasty (cf. D, above) are left blank. The method inaugurated by the late Mr. Jayaswal may tend gradually to fill in the gaps. Premature ascription may give a wrong direction. Further researches into Nāga history demands—

(a) Collect all references to Nāgas from literature—trifles, dynasty, king or individuals.

(b) Re-read the inscriptions for the same: (i) an untraced Nāga is mentioned in the Bharhut Torso; ² (ii) another Nāgarāja from Kāśīgiri (***Śrīnagarāja Nāgarāja Nāgarājaputras***) in the Amravati Torso, cf. no. XX Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 1 on Plate XLIX, Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

(c) Re-read the coins with legends.

(d) Re-read, compare and contrast the symbols of the Punch-marked coins.

Nāga Symbolism.

It is yet a matter of controversy. Jayaswal says—'The *Vṛa* or Nandi, serpent and trident are prominent on the Nāga coins.'³ This view is untenable. The *Vṛa* and trident are found far more prominently on Kūshā coins than on any other series: cf. Smith

¹ See No. 3 in the plates facing page 145.

² Waterfalls, Index Volume to *S. S. C.*, p. 320.

³ See No. 4 in the plates facing page 145.

C C I M Pl VI nos 4, 5, 7 Pl XII, nos 3, 6, 8, 14 Pl XIII nos 8, 9, 10, 11 Pl XIV 1-15 The serpent occurs on many other non-Naga coins of Pl XX no 6 Pl XX nos 11, 12 Kamnda coins

As a matter of fact apart from the obvious representations and symbols under Groups I and II above though the names sufferings and conversion of the Nagas crowd the pages of the *Mahabharata* and *Mahavanso* their personal appearance or characteristics are nowhere described. Only one passage in the *Nagananda*¹ describes a Naga as the sculptor represents him. When the Naga Sankhaoudi expostulates with the hero of the drama for his self sacrifice he exclaims: "The error is a likely one forsooth! Not to mention the mark of the Svastika on the breast are there not the scales on my body? Do you not count my two tongues as I speak? nor see these three hoods of mine the compressed wind hissing through them in my unsupportable anguish? While the brightness of my gems is distorted by the thick smoke from the fire of my lifeful poison? This may be a correct description of the ideal Naga under Groups I and II. For the historical period under Groups III and IV when the book was written, the curious part of the business is that till he proclaimed it nobody saw it. Certainly Jimutavahana, the hero of the piece took him for an ordinary mortal, and his mother had not a distinguishing mark. Even Garuda who from his eating a Naga every day for his lunch ought to have been tolerably familiar with their characteristics exclaims: "Both of you wear the distinctive badge (a red cloth) of victims. Which is really the Naga I know not."²

Sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amravati bear out the accuracy of this description. With new discoveries of inscribed Naga coins and a more intensive study of the Punch-marked coins more precision may be obtained in the probable symbolism of Naga numismatics.

¹ *Nagananda* by Sri Harasdeva of Kanauj (610-648 A. D.)

² *Nagananda* translated by F. Boyd 1872 p. 84

³ It is noteworthy that the Svastika mark occurs very rarely if at all on the Kushan coins whereas they appear on some of the coins ascribed to the Nagas and are found most abundantly on the Punch-marked coins—besides the Garuda and the Bodhi tree—the Svastika also is a well known symbol. (Gunnagham: *C. A. I.* p. 61 of Pl. II.)

PROBLEM OF THE *TAD UKTAM* SŪTRAS IN THE
BRAHMASŪTRAS SŪTRA III 4 42

BY

Dr P M MODI, M A, Ph D

There are eight Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyana in which the expression '*tad uktam*' occurs (Bra Sū I 3 21, II 1 31, III 3 8, III 3 26, III 3 33, III 3 43, III 3, 50 III 4 42) I propose to interpret one of these Sūtras (*upapūrvam aya tv'eha bhāṣyam akāṣaṇat tad uktam* III 4 42) in this paper

The problem of the *tad uktam* Sūtras arises from the fact that the references implied by the expression *tad uktam* ('it has been stated') are variously explained by various Ācāryas, even one and the same Ācārya interpreting it differently in different Sūtras For example, Saṅkarācārya explains *tad uktam* in three Sūtras as referring to some of the Brahmasūtras, and in the remaining five to the Jaiminisūtras, Ramanujācārya agrees with him in five Sūtras, but in Bra Sū III 3 8 and III 4 42 he understands the reference to have been made to the Chandogya Upaniṣad and the Gautama Dharmasūtras (?), while in the case of Bra Sū III 3 50 the two Ācāryas take the expression as referring to different Sūtras of the Jaiminisūtras and Vallabhācārya agrees with Saṅkarācārya in three cases only and explains *tad uktam* in Bra Sū III 3 33, III 3 50 and III 4 42 as referring to the Bhāgavata Purāna—which all refer to the Jaiminisūtras according to Saṅkarācārya the *tad uktam* in Bra Sū III 3 26 and III 3 43 refers according to Saṅkarācārya and Ramanujācārya to the Jaiminisūtras as shown above, but Vallabhācārya understands it to be a reference to Bra Sū III 3 29 and III 2 5 and to Mundaka Upaniṣad III 2 3 respectively¹ This problem of the expression *tad uktam*

¹ The following table will show the views of the three commentators regarding the works referred to by the *tad uktam* Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras—

Sūtras	Works referred to by <i>tad uktam</i>		
	Saṅkara	Ramanuja	Vallabha
(1) I 3 21	Bra Sū I 2 7	The same as Saṅkara	The same as Saṅkara.
(2) II 1 31	Bra Sū II 1 27	"	"

(continued on the next page)

" But the followers of a certain Branch of the Veda *et'c* mention the *subodhata* or *śāstra* (*upapūrtam*) existence [of professional duties with regard to a seeker in dire need], as they went on ' eating ' (beans) this has been explained " Sūtra 42

Notes Sūtra III, 4 41

1 In Sūtra III 4 41 we have to take *karma anuśtheyam* as understood, so that the Sūtra would be *at cūdhakūrikam apt karma anuśtheyam Anuśtheyam* I take as understood from Sūtra III 4 19 and 27 and *karma* from Sūtra III 4 32

2 *Apt* in Sūtra 41 is necessary because the *Sūtrakāra* means that no professional duties should be performed in addition to the duties mentioned in Sūtras 19 and 32

3 *Tat* in *śādayoṣṭ* should refer to *śādhā śikṣa karma* 'the professional duties (in the case of a seeker of absolution) *śādayoṣṭ* should mean ' because [the seeker has] no connection with those [duties] '

4 *Padaṅānumānāt—Anumāna* means a Smṛti like the Gītā (Of *yogabhoṣṭa* in Bhagavadgītā VI 37-44), the Mahābhārata or even a Purāna. There are stories in these Smṛtis narrating how a seeker of absolution *fe* from his endeavour on account of his performing duties which are meant for certain professions only Sūtra III 4 42

5 *Tu eke* shows that the *Sūtrakāra* is not in favour of the seeker of absolution doing any professional duties, but he only quotes the view of the followers of a certain Branch of the Veda, and therefore, he would not object to the seeker doing those duties under the circumstances mentioned in the Smṛti in question

6 *Bhāṣyam* means the existence of the professional duties *Bhāṣyam* is used in Sūtra 42 in opposition to *at* in the preceding Sūtra which is equivalent to *a-bhāṣa*

7 *Upapūrtam*—The word *upa* as well as the word *śāstra* seems to me to be a clear suggestion for the Smṛti referred to by *eke* in Sūtra 42. It is very likely that here the *Sūtrakāra* refers to Chāndogya Upaniṣad I 10 11, particularly *tatr adpūtra śāśtre śloṣyamānān up opānreśa sa ha praśatāram uōca* (Cha Upa I 10 3). To this passage (particularly *opānreśa*) we trace *upa* mentioned in the Sūtra (in *upapūrtam*), and this identity of *upā* in both the cases seems to me to be an important point in favour of the interpretation I have suggested here for these two Sūtras.

8 *Uparvātam bhūtam i e uparvātam ūhā'ūrā'ama* *Is enough bhūtam*—By this expression the Śūtraia not only gives a clue to the Śruti he has in mind but he also gives it seems to me his own interpretation of that Śruti. By *uparvātam Is enough bhūtam* he seems to mean that if the seekers of absolute has to do professional duties they should be *uparvāta i e* of a subordinate or subsidiary nature. *Upar'* has this sense of subordination e.g. in the famous illustration *upa haviṣ su'āh* (Panini I 4 87 Śk.) The preposition *upa* may also mean 'superiority' e.g. in *upī'vat' e' hūrsāpanam*. And this sense may have been as well intended by the Sātenkara in *uparvātam bhūtam*. Thus the Sūtra kara interprets *uparvāta* to mean that Uśasti Cakrayana did not actually act as a priest in the sacrifice of the *kan* but he only *uparvāta* over the other priests that were actually officiating there so this kind of secondary performance of professional duty may be allowed in the case of a *śāhka* in due need.

9 *Aśuśat*—This has a reference to the fact that in case of dire necessity Uśasti Cakrayana had to eat beans out of what remained after the owner of the elephant had partaken of the same. This Uśasti did only because he was dying of hunger. This is proved by the fact that though Uśasti ate the impure beans he refused to drink impure water offered by the lord of the elephant.

10 *Tad'uktam*—This has undoubtedly a reference to Brahma sūtra III 4 28 viz. *śraṅghānām'as' ca prānāyāge tad' rānāt*. Śankarācārya rightly explains *tad'uktam* in Sūtra III 4 28 as referring to the story of Uśasti Cakrayana (Cha. Ūra I 10). But somehow or other perhaps due to the loss of tradition he fails to realise that *aśuśat* in Sūtra 42 is a reference to the eating of beans by Uśasti and that *tad'uktam* in Sūtra 42 therefore refers to the explanation of the story of Uśasti given in Sūtra III 4 28. The Sūtrakāra means that the explanation of performing the professional duties by a seeker of absolute mentioned by the followers of a certain Branch of the Vēda is like that of the eating of beans by Uśasti in the same text and that the explanation of the latter is already given by him in the foregoing portion of the Sūtras viz. in III 4 28. Thus the eating of the forbidden food and the doing of professional duties are

allowed in the case of a seeker of absolution only at the time when life is about to end if he denies himself the use of both. If we read the whole story of Uśasti we find that he officiated at the sacrifice as a supervisor only because he was in dire need of money with which he wanted to buy the necessities of life without which he would have possibly died.

ii. According to Sankarācārya and other commentators Sūtra III 4 41 refers to the Section of Adhikāralaksana in the Jaiminīsūtras (VI 8 91). Sankarācārya was led to this belief only because the word *ādihikārika* occurs in the Sūtra (Bra Sū III 4 41). But the same word occurs also elsewhere in the Brahmasūtras, e.g. Bra Sū IV 4 18 (*pratyakṣopadesād ut cen nādihikārikamandataśloketā*) and Bra Sū III 3 32 (*yāvad adhi lāsam avasthāst adihikārikānām*). In neither of these cases does Sankarācārya or any other Ācārya explain *ādihikārika* as referring to the Adhikāralaksana of the Jaiminīsūtras. Moreover, at the very first sight it looks absurd that the author of the Brahmasūtras should adversely criticize the Jaiminīsūtras on a point which does not at all form a part of the Vedānta doctrine. Sankarācārya connects *ādihikārika* with the word *pratyakṣam* taken as understood but there is no reference to any *pratyakṣam* in the Sūtras that are connected with Sūtra III 4 41 and therefore, that *ādihikārika* seems to me to be unjustifiable in this context.

"*Patana*" of the Sūtra (III 4 41) Sankarācārya unnecessarily changes into *apratīsamūdhaya patana*.

"*Anumāna*" of the Sūtra should mean a Smṛti like the Gītā, the Mahābhārata, or a Purāna, but so far as I am aware the Sūtrakara never uses the word *anumāna* to mean a Law Book like that of Manu which, of course, can be called a Smṛti. In the latter case the Sūtrakara would very likely use the word 'Smṛti' instead of the word *anumāna* because the use of *anumāna* in the sense of a Smṛti like the Manusmṛti would lead to a great confusion.

According to Sankarācārya a interpretation *śakyogūt* in Sūtra III 4 41 becomes almost redundant.

In Sūtra III 4 42 Sankarācārya interprets *upo* in the sense of *upapātaka*, and here, too, the topic of the Sūtra as given by

Samkaracarya has nothing to do with Vedānta doctrine. The discussion of the relative stultness of a confirmed celibate cohabiting with any other women but his teacher's wife is quite out of place in the Brahmasūtras.

Similarly his explanations of *bhāṣya* and *śāstra* also seem to me to be unacceptable on the same ground.

Samkaracarya explains *ślo* in the Sūtra as referring to *ślo* *śāstrya* but gives no reference.

He explains *tad uktam* of the Sūtra (III 4 43) as referring to Jai. Sū. I 3 8 and I 3 9. This is quite inconsistent with the context as I have shown already.

12 Ramanujacarya and Vallabhacarya refer *tad uktam* to Gautama and the Bhagavata Purāna.

13 Madhvacarya reads *bhāṣyamānāt* in place of *bhāṣya* *śāstrāt* and thus seems to make the confusion of Samkara Bhasya worse confounded.

The above interpretation of Bra. Sū. III 4 41-42 and the reasons for them would I believe, amply show that (*śāstrāt*) *tad uktam* in Sūtra III 4 42 refers to the words *śarvānāmamahā* *ca pramāṇyāya* in Bra. Sū. III 4 25. It would be rather strange if by *tad uktam* the Sūtrakara were to refer to any other work but his own. On the contrary it would be quite proper if in all the Sūtras which make use of the phrase *tad uktam* the Sūtrakara were to refer to what he himself has said in the portion of the Brahmasūtras that precedes those Sūtras with *tad uktam*. But this latter still remains to be proved. Here I could do nothing more than offer a possible solution for *tad uktam* in only one of such Sūtras.

THE COMPUTATION OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

S N TADPATRIKAR M A

Sahityaśāstra, Kāvyaśāstra Vedantaśāstra, Sāstri Pandit R M Shastri, M A M O L, of the Allahabad University has contributed to the recent issue of the *Allahabad University Studies* (pp 67-82) an article on the above subject supporting, in the main, the present text of the Bh Gītā containing 700 Slokas and making a strenuous effort to make the present arrangement of the text to agree with the traditional one found recorded,* in some Manuscripts of the Mbh at the beginning of the adhy (43) next to the end of Bh G in the Bhismaparvan Reference also has been made in the article to the critical edition of the Mbh being published by the Bhandarkar Institute, expressing uncertainty as to what the editor of Bhismaparvan may, in the long run, decide about the history of the above mentioned lines

The learned Pandit has satisfied himself with the-to him-evident fact that the passage in question bears "testimony to an early attempt of the custodians of the Mahabharata in the direction of fixing the size and shape of the *paṭṭa* [italics mine] Bhagavad gītā so as to have left no room for any interpolation therein "

By actual counting the present text of the Gītā consisting in all of 700 Slokas, is divided as follows Dhrtarāstra 1, Saṃjaya 41, Arjuna 84, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa 574 And if these figures are compared with those recorded in the passage under reference we notice less slokas allotted to Saṃjaya and Kṛṣṇa, in the present text, and more to Arjuna, Dhrtarāstra alone keeping true to his one sloka throughout these ages

* These are in all 514 slokas giving an aggregate text of 745 slokas for the whole Gītā distributed as follows — Dhrtarāstra 1 Saṃjaya 67 Arjuna 57 Śrī Kṛṣṇa 620

यद्भगवान्नि सर्वात्मनि श्लोकान्नाम पाद केशव ।

अजुन पञ्चपञ्चाशद् पञ्चपत्तिं तु मजय ।

धनराष्ट्र श्लोकमैक गीतायां मानमुच्यते ।

The remaining lines in this passage describe the यद्भगवद् and कश्चिन्नि of the Bhagavadgītā — It is interesting to note that two MSS one is Śhrādhā characters and another in Kāmarī Nāgarī read the second line as—अजुन पञ्च पञ्चाशद् पञ्चपत्तिं च मजय । thus reducing the total by four slokas !

'To find out the way out of this two fold discrepancy' is the aim of Prof B M Shastri and first of all he resorts to the old method of measuring a Sanskrit (Ms) work by granthas each grantha consisting of 32 syllables the standard of an Anustubh sloka. And while hoping that this may remove the discrepancy on the side of decrease we notice that in the table that follows Prof Shastri has succeeded in actually raising to the credit of Sri Krishna the traditional number of slokas - 620!

But to achieve this Prof Shastri has to bring out certain arguments to support his manipulations and these latter consist in relegating Arjuna's stuti in the 11th adhy to the credit of Lord Krishna as it was he who lent divine eye to Arjuna. Thus killing two birds with one stone Prof B M Shastri succeeds in bringing Arjuna's quota down while adding the same to the Lord's and bringing both to agree with their traditional share! But in this the learned Pandit seems to expect too much meanness from his reader. For admitting that the Lord helped Arjuna by giving him the divine sight one does not see how He can be the direct agent of the *and* which is purely Arjuna's own inspiration and thus can not be credited to Krishna's account as this computer wants to do. What does Prof B M Shastri mean by 'average part' of Arjuna? Was it that this was the only occasion when he recognised in his friend Krishna the Supreme Lord and praised Him as such? And even if it were so it was Arjuna and not No! Never!!--Krishna who gave vent to this *stuti*. Unless of course the two are to be taken as one-but then there would be no need of making any computation by analysis at all! The Lord is one and he is responsible for all that we see or feel in fact we *all* are none other than the Lord Himself so that the whole question and along with it the vast world of *Māya* fades away as the Advaitin would have us believe!

This manipulation could succeed because the controversial slokas in the 11th adhy are in the long tristubh metre and their measurement according to the grantha standard did come up as required. But still there remains that naughty *bāṅṅ* with only 41 slokas to his credit and with only a few in the long metre! And he has to go up to the figure 67!

But Shastri is really out to bring about the agreement by *my means*! and consequently finding that the *Gīta* *text* affords no

further scope for exploration he catches hold of the 18 long, adhy Colophons, and thrusts to them into Samjaya's pocket! And then, with a sigh of relief the Pandit writes out the वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् of his labours: "Importance of the present study"

Now, first, with regard to the reliability of this passage of 5½ slokas in adhy 43 of the Bhismaparvan, it is interesting to note that it is omitted in *all* southern Mss, more than half Nāgari Mss, and in *two* (out of seven) Bengali Mss, so far collated for our Bhismaparvan, and from this data, the present writer, though no authority in the matter, can certainly expect—from what he has so far studied—that in the Critical Edition the passage will be put *down*, below the lines as an "insertion"! And yet howso ever late its birth be, the computation as recorded in the passage, can not be a work of mere imagination! It is an undoubted fact the person who composed this passage, had found the Gītā text to contain 745 ślokaś divided as per the record, and still it seems *equally certain* that that person *did not* follow Prof Shastri's method to take a round about way to arrive at the figures!

This method of measuring any Sanskrit work by the general grantha standard came into vogue when the professional scribes who copied Mss as a means of livelihood, had to be paid by the employer. Number of syllables in a line, as also the number of lines in a page were counted, and the contents of the whole work were thus made out by applying the Grantha standard of measure. Of course, references to speakers such as श्री महाशुभच etc—as well as adhy Colophons could not be and were not, omitted from this* calculation. To discard the उवाचs, which, according to Prof R M Shastri, 'come to more than 10 Slokas' and to accept the colophons only, is more or less arbitrary.

The colophons, too, which Prof Shastri, has requisitioned to make up Samjaya's quota, are not as uniform as he takes them to be. While the modern long formula इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पराशरामहर्षिणा श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे नाम अध्यायः १ is not found in Mss of old dates these latter contain, more 'इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासप्तविंशोऽध्यायः' a formula of 13 syllables only which put together for all the 18 adhy make 7½ slokas only, and these leave Samjaya poorer by a matter of about 11 slokas even after doing justice to the उवाचs, which Prof Shastri wants to leave out!

* This point has been discussed in all its details by Dr Sukthankar to his Prolegomena (p. XLIX) to Ādi-parvan—Vol I of the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

This discrepancy apparent to Prof R. M. Shastri and real to many others has brought to light some interesting features of the human mind. The late T. Prakasana Pillai in his immortal work *Gītābhāṣya* has opened this topic but he had at last to leave the matter as uncertain. Prof Lidgerton discussing the propriety of subjective criticism of the Gīta text by Prof Garbe makes the following conclusive statement: "There is absolutely no documentary evidence that any other form of the Gīta than that which we have was ever known in India. This of course does not prove that none ever was known but it leaves a strong burden of proof upon those who maintain such a theory." The *Suddha Dharma Mandala* of Madras have sometime back published an edition of the Gīta containing 745 slokas. The additional 45 slokas are found elsewhere in the Mhā and the arrangement of the text too is much different from what we find in the current text. Add to this a still more curious phenomenon—a Ms of *Bhāmāpārva* has after the 18 adhy. of the Gīta text an additional passage called *gītāśloka* and this when a few needless repetitions probably due to scribal errors are put aside would amount to 90 lines or 45 stanzas exactly! This seems to be a clear attempt to bring the Gīta text of 700 slokas up to the traditional figure 745. This passage contains matter regarding details of practical yoga—subject apparently left out in the existing text.

Then there is Prof Saksena's Kashmiri recension of the *Bhāgavadgīta* brought to light only some years back after the above works were published—which contains some 21 additional slokas and numerous *v. l.* all supported by a few well-known old commentators like *Abhinavaśūpti*. This Kashmiri tradition can surely take the Gīta text back to some centuries previous to the 10th but even this does not satisfy the curiosity of the student who is out to find a text of 745 slokas.

Thus the question of computation though attacked from different points of view has yet remained unsolved and although the student of Gīta has to thank Prof R. M. Shastri for his laborious attempt at a fresh attack he has all the same to confess that the success if at all it has to be called as such is not convincing—there are so many slippery grounds that one feels quite tottering as he follows Prof R. M. Shastri a line of action.

THE FORMATION OF KONKANI*

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There is nothing to add to Prof Bloch's explanation of these forms, this aspiration appears to be connected with *r* or *s* in the ensuing syllable or else with an aspirate in PI-A already lost in the Sk forms

(b) This class comprises the major instances of aspiration in Konkani. Here the aspiration is directly the result of deaspiration of a following syllable, as no non-initial aspirates are suffered in all the dialects of Konkani

Examples

kā *kāṣa* (*kāmasa* MI-A *kamās*, Ap *kāṣm*) where?, a go
kāṣāka, *gk* *kāṣk*, *kāṣk* (*kāṣa-*, *kāṣa-* MI-A *kāṣkha-* or *kāṣka-*)
 the armpit, a go *gk* *kāṣk-ā* (*kāṣkāt*) coughs *gk* *kāṣk* cough
gh- *ghara* (*ghā-* MI-A *ghara-*¹ already, and so under
 (a) above) house *ghatā* (*gh-* but of MI-A *gha*, *ghaccham*,
ghappat *ghettūya*, etc)

th *thā* (*tāmasa* MI-A *tamās*, Ap *tāṣm*), *gk* *thāṣgū*
 there, thither, *tāmgā* there, — *gk* *thā* there

dā *dāṣa* (*dāṣa-* MI-A *dāṣa-*) curds, *dā* (*dāsa* MI-A,
dāṣa) tam, *dāṣā* (*dāṣa-*) power, strength (possibly from *dāṣā-*
 strong, firm through extension to **dāṣāṣā* *dāṣāṣā*, of Pk *daṣ-*
ka-, *daṣṣa-* **dāṣāṣā*)

ph *phāppāṣ-ā*, *gk* *fāṣṣāṣ* (*pra-sphat-* of Pk *papp-*
huttā, *papphuttā-*) shakes, tosses, reverts *phou* (*phā-*) parched
 rice, *phāṣ* (*phā-*) the back

bā *bāṣa* (PE *bāṣa* outer of Sk *bāṣk* out) outside *bā*
 (*bāṣi-*) much too much, *bāṣo* (*bāṣā-*) credulous, believing

The number of these examples can easily be multiplied, they will be fully indicated in their proper places in the *Comparative Glossary*

Before proceeding to a discussion of the opposite tendency, two examples of initial aspiration where PI-A and MI-A show only

* Continued from the *Annals* Vol XVIII Part (ii) p 244

¹ Pa Pk *ghāra* a house is connected with I-B **ghāro-* fire hearth
 hearth see Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies III p 461 ff and
 Turner-N 154 b 8-9

a vowel may be cited here e.g. *hāna* (nasal- MĪ-Ā *naṅa-*) hot āna (Nema- MĪ-Ā *naṅa-*) sweat perspiration

§ 79 Just as we have a change from the unaspirated stop to an aspirated stop there is also the change of the original aspirated stop losing its aspiration in Konkani. The deaspirating tendency of Konkani has been so well marked that it has even been said that Konkani possesses no aspirates at all. But this is an exaggerated view of things based by an inspection of any of the lexical works published on this Language for all its dialects. Nevertheless the cases of deaspiration are greater than those of aspiration.

DEASPIRATION

§ 80 Since Konkani does not tolerate aspirates except in the initial position it will be evident that cases of deaspiration may be divided into two classes (a) initial deaspiration and (b) non-initial deaspiration of which the last is universal without any exception. Orthographically the aspirates are still shown (cf. Mgr Delgado's *Konkani Dictionary* or Mr Valavlikar's writings) but they do not represent the actual state of affairs and thus sacrifice accuracy by a slavish imitation of the orthography of other NĪ-Ā languages or a consciousness of the etymological equivalence.

(a) Initial deaspiration

k < (*kʰ*) e.g. *ḥaṅḥ-ḥ* ('*haṅḥayati*) pounds breaks into pieces *ḥāḥ* beans *ḥāḥ* (of SI *ḥāḥ* v s v *ḥāḥ* in FND) juice gravy us *ḥāḥ* (of *ḥāḥāḥāḥ* s v *ḥāḥ* in IND) a window *ḥāḥ* g *ḥāḥ* (of *ḥāḥāḥ* (w *ḥāḥ* in IND)

g < (*gʰ*) e.g. *gāḥ* thrust push (of Nep *gāḥ*) *gāḥ* swallowing *gāḥ* (of *gāḥāḥ*) girdle of small bells worn by women, *gāḥ* (of Nep *gāḥ*) a *ḥāḥ* the sound of swallowing *gāḥ* (of Nep *gāḥ*) snarling -*gāḥ* e.g. *gāḥ* small (*gāḥ*)

t < (*tʰ*) e.g. *tāḥ* manner, way (of Nep *tāḥ* 2 clan tribe and Kan *tāḥ*) e.g. *tāḥ-tāḥ* (of Nep *tāḥ*) quickly

d < (*dʰ*) e.g. *dāḥ* household or other work (Nep *dāḥ*) trade) *dāḥ* breath or asthma (of Hindi *dāḥ* breath Nep *dāḥ*)

p-<(-*ph*) *puṭṭata* (lw through Malayalam id < **phrūta*-< *bhūnta*-) foolish

b-<(-*bh*-) *bolko* boil (of Nep *phoko* boil), *būla*, *ev* *bhūta* (**bhūta*) π < **bhūta* < *bhūta* < *bhūta*) a wife, woman

(b) Non-initial deaspiration

1 In the final PI-A or MI-A syllable

-*k*-<(-*kh*) g gx nx *kāḥk* arm-pit (*kāka*- *kakha*), *bāḥk* (*bubhaka* < *bubhakkha*) *tak* (*takka*- *takha*) sharp, pungent

-*g*-<(-*gh*) g gx nx *uḥg* (*uḥgha*- *uḥgha*-) a tiger

-*t*-<(-*th*) g gx nx *phāt* (*prathā*-) the back, *sāt* (*saṭ*) sixty

-*q*-<(-*qh*) g gx nx *kāq* take away (MI-A *kaḥqha*) *deq* (MI-A *deyaḥqha*-) one and a half

-*t*-<(-*th*) g g, nx *hāt* (*hāta*- *hātha*-) the hand

-*d*-<(-*dh*) g gx nx *dād* (*daḥdha*- *daḥdha*-) milk *vīmad* (*vāndhā*-) a joint

-*p*-<(-*ph*) g gx nx ?

-*b*-<(-*bh*) g gx nx *gāb* (*gārbha*-)

2° In the interior of a word

-*k*-<(-*kh*-) s gs *sūkhara*, gx nx *sūkor* (Pa Pk *sukkhara*, of Sk *sukhara*), *sūkhana* (*uḥkhāna*-) diction, speech, etc *pāh-ta* (*prākṣman*-) eye-lash *ūkaḥ* (Pa *ūkhaha* Pk *ūkhaha*) lights *uḥay-tā* (*uḥarata*) spills, etc

-*g*-<(-*gh*-) s gs *jūng-sūn* (*janḥā-sandha*-) the groin

-*ṣ*-<(-*ṣh*-) s gs *sūṣja* (*sandhāḥ*) evening, *sūṣ* (*udhaya*) gets boiled, is cooked *uḥṣ* (*udhaya*) etc, -of *san-ṣa-tā* (in opposition to NI-A *samajh*-)

-*t*-<(-*th*-) s gs *uṣta* (*uṣṭa*-) salt, *uṣta* (*uṣṭa*-) flour made into a dough, these examples, if given for g gx nx would come under the case of final deaspiration

-*q*-<(-*qh*-) s gs *uḥq*, g gx nx *uḥq* (*uḥqha*- + **ṣṣya*-) two and a half, *sūḥq* (*sūḥqha*-) a half over

-*t*-<(-*th*-) s gs *māṭh* (*māṭhaka*) the head, *vūṭh* (*hāṭhaka*) a parasol or umbrella

-*d*-<(-*dh*-) s gs *budhāvita* (*buddha*-) clever, *madrāh* (*mādhya*-) midnight, *bādhvāt* (*bādhvāt*) afflicts adversely, *vūmdaya* (of Sk *rasadhā-ya* prepares food) cooking

-*p*-<(-*ph*-) s gs *phoppala* (*phoppala*-) arena mat, *ūpaḥ-tā* (*ū-ṣṣita*- MI-A *apphāttha*-, *apphāḥa*-) touches

-*b*-<(-*bh*-) s gs *śābhava* (of Mar *śāhar*) a hundred.

It will be evident that these examples given above are only selective. In every occurrence of a non-initial aspirate stop in cognate languages Konkani presents the simple unaspirated stop. We might also consider here the loss of the aspiration of *-h-* of MI-A both in words as well as inflectional endings. In the numbers (numerals) from 11 to 18 the form *-rasa-* of MI-A and *rasa-* of Ap (Sk. *-rasa-*) is reduced by loss of *-h-* to *-ra* *lra* (*śūda* & Ap *śūda*) eleven *hāra* (Ap *hāra*) *tarā* (Ap *tarā*) etc. Similarly the oblique forms of the simple (unextended) masculine *-a* and plur. *-i* are due to loss of *-h-* in the Ap ending *aha* and *ahā*.

§ 81 In § 5 we have spoken of the four stages or categories in the development of Konkani Consonantism a development which was throughout continuous but divided in this way to understand the processes at work.

In the first stage of MI-A final consonants are lost and consonant groups assimilated with a few exceptions in groups containing a sibilant or *z*.

In the second stage sonorisation and loss of intervocalic stops take place *-m-* becomes *-v-* and *-r-* becomes *-r-* etc.

In the third stage double consonants of MI-A tend to simplify (except in *sga*) into a single consonant with compensatory vowel lengthening.

In the fourth stage the loss of final vowels of MI-A and certain short vowels between consonants re-establishes the PI-A system of final stops (see §§ 15-16).

§ 82 These changes have given rise to the following Konkani Consonant System

Occlusives

Gutturals *k tʰ g ɣ*

Palatals (see under affricates Konkani does not show real palatals)

Cerebrals *t tʰ d dʰ*

Dentals *t tʰ d dʰ*

Labials *p pʰ b bʰ*

Affricates

Palato-alveolar *c č ɟ ʒ*

Dento-alveolar *ʃ š ʒ ʒʰ*

Consonants

Sibilants	ś ṣ s
Semivowels	y v
Liquids	l ḷ (ṛ)
Breathed	h
Nasals	n ñ m

Gutturals

§ 83 The gutturals *k, kh, ŋ, għ* have not changed their articulation from PI-A and MI-A and are pronounced today as in Sanskrit. In *gx* however there are certain words where an *f*-sound has developed for *kħ*

x fīlā, s ga khūā a latch, *gx fīlō* a nail *s ga khūlo, gx fobūr, s ga habbari* news, *gx forā, s ga kharā* a hoe, *gx faro, s ga kharo* rue, *gx faros, s ga kharyu* stoves, *gx fūāl, s ga khūsāla* happiness, merriment *gx frās s ga khūsā* wish desire, pleasure

Palatals

§ 84 The true palatals of OI-A do not exist in Konkani today. As early as in MI-A they were lost when in the intervocal position singly. The double palatal of MI-A when intervocal has survived in NI-A, but everywhere with a sibilant glide, and thus become an affricate. Konkani distinguishes two series here: the palato-alveolar and the dento-alveolar affricates. Before the vowels *i, e*, (*i e* close and half-close front vowels) we have the palato-alveolar *c* and *ç*, before others the dento-alveolar *ç* and *ç*. See *Konkani Phonetics*, § 15.

Cerebrals

§ 84 The dental series of I-E has survived in OI-A in two streams: dental and cerebral. The influences at work have been thoroughly discussed by Wackernagel in his *Altindische Grammatik* I, §§ 143-151, pp 164-177¹. These factors may be summed up as follows: cerebralisation takes place in OI-A of the dental in the presence of *s* (itself cerebralised from *ś* in the presence of a preceding *-r-*, *-n-* or *-ṛ-* or the consonants *-h-* or *-ṛ-* with which it is in combination) or **-s-* (*i e* the sonant of *-ṛ-*), and also in the presence of *i, r* or *l* or the diphthongs *e* or *o*.

¹ See also Turner *Cerebralisation in Sanskrit* JRAS 1924 pp 535-584. *Guj Phonology*, JRAS 1931 pp 512 ff. Bloch *L'indo-aryen*, pp 25-29.

The process of Cerebralisation in the presence of *r* or *r̄* and incidentally of *l* has not been regular in OI-A thus besides *kate-* we have *ṛṛṛ* similarly we have *akṛṛṛ*. But in the case of MI-A this has been more general *bk̄ ṛṛṛṛṛ* i a l *ṛṛṛṛṛ* turns round 2 *ṛṛṛṛṛ* happens takes place. When the liquid *r* is separated from the dental by a vowel we observe cerebralisation in MI-A in certain cases and to a slight extent in OI-A itself *prāthah̄l̄-te* *prāthah̄l̄*¹. But Turner in his recent review of *L'indo-aryen*² offers a very ingenious suggestion which deserves careful consideration namely that of ablaut not recognised so far in OI-A by others in the forms **vithah̄l̄-te* for the above and in the case of Ph *prāthama-* to OI-A **pithama-* (cf *prāthama-*) and thus reduce most of these examples to cerebralisation in the presence of a *i-* vowel or the analogy of **vithara* **vithar* *r-* (cf *√sath-*)

CEREBRALISATION

§ 85 We shall consider the cases of cerebralisation under the following heads —

- 1 Preceded at a distance by *r*
 - 2 Preceded immediately by *r*
 - 3 Preceded immediately by *r̄*
 - 4 Followed immediately by *r*
- and
- 5 (a) Single and intervocalic dentals
 - (b) Double and intervocalic dentals
 - (c) Initial dentals

and lastly

- 6 *n* and *l* initial and intervocalic

§ 86 1 Preceded at a distance by *r*

(a) Dental remains *s* gs *śhāu* (*śhāu-*) *paśo* (*prāthamā-^{*}prāthā-*) first

(b) Cerebralised *s* gs *pāśo* (*prāthama-*) *pāśo* (*prāthā-* MI-A *prāthā*)

2° Preceded immediately by *r*

(a) Dental remains *s* gs *māśo* (*māśo-*) *māśo* (*māśo-*) *śāśo* (*śāśo-*)

¹ Weckerling I § 146 n) p 167 Bloch *L'indo-aryen* p 86

² BSOI VIII Part I p 205

³ Unless we consider the theory of ablaut propounded by Turner above the cases considered here the same that Turner has given in his *Cerebralisation* in *Brada* JRAS 1924 pp 558 ff or with a slight alteration those in his *Gay Phonology* JBAS 1921 pp 512-13

(b) Cerebralised s gs *vādi* (vādhu-), *saḍḍu* (*sithu-a-) *maḷe* (mṛtakam)

§ 87 3 Preceded immediately by r

rt (a) Dental remains *kāḷṭi* (kārṭiṭ), *vāḷṭi* (sarti-)

(b) Cerebralised s gs *vāda* (vāṭma-a-), *vāḷ-tū* (vāṭa-)

rth (a) Dental remains *cautha* (caurthā-)

(b) Cerebralised ?

rd (a) Dental remains *pāḍu* (pāḍa-) a fart

(b) Cerebralised s gs *gāḷḷava* (gāḷḷāḷā-) *vaḷ-tū*

(chard- MI A *chaḷḷa*-), *kavāḷi* (kapāḷḷā) a cowrie

rāḷ (a) Dental remains *gr āḍo* (ardha-) a half

(b) Cerebralised *sāḷḷhe* (sārḷḷa-) s gs *deḷu* (dvy-
a dha- MI-A *dyaḷḷa*-) *aḷḷea* (a dha-*t: tyā-), *vāḷ-tū* (vār
dhāḷe)

4° Followed immediately by r Dentals remain

tr *tuṃ* (trīṃ) *pūtu* (putrā-), *sūta* (sūtra-)

ntr *āntā* (āntā-)

dr *nada* (nāḍā), *muddi* (mudrikā) moonlight

nd *nasad* (nāṣāṣā-) *ḷavudē* (candrīkā-)

In this case there is no example of cerebralisation

§ 88 5 Single intervocalic dentals these are all lost in Konkani Examples

-t- *māḷo* (mātula-) maternal uncle, *paṇ* (pāt-¹) name-ending in the Gauda Śāraṇvata community

-d- *nāḷi* (nāḍī) mou (māḍl-) *kāḷ-t-tū* (kāḷḷat)

In the case of the corresponding aspirates the aspiration alone remains with the loss of the occlusion

-th- *kūṃ* (kathankū) *gū* (gūthaka-)

-dh- *dāḷi* (dādhi-) *hoṃ* (vadhū-)¹

(b) Double and intervocalic dentals these, whether of OI-A or MI-A origin, are in general preserved as single with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowels if short before, and thus we may consider them in the same manner as initial single dentals

¹ See *Calcutta Oriental Journal* I pp 176-177 on Sanskrit *bhagant* and its cognates. The K word *hoṃ* has there been shown as the normal descendant of Deśi *vukunā* (t e Sk *vadhū* + Dravidic *oṃ*)

Instal
t -tt-
taabde (tāura-) *tāha* (tal rasi)
taera (tā ah) etc
th -tt-
thānq (stādh-) cold *the*
mha (stān- at, rāgā) a drop
ā- -ā-
āhā (dugdhā) milk *dāra*
dāra (dāru) string rope *āwā*
 (āhā) is seen appear
dh -dā-
dāra (dāra) a rich man
 owner *dāra* (dāra-)
 smoke etc

Double and intervocalic
puta (putā pūta-) son
suta (sūtra) string *sūta*
 (sūta) (sūta) parasol etc

gk g *gāha* (gāha)
gāha (gāha) head

madde (madhā) a river
dāda (dugdhā-) milk the
 example should really come
 under -dāh as the MI-A
 form in *dudhā*

budā (budhā-) intelligence
badarhā (badharhā-) clever
 intelligent *suddā* (sū-
 āhā- Sindhia: āhā knowledge,
 see JR 45 25 568 of Kan-
 rose *suddā* news) news, in-
 formation

This observation of intervocalic double consonants is general as will be seen later (see §§ 1 1 ff) and is not limited to the dental alone

§ 89 6 Instals and *t* have remained unchanged --

n- nāh (nāh) *nāha* (nāhā) cocconut *nāhā* (nāhā)
 Pk *nerā* (nāhā) a girdle *nāhā* (nāhā) name etc

t- tāh (tāh) saliva *tāhā* (tāhā) touches comes into con-
 tact *tāhā* (tāhā) shame, etc

(b) Intervocal and single in these cases they have been cere-
 bralised regularly --

n- nāh (nāhā) cow-dung *nāhā* (nāhā) lex *nāhā* (nāhā)
 m. f) a grinding stone *nāhā* (nāhā) a night *nāhā* (nāhā)
 people *nāhā* (nāhā) shoes *nāhā* (nāhā) bath *nāhā*
 (nāhā) food etc

t- tāh (tāhā) saliva *tāhā* (tāhā) meals *tāhā* (tāhā)
 Pk *tāhā* (tāhā) time *tāhā* (tāhā) time *tāhā* (tāhā)
 potato *tāhā* (tāhā) palate *tāhā* (tāhā) simple etc

§ 90 When intervocal and double, both these remain dental, and are identical with the same when single and initial

-*m̄*- *māsa* (*māṅṅā*) the nape of the neck

-*ḥ*- *kāh* (*kaiya- kalla-*) yesterday *pāh-ka* (*paṅ-anka-*, **paṅ-anka-*) a palanquin *māhāta* (*mahāṭaka-*) great, especially in the *s* *ga* word *māhāgato* elderly

Dentals

§ 91 Dentals have not changed their articulation except in the cases considered above. Their true pronunciation has been indicated in *Konkani Phonetics*, § 12

Labials

§ 92 There is no change in the modern pronunciation of these in Konkani except where *ph* is concerned in the Christian dialects generally and in certain Hindu dialects, e.g. *ns*, *nge*, *g* etc. to a certain extent this aspirate is pronounced as a dental-labial fricative *f*, and so indicated in the *x*-dialects in Roman Transliteration.

Nasals

§ 93 Only three nasals have independent existence *n*, *ṅ* and *m*. The two others *ṇ* and *ṁ* exist only in combination with their class consonants, though in actual orthography only the *anusvara* is shown.

Initially *n*, *ṅ* and *m* have survived, though Prakrit orthography indicates a supposed change of PI-A *n-* to MI-A *n-* with a regular throw-back in the case of NI-A to *n-* once more. Medially PI-A intervocal *-n-* became MI-A *-n-* and remained so in the West and North-West but became *-ṅ-* again in the central and eastern group. As opposed to this, on the other hand, MI-A *-m-* (from whatever source) has become generally *n* in Konkani. *n* is a nasalised cerebral spirant as in Gujarati (see *Guj. Phon.* § 48).

Intervocalic *-m-* has generally become *ṁ* or *-v-* in Konkani.

Y

§ 94 PI-A *y* has not survived in Konkani. Initially it has become *y* *yōga* (*yoga-*) an ascetic *yōgavā* (*yogavāsī-*) the sacred thread. Intervocally when it was single it was entirely lost without leaving any trace except perhaps in the group *-yga-*. When in combination with other consonants it was assimilated.

with or without influencing the consonant it followed. In the case of the dentale and *r* it has influenced the resulting assimilation through palatalisation.

But the *y* sound has developed in Konkani through MI-A as a *nasal-glide* or as a glide to avoid hiatus when two vowels came into contact through loss of an intervocalic consonant in MI-A. Similar to this *y*-glide we have also a *r*-glide (see p. 49).

§ 85 Konkani has preserved like Marathi Gujarati Sindhi Western Panjabi Singhalesse and Kashmiri¹ initial *v*- as also MI-A -*va*- < PI-A -*va*- -*va*-. Words with *b* are to be regarded as loans from central and eastern languages. In Konkani it is pronounced generally as a dento-labial.

In the group dental *b* Konkani has the dental treatment as opposed to Gujarati. Where the labial treatment is seen we have to consider the word as loans from Gujarati or at any rate from the extended loans in almost all other MI-A languages similarly affected.

Liquids

§ 86 The Liquids *r* and *l* of I-B have not met a uniform treatment in Sanskrit. As early as the Rgveda three dialects differed in this: one distinguished *r* and *l* of I-B. The second confused them as *r* while the third confused them as *l*.² With the exception of Magadhi Prakrit most MI-A languages have preserved both *r* and *l* but they do not always correspond to Sk. *r* and *l*. A few examples of Konkani may suffice here to indicate the lack of correspondence.

(a) K. *l* = Sk. *r* = *ra* *śābāli* (*śamānāni*) looks after *śābāli* comes out *śābāli* raises (*śābāli* *śābāli*) but of Sk. *śābāli* = *śābāli* (*śābāli*) ginger *śābāli* was *śābāli* (*śābāli*) drudges.

(b) K. *r* = Sk. *l* = *ra* *śābāli* (*śābāli*) faggot fire-wood.

§ 87 PI-A *r* has retained its pronunciation in all positions but PI-A *l* when single and intervocalic has become -*l*- with which we can parallel the change of -*n* to -*n*- for its correct pronunciation see *Consonant Phonetics* § 24.

¹ Turner *Guj. Phon.* § 50. Bloch *Ja. in pra. maratha* § 120. Jain § 41-42.

² Wackernagel *J. Ind. Linguist.* Turner *Guj. Phon.* § 52. Jain § 113.

In a certain number of cases Konkani hesitates between *n* and *l*, particularly when initial —s laucē gs noneē (laucna-) pickles, s numbero, gs timbyo (nambā) ¹

So far as I have studied the different dialects of Konkani I have not been able to find traces of the retroflex lateral *r* though the Rev. Father Fernandes, once Secretary of the Konkani Committee wrote to me giving me examples of this *r*. Until a scientific and phonetic study through instruments is made of these examples, its existence in Konkani must remain a surmise only. Its absence, particularly in Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi, the two languages most nearly related to Konkani, supports so far my own experience with actual examples.

Sibilants

§ 98 In most MI-A languages PI-A *ś*, *ṣ* and *ṣ* are not distinguished. With the single exception of Māgadhī all MI-A languages reduce these three PI-A sibilants to *s*, while Māgadhī reduces them to *ś*. In the case of that interesting dialect of the gamblers seen in the play M^ochakataks, the Ms evidence seems to point out to the interesting treatment PI-A *ś, ṣ > s*, PI-A *ṣ > ś*. Konkani, however, like Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi, does not distinguish etymologically these three PI-A sibilants. All become *s* in MI-A (with the exception of Māgadhī as mentioned above). This *ṣ* of MI-A then becomes *s* or *ś* according as the following vowel is *a, ā* or not — *s* ge *ś*-*śā* (< *tatam* MI-A *ayāsi*) *ś* (< *śtam* MI-A *ayāsi*), etc.

In the numeral *dāśā*, MI-A *dasa*, *s* becomes *h* in Konkani *s* ge *dāhā* (< **dahā*), this *h* is then lost in the number 11 to 18 (see § 80). In some Persian loan-words, the change *s* to *h* is regularly seen. *hapto* a week, of *sāta* seven (< *saṭ*-*d*-)

§ 99 When the sibilants are in combination with nasals three treatments are distinguished in MI-A. These divergences in the development of these groups, *śm*, *sm*, *sm* are —

(a) *m* is assimilated after metathesis. Pk *raśm*; Sk *raśm*-, Aṅg *tārisagāmi* < **tāśi śāka-sm*

(b) The sibilant becomes an aspirate, producing the group *hm*, which by metathesis of *h*, becomes *mā*, or also, as in other cases,

¹ For a similar change in Sk see Wackernagel, I, § 176, p. 196, where even —*n*- and —*l*- alternate, as in Lex *śāśra śāśra*-

we may consider an initial change of these groups to **m̥h* and then to *m̥h* since this is not recognized as an aspirate of *m* but as a group of *m* and *h*

(c) The group becomes *ɣph* ¹

Of these Konkani regularly has the (b) divergence. It is possible however to consider in the case of *s* as *thas* (**thas*) *thas* (**thas*) the form *thas* *thas* for PI-A *thas* *thas* with a subsequent change of the sibilant to an aspirate > **thas* > *thas*. The third treatment is rather a rare one

The Aspirate

§ 100 The breathed consonant *h* of PI-A has remained in Konkani in the initial position only *hās* (*hās*-) hand *hālo* (*hās*-) turmeric. But when non-initial PI-A *h* spirated the initial consonant and disappeared from its medial position as *g* *hās* *hās* (*hās*- > MI-A *hās*- > **hās*- > *hās*-) *hās* (*hās*-) much many

In a few loan-words the alternation of *h* and *l* is observed - *g* *hās* *hās* a hand played or dealt in card-play *hās* *hās*

SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

§ 101 The simplification of double consonants the result of MI-A assimilation of consonant groups did not take place uniformly in MI-A or generally till a late period. Certain changes in MI-A remain inexplicable, such as Pali *kāthā*- and *lāḥḥā* < Skt *lāḥḥā*- Pali *lāḥḥā*- may be derived from **lāḥḥā*- < passive of **lāḥḥā* < **lāḥḥā* < *kāthā*- < *hās*- but the assumption does not seem to be justified in view of its linguistic complexity. But it throws an interesting light all the same on the absence of uniformity of the process of simplification

The special treatment of the double consonants in the case of *s* has already been studied in § 63. In the case of other dialects the simplification has been attended by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel *g* *gā* *gā* *hās* *hās* as opposed to *s* *hās* *hās*

¹ Turner *Guj Phon* § 55

INITIAL CONSONANTS

Stops

§ 102 Initially all stops remain

l s gs *lānu*, x gx nx g *kān* (< *kanā-*) ear, s gs *kānu*, x gx nx g *kām* (*kāman-*) work, *kājjala* (*kājjala-*) lamp black, *kādo* (*kātaka-*) a worm; *kallo* (*kalyā*) buttock, *kolē*, *kolē* (*kākolē*), s gs *lānu*, x, gx nx g *kon* (*ka-*)

kh s gs, *khanāka*, gx nx g *khanamak* (*khanate*) to dig, *khāno*, *khānā*, x gx nx *kānā* (*kānān-*) eat, s gs *kānā* (*khanā-*) hoof

q s gs *qaulē* (*qapāla-*, see § 68) cowherd, *qān*, x gx nx *qān* (*qānā-*) omnivore, *qilā* (*qil-*), swallows *qilē* (*qānikā*, *qānikā*) a pill, s gs *qelē*, x nx nx g *qelo* (*qala-*), *qoro* (*qauraka-*) fair

gh nx g gx *ghatā* (*ghatāte*) happens, *ghātu* (*ghatā-*) ferry, gx g *ghī* (*ghitā-*) clarified-butter *ghānā* (*ghamāyāte*) rolls, turns round, gx *ghān* sweat (*ghānā-*), *ghofo* (*ghotaka-*) a horse

č s gs *čano* (*canaka-*) Bengal gram, *čānā* (*canān-*) chows, *čābā* (*čābānā*) musk melon, *čūno* (*čūnā-*) lime; *čādo* (*čātaka-*) a man-servant, *čāno* (*čānā-*, *čānā-*) a beak *čāno* (*čānā-*) thief

ch No examples, in this case Konkani and Marāthi have lost the occlusion, giving us only s (or ś if the following vowel is ī or ē) *čāno* (*čānā-*) cow-dung, *čānā* (*čānān-* > **čānān-*) cuts

ʃ *ʃāna* (*ʃānā-*) person, *ʃānā* (*ʃānān-*) sacred thread, *ʃānu* (*ʃānu-*) life, *ʃānā* (*ʃā-*) wins, *ʃānā* (*ʃān-*) agrees, *ʃāna* (*ʃānā-*) old, *ʃāno*, *ʃānā*, (*ʃānān-*) dinner

ʒ s gs *ʒhānā* (*ʒhānā-*) *ʒhānā* (*ʒhānā-*) ruffled hair

t s gs *tālē* (*taḍḍāga-*) a lake, *tālu* (*tālu-*) *tāpānā* (*taḍḍāga-*) gets hot; *tāro* (*tāyāh*, *tāyāh* **tāyāhā-*) third, *tāni* (*tānī* > MĪ-A. *tānā*) three, *tāka*, x nx gx g *tāk* (*tāka-*) hot, pungent, gx nx g *tānā* (*tānāte*) to break, *tā* (*tān*, *tānā* > MĪ-A. *tānān*)

you thou *taṁ* (*traya-śūka*) listen to (*taṁ-*) he s gs *taṁda* (**taṁda-*) face

ā Examples of these in PI-A are very limited and are generally of an onomatopoeic nature s gs *thar-thar-tā* (*thara tharāpata*) tumbles feels giddy *taṁ* (*thar*) spit the sound of spitting *thar-thar* (*thar-thar*) the imitative sound of a musical instrument in dancing

ā s gs *damma* x *ḥv* nṅ *dama* (*damaṅga*) tired breathing *dāma* x *gx* nṅ *dāma* (*danda-*) tooth *asṭi* (*asṭya*) i soon appears *duḥ-ta* (*duḥ-kṛta-*) pains *dūḥ* suffering s *ḥs* *daḥa* x *gv* nṅ *dā* (*day-a-dha* > MI-A *di-maḥṭha-*) one and a half *dara dāra* (*dāra*) a rope cord or string *dāra* (MI-A *dama* < PI-A *dau*) two

ā s gs *dham* x *gx* nṅ *dāma* (*dham n-*) lord master *dham-tā* (*dharaṭa*) holds supports contains *dāra* *gv* nṅ *dāra* (*dāra*) sharpness *dāra* (*dāra-*) strong able *dhamana* (*dhama-*) washing *dāra* x *gx* nṅ *dāra* (*dāra*) dust *dāra* washerman

p ns *gv* nṅ *paṭā* (*paṭāṅga*) runs away flees s gs *paṭa* *gv* x *paṭā*, *gv* nṅ *paṭā* (*paṭā-*) jack-fruit s gs *pāṭa* (*pāṭa-*) turn chance *pāṭa* (*paṭā-*) boiled sugar *paṭā* x *gx* nṅ *paṭā* (*paṭā*) drinks *paṭa* drinking s gs *pāṭa* x *nṅ* *gx* *g* *pāṭa* (*paṭā-*) a son *paṭa* (*paṭāṅga*) market place s *paṭāṅga* x *gx* nṅ *paṭā* (*paṭāṅga*) empty *paṭa* (*paṭāṅga*) old ancient

ā s gs *pāṭa* (*paṭā-*) fruit *pāṭa* *gx* *paṭā* (*paṭā-*) a flower

b ns ngs *baṭā-śūka* (*baṭā-*) strong *bāṭāṅga* x *gx* nṅ *g* *bāṭāṅga* (*bāṭāṅga* > **bandhata*) to bind *bā* (*bā-*) a seed *bāṭāṅga* x *gx* nṅ *g* *bāṭāṅga* (*buddha-*) clever learned *bāra* *gx* *ba* (*bāra-*) jujube

bā s gs *bhāṅga* (*bhāṅga-*) defiled polluted *bhāṅga* (*bhāṅga-*) wastes away *bhāṅga* a beggar *bhāṅga* begging (*bhāṅga*) *bhāṅga* (*bhāṅga-*) earth *bhāṅga* (*bhāṅga*) wanders

§ 103 In the case of the cerebral series the examples found in Sk and PI-A are themselves of a Prakritic nature. Most of them are besides of an onomatopoeic nature, found in almost all MI-A and NI-A languages

ḷ s gs *tāṅko*, s stamped coin, especially in *Kām^a-tāṅko* (*tāṅka-*)

ḷḷ *tūḷku* (*tūḷku-*) a deity

ḷ *ḷora*, *ḷora* (*ḷora-*) a string

ḷḷ *ḷḷāḷḷā*, *ḷḷāḷḷā* a lid (< Sk *dḷāḷḷana-* in n shutting of a door, etc.)

The actual illustrations of the use of these Sk words are to be found only in lexicons and late compositions. Hence we have to consider these as really examples of MI-A rather than of PI-A and so leave them out from § 102 above.

NASALS

§ 104 Initial *n-*, *m-* remain

n s gs *nam* x gx nx *naṃ* (*naṃlam*) new s gs *naḷ* x gx nx *nāḷ* (*naḷkū*) a reed, s gs *nāva*, x gx nx *nāva* *nāva* (*nāva-*) name *nāḷḷ* (*nāḷḷa*) gets spoiled (of milk), curdles, s gs *nāḷḷā*, x gx nx *nāḷḷā* sleeps, *nāḷ*, x gx nx *nāḷ* (*nāḷā*) sleep, *na^aḷ* does not know (*na* + *jāḷḷā*)

m¹ s gs *maṃ* x gx nx *māṃ* (*māṃas*) mind s gs *māṃa*, x gx *māṃ* (*māṃyā*) nape of the neck, *māḷḷ* (*māḷḷa-*) sweetmeat, *māḷ* (*māḷā-*) salt, gx x nx g *māḷ* (*māḷā-*) a handful, *maḷḷā* (*maḷḷāmaḷā*) brother-in-law, *māḷ* (*māḷa-*) love attachment

§ 105 So far as MI-A is concerned the Mes hesitate in the use of initial *n* and *m* for PI-A *n-*. For Turner's opinion on NI-A *n-* for MI-A *n-* see *Gujarātī Phonology* § 48.

ḷ, v, r, ḷ

§ 106 Initial *y > j*, *v*, *r*, *ḷ* remain

y *jōga* (*jōga-*) an ascetic, *jāḷḷ* (*jāḷḷa-*) twins *jāṃ* (*jāḷḷāṃvāḷḷā-*) the sacred thread, ns n gs, x nx gx *jō* (*jō-*) relative pronoun; *jāḷ* (*jāḷḷāḷḷā*) a creeper, *jōḷ* (*jōḷa*) barley, millet

In the s word *jūḷ* (*jūḷā*) the initial *y-* seems to have disappeared

¹ In the case of s *māḷḷ*, gs *māḷḷāḷḷ* and of s gs *māḷḷā* derived from those in the sense of *māḷḷāḷḷ* *māḷḷāḷḷ* initial *m-* of Koṅkaṇi represents Sk *ḷ-* of Sk *māḷḷāḷḷā* = *māḷḷāḷḷā* *māḷḷāḷḷā*¹ whence the extended forms *māḷḷāḷḷā* > K *māḷḷāḷḷā* *māḷḷāḷḷā*

r s gs *raḡaḡa* (raḡa-) blood *raḡa-tā* (raḡa) eyes *rāya*
raḡa (raḡa- raḡa) *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) empty s gs
raḡa x *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa- of raḡa-) tree *raḡa* (raḡa) sand
raḡa (raḡa- raḡa-) hair

ḷ s gs *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa) shame *raḡa* *raḡa* x *raḡa*
 (raḡa-) *raḡa* (raḡa) saliva *raḡa* (raḡa-) humility *raḡa*
raḡa to hide (raḡa) *raḡa* *raḡa* to write (raḡa) s gs
raḡa *raḡa* (raḡa- raḡa-) *raḡa* (raḡa-) *raḡa* (raḡa) *raḡa* (raḡa)
 avaiḡa *raḡa*

v s gs *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa* to go (PI-A **raḡa*
 MI-A *raḡa*) *raḡa* (raḡa-) a wish s gs *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa*
 (raḡa-) way s gs *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) lightning
 s gs *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) throwing out vomiting

SIBILANTS

§ 107 In PI-A *ḡ* and *ḡ* become MI-A *s* *ḡ* remained. Secondly
 in Koni and MI-A *s* has become *ḡ* in the presence of *ḡ*.

ḡ s gs *raḡa* (raḡa-) zero *raḡa* *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-)
 horn; s gs *raḡa* (raḡa-) *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) *raḡa*
 (raḡa) *raḡa* (raḡa-) tuft of hair

ḡ s gs *raḡa* (raḡa-) six *raḡa* (raḡa-) sixty *raḡa* (raḡa-) the
 sixth

s s gs *raḡa* (< *raḡa* ¹ *raḡa* *raḡa*) *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) *raḡa*
 (raḡa) *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) *raḡa* (raḡa-) gets ready or cooked

ḡ s gs *raḡa* x *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-) hand *raḡa* (raḡa-)
 laughs *raḡa* *raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-)

FINAL CONSONANTS

§ 108 In PI-A the only consonants which could remain at
 the end of a word were the nasals visarga and the unaspirated
 breathed stops.² But already in MI-A these had either disappeared
 or reformed as s stems. MI-A *raḡa* < PI-A *raḡa* *raḡa*
 < **raḡa* *raḡa* (raḡa-). The visarga disappeared giving MI-A
 -o or -s for PI-A -ah.

¹ In both *s* and *gs* there is a meaning yielding the sense of lovingly
 nursing with which we should compare *raḡa* *raḡa* follows in devoted
 honour serves loves caresses

² Guj Phon 2 81

Final nasals all disappeared with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel

INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

§ 109 Intervocalic *-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*, *-t-*, *-d-* are lost

-k- s ge *kāmāra*, x gx nx *kāmār* (*karmakāra-*) iron-smith; *ḍāmāra*, x gx nx *ḍāmār* (*carmakāra-*) hide merchant, s ge *kūyā*, g nge *kūvilo* (*kūka-*) a crow, s ge *mālle* (*mastakam*) head, *sāllē* (*śatrahām*) parasol, *-ṣ* (<*-kaṣ*), *o* (<*-akaḥ*)

-g- s ge *kūṭāra* (*kūṭāgāra-*), *rūṭār* (*rūṭa-kūṭāgāra-*), *śeṅa* (*śhaṅana-*) cow dung, *lāyār* (*lāṅayār*) as opposed to *lāṅār* (<*lāṅayāte*, *lāṅa-*)

-c- gx g nx x *sūi* (*sūcī-*) a needle, s ge *paṣo*, gx x nx *paṣo* (*paśaca-ka-*) mad

-j- s ge *rāya* (*rājya-*), *ḷi* (*ḷīja-*) seed, *rāni* (**rājñi* <*rājñi*) a queen

-t- *bhāu* (*bhrātṛ-*) brother; *mūṭilo* (*mūṭula-*) uncle, *tūt-* (*tūa-*tasya-*), x gx nx *ālē* (*ākṣata-*) absolute, whole, entire, *-āṣ* (*śatam*), *ṣṭ* (*śtat-*) cold, *śēli* (**śtalikā*), *kelle* (*kṛt-*)

-d- s ge *kāṭāna* (*kāṭāṇa-*) entables, *pāṭa-* (*pādāna-*), *vāṭa* (*vādāna*, but as *lw* with *-n-* for *n-*), *sāna* (*śādāna-*), *mou* (*m: dū-*) *pāyu*, *pāvu* (*pādū-*) foot, quarter, a measure

In the above examples a *-y-* or *-v-* is sometimes found as a result of a tendency to bridge the gulf between the two vowels brought into contact as a result of the loss of the intervocal consonant (see § 49)

§ 110 The aspirates *-kh-*, *-gh-*, *-th-*, *-dh-*, *-ph-*, *-bh-* lost their occlusion and became *-h-* in MI-A which converged with PI-A *-h-* in the later stage

-kh- : *ṣ*

-gh- : *ṣ*

-th- *pāṭhu* (*paṭhu-ṣ pūṭa-*), *paṭo* (**paṭho* < **praṭhā-*), *jūyī* (*yūṭhikā*) a creeper, *kāni* (**kaṭhāni* < *kaṭhānikā*) a story; *gū* (**gūṭha* < *gūṭha-*) dung

-dh- : *dāṭi* (**dāṭhī* < *dādhi-*) curds s ge *hāṭa* (*vādāḥ + Dh.* *ayni*, of *Dadī vāṭhāni*), *māṭhu* (*mādhu-*) meed

nom plur neut $-va > -\bar{v}$ in *dhu* (< **daḥā* > *dadhum*)

For an alternate explanation of Sir George Grierson, see § 59, f n I above

§ 113 The history of intervocalic $-m-$ also depended on its position in the word

1 In the body of a word it appears as $-v-$, generally nasalizing the preceding vowel and itself losing the nasalization

ε ga *nāva*, x gx nx g *nāv* (*nāman-*) name, ε ga *gāu*, x gx nx *gāv* (*gāma-*) village, ε ga *jāva* (*jāmāti-*), ε ga *bhava* (*bhāman-*) wanders, *bhā* (**bhāva* < *bhāmi-*) the earth, *jāva* (*yamala-*) twin

In a number of cases the nasalization of $-v-$ is lost without affecting the preceding vowel

ε ga *bhavaṁsi*, *bhāvāsi* (*bhāmanā-*) ε *bumble-bee*, *pācavo* (*pañcamā-*) fifth, and $-vo$ ($-vakāḥ$) in ordinals from seven onwards, here the analogy of *pācavo* (*pañcamaka-* > **pācā-vo*) where the loss of nasalization of $-v-$ occurs through dissimilation, explains the loss in the other cases, ε ga *gava* x gx nx *gōv* (*godhāma-*) wheat, ε ga *dhāvāsi* (*dhāmanā-*) smoke

2* In inflexional suffixes $-m-$ becomes an *anusvāra* or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels

1st sing $-ām > K -\bar{ā}$ (through * $-ām̐$)

1st plur $-āmāḥ > MI-A -āmo > K -\bar{ā}$ in gx *vortoutāṁ* we are, *vortoutāṁyāṁ* we were, etc

$-ch-$, $-j-$

§ 114 In § 110 we left out the question of the palatal aspirates. From the point of view of I-E grammar both these are not aspirates corresponding to *c* or *ç*, but are in reality the result of a combination of a sibilant and a consonant. As such both $-ch-$ and $-j-$, though orthographically indicated as simple sounds, are in fact pronounced as $-cch-$ and $-jjh-$ respectively, and should, therefore, be treated under the section of consonants in contact. In Mes however they are shown as simple sounds

v, *v̄*

§ 115 a.) Intervocalic $-y-$ was lost.

१ ग० मी०म० मह०रु (mahāra-) a peacock

b) MI-A -y- introduced as a hiatus badge has remained
२ ग० /āy^hīo (/āka-) crow rāya (rāyan-) a king

c) In the group -aya- we have change to -e- bāc (*bāhāya-)
vul (talaya-) and generally -ṛ < *-ayam < -a/ant

d) With the loss of PI-A or MI-A -y- an intervocal -v- has
developed ३ ग० x न० ग० x र०व^h (rāvan-) in rāv^hūr etc ग०
kāv^ho (kāla-) a crow, sāv^h (śāyā) shadow

§ 116 (a) Intervocalic -v- (whether PI-A or MI-A) remain
ed ४ ग० न०न० x ल० न० न०व (navā-) nine ५ ग० न०न० x
ग० न० न०व (navā-) ninety ६ ग० दे०व (devā) a god ग० न० x
द०व

(b) In the group -av- the change to -o- had already been
effected in MI-A Thus PI-A bhāvā > Pa bhāo Ś bhāo M
hāo etc This change is then transmitted to NI-A and thus -v-
converges with PI-A -o-

-v- -o-

§ 117 Intervocalic -v- remains but -l- becomes -l̄-

-v- ७ ग० ग०ह० x ग० न० ग०ह (MI-A gāha-) house ८ ग०
kānā (kānā-kāra-) iron-smith mār^hā (mārayā) strikes
beats ९ ग० म०य०, x ग० न० म०य (mār^hā-) a unit १०
(avā) intoxicating liquor bhāo (bhāmaraka-) a bumble bee

-l̄- ११ ग० म०ल (MI-A māla) garlands, tāla (tāla-) palate
hāla (hāla-) time pāla x ग० न० फ० (pālam) fruit bhāla
(bhāhāla-) credulous १२ ग० क०ल (kal-) knows pālayā (pra
kālayā) seas māla (mālayā) gets meets jāla (jālayā) burns

-l̄- -s- -s-

§ 118 -ś- -s- and -s- of PI-A became -v- in almost all
MI-A languages with the exception of Magadhi and remain as
-s- in Konkani except when in contact with : ṛ where they be
come -ś-

-ś- १३ ग० प०ल (pāla-) net, loop nās^hā (nāsāyā) causes
to curdle १४ ग० ल०स० x ग० न० ल०स (lasā-) garlic pāso
x ग० न० प०स (pāsā-) but pāsā १५ ग० ल०स (lasā-)

-s- s ge *usa* (śaś-) poison, *kaṭā* (kaṣa) till, *baṣau* (vaśba-) bull, *bhāsa* (bhāṣā) language, *vaśa* (vaśa- > *vaśa-) year

-r- s ge *lāṣpāṣu* x gx nx *kāṣu* (kaṣpa-) cotton *phāsu* (pṛṣa- phāś-) a mouthful, s ge *māsu* (māsa-) month, *hāṣāṭā* (haśa) laughs, *vāsu* (vāsa-) habitation, n ge *bhāṣāṭā* (bhāṣa) appears, *paśaṭā* (paśa-) spreads

-h-

§ 119 Intervocalic -h- of PI-A converges with MI-A -h- from aspirated stops. In Konkani an aspirate is not tolerated in the interior of a word, it is either thrown back to the initial syllable or is lost. It can only be seen in learned borrowings in any other position.

1° The aspirate is thrown back on the initial syllable —

s ge *bāṣra*, x gx nx *bāṣ* (bāṣra-) outside,

s ge *bāṣ*, x gx nx g *bāṣu* (bāṣ-) much, s ge *māṣu*, x gx nx *māṣu* (māṣu-) need,

x gx nx *ghāṣu* husband (Dhakk: gāṣa-)

s ge *dhuṣa* (dhuṣa + dhāśa-) daughter

s ge *hāṣāṭā* (āṣra- āṣa-) brings

2° The aspiration is lost

s ge *kāṣu* (kaṣāṣu) story, *yāṣu* (yāṣu) a creeper

CONSONANTS IN CONTACT

§ 120 When two or more consonants came together in PI-A a gradual assimilation affected these groups in MI-A, resulting in a system of double consonants (simple and aspirate) or a combination of nasal + consonants. This process has already been realized by the time of Aśoka's inscriptions with certain exceptions in the case of groups containing a sibilant or r in some dialects. Now as consonants are characterized by the two processes of implosion and explosion,¹

¹ These two elements exist only for the stops; for the remaining consonants there is only the explosive element co-existent with the closure so that in the case of -m or -n or -r we cannot separate the elements *-m₁ or *-n₁- etc. Here we should call them explosive consonants only.

the *-k-* of *akṣ* is pronounced as *-a+k₁ + k₂ + a-* where *k₁* represents implosion and *k₂* the explosive characterising *-k-*. The explosive element is dominant only when in combination with a vowel. From this it follows that in a group like vowel + *k₁* + vowel we have vowel + *k₁* + [*k₂* + *t₁*] + *t₂* + vowel where *k₂* and *t₁* cannot exist since *t₁* can only follow a vowel sound and *t₂* can be followed only by a vowel thus vowel + *k₁* + vowel > vowel + *k₁* + *t₂* + vowel. In these groups the explosive consonant absorbed the implosive and thus *-k₁-* > *-t₂-* as in *ś ga mṛt₁* < *PI-A mṛkṣtam* *MI-A mṛttam* a pearl. Where both sounds were explosive, that having the greater degree of closure became the dominant so that in groups like stop + *r* or stop + nasal the resultant was a double stop. In the case of a sibilant it imparted aspiration to the group while being absorbed.

In a few cases the more open of the two explosive consonants exercised a certain influence in assimilating the more closed one. This was particularly seen when the more open one was *y* or *ṣ* or *ś* and the more closed or dominant one was a dental. Thus dental + *y* or dental + *ṣ* > double palatal *ṣ* has become *ccḥ* *ṣh* or even *ṣṣh*¹ dental + *ṣ* or *m* > double labial in some dialects (but double dental normally in the others²).

In the group *-ky-* or *-y-* the *y* became *j* and so the dominant consonant. Only in Magadhi did it remain as *y*.

These double consonants generally remained unchanged for a long time in *MI-A*. In *Konkanī* however with the exception of *ś*³ and to a certain extent *ṣ* the double stops have been simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

The consonants in contact may be divided into a number of ones

- 1 Stop + stop [a) homorganic , b) heterorganic]
 - 2 Groups with a nasal
 - 3 Groups with *y*
 - 4 Groups with *r*
 - 5 Groups with *l*
 - 6 Groups with *ṣ*
- &c : Groups with a sibilant

¹ See *JBOIRS* LXIII Part (1) pp. 82-85 on *Śaṅṣṣṣ* & *ṣṣ*.

² See § 63 above.

1° STOP + STOP

§ 121 Homorganic

-kk- *ekkama* sticky (*ekhana-*), *ekkaḥi* shift above (*ekkaḥa-*)
 mud

-kkh- ?

-gg- *gugauḥa* (*guggauḥa-*) nonsense

-ggh- ?

-ca- *ñca* (*ucca-*) high, s ga *uccāḥa* (*uccāḥa-*) pronunciation

-yy- s ga, *ḍāya*, x gx nx g *ḍy* (*ḍāyā*) charms, *kaḍyaḥa* (*kaḍyaḥa-*) lamp black, *bhāyā* (*bhāyāḥi*)

-yyh- ?

-tt- *pūti*, *pūtto* (*patta-*) a strip of cloth, bolt *kāta* (*katta-*)
bhattu (*bhatta-*)

-tth- ?

-ḍḍ- *uḍḍā* (*uḍḍāyāḥa*) jumps, *kaḍḍa* (*kaḍḍa-*) bone *ḍā* oh
 struction (*adḍa-*)

-ddh- ?

-ti- s ga *uttara* x gx nx *utor* (*uttara-*) reply s ga *pāḥala*
 x gx nx *pāḥol* (*pāḥala-*) thin

-tth- ?

-dā- ?

-ddh- s ga *buddhā* (*buddha-*) wise, intelligent,

-pp- s ga *paḥala* (*paḥala-*)

-pph- ?

§ 122 Heterorganic here the first stop is assimilated to the
 second thus in the order of the second stop we have

-tk- MI-A -k- > K -kk- or -t- s ga *saḥka* the sixth in
 cards (*soḥka-*)

-tk- > -kk- s ga *ukāḥa* (*ut+kol* or *! n-*) lifts

-tkh- > -kkh- ?

-dg- > -gg- ?

-dg- > -gg- s ga *māyā* (*mudgā-*)

-dgh- > -ggh- *uḥgaḥ* (*udghāḥa-*)

-ht- > -tt- s *bhāta*, x gx nx g *bhaḥ* (*bhāḥa-*) rice, m¹⁴⁴
 (*maḥkaḥa-*)

-p- > -t- s gs *sāta* v gx nx s *sā* (*sāpā-*) seven

-t- > -th- ?

-b- > -d- v gx nx *sā* (*sāpā-*) noise sound

-p- > -d- s gs *dudā* v gx nx s *dā* (*dāpā-*) milk

In the example of PI-A *dāpā-* MI-A *dāpā-* besides PI-A *dāpā-* MI-A *dāpā-* the cerebralization has survived in Konkani *dāpā-* burnt oil

-h- > -dh- ?

-p- > -pp- s gs *ubjātā* < * *up'jātā* (*utpadyate*) is born

-p- > -pp- ?

-d- > -dd- ?

-dh- > -ddh- v gx nx *ubhā* (*udbhāta-*)

2 GROUPS WITH A NASAL

§ 133 Stop + nasal

(a) In the group guttural + n or m the nasal is assimilated

-kn- > -k- s gs *mōk* (**mā' nā-*) tree

-pn- > -p- s gs *nāpā* (*nāpā-* > *nāpā-*) naked *bhāpā* (*bhāpā-*) wastes away; x gx nx t *āp* (*āpā-*) fire *lāpā* (*lāpā-*) touches

-tm- > -t- s gs *rōkīa* (**rōkīa-*) cash [cf. Kannarese *rōkīa-*]

-pm- > -p- ?

(b) In the group *pn* the *p* was assimilated the resulting *pn* > *nn* or *nn* > *n*¹ or *n* s gs *rān* (*rān-*) a queen *jān* (*jān-*) the sacred thread *ān* (*ān-*) command The cerebral n here can be explained by *sara-bhā' t rān* < * *rān* < * *rān* < * *rān* < PI-A *rān* so also *ān* < * *ān* < * *ān* < PI-A *ān*

(a) -tn- > -t- s gs *sav'it* (*sav'it-*) co-wife For this word there is also a form in -t- in MI-A² giving a few NI-A forms³

* *dn-* > -d- this change is already realised in PI-A *dhān-* < * *bhān-* of *dhān-* and MI-A *dhān-* (< *dhān-*)

-pn- > -pp- ?

¹ The cerebral n- can also go back to MI-A -n- already simplified from OMI-A -nn- this is attested to especially in the case of MI-A *ān* < PI-A *ān*

² *Le Monde Oriental* vol 16 27 p 164 f n 2

(To be continued)

AUTHORS OF THE INDUS CULTURE

By

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In sharp contrast to the practical unanimity as regards the date of the Indus Civilization there is a wide divergence of opinion among scholars and archaeologists as to its authors—the race of the Indus Valley people. Col Sowell and Dr Guha on examining the available skeletal material comprising of 26 skeletons pronounce that the human remains disclose four ethnic types, viz, Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian and the Alpine, there being six skulls of the Mediterranean race, one each of the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock and the Alpine, and three of the Proto-Australoid type¹. The skulls are not a homogeneous series, pointing to the heterogeneous character of the population at Mohenjo-Daro. Statuary material is meagre only four human heads being found, and “it would be preposterous to place reliance on this type of evidence”². According to Dr Wüst there are four possibilities the inhabitants were either (i) Aryans, (ii) pre-Aryan Dravidus, (iii) related to Sumer or Elam or (iv) an autochthonous unknown people³.

Dravidians—Brahmins Among the scholars ascribing the authorship of the Indus Civilization to various races there is a large majority of these putting forth the claim of the Dravidians⁴.

¹ MIO (Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization) Sir J Marshall Chap XCV pp 559-648 P 566 (12 skulls selected that were sufficiently well preserved) pp 438-44 (conclusions)

² Kohn Indus Val Civ p 24 Also MIO 363 (Dr Mackey)

³ ZDMG 1927 pp 259-277

⁴ of Dr Thomas JRAS 1939 450 Zentler and Dapont Indian Art and Letters 8 151-153 Dr Chatterji MR (Mod Review) Dec 1924 478 9 R B V Iyer QJMS (Quart Journ Mythic Soc) 16 171 1, 9 284-213 T K K Munon Prabhuddha Bharata 1934 248-51 Rawlinson AP (Aryan Path) 1951 84 Padmanabhayya JOR (Journ of Ori Res) 5 55 57 89-100 propounds that the Saggas were a Dravidian race the connecting link between the Semites and the Aryan element. Impliedly by G Yashani, Proc Ori Conf, Baroda, 638, and, Langdon, by taking the language as ‘Dravidian’.

Mr R D Banerji the discoverer was the first to pronounce that opinion¹ and at one time Sir John Marshall also supported the view² It is said that the similarities between the pottery beads and necklaces as also between the marks on the South Indian pottery and the Indus Script point to the Dravidian origin of the Indus Civilization.

Before considering the claim of the Dravidians it would be better to note in brief the origin of the Dravidians about which there has been quite an amount of speculation They have been declared to be autochthonous in India they have been variously connected with the Turanians of Northern and Central Asia Mongolians Egyptians Australian savages etc Mr Sivaram Aiyangar even goes to the length of arguing that Arya and Dravida do not indicate any racial difference both being of the same stock³ I however prefer to hold the Dravidians as the original inhabitants of South India especially as the theory is supported by Dr Hall⁴ and Sir Herbert Risley⁵ on ethnological grounds Thus Mr Hornell's⁶ theory of the migration of the Dravidians from the Mediterranean after settling in Mesopotamia for some time is not justifiable the more so as the Brahui language has not conclusively been proved to have been due to the presence of the Dravidians in Baluchistan possibly the Hugaric affinities as suggested by Prof Rangaiaharya are the result of the mutual intercourse between the Brahuis and the Dravidians during the stay of the latter in the trans-Vindhyan region⁷

¹ MR Dec 1924 674

² of Mem Arch Surv India 31 11 Sir John Marshall is now against ascribing the authorship to any particular people in the present state of our knowledge (MIC p 109) Similarly Dr Keith and Dr Winternitz in their letters to me

³ Details and bibliography in Pre Muslim India pp 66 706

⁴ JOR 3 187 187 also V Natarayanan in *Yerandi* (MR Apr 1931 478) Sundar Ram Iyer (Pre Mus India pp 216 11) both Aryans and Dravidians were Bharatas

⁵ Ancient Hist of the Near East pp 1 1 181

⁶ Imp Gaz Vol 1 Dr Das (Rigvedic India p 116) also favours the same view

⁷ The Origins and Ethnological Significance of 7 Star Boat Designs (Mem As Soc Beng vol 13) pp 225 238

⁸ Pre-Mus India p 78

The theory that the Dravidian group of languages is completely independent of Sanskrit, as propounded by Bishop Caldwell has been disputed of late by Mr Swaminatha Aiyar and others,¹ casting a serious doubt on the antiquity and independence of the Dravidian Culture which, according to some is due to its contact with the Aryans.² Coming to anthropology from philology, we find that the Dravidian-speaking peoples, leaving aside the Brahuis, present at least three distinct racial elements (viz Veddian-Australoid, Mediterranean, and Alpine).³ As to the racial type of the ancient Dravidians we know next to nothing,⁴ the modern Dravidians cannot be said to be the same as their ancestors 5000 years ago. "There is no evidence either somatic or archaeological for the view that has lately become fashionable in India and which seeks to make the Dravidian man responsible for the Indus Civilization."⁵ Again, "we have absolutely nothing to show whether the Dravidians were already settled in India when the Aryans came in. To bring them into connexion with the Indus Civilization can never be more than mere guess."⁶

The similarities that have been taken to prove the Dravidian origin of the Indus Civilization can easily be explained as being due to the influence of the Indus Valley (whoever the authors may have been), and it is well known that the latter had trade relations with the South.⁷ There is also no definite evidence in support of the Brahui claim,⁸ who by the way, have turned out to be completely Iranian, though they still speak the Dravidian tongue.⁹

Kolarians The Kolarians also, according to some, share with the Dravidians the honour of being the originators of the Indus

¹ of *Pre-Mus India*, pp 157-58 Srikantha Sastry QJMS 1934 pp 216-28 gives a list of words showing Sumerian affinities with Sanskrit and Dravidian Mr Thyagaraju, QJMS, 1932, 222-23 gives words showing Sumerian-Dravidian affinities

² Das, *Rgyedto India*, pp 104-112 V Narayanan (f n 4 p 396)

³ Dr Guha, Presidential Address at Anthropology Section, 15th Indian Science Congress—MR Aug 1928, pp 131-44 at page 135

⁴ of Marshall, MIC, p 109

⁵ Dr Guha, MR Aug 1928, p 137

⁶ Dr Stan Konow letter dated 16.6.34

⁷ of MIO, pp 29-30, 674

⁸ Dr Macokay, JRSA (Journ Roy Soc Arts) 82 p 213

⁹ Bita Ram Kohli *The Indus Valley Civ., Lahore, 1934*, p 35

Civilization¹ There is nothing to establish their connection with the Indus Valley origins they were autochthonous in the Southern India and their culture is due to their contact with the Aryans²

Sumerians The Sumerians, who are credited by a certain section with being the authors of the Indus Civilization³ are said to have been the Dravidians from South India⁴ In this connection we may note that the exotic nature of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia is practically accepted by all⁵ Dr Waddell takes the Sumerians to be Aryans and describes the Indus Civilization as Indo-Sumerian but he places Vedas as late as 600 B C⁶ Mr Apte following the Arctic Home theory of Trilok states that the Sumerians were a branch of the Aryans which migrated to Mesopotamia⁷ According to Prof G Elliot Smith they were Mediterranean⁸ while Dr Chatterji says that the Sumerians are of unknown origin⁹ Prof Rangacharya invites attention to (i) the use of cotton which they named *Sin̄dhu*⁷ (ii) the use of Indian materials for beads in Mesopotamia and (iii) the Mesopotamian pottery which clearly show the Indian origin of the Mesopotamian Culture¹⁰ There is a difference of opinion among competent scholars as to the racial type of the Sumerians Sir Arthur Keith¹¹ pronounces them to be dolicocephalic while according to Dr Jangdon¹² the dolicocephalic skulls found at Kish were Semitic and the brachycephalic skulls were Sumerian Thus as in the case of the Dravidians we are equally uncertain about the racial type of the Sumerians However it seems fairly certain that the Sumerians were probably a mixed race of

¹ Dr De Dodea *Harv J ourn* 10 1934 Dr Chatterji *Journal for Indone-
sian Linguistics Geography and Ethnology* Vol 65 pp 6-21 (on p 20)

² of Dr Das *Bhavda India*

³ V Gordon Childe Waddell Varliyanath Iyer et

⁴ Hall et al 173-74

⁵ *Handbook of Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem* pp 40-47 Spalser
Mesopotamian Origins p 81 and the following references

⁶ *Indo Sumerian Beads Dolicocephalic*

⁷ *Hindu Sumerian Sumerian Poems* 1928 pp 20-21 108

⁸ *Migrations of the Early Culture of Our West Ind* 1-43

⁹ *Mit Den* 1924 67b

¹⁰ *Pte Muslim India* 1 pp 189-90

¹¹ *Al Ubaid Vol 1* pp 216-20

¹² *Kish*, pp 59-64

the Aryans and Dravidians, and that they migrated from the Indus Valley¹

Panis Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda puts forward the claim of the Panis,² the avaricious merchants bent upon amassing wealth, through fair or foul means, mentioned in the *Rigveda*. It is not proved that the Panis were non-Aryans, who, I think, belonged to the Aryan group, but were hated on account of their greedy nature. These Panis were the adventurous merchants and mariners who visited the distant lands through sea-going ships and helped much in the spread of the Aryan Culture. They later on became known as the Phoenicians after they were settled in Syria on the eastern colony of the Mediterranean. These Panis most probably did the function of the 'travelling guilds' that helped the spread of the culture in ancient times, according to Mr Glanville³

Asuras whose cause has been championed by Dr Banerji-Sastry,⁴ were neither pre-Aryan as the Civilization is alleged to be, nor non-Aryan, since they were a sect of the Aryans themselves. I do not share Dr Konow's view that the Asuras were 'no human beings'⁵. The Asuras were the fore-runners of the Iranians who migrated there from the Indus Valley owing to religious differences with the Vedic Aryans.

Vahikas have recently found an advocate in Prof Shembaynekar⁶. Assuming all the arguments advanced in support of the Vahika theory — i.e. 'the prominent frontal bones of the Vahikas (p 478), much advanced pottery works (p 480), a large number of razors (p 480) and nude female forms (p 481)

¹ Dr Woolley writes in his letter dated 9.8.34 that the Mohenjo-Daro civilization is certainly not Sumerian in spite of certain points of contact. Also, Dr Mackay 'it would be unsafe to use the term 'Indo-Sumerian' as has been done in the past'. J.R.S.A. 1934 213. Similarly Prof Sayce III *Lead News* Sept 27, 1924 of *Ann Bibliogr Ind Arch*, I 5, 34.

² *Mem Aich Surv Ind* 31-5.

³ Lecture on 'The Eastern Origin of Western Civilization' at the University College London.—*Times of India* 29.2.1934.

⁴ *Asura India*, also the articles in *Journ Bihar & Orissa Res Soc* 1927 and *MR* Jan 1926, 21-24.

⁵ Letter dated 15.6.34. Dr Konow would call the bearers of the Indus civil. *Dævus* but adds that 'no ethnic inference can be drawn from it'.

⁶ *Ind Hist Quart* 1936 pp 477-484.

among, the Mohenjo-Daro finds and acceptance of the traditional date of the Mahabharata war—to be valid they do not prove Vahikas to be the Indus Valley race. The theory further requires a hypothetical upheaval—physical or political—at a particular era for its tenability (p 483) though no such upheaval has been shown to have taken place. Doctors Sewall and Guba have found four different ethnic types among the skulls unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. The anthropologists show no preference and do not pronounce any particular physiognomical characteristic as the racial mark of the Indus people. The cosmopolitan nature of such a large trading centre that Mohenjo-Daro was in ancient times precludes the ascription of its authorship to any particular racial characteristic.¹

Now the chapters relating to the Madras, the Vahikas and the Arakas as stated by Prof. Shembavnekar are a lengthy diatribe and vituperations against the subjects of Salva and hence are not to be taken at their face value. The veteran Maratha Sanskritist Bharaticharya C V Vaidya says that the whole account is much exaggerated meaning simply that the Aryans in the Punjab were less civilised than the Madhyamya and were of impure and immoral conduct.² Salva's reply that there were black sheep in every fold³ shows that much importance was not to be attached to the statements of Karpa. Further the whole of Karpa's speech is based on hearsay.⁴ It is again nowhere stated that the Madras or the Vahikas were non-Aryans.⁵

To turn to the other grounds the find of numerous and variously shaped razors only proves as correctly stated by Dr

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that many of the houses at Mohenjo Daro were obviously built for shore people—there are low beamholes and narrow doorways (Dr Minckley *The Indus Civ* p 307) Whereas the Vahikas were stout people.

² *Upasadhikā of Mahabharata* p 147 also pp 146 148 155 227 and 228. It appears that the chapters contain later additions and the state of society depicted relates to the date of Mbh (3rd Cent B C) as distinct from the date of the Bharata war (of course p 285). The chap (9 44) contains one Kujādhika (v 8) of also Vaidya *Mbh A Criticism* p 192.

³ Mbh 8 45 42-46.

⁴ Mbh 8 44 vv 3-5 24-25 35 39 39 8 45 vv 2 10.

⁵ Vaidya *Mbh Upasadhikā* pp 146 147 155 &c.

Mackay, that "the shaving of the face, if not the body, was extensively practised" ¹ it does not show that "the barber must have been regarded as a very useful member of society, and his profession was not at all undignified" ² Dr Mackay refers only to 'pottery toys' ³ which certainly does not warrant the inference that earthen pots were used for serving food ⁴ As regards Mother Goddess I have elsewhere shown that the religion of the Indus Valley people was Vedic Aryan ⁵

The Mahabharata evidence can, at the most be stretched to mean that at the time of the Indus Culture Vahikas formed a portion of the populace, it yields nothing more of any value

Dasyas Dasyu's Nagas We know absolutely nothing as to the ethnic type of the Dasas, Dasyus and Nagas nor is there any evidence as to their authorship of the Indus Civilization, their claims being put forth on the assumption of the pre-Aryan nature of the Indus Civilization ⁶

Aryans Lastly we come to the consideration of the Aryan origin of the Indus civilization Though we encounter the same difficulty here as to the racial type of the Aryans, it is suggested that they were probably a mixture of the Nordics the Mediterraneans and the Alpines ⁷ and this does not militate against their being the progenitors of the Indus civilization if other considerations favour the ascription Unfortunately, the supporters championing the cause of the Aryans are in a glorious minority ⁸ I have shown that the period of the Vedas is much prior to that generally assigned to them, and that the

¹ JRSA 32 221 Dr Frankfort (Arch & Sumerian Prob p 29) states that the upper lip was clean shaved, not merely close cropped as mentioned by Dr Mackay (MIC, p 442)

² Ind Hist Qu 12 480

³ JRSA, 32, 217,

⁴ Ind Hist Qu 12 480

⁵ MR Dec 1934 697-703

⁶ Rawlinson AP 1934 84-5 Prof Venkateswara (AP 31 86 90) ably controverts this view of H Bruce Hancock (Jour Bihar and Orissa Res Soc 1925) Dasyus or Dahyus

⁷ of S K Aiyenger Hindu Weekly Nov 12 1933 p 8 The Aryans might probably have represented a different racial type

⁸ Dr Law Ind Hist Qu 1932, 121-151, Prof Venkateswara AP 1934, 86-90 Mysore Univ Jnl 1930 Dr Saepu, Gangā 1935 62-63 Dikshitar, Culture of the Indus Valley, Madras 1933 Das, Egvedic India

religion of the Indus people represents a later phase of the Rigvedic culture.¹ Sir John Marshall has advanced the following reasons to prove that the Vedic culture is quite distinct from that of the Indus Valley and therefore the Vedic Aryans cannot be taken to be the authors of the Indus civilization.²

(i) The Vedic Aryans were a partly pastoral partly agricultural people having no knowledge of the amenities of city life and whose homes were mere structures of bamboo while the domestic and civic architecture at Mohenjo Daro tells quite a different tale. (ii) The metals used by the Indo-Aryans were gold and copper or bronze silver and iron coming later. Among the Indus people the neolithic practice of using stone utensils was continued silver was commoner than gold and iron was not discovered at all. (iii) The Indo-Aryans wore the helmet and defensive armour which were unknown to the Indus people. (iv) The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters having an aversion to fish while the latter was an ordinary article of food of the Indus people. (v) The horse which played an important part with the Indo-Aryans was unknown to the Indus people. The tiger and elephant were familiar among the Indus people while there is no mention of the tiger in the Vedas and the elephant is but little known. (vi) The Vedic Aryans revered the cow while the Indus people replaced it by the bull. (vii) Animism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence everywhere at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. (viii) The cults of the Mother-Goddesses and Siva have no place in the Vedic pantheon where the female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male whereas both the cults are in the forefront in the Indus Valley and the female principle is equally revered. (ix) Fire (Agni) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas while Agni Kunda which should be found in every Aryan house is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-Daro. (x) Phallic worship is abhorrent to the Indo-Aryans but was practised by the Indus people.

¹ *HR* Dec 1936 60-703

² *MIO* pp 119 113

³ For much of the material employed in attempting a reply to the above objections I am indebted to Dr Law *Ind Hist Qu* 193 pp 15 161 though at places I differ from him I have indicated at other places the sources of my statements.

Before examining these points, it should be stated that the information gathered from the Vedas is not absolutely exhaustive, and that the finds from one or two places when so many prehistoric sites await excavation cannot be taken to supply in every minute detail the civilization of the time. Hence the conclusions can at best be approximations to truth. Out of the points mentioned above, Nos (vii), (viii), and (x) have been dealt with elsewhere.¹

Re (ix) Agnikunda. The Rgveda does not furnish any evidence as to there being an Agnikunda in every house. This may have been a late development. Re (v)-(vi) Animals. That the Indus people knew the horse is proved by the find of a model horse,² and future excavations may similarly bring express portrayals of the cow. That the bull was venerated by the Indo-Aryans would appear from Dr Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* (p 150), and the extracts given by Mr Sastri.³ The representations of the tiger on the seals may well be those of a byena (salavrka) to which there are references in the Rgveda. Assuming the figure to be of a tiger, the silence of the Rgveda is quite explicable as being due to the want of a necessity to refer to the animal. Or, probably the Vedic Aryans came to know of the 'tiger' at the time of Taittiriya Samhita and Atharva Veda, thus showing that the Indus Culture was a successor of the Rgvedic Culture.⁴ That the Vedic Aryans were familiar with the elephant would be evident from the mention of 'vāraṇa' and 'hastin' in the Rgveda,⁵ while Dr Mackay states that "possibly the elephant was not so well known to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-Daro as was thought at first."⁶ Re (iv) Fish-eating. This is merely an argumentum ex silentio, and there is no evidence in the Rgveda to the aversion of the Vedic Aryans to fish-eating, which might well have formed an article of their

¹ MR Dec 1936 697-703

² Arch Sur Ind Ann Rep, 1928-29 p 74 pl xxvii; c also Dherumal, Mohenjo-Daro p 91. S. Shastri, Qu J Myth Sc 1934 315

³ Qu J Myth Sc 1934, 324-5

⁴ of Venkateswara, AP 1934 89. Dikshitar, The Culture of the Indus Valley, p 6

⁵ Law, Ind Hist Qu, 1932, pp 180-81

⁶ MIO, p 388

10 [Annal, B O B I.]

dist Re (ii) Weapons If the defensive armours of the Indus people were of leather as among the Indo-Aryans, there is no wonder that no specimen is found owing to the ally soil If however the helmets and armours be of metal, further excavations may reveal them Re (ii) Metals There are references to stone utensils and implements in the Rgveda such as the 'upasa' 'dasa' 'ulukhala' which are of stone even to this day in India And the absence of iron in both the cultures points to the similarity between the two Re (i) Cities and Buildings Pur in the Rgveda has been interpreted by Fischel and Geldner to refer to the fortified cities¹ Further it is inconsequent to interpret the word 'Pur' from the Rgveda as meaning castles or forts in the case of Dasa and simple earth-walls in the case of Vedic Aryans² Dr Acharya though placing the Indus Culture long before the Vedic period states that the Vedic people were not ignorant of stone forts walled cities, stone houses and brick edifices³ In view of the antiquity of the Rgveda, it is not strange if it shows a primitive culture as compared to that at Mohenjodaro

Thus it would be found that there is nothing in the Vedic civilization that speaks against ascribing the authorship of the Indus civilization to the Vedic Aryans It is argued that the evolution of the Sindhu-Sauvira from the region of the Aryas in the later Sutras shows that the Indus Valley was inhabited by the non-Aryans⁴ Rgveda mentions fights in the Indus Valley It may have been that some foreign element wrested the Indus Colony for a time from the Vedic Aryans in the post-Vedic period and hence the Grhya Sutras excluded the Sindhu-Sauvira

The finds at Mohenjodaro belong to the chalcolithic age while the Rgveda indicates the use of bone and stone implements The bangles or bracelets found in large numbers at Mohenjodaro are first mentioned in the Atharva Veda as the

¹ *Lew Ind Hist Qs* 193 pp 1 & 98

² *MIO* preface and p 169

³ *MR* Sept 1934 pp 81-88/ at p 261 Description of the early Hind architecture given in the article is well worth a comparison with the architecture at Mohenjodaro

⁴ Chapter I *MR* Mar 1926 p 35/ *Uttara Mem Arch Surv India*

indispensable items of the women's jewellery ¹ Dr Sarup refers to the knowledge of writing displayed by the citizens of Mohenjo-Daro by their seals, which shows a later phase than the Rgvedic Age when writing was not known ²

We find that there is nothing inconsistent in calling the Vedic Aryans the authors of the Indus Civilization, or styling the civilization as 'Vedic' or 'Aryan' Dr Jacobi would place the Rgveda at least in 5000 B C (a modest estimate) which accords well with the nature of the Civilization we find at Mohenjo-Daro, which is assigned 3250-2750 B C

¹ Venkatesvara AP 1924 pp 88-89 This article refers to other particulars also which go to prove that the Indus Culture represents a later Vedic Age as revealed by the Yajurveda Atharvaveda, Taittiriya Samhita etc Cf also AP 1930 pp 11-15

Gangli 1933 pp 68-69 contra Bastri, Qu J Myth Soc, 1934 226 says that expressions like *vajrakara* *gach* indicate that some kind of markings were known to the Vedic people He also finds similarity between the Indus Valley ornaments and those described in the Rgveda (I 166.9) ib p 224 Mr V B Karandikar holds that Lokhas among the Vedic Aryans knew writing By describing the Indus Culture as 'Vedic' we do not mean to exclude the possibility of the Aryans having taken something from the other cultures of Dr Coomaraswamy Indian and Indonesian Art, p 8

MISCELLANEA

THE ORIGINAL CAPITAL OF THE PRATHIHARAS OF KANAUJ

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Perhaps no verse has been discussed more by historians than the following from Jinasena's *Haravamsa-Pravasa* —

शाकेष्व दशमधु सप्तसु दिक्षु पञ्चाक्षरेषूत्तरा
 वा ता वायुधनाभिं कुण्डनुपले श्रीवह्निं वृक्षेणा ।
 पवा श्रीमदधतिच्छ्रुति मूष वत्नादि [धि] राज परा
 साया (रा) नामधिमण्डल (ळ) जययुत वीरे वराहवृत्ति ॥

Drs Bhandarkar Majumdar and Altekar construe its third line to mean that Vatsaraja was the ruler of Avantī¹ The first two further aver that the Pratihāras ruled at Ujjayinī and not Bhūtnā before they transferred their capital to Kanauj and consider their conclusion confirmed by the following extracts from two important Rāstrakūta records —

- (a) हिरण्यवन्न राज वैकुण्ठ (धि) वा यदासित ।
 प्रतिहारीकृत वन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥

(Sanjan Plates EI XVIII 243)

- (b) दक्ष देवोपजायि यामपि नृपतिमहादानमाश्वपथुनम्

(Dāsavātara cave inscription)

The verse from the Sanjan plate is regarded as a positive proof of Pratihāra rule at Ujjayinī and the line from the Dāsavātara inscription is regarded as a further though not very necessary piece of evidence to establish the same conclusion

It must be admitted that at first sight their view seems plausible enough But it is unfortunately vitiated by a number of serious flaws overlooked by these learned writers In the first place if Vatsaraja and Avantipati were identical there would be no need to use the two words वृत्त and वप in juxtaposition That

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol XVIII pp 238-9 and 109 The Rāstrakūtas and their times p 85

Jināsana, the author of the *Harivamśa-Purāna* has so used them shows clearly that he regarded the two as different persons.¹ Secondly, the extracts from the Daśāvātara cave inscription and the Sanjan plates merely state that Dantidurga held a ceremony called Hiranyagarbha at Ujjayini, and that it was attended among others by a certain *Gurjareśa*. Now, if Ujjayini is to be regarded as the capital of this *Gurjareśa* on their basis, we might as well feel justified in concluding that it was also the capital of all the other kings who attended the ceremony. What applies to the *Gurjareśa* applies equally to the others too. He acted as a *pratihāra*, and so did the other kings also. Thirdly, the word *Gurjareśa* means most probably not the lord of the Gurjara tribe, but the province called Gurjaratṛā. It is so used more than once by Hemacandra in his *Devyāraja-mahākāvya*. He calls the inhabitants of Gujrat Gurjara, and their king *Gurjareśvara* or *Gurjareśvara*. The very use of this word in the Sanjan plates should therefore be proof enough of the fact that this *Gurjareśa* was the lord of Gujarat and not Malwa. Fourthly, due attention has not been given to reasons proving that Malwa was not under the Pratihāras at least in the time of Vatsarāja. The Baroda grant of Karka states that he was made a door-bolt to protect Malwa against the attacks of the *Gurjareśa* who had become haughty on account of having defeated the ruler of Gauda and Vanga. According to the Wanl and Radhanpur plates this *Gurjareśa* was Vatsarāja.² It being, therefore, clear that Vatsarāja was the invader of Malwa and not its ruler, it must be conceded that he could not possibly be the *अवन्तिवर्ति* referred to in the verse of the Harivamśa-Purāna quoted above. These Pratihāra attacks on Malwa continued also during the reign of Vatsarāja's successor Nagabhata II who is stated to have captured a number of hill-forts in Malwa.³

Finally, we come to our most cogent piece of evidence against the view of Doctors Bhandarkar and Majumdar. It is a short extract from Uddyotana Sūri's *Kuṃvatayamūla*, a Svetāmbara Jaina

1 See also IHQ Vol VII, p 766

2 *Ojha's History of Rājputana Vol I Second Edition, p 177

3 Gwalior Prasasti of Bhoja, verse 11

work composed five years before the completion of Timasena's Harivamsa-Purana. The extract is as follows :¹

जासौ तिष्ठन्महाद्विरउ महावशास्त्रभिः खानिउ पयसा ।
 उ-जा तथा ति नाम त खिडा परिभुक्तिरि तत्-जा ॥
 तस्मिन् विभुता सप कानेण उदेसरा ति पयडमथा ।
 मरुतु-जा-अणवामा तथा उ-अह विरहा तथा ॥
 तुमस-उ-विणभयणनणहर मार (८) पाडळ विसस ।
 जावाकिउर अहवय व अह अन्वि पुहइप ॥
 तुम पवइ मणहारिरेणपसरतभयभ-उ-अहव ।
 उ-अह-वि-वि-पयतण करायि वीरमहेण ॥
 तथा उ-अह पाणसेए चसस्त सणहपकदाभिः ॥
 विन्मदि-जा माहिकरी भ-वाण होउ उ-वाय ॥
 परमठमिउदीभगे पणइवणरोहुणो रुलापया ।
 तिरिव-उ-अह-वाणामो मणह-दी प-थवा उ-अह ॥

These verses state clearly that Uddyotana Suri the son of Vatesvara composed the work while staying in a temple of Raabhadeva at Javalipura (modern Jalore) which was at the time ruled by the redoubtable Raseshastri Vatsaraja. As this Vatsaraja is none other than the Vatsaraja of the Harivamsa Purana the third line of the verse given in the beginning of this paper should no longer be construed to mean that Vatsaraja was the ruler of Avanti and ruled in the east. He was rather the ruler of Gurjaratra and had most probably his capital at Jalore which is not at any great distance from Bhilmal, the capital of the Chavada kings who preceded the Ratharas as the rulers of this part of India.

¹ Mr. L. G. Gandhi's introduction to the अणवशास्त्र इति प ८९
 (Lucknow Oriental Series)

A NOTE ON FOUR PROBLEMS

given by Śrī Ratnasekhara Sūri in his work *Ācārapradīpa*

BY

Prof H R KAPADIA, M A

It is a well-known fact that the Jaina religious literature furnishes us with valuable information regarding even secular subjects¹. So it is no wonder if we come across problems associated with *Kaśīkāvya*² in a philosophical work like *Ācārapradīpa* composed in *Samvat* 1516³ (A D 1460) by Ratnasekhara Sūri, a pupil of Śrī Munisūdana Sūri of the Tapa gaccha. While describing the life of king Prāthivāla—a fictitious king with a view to illustrate the fruit accruing from the *brāhmacāri* of *śrāta-yāma*, Ratnasekhara narrates on p 6^b that each of the two *kaṣyapās* (virgins) was asked two questions—problems by each of the two proficient *ganānās* (mathematicians) as under —

“ इयद्विषयद्वयाकाशा लोहवपुताम्ररजतहेमधुभिः ।

पद्ममणिलनो च जम्बु कति हे पुरुषा कथय कथं । ॥ ”

[Ans 108]

“ स्वपद्माश्च उदश धुरि निजविकारोऽन साहित

चतुर्थाश्च नुवाककसुतनवाश्च परपदे ।

मृत्तीयाक्षेनाह्वय व्याधिकदशमाह व्यपचितवा

श्वतुस्तीश्या क्षेपास्तय इह सुवणा कति समे ? ” ॥

[Ans 108]

¹ See my English introduction (p 6) to *Taittirīyārśhadhigyaṇṣasttra* soon printed by its *Udya* and *Siddhanta* Gam. s. s. s. (Pt I)

² See my English introduction (pp LVII and LVIII) to *Upaniṣads* and its *utis* (Gaukwa's Oriental Series No LXXVIII)

³ Cf —

“ इया श्रीसुवणा प्रसवत पदकुलविभिदि १५१६ वर्षे ।

जम्बु च प्रथमि सुवर्मे श्रीरजक्षेखरश्चरि ॥ १२५ ॥

"युववराहमहावहोयच्छतुः

विश्रामाग युता स्वस्वतुयाशक ।

भाजिता यानिका पत्रभि शपिता

षोडशोपापितास्त समग्रा कानि ? ॥

[Ans. 96]

अश्वत्थशपतुःपथमकथदसत्राष्टमाशरहा

रात्रस्याये वहाशस्त्रेण च क्लिष्टाभिमि मणाल क्रमात् ।

या श्रीहाम्पददीर्घिका जलभर पृथत्तुदयक्षण

सकस्तवद् कोदिद्वज्र कियता कालन ना पृथत् ? ॥

[Ans 1 ghat and 20 palas = $\frac{1}{2}$ day]

—*Acūrapradīpa* pp 6^b and 7^a

I may translate these as under —

Oh *Amgzi*! tell me how many men there were when one-third one-fourth one-sixth one-ninth and one-twelfth (of their total number) went to the mines of iron tin copper, silver and gold (respectively) and six went to the mine of jewels

How many *sucarvas* were there when some (pilgrim) spent one-third along with its one-sixth just in the first (*tu/ha*) one-fourth together with its one-third (in the second) one-ninth along with its one-fourth at the next place and one-twelfth coupled with its one-third in the last in all in the four *tu/has* (respectively) and thereafter 3 *sucarvas* remained ?

(Pilgrims forming) one-fourth one sixth one-eighth one-twelfth and one-twentyfourth parts (of their total number) each accompanied by its own one-fourth were (in order) served with meals by five (co-religionists) And the remaining 16 (pilgrims) observed fasts (So) how many were they in all ?

Oh proficient (virgin) ! tell (me) by what time that long lake meant for playing in water will be filled up with water by the eight channels simultaneously set free when it can be filled up by them in order in $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ day (respectively)

From this it will be seen that the first three problems belong to *dr̥gpadā* ¹

¹ See *Ganitatika* (pp 41-4) and its introduction (p LIX)

It may be added in this connection that each of the two *lan gākūs* gave correct answers and showed how they were consistent by mentioning the fractional parts where necessary. Ratnaśekhara, on p. 7^a alludes to *bhūgajāh*, the actual wording being as follows —

“ ततो गणिक (१ त) शास्त्रोक्तभागजातिरीत्या करणे कृते ”

This line occurs in the explanation of the last (4th) problem.

In the end I may mention that this note is written with the idea of pointing out that at least in the time of Ratnaśekhara—the 15th century A. D., it must have been a fashion to set as puzzles, problems involving ordinary arithmetical operations. I would like to know if in any earlier work, arithmetical problems are so introduced.

REVIEWS

A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHĀṢHA by MIRZĀ KHĀN
(A D 1676) *Viśva Bhaṣa* Series No 3 The Persian text
officially edited from original Ms. with an Introduction,
Translation and Notes to ether with the contents of the
Tuhfat-i-Hind by M ZIAUDDIN with foreward by S K
CHATTERJI M A D Litt (Lond) Published by Viśva
Bhaṣata Book-shop 910 Cornwallis Street Calcutta, Royal
Sve pp xi + 92 Calcutta 1935 Price Rs 4/-

The Persian work *Tuhfat-i-Hind* (i e a Present from India) is a comprehensive book of singular importance it presents in a practical and systematic manner various interesting subjects such as grammar palmistry dancing music prosody rhetoric lexicography etc found in Hindi literature Some of the Mogul rulers had realised that the strength of their rule depended mainly on their understanding and appreciating all that was best in Hindu culture To this end even the home-language of the Moguls from the time of Akbar onwards was some kind of Hindi dialect-Braj or an early form of Hindustani though Persian was employed for official purposes To enlighten therefore the Muslim aristocracy and officials Persian digests of Hindu culture were a necessity and Mirzā Khān successfully fulfils this need by his *Tuhfat-i-Hind* composed sometime before A D 1675 Mirzā Khān has very well digested the contents of Hindi treatises and then presented his exposition in a systematic and practical manner

The *Tuhfat* does not only postulate what Hindi works contain on the subjects concerned but it is also a genuine and successful step towards assimilating their matter into Muslim literature and life

In this volume under review Mr M ZIAUDDIN mainly aims at a critical presentation in English of the grammar of Braj Bhāṣha from the *Tuhfat* though he has given a useful analysis of the entire work It is clear that Mirzā Khān is not confined to literary Braj but takes into account colloquial Bhāṣha as well The pronunciation of Braj words recorded by Mirzā Khān are very interesting and show what pains he must have taken to transcribe them in Persian

Students of Modern Indo-Aryan languages are highly thankful to Mr M ZIAUDDIN for his excellent presentation of the grammatical laws of Braj Bhāskā as recorded by Mītzā Khan. In fact, it is the oldest available grammar of Braj dialect, and by this critical English rendering Mr ZIAUDDIN has done valuable service to Indian Linguistics. We eagerly wait for his further studies on the lexicographical section of the *Tuhfat*.

A. N. Upadhye

PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON HINDI by AMBIKAPRASAD
VAJPEYI (Sometime Lecturer in Hindi, National Council
of Education, Bengal), Published by the University of
Calcutta, Demi 8vo pp 8-212

The title of the book would indicate that it is a grammatical dissertation detecting and analysing the items of Persian influence on the Hindi language, but the contents show that it is much beside it, only about a dozen pages (87 etc) being devoted to this topic. The author devotes more space to discuss the antecedents and the circumstances etc of this influence. He outlines how, since long, India had connections with Arabia and other countries and how Persian was the court-language of many foreign rulers of India in the medieval centuries. Persian, as a member of the Aryan family, had close relation with Sanskrit, but by the adoption of Arabic character and under the influence of Arabic and Hebrew it began to look like Semitic, though 'Aryan at heart even to-day. Hindi (also called Hindavi, Rekhtā, and Khari bolī) is a descendant of Prakrits through Apabhramśa and its later phases like Durgala, Pingala, Braja etc (i e Rajasthāni and other allied dialects) Many Muslim authors used Hindi which ' was the language current over large portion of northern India, ' with the effect that many Persian and Arabic words were introduced, and even the Persian script came to be used. Gradually this ' one single language owing to the difference in scripts was called Hindi and Urdu and as time passed the Urdu phase of Hindi drew its nourishment generally from Persian and in the end became a separate language altogether.

Urdu is only another name of Mussalmāni Hindī. Many of the Urdu poets and authors, almost ignoring Indian conditions and heritage, imported into their compositions words, associations, situations, similes and ideas—in fact the entire cultural background—from the traditions and heritage of Persia, Arabia and Turkey. The result was that the gulf between Hindī and Urdu went on widening. The difference in script kept them all the more aloof. In conclusion the author urges the study of Urdu for a better understanding of Hindī. In the Appendix (pp. 103-210) he gives a very useful alphabetical list of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words that are generally used in Hindī.

Some sections (for instance those discussing the cultural background of Urdu) are really refreshing and full of information. The fact that the book was rendered into English from Hindī might explain the popular rather than the academic tone seen here and there. Many statements and remarks are vague and their contents cannot be verified as no adequate references are given. It is a mistake to suppose that the *Āraśa Prakṛit* of Hemacandra is based on the *Āraśa-prayogas* in Sanskrit; the meaning of *Āraśa* is altogether different in these two contexts.

Though the expectations raised by its title are not fully satisfied, this book serves a very useful purpose of outlining the antecedents and explaining the cultural back-grounds of Hindī and Urdu.

RGVEDA SAMHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF
SĀYANĀCĀRYA, vol I Mandala 1 vol II, Mandalas 2-5
Pub by the Vedic Research Institute of Tilak Maharashtra
University, Poona 1933, 1936 Price Rs 12/- for each
volume pp 19+1115+2, 46+998+2,

The *editio princeps* of the Rgveda and Sāyana's commentary on it appeared in Oxford for the first time under the able editorship of Max Müller between 1849 and 1875 and a second and much improved edition in 1890-91. There was also a Bombay edition of this truly colossal commentary, but both are out of print. Whatever copies that come in the market are able to fetch an incredibly high price. It was therefore proper for an Indian body of scholars to come forward and form itself into a band of willing explorers in finding new significant MS material for the purpose of a more scientific edition of *Sāyanabhāṣya*. And it is certainly significant that the Vedic Research Institute of Poona is such a body working under the aegis of the Maharashtra University which bears the name of one of the greatest Vedic Scholars of Western India.

The Vedic Research Institute was founded in memory of the late lamented Lokamānya Bal Gangādhara Tilak on the 1st of August 1928 with the object of providing facilities for higher studies in Vedic Literature and for higher research in MS material both of the Samhitās and of commentaries on these. As a first step it was decided to bring out a new, critical and scientific edition of Sāyana's great commentary on the Rgveda, for which purpose new MS were collated from different sources. Both Max Müller's and Bombay editions were also utilized for the purpose of restitution of the text.

The first volume covering the introduction of the *Bhāṣya* and the first *Mandala* of the Samhitā appeared in 1933, the second volume covering *Mandalas* 2-5 was published in December 1936, bringing the entire material so far to half the Samhitā portion. Considering the extent of the text, the new material utilized and the few faithful scholars working in the field, the progress so far

shown is nothing short of wonderful. The Institute is to be congratulated on their silent but efficient and rapid progress.

The typography has been well adjusted. In bold thick type with accent marks the *Sanskrit* text is first given followed by a smaller and less thick type giving the *Pada* text. This again is followed by Sayana's commentary. Here all Vedic words are indicated by a superior V to the left of the words, but unfortunately without accent marks. All quotations are traced to their sources.

In choosing readings the editors have given due importance to the authenticity of the *Ms*; every reading is thus based on *Ms* or printed editions and the editors have rightly adopted the principle of interpretation rather than that of emendation. Thus readings based on even a single *Ms* have been adopted as opposed to those in a larger number of less important *Mss*. As a result we have in the two volumes before us a better and more reliable text of Sayana's commentary than any hitherto published. Of course there is another edition which is in course of publication under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, containing besides the above commentary extracts from other ancient Indian commentators. But when all is said and done the Vedic Research Institute of Poona has given us a better account so far and the Tilak University has every reason to feel proud of the achievement so far realized. It is the ardent wish of all true scholars to see the remaining volumes published in this gigantic task, and for this men and money are both needed. Financially the task of the Institute has not been very successful. But it is to be hoped that in these days of national reconstruction the ancient cultural heritage of India will have a better recognition from the new governments than under the old regime.

A few observations and suggestions *apropos* the work will not be out of place here. Though the slender financial condition of the Vedic Research Institute has been taxed very much, it should not find it difficult to publish the accented *Sanskrit* and *Pada* texts side by side as in Max Müller's edition which is now out of print. This will be a useful adjunct to the major work and be a means of popularising Vedic studies in general and Rgvedic studies in particular in India. A similar observation holds good for the other Vedic *Samhitās*.

It is with great pleasure and full good wishes that we take leave of these two magnificent volumes covering half of R̥gveda, with the expectation of seeing the rapid publication of the remaining Mandalas, and looking forward to reviewing them in the pages of these *Annals*. The Tilak Maharashtra University and its Vedic Research Institute have done inestimable service to the cause of Indian Studies by their sustained effort and keen critical acumen and deserve every encouragement from the Indian public, governments and princes in particular.

S M Katra

LINGUISTIQUE HISTORIQUE et LINGUISTIQUE GENE
RALE, Tome II par A. MEILLET Paris, Librairie C
 Klincksieck, 11 Rue de Lodi, 1936 Pp xiii, 235

This second volume containing the general articles written by Antoine MEILLET, was originally intended to celebrate the 70th birthday of the author himself on the 11th November 1936. We share the regrets of the Editors (MM VENDRYES, BLOCH and BENVENISTE) in the irreparable loss to the linguistic world in the death of the most celebrated Master in Europe on the 21st of September 1936, even before the volume could be presented to him. It had been intended as a contribution on the occasion to present him with a selection of his own published articles. Though the object as such was unfortunately beyond fulfilment we can identify ourselves with the editors in their "hope that the volume will at least serve to perpetuate and at the same time be a permanent testimony to the gratitude and admiration one feels for the living thought of the departed Master."

It would be futile to describe the greatness of ANTOINE MEILLET, only those who have studied under him, or at least followed his thought in the numerous books, studies and published articles, not only by himself, but also by his pupils (whose work was entirely due to his inspiration and guidance) can realise the magnitude of his attainment, character and scholarship. Whatever subject he touched was turned to gold, richly informed with so critical an insight and expressed in language that even a child

could understand. More than others he was chiefly responsible for popularising so difficult a subject as Linguistics and making it an absorbing study instead of a dry-as-dust work.

Among the general articles special mention may be made of the following: The concrete character of words (pp 9-23) On the general terminology of morphology (29-35) Introduction to the classification of languages (53-69) Linguistics and Anthropology (84-89) The effects of changes in language (104-112) etc. In the last part of the work we have MEILLANT's considered views on the works of RENAN FERDINAND de SAUSSURE VILHELM THOMSEN ROBERT GAUTHIOT LOUIS HAVET MAURICE GAGNÉ MICHEL and BRÉAL. There are some articles dealing with the French language in particular which are of great interest.

In view of the unexpected passing away of the Master the Editors might have given us a brief life-sketch and a full bibliography in addition to the beautiful photograph which adorns the volume. Even as it is it is a fitting tribute to his genius and these short articles will not only keep his memory fresh and his thought living but they will also inspire young aspirants to linguistic honour by the richness of their suggestion. The book deserves an honoured place on the linguist's shelf.

S. M. Katre



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