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SRIVATSALANCHANA: THE SOURCE OF INSPIRATION TO JAGANNATHA PANDITA*

It is a well known fact that Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha won the appreciation of scholars in the world of Sanskrit for his original works, specially for his *magnum opus* the *Rasagaṅgādharamaṇi* a treatise on poetics. Though the work is incomplete, the available portion itself being a land-mark in the field enables us to conceive the entire plan of the work with the help of the lustre of the diamond of his genius. When the diamond of *Rasagaṅgādhara* i.e. the *Rasagaṅgādharamaṇi* is placed before us, I am sure, that we are able to perceive and understand his many sided genius shining in the shape of his other works like the *Bhāminivilāsa*, *Pañcalaharis* etc., set in all the angles of this diamond. It is no exaggeration here if we say that the diamond created by him under the patronage of Mughal emperors in the middle of the seventeenth century excels the famous natural diamond of Kohinoor. Thanks to the aesthetic efforts of Shahajahan who placed in our hands the two unsurpassed creations (1) The Tajmahal and (2) The *Rasagaṅgādharamaṇi*.

During the Mughal period, Shahjahan's reign was unquestionably regarded as the age of golden age of arts. The imperial court congregated Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit scholars. This impetus for this encouragement emanated from Akbar, whose reign witnessed the rise of men of genius. How fortunate is Jagannātha to have been born in this period and reckoned the lord of wits in and out the imperial court. The spirit of the age exerted its influence on him. The image of Śrīvatsalāñchana his predecessor seems to have influenced him to bring forth his *Rasagaṅgādhara*. The inspiration of Śrīvatsa in this regard could be clearly seen in his thought and content, specially in the definition of *kāvya*, the explanation of the *rasa*, the sub-divisions in *vira* and in refuting others.

Śrīvatsalāñchana flourished during the middle of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1568). Though we do not know much about his personal

life, we know only that much that he is proficient in all the six systems of philosophy and grammar. He calls himself a *kavi* or poet: The poetic talent was probably imbibed from his father Viṣṇudharācārya, a great scholar and a poet. Śrīvatsa's works are (1) The *Kāvya-parikṣā*, (2) *Kāvya-mṛta*² (3) *Sārābodhini* – a commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa. He also seems to have written a drama called *Rāmōdaya*. The *Kāvya-parikṣā* and *Kāvya-mṛta* are treatises on rhetoric. The *Kāvya-parikṣā* is a general treatise whereas the *Kāvya-mṛta* is originally intended to criticise the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Of course his criticism is only in the beginning on the topics like the definition of *kāvya* etc. In his *kāvya-mṛtam*, though the *kārikas* are drawn from the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Śrīvatsa's originality is exhibited in either dispensing away with some items merging them with others as in case of *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*.

Śrīvatsa opens his *kāvya-parikṣā* with the definition of *kāvya* stating.

काव्यमाखादजीवातुः पदसंदर्भ उच्यते ।
सालङ्कारगुणादोषौ शब्दार्थविति कैश्चन ॥

He then proceeds to explain the views of the ancients, who advocate that *śabda* itself is *kāvya* and that *kāvya* is embedded both in *śab* and *artha*. He also quotes

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिः अनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥

Here we notice that according to Śrīvatsa, *vakrokti* is a सामान्यालङ्कार and not a विशेषालङ्कार. He also says *वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम्* and this *vakrokti* defined by him as *चमत्कारकारिण्युक्तिः*. From this we understand that the *vakrokti* or the modified utterance must be capable of creating *चमत्कार* in the listener or the reader i.e. *चमत्कारत्वम्* becomes an element in the constituents of poetry. As such most probably he seems to have accepted the definition *आखादजीवातुः पदसंदर्भः काव्यम्*. Here the word *पदसंदर्भ* means befitting place for words i.e. (words contextually fitting,) a right word in a right place. The epithet *आखादजीवातुः* means life-giving elixir, that helps persons to appreciate *rasa*. When the whole is construed it means that the words in their proper places act like a medicine for restoring life and becomes palatable. This verbally expressed word *पद* (which means *शब्द* here) along with the term *आखादजीवातुः* indicates

1. Edited by Dr. P. Sarma and published by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.
2. Ed. by Dr. K.S. Ramamurti and Publ. by S.V.U.O.R. Institute, Tirupati.
3. Aufrecht cc. pt I p 526 (1962).

charming sense' (life) i.e. it becomes tasty revealing its sense as the *śrī* is not separated from its sense. From this we note what he means is that the 'use of befitting words in their appropriate places which give rise to a charming sense constitute poetry. From this it is clear that he accepts the harmonious blending of अर्थ and शब्द for good poetry. A close examination at this stage reveals that Śrīvatsalānchana accepts Candīdāsa of A.D. 1285, who wrote a commentary called *Dīpikā*⁴ on the *Kāvyaṣaṣṭakā* of Mammata, though he did not mention him anywhere. Candīdāsa says एतदुक्तं भवति । आस्वादजीवातुः पदसंदर्भः काव्यम् । Probably it is only to indicate that he has borrowed this from his predecessor, Śrīvatsa uses the word उच्यते in his first *kārikā* as काव्यमास्वादजीवातुः पदसंदर्भ उच्यते and scholars are of the opinion that this definition is acceptable to Śrīvatsa.⁵

Having thus noticed the inclination of Śrīvatsa to accept and adopt the definition of Candīdāsa let us focus our attention on the definition of *kāvya* proclaimed by Jagannātha. He defines *kāvya*s as रमणीयार्थ-प्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम्. Explaining this in good length, he says at the end स्वविशिष्टजनकतावच्छेदकार्थप्रतिपादकतासंसर्गेण चमत्कारत्ववत्त्वमेव वा काव्यत्वमिति फलितम् । Here we note that Jagannātha used the words रमणीय, अर्थ, प्रतिपादक and शब्द only to perfect his own definition by warding off अतिव्याप्ति and अव्याप्ति. The purport of his explanation of the *sūtra* (which all know) is that a sense when thought over again and again produces an uncommon bliss अलौकिकानन्द which is also said as supernatural bliss लोकोत्तरानन्द. This uncommon bliss is also known as poetical charm चमत्कार. This is a subjective experience. This delight is nothing but the experience of the knowledge of the uncommon bliss. We do not get this type of bliss in the common parlance when we hear the sentences like 'you are blessed with a child' or 'I will give you money'. The pleasure experienced here is only लौकिक or usual, but not unusual. Therefore this cannot be called poetry. As such we note that the word which is capable of giving rise to a charming sense or a sense that produces uncommon bliss becomes poetry. This in simple words is explained by Mañjūnāthasāstry⁶ in his *laghu ṭīkā* called *Saralā* as चमत्कारत्ववत्त्वमेव काव्यत्वम् i.e. the quality of charm itself is poetry.

4. *Kāvyaṣaṣṭikā* - Introduction p. 12.

5. *ibid.*

6. *Rasagaṅgādhara* - Ed. Manjunathasāstry p. 6.

Mañjūnāthaśāstri further states यादृशशब्दानुपूर्व्या (शब्दपरम्पराया) पुनरनुसन्धानात्मकेन भावनाविशेषेण चमत्कारापरपर्यायस्य अलौकिकानन्दस्य भवति तादृशशब्दानुपूर्वमिदं काव्यत्वमिति।⁷ i.e. the order of the words which uncommon bliss which is otherwise known as चमत्कार is generated when contemplated upon again and again, that set up constitutes poetry. At this stage without bothering ourselves with the śāstraic jargon, let us examine it we note that words which are capable of giving rise to changing sense constitute poetry. Such being the case how can this be different from the definition आस्वादजीवातुः पदसंदर्भः adopted by Śrīvatsa as आस्वाद and चमत्कार are identical and they presuppose changing sense and the process of पुनः पुनरनुसन्धान. From this we understand that Jagannātha has improved upon Śrīvatsalāñchana with a view to give a clearer expression. While Śrīvatsalāñchana does not elaborate more and more, Jagannātha indulges in elaborating with śāstraic jargon in the interest of perfection.

Next speaking of the *rasa*-realization Śrīvatsa introduces an upaniṣadic quotation रसो वैसः । रसं ह्येवायं लब्धवानन्दी भवति । “I have attained this *rasa* and having attained this *rasa* one gets delight. Probably he is the first rhetorician to introduce this upaniṣadic dictum into the field of poetics. He says —

काव्ये हि विभावादिभिः अभिव्यज्यते स्थायी, तस्यां चाभिव्यक्त्यावन करणवृत्तिरूपायां चैतन्यानन्दस्वरूपः आत्मा अभिव्यज्यते । वेदान्तिनये सर्वसिद्धिज्ञाने आत्मभाननैयत्यात् । आत्ममनोयोगघटितायाः आत्मभानसामग्र्याः सत्त्वा अज्ञानस्यात्मनो (वस्तुनः) भानं विना प्रत्यक्षादीनां अज्ञातज्ञापकत्वरूपप्रामाण्यानुपपत्तेः एवं सति काव्यदर्शनश्रवणमहिम्ना उक्तया अभिव्यक्त्या चैतन्यस्यानन्दांशे आवरणं क्रियते । तथा च रत्याद्यवच्छिन्नं चैतन्यमानन्दांशे भग्नावरणतया आनन्दरूपप्रकाशमानं रस इति पर्यवसितोऽर्थः । इममर्थं श्रुतिरप्याह तैत्तिरीयशाखायाम्..... “रसो वै सः । रसं ह्येवायं लब्धवानन्दी भवति” इति. (*Kāvya-parikṣā* p. 100). This simply means — In a *kāvya* the *sthāyi* (which lies dormant in the mind of a *sahṛdaya*) is manifested by *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* etc. The *Ātman* which is of the nature of consciousness and bliss shines in the modification of the mind (manifested by *vibhāvas* in the form of *sthāyī*). For, according to the Vedānta theory the *Ātman* is invariably present in every knowledge or experience. Here also the casual aggregate consisting of the contact of *Ātman* and *manas* is present. *Pratyakṣa* as

other instruments of knowledge are *pramānas* in that they are able to make known what had remained unknown previously. Such being the case by the said manifestation brought into being on witnessing or listening to a composition, the veil that covers the *ānanda* aspect of the Ātman is removed. Then the consciousness which is delimited by the manifested *rati* etc. shining in the form of *ānanda* by virtue of the removal of the veil of the *ānanda* aspect of the Ātman is said to be *rasa*. The same thing is said by the *Śruti* in the *Taittiriya Sākhā* as रसो वै सः । रसं ह्येवायम् etc.

With this observation if we turn to Jagannātha we note that his position is not far removed from this. He explains the *rasasvarūpa* as समुचितललितसन्निवेशचारुणा काव्येन समर्पितैः, सहृदयसहृदयं प्रविष्टैः, तदीय-सहृदयतासहकृतेन, भावनाविशेषमहिम्ना, विगलितदुष्यन्तरमणीत्वादिभिरलौकिक-विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिशब्दव्यपदेश्यैः, शकुन्तलादिभिरालम्बनकारणैः, चन्द्रिकादि-भिरुद्दीपनकारणैः, अश्रुपातादिभिः कार्यैः, चिन्तादिभिः सहकारिभिश्च, सम्भूय प्रादुर्भावितेनालौकिकेन व्यापारेण, तत्कालनिवर्तितानन्दांशावरणाज्ञानेन, अत एव प्रमुष्टपरिमितप्रमातृत्वादिनिजधर्मेण प्रमात्रा, स्वप्रकाशतया वास्तवेन, निजस्वरूपानन्देन सह गोचरीक्रियमाणः प्राग्विनिविष्टवासनारूपो रत्यादिरेव रसः

(*Rasagaṅgādhara* p. 87)

This in simple words, means that the characters (hero and heroin), the moonlight, the tears and their agony enter the minds of spectators (the *sahṛdayas*) who witness or listen to a well set composition of a poet. They i.e. the spectators or listeners sympathetically react to those situations with the help of the culture that lie imbedded in them, when the relationship of hero and heroin (i.e. Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta) disappears from their minds, by itself only; At this stage the characters (hero and heroin) having been rid of their usual status become the cause of generating uncommonness in the minds or spectators or listeners, when contemplated upon, with the help of the concomitants such as *ālambana*, *uddīpana vibhāvas* etc. Here the spectator, in a technical sense is called *Pramātā*. Because of the contemplation (or *carvaṇa*) of the *Pramātā* the veil that covered the bliss aspect of Ātman in him is removed, when he sheds all his usual nature. Then he is able to enjoy this bliss along with the *rati* which is already in him in the form of *vāsanā*, which at that stage is known as *rasa*. This means, that the *rasa* is nothing but the *rati* visualised together with the bliss - aspect of Ātman.

After defining *rasa* in these terms Jagannātha explains the philosophical concept that underlies this. In the course of his explanation to show that there is *śabdapramāṇa* for this concept he quotes the *Taittiriya* stating. अस्त्यत्रापि — 'रसो वै सः' इति श्रुतिः ।

Here we note that all this type of philosophical explanation is emanated from Abhinavagupta, which has been made use of by other writers on the subject - Śrīvatsa and Jagannātha being no exceptions. The only thing which attracts our attention is the support taken from the *śūtri* by Śrīvatsa and Jagannātha. From this we feel that Jagannātha had his inspiration from Śrīvatsa, who happened to be the first rhetorician to call on the Upaniṣadic line to give more and more support to the argument.

Next in enumerating the kinds of *vīrarasa*, Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* gives four *Vīras* namely, *dānavīra*, *dharmavīra*, *yuddhavīra* and *dayāvīra*. The rhetoricians after Viśvanātha do not seem to have taken cognizance of these divisions until Śrīvatsa states वीरस्तु दानधर्मदयायुद्धभेदाच्चतुर्विधः। He simply went on giving examples in order. Jagannātha also gives these four divisions of *vīra*. He says वीरश्चतुर्धा, दानदयायुद्धधर्मैः etc. Jagannātha's general nature is to split things into their minute parts wherever *camalkāra* exists. Though Jagannātha in this instance emulated Viśvanātha, it is clear that Śrīvatsa was in the upper most of his mind; for he says at this stage — एतेन 'त्यागस्सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीनिर्व्याजदानावभिः' इति श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनोक्तमुदाहरणं परास्तम्। This verse (said to have been quoted by Śrīvatsa by Jagannātha) is found in Śrīvatsa's *Sārabodhini* (a commentary) on the *Kāvyaṭīkāśā*. This suggests that Jagannātha was thorough with Śrīvatsa's works and is acting under a considerable inspiration of Śrīvatsa.

It is also interesting to note here that Jagannātha was in touch with the first work *Kāvyaṭīkāśā* of Śrīvatsalāñchana only and not with his second work *Kāvyaṃṛta*. Śrīvatsa rejects the four varieties of *vīra* which were enumerated by him in *Kāvyaṭīkāśā*, in his *Kāvyaṃṛta*. Jagannātha does not seem to have noticed this. But in refuting the definitions of *Kāvya* of others we note that Jagannātha follows the *Kāvyaṃṛta*.

We shall now pass on to another interesting item. We all know that there is a lot of difference in the interpretation of the verse निशेषच्युतचन्दनं with regard to the process of *dhvani*. The main feature of the conclusion of Appayya Dīkṣita is that the suggested meaning of दूतीसंभोग is by means of *lakṣaṇā*, whereas Jagannātha argues that it is only by means of *abhidhā*—through the peculiar intonation of the speaker—as the *lakṣaṇa* expressed by Appayya Dīkṣita is only a mistaken notion. He argues vehemently exposing the defects in the arguments of Appayya Dīkṣita. Actually the supposed *Chītramīmāṃsākhandaṇa* of Jagannātha which is well known in the scholardom starts with this verse only. But a glance at the *Kāvyaṭīkāśā* of Śrīvatsa

shows that the arguments advanced by Jagannātha are not unknown to Śrīvatsa. Śrīvatsa commenting on the verse निःशेषच्युतचन्दनं says अत्र इन्तिकमेव रन्तुं गतासीति प्राधान्येन अधमपदेन व्यज्यते । अत्र केचित् — अत्र नतटं निःशेषच्युतचन्दनं न तु स्तनसन्ध्यादि । तत्र तथाविधनायककरपरामर्शा-गात् । एवमधरः परोष्ठः, तत्र रागो निःशेषो न पूर्वोष्ठे, तत्र चुम्बननिषेधात् । वं नेत्रमध्ये चुम्बननिषेधात् दूरत एव निरञ्जने । तथा च एतत्सर्वं रत एव संभवति स्नाने । स्नाने चेत्सर्वावच्छेदेनैव चन्दनच्यवनादि स्यादिति तथाविधचन्दनच्यव-दीनां रतैकसाध्यानां स्नानकार्यत्वबाधेन स्नातुं गतासीत्यत्र निषेधो, न गतासीत्यत्र धिश्च लक्ष्यते । रन्तुमिति व्यज्यते.....अत्र तटादिपदप्रतिसंधानेन स्नाने धावतारालक्षणा आवश्यकीत्याहुः — (*Kāvya-parikṣā*, p. 50)

All this is in no way different from the arguments of Appayya Iksīta. But we are sure that Śrīvatsa is not referring to the arguments of Appayya as the latter is removed down from the former by about a century. The word *kecit* used by Śrīvatsa refers to some of his predecessors or contemporaries. Thus iterating the arguments current in his time and refuting them he offers his own explanation as तत्र । यतः तथाविधचन्दनच्यवनादीनामपि स्नानकार्यत्वं संभवत्येव । तथाहि — वापीं स्नातुं गतासि न तु गृहमिति इदं वापीपदप्रयोगाल्लभ्यते । अन्यथा तत्पदोपादानं व्यर्थमिति । ततश्च स्तनतट एव निःशेषचन्दनच्युतिर्न तु संध्यादिषु । वापीतीरस्य नाकीर्णतया तथाविधमार्जनासंभवात् गृह एव तत्संभवात् । तथा पूर्वोष्ठस्य न्युञ्जतया तुलजलसंबन्धाभावाच्च तत्र निःशेषरागच्युतिः किं तु अधर एव उत्तानत्वेन बहुलजलसन्ध्यात् । तथा स्नानकाले मुद्रणान्नेत्रमध्ये नाञ्जनराहित्यं किं तु दूरत एवेत्यादिरूपेण स्नानकार्यत्वसंभवात् बाधानवतारात् कथं गतौ लक्षणा । किं तु वक्तृबोद्धव्यवैशिष्ट्याद् व्यञ्जनैव । तदाह — तदन्तिकमेव रन्तुं गतासीति व्यज्यते इति । तदन्तिकमेव, न्यत्रैवंविधाकार्यस्यासंभावितत्वात् । न च तथापि तदन्तिकमेव रन्तुं गतासीति त्पर्यानुपपत्त्या लक्षणा स्यादिति वाच्यम् । विदग्धनायिकायाः स्नानप्रकाशमुखेनैव तत्र त्पर्यात् । (*Kāvya-parikṣā*, p. 11)

From the above we note that there is no difference between Śrīvatsa and Jagannātha. Further it also becomes clear that Śrīvatsa became the source of inspiration to Jagannātha Paṇḍita in producing his *Rasagaṅgarā*, a work which affords him a beautiful ground to produce his own meaningful commentary on his own verses. In the case of *niṣṣeṣacyuta-ndanam* the explanation offered by Jagannātha and the conclusions arrived at by him are in no way different from that of Śrīvatsa. A glance

at these two reveals the fact that the difference lies only in the phraseology of explanation. When Śrīvatsa simply says वापीतीरस्य जनाकीर्णतया तथाविधमार्जनासम्भवात् etc., Jagannātha says वापीगतबहुलयुवजनत्रपापारवश्यादंसद्रयलग्नाप्रसक्तिकीकृतभुजलतायुगलेन — and in the case of *adharoṣṭha* Śrīvatsalāñchana says उत्तानत्वेन बहुलजलसंघ्नात् for which Jagannātha explains अधरोष्ठस्तु तदपेक्षया गण्डूषजलरदनशोधनाङ्गुल्यादीनामधिकसम्पर्दमावहतीति तथा । So from this we observe that Jagannātha is endowed with the quality of giving a better charming look for the object he handles, and it appears new and fresh. Being a genius he could give finer touches to every idea of Śrīvatsa and make it his own. The imbedded force in his language, the analytical spirit, the clarity of expression, the perspicuity in style, the scrumptious scholarship and the actualization of argument in Jagannātha keep us sail with him always.

* Paper presented at the Seminar on Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, held at the Andhra University, Waltair from January 21-23, 1978.

THE KRSNAGITI OF SOMANATHA MISRA - A STUDY

Jayadeva, the famous lyric poet of Orissa¹ has given such a charming picture to the amorous dalliances of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in his *Gītagovinda*, at it has become the perennial source of inspiration, elation and joy to the thinkers, literateurs, devotees and heretics of the world—all alike, for the last few centuries. The sweetness in diction, the musical beauty of lyrics, the softness of word-pictures, above all the artistic expression of the universal human feelings of the *Gītagovinda* have a captivating effect on its readers. The popularity of this work has never been affected by the bulk of literature in Sanskrit as well as in regional languages which has subsequently appeared in the field. A host of writers, though inspired by its artistic beauty and the universal appeal, have tempted at different times to compose poems in imitation of that master-piece. Scholars from all parts of India in general and poets of Orissa in particular, brought up in that glorious tradition² of Sanskrit

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1. The Histories of Sanskrit Literature have described Jayadeva belonging to Bengal. But the recent researches seem to establish that the poet belonged to Orissa.

Vide in this connection

- (i) *The Souvenir on Śrī Jayadeva* edited by Dr. N.K. Sahu. The Jayadeva Sānskr̥tika Pariṣada: Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1968.
 - (ii) *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*. Vol. II Preface pp. XXXV - LVI ed. by K.N. Mahapatra. Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswar.
 - (iii) "New Light on poet Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*" by Sri K.N. Mahapatra in the O.H.R.J. Bhubaneswar, Vol. VII Oct. 1958 and January 1959 parts 3 & 4 pp. 191-2-8.
 - (iv) Banamali Rath: *Orissa, the Homeland of Jayadeva*. The paper is contributed to the proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi, 1972.
2. Vide Banamali Rath: *A family of poet-cum-rhetoricians in Orissa*. *Jhānkār*, February 1958, Vol. IX No. 12 pp. 1084-90.

culture, have composed in Sanskrit more than one hundred and thirty poems in imitation of the *Gītagovinda* in order to give vent to their poetic ingenuity and erotico-devotional ecstasy.

Apart from a few works of this type available in print a bulk of such imitative works, at present, are discovered in manuscripts and a number of them almost have been lost in course of time. But many interesting stray verses and fragmentary songs and, in some cases, only the names of such *gītakāvya*s have been preserved in the later commentaries and anthologies and in works on rhetorics and musicology as well. I propose to deal with such quotations separately. In the present context my observations are restricted to the *Kṛṣṇagīti* of Somanātha Miśra.

A manuscript of this work is preserved in the library of Gujarat Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad. It has been edited by Dr. Priyabāla Shāh and published by the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur in 1956.

No reliable information about the poet is available either from the internal or the external sources. However the author refers to himself as Somanātha Miśra³ and it indicates that he belonged to a brāhman family (*dvija* Somanātha). Most probably he was a poet of Brajabhūmi and flourished during the sixteenth century A.D.

Unlike other works imitative of the *Gītagovinda*, it is not divided into different cantos. Thus it is not a *kāvya* of the orthodox type; but a work which contains twenty *aṣṭapadis*. In every case they are preceded by a few stanzas in syllabic metres. The songs have been composed after the tenor and manner of the *Gītagovinda*. They are to be sung in some specific *rāgas*⁴ mentioned on the top of each *aṣṭapadi*. The thought which is described in nutshell in the preceding verses, finds its full play in the succeeding narrative songs. There are twenty *aṣṭapadis* and 48 verses in all.

Somanātha begins his *Kṛṣṇagīti* with a salutation to Kṛṣṇa⁵ and declares that he had written this work simply to gratify his own mind.⁶

3. इति श्रीसकलकविचक्रचूडामणिना श्रीसोमनाथमिश्रेण विरचिता अष्टपदी संपूर्णा ।

Kṛṣṇagīti, p. 24.

4. The *rāgas* like — कन्द, गुर्जरी, केदार, विराडी, रामगिरी, सामेरी, काहली, मेवाड, श्रीराग, आशावरी, धन्यासी, सारङ्ग, देशाख्य, वसन्त and वैरव.

5. वन्दे नन्दकिशोरस्य चरणाभ्युजमद्भुतम् ।
यद्गोपिकाकराम्भोजभासुरश्रीविवर्धनम् ॥

6. न स्पर्धा जयदेवपण्डितकृतौ नो रञ्जनीया बुधा
राजभ्यो धनलाभलोभकलया न व्याकुला मन्मतिः ।
भक्ताः किं तु हरेर्गणानुकथने रक्ता भवन्त्येव नो
तन्मे स्वस्य मनोविनोदनकृते श्रीकृष्णगीतिः कृता ॥ (last verse)

Further, according to him, the recitation of the *aṣṭapadis* is a panacea to end the sins and sufferings of the cycle of birth and death.⁷ The poet unequivocally declares the extra-ordinary merits of his poetry.⁸ Yet he is very conscious of his own limitations and thus records that though his coral composition cannot vie with the superb songs of Jayadeva, yet it will be sung by the devotees who are interested in singing the praise of the Vrajanātha (i.e. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa).⁹

The theme of the poem begins with the famous love episode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā in her dream feels that her lover Kṛṣṇa is moving with another beloved and she gets up with mortification and evinced her resentment with jealousy and anger. A *Kṛṣṇadūti* tries to assuage her ruffled feelings towards Kṛṣṇa and appeals to her in an arbor on the bank of the Yamunā that Kṛṣṇa is not at fault and he is eagerly awaiting her in another new arbor. A *sakhī* of Rādhā also equally entreats her to be kind to Kṛṣṇa who is unnecessarily tormented for no fault of his own. Rādhā too realises her folly. But, without showing it she is waiting for an excuse. The friend of Rādhā goes to Kṛṣṇa describes the love-lorn plight of her *sakhī*. Thereafter she returns to Rādhā and through her good offices Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are reunited. Thus the poet describes the amorous sports of the couple exhaustively and the poem comes to an end with similar requests to each other for decoration with ornaments and cosmetics when the dalliances were over.

Thus it appears that the main trait of the work is to describe the mystic¹⁰ *vipralambha* and *sambhoga-śṛṅgāras*. Here the poet's urge of singing the excellences of Hari is also discernible.

7. सोमनाभमुखाय सम्प्रति कृष्णगीतमिदम् ।
गीयतामनिशं जना भवपापतापभिद्रम् ॥

8.कृष्णस्यगीतमिदमद्भुतभावपूर्णम् — Verse no 4 under *aṣṭapadi*.

9. जयदेवकृतामिवात्र मे
न गुणा यद्यपि नैव चातुरी ।
तदपि ब्रजनाथकीर्तने
विदुषो न प्रतिभाति मूकता ॥

cf. foot note No. 6, also.

10. *Kṛṣṇagīti* P. 24. verse No. 2.

The dalliances of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are termed here *Satkāmakeṭi*. *Kāma* in itself is baneful, but when it is directed towards Kṛṣṇa it becomes sublimated or *satkāma* which is according to scriptures one of the finest ways that leads the devotee towards salvation.

As a *gitakāvya*, the present *Kṛṣṇagīti* successfully attaches more importance to the musical *aṣṭapadis* than the narrative verses. The language of the work is smooth, melodious and charming as the natural overflow of emotional inflection. It avoids the wearisome details of the episode and it shuns the endeavours for the ostensible pictorial artistries of the pedantic scholasticism. Though the work is considered to be artistic, esoteric and devotional yet it is remarkably sensuous in spirit and treatment which suggests the poet's unfeigned predilection for the erotic interest. As this work appertains to *bhakti* cult of later Kṛṣṇaite Vaiṣṇavism it uses more or less the same apparatus and inventory of poetic refinements to set off the beauty of the highly erotic theme which has been held in high esteem in the established elevated tradition of erotic-religious devotionalism. Moreover in this work, we come across the harmony of sounds and the musical melody, a remarkable feature of the work, that has been effectively maintained in the verses and songs alike. Two instances alone may be quoted here :

- (i) वनवालीविलासिनं सरसराधिकालासिनम्
निकुञ्जगृहवासिनं ब्रजकुलाम्बुजोद्भासिनम् ।
शशाङ्कसितहासिनं तरुणयोषिदुल्लासिनम्
पुमांसमनुदासिनं स्मरत मेघसङ्काशिनम् ॥

Verse No. 1, under *aṣṭapadi* No. 2

- (ii) A portion of the *aṣṭapadi* No. 16 :

वसन्तरागेण '16'
रमते हरिरिह रचिरनिकुञ्जे ।
कुसुमितकुञ्जकुटीरतरुमण्डलमण्डितमण्डपपुञ्जे ॥
कुरबककरुणकदंबकदलिकाऽशोकरसालसमेते ।
विदधति युवतीजनेषु मनोरममदनरसालसमेते ॥
सृष्टशति कुचौ मधुरं तदधरमधु पिबति निकुञ्जविहारी ।
सापि ललाटपटलपरिनर्तितभ्रुकुटिनटिनवनारी ॥
ब्रजपतिविहितविशददशनव्रणपीडनमक्षममाणा ।
कुप्यति वदति जहीहि जहीहि करावपि कम्पयमाना ॥
श्लथयति कटितटरुचिररसनागुणगुम्फितनीविनिबन्धम् ।
नहि नहि वचनममृतमिव रचयति जनयति निजभुजबन्धम् ॥
हृतवति घनजघनावरणं रमणे प्रतिनिर्मितहासा ।
नर्तनमिव कुरुते सुरतेषु कटिविपरिविलासा ॥

This is definitely a standard imitation of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. But its glowing descriptions of ubiquitous and interminable erotic acts, feelings, gestures and repartees though declared to be spiritual and esoteric, yet they suggest nothing but exoteric erotic interest and apparent sensuousness.

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOUTH INDIA TO SANSKRIT
LITERATURE WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
KARNATAKA

(A GENERAL SURVEY)

Thanks to the researches of scholars in ancient Indian history and archaeology, we are now in a position to state that the datable history of Karnāṭaka goes as far back as the Christian era, and the achievements of the Karnāṭaka rulers form one of the most glorious chapters in Indian history. Not only the famous kings among the Śātavāhanas, Gaṅgās, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cālukyas, Yādavas, Hoyasalas and the Vijayanagara rulers, but even feudatories like the Nāyaks of Ikkeri, were great promoters of learning and very often great contributors to literature themselves. Whatever the religious persuasion of the rulers, the orthodox Vedic religion, Jainism and Śaivism, all received equal encouragement at their hands and as one might naturally expect, Karnāṭaka did throw up great writers in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Kannada in the long period of its recorded history.

The Western pioneers in Sanskrit studies like Prof. Max Müller felt so keenly the absence, after the epic age in India, of any significant works in Sanskrit till the sixth century A.D., that they postulated the theory of a renaissance or revival of Sanskrit learning. Even early archaeologists and epigraphists like Bühler, who proved the hollowness of the above surmise on the evidence of dated inscriptions, are seen underrating the contribution of South India to Sanskrit poetry. Bühler observes : "It is, however, very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in Southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India." But, as ably pointed out by Dr. D.C. Sircar, recent finds show that Bühler's doubts are unjustified. That the *kāvya* style was cultivated in South India is fully established by a number of inscriptions in Karnāṭaka. Kubja, the author of the Tālaguṇḍa Inscription of the Kadamba king

Śāntivaraman (5th century A.D.) was a master of varied metres and striking figures of speech; Ravikīrtī the famous poet of Pulikeśin II, could deservedly lay claim to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi on account of his composition in the famous Aihole inscription (A.D. 637).

Such examples of rare poetic finish do indicate that Sanskrit poetry was being regularly cultivated in this region in the period under survey. Some of the ancient manuscripts in drama and poetry, discovered in the present century, go to confirm this conclusion, though many a great work, mentioned in epigraphical records, is irrecoverably lost. Thus the *Dattakasūtravṛtti* a treatise on the *Vaiśika* chapter of erotics written by the Gaṅga king Madhava II (c. 5th century A.D.) and the Gaṅga king Durvinīta's (c. 6th century A.D.) Sanskrit version of the renowned *Bṛhatkathā* (in Paisācī Prākṛt) of Guṇāḍhya, and the commentary on the difficult fiftieth canto of Bhāravi's ornate poem, *Kirātārjunīya* and Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa's (c. 8th century A.D.) *Gajasāstra* (a treatise on the training of elephants) are nothing more than mere names to us. Even if some of the copper plates that mention these details be regarded as later forgeries, the facts recorded may be taken to represent genuine tradition.

The existence of a Tamil *Peruṅgāḍai*, (*Bṛhatkathā*) (c. 8th century A.D.) which speaks of itself as being based on a Sanskrit version, goes to make it plausible that Durvinīta was the author of that Sanskrit version, particularly in the absence of Sanskrit versions of that work up to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

It is interesting in this connection, to note that the original *Bṛhatkathā* also hailed from Kuntaladeśa (an ancient name for parts of Karṇāṭaka) in the reign of a Śātavāhana king by about the first century A.D. Later legends make it appear that he was a rival of Śarvavarman, the famous author of the *Kāiantra Vyākaraṇa* in the court of a Śātavāhana king. Indeed, this grammar is not only handy and simple, but also practical and popular. Its great popularity in distant lands like Tibet, Kashmir and Bengal in the centuries that followed, as against the more elaborate and more intricate grammar of Pāṇini indicates its utility. To revert to the *Bṛhatkathā*, it is a rare and signal monument to the genius of the South in the matter of romantic and didactic tales, with flashes of buoyant and sunny humour. No wonder it served as a source book to the master-poets of the North like Subandhu and Bāṇa as well as of the South, like Daṇḍin, who wrote on secular themes. It deserves to be mentioned here that, again, it was in the Śātavāhana court that the first anthology of seven hundred lyric gems in Prākṛt, namely, *Gāihasaptaśatī* (or *Sattasai*) was compiled. These love-songs are extremely tender and beautiful. The calm and unsophisticated life of the Indian people, especially in the villages amidst nature, is artfully depicted.

Sometimes we hear the man's voice, but more often the woman's, The women old and young, speak to the youth, to the loving women, to their own hearts; yet their one theme is love. These lively verses have influenced all the later lyric writers, not only in Sanskrit, but in other Indian languages like Hindi. Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*, pays a glorious tribute to it as an 'imperishable and refined repertory of good sayings'. Some scholars, however, think that this collection may belong to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The *Avantisundarikathā*, discovered and edited recently, records a tradition that its illustrious author, Daṇḍin was the great grandson of one Dāmodara, an immigrant to the Pallava court of Narasiṃhavarman from Gujarat or so, that this Dāmodara, was a great friend of Bhāravi and was honoured in the courts of the Gaṅga king Durvīṇita, the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇuvardhana and the Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu before he finally settled in Kañcī. This information that all the three rulers were contemporaries, however, cannot be fully reconciled with inscriptional evidences. Yet it is enough to establish that Bhāravi and Daṇḍin were writers from the South and that they were honoured in the courts of Karṇāṭaka rulers.

Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* is one of the most celebrated *Mahākāvya*s (great epic poems) in Sanskrit. It marks a new epoch in Sanskrit ornate poetry by giving greater importance to meaning rather than to style (*Bhāraver artha-gauravam*), and to poetic description of natural settings and phenomena rather than the narration of incidents. It is also the first work in which verbal acrostics like *ekākṣarī* (verses made up of words containing the different forms of a single letter) and *gatopratyāgata* (verses reading alike both forwards and backwards) have been displayed (especially in canto XV). These apart, Bhāravi stands out as a poet of power and singular energy in introducing spirited dialogues, and we find charming images in almost every verse of his, though some of the conceits might appear far-fetched to modern taste. He proved to be a "poets' poet" in the history of Sanskrit *mahākāvya* and set the standard once for all for others to follow.

In an inscription (c. 1129 A.D.) at Śrāvaṇabelagoḷa,¹ mention is made of a Jaina poet Śrīvardhadeva, author of the glorious poem 'Cūḍāmaṇī', eulogised by Daṇḍin himself in the following words -

"If Lord Śiva bore Gaṅgā on the top of his matted hair,
here is Śrīvardhadeva who bears Sarasvatī at the tip
of his tongue."

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, No. 67

जहोः कन्यां जटाग्रेण बभार परमेश्वरः ।
श्रीवर्धदेवः सन्धत्ते जिह्वाग्रेण सरस्वतीम् ॥

Unfortunately, the work is not extant.

That in creative literature, the Jainas took remarkable interest follows as a corollary from the patronage they received from Karnāṭaka kings who, in that period, were themselves of Jaina persuasion to a large extent. It is said in several Kannaḍa inscriptions that one ascetic Siṃhanandin was responsible for establishing the Gaṅga sovereignty.

Different from this sage is Jaṭāsiṃhanandī whose *mahākāvya* in 31 cantos, namely, *Varāṅgacarita* has been recently edited by Dr A.N. Upadhye. Dr. Upadhye has pointed out how this author might have lived at the close of the seventh century A.D. and how a memorial to him in stone is preserved up to this day at Koppal. The poem gives us echoes from Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*, and is racy and readable, with occasional instructions of didactic master. It can be taken to represent *Purāṇakāvya* (old epic style) since it includes dogmatic details and polemical discussions. Nonetheless, its poetic merit is of a high order and the verses are melodious.

Several such early Jaina authors of *purāṇakāvya*s like *Kavi Paramēśvara* (or *Kavi-Parameṣṭhī*) are mentioned by later poets like Jinasena (ninth century), author of the *Ādipurāna*. Cāvunḍarāya (tenth century) and Vādirāja (eleventh century). But their works are all unfortunately lost.

The Jainas were also pioneers in the composition of useful secular works on Grammar, Prosody, Medicine, etc. Thus we have inscriptional references to Pūjyapāda *alias* Devanandin (fifth century or sixth century A.D.) as an author of a *Nyāsa* on Pāṇinian grammar known as *Sabdāvatāra* (though sometimes king Durvinīta himself is given the epithet *Śabdāvatarākāra*). He was certainly the founder of a new system of grammar known as *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*, which has recently been published (Benaras). From a perusal of the work, it appears that Devanandin was surpassing Pāṇini himself in the matter of brevity, making all the *sūtras* much more laconic by avoiding all lengthy expressions. It provided a nucleus for further elaborate studies in the centuries that followed. It is in the nature of an abridgment of Pāṇini for all practical purposes.

Danḍin deserves our consideration now as a master of Sanskrit prose and an early authority on Sanskrit poetics. Reference has already been made to his newly discovered *Avantisundarī-kathā* while discussing

hāravi's life and times. Recent studies in the field indicate that this *vantisundarikathā* is itself possibly the lost introduction to Daṇḍin's well known *Daśakumāracarita*. Daṇḍin was honoured in the Pallava court of Narasiṃhavarman (c. 630-668 A.D.) and his fame had spread all over Karṇāṭaka, as is indicated by a *subhāṣita* (pithy saying) of Vijjikāśa. Vijayā (c. 650 A.D.), a poetess and queen of Candrāditya, the eldest son of the mighty Cālukyan Emperor, Pulakeśin II :

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां
विज्जिकां मामजानता ।
दृश्यैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता
सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

"It is because Daṇḍin had no occasion to see me, of shining dark complexion that he made the mistake of describing Sarasvatī as all white."

The allusion is to the benedictory verse of Daṇḍin's celebrated work on poetics, the *Kāvyaḍarśa*. This work also served as the basis for the Kanṇḍa *Kavirājamārga* ascribed to king Nṛpatuṅga or Amoghavarṣa (8th century A.D.)

The *Kāvyaḍarśa* which has some verbal reminiscences of Bāṇa, is divided into three chapters. In the first, Daṇḍin discusses the need for a scientific study of literature, classifies the literary forms, and deals at length with the nature of literary styles, *vaidarabhī* and *gauḍī*. In the second, he gives a very elegant and graceful account of some thirty and odd *vālaṅkāras* or figures of speech. In the last chapter he treats of various species of *Śabdālaṅkāras* (figures of word and sound) like *yamaka* and *prāsa*.

Daṇḍin's popular prose work is the *Daśakumāracarita*. The lives of the ten princes are truer to life than those of Bāṇa and their characters are less involved. The diction of Daṇḍin has been a by-word for grace and ease : *Daṇḍinah padalālityam*; and his sprightly humour and vein of satire will win the admiration of even modern readers. An introductory verse of the *Daśakumāracarita* is copied in the Pallava inscription of the eighth century at Amarāvati.² Similarly, we find a poet Acala who com-

South Indian Inscriptions I, 26; Kielhorn's list No. 1903.

[In fact, the Amarāvati Pallava inscription in question has been assigned to about A.D. 1100 (not to the eighth century) on palaeographical grounds; and Prof. Kielhorn has pointed out that the invocatory verse of this epigraph 'is an imitation of the second of the introductory verses of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*', but not of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 43-44 — Ed]

posed two verses in praise of *nātyācārya* Bharata and got them inscribed on a stone pillar at Paṭṭadakal in the seventh century.³

According to the findings of Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah, the glorious Gaṅga court of Būṭuga and Rakkasagaṅga in the last part of the tenth century gave patronage to a number of eminent writers in Sanskrit among the Jainas. Hemasena *alias* Vidyādhananājaya *alias* Dhananājaya was the author of the first *tour-de force* in Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s, namely, the *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya*. This poem narrates the story of both the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇu* and the *Mahābhārata*, simultaneously by means of puns. His student was Vādībhasiṃha *alias* Oḍeyadeva *alias* Śrīvijaya who is well-known as the author of two prose works after the manner of Bāṇa, namely the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and *Kṣtracūḍāmaṇi*. These have Jain didactic stories for their themes. Here, again, it deserves to be mentioned that Viranaṇḍin, the author of the far-famed *Candraprabhāpurāṇa* and Asaga who wrote the *Vardhamānapurāṇa* in Sanskrit became also so famous as to be alluded to by *Kavicakravarti* Ponna.

Turning to early sacred and philosophical literature in Sanskrit, it is very difficult in the present state of scholarship to decide which of the authors were from the Karnāṭaka region, though we know in general that Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin, among renowned *sūtrakāras*, (composers of aphorisms) and Samantabhadra among Jain authorities, were all from the South. Epigraphical evidence, however, shows clearly that in Karnāṭaka from the earliest times, the study of the *Vedās*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Sāstras* and *Purāṇas* in Sanskrit was widely prevalent.

It would not be wrong to surmise that Śrīgerī was a great centre for the philosophical activity of the great Śaṅkarācārya and some of his pupils like Padmapāda and Śureśvara-Viśvarūpa.

Though a large number of works have been lost by the ravages of time, even the few surviving works noticed above serve to show that the contribution of Karnāṭaka to Indian culture through the medium of Sanskrit in the period (4th to 10th century A.D., under Śātavāhanas, Kadambas, Pallavas and Gaṅgās, etc.), is neither mean nor negligible.

The glorious reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas saw at once the flowering of literary activity both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. The curriculum of advanced studies in this period was so wide as to include *Veda*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Sāhitya*, *Mimāṃsā*, *Purāṇas*, *Nyāya* and *Smṛtis*.

One of the epigraphs of this period mentions *Kaumāra* or the *Kātantra* system of grammar in which specialists were available. The famous commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Kātantrasūtras* was written by Durgasiṃha belonging to this period. It not only explains but amplifies the text. Durgasiṃha has also written a gloss on his own *vṛtti*.

3. Ktelhorn's List No. 1042.

Like the Jainendra system, Karṇāṭaka founded another system of anskrit grammar renowned as the Śāktāyana School. While compressing Pāṇini and Jainendra in a convenient form, this Jaina Śākaṭāyana, protege of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa I, anticipates already in its arrangement the example later followed by the *Kaumudī* texts. The *ūtras* are arranged topic-wise for easy comprehension. Besides being the author of the *sūtras* known as *Śabdānusāsana*, Śākaṭāyana himself has also added his own commentary on them known as *Amoghavṛtti*, in honour of his patron.

The history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was almost a forgotten chapter in the history of India till the end of the last century. The discovery in this century of numerous inscriptions and copper plates, mostly in anskrit, has come in handy to write a dependable history of this great ruling dynasty. Each one of the Sanskrit records is, indeed, a poem by itself. Each of these Sanskrit plates is replete with the graces and beauties of language met with in classical writers like Bāṇa and Bhāravi. One of them, the Bagumra plate of Indra III dated A. D. 915, deserves to be noticed here in particular. Its author is Trivikrama, the same as the author of the first and only datable *campū-kāvya* in Sanskrit literature z., *Nala-Campū*. This establishes the fact that Karṇāṭaka had its own special contributions to make in the field of pure literary forms also.

The origin of the word *campū* itself is obscure; but Prof. R. S. Nagali thinks that the word is of Kannaḍa origin.

Trivikrama's composition in prose and verse, both highly literary and embellished, runs to seven long chapters. He pays compliments to Vāṇa and Subandhu in the beginning. He does not slavishly follow the original *Mahābhārata* in his treatment of the Nala story. He has made highly romantic and ingenious innovations of his own. Nala's minister Utaśīla is assigned an important role here in bringing about the union of Nala and Damayantī. There are conventional descriptions of nature and the story ends with Damayantī's rejection of the love-suit of the gods.

Another ornate work from the pen of this author is *Madālasampū*. Amoghavarṣa I or Nṛpatuṅga (A. D. 814-878) was himself a poet of a very high order. A short and sweet philosophical lyric in Sanskrit, *aśnottararatnamālīkā* is his composition, though it is sometimes wrongly attributed to Vimala or Śaṅkarācārya. The verses, in *Āryā* metre, are in the form of questions and answers, a figurative device known as *aśnottara*. His *Kavirājamārga* in Kannaḍa is modelled on the celebrated *vyādarśa* of Daṇḍin.

A noteworthy work on Indian mathematics written under the patronage of this renowned ruler is Māhāvīrācārya's *Gaṇita-sāra-*

saṅgraha. It is simpler than the work of Brahmagupta and deals with geometrical progression.

The *Smṛti* writers Kātyāyana, Āṅgīrasa, Yama and Viṣṇu are all usually assigned to this period; one is not certain whether any of these hailed from Karṇāṭaka.

Halāyudha is a writer of a famous lexicon known after his name, besides *Kavirahasya* and *Mytasāñjivani*. The former is really a *dhārupāṭha* or list of verbs with meanings, written in verse. It explains the conjugational peculiarities of roots having the same form, and its preface mentions expressly the patronage given to him by Kṛṣṇa III, the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. The latter is a commentary on the basic text of prosody, Piṅgala's *Chandas-sūtra*.

This was the golden age which saw the rise of the great *Advaita* philosopher Śaṅkarācārya. He was given encouragement to establish his *maṭha* at Śṛṅgerī.

The numerous *bhāṣyas*, or learned commentaries, written by him on the major *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, taken together with his moving devotional hymns (*stotras*) and manuals of Philosophy, started a new age in philosophical thinking and living. Some of his greatest disciples, like Padmapāda, the author of the *Pañcapādikā*, Sureśvara, the author of the *Bṛhadarāṇyakasloka-vārtika*, *Taittirīya-sloka-vārtika* and *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, were also settled in Karṇāṭaka. The great tradition of *Advaita* was thus born and nourished in this land.

It is a moot question among scholars whether Maṇḍana Miśra was himself Sureśvara and whether Visvarūpa was not his other name. The fact is further complicated by the suggested identities of Sureśvara, Uṃveka and Bhavabhūti in addition.

The celebrated commentary called the *Bālakriḍā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* is by Viśvarūpa, who is generally identified with Sureśvara. In the words of Mm. P.V. Kane: "The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkara. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas, the Kāṭhakas and Vājasaneyīns and very often supports his position by quotations from the *Rg-Veda*, the *Bṛahmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, though saturated with the lore of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*."

Sarvajñātman, the great systematiser of Śaṅkara's thought, in his *Samkṣepasārīraka*, was a pupil of Sureśvara and is, therefore, to be assigned to this period.

Another very great writer who flourished under the Cālukyas of Lemulavāḍa (or Vemulavāḍa), feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, was the Jaina Śomadevasūri. He continued the *campū* tradition started by Trivikrama and took it to sublime heights. He wrote his *Yaśasīlaka* in A.D. 959 while his patron was camping with his overlord Kṛṣṇa III at Melpāḍi in the Chittoor district. The work 'represents a lively picture of India at a time when the Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical religions were still engaged in a contest that drew towards it the attention, and well-nigh absorbed, the intellectual energies of all thinking men'. The story is of the hero Yaśodhara's different births and sufferings, popular among Jainas. But in the treatment of the same, Somadeva has shown an encyclopaedic genius that a scholar today could reconstruct all shades of Vedic, Āgamic, Tāntric and popular thought and wisdom current in the time by dint of patient research on this work. There is nothing secular or religious, social or political, that escapes the farflung net of the great author. It can be regarded as a unique work in Sanskrit literature.

Somadevasūri was also a very prolific writer and another work which deserves some consideration here is his treatise on Politics, the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. It is modelled on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and has been recently translated into Italian. Such is its unique significance as one of the very few books dealing exclusively with Politics and state-craft. It has thirty-two chapters dealing, among other things, with the value of life, the sciences, the minister, preceptor, general, envoy, spy, the *saptāṅgas* (the seven limbs) of a State, judiciary, diplomacy, war and peace.

The other works of this author, not extant today are: *Śaṃṃavati-Prakaraṇa*, *Mukti-Cintāmaṇi* and *Mahendra-Mātali-sañjalpa*.

In the theological field too, the Jainas of this period produced monumental works. Some of the most exhaustive and authoritative commentaries on the Jain Cannon known as *Sakkhaṇḍāgama* were completed under Rāṣtrakūṭa patronage. Virasena and Jinasena were teacher and disciple who jointly completed the gigantic commentaries known as *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* together running to some 100,000 *śolkas*.

Jinasena was also a master-poet who wrote the magnificent *Ādi-purāṇa* dealing with the epic story of Bharata and Bāhubali. It is a *Kāvya* and *Purāṇa* in one. The work though very voluminous remained incomplete till it was completed by Jinasena's gifted pupil Guṇabhadra whose supplementary work is known as the *Uttara-Purāṇa*. The importance of these works will be realised only if we see how Jinasena's work set the tradition of Kannāḍa *campū*-poetry for a period of centuries, starting from Pampa.

Another literary work of Jinasena, equally significant, is the *Pārsvābhyudayā*, which gives the life-story of Pārsvanātha, and at the same time, by a very ingenious device of *samasyāpūraṇā*, (a part of a stanza being added to another to complete the sense) incorporated the entire text of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. For every single line of Kālidāsa, Jinasena adds three more of his own and achieves the intended meaning relating to Pārsvanātha. This work has proved most useful in deciding Kālidāsa's text and readings.

Asaga's *Vardhamāna-purāṇa* in Sanskrit is also a work written in this period. Asaga was equally great as a poet in Kannaḍa literature. This work is referred to in Jayakīrti's *Chandonuśāsana*, which is also a very interesting work on prosody written by a Kannaḍiga in the tenth century. Besides giving a succinct account of Sanskrit metres, this work devotes a very valuable and significant section to Kannaḍa prosody.

Finally, this survey would be incomplete if the progress achieved by Jaina logic is not indicated. Just as Sureśvara is the greatest name in the Hindu thought of this period, Vidyānanda is his equal in Jaina thought. He wrote his brilliant commentary the *Aṣṭasāhasrī* on Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsā*, *Āptaparikṣā*, (an independent work) and other advanced polemical works. Vidyānanda, like Akalaṅka before him, criticises the doctrines of the Hindu and Buddhist schools of Philosophy. Mānikyanandī's *Parikṣā-mukha-sūtra* and Prabhācandra's *Prameya-kamala-mārtāṇḍa* are celebrated texts of Jaina philosophy and are assigned to this period.

The patronage extended to Sanskrit writers by the Western Cālukya kings of Kalyāṇa was almost unprecedented in the history of Karnāṭaka. There seems to have arisen a healthy competition between rulers of the North like Bhoja and rulers of the South like Vikramāditya VI to secure the best poets and philosophers for their courts by offering them fabulous rewards. Hence we find luminaries of all-India fame like Vādirāja, Bilhaṇa and Vijñāneśvara adorning the Cālukyan Court and making solid contributions to various branches of Sanskrit learning.

The Jaina Vādirāja, in the court of Jayasiṃha II (Jagadekamalla), whose reign extended from A.D. 1015 to '42 was indeed a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of Jain writers in Sanskrit, deserving a place in the company of Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka. His genius has been deservedly eulogised not only in dozens of inscriptions all over Karnāṭaka,⁴ but also in Kannaḍa literary works like Nāgavarma's

4. E.C. VIII, 35-40, etc.

āvyaḷakṣaṇa and Śāntinātha's *Sukumāracarita*. Below are given (in translation) two of the many verses in *Mallisenaprasasti* at Śrāvāṇabellāla (twelfth century A.D.) glorifying Vādirāja as a scholar and ever-toracious debator :

“A speech which illumined the three worlds has issued only from two persons on this earth; one (was) the king of Jinās, the other Vādirāja.”

“In the victorious capital of the glorious Cālukya emperor (Cakreśvara) (which is) the birth-place of the Goddess of Speech, the sharp-sounding drum of the victorious Vādirāja suddenly roams about. (The drum sounds) ‘Jahi’, i.e. ‘strike’ as though its pride in disputation were rising; (it sounds ‘Jahiti’ i.e., ‘give up’ as though it boasted of clear, soft, sweet and pleasant poetry.”⁵

Of the many works of Vādirāja, only the *Yaśodharacarita*, a short narrative poem in four cantos in about 300 verses, was published in 1912 (in Tanjore), and in 1960 by the Karnāṭaka University. His longer literary epic, *Pārśvanātha carita*, in twelve cantos, was published in 1916 (in Bombay). But they have not received any wide attention outside the narrow circle of Jaina scholars. His *magnum opus*, the *Nyāyaviniya-ṅikā*, an exhaustive commentary on the philosophical and polemical treatise of Akalaṅka called the *Nyāyaviniścaya* after the manner of the Buddhist Dharmakīrti's well known *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, has been published in two volumes only very recently. (by the Bharatiya Jnanapīṭha, Varanasi). Even a cursory glance through these volumes will reveal how Vādirāja eminently deserved the titles *ṣaṭ-turka-Ṣaṇmukha*, *syādvāda-vapati* and *Jagadekamallavādi* conferred on him by the Cālukyan emperor Jagadekamalla. Vādirāja is seen here as an able thinker writing elaborate critiques of all the six systems of Indian Philosophy and setting in detail the arguments of such eminent thinkers of rival schools as the Buddhist Dharmakīrti, as interpreted by Archāṭa and Dharmotāra, the *Mimāṃsaka* Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Vedāntins like Śāṅkara and Rāḍanamisra. Hundreds of works and authors are referred to, and after a thorough examination of all, the Jaina theory of *Syādvāda* is established as the most impeccable metaphysical truth. This monumental work which yet awaits critical study by scholars bids fair to prove a gold mine of philosophical ideas, but has been little known hitherto. Another work of logic by Vādirāja is the *Pramāṇanirṇaya* (Bombay, 1917). It is a good compendium or handbook on the various *pramāṇas* or instruments of valid knowledge.

Even as a poet, Vādirāja deserves a high place. Though his *śvanāthacarita* is an ornate epic on the life of a religious saint (based

on the story of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*) and full of conventional conceits and lengthy descriptions. His *Yaśodharacarita* is a spirited narrative, in mellifluous verse of the ever fresh theme of woman's frailty leading to wickedness, and of the wages of sin. Unlike the common run of Sanskrit love-poems whose theme is romantic love ending happily, we have here a fresh 'realistic tale based on a domestic tragedy' where happiness is disturbed by the vagaries of a woman's heart, plunging one and all in misery in birth after birth, till religious wisdom dawns on those that are given to reflection. There is a vein of satire which ridicules the worship by masses involving violence on the one hand, and the animal sacrifices of the priestly class, on the other. The Tamil *Yaśodharakāvyaṃ* of unknown authorship (c. eleventh century A.D.) and the Kannada *Yaśodhara carita* of Janna (twelfth century), are seen to be heavily indebted to Vādirāja's Sanskrit original.

Pārsvanāthacarita gives the date of its composition as A.D. 1026 and mentions the '*Kaṭṭagā-tira*' or the bank of the river Ghaṭaprabhā, as the place where it was written. This, coupled with Vādirāja's specific mention of a number of earlier writers like Anantakīrti and Vīranandin, proves very valuable to the literary historian of Sanskrit.

Also from the pen of Vādirāja is the *Ekibhāvastotra*, one of the most popular hymns among Jainas up to this day. It contains just twenty-five beautiful and devotional quatrains and closes with a eulogy of the author.

However, it is interesting to note, in this connection that in an inscription of A. D. 1036⁶ one Kālāmukha Śaiva teacher, Lakulīśa Paṇḍita alias Vādirudraṇa of Balligāma (in the province of Banavāsi 1200) is glorified in hyperbolic terms as defeating the formidable debater Vādirāja himself: cf. *Vādirājamukhamardanam*). This would serve to indicate how Jagadekamalla was tolerant of all religious persuasions in his vast realm, though he had a special predilection in favour of Jainism.

We know that one Nāgavarman, a reputed Kannada author, was a *Kaṭakopādhyāya* or *Paṇḍita* in the court of Jagadekamalla (cf. 'Jananāthai Jagadekamalli.....'). Quite a few quotations from a lexical work in Sanskrit (the name of the work is not given,) now lost of Nāgavarman are found in the commentary on the *Yaśodharacarita* by Lakṣmaṇa (of Kṣemapura or Gerasoppe) and the lexical work may possibly belong to this period.

Dayāpāla, who was a pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow student of Vādirāja; prepared a very useful revised manual of the topics of the

Śakaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa known as the *Rūpasiddhi*. This work has been very much praised in several Kannaḍa inscriptions.⁷ To quote only one verse :

शब्दानुशासनस्योच्चैः रूपसिद्धिर्महात्मना ।
कृता येन स चाभाति दयापालो मुनीश्वरः ॥

The work *Rūpasiddhi* written by Dayāpāla, the king of ascetics, shines brighter than the *Śabdānuśāsana*.

The Cālukyan emperor Vikramāditya VI was a patron of the great Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa who immortalised him in an ornate epic, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. What Bāṇa did for King Harṣa in ornate prose, Bilhaṇa did for Vikramāditya VI, in verse. In Sanskrit literature, conspicuously deficient in historical works, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* in 18 cantos is one of the noteworthy works which has a historical personage as the hero; and despite its flair for the mythological and the hyperbolic, it holds the attention of a historian and a literary critic alike even today. The work is also of interest as giving a very detailed autobiography of Bilhaṇa, the author, and helps us to get a vivid picture of the life of a travelling paṇḍit in mediaeval India from court to court of princes, proud of his art and sure of his honour.

Bilhaṇa's nostalgic memories of his sweet Kashmirian home are indeed lovely :

"What shall I sing of that spot, the ancient home of wonderful legends, the sportive embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya? One part bears the saffron in its native loveliness, the other the grape – pale like a cut of juicy sugarcane on the Sarayū's banks".

Bilhaṇa drank deep at the fountains of poetic and scholarly lore at that homeland of learning (Sāradādeśa), and travelled widely throughout the length and breadth of India, visiting cities like Kānyaubja and Kāśī, Prayāga and Ayodhyā in the North, Somanātha in the West and Gokarna in the South. The city of Dhārā mourned, to use the poet's own words, that she missed the privilege of welcoming the great poet, since the munificent Bhoja had just then expired.

The poet further states :

"In villages, in provincial and royal cities, in forests and groves, in all lands sacred to Sarasvati, the wise and the fools,

7. E.C. Vol, VIII, Nos. 35, 36, 37 etc.

8. E.C. Vol. VII; I, 39.

the old and the young, men and women, everywhere, each and all, recite his verses with tremors of joy." (canto XVIII, 89).

It was, however, only in Vikramāditya, the Karnāṭaka emperor, that Bilhaṇa found a patron of his dreams, a patron more generous than even Bhoja

The Poet says :

"The chief of wise men (Bilhaṇa) turning his face from common princes, roamed, full of curiosity leisurely, over the Southern land..... There the lucky poet received from the Cālukya king, the terror of the Coḷas, the dignity of 'Vidyāpati' (the Chief Paṇḍit), distinguished by the grant of a blue parasol and an elephant in rut."

In sheer gratitude, Bilhaṇa proceeds to compose the biography of his patron, in sweet and melodious style, making him a veritable epic hero, an equal of Rāma and Bhīma, a hero of many battles, a Madana of many queens, and a favourite of Lord Śiva Himself.

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* is a *mahākāvya*, *par excellence*, replete with classical imagery, and brimming with poetic fancies. And Bilhaṇa's style approaches the perfection of Kālidāsa himself in grace and ease, elegance of thought and aptness of imagery, range of sentiments and wealth of suggestion (*dhvani*). In the *mahākāvya* manner, we have descriptions of the seasons and royal sports, and a *svayamvara* scene of the Karahāṭa princess who chooses the hero as her husband in an open assembly of princes.

We might note here a few items of historical interest which can be gleaned from the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. The work starts with a legendary account of the origin of the Cālukya race and speaks highly of Tailapa who wrested the kingdom from the powerful hands of Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors. Jayasīṃha II and others are just mentioned and Āhavamalla (A.D. 1040-1069), the hero's father, is described at some length. We are told that he conquered the Coḷas, and stormed Dhārā from which Bhoja (the Paramāra ruler) had to flee (canto I, 91-96). He destroyed the power of Karṇa, king of Dāhala (canto I, 102) and erected a pillar of victory in the Southern ocean, (canto I, 3) after storming Kāñchī, and built the city of Kalyāṇa.

The chief victories of King Vikramāditya, described in the epic are those over the king of the Coḷas. Rājiga, the king of Veṅgi, and the rulers of Kerala and Cakrakoṭa.

A very popular work in Sanskrit, also from the pen of Bilhana, is the *Caurapañcāśikā* or *Bilhanakāvya*, a lovely lyric anthology of fifty erotic verses. In sensuous strains are poured forth here a lover's recollections of the pleasures he had in the company of his beloved. Almost every verse has the refrain.

'Even now, I remember

It vividly pictures the one or the other feature of his beloved's charms. Pre-fixed to it, perhaps by a later hand, we find a romantic tale explaining its origin. Bilhana is portrayed as the tutor of a princess Candralekhā or Śaśikalā, the daughter of Vairisimha, a king of Gujarat. It is made out that there was a love affair between the teacher and the pretty pupil; and that the poet was condemned to death by the furious father. On the way to the place of execution, the poet, lost in love, appears to have uttered these verses; and the king who heard them, relented and seems to have spared the life of the poet, giving his daughter also in marriage to him. It is difficult to vouch for the historicity of this story.

An other work which came to be written under the patronage of this mighty Cālukyan emperor, and whose authority has shaped the lives of generations of Indians up to the present time, is the renowned *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara. It is no doubt a commentary of the ancient *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, but it is much more than a commentary: it appears to be a compendium of all ancient *Smṛtis*. Dr. P.V. Kane rightly observes: "The *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara occupies a unique place in Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in Grammar, to that of the *Kāvyaṣāstra* of Mammaṭa in poetics. It represents the essence of Dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years, and it became the fountain-head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. In the decisions of the courts in British India, the *Mitākṣarā* is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law, such as adoption, inheritances, partition etc."⁹

Considering the systematic approach of the author on legal points in a style both compact and coherent and revealing his vast erudition in legal lore as well as a sharp logical acumen, one need not be surprised at the authority with which this work came to be invested in the subsequent centuries.

We now pass on to the reign of Vikramāditya's son Someśvara III (A.D. 1127-1138) who bore the significant, though somewhat ambitious title of '*sarvajña*. "the omniscient one"). He could assume

9. *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P.V. Kane, Vol I (1930) p. 287.

this title only because he undertook, for the first time in Sanskrit literary history, a project of something like a universal encyclopaedia of all the arts and sciences known in his time. The wonder is that he successfully completed his gigantic undertaking and gave us the work known as the *Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi*. (literally, 'the Philosopher's Stone that yields whatever one wants') or *Mānasollāsa* (literally, 'Mind-refresher'). It speaks of itself as a book of wisdom that benefits one and all (*śāstram viśvopakāraḥ*) and as a 'universal educator' (*jagadācāryapustaka*). The scope of the book is so extensive that it can rightly claim these titles. It presents the cream of Hindu Culture at its best in all its diverse branches, before it was rudely shaken by foreign invasions. As Dr. Shama Sastry points out, 'this is the first book in Sanskrit literature which does full justice to the Dravidian element in Indian culture in important fields like architecture and sculpture, iconography and fine arts like music and paintings, augury and social customs, sports and entertainments, including topics like cookery and rattle-drum (*buḍubnḍike* in Kannaḍa), cock-fight and snake-charms'.

We may now try to form a general idea of this universal encyclopaedia, the *Mānasollāsa*, which is both luminous and voluminous. It comprises of five scores of chapters, dealing with exactly a hundred topics, meant for the edification of the people in general and the princes in particular. The hundred chapters are divided equally under Five Books of twenty chapters each.

In connection with these subjects of chiefly secular interest, practically every branch of Sanskrit learning is intelligently summed up; and the *Mānasollāsa* remains to this day the only exhaustive volume which treats succinctly of such varied subjects as Polity, Astronomy, Astrology, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Poetry, Music, Dance, Painting, Architecture, Medicine, the training of horses and elephants, and dogs. There is, in fact, no other single book which gives us an account of the Indian ideas regarding Arithmetic and decimal notation, preparation of calendars, omens, auguries, palmistry, Horticulture, treatment of animal diseases, Mining, Alchemy, gems and precious stones, marriage and child-rearing, cookery, liquors, beverages, conveyances, scents and cosmetics.

Thoroughly practical and secular in outlook as the work is, there are little or no digressions into accounts of Vedic gods and sacrifices, rituals and ceremonies, or even of Vedānta and other systems of Indian Philosophy. We get also a very graphic picture in this work of a typical royal *darbar*, with places assigned to ladies, ministers, feudatories, officers ranks, poets, singers, debaters, dancers etc:

The *Mānasollāsa* is thus a unique encyclopaedic work, of great general interest. It is written mostly in the popular *anuṣṭubh* metre, with

occasional prose passages. Its style is easy and lucid, and yet, more often than not, poetic. The miscellaneous nature of the topics treated, in the voluminous work might possibly indicate that it might have been the work of band of experts in the court of Someśvara, rather than the personal composition of the royal author.

Another protege of Someśvara was possibly the Jaina composer Pārśvadeva who wrote the *Saṅgitasamayāsāra*. In the field of music we have again another authoritative work, the *Saṅgitacūdāmaṇi* from the pen of the next Cālukyan emperor, Jagadekamalla II (A D. 1138-50).

Two other works, perhaps of the tenth century or so, which possibly belong to the period of these later Cālukyas under Taila are Dhanañjaya's *Nāmamālā*, a Sanskrit lexicon, and Jayakīrti's *Chandonuśāna*, a work on prosody (ed. by Prof H.D. Velankar, Bombay). The latter gives some interesting observations on Kannaḍa metres also.

Many eminent Advaita writers flourished during this period. The *Vyāyamakaranda*, *Nyāyadīpāvali* and *Pramāṇamālā* are three great works of Ānandabodha Bhaṭṭācārya. The *Brahmaprakāśikā* referred to by Citukha and Jñānottama Miśra's commentary on Suresvara's *Vārtika* are his works even anterior to Ānandabodha. Anubhūtiśvarūpa, the teacher of Ānandajñāna, has commented on all the three works of Ānandabodha. Ītsukha and Sukhaprakāśa have also commented upon the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha; The *Prakoṣārtha* or *Prakoṣārthavivarāṇa* is a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*; it is referred to in the *Siddhāntaleśanīgraha*. The *Vedāntakaumudī*, referred to in the *Siddhāntaleśa*, also appears to be a work of this period. The *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa* by rakāśātman and *Tattvoddīpana* by Akhaṇḍānanda are the works on the line of the *Vivarāṇa* School of teachers.

The disappearance of the Cālukya power was followed by the rise of the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Hoyasalas of Dvārasamudra. Under the Yādavas we find reputed writers like Hemādri who wrote *Smṛti* digests like the *Caturvargacīntāmaṇi*. The *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana* of Vādīndra evoked much interest in later writers. Vādīndra was a religious counsellor of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa of Devagiri. Bhuvanāsundara Sūri wrote a commentary, called the *Vyākhyānadīpikā* on the *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana*. The *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa, which is an anthology of *subhāṣitas*, and the *Saṅgitaratnākara* which is an authoritative work on music by Śārṅga-va were inspired by the Yādavas.

Tradition has it that the great Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, Rāmānuja, was given asylum by Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana and that his great philosophical works were written in the Hoysala State. Confirmatory

evidence, however, for the tradition is not yet available. A great Sanskrit poet who adorned the Hoysala court (Thirteenth century) of king Viraballāla was Vidyācakravartin. He held such titles as *samskr̥ta-sārvabhauma* and *sahajasarvajña*. His works are : The *Sāñjivini* a commentary on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, *Sampradāyaprakāśini* – a commentary on the *Kāvya prakāśa*, *Virūpakṣapañcaśikā* – a poem, and *Rukminīkalyāṇa* — a play. His son, *sakalavidyācakravartin*, wrote *Gadyakarṇāṃṛta*, a prose panegyric of his patron. A sample of the Sanskrit poetry cultivated by the Hoysala court, in Dr. J.D. Derrett's English rendering, is given below :

A forest-dwelling maiden shy
 Roams in the city of thy foe-
 Ballāla, who art lord of all :-
 A noble city left to die.
 Her eye is caught by flashing fire
 From gems dropped heedless on the ground-
 She fancies charcoal embers spread,
 And quickly, lest they first expire,
 Blows on them tiny sandal, chips,
 Her eyes half-closed against the ash :
 No incense rises, but a swarm
 Of bees seeks fragrance from her lips.
 They hover close : she think them smoke.
 (Strange errors thy just wars provoke :)

Among Virāśaiva writers too there was great literary activity during the twelfth century, and in case some late author has not fathered the work on Śrīpatipañḍita, his *Śrīkarabhāṣya* will rank as the earliest contribution of the Virāśaivas to Sanskrit philosophical literature. But the genuineness of the authorship has often been impugned by modern scholars. We find Kavirāja, a poet from Banavasi (c A.D. 1200) popularising the tradition of *dvīsandhānakāvya*, or poetry which can yield two stories in one work, by writing the *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*.

If Karṇāṭaka provided an asylum for the Vedāntic teachers, Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja, it was the very birth-place and home of activity of the celebrated champion of Dvaita, Madhvācārya, whose date has been worked out to be between A.D. 1239 and 1317 by Dr. Sale-tore.¹⁰ Some 37 works are ascribed to Madhvācārya, the chief among them being the *Gitābhāṣya*, *Gitātātparya*, *Sūtrabhāṣya*, *Aṇubhāṣya*, *Mahābhārataītparya-nirṇaya*, *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, *Tattvasaṅkhyāna*, *Māyāvādakhaṇḍana*, *Tattvoddyota*, *Viṣṇutattvavinirṇaya*, the others forming glosses on the Upaniṣads mostly.

10. *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 432.

But it was with the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire in A.D. 1336 that the heyday of Karnāṭaka history reached every department of life and culture. Naturally, the Karnāṭaka contribution to Sanskrit reached its zenith under the unstinted patronage of these rulers upto the end of the sixteenth century.

The most notable literary figures in this golden age of revival of old learning were the brothers Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. Both held ministerial posts in the reign of Bukka, and under their guidance available knowledge in all branches of Sanskrit study, secular and sacred, was systematised and written down in the form of manuals and text books. The following standard works are from the pen of Mādhava on Brāhmanic religion: the *Parāśarasmṛitivyākhyā*, *Kālamādhaviya* and *Jaiminiyanīyāmālavistara*.

He is traditionally identified with Vidyāraṇya, the great *Advaita* philosopher-statesman, while some scholars are chary of accepting the identification as genuine. If the tradition be true, then the classical works of the *Advaita* system, namely, the *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha*, *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and *Pañcadāsī* will all be from Mādhava's pen after he assumed *sannyāsa* and took the name of Vidyāraṇya. The popular biography of Śāṅkara called *Śāṅkaravijaya* is also ascribed to Mādhava; but internal evidence shows it to be the work of a much later author known as Abhinavakālidāsa in the Vijayanagara court.

The work of Sāyaṇa is more than amazing. For the first time in the history of India, all the Vedic scriptures – the truly extensive *Saṃhitās* and the major *Brāhmaṇas* of the four *Vedas* – were fully explained and annotated word by word in Classical Sanskrit. For Vedic exegesis, Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* is an invaluable key embodying ancient tradition, and even modern scholars who differ from him in details of interpretation have recognised the indispensable help of the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*. This in itself is more than a life work; but we have also from Sāyaṇa's pen the following standard works, each a compendium of merit and really astounding in size; the *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi* (an anthology), *Karmavipāka (smṛti)*, *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi* (ritual), *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* (poetics), *Puruṣārthasudhānidhi (purāṇa)*, and *Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti* (on roots). Some scholars have suggested that Sāyaṇa must have utilized the services of a number of Paṇḍits who wrote works in his name.

I have proved elsewhere that the author of the celebrated *Sarva-darśanasāṅgraha* is Sāyaṇa's son Mādhava *alias* Māyana and not the original Mādhava – Vidyāraṇya.* I have since obtained evidence to

* Introduction to Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi*, Karnāṭaka University, Dharwar, 1968.

show that the author of *Bo.lhāyanasūtrabhāṣya*, so long attributed to Sāyana, is really Sāyana's grandson and a son of Singhaṇa. The initial verse itself in the work, so far unpublished, reads as follows :

यः सायनाचार्यपदाभिषिक्तः
श्रीसिद्धनाचार्यसुताग्रगण्यः ।
प्रसन्नगंभीरमतिस्फुटार्थ
बोधायनं कल्पमथो विधास्यन् ॥

This is the reading in a Ms. at Gokarna as well as in another Ms. at Madras communicated to me by Dr. K. Kunjuni Raja.

I have also shown that the *Vedabhāṣyakāra* Sāyana, though a recipient of land grants in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, was from Karnāṭaka on the linguistic evidence of his name and that of his sons.**

At the same time we have another Mādhava (mantrin), a disciple of the Śaiva teacher Kriyāśakti, who wrote a commentary on the *Sūta-samhitā*. The *Nānartharatnamālā*, a lexicon, was written by Irugapa minister of Harihara II.

We find a woman writer too in this period, Gaṅgādevī. She was the queen of Kampana, son of Bukka, who conquered the Coḷa territory for Vijayanagar, and in her charming poem, the *Madhurāvijaya*, she eulogizes the conquest of Madhurā by her husband. Its poetic merits are of a very high order.

Bhoganātha, a brother of Sāyana, is also known to be the author of many works. He was a counsellor of Saṅgama II. He was a poet of a high order, and Sāyana had a good opinion of his brother's literary abilities. On the basis of the quotations in Sāyana's *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*, we can gather the names of about six works, otherwise lost to us.

1. The *Udāharaṇamālā*. This is a collection of stanzas composed, as examples for the rules laid down in the *Alaṅkārasāstra* (Rhetoric); a special feature about the stanzas is that all of them are in praise of Sāyana.
2. The *Rāmollāsa* is a poem relating to the *Rāmāyaṇa* story.
3. The *Tripura-Vijaya* has for its theme the story of Śiva's victory over Tripura.

** *Journal of the Kannada Sahitya Parisat*, Bangalore, 1972.

4. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* is full of verses dealing with the sentiment of love.
5. The *Mahāganapatiṣṭava* and The *Gaurināthaśataka* which are two *stotras* in praise of Gaṇapati and Śiva respectively. Bhoga-nātha's verses have a limpid flow and they are pregnant with thought.

Praudhadevarāya II (A.D. 1426-48) wrote the *Ratiratnapradīpikā* a text-book on erotics. Under Devarāya, we find the court-poet Diṇḍima writing the ornate epics the *Sāḷuvābhyudaya* and *Rāmābhyudaya* and in the reign of Achyutarāya was composed the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya*. All these are semi-historical poems. A poetess, Tirumalāmbā, wrote the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū* in praise of her patron Acyutarāya. Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself was reputed to have been the author of poems like the *Madālasacarita* and plays like the *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa*. His court-poet Lolla Lakṣmīdhara wrote the *Daivajñavilāsa*, which is an encyclopaedic work, besides a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī*.

Of Viraśaiva works, mention may be made of Pāḷkuriki Śomanātha's *Somanātha Bhāṣya* (*Basavarājīya*) written in the court of Vīra Pratāpa Rudra II. He also wrote the *Rudra Bhāṣya*, *Aṣṭaka*, *Pañcaka*, *Namaskāra-gadya*, *Akṣarāṅka-gadya*, *Pañca-prārthana-gadya*, *Basavodāharna* and *Caturveda Tatparya Saṅgraha*. The *Śrīkara Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* by Śrīpati Paṇḍita was another monumental work of the period expounding *Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita*.

Great names in the history of Sanskrit literature like Vedānta Deśika (Śrīvaiṣṇava), Appayya Dīkṣita (*Śaiva* and *Advaita* Champion) and Vādirāja (Dvaitin) were all patronised by the Vijayanagar Court, now at the height of its glory. A number of commentaries and scholium were written during this period by the adherents of different religious sects, which cannot be mentioned here. We may note in passing that the age of creative writing was over and had given place to an age of manuals, tracts and compendiums in every branch of study.

That the cultivation of Sanskrit learning continued even in the courts of feudatories is evidenced by the vogue of encyclopaedic works like Basavappa Nāyaka's (A.D. 1696-1714) *Śivatattvaratnākara*. The work consists of 108 chapters and is the essence of all sciences of knowledge coming within the purview of the *Vedas* and the *Āgamas*. There is material of interest to historians also, as it gives accounts of the biography of Basaveśvara and the founding of the Vijayanagar empire. It deals, like the *Mānasollāsa* noticed already, with varied topics like the Geography of India, Town-planning, Architecture, Iconography, Music, army manoeuvres, Theatres, Painting, Dancing, Astrology, the training of

horses, cows, elephants etc., besides matters of religious interest culled from various *Saiva Āgamas* and *Purānas*. The book deserves a critical edition. Another work of the same author is the *Subhāṣitasuradruma*, an anthology of poetic gems. The well-known Kannaḍa poet Ṣaḍakṣaradeva wrote the poem *Kavikarṇarasāyana*, which is published but in part.

In the eighteenth century too we find Sarvādhikāri Kalale Nāñjarāja of Mysore under Kṛṣṇarāja II (1734-60) patronising poets like Nṛsimhakavi who wrote the *Nāñjarājajayasobhūṣaṇa* (poetics) after the manner of Vidyānātha's *Prataparudrayasobhūṣaṇa*. Nāñjarāja himself is the author of a highly praised work on music, the *Saṅgitagaṅgādhara*.

The post Vijayanagar period was mainly an age of commentaries and tracts in literature as well as philosophy. In the various courts of Mysore rulers as well as Marāṭha chiefs in Karṇāṭaka, in the holy maṭhas of the different Ācāryas, including Jains, in the modern period too there have been hundreds of Sanskrit scholars conversant in traditional as well as modern Sanskrit scholarship. It is impossible in the brief span of a paper to cite these by name.

Even this rapid survey is enough to indicate the nature and extent of the contribution of Karṇāṭaka to Sanskrit literature. The contribution has been in all fields and has extended uniformly over the centuries. It has been solid and conspicuous in the case of religion and philosophy, and signal and unique in certain forms of literature like the *campu* and encyclopaedic works. It has been remarkable in the field of *dharmasāstra*, historical poems and music. It has been of no mean order in the matter of the other sciences and the arts. In point of commentaries too, Karṇāṭaka may well be proud of its contribution.

A NOTE ON VEDARTHASAMGRAHA

The *Vedārthasamgraha* of Śrī Rāmānuja occupies a unique place in Indian Philosophical literature in general and in Vedantic literature in particular. It embodies all the tenets of Viśiṣṭādvaita-Vedānta in a concise form and hence its study is indispensable to a student of that system of philosophy. In the words of Sri M. Hiriyanna, '*Vedārthasamgraha* is an independent treatise explaining in a masterly way his (Rāmānuja's) philosophic position and pointing out the basis for it in the *Upaniṣads*'.¹

Before making any comments it would not be undesirable to survey the contents of the *Vedārthasamgraha*. The author opens with salutations to Lord Viṣṇu, his *iṣṭadevatā* and the sage Yāmuna and proceeds to the immediate subject of discussion. The study of the *Upaniṣads* alone leads to the true understanding of the relationship between the individual self and the Supreme. The essence of Advaita philosophy, that the undifferentiated consciousness alone is Brahman, the identity of whom with the Ātman is proclaimed through sayings such as '*tat tvam asi*'; Bhāskara's *bhedābheda* view, namely that the sinless Brahman is associated with sin due to the presence of *upādhis*; and Yādavaprakāśa's *bhedābheda* viewpoint, namely Brahman is capable of becoming sentient and non-sentient things even without *upādhis*; all these three views have been examined by the author in the light of scriptural sayings and logic and have been systematically refuted. Rāmānuja then puts forth his constructive standpoint that consists of -

1. The correct knowledge of the relation of cause and effect between Brahman and the universe leads to the further knowledge that the effect is an attribute of the cause.
2. The causal state of Brahman consists of the existence of individual selves and physical nature in a subtle and undifferentiated

1. M. Hiriyanna: *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, p. 176.

form in Him whereas the effectual state of Brahman is when they abide in Him in a gross and manifested condition.

3. All terms indicative of *jiva*, *prakṛti*, etc., denote Brahman alone.
4. The quintessence (that forms the heart of the whole) of scriptures is enumerated along with the interpretation and reconciliation of mutually opposed scriptural passages.
5. The Lord being propitiated through actions in conformity with His will confers upon the devotee a holy disposition and thereby enkindles in him a desire to tread the path of piety and righteousness.
6. Having collected a substantial amount of *puṇya* (merit) through total self-surrender at the lotus like feet of the Almighty, with the feeling of *bhakti* (aroused in him), does a devotee become worthy of divine grace.
7. The author through the systematic discussion of various passages from scriptures lays down with emphasis that Nārāyaṇa alone is the highest being.

Further the contentions of Prābhākaras, namely (i) *kāryārthavāda*, i.e. the sense of words conveys some meaning at first only from sentences enjoining action; (ii) *vyutpatti-abhāvavāda*, i.e. the sentences defining Brahman as *satyam*, *jñānam*, *anantam* etc., do not convey any meaning due to the absence of any enjoining of any action and many others have been refuted. The nature and characteristics of Lord Viṣṇu and Śrī—the mother of the Universe, have been well delineated. The impersonal character of the *Vedas* along with the various metaphysical principles have been dealt with. Much stress has been laid on the service of the Lord and saying such as ‘service is a dog’s life’ have been explained as service of one who is unworthy of the same is dog’s life. *Parābhakti*, i.e. knowledge that has matured into supreme devotion is the only path that leads one to the salvation in the form of union with the Supreme. The author concludes with a wish that this work *Vedārthasaṅgraha* which is intended for those wise and open-minded persons who are gifted with discriminative insight into the essential and non-essential, will find worthy readers.

A quick perusal will reveal the author’s ardent quality of establishing his own view only after proper scrutiny and systematic refutation of rival view points on the subject in question. This tendency can be viewed in the refutation of *bhedābheda* doctrines, Prabhākara’s view point and many others which incidentally give the reader a probe into the author’s deep insight and analytical bent of mind.

Eternal queries like, 'Who am I?', 'What is the nature of the Supreme?'. 'How are the two related?', etc., have been put forward and an earnest attempt to solve the same has been made. According to Rāmānuja, Nārāyaṇa is the highest being and all terms whether indicative of Ātman or *prakṛti* signify the Supreme alone, as seen from the following :

वेदविस्प्रवरप्रोक्तवाक्यन्यायोपबृंहिताः ।

वेदाः साङ्गा हरिं प्राहुर्जगज्जन्मादिकारणम् ॥

तथा च शाखान्तरे “एको ह वै नारायण आसीन्न ब्रह्मा नेशानो नेमे
द्यावापृथिवी न नक्षत्राणी” त्यादिना सद्ब्रह्मात्मादिपरमकारणवाचिभिः शब्दैः
नारायण एवाभिध्वन्यत इति निश्चीयते ॥²

Brahman himself has been described as the effect having for his mode configuration consisting of *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *mahat*, *ahankāra*, etc.. and it is the knowledge of Brahman in the casual state that leads to the knowledge of all.³

Though the individual selves are essentially of the nature of pure knowledge devoid of restriction and limitation they get covered up by *vidyā* in the form of *karma* that regulates their births. For their release from the world, i.e. the unending circle of transmigration there is no way of emancipation other than surrender to the Almighty.⁴

Rāmānuja's stress on *bhakti* as the only means to salvation has earned for him a foremost place among writers on *bhakti*. According to him *dhyaṇa* that has culminated into *bhakti* is *vidyā*. While discussing *loka* 11 from the *Isāvāsyaopaniṣad* he says : *vidyāśabdena bhakti-rūpāpanna-hyānam ucyate*.⁵ He also elucidates: *bhaktiśabdaś ca pritivīṣeṣe vartate. rtiśca jñānaviṣeṣa eva*.⁶

His firm belief is that self-surrender at the feet of Nārāyaṇa alone can lead to final beatitude in the form of Union with the Supreme.

2. *Vedārthasamgraha* (VS), p. 25. 11. 17, 25-26, Śrī Bhagavad Rāmānuja Granthamālā, Kāñcīpuram, 1956.

3. अतः प्रकृतिपुरुषमहदहङ्कारतन्मात्रभूतेन्द्रियतदारब्धचतुर्दशभुवनारम्भकब्रह्माण्डतदन्तर्बति - देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यस्थावरादिसर्वप्रकारसंस्थानसंस्थितं कार्यमपि सर्वं ब्रह्मैव इति ॥ कारणभूत-ब्रह्मज्ञानादेव सर्वं विज्ञातं भवतीति ॥ *ibid.* p. 17. 11. 3-4.

4. एतेषां संसारमोचनं भगवत्प्रपत्तिं अन्तरेण नोपपद्यत इति ॥ *ibid.* p. 19, 11. 3-4.

5. *ibid.* p. 23, 1. 16.

6. *ibid.* p. 44, 11. 3-4.

Along with this the assistance rendered by a holy teacher (*guru*) towards the achievement of qualities like, *śama*, *dama* and later *mokṣa* is also necessary. The philosopher says :

सदाचार्योपदेशोपबृंहितशास्त्राधिगततत्त्वयाथात्म्यावबोधपूर्वकाहरहरूपचीयमान-
शमदमतपःशौचक्षमार्जवभयाभयस्थानविवेकदयाऽहिंसाद्यात्मगुणोपेतस्य (नरस्य
पुरुषोत्तमः भक्तयेकलभ्यः)⁷

An attitude of servility towards the Lord is solely praiseworthy and the passages like *sevā śvavṛttir ākhyātā* or *sarvam paravaśam duḥkham* have been explained as that the service of one who is unworthy of the same is derogatory. This has offered Rāmānuja the opportunity to describe the excellences of Lord Viṣṇu, his '*iṣṭadevatā*'. and he has done so at length. The Lord is described as -

सर्वस्मादन्यस्य सर्वकल्याणगुणाश्रयस्य सर्वेश्वरस्य सर्वशेषिणः सर्वाधारस्य
सर्वोत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयहेतुभूतस्य निरवद्यस्य निर्विकारस्य सर्वात्मभूतस्य परस्य
ब्रह्मणः स्वरूपनिरूपकधर्मोऽमलप्रत्यनीकानन्दरूपज्ञानमेवेति ॥⁸

The discussion about the impersonal character and eternity of the *Vedas* brings home to the reader Rāmānuja's thorough grasp of the subject and his ability to communicate the same in an intelligible manner.⁹

Regarding language the primary observation of the casual reader is that Rāmānuja has chosen to express his ideas in *gadya* i.e. prose. Moreover, one cannot help being impressed by his apt use of words that admirably suit their respective contexts. Thus in the concluding verse :

सारासारविवेकज्ञा गरीयांसो विमत्सराः ।
प्रमाणतन्त्राः सन्तीति कृतो वेदार्थसंग्रहः ॥¹⁰

The use of attributes such as *vimatsarāḥ*, *pramāṇatantrāḥ* speak of this quality.

Rāmānuja's style is characterised by long compounds that constitute long sentences thus making the work slightly difficult to understand. Though this throws ample light on the rich vocabulary of the author one

7. *ibid.* p. 23, 11. 6-8.

8. *ibid.* p. 21, 11. 12-14.

9. *ibid.* p. 42, 11. 8-29.

10. *ibid.* p. 45, 11. 30-31.

has to admit that the attention of the general reader becomes divided between the substantiative and its innumerable adjectives weaning him away from the thought content. Thus for example, the longwinded sentence coupled with compounds makes the following passage difficult of comprehension :

सोऽयं परब्रह्मभूतः पुरुषोत्तमो निरतिशयपुण्यसंचयक्षीणाशेषजन्मोपचितपापराशेः परमपुरुषचरणारविन्दशरणागतजनिततदाभिमुख्यस्य सदाचार्योपदेशोपबृंहितशास्त्राधिगततत्त्वयाथात्म्यावबोधपूर्वकाहरहरूपचीयमानशमदमतपःशौचक्षमार्जवभयाभयस्थानविवेकदयाऽहिंसाद्यात्मगुणोपेतस्य वर्णाश्रमोचितपरमपुरुषाराधनवेषनित्यनैमित्तिककर्मोपसंहतिनिषिद्धपरिहारनिष्ठस्य परमपुरुषचरणारविन्दयुगलन्यस्तात्मात्मीयस्य तद्भक्तिकारितानवरतस्तुति-स्मृति-नमस्कृति-यतन-कीर्तन-गुणश्रवण-वचनध्यानाचर्न-प्रणामादिप्रीतपरमकारुणिकपुरुषोत्तमप्रसादविध्वस्तस्वान्तध्वान्तस्यानन्यप्रयोजनानवरतनिरतिशयप्रियविशदतमप्रत्यक्षतापन्नानुध्यानरूपभक्तयेकलभ्यः ॥¹¹

It must however be said in all fairness that the author at times does write short sentences that have a refreshing quality. For example :

भक्तिशब्दश्च प्रीतिविशेषे वर्तते, प्रीतिश्च ज्ञानविशेष एव । ननु च सुखं प्रीतिरित्यनर्थान्तरम्, सुखं च ज्ञानविशेषसाध्यं पदार्थान्तरमिति हि लौकिकाः ॥¹²

Such passages not only further the argument but also add a touch of elegance.

The system of putting forth a question and answering the same makes the *Vedārthasamgraha* interesting as in :

अपि च केन वाऽविद्यानिवृत्तिः, सा च कीदृशीति विवेचनीयम् । ऐक्यज्ञानं निवर्त्तकम्, निवृत्तिश्च—अनिर्वचनीयप्रत्यनीकाकारेति चेत्, अनिर्वचनीयप्रत्यनीकं निर्वचनीयम्, तच्च सद्वा असद्वा द्विरूपं वा, कोट्यन्तरं न विद्यते । ब्रह्मव्यतिरेकेण तदभ्युपगमे पुनरपि अविद्या न निवृत्ता स्यात् । ब्रह्मवचेन्निवृत्तिः, तत्प्रागप्यविशिष्टमिति वेदान्तज्ञानात् पूर्वमेव निवृत्तिः स्यात्, ऐक्यज्ञानं निवर्त्तकं, तदभावात् संसार इति भवद्दर्शनं विहन्यते ¹³

11. *ibid.* p. 22, 11. 5-12.

12. *ibid.* p. 44, 11. 3-5.

13. *ibid.* p. 11. 1. 31; p. 12, 1. 4.

Out of the *śabdālaṅkāras* only *anuprāsa*, which is a result of long compounds exists, whereas the others like *śleṣa* and *yamaka* are absent.

Regarding the use of *arihālaṅkāras*, *upamā* is met with frequently and *rūpaka* occasionally. A *mālopanā*, containing a double *upamāna* can be seen in

यथाऽग्निजलादीनामौष्ण्यादिशक्तियोगः स्वाभाविकः, यथा च चक्षुरादीना-
मिन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिविशेषजननशक्तिः स्वाभाविकी, तथा शब्दस्यापि बोधकत्वशक्तिः
स्वाभाविकी ॥¹⁴

(Here the *sādhāraṇa-dharma* is repeated and there is disagreement in gender and number also). It is needless to add that common expressions *caraṇāravinda*, *candramukha*, etc., containing similes frequently appear in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. A *rūpaka* as well as *utprekṣā* exists in *karmarūpāvidyāveṣṭitāḥ jivātmānaḥ*.¹⁵ Others like *pariṇāma* and *atīśayokti*, are not expected in a work of this type.

Thus it can be inferred that philosophical doctrine of Rāmānuja giving supreme importance to Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu is one that can appeal to the common man who is prone to be a devotee. Nevertheless the terseness of his language has been instrumental in alienating him from his works. This accounts for the paucity of followers as well as readers. It would not be an exaggeration, therefore, to say that *rāmānujasya vacaḥ nārikelaphalasaṃmitam* is standing in need of an honest effort on the part of the generally equipped reader who wants to drink deep at the roots of Viśiṣṭādvaita view. It must be admitted that Rāmānuja has tried to secure more of traditional support for the Viśiṣṭādvaita school through the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* by actually showing how *mantras* in *Vedas* ultimately help a person to come to this conclusion, i.e. Viśiṣṭādvaita view.

14. *ibid.* p. 42, ll. 9-11.

15. *ibid.* p. 18, 1.32.

THOUGHTS ON SRINIVASA DIKSITA'S SRIVISISTADVAITABHASYA ON THE BRAHMASUTRAS*

The purpose of this paper is to bring out some thoughts regarding the commentary called *Śriviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* or *Lakṣmī-Viśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. Its author is Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita of Tirupati, belonging to c. 13th century A.D. A scholar-poet Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya of the 19th century composed a sub-commentary on it namely *Vigamacūḍādarpaṇa*. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's commentary on the *Śārīrakānimāṃsā* together with Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya's sub-commentary was first published in Telugu characters in Madras in 1896. This work has been edited by Śrīnivāsa Tātācārya and Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭācārya.

Śriviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya is mainly based on Vaikhānasa system which belongs to the tradition of Vaidika Vaiṣṇavism. An element of explanation of Vaikhānasa system is necessary here. Vaikhānasas belong to one of the ancient Vedic schools and have their own *Kalpasūtras* in which the *Śrauta*, *Grhya* and *Dharma Sūtras* are included. Without losing their connection with the Vedic lore they have developed an āgamic tradition in which the image worship of the Lord Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa is emphasised, and the methods of image making, the construction of the temples, ceremonies regarding the installation of the images in the temple and the daily worship and festivals are discussed therein.

We have very scanty information regarding the biographical details of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. We come to know from different sources that he belonged to Tirupati. He was well versed in different branches of learning and had also a title '*kavikulatilaka*'. It is said that he was also a great devotee of Lord Śrīnivāsa or Venkateśa at Tirupati. There are evidence to prove that our commentator, Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita was different from his namesake: (1) The author of the commentary

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on Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śakuntala* and (2) Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita or Śrīnivāsācārya mentioned by our commentator Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita in his *Vaikhānasa-sūtratātparyacintāmaṇi*.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita has also two other philosophical works in addition to his *Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* to his credit namely, (1) a commentary on the *Pāramātmikopaniṣad* and (2) a compendium known as *Uttamabrahmavidyā*. The second work is not published but exists in the form of manuscripts. This work contains similar ideas that are dealt with in his commentary on the *Śārīrakamīmāṃsā*. The existing palm leaf manuscripts of this work are full of scribal mistakes. Sundararāja Bhaṭṭācārya who had already been mentioned as a composer of a sub-commentary on Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya*, without trying to correct and edit the manuscripts of the *Uttamabrahmavidyā* wrote an independent work called the *Uttamabrahmavidyāsāra* to mirror the ideas of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita incorporated in his *Uttamabrahmavidyā*. The *Uttamabrahmavidyāsāra* contains five divisions called *Adhikāras*. (This is published in the *Śrī Vaikhānasa Granthamālā*, Madras, 1916.) The essence of the contents of this work is as follows. Following the teachings of Vikhanas it is established that the worship of the Lord is the means to obtain the highest goal of liberation. The importance of the worship of the Lord through the images is also stressed. The theory that the worship of idols is intended only for the persons of lower intellect is vehemently criticised by the author. The primary importance attached to the image-worship of the Lord for the Brahman-realiser, and the special power of Lord Nārāyaṇa to offer liberation to the individuals are dealt with. The author also emphasises that the image worship is important and desirable even for a person of *turiyāścama*. The *Vaidika* nature of Vaikhānasa school is established on the basis of that it uses the vedic *mantras*, not *Uddhṛta* also known as *Tāntrika-mantras* in the process of worship. The complete self-surrender to the Lord is the main qualification of a seeker. Because the essence of the *Upaniṣads* is incorporated in the Vaikhānasa texts, the *Vaikhānasa-gama* is said to be basically Upaniṣadic. It is emphatically stated that on the Upaniṣadic principles the school was first founded by a seer Vikhanas, the best among Vedāntins. *Śrī Sūkta* is interpreted here in terms of the supreme state of Lord Nārāyaṇa. The passages from *Pāramātmikopaniṣad* are often quoted to support the purport of this work. Those passages quoted are discussed in the light of the passages from other *Upaniṣads*. In the concluding division of this work the worship of Nārāyaṇa is dealt with basing on a dialogue between Puṇḍarīka and Nārada, as recorded in the *Ānuśāsanikaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

The essence of the whole book of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita can be summarised in the following manner. The ultimate reality or Brahman

is Lord Nārāyaṇa. For attaining liberation one should follow the path of worship (*arcana*). For this, the image making and installation and consecration of the image are important. The worshipped image is nothing but the Lord Himself. It is stressed that the worship of the Lord in the image form is essential for all in different stages of life even in the stage of renunciation. Similar ideas of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita sought vivid expression in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* too.

In the *Jiññāsādhikaraṇa* the commentator Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita says that the word Brahman denotes Nārāyaṇa Himself.¹ He also quotes here the passages from the *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* :

‘Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇo nirdvandvo munih’

and also Marīci's words from the *Jñānopadeśapaṭala* of the *Vimānārcanākalpa* —

‘तस्यभावः तत्त्वमिति तस्य परब्रह्मणः परमात्मनो नारायणस्य भावः तत्त्वम् ।
नारायणपरब्रह्म तत्त्वं नारायणः परः’

Lord Nārāyaṇa has two aspects namely *niṣkala* and *sakala*. In *niṣkala* aspect, he has no form, no body; He is all-pervasive, unseen by the sense organs, eternal, visualised only by the yogins, pure, unthinkable, beyond the regions of speech and mind, devoid of three qualities of *prakṛti*, and without beginning or end. He is the being without differences, beyond the dualities of the world, existent for the wise and non-existent for the unwise. The *sakala* aspect of the Lord is defined as being with form. Here the following example is given: although the fire pervades the entire wood in the forest, it does not exhibit its form. It exists potentially there as formless. It takes form only because of friction of two pieces of wood and manifests itself. Thus the *Paramātman*, although He is *niṣkala*, becomes *sakala* at His own will. The concepts *sakala* and *niṣkala* have some relationship with the spirit of this commentary where the point of reaching Brahman without qualities (*nirguṇa*) through the worship of Brahman with qualities (*sagūṇa*), a process that which is based on the *sūtra* of Vikhānasa himself.

Vikhānasa says: *sagūṇe brahmaṇi buddhiṃ niveśya paścān nirguṇam āsṛitya mokṣe nityam yatnam ku yāi*. It is not the practice of some of the schools of the Viśiṣṭādvaitins, who attach much importance to the Lord with *anantakalyāṇagūṇas*, to focus on the idea of *nirguṇa* or *niṣkala* form of Brahman. But here in this commentary, we find a happy harmonious blend of both these aspects which appear in different passages of *Upaniṣads*. The commentator interprets *sagūṇa* form as he form of the God that is manifested in images or idols. Devotion

1. *Brahmasabdāśca Nārāyaṇavācakah*.

and self-surrender to this form are necessary. One should think that this form in images is the Brahman itself. Then only he can proceed further to realise Brahman as *nirguṇa*, *niravayava*, *avyakta*, realisable through the concentration on the holy syllable *om* and can start to meditate on this aspect. Until he gets liberation he should try to follow this path. For that type of yogin, liberation comes in this life time.

Another point also makes this commentary distinct. It is the emphasis on the worship of Lord Nārāyaṇa along with his consort Lakṣmī. Before that worship according to the commentary, one should surrender himself to Goddess Lakṣmī. He says: *Jaganmātur Lakṣmyāḥ prapattiḥ prathamam kāryā*. To emphasise the glory of Lakṣmī, the commentator quotes from the *Jñānakāṇḍa* of Marīci's work *Vimārcanā-kalpa* as:

तद्विष्णोर्विभूतिः श्रीः, सा च नित्या आद्यन्तरहिताऽव्यक्तरूपिणी प्रमाणाप्रमाणा-
साधारणीभूता विष्णोस्सङ्कल्पनानुरूपा नित्यानन्दमयी मूलप्रकृतिरूपा शक्तिः.

If one accepts the all-pervasiveness of Lord Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, how is it possible to establish Lakṣmī also as all pervasive? Here the commentator takes refuge to support his view in the passage of *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *tvayedam viṣṇunā ca amba jagadvyāptam carācaram*. Thus the all-pervasiveness of Lord Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī is established. In the same context the concept of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* as eternal entities are brought in and they have also no beginning and no end. The supporting passage for this conception is as follows:

Māyā prakṛtiḥ māyi viṣṇuḥ prakṛtipuruṣau etau anādi.

Goddess Lakṣmī is interpreted as *mūlaprakṛti* and Lord Nārāyaṇa as *paramapuruṣa* who is always associated with her. Among the two main sects of Vaiṣṇavism: namely, Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai, the followers of the former stress the importance of Lakṣmī as a mediator to help *jīvātman* to reach *paramātman*, whereas the latter emphasises the importance of Lakṣmī as a permanent associate of *paramātman* having an independent status to bestow grace on *jīvātmas*. The stand-point of the Vaḍagalai sect is well brought out in Vedāntadeśika's *Rahasya'rayasāra*, *Siddhopāyasodhhanādhikaraṇa*.¹ In this respect very often we find the glorification of the Goddess Lakṣmī in the texts of Vaḍagalai sect. The commentator of *Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* conceives both Lord Nārāyaṇa and Goddess Lakṣmī as inseparable co-eternal entities. For him, Nārāyaṇa is always Lakṣmīviśiṣṭa. We have commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* like the *Śrīkarabhāṣya* of Śrīpati Paṇḍita (14th century A.D.) where Brahman is defined as *Paramaśiva*. If we compare such definitions with the definitions of Brahman as the Lord Nārāyaṇa as expounded by Viśiṣṭādvaitins particularly by Śrī Rāmānuja,

the tendency of this *Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* or *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita to associate Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa in the fashion of *śakti* and *śakta*, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* is comparable to *Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita* of Śaivites, popularly taught in Mysore.

To conclude, the commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* from different stand-points vary according to their structure and their functional value. If a text is supposed to be authoritative, if that text is commented according to one's own stand-point, then one's own doctrine of philosophy or a system of faith is supposed to have an authoritative sanction from tradition. Thus the ideas that are contained in the *sūtras* themselves can also be developed by the commentator by means of reasoning, with the support of relevant passages to suit his own point of view from different texts of the vast Vedic and Purāṇic tradition. Because the commentary now under review is written by a Vaikhānasa, having Vedic background with the āgamic tradition of idol worship defining Brahman as Lord Nārāyaṇa, the identification of the Lord with the image that is to be worshipped is brought into the limelight in the commentary. Occasionally we get flashes of thoughts of harmonising different passages of the *Upaniṣads* and other texts in which the ultimate nature of Brahman, without form and with form is described. Because the texts like the *Brahmasūtras* or the *Bhagavadgītā* or the *Upaniṣads* are not mere the products of fancy of intellectual and philosophical imagination, they do not keep quiet with mere activity of pure philosophy. They need religion. The Hindu religion with its vast number of sects furnishes different lines of practice without losing faith in one ultimate principle and scriptural sanction as authoritative basis.

The spirit of *Śrīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* reflects the āgamic tradition of image worship in temples. Instead of offering a vague philosophical hypothesis postulate defining some unknown ultimate reality, a concrete practical course of worship is suggested. And at the same time here a path from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the *saguṇa* to the *nirguṇa*, from the *sakala* to the *niṣkala*, from an idol to the absolute is chalked out.

RAMARAYA ON 'TAT TVAM ASI'

The philosophy of Advaita which is rooted in the *Upaniṣads* revolves round the *mahāvākya*: *tat tvam asi*,¹ 'That thou art'. According to the Advaitins,² *tat tvam asi* stands for absolute identity between the Brahman and the individual soul, which is nothing but pure consciousness. But the word *tat* refers to the Brahman and *tvam* to the *jīva* or pure consciousness who is found, owing to *māyā* in association with psycho-physical organ called *antahkaraṇa*. So both of them cannot be absolutely identical. Therefore, the above preposition expresses absolute unity between them by taking recourse to *jahadaajahal-akṣaṇā* (partial retention of the meaning of a word), apposition (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) between the Brahman and the individual soul, since both of them are pure consciousness. Thus the proposition stands for absolute unity and non-difference between the *jīva* and the Brahman.³

Though Śāṅkara has not explained the meaning of *tat tvam asi* with the aid of *lakṣaṇā* in his *bhāṣya*, he has done so in his *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*. He categorically declares⁴ therein that to achieve identity, the secondary meaning of *tat* and *tvam* is to be taken as the words mutually opposed to each other in their characteristics like the fire-fly and the sun, the king and the servant, the well and the ocean and the atom and

1. *Chāndogyaopaniṣad*, 6. 8. 7.

2. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (The Adyar Library, Madras, 1942), pp. 73-76; 147-151.

3. Anima Sen Gupta : *A Critical study of the philosophy of Rāmānūja* (Chowkamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi-1, I ed, 1967) pp. 220-226.

4. ऐक्यं तथोर्लक्षितयोर्न वाच्ययो -

निगद्यतेऽन्योन्यविरुद्धधर्मिणोः ।

खद्योतभान्वोरिव राजभृत्ययोः

कूपाम्बुराशयोः परमाणुमेवोः ॥

the Meru mountain. He adds⁵ that *jahadajahallakṣaṇā* is to be resorted to for achieving the knowledge of identity between the two expressed by *tat* and *tvam*.

Now let us examine if there is need for resorting to the *lakṣaṇā* in interpreting the meaning of *tat tvam asi*. Viśvanātha pañcānana declares⁶ that the necessity for a *lakṣaṇā* arises whenever there is an improbability of purport (i.e., the intended meaning). In the statement *tat tvam asi* the word *tat*, denotes the Supreme Brahman, with omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) and the word *tvam*, the individual soul, with little knowledge (*kīñcījñatva*). Surely these cannot be identical with each other. Thus there is *tātparyānupapatti*. This difficult situation can be got over by taking recourse to the *lakṣaṇā* wherein the essential nature, i.e., consciousness of the meanings *tat* and *tvam* is taken into consideration and not their attributes as *sarvajñatva* and *kīñcījñatva*.

There is a charge that since the third variety of *lakṣaṇā*, i.e., *jahdajahallakṣaṇā*, apart from *jahallakṣaṇā* and *ajahallakṣaṇā*, has not been stated or recognised by any Naiyāyikas⁷ and hence it is not authentic as it is only a product of the imagination of the Advaitins for convenience. But it may be replied that the statements of the Naiyāyikas in regard to the variety of *lakṣaṇā* are not absolute or statutory. As already stated, it is only the *tātparyānupapatti* (improbability of purport) that decides the necessity of *lakṣaṇā* and this improbability of purport is resolved only by taking recourse to *lakṣaṇā*. According to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, taking recourse to *lakṣaṇā* is not faulty when the purport of identity is grasped. The *tātparya* (purport) is not to be abandoned because the use of a *ṛtti* like the *abhidhā* is to be determined by the *tātparya* and not vice-versa. When the true purport is arrived at by the *jahadajahallakṣaṇā*, it is improper to resort to the primary meaning.⁸

5. ततस्तु तौ लक्षणया सुलक्ष्यौ
तयोरखण्डैकरसत्वसिद्धये ।

नालं जहत्या न तथाऽजहत्या
किन्तूभयार्थात्मिकयैव भाव्यम् ॥

6. लक्षणा शक्यसम्बन्धस्तात्पर्यानुपपत्तितः ।

7. The great Naiyāyika-cum-Advaitin Annambhaṭṭa, in his *Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā* gives this third variety of *lakṣaṇā* and quotes *tat tvam asi* as its example; but the commentary *Nilakaṇṭhaprakāśikā* remarks that this example setting forth the identity of the *Jīva* and Brahman is the view of the Advaitins only. This is not acceptable to the Naiyāyikas. *Tarkasaṅgraha* (Chowkamba ed. 1969) pp. 326-327.

8. अभेदे तात्पर्येऽवधृते तन्निर्वाहकलक्षणानाहुल्यस्यादोषत्वात् । न हि लक्षणैक्यानुरोधेन तात्पर्य-
परित्यागः । तदुक्तम् न्यायचिन्तामणौ - “तात्पर्यात्तु वृत्तिः ; न तु वृत्तेस्तात्पर्यम्” इति ।
जहदजहल्लक्षणया मुख्यपरत्वे सम्भवति तत्सहचरिताद्यर्थपरत्वकल्पनस्यानुचितत्वाच्च ।

Thus taking recourse to the *jahadaajahallakṣaṇā* is justified.⁹

This Advaitic interpretation of *tat tvam asi* is not acceptable to Rāmānuja. He holds¹⁰ that *tat tvam asi* does not convey, as the Advaitins hold, the essential oneness of the Brahman and the individual soul. It is unthinkable that an individual soul which lives in God and which derives its sustenance from God can be identical with God in every respect. It is meaningless to assert identity between two exactly similar entities. Proposition or apposition (*sāmānādhikaranyā*) means a unity of different objects. Rāmānuja argues that the passage *tat tvam asi* implies the personal identity of God under different conditions; Brahman as the cause of the world and as the possessor of infinite auspicious qualities is identical with Brahman that resides in the individual soul in inseparable association with the material body as such a soul constitutes the body of God in which He resides as the inner controller. The word *tat* signifies God as the cause of the Universe and *tvam* signifies God as the inner controller of the individual soul and both refer to the same substance.¹¹ Thus Rāmānuja considers Śaṅkara's interpretation of *tat tvam asi* to be fanciful and not based on the *Upaniṣds*.¹²

Now it may be good to refer to Bellamkoṇḍa Rāma Rāya Kavi,¹³ the author of 143 works in Sanskrit, the ablest exponent of the Advaita Vedānta in recent times. His works in this field answer the criticism levelled against the Advaita by its opponents.

One of his monumental works, the *Śaṅkarāśaṅkarabhāṣya-narśah* is an elaborate refutation of Rāmānuja's interpretation of *tat tvam asi* in his *bhāṣya*. Here Rāma Rāya also meets darśanasūri's criticism of Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *sūtra*. During this process, he quotes (additional proofs and evidences from) a number of *Smṛtis* to support Śaṅkara's interpretation of *tat tvam asi*. He goes to the *Smṛtis* as Rāmānuja contends¹⁴ that in deciding the meaning of the *Vedas* one should take the help of the *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas*.

Rāma Rāya argues at length that Rāmānuja's interpretation of *tat tvam asi* is wrong. He emphatically declares that the revered sage

9. However, Dharmarājadhvarin opines that there is no need to resort to *lakṣaṇā* in interpreting *tat tvam asi*. See the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, pp. 74-76.

10. *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (ed. by J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Poona, 1956), pp. 68-88; 122-124.

11. *Śrībhāṣya*, 1.1.1.

12. *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, Tirupati, 1953 pp. 41-42.

13. He was an Andhra Niyogibrahmin (1875-1914) of Pamidiṭpādu; Narasaraopet Tq. Guntur district.

14. *Śrībhāṣya* 1.1.1.

Bādarāyana, visualised with his divine sight¹⁵ that some persons would unhesitatingly and mischievously interpret the *mahāvākya*, and hence he himself (Bādarāyana) gave the meaning of *tat tvam asi* in the *Skānda-purāna*. He cites¹⁶ the following verses¹⁷ from the 70th chapter of the *Skānda-purāna* (Kāśimāhātmya) to prove that the sage has upheld the use of *bhāgaḥṣaṇā* (partial abandoning of meaning) in interpreting the meaning of *tat tvam asi*.

1. प्रत्यग्बोधो य आभाति सोऽद्वयानन्दलक्षणः ।
अद्वयानन्दरूपो यस्स प्रत्यग्बोधलक्षणः ॥
2. इत्थम् अन्योन्यतादात्म्यप्रतिपत्तिर्यदा भवेत् ।
ऐक्यज्ञानं यदोत्पन्नं महावाक्येन चात्मनोः ॥
3. तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्येषु लक्षणा भागलक्षणा ।
सोऽयम् इत्यादि वाक्यस्य पदयोरिव नापरे ॥

He adds that even the *Sūtasamhitā*¹⁸ in the following verses¹⁹ attests to Śāṅkara's interpretation.

1. त्वं शब्दार्थो य आभाति सोऽहंशब्दार्थ एव हि ।
योऽहंशब्दार्थ आभाति सर्वशब्दार्थ एव हि ॥
2. त्वमहंशब्दलक्ष्यार्थः साक्षात् प्रत्यक्चितिः परा ।
तच्छब्दस्य च लक्ष्यार्थः सैव नात्रा विचारणा ॥
3. त्वमहंशब्दवाच्यार्थस्यैव देहादिवस्तुनः ।
न तच्छब्दार्थतां वक्ति श्रुतिस्तत्त्वमसीति सा ॥
4. तदर्थैक्यविरुद्धांशं त्यक्त्वा वाच्यगतं श्रुतिः ।
अविरुद्धचिदाकारं लक्षयित्वा ब्रवीति हि ॥
5. तदर्थे च त्वमर्थैक्यविरुद्धांशं विनैव तु ।
कारणत्वादिवाक्यस्थं लक्षयित्वा तु केवलम् ॥

15. किञ्च एवं दुष्टा महावाक्यस्य स्वेच्छया विपरीतार्थान् कल्पयन्तीति योगदृष्ट्या विदित्तैव भगवान् बादरायणः स्वयमेव महावाक्यार्थं उपवर्णयामास स्कान्दे काशीमाहात्म्ये ।

Śāṅkarāśāṅkarabhāṣyavimarsaḥ, Narasaraopet 1953. p. 370.

16. *ibid.*

17. Some of these verses are not traceable in the text printed by the Sri Venkateswara Steam Press, Bombay.

18. Anandasram Sanskrit Series, No. 25, 1945.

19. *Bhāgma-gītā*, 4.5. 76-82.

6. चिदाकारः पुनस्तस्य त्वमर्थैक्यं ब्रवीति च ।
तत्त्वंशब्दार्थलक्ष्यस्य चिन्मात्रास्य परात्मनः ॥
7. एकत्वं यत् स्वतस्मिद्धं स हि वाक्यार्थ आस्तिकाः ।
इतोऽन्यथा यो वाक्यार्थस्स वाक्यार्था न संशयः ॥

Again he remarks that the *Adhyātmaramāyana*²⁰ too bears evidence of Śaṅkara's interpretation in the following verses.

1. आदौ पदार्थावगतिर्हि कारणं
वाक्यार्थविज्ञानविधौ विधानतः ।
तत्त्वंपदार्थौ परमात्मजीवका -
वसीति चैकात्म्यमथानयोर्भवेत् ॥
2. प्रत्यक्परोक्षादिविरोधमात्मनो -
विहाय संगृह्य तयोश्चिदात्मताम् ।
संशोधितां लक्षणया च लक्षितां
ज्ञात्वा स्वमात्मानमथाऽद्वयो भवेत् ॥
3. एकात्मकत्वाज्जहती न सम्भवेत्
तथाऽजहल्लक्षणता विरोधतः ।
सोयं पदार्थाविव भागलक्षणौ
युज्येत तत्त्वंपदयोरदोषतः ॥

Thus the above authorities, quoted by Rāma Rāya in favour of Śaṅkara's (Advaitic) interpretation of *tat tvam asi*, strengthen the position of the Advaitins with reference to the *mahāvākya*. This is the unique contribution of Rāma Rāya to Advaita Vedānta.

N. SUBBU REDDIAR

THE ALVARS' CONCEPT OF SALVATION

It is well known that, according to the Hindu philosophical thought based on the Upaniṣadic doctrine, *mukti* is the realization of the meaning of the relation between the self and the universal Self enshrined in the Upaniṣadic text "Thou art that"¹. According to the Viśiṣṭādvaita system it is of much value to abolish the *ahankāra* of the *jīva* by self-effacement and surrender of the self to the true Self. *Kain-karyarasa* brings out the joy of selfless service. In attuning his naughted will to that of the *Śeṣi*, the *mukta* feels that he is like a lute on which the Supreme Singer plays. Love is fulfilled in surrender and service; its cosmic value lies in attuning itself to the Infinite. But it is the experience of the bliss of Brahman that expresses the supreme value of *mukti* in the Viśiṣṭādvaitic sense of the ecstasy of the unitive consciousness.² Then the *mukta* is immersed in the supreme and unsurpassable bliss of *Brahmānubhava* without losing his self-being. It is a state of *sāyujya* in which the unitive experience of bliss is present without the loss of self-experience.³

Nammālvār conceives *mokṣa* as the God's abode and also a place of the freed souls who are the real immortals. The Ālvār refers to this place in his works as *Viḍu*,⁴ *Tuyar illā viḍu*,⁵ *Viṅ nāḍu*,⁶ *Vaikunṭham*,⁷ *Vaikunṭha vāṅ nāḍu*,⁸ *Vaikunṭha mānagar*,⁹ and *Ponṇulagu*.¹⁰ The reference

1. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 6. 8. 7.
2. *Vedānta Sūtra* 4. 4. 21.
3. *ibid*; *Rahas yatrayasāra (RTS)* chap. 22.
4. *Tiruviruttam (TVR)* 95; *Tiruvāśiriyam (TVS)* 2; *Periya Tiruviruttam (PTV)* 48; *Tiruvāymoli (TVM)* 1. 1:10; 2. 8:1 etc.
5. *TVM* 2, 8:2
6. *TVR* 23.
7. *ibid.* 66, 68; *PTV* 53; *TVM* 2. 1:11; 2:5:11 etc.
8. *PTV* 68.
9. *TVM* 4. 10:11
10. *ibid.* 6. 8:11

to *Vaikunṭhanādanī*¹¹ or the Lord of Vaikuṅṭham signifies that God is the ruler of the city Vaikuṅṭham. *Viḍu* is deliverance, i.e. deliverance from the worldly life or *samsāra*. The conception of *viḍu* is not given by Tiruvalluvar in detail but the nearest approach to the Āḷvār's concept can be seen in *Tirukkural*.¹² But the Tamil saint refers to this place in one instance as *Tāmaraiḱ-kannaṅ ulagu*¹³ (the world of lotus-eyed God), *Tāmaraiḱkannaṅ* of course signifying Viṣṇu. The same concept is clearly expressed by Nammāḷvār as *Aṅḱadu paṅḱenil uṅḱadu viḍu-uyir*¹⁴ – the *jīva* (soul), once it gives up its attachment to the worldly things, attains *mokṣa*. The words *viṅṅāḱu*, *vān nāḱu* suggest that the so-called place of *mokṣa* is situated far above the world in the endless space. The place is free from misery – *Tuyar illā viḍu*. The Āḷvār, while stating the specific result flowing from a recitation of his hymns, declares that it would lead to *mokṣa*. Generally the ideal is always described in a positive way such as “those who recite the ten verses will reach Vaikuṅṭham”¹⁵ – “the decade on His sacred feet will lead us to His feet”¹⁶ etc. Other Āḷvārs too have the same conception regarding *mokṣa*. They too refer to *mokṣa* more or less in the same words and phrases. Other words and phrases employed by them are *peru nilam* Great land,¹⁷ *peruviṣumbu*¹⁸ “Great space”, *umbar ulagu*¹⁹ “world of Devas”, *viṅṅagam*²⁰ “celestial abode” etc. The description of *mokṣa* by the Āḷvārs coincides more or less with the *nityavibhūti* as described in the Vaiṣṇavite Āgamas and other Vaiṣṇavite texts.

The path to *mukti* or *mokṣa* is referred to as *śelgadi*,²¹ and *māk-kadi*.²² *Śelgadi* is the good path which a *jīva* has to choose and *māk-kadi* is *mokṣa*. These two concepts in combination may be interpreted to mean the straight and shining path of *arcīrādi gati* as mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.²³ Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār mentions this in his *Śīriatirumaḱal*²⁴ and elaborates it in his *Periya-Tirumaḱal*.²⁵ The soul travels through the solar rays, reaches the sun, enters through a minute hole in the sun and then attains the place called *mokṣa* where, it is said,

11. *ibid.* 7 9:4

12. *Kural*, ch. 35-37

13. *ibid.* 1103

14. *TVM* 1. 2:5

15. *ibid.* 2. 5:11; 4. 8:11.

16. *ibid.* 4. 9:11.

17. *Peria Tirumoli PTM* 1. 1:9.

18. *ibid.* 5. 6:5.

19. *ibid.* 11. 4:10.

20. *Mudal Tiruvantādi (MTV)* 68.

21. *PTM* 1.1:5,8.

22. *Mū Ty*, 95.

23. *I e.* 4 15:5.

24. *Kaṅṅi*, 7,8.

25. *ibid.* 16, 17.

it enjoys the bliss of the Lord. The achievement of a single *mukta* is a cosmic event, as it were, and even the celestials hail the entry of the finite self into infinity and sing *hallelujahs* in their own celestial way. The glorious ascent of the soul to its original home has been vividly described by Nammālvār.²⁶ It is also beautifully portrayed by Vedānta Deśika in his *Paramapadasopānam* where the author indicates nine steps in the path to perfection. The first five, namely *viveka*, *nirveda*, *virakti*, *bhīti-bhāva* and *upāya* constitute the means and awaken the religious consciousness and induce the *mumukṣu* to practise devotion and self-surrender. The remaining four steps consisting of *utkramaṇa*, *arcirādi*, *divya-deśa-prabhāva* and *prāpti* relate to the *summum bonum* spiritual endeavour. They describe vividly the ascent of the redeemed soul to its home in the absolute.²⁷ The author, it is presumed, follows the *Ṛaikunṭhagadyam* of Rāmānuja and the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* in his description.

According to Vaiṣṇavism, Īśvara is the object of the knowledge which is the means, *upāya*, and also the object of the knowledge which is attainment. He is the means as being the giver of the desired fruit and the bestower of grace, and likewise, He is *upeya* because he Himself is the object that is to be reached. He is the ever-attained means (*siddhopāya*). As auxiliary to this means there are two other means, namely, *bhakti* and *rapatti*. The former is mainly based upon the teaching of the *Upaniṣads* and the latter is to be traced mainly to the Vaiṣṇavite *Āgamas*.

The course of *bhakti* involves a training in three stages known as *arma-yoga*, *jñāna-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga* in the progressive realization of *mokṣa*. These three stages constitute the to-be-attained means (*ādhyopāya*). The path of *karma* means the performance of certain *arma* or rites and duties²⁸ as prescribed in the *śāstras*. One should perform one's duties for the fulfilment of God's purpose; the person should do them whole-heartedly subordinating his desire completely to the divine will. By thus working for the Lord, one not only renounces the fruits associated with them, but also purifies one's heart. This *arma-yoga* has several sub-divisions,²⁹ which include such items as the adoration of gods, the performance of austerities (*tapas*), pilgrimage to sacred places, giving in charity and sacrifices. Some of these rites and

. TVM 10:9.

. Deśika Prabandham - Verses 134 to 150.

. The rites and duties consist of (i) *nitya-karma* or regular duties to be performed compulsorily (like the daily *sandhyāvandana*) (ii) *naimittika-karma* or rites to be compulsorily performed on specified occasions (like bathing at the time of eclipses of the Sun and the Moon), and (iii) the *kāmya-karma* or rites that are optional and to be chosen according to one's ability.

. The *Bhagavad-gītā* 4.25 etc.

TVM, 4:7:8.

duties are referred to by the Āḷvārs. Nammāḷvār says: "Enjoying the sight of Thy presence with my eyes, and offering flowers, culled from all directions to my hands' content at Thy feet and dancing and singing song of Thy praises";³⁰ "without separation from the Lord, offering Him holy water, and after that, incense and flowers";³¹ "are not the days near when I circumambulate and worship with folded palms the deity at Tiruvāraṇvilai,"³² etc. In this process the self-regarding sentiments like self-love and self-possession are subdued. Animal instincts and inclinations are transmuted into an organic craving for God, as the impure gold are transmuted into pure gold in the furnace. The whole process is one of self-realization by self-renunciation. The earth-bound self then becomes spiritualised.

The path of knowledge (*jñānayoga*) is a stage of constant and uninterrupted contemplation; it is to be practised by one who has conquered his mind by *karmayoga* and could think of his essential nature or the self as being distinct from matter (the body, the senses and the like)—his *svarūpa* which is the mode of Īśvara by virtue of its relation to Him as His body. *Jñānayoga* is a path of contemplation, of self-illumination and of self-renunciation leading to its positive sequel of self-realization. Contemplation is the process of turning the out-going mind within, with the help of yogic auxiliaries like *yama* (self-restraint), *niyama* (observation of rites) and *prāṇāyāma* (the control of the breath) and seeing the inner quiet etc. In this state all activity is swallowed up. The yogin can arrest the out-going tendency by contemplating on thought itself, or on the nature of the Ātman. Nammāḷvār says: "O Father, lend me Thy helping hand of *jñāna* so that I may reach Thy inaccessible feet".³³ When the purified self reflects on itself, all other thoughts go away; the contractions caused by *karma* and the confusions due to *avidyā* are then destroyed by the fire of *jñāna*. The Ātman at this stage returns to itself and shines by itself and enjoys the quiet of *kaivalya*. It is no longer bound by the *prakṛti* and its three *guṇas*, but attains calmness and serenity. This self cognition itself is an orientation towards God-cognition. In a higher stage he has a glimpse of *Paramātman*, the Supreme Self as the pervading identity in all *jivas*, and sees Him in all beings and all beings in Him. Tirumaḷṣaiyāḷvār says: "by completely shutting the gates of the senses, by opening the gate of God-knowledge, by kindling the blaze of *jñāna*, by making the body and the heart that pine away for God, and by such a fully nature devotion one can realise the Lord with the discus".³⁴ In the next higher stage, this spiritual experience is further enriched. Peyāḷvār says: "The *Jñānis* are those, who by means of knowledge, can penetrate the Lord

31. *ibid.* 1.6:1.

32. *ibid.* 7.10:1.

33. *ibid.* 2.9: 2; 1.7: 1.

34. *Tiruccanda Viruttam (TCV)*, 76.

Who is the inner meaning of the four *Vedas* and who is immanent in their hearts".³⁵ The spiritual insight of *ātma-jñāni* is completely acquired in the fourth stage. Here the *jñāni* exhibit universal sympathy, realises kinship for all *jīvas* and regards the joys and sorrows of others as his own. Nammālvār says: "May we all (entire mankind) never more wallow in this woeful state of false knowledge, evil conduct and filthy body."³⁶

If a seeker escapes the snare of wordly pleasure and begins to be attracted by the pleasure of enjoying the said spiritual insight that creates a distaste for all sensepleasures, then he begins the practice of *bhakti-yoga*, the direct means for the attainment of the supreme goal of enjoying the Lord. While practising *bhakti-yoga*, the aspirant contemplates on the *Bhagavān* as the Inner Self of his own self which is His body. The vision that he has already acquired of his own pure self is then useful. For it is only through this that he reaches the Inner Self, just as the cloth within which a gem is tied up is first to be seen before the gem itself can be seen. In this way the vision of one's self serves as a qualification or as a stepping stone for the practice of *bhakti-yoga*. The chanters of a hymn of the *Tiruvāymōḷi*, according to Nammālvār, will be blessed with this *jñāna*.³⁷

Bhakti-yoga is the special path which is of the nature of unsurpassed love and which has, for its object, the essential nature and form and qualities of the *Bhagavān* Who is not dependent on is not subject to the authority of, and does not exist for anyone else. It is a process in which the seeker sheds his egoism and egocentric outlook, attunes himself to the will of God and yearns for the eternal communion with Him. This *yoga* is the direct path to perfection as it leads to the very heart of religious consciousness which consists in shifting the centre of reference from the *Ātman* to the *Paramātman*. This stage effects a revolution in our life, which is for greater importance than the copernican revolution. While the astronomer realises the littleness of the earth and the greatness of the sun that draws it to itself, the religious man or devotee realises the emptiness of the earth-bound self and the saving might of God Who is the source and centre of all living beings. The knowledge of the finite self has its religious fulfilment in the integral experience of the infinite which is its ground and goal. The self is merged in the Supreme Self like the sponge in the sea. Nammālvār says: "To the Lord, the sandal paste for smearing is my heart; the garland is the garland of verses composed by me; the silken garment too consists of these; the bright ornaments are the folding of arms in

35. *Mu Tv*, 84.

36. *TVR*, 1.

37. *TVM*, 1. 10: 11.

worship".³⁸ To this saint, the charming Kaṣṇaṇ (Kṛṣṇa) is everything; He is the food that he eats, the water he drinks, and the betel he chews.³⁹ Again the Āḷvār says: "Even if it is not given to me to worship Thee with cool flowers at the appropriate hours, I give over my very life as an ornament to Thy fair head, well decorated with flowers".⁴⁰ Periyāḷvār's sentiment of *bhakti* runs like this: "Enshrining the deity of Mādhava in the heart and offering the flower of devotion at the point of death will enable one to escape the horrors of the world of death".⁴¹ Speaking further he stresses that the thoughts of the Lord at the point of death will ensure salvation. His foster-daughter says: "To worship the Lord with fresh flowers in a state of purity, to utter His glory with one's tongue and to cherish it in one's heart would burn off the demerits of the past and future as the fire does the heap of dust".⁴² Similar sentiments are found expressed in the verses of other Āḷvārs also. Among the four kinds of devotees referred to in the *Gīṭā*⁴³ and the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁴ the one who worships Bhagavān with exclusive devotion is the best and he attains *mokṣa*.

Bhakti-yoga has also been called *parābhakti*. Love of the Lord which results from intimacy with *sāttvikas* (and the scriptures) and which produces *parā bhakti* is also called *bhakti* because it generates an intensive desire to know Īsvara clearly. This *parābhakti* develops into thirst or intensive desire and determination to see the Lord. By this keen desire alone, the devotee wins the grace of Lord who rewards him with a perfect visual perception of Himself for the time being. This visual perception is *para jñāna*. From this perfect vision of the *svarūpa* of the Lord is born an excessive and unsurpassed love for Him and unquenchable spiritual thirst similar to that felt by a man suffering from great thirst at the sight of a tank. This excessive and unsurpassed love for the Lord is called *paramabhakti* which produces an eager desire and determination to enjoy the Lord without any limitation.⁴⁵ At this stage the devotee, as described by Nammāḷvār,⁴⁶ feels that it is impossible to live any longer without this experience of eternal bliss. The Āḷvār cries out that he would not in future allow the Lord to leave Him (*ini nāṇ pogal oṭṭen*) and that he must become one with the Lord and declare all this with an oath⁴⁷ that cannot be ignored by the Lord. This *paramabhakti* also

38. *ibid* 4. 3: 2

39. *ibid* 6. 7: 1

40. *ibid* 4. 3: 4

41. *Periyāḷvār Tirumoli* (Periyāl) 4.5.3.

42. *Tiruppāvai*

43. 7: 16.

44. *Śānti*, 350: 33-35.

45. *RTS*, ch. 9.

46. *TVM*, 10. 10: 1.

47. *ibid*, 10. 10: 2.

generates a desire in the Lord to give *mokṣa* to the *bhakta* immediately and allows him to attain it. They are finally united in the realm of *mukti*. The soul is a glow with Divine Fire but is not identical with it. As the life of our life, God feeds the soul and divinizes it. Likewise the soul feeds on God. In the bliss of unitive consciousness, the soul-hunger of God and the God-hunger of the soul are both finally satisfied. The temporal pleasures of earth, the seductive joy of *svarga* and the joy of *kaivalya* are nothing when compared to the bliss of the integral experience of Brahman. Here at this stage the soul is not passive, but energises enthusiastically and shares its joy with others.

The other means to *mokṣa* is known as *prapatti* or unqualified and absolute self-surrender. It is also called *śaraṅāgati*. It is the highest stage of God-love. *Prapatti* stands in the place of *parābhakti* to the man who adopts it as the direct and independent means. This way preserves the essentials of *bhakti*, dispenses with its non-essentials like the need for ceaseless practice. The question of caste distinctions does not arise here. Since it will be the means of securing all the desired objects, it has been prescribed in the place of *parābhakti* for those who know their limitations. The spiritual experience of the Tamil Ālvārs is epitomised in the *śaraṅāgati* of Nammālvār who is extolled as the foremost of *prapannas* in Vaiṣṇavism. The Ālvār says: "Henceforward it is impossible for me to possess myself in misery without the *darśana* of thy feet".⁴⁸ He extends the hospitality of his divine experience to the whole world of the *jīvās*, with a view to establish a spiritual community of the *bhaktas*. The saint records his experience in performing the act of self-surrender at the feet of the deity at Tirumogūr: "There is no salvation without surrender to *kāḷamegham*, the presiding deity at Tirumogūr",⁴⁹ and "The lotus feet of the deity is the only salvation".⁵⁰ The peak of his action is seen performed in the presence of Lord of Irupati Hills. Almost all the Ālvārs speak of their self-surrender to the Lord.

The paths of devotion and self-surrender have more relevance to the position of God in Vaiṣṇavism than those of *karma* and *jñāna* as such. To fall in line with the Upaniṣadic concept that knowing Him is the means of obtaining final release,⁵¹ the great exponent Rāmānuja evolved a very convincing exposition according to which *bhakti*, *jñāna* and *prapatti* all represent certain stages of *jñāna* itself. All the same, stress is laid by him more on the *bhakti*, and *prapatti* aspects of *jñāna*. It is in the light of this stress that the three esoteric doctrines have come to

48. *ibid* 5. 8 : 7.

49. *ibid*. 10. 1 : 1.

50. *ibid*. 10. 1 : 6.

51. Pillāṅṅ on *TVM*, 10. 9 : 1.

be formulated as the basis of the Vaiṣṇavite religion. These three secrets contain the essentials of the Vedānta in terms of *tattva*, *hita* and *puruṣārtha*. The Lord Himself has expounded the technique of self-surrender. The three secrets are known as *mūlamantram*, *dvayam* and *carama-ślokaṃ* of which the first states it in a nutshell, the second makes the meaning more explicit and the third elaborates it still further. These three mysteries which form epitomes of the truths that ought to be known and of the means of attaining salvation, which are the distinctive, unique and exclusive doctrines of this system of religion and philosophy are invaluable and are therefore to be preferred like ambrosia in the ocean.

The state of the emancipated soul has to be understood here. The released self realises the unitive consciousness. The "infinite" of space-time, which staggers the scientific imagination, pales into infinitesimal littleness in the light of the really infinite and the eternal glory of *Paramapada* which transcends the limit of thought. The self enjoys all the perfection of Vaikuṅṭha like *śālokya* or identity of abode, *sāmipyā* or proximity, *sārūpyā* or similarity of form and *sāyujya* or intimate union; he is ever immersed in the eternal bliss of the Brahman. *Śālokya* (co-existence) leads to *sāmipyā* (fellowship) and *sārūpyā* (transformation and deification) and is consummated in *sāyujya* (the bliss of communion). The form, flavour, and fragrance of Brahmānubhava are not physical or psychical, but are super-sensuous.

SUN-WORSHIP IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction

Of all the deities of the Hindu pantheon no other deity receives as much universal homage and enjoys as much popularity as Sūrya, the Sun-god. He is worshipped by the haves and have-nots, the castes and casteless and the Vaiṣṇavites and the Śaivites, the two main Hindu denominations. Of course, he does not, unlike Viṣṇu and Śiva, receive primary worship except from the Sauras, a sectarian Sūrya-worshippers who exalt him as the Supreme Soul and Creator of the universe. In ancient times he had a wider popularity far beyond the frontiers of this country and the remnants of his symbolism and veneration by the primitive people are extant to the present day in Egypt, Iran, the Middle East, the Far East, Australia, Mexico and North-East America.¹ Hence the natural worship of the Sun was prevalent also in the pre-Āryan and Dravidian India. According to V.C. Srivastava, the solar worship in ancient India was a mixture of three different traditions: first, the orthodox tradition of the *Vedas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Purāṇas*, *Smṛtis* etc., second the Magi tradition of Iran; and the third the indigenous tradition of India such as found among the non-Āryan and wild tribes of India.²

Sun Temples in India

According to the Magi tradition and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the Sun Temple at Multan (Mūlasthānapura), now in Pakistan on the banks of the river Chenab, was built by Sāmba, son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Hiuen-Tsang and the Arab travellers mention Sun-worship in Multan. In the Gupta period, according to inscriptional evidence, there were Sun temples³ at Andrapura (now Indore, Bulandshahar district, Uttar Pradesh) and

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1. M. Gupta Śakti: *Sūrya, the Sun-God*, pp. 1 ff., Somaiya Publication, Bombay, 1977.
 2. *AIOC*, XXIII, Seminar Papers, p. 130.
 3. *CHI* III, pp. 68 ff; 79 ff.

Dasapura (Mandasor). Again inscriptions⁴ refer to Sun temples in the Post-Gupta period of Gopātri (Gwalior hills) and at Deo Baranark in Shahabad district, Bihar. The Indrāditya temple at Ghotarsi, 11 k.m. from Pratapgarh, was built in A.D. 942. There are ruins of Sun temples at Ranpur, Bamneva (both in Jodhpur region), Vasa (in Sirohi region) Satvas (in Bharatpur) and Kutch. The most renowned Sun temples in India today are at: Osia in Rajasthan, Modhera in West Gujarat, Mārtāṇḍa in Kashmir, Bhumara in Madhya Pradesh, Koṅārka in Orissa and Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Sūryanārkoil) in Tamilnad. Of them architecturally and sculpturally the most gigantic and ornate is the one at Koṅārka.

Sun-worship in Andhra Pradesh

Geographically Andhra Pradesh is situated in between Orissa and Tamilnad, the two States having the proud claim of Koṅārka Temple and the Sūryanārkoil respectively. The Sūryanārkoil (or Sūryanārayana-koil) at Tiruviḍaimarudūr on the river Kāverī, between Māyavaram and Kumbhakonam, was built in the eleventh century A.D. by the Coḷa Emperor Kulottuṅga Coḷa I. The temple was called Kulottuṅga Coḷa Mārtāṇḍālaya. The Koṅārka temple is believed to have been constructed in the middle of the thirteenth century by the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasiṃha I. Since Andhra Pradesh is lying in between these two States having Sun temples, an attempt is made here to investigate the whereabouts of temples, shrines and images of the Sun in this Telugu speaking State as well as to understand the position this god held in the religious and cultural life of the ancient people therein. The study is based on the early inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh upto c. A.D. 1200.

The earliest known reference to Sūrya, the Sun-god, is found in the inscriptions⁵ of the Śālaṅkāyana kings who ruled for about a century upto c. A.D. 430. These kings were meditators on the feet of Citrarathasvāmin and they styled themselves as *Bhagavac-Citrarathasvāminpādānudhyāta*. *Citraratha*, according to Sanskrit lexicon, is an epithet of no other god but Sūrya. Citrarathasvāmin being their tutelary deity, the Śālaṅkāyanas must have definitely enshrined this deity in a temple dedicated to him. But so far not even ruins of such a monument have been traced. L.P. Pandey is of the opinion that the small mound at Pedavegi, near Eluru, is the site of the ancient temple of Citrarathasvāmin.⁶

In the Viṣṇukuṇḍi period no reference to Sūrya either as a name of god or as a personal name has been noticed in the inscriptions. But

4. *ibid.* pp. 161 ff; 213 ff.

5. *EI*, IX, p. 58; XXV, 44; XXI, pp. I ff.

6. L.P. Pandey, 1971, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, p. 264, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi.

given money and land by a certain Nāgiyagāvunḍa of the Jammikuṅṭa village. Obviously there was a shrine of this deity at Jammikuṅṭa. No trace of it is found now. Probably the present Śiva temple was erected on the ruins of the original Āditya temple. Inscriptions at the time of Vikramāditya VI refer to Ādityadeva.¹² An inscription from Gaṅgapuram, Manthani taluk, Karimnagar district, refers to Sūreśvara deva¹³ to whom some gifts were given by Guṇḍarāja, a subordinate of the king Bhūlokamalla.

The place-names after Sūrya mentioned in the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukya inscriptions are Ādityapalli and Sūralūra¹⁴ (both are not identified). The personal names after Sūrya noticed in their inscriptions are: Āditya, Ādityabhaṭṭa, Ādityabhaṭṭopādhyāya, Bhānudeva, Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, Sūr (two persons) and Sūreśvarapaṇḍita.

Devendravarman III, an Eastern Gaṅga monarch who flourished at the close of the ninth and in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. is believed to have constructed the present Sun temple at Arasavalli, near Śrīkākūḷam. This temple is very famous and is exclusively dedicated to Sūrya. An inscription dated S. 1068¹⁵ (A.D. 1146) found in this temple is a glaring evidence of its antiquity. N. Ramesan writes that the original temple seems to have fallen into disuse, and the present temple was reconstructed by one Yelamanchili Pullaji Pantulu in the year A.D. 1778. The Lord (Sūrya here) is known as *Kalivarada*, "a grantor of the boons in the Kaliyuga".¹⁶

Sūrālaka¹⁷ (now Sūryamaṇipuram, Tekkali taluk, Śrīkākūḷam district), a place-name after Sūrya, is stated to have been situated in the Andhra region of the Eastern Gaṅga dominion. The personal names noticed in the Eastern Gaṅga records of this region are: Āditya (two persons), Ādityamañci, Ādityarāja (prince), Ādityavarman (two persons), Bhānucandra, Mitrarvarman (king), Ravicandra, Raviśarman, Sūrama (six individuals) and Sūrapotu.

It is important to note that the most famous Sun temple at Koṅārka, Orissa State, was constructed by one of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, namely, Narasiṃha I who ruled from A.D. 1238-1264.

12. *CIID*, III Khammam no. 13; *ARE*, Hyd. 1966, no. 160.

13. *KDI*, no. 23.

14. *WDI*, no. 21; *SH*, IX-1, no. 119.

15. *ARE*, 1896 no 387.

16. N. Ramesan; *Temples and Legends of Andhra Pradesh*, p. 147 Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1962.

17. *JAHRS*, XVIII, p. 118.

In the Cālukya-Coḷa period, an inscription dated A.D. 1111 from Cennakeśvara temple at Macherla (Palnād taluk, Guntūr district) refers to Ādityeśvara and his temple.¹⁸ The Rāmeśvaram temple at Āchaṇṭa (Narasapuram taluk, West Godavari district) has an inscription dated A.D. 1112, referring to a donation of a tope to the temple of Sūreśvara.¹⁹ Another temple of Sūreśvara²⁰ was built at Kārapūḍi (Palnād taluk, Guntūr district) in the year A.D. 1154 by Īsānapreggāda, a minister of the Velanāṅṭi chief Kulottuṅga Coḷa Goṅkarāja who was the most faithful and trusted feudatory of the Cālukya-Coḷas.

The personal names after Sūrya found in the Cālukya-Coḷa records are: Āditya (two persons), Ādityabhaṭṭa, Ādityadevabhaṭṭa, Ādityadevasahasra, Ādityārya, Ādityaśaḍaṅgavid, Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, Divākara-bhaṭṭa, Sūrama, Sūramāmbā (two queens), Sūrapa (two persons), Sūraparāja, Sūrayya (six persons), Sūriseṭṭi, Sūryadevabhaṭṭa (two persons) and Sūryadevasahasra.

The Kākatīya chief Rudra I, in the year A.D. 1162 installed the deity Sūryadeva as well as the gods Rudreśvara and Vāsudeva. This is revealed in an inscription²¹ from Hanumakoṇḍa, Warangal taluk. The king thus paid due respect to Sūrya, Siva, and Viṣṇu.

From the above survey it is obvious that the Sun-worship in Andhra Pradesh was in practice since the fourth century A.D. There is no doubt that this practice was in vogue long before the Śālaṅkāyana period. The inscriptions containing personal names and place-names after Sūrya as well as the temples and shrines dedicated to him are glowing evidences to prove the prevalence of the wide-spread practice of the Sun-worship in different parts of Andhra Pradesh, governed by several dynasties. The different names of Sūrya given to members of the royal families and to common men of all walks of life clearly show how deep the cult of Sūrya had entered into the socio-religious set-up of the people.

Besides the above mentioned facts indicating Sun-worship, gathered from the inscriptions upto c.A.D. 1200, there are also large number of personal names after Sūrya, as well as images, shrines and temples mentioned in the Kākatīya, and Vijayanagara records. Some of the temples constructed during the reigns of these later dynasties also had shrines set apart for Sūrya. Unfortunately a good number of the ancient Sun shrines and temples are not extant. Probably they were converted to or replaced by those of Viṣṇu. Because, in later times, as N. Ramesan

18. *SII*, X, no. 66.

19. *ibid.* no. 69.

20. *ibid.* no. 134.

21. *WDI*, no. 36.

states, "this worship was merged with the worship of Viṣṇu and most of the images of Sūrya are practically identical with those of Viṣṇu except for some slight variation in symbolism. In fact Lord Viṣṇu is also worshipped with the epithet of Sūryaṅgarāyaṇa which is very significant".²² The preceding deity of Koṅārka Sun temple as well as that of Tiruviḍaimarudūr Sun temple is Sūryaṅgarāyaṇa. In the Vedic times Viṣṇu was an aspect of Sūrya. Viṣṇu is one of the twelve Ādityas. The Sun is considered as twelve-souled, of whom Viṣṇu is eternal. Hence the present day identification of Sūrya with Viṣṇu is fully in accordance with the time-honoured Vedic traditions.

Today the only Sūrya temple, exclusively dedicated to the deity, so far reported from Andhra Pradesh, is the one at Arasavalli (Śrīkākuḷam taluk & district) as we have already seen. There are, however shrines of Sūrya in the temples at Alampūr and Hanmakonḍa. The Alampūr sūrya image,²³ according to M. Gupta Śakti belongs to the eighth century A.D. The same author reports the existence of a Sūrya pillar at Nāgārjunakonḍa.²⁴ There is an image of Sūrya in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Guḍimallam. At Tippalūru (Kamalāpuram taluk, Cuddapah district) an image of Sūrya with seven steeds has been found among the ruins of a Śiva temple.²⁵ This image is intact.

The foregoing facts indeed go counter to the suppositions made by some scholars that there was no Sun temple in Andhra Pradesh. V.C. Srivastava in his *Sun-worship in Ancient India* makes no mention about Sun-worship in Andhra Pradesh. M. Gupta Śakti does not refer to the Arasavalli temple. According to G.S. Ghurye, in the Southern India no temple of Sun appears to have been reported from Karṇāṭaka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh.²⁶ On the contrary, it is confirmed hereby that, in Andhra Pradesh, besides a number of shrines and images in various parts, there stands a very far-famed Sūrya temple at Arasavalli.

Thus, in so far as the Sun-worship is concerned, we find Andhra Pradesh as a religious and cultural link between the two States, Orissa and Tamilnad, the former having the famous Sūryaṅgarāyaṇa temple at Koṅārka and the latter having the Sūryaṅgarāyarkoil at Tiruviḍaimarudūr. An investigation on the current practice of Sun-worship and its past remnants in the adjoining States is yet to be done

22 N. Ramesan: op. cit. p. 142.

23 M. Gupta Śakti: op. cit. Plates.

24 ibid. Plates

25 *EI*, XXX, p. 12

26 Ghurye G.S.: *Gods and Men*, p. 7. Bombay 1962

ABBREVIATIONS :

- AIOC* — All India Oriental Conference
- ARE, Hyd.* — *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Hyderabad.*
- CII* — *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
- CITD* — *Corpus of the Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of the HEH the Nizam's Dominions.*
- EI* — *Epigraphia Indica*
- JAHRS* — *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*
- KDI* — *Karimnagar District Inscriptions (Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, karimnagar District)*
- SII* — *South Indian Inscriptions.*
- WDI* — *Warangal District Inscriptions (Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal district.)*

HINDU RITUALS IN MADURAI COUNTRY OF MEDIEVAL AGE

The Madurai region of South India experienced the early impact of Islam. In medieval times the Arab traders entered into commercial relations with Ma'bar, a name that they gave to the southern regions of the Coramandel Coast.¹ Abulfeda who visited the Madurai country c. 1330 remarked that it was the third part of India and that to reach this region a three or four days eastward journey from Quilon was necessary. This territory began from 'Cape Kumāri' better known as Kanyākumāri.² Amir Khusru observed that Madurai was so distant from Delhi that an expedition would take twelve months to reach that region. The Madurai country included the territory extending from Kanyākumāri and stretching along the Coramandel Coast.³ This region generally corresponded with the Pāṇḍyan kingdom with its capital at Madurai which was in the age in question, one among the four important Hindu states of South India. The other powers, the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri (ruled by Rāmacandra) Kākātiya kingdom of Warangal (ruled by Pratāparudra II) and the Hoysala kingdom of Dvārasamudra (ruled by Vīra Ballāla III) lay further north.⁴ As champions of Hinduism, the Pāṇḍya kings of Madurai devoted a part of their wealth to the promotion of religion and the maintenance of religious institutions. So devoted were they to their religion, they even called themselves as 'Pañca Pāṇḍyas' and ruled the country from five capitals so as to correspond the pattern of the five heroes⁵ of the *Mahābhārata*. The five capitals were Madurai, Rāmanāthapuram,

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1. Henry Yule: Hcordier: *Cathay and the Way Thither.*, Vol. II p. 141 and Henry Yule: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* Vol, II, pp. 322-23.
 2. *Hobson Jobson*: pp. 526-27.
 3. *ibid.*
 4. Ishwari Prasad: *History of Medieval India*, pp. 231-35.
 5. Smith V.A.: *Early History of India*, p. 468.

Tirunelveli and Pudukkoṭṭai etc., and on the eve of the Muslim conquest the rulers were Vīra Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya and Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya.⁶ The people of the kingdom too followed the path of their rulers in matters of religion.

During the year A.D. 1311, Malik Naib Kafur marched to Ma'bar. The account of Ziauddin Barni says that he (Malik Kafur) destroyed the golden idol temple of Ma'bar and the golden idols which for ages had been worshipped by the Hindus. The fragments of the golden temples and the broken idols of gold and gilt became the spoils of the army. The triumphant army returned to Delhi with six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses.⁷ This account suggests the extent of accumulated wealth in the temples of Ma'bar. The Hindus of Ma'bar revered the images greatly and appeared ready to sacrifice their lives to protect them from destruction.⁸ It is mentioned that a damsel, without consideration for her life saved an image by jumping from a tower of a temple with a Musalman, who went up to destroy it. This is vividly portrayed in a Telugu work, the *Ācārya Sūktimuktāvalī*.⁹

Foreign travellers make references to the religious rituals followed by the people of Ma'bar. Marco Polo who visited Ma'bar in about A.D. 1293 records that the people of Ma'bar committed self-immolation in the names of gods. The person who came forward to sacrifice his life for an idol used to assemble his kinsfolk who provided him with a cart and set him on it. They gave him twelve knives and took him on a procession, proclaiming loudly. "The valient man is going to slay himself for the life of an idol". Then he was killed with three of the knives and his body was cremated.¹⁰ After Marco Polo, John of Monle Corvino a Franciscan Friar and after him Friar Odoric of Pordenone visited Southern India. The latter who considered the region as the land of St. Thomas says that here in the past the Hindus venerated the oxen, abstaining from eating their flesh,¹¹ though they took cows' milk and put their cattle to labour as they did about other animals.¹²

6. Venkataramanayya; N. *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 45.

7. Ziauddin Barni; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* trans. and ed., Elliot and Dowson Vol. III p. 204.

8. The *Śrīraṅgam Koyil Olugu* deals with the transference of the idol, 'Aḷagiya-manavāḷa Perumāḷ' and the Hindus' efforts to save it from the Sultans of Delhi.

9. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar S: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 40.

10. Nilakanta Sastri K.A.; *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 134.

11. Upper class Hindus believed that Gods use some favourite animals as *vāhanaś* and since the cow and ox are inclusive among them they treated these animals with due respect and avoided eating their flesh.

12. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.; *op. cit.* p. 188.

He also observes that the custom of the people was to make great idols in gold, and to have some sort of festivities for their idols. He was surprised to see the great throne, used to carry the idols made of gold and the idol having a collar of gems of immense value. He further observed that the temple where it was located was also of gold. Because of the colour of the *vimāna* he would have formed such an impression. A popular but cruel custom among Hindus was that they used to visit the temples with a knife struck in the arm. Usually they did not remove them until they arrived before the idol. As well there was a pool inside the temple. Pilgrims visited the idol and cast gold, silver and precious stones into the water, where it accumulated. Whenever the temple needed repairs, the accumulated armaments that had been cast into the pool by the pilgrims were collected.¹³ With the surplus amount they made some jewellery and adorned the idols.¹⁴

Friar Jordanus who reached India before Odoric has left some valuable and interesting information about the Hindu rituals in Ma'bar which were widely observed during the first half of the fourteenth century. A popular custom prevalent among Hindus was that when they were involved in great misery they would swear a vow to the idol in order to gain relief. When the vow was fulfilled they would fatten themselves by eating well. After one or two years, during the festival days, they would cover their bodies with flowers and perfumes; they would sing and dance before the idol as it was taken in procession. When the procession was in progress the devotees who have taken a vow of sacrificing themselves to the idol would carry swords with two handles, they would put the swords on their necks' pulling strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their heads before the idols.¹⁵ So great was their regard for their religion that they gave least regard to their lives.

Hindus chanted the word *pacuta, pacauta, pacauta* more than a hundred times a day, which was a corruption of the word Bhagavanta.¹⁶ Also they believed that their souls dwelled in a narrow prison of their body and after their death they attain their liberation and grow to a greater degree of happiness. This belief led them to throw themselves into the fire and to sacrifice their lives.¹⁷ Some people used to pour butter and oil on the idols and those who did so regularly were honoured

13. *ibid.* pp. 195-96.

14. Amir Khusru : *Ashika* Trans. and ed. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III App. p. 550.

15. Nilakanta Sastri : *op. cit.* p. 209.

16. *ibid.*

17. Muhammad Husayn Nainar : *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, p. 155.

as traditional Hindus by the society.¹⁸ Certain people used to abstain from their food and drinks on some days of religious importance and they were called *anshanayya* (*anaśana*)¹⁹ These instances indicate the reverence given by society to the ardent followers of Hindu faith.

Another practice was to consecrate the young girls to the deities. When this was done the fathers and mothers sent their girls to the idols on special occasions sang and danced in front of the idols in great festivity, prepared food and, sitting in front of the idols, ate it with great rejoice.²⁰

As it was in the past, some girls were kept in the temples for ever. They were termed *devadāsis*. In Ma'bar there were many of them. They were regarded as public women and often called 'women of the idol'. If children were born to them, they were to be consecrated to Gods' service. They would also wait for the people in the market place and would sell themselves for a fixed sum to those who considered that debauchery is not a sin. After collecting money, they used to deliver it for the upkeep of the temple.²¹ Edgar Thurston mentions seven classes of such women, *Dattā*, *Vikritā*, *Bhṛtyā*, *Bhaktā*, *Hṛtā*, *Alaṅkārā* and *Rudraganikā* or *Gopikā*.²² He says that they are paid by temples and their duties were mainly singing and dancing there.

Among the Hindu religious practices of Ma'bar the car festival stimulated greatest interest as in modern times. It was held annually and in those days they used to carry the idol on a decorated chariot, when the king, queen, pilgrims and the whole body of people joined together. The devotees drew it from the temple with songs and music. Maidens used to go in front and devoted pilgrims often cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels might run over them. They were actually saying that they desired to die for their God, and the car would pass over them crushing them.

18. *ibid.*

19. *ibid.*

20. Henry Yule : *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* Vol. II, p 346.

21. Muhammad Husayn Nainar : *op. cit* p. 188.

22. Among them *Dattā* was one who gave herself as a gift to a temple ; *Vikritā* was one who sold herself for the same purpose ; *Bhṛtyā* was one who offered herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family ; *Bhaktā* was one who joined the temple out of devotion ; *Hṛtā*, was one who was enticed away and presented herself to a temple ; *Alaṅkārā* was one who was well trained in her profession and profusely decked and presented to a temple by kings and noble men and *Rudraganikā* or *Gopikā* was one who received regular wages from a temple and were employed to sing and dance there. Edgar Thurston ; *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. II, p. 125.

The inhabitants of medieval Madurai experienced repeated ordeals. Foreign forces invaded the country frequently and contributed to violent changes. Ibn batuta and Gaṅgādevi had remarked that during the period of Muslim ascendancy, the natives were forbidden from worshipping their Gods in the temples.²³ Confronted by this formidable challenge, the Hindus responded not by the abandonment of their forms of worship but by a rededication to their religion. The self immolation committed by the devotees and the consecration of young girls to the idols indicated this trend. The *devadāsīs* cultivated the arts of singing and dancing and helped in the maintenance of the places of worship.

My due thanks are to my supervisor Dr. K. Rajayyan for helping me in writing this paper.

[Almost all the statements of the learned author of this interesting paper is based mainly on the observations of foreign travellers. And the inaccuracies of different types in the observations of the foreigners visiting India, since the days of Megasthenese due to several factors are also well known :- S. Sankaranarayanan]

23. Tiruvenkatachari: Gaṅgādevi's *Madhurāvijayam*; Nilkantha Sastri, op. cit.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM ALLURU

Allūru is a village in the Nandigama taluk, Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh. A stone bearing the subjoined inscription was discovered in this village as early as 1924. The inscription was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on S. Indian Epigraphy for 1923-24*, along with an excellent facsimile.¹ It was subsequently edited, also with a good facsimile but with a very faulty transcript and interpretation by Dr. R. Sham Sastry in his paper under the heading "An Important Politico-Religious Inscription" in one of the issues of the *Calcutta Review*.² In 1939 Dr. D.C. Sircar, in his *The Successors of the Sāta-vāhanas*,³ wrote a short note on this record suggesting some corrections and improvements over the views expressed in the above two publications. In 1941, K. Gopalachari, in his *Early History of Andhra Country*⁴ gave his own reading and interpretation of the text of the record. Besides, scholars like Shri C.R. Krishnamacharlu and Shri K.N. Dikshit also seem to have attempted to edit the epigraph.⁵ But their papers somehow could not unfortunately see the light of the day. Thus the record, important as it is in many respects as we shall see presently, still remains to be edited properly. Hence, when my colleague Dr. D. Sridhar Babu, Reader, S.V. University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, visited Vijayawada recently I requested him to arrange to take some photographs of the record now preserved in the Museum there.

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1. No. 331 of *Annual Report on S. Indian Epigraphy*, for 1923-24, p. 97 and plate facing. It has also been casually referred to in *Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, pp. 139-140 and plate LXV, fig. a, showing the pillar; *ibid.* 1926-27, pp. 151-52.
 2. Third series, Vol. XVI (1925), pp. 48-53.
 3. Pages 328 ff.
 4. Pages 88 ff.
 5. Dr. Sircar, *op.cit.*, 330, f.n., K. Gopalachari, *op.cit.*, p. 89. In fact the latter writes that he had actually consulted C.R.K. Charlu's manuscript of the article on the record awaiting publication in the *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*.

He arranged for the same. I thank Dr. D. Sridhar Babu and the authorities of the said Museum for this favour. Now basing on the photograph and the facsimile given in the *Annual Report on S. Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, the inscription is edited hereunder in detail.

The stone, bearing the epigraph constitutes a part of a stone pillar, which originally must have belonged to a railing, the mortices on it being very clear.⁶ We find, below the inscription the lower half of a lotus, full-blown and facing front, cut in relief, as in the case of the Guṇṭupalle inscription of the Cedi king Siri-Sada of the earlier period.⁷ The upper part of the stone just touching the first line is broken off and lost. Yet there are reasons to presume that most probably no line we have lost at the beginning. For, as we shall see presently the first line introduces the king of the record just as the first line of the Velpūru inscription of Aira king Mānasada does.⁸ On the other hand, the record consisting of 17 lines indicate that we have lost at least one line at the end.⁹ Further it is to be noted that while the lines 10-17 of the record are fully preserved, a few letters are lost at the end of each of the first nine lines, the number of letters lost varying from 1, in line 9, to about 4 or 5, in line 1. The left corner on the top and the upper portion of the first line have also suffered damages. Consequently the first letter here is totally lost. May be what we have lost here was only an auspicious symbol like *svastika* or a *siddham* symbol. Further, the second letter of the line is only partly preserved. Thus the record is unfortunately fragmentary.

The characters of the record are Brāhmī and are comorable with those of the above mentioned inscription of the Aira king Mānasada which has been discovered in Velpūru (Sattenapalle taluk, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh), not far removed from Allūru and has been assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the first half of the second century A.D.¹⁰ Hower it may be observed that the letters *p* and *v* of our record with their round-h bottom seem to be earlier than those, with the angular bases, of the Velpūru epigraph. Similarly the form of *h* of the Allūru record also perhaps points to an earlier period for the epigraph. Of the initial vowels *a* occurs in the Allūru inscription four

6. *Arch. Surv. India, Annual Report*, 1925-26, p. 140 and pl. LXV, fig. a.

7. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 53-60.

8. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 82 ff and plate. This record introduces the king simply as Aira Mānasada, a Gālaveya.

9. In fact an examination of the above plate and the photograph of the pillar shows that the inscription must have originally continued a little further either on the lotus itself found below or on some other side of the pillar. But I am unable to trace it now.

10. *ibid.* p. 83.

times (lines 12, 13, 15 and 17), *u* once (line 15),¹¹ *e* twice (lines 14 and 16) and most probably also *ai*¹² twice (lines 1 and 7). Of the consonants, *kh* is written in two different ways: the one with its longer right hand rounded off at the bottom (cf. *khetā*, line 4) and the other with its right hand having, at the bottom, a small stroke to the right (cf. *akhaya*, line 13). The form of the Dravidian *ḷ* is met with twice (lines 3 and 12).

The language of the record is Prākṛt. Of the phonetic changes found in the text of our inscription, the following may be worth mentioning. The occasional shortening of the Sanskrit *a* is found in *pase* (Pāli *passe*, Skt. *pārśve*) in line 15. Likewise, the lengthening of *a* is met with in *cā* (Skt. *ca*) in line 5. Change of Sanskrit *g* into *k* is noticed in *paricāka* (Skt. *parityāga*) and *pāka* (Skt. *bhāga*)¹³ respectively in line 14 and 12. *ṭ* and *ḷ* are occasionally changed into *ḷ* as noticed in *taḷāka*¹⁴ (Skt. *taṭāka*) and *kuḷa* (Skt. *kula*) respectively in lines 12 and 3. Palatalisation of *ty*, *tsy*, and *ṣṭh* is met with in *paricāka* (Skt. *parityāga*),¹⁵ *maca* (Skt. *matsya*) and *pica*¹⁶ (Skt. *prṣṭha*) in lines 14, 5 and 12 respectively. *Bh* is changed into *p* in *pāka* (Skt. *bhāga*)¹⁷ in line 12.

Of the *vibhaktis* or declensions only three Cases, viz., Nominative, Genitive (both in singular and plural) and Locative (in singular only)—all the three in all the three genders—occur in the present record. A preference for the Genitive singular to the Genitive plural is noticed in *-dāsasa* (for *-dāsāna*, line 9) and *-kaḍāhasa* (for *-kaḍāhāna*, line 10). The final *m* or *anusvāra* of the *vibhaktis*, viz., the Genitive plural and the Locative singular, is invariably dropped as in *gāvina* (line 8) *ayirāna* *Puvaseliyāna* (line 17) and *simāya* (lines 6-7). The Pronoun Genitive

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11. I.e. in *utara*. The reading *datara* by K. Gopalachari is of course not correct.
 12. It is too much to find a comparison between the form of *ai* of the Allūru record and that of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. Cf. K. Gopalachari, op.cit. p. 89.
 13. Cf. *bhāka* (Skt. *bhāga*) in a Kanheri inscription. See *Arch. Surv. of W. Ind* Vol. V. p. 80, Vol. 16, lines 11-12.
 14. This Pāli form *taḷāka* is also met with in a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription. See *EI.*, Vol. XX, p. 22, Inscription F. line 3.
 15. *Paricāka* is nothing but the Pāli *pariccāga* (Skt. *parityāga*) 'giving', or 'liberality'. In an Amarāvati inscription (*Arch. Surv. of S. Ind.*, Vol. I., p.48; Luders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1254) we have passage reading *deyadhamapāricakā be suciya dānā*. Taking *paricakā* in the sense of "circular panels (Skt. *paricakra*)" the above passage has been rendered as "the meritorious gift of two cross-bars with circular panels" (ibid). From the present inscription, it is clear that in the Amarāvati inscription also the intended reading is *paricāka* only and the above passage is to be taken in the sense of *deyadharmā-parityāgarūpe dve sūcī datte*.
 16. Cf. the Hindi *pīcha* 'hind part'.
 17. Cf. *paṭipoga* (Skt. *pratibhoga*) of the Lauriya Arārāj Edict of Aśoka. This kind of change is probably due to assimilation. Cf. Dr. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 144, f.n.

singular *ṣe* (Prākṛt *se*¹⁸ Skt. *tasya* or *asya*) and the forms of Indeclinables *cā* (Skt. *ca*) and *ata*¹⁹ (Prākṛt, Pāli and Skt. *atra*) are also found here. A grammatical irregularity may be found in the construction *Kāhāpanāna ca purāna-sahasam* (line 13), where the adjective *kāhāpanāna* qualifies, by a relation of non-difference (*abhedānvaya*), the first part of the following compound, viz., *purāna* of *purānasahasam*. But this kind of irregular compound is at times found in early inscriptions.²⁰ The words *gāvi*²¹ (Skt. *gauḥ*) used in the sense of 'cow' (line 8); *kubhikaḍāha* (Skt. *kumbhi-kaṭāha*) probably denoting, as we shall see later, a boiler-like big vessel used for storing grains (line 10); *abhikāra* (line 11) used as a synonym of *ākāra*²² 'shape' or 'form' and *dattī* (Skt. *dattī*) 'gift' (line 5), used in Neuter Gender may be of lexical interest.

The available part of the record consists of some short and long sentences eight in number. All recording several gifts by different individuals. The partly preserved first sentence (lines 1-2), which perhaps originally preceded by an auspicious symbol or words, now lost, records the gift of a monastery (*vihāra*) together with a garden (*sarāma*). The donor of this gift is described in three words. Of them, the first word has suffered damage in its first letter while the third word is preserved only in its first two letters of which also only the lower parts are available. Yet, a close examination of the facsimile and the photograph would show that most probably the first word is [*Ai*]lāsa as suggested by the noted

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18. For *ṣ* substituting *s* in Buddhist Sanskrit, see F. Edgerton *Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Grammar and Dict.* Vol. I, p. 19, para. 2, f.n. In the Bhaṭṭiprolu (Guntur district) Buddhist casket inscription (3rd or 2nd Century B.C.), we have *Ṣamuda* (Skt. *Samudra*) and *Ṣamaṇadāṣa* (Skt. *Śramaṇadāsa*). See *EI.*, Vol. II, p. 327, No. III; p. 328, No. VIII. According to the rule *tado naṣā se vā striyām api* (the *Prākṛtprākāśa*, V, 57), *se* is the Genitive Singular of the *tad* and *etad* stems in all the three genders. For the use of *se* in the sense of *asya* see e.g. the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (M. Williams' ed, 1961, pp. 44, 115; etc.). Again *se* is used more than once in the sense of *tasya* or *asya* in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions (see *EI.*, vol. XX, p. 22, inscription F). According to Pleschel, *se* is from *sa-*stem and it is on analogy of *te* and *me* (*Grammatic der Prākṛt*, para. 423).
19. For the Prākṛt *cā* (Skt. *ca*) see the Aśokan Edicts, for instance the Erragudi (Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh) Minor Rock Edict *EI.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 7, text line 16. Similarly it is also not unlikely that *ata* here is a synonym of the Pāli *ato*, Skt. *ataḥ* 'further'.
20. Cf. e.g. *mahākṣatrapasya svāmi-Rudradāma-putrasya rājño kṣatrapasya svāmi-Rudrasihasya* in the Guṇḍa inscription of Rudrasimha I, year 108 (*EI.*, Vol. XVI, p. 235, text lines 2-3), where *mahākṣatrapasya* is to be construed by *abhedānvaya* with a *vṛtṭyekadeśa*, viz., the word *Rudradāman*. Cf. note 57 below.
21. *Gāvi* is also found in the Nānāghāṭ inscription (See *Arch. Surv. of W. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60, No. II). In his *Mahābhāṣya* (NSP. Ed., Vol. I, 1938, p. 31), Patañjali includes *gāvi* in the list of corrupt forms of *gauḥ*.
22. Cf. e.g. *abhiharati* and *āharati* both meaning 'fetches, brings'.

epigraphists, C.R. Krishnamacharlu and K.N. Dikshit to K. Gopalachari who accepted that reading.²³ Hence this word as read now would suggest that the present donor belonged to the family called Aila. This name *Aila* is evidently another form of *Aira*, the name of the family to which belonged the Cedi kings Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela of the Hāthigumpha inscription,²⁴ Mahāmeghavāhana Vakadepasiri of the Mañichapurigumpha inscription,²⁵ and Mānasada of the Velpūru inscription referred to earlier. The partly preserved two letters of the third word may be read as *Ce[ti]*.²⁶ We know already from the said Hāthigumpha inscription that *Ceti* (=Skt. *Cedi*) is another name of the Aira family. Thus from what we have seen so far, we may conclude that the present donor was most probably a king belonging to the Aila, otherwise known as Cedi Mahāmeghavāhana family. The second word which is fully preserved reads *Maḍavasa* corresponding to the Sanskrit *Māḍavyasa*. The word *Māḍavya* may be a *gotra* name of the Cedi king who was the donor²⁷ However, it is difficult to be sure whether the mutilated portion of the first sentence originally contained a personal name of the donor other than Māḍavya. Hence we may not be wrong if we take provisionally Māḍavya itself as a personal name of the royal donor in question.²⁸

The partly preserved second sentence in our inscription (lines 3-4) records the gift of some cultivable land (*khetā*) containing in it clusters of bamboo,²⁹ by certain individual named Sāra. The names of this *khetā* is almost lost. It was situated on the boundary (*simāya*)³⁰ of a locality, the name of which is not fully available. The third sentence (lines 4-5) and probably the next one also (lines 5-6), both not available in full, record some royal gifts (*rājadati*) of lands. The gift-land of the former sentence was situated on the outskirts of the place called

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23. Op. cit., pp. Xii and 89. The reading *Ailasa* may get some strength also from the third word *Ceti*, another name of the Aila (or Aira) family.
 24. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 79 ff., particularly p. 79, text line 1.
 25. Lüders, op. cit., No. 1347.
 26. This restoration may be supported by the reading *Aila* of the first word. (See above f.n. 23). The third word might have been *Cetisa* or *Cetirājasa* in the original.
 27. The *Gotrapravara-nibandha-kadamba* mentions Māḍavya under the Bhrgus. It may be observed that the Aira king Mānasada of the Velpūru record, referred to earlier, claims Gālaveyagotra for himself.
 28. K. Gopalachari does not appear to be correct (op. cit. p. 89) when he says that the king of the record, out of modesty, had omitted his name.
 29. I.e. *vetara-kula* Skt. *vetrakula*, Cf. *mitara*, Skt. *mitra* in the Karadh Cave inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 89, No. 6, line 2). Of this change there are many parallels in the Prākṛt records.
 30. Cf. *nagara-sīme rājakam khetam* etc., in the Nāsik inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, year 24 (*EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 4).

Pāpikala and its extent was measured in *nivarttanas*. But the word giving the number of that land-measure is lost. The gift land of the fourth sentence measured thirty-two *nivarttanas* and it was situated somewhere on the boundary of a place i.e., a village, the name of which, not fully preserved, ended in *-paḍa*. This village was included in the district (*raṭha* = Skt. *rāṣṭra*) named *Macha* (Skt. *Matsya*). The fifth sentence (lines 7-8) registers a gift of twenty-four *nivarttanas* of land somewhere on the outskirts of the locality called Airapura. The name of the donor of this gift, only partly preserved, reads ... *ḍala*.

The sixth sentence (lines 8-14), the longest in the record, enumerates the gifts made by an official, designated as *mahātalavara*. But his personal name is not given. The list of his gifts includes five hundred cows; sixty-four bullock-carts; female and male menial servants, numbering four; *kubhi-kaḍāhas* again four in number; two boilers of copper (*lohiya*);³¹ four vessels of brass or bell-metal; some (number not specified) cups fashioned like the silurus or sheath-fish (*vadālābhikāra*) and some (again number not specified) *yonaka-divikas* or the lamps of the Greeks or the Romans.³² The list of the gifts made by the above *mahātalavara* further includes a tank, excavated somewhere in the hind part (*pica-pāka*) of the hill Ataragiri (Skt. *Antaragiri*); and a permanent endowment of one thousand coins called *kārsāpaṇa-purāṇas*. The four servants of the above list of gifts are described in the passage *pesarupāni dāsi-dāsasa caīali*. It may be noted that both *pesu* (Skt. *preṣya*) and *dāsa* can be taken as synonyms meaning 'menial servants'. But here in order to avoid an unnecessary and clumsy repetition, the expression *dāsi-dāsa* may better be understood in the equally well-known sense of 'female and male slaves'. Thus the passage in question may suggest that some four slaves of both the sexes were gifted as menials. The expression *kubhi-kaḍāha* may be, like *dāsi-dāsa*, a *Dvandva* compound and may hence mean 'small pots and boilers'.³³ However, as in the case of other vessels in the list of gifts one may normally expect

31. *Loha* means 'metal' in general and 'copper' in particular. However, as the author of the record seems to be anxious to specify the materials out of which the gift vessels were made, the latter sense may be preferred. Dr. D.C. Sircar (op. cit. p. 330) is inclined to take the word in the sense of 'iron'. But the word seems to have been used in that case in the later period, both in Sanskrit and in Pāli. See *Buddhist Studies* (Ed. B.C. Law), p. 436, f.n.; and M. Williams, *Skt. Eng. Dict.* (2nd Ed.), s.v.

32. K.N. Dikshit seems to have explained to Dr. Sircar the passage under question as 'lamps of the shape of the mouth of a *vadāla*-fish, manufactured by the *Yavanas*' (D.C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 330, f.n.). The other explanation offered in this connection is 'some hand-lamps of *vadāla* fish-shape and *Yonaka* lamps, (K. Gopalaehari, op. cit. p. 89). See below, for another possible explanation of the passage in question.

33. Cf. *ghaṭi-kaḍāha* of the *Vinayapitaka* (PTS Ed. Vol. II, p. 115).

here too a mention of the material out of which these vessels were made. Hence it is likely that *kubhi-kaḍāha* is used here as a *Karmadhāraya* in the sense of “potters’ product” or “(vessel) made of earth”.³⁴ But why should the gift of ordinary earthen wares, only four in number, are to be included in the list of gifts of much higher value? Our above two explanations may not provide an answer to this pertinent question. Hence *kubhi* may be equated with the Skt. *kumbhī* which Patañjali has employed in the sense of a big jar of that name used for storing grains³⁵ This storing jar was called *kumbhī* perhaps because it could hold one *kumbha* (a capacity measure) of grains which is equal to twenty *droṇas*, as stated in the *Kauṣīliya Arthasāstra*.³⁶ As some cultivable lands had been gifted, it is natural that the donor donated four *kubhi-kaḍāhas* (also included this important gift in the list), by way of making necessary arrangement for the storage of grains produced in these lands. Basing on the word *kubhi*, we may believe, as we have already pointed out, that these jars were made of clay.³⁷

The seventh sentence (lines 15-16) records the gift of twenty-five *nivartanas* of land by the same *viz.*, the *mahātalaṅgava*, mentioned in the previous sentence. But here in making this gift he was associated with his wife, children and grandchildren. The situation of this gift-land is indicated by the expression *ata ṣe utara-pase* (Skt. *atra [eva i e. Antaragīrau] asya [i e. taṭākasya] uttara-pārśve*) meaning ‘here (on the Antargiri itself) on the northern side of this (tank i e., the one mentioned in the previous sentence)’. The eighth or the last sentence is only partly preserved (line 17). It refers to the school (*nigāya*) of the venerable monks of the Pūrvaśāilīya sect. Obviously it is in favour of this school of monks that the above donations, mentioned in the previous seven sentences, were made.

The above analysis of the contents of the record would show that the present inscription contains no reference either to *Jayadharāma-parichā* interpreted as “desire for conquest by means of preaching the *dhamma* of the Buddhists”, or to the *Cāradharma* taken to mean “duties of spies”. Therefore there is no justification for the view “that the object of the inscription is the establishment of the institution of the ascetic spies as a means to conquest by law of piety and to the ascertain-

34. Cf. *kumbhūpama* of the *Dhammapada* (PTS Ed., verse 40) of which the word *kumbha* has been explained by the commentators as *kulāla-bhājana* ‘vessel made by potter, i.e. earthen vessel’.

35. Cf. *kumbhī-dhānyaḥ śrotriyaḥ* of the *Mahābhāṣya* on the *vārttika* 5 under the rule *cuṭū* of Pāṇini, I, iii, 7.

36. Shama Sastri’s Ed. (1909), p. 105. Now *kubhi-kaḍāha* again a *Karmadhāraya*, may mean ‘big vessel known as *kumbhī* (*kumbhy-ātmakaḥ kaḍāhaḥ*) or ‘big vessel with a capacity equal to a *kumbhī* (i.e. *kumbha*).

37. Even now the grains are stored in big earthen jars in Indian villages.

ment of reliable information about the conduct of the good and the wicked". Similarly there is no reference in the record to a donor named Sana, alleged to be a king of the Āyis.³⁸

The importance of the record is manifold. We have got only a limited number of epigraphs from the Eastern Deccan assignable to the first and second centuries of the Christian era, and their texts are also not as lengthy as that of the present inscription. Again, our record is one of a very small number of epigraphs of the Cedi Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty. So the Allūru record is of considerable interest from the point of study of the language and history of the area and of the age.

The importance of the record for the study of the history of South Indian Buddhism has already been referred to by scholars. It is almost the earliest of the known inscriptions that refer to the school of the Pūrvaśailīya monks,³⁹ a school which is referred to in the Pāli chronicles.⁴⁰ With some amount of reservation Dr. Vogel suggested that the Buddhist sects known as Pūrvaśailīyas and Aparāśailīyas probably "originated from the two Buddhist convents of the Pubbasela and Aparasela, which, according to Hiuen-Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital Dhaññakāṭaka".⁴¹ Further, that the institution of slavery was in vogue in the area during the age in question and that the gift of slaves was made to a Buddhist monastery of the period provide also interesting information given by the Allūru inscription.

The reference to the lamps of the Yonakas (Skt. *Yavanakas*) and to the cups shaped like sheath-fish is also quite interesting. It is usually believed that as late as the early centuries of the Christian era, the word *Yavana* meant, to an Indian, the Greeks only, though in subsequent ages it was used as a synonym of *mleccha* and indicated any foreigner.⁴² However Shri. M. N. Deshpande, the present Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, has drawn our attention to some lamps of Roman imitation found at Ter, Osmanabad district, Maharashtra.⁴³ On my request the above scholar was good enough to send me an extract of his paper published elsewhere,⁴⁴ together with photographs of some terracotta lamps⁴⁵ unearthed at Ter, one among them being

38. Cf Shama Sastri: op. cit., pp. 49-50; Dr. D.C Sircar: op. cit., pp. 329-30.

39. *An Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, op. cit., p. 97; Dr. D C. Sircar: op. cit. p. 330.

40. *EI.*, Vol. XX, p. 10-11.

41. *ibid.*

42. M Williams: op. cit., s.v.; *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. R.C. Majumdar etc., Bombay, 1951), p. 101.

43. *Lalit kala*, No. 10 (Oct. 1961), p. 56.

44. i e. in *Le Rayonnement Des Civilisations Grecque Et Romain Sur Les Cultures Peripheriques*, Paris (Ed. E. de Boccards), 1965.

45. For this help I am beholden to this scholar.



BUDDHA'S MARBLE STATUE FROM ALLURU

*By Courtesy of the Municipal Museum
Vijayawada*



TERRALOTTA LAMP FASHIONED AFTER FISH (FROM TER)

*By Courtesy of Archaeological
Survey of India*

fashioned after the human head and the other after a fish. These lamps, according to Shri Deshpande reflect Roman influence. A Roman lamp of the second century A.D. has been unearthed in Arikamedu (near Pondicherry) also.⁴⁶ In Allūru itself an image of the standing Buddha dressed after the Roman fashion (i.e. in toga) has been found.⁴⁷ Hence it would appear that even in the early centuries of the Christian era there was a strong Roman influence in the Eastern Deccan. Hence the word *Yonaka* of the Allūru inscription may signify the Romans as well. At any rate, ours is almost the earliest record of the Eastern Deccan to speak of the Graeco-Roman influence, though we have many early records from the caves of the western Deccan referring to the Yavanas,⁴⁸ and though the visit of the *Yonarājis* (Skt. *Yavana-rājis*) or rows of the Yavana (soldiers) of Saṃjayapurī to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa area (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh) in subsequent ages seems to have been mentioned in the inscription of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa⁴⁹ from that locality. Scholars also trace the Graeco-Roman influence in the sculptures from Amarāvati⁵⁰ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁵¹ Further in view of the above facts and in view of the Graeco-Roman lamps at Ter, shaped like a fish, one may also suggest that the concerned passage of the Allūru inscription actually intends to convey the meaning 'some *Yonaka* lamps with cups (i.e. oil-container) shaped like sheath-fish' (*vāḍāl-ābhikāra-karoḍiyo Yonaka-divikāyo*, i.e. Skt. *vadālākāra-karoḍayo Yāvanaka-dipikāh*).

Our record is silent about the material with which the lamps were made. However, it may be surmised that just like the lamps from Ter, mentioned above, the lamps under question had also been made of terracotta only. The name *Yonaka-divikā* may signify that the lamps were either manufactured in, and imported from the Yavana country or from a Yavana settlement like Saṃjayapurī in India itself⁵² or made locally on the model of the Yavana lamps.

46. *Ancient India*, No. 2 (July 1946), p. 101.

47. This Buddha image is preserved in the Municipal Museum in Vijayawada.

48. Luders: op. cit. nos. 965, 1093, 1123, 1140, 1154, 1156, 1182, etc.

49. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 202, text line 2. In another inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa assignable to the third century A.D. the Buddhist teachers of the Theravāda school are described to have converted to Buddhism the people of many countries including that of the Yavanas. See *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 247 ff.

50. K. Gopalachari: op. cit. p. 96.

51. *A Comprehensive Hist. of India*, Vol. II (Ed. K.A.N. Sastri. Orient Longmans, 1957) p. 755.

52. See above f.n. 49. The list of articles that had been transported from the Western countries to the Eastern coastal region of India, included lamps also. See *Ancient India*, op.cit., p. 18.

The reference to the coins known as *Kārṣāpaṇa-purāṇas* in the present epigraph is also a striking point for the students of ancient Indian numismatics. The name of the coin reminds us of the Pāli expression *porāṇasa Nilakahāpaṇasa*⁵³ in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* of Buddhaghōṣa, a contemporary of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 413-35). In that passage the adjective *porāṇa* (Skt. *purāṇa* literally 'ancient') has been applied to the *nilakahāpaṇa* (Skt. *nilakārṣāpaṇa*) coin perhaps to distinguish it from the Rudradāmaka coin evidently of the later days. No doubt Buddhaghōṣa's commentators, like Sāriputta etc., of the subsequent period explain the word *porāṇa* as *porāṇa-sattānurūpa-lakhaṇa-sampannā uppādita*⁵⁴ (Skt. *purāṇa-śāstrānurūpa-lakṣaṇa-sampannā utpāditaḥ*) meaning 'manufactured with the special characteristic marks following the ancient treatise (on numismatics)'. However, the modern researchers are of the opinion that *purāṇa* and *nilakārṣāpaṇa* are but two different names of one and the same class of the punch-marked silver coins.⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that by using *kahāpaṇa* to qualify *purāṇa*, by *abhedānvaya*, the Alluru inscription seems to testify the correctness of the contention of the modern scholars.

The adjective *nīla* applied by Buddhaghōṣa to the *purāṇa-kārṣāpaṇa* is absent in our record. It is again interesting to observe that the punch-marked silver coins are called simply as *kahāpaṇa* in the *Piṭakas* and that at a later period only the epithet *nīla* came to be applied to these coins when they had accumulated verdigris deposit on them through oxidization on account of long passage of time.⁵⁶

Further, the term *purāṇa* 'old' is used in connection with the *kahāpaṇa* in our record evidently to differentiate it from the new *kahāpaṇas*.⁵⁷ Therefore it may suggest that both the old and the new *kahāpaṇas* were in circulation in the area and during the period to which the Allūru record belongs. There is yet another probability. The Nānāghāt inscription of Nāgaṇikā,⁵⁸ the Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadata,⁵⁹ and the inscriptions of the subsequent period from the Western Deccan,⁶⁰

53. For complete quotation of the passage under question see *Buddhistic Studies* (op.cit.) p. 384.

54. For more and fuller quotations see *ibid.* pp. 385 ff.

55. *ibid.* p. 447; Dr. D.C. Sircar: *Studies in Indian Coins* (1968), p. 99.

56. *Journ. U P. Hist. Society*, Vol. VI (1933) p. 167; Dr. D.C. Sircar: *Studies etc.*, p. 99.

57. It is also probable that the intended meaning of the passage in question is 'one thousand of the Purāṇas' or 'the ancient (ones) among the *kārṣāpaṇas*' (*kārṣāpaṇānām madhye ye purāṇaḥ, teṣām sahasram*). In this sense there is no need for us to assume an *abhedānvaya* of *kahāpaṇa* with *purāṇa* in our record.

58. *op.cit.*

59. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 78 ff.

60. *ibid.* pp. 88, 90, etc.

speak of *kārṣāpaṇas* but do not apply to them the term *purāṇa*. At the same time it is known that there had been two varieties of *kārṣāpaṇas*, one made of silver and the other made of copper, and that the former had the name *purāṇa* also, while the latter did not.⁶¹ Hence by using the term *purāṇa* does the Allūru epigraph intend the silver *kārṣāpaṇas* as distinguished from the copper ones, probably mentioned in the inscriptions from the Western Deccan referred to above? Any way our inscription is very probably the earliest among the known epigraphs to speak of the *Kārṣāpaṇa-purāṇas*.

The Allūru record is important also for the study of political history of the Andhra country. We know already that the Airas otherwise known as Cedis were occupying the region comprising the West Godavari district, eastern part of the Krishna district and the Guntur district during the early centuries of the Christian era.⁶² The present Allūru record shows that the western part of the Krishna district was also under the Cedi or Aila rule. In fact the Aila penetration into further west seems to be suggested by the name *Eleśvaram* of a village near the western boundary of the Nalgonda district which is on the western neighbourhood of the Krishna district. For, that name is to be traced from the Sanskrit *Aileśvara* denoting a form of Śiva i.e. most probably a *liṅga* set up by one Aila,⁶³ who, on the basis of what we have studied above, may have to be identified with one or the other ruler of the Aila or Cedi dynasty. Further the palaeography of all the known Aila inscriptions from the Eastern Andhra points to a period earlier than that of the Sātavāhana records from the same region. Hence one may conclude that the Sātavāhanas succeeded the Ailas in the region some time in the middle of the second century A.D.

Another interesting item to be noted in our record is the use of the form *Aila* in preference to *Aira* which is found in the Hāthigumpha inscriptions etc., referred to above. Some scholars hold that *Aira* is an equivalent of another Prākṛtic title *Ajira* (Skt. *Ārya*) meaning 'noble'.⁶⁴ Consequently it is concluded that this title of the Cedi kings signifies the

61. Repson: *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. cl, xxviii.

62. For a detailed discussion on this point see S. Sankaranarayanan: *Chedi Rule in Andhra* in *The Karanatak Historical Review*, Vol. III, (1977), pp. 34 ff.

63. A.P. Govt. Arch Series No. XIV (*A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavation*) pp. 2-3. In fact in some of the Purāṇa manuscripts the Prākṛtic form *Ela* is found in the place of its Skt. equivalent *Aila*. See Pargiter: *Puranic Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 2. In this connection it is interesting to note that M. Williams (op. cit. s. v. *Maṇḍavya*) refers to a *liṅga* called *Māṇḍavyeśvara*, which, as the name indicates, must have been installed by one who was a namesake of the Aila king of the present record, viz. *Māṇḍavya*.

64. Luders: op. cit., Nos. 1345, 1347.

Āryan origin of their family, established in the land of the non-Āryans,⁶⁵ viz., the Kalinga country. As against this, another set of scholars suggest that the form *Aira* stands for the Sanskrit *Aila* which is used in the Purāṇas to denote a branch of the Pauravas of the lunar race.⁶⁶ Now our present inscription clearly distinguishes *Aila* (line 1) from *Ayira* (Skt. *Ārya*) (line 13) and thus it seems to support the second view. It may also be of some interest to note that while the Ailas and the Ikṣvākus find mention in the Purāṇas side by side,⁶⁷ the epigraphs show that the kings who styled themselves as Ailas and Ikṣvākus held sway over the Krishna-Guntur region of Andhra one after the other, of course with a break by the Sātavāhana rule in between. Most probably the said royal families known from the epigraphs claimed their origin from their respective Purāṇic namesake.

Among the name of the geographical units occurring in the present record only those of the localities Pāpikala, Airapura, and Macha-raṭha and of the hill Antaragiri are fully preserved. Of these, Pāpikala has been identified with the modern village Pākarela or Pakarela in the Gudivada taluk, Krishna district.⁶⁸ K. Gopalachari opined⁶⁹ that Pāpikala may be identical with Pāpila mentioned in an Ikṣvāku inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁷⁰ The name Airapura seems to suggest that it was a city most probably founded by king of the Aira family to which the king Māṇḍavya too belonged. This place may be identified either with Ailuru in Gudivada taluk, Krishna district or with Allūru, the find spot of the inscription under study. The name Macharaṭha or Macha district reminds us of the modern name Masūlipaṭṇam, more popularly known as Machilipatṇam on the coastal side of the Krishna district. It may be noted that the Machilipatṇam region had been under the sway of the Cedi king Khāravela and it had been referred to as 'a land of Maisoli' by Ptolemy.⁷¹ The name Ataragiri (Skt. *Antaragiri*) 'Middle Hill', if viewed along with the names Puvaseḷa 'Eastern Hill' and Avaraseḷa 'Western Hill' may suggest that the first one also, just like the other two, had something to do with Dhañṅakaḍa.⁷²

The text of the record together with its Sanskrit *chāyā* and an English translation is given below.

65. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, op. cit., p. 212.

66. Pargiter: op. cit., p. 2.; *El.*, Vol. XX, p. 80; *A Comprehensive Hist. of India.*, op. cit., pp. 111-12.

67. Pargiter: op. cit., *ibid.*

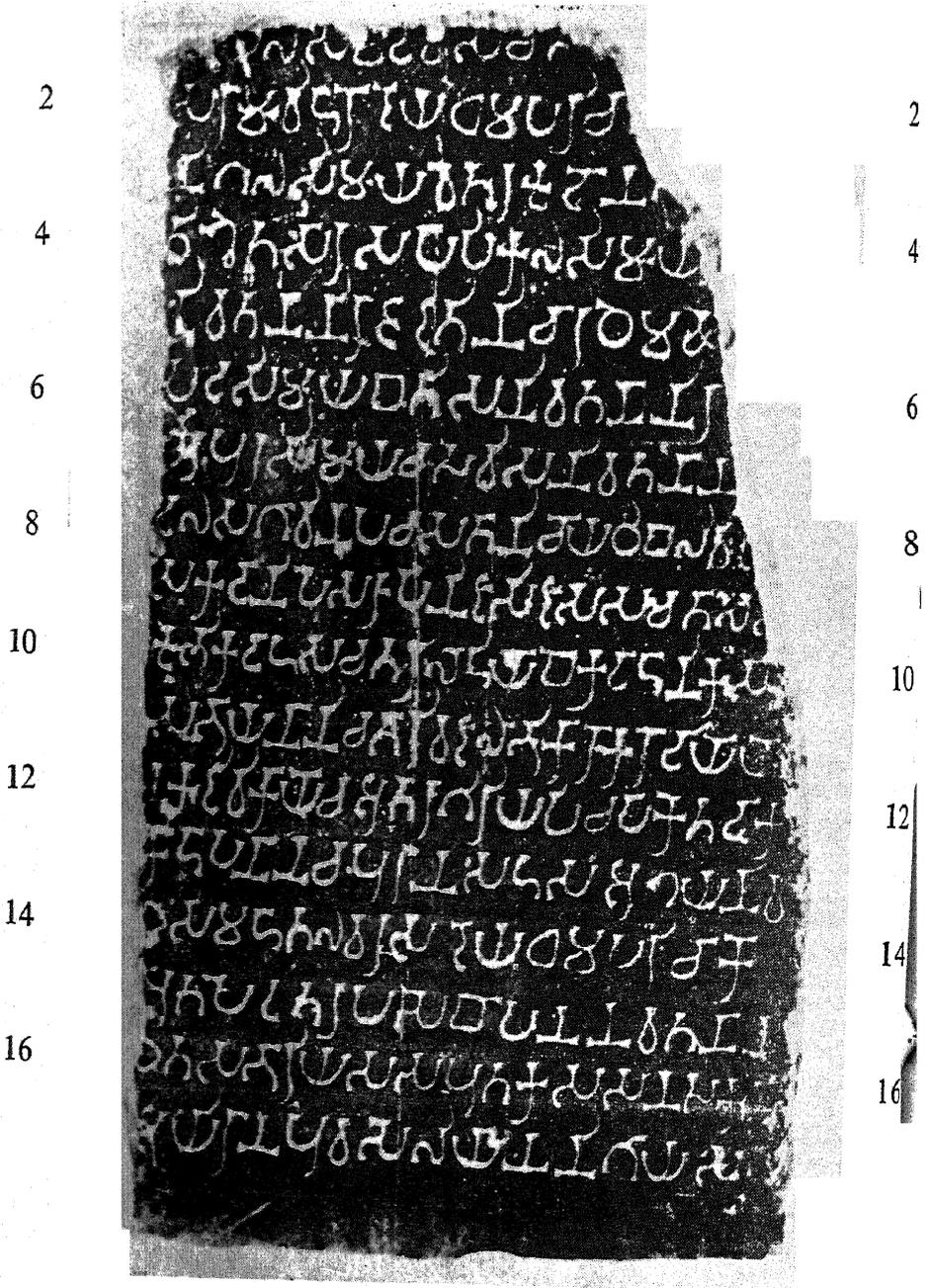
68. *An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epigraphy*, op. cit., p. 97.

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 142 f.n.

70. *El.*, Vol. XX, p. 22, Inscription F, line 3.

71. S. Sankaranarayanan: op. cit., *ibid.*

72. See above.



BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM ALLURU

*By Courtesy of Archaeological
Survey of India*

TEXT⁷³

1.[ऐलस] मडवस चे[ति]⁷⁴....
2. सरामो⁷⁵ विहारो देयधमपरिचा⁷⁶....[]
3. निगलसिमाय वेतरकुळो⁷⁷ न⁷⁸....
4. तिखेत सारस⁷⁹[] पापिकलसिमाय....⁸⁰
5. निवतनानि राजदतिनि च[] रठे मठे....⁸¹
6. पडसिमाय [वा]तिसनिवतनानि रा....⁸²[]
7. ⁸³ऐरपुरसिमाय चतुविसनिवतनानि....⁸⁴
8. डलस[] गाविन पच सतानि चोयठी बलिव....⁸⁵

73. From photographs and the facsimile facing p. 97 in the *An. Report on S. Ind. Epigraphy* for 1923-24.
74. Only the lower part of *ta* is visible. After this three or four letters seem to have been lost. Most probably the original expression was *Cetisa* or *Cetirājasa*. Cf. the Hāthigumpha inscription, line 1.
75. Dr. Shama Sastry split *sa rāmo*, corrected the second word into *rāmā*, and interpreted it as "magnificent". Hereinafter only a few (not all) important faulty readings of Dr. Sastry are noted by us.
76. After this, four letters seem to have been lost of which the first is obviously *ko*. Cf. line 14. But Dr. Sastry read here *jayadhama-paricā*, took it for the Sanskrit *jayadhama-paricchā* in the sense of "desire for conquest by means of preaching the *dharmā* of the Buddhists".
77. I.e. *Sa-vetara-kulo*. Of course it is not unlikely that gift recorded here in this sentence consisted of a cluster of bamboos and a *ksetra*. But the absence of *ca* after *kheta* seems to suggest that the expression *vetara-kula* is an adjective.
78. The four or five letters that might have been lost here, probably contained the name of *kheta* or land donated.
79. The expression *deya-dhama-paricāko* of the previous sentence is obviously supposed to follow here. Dr. Sastry however read here *sarasa* and took it in the sense of "fertile".
80. The letters that are lost here must have given the number of the *nivartanas* donated in the village.
81. The letters that are lost here are difficult to restore. But there can hardly be any doubt that they formed part of the name of the *paḍa* (Skt. *pāṭa*) or village in which 32 *nivartanas* of land were donated. Dr. Sastry read here *rāja-jatini* and *cāradhama* and took them respectively in the sense of "most fertile" and "the duty of spies".
82. The letters that are lost here may be restored as *rājadatini* Cf. in line 5 above.
83. It is possible to read this name as *Cerapura* meaning a city of the Cera (kings). But that is highly improbable in the present record found in Andhra i.e. far away from the land the Ceras viz., the Kerala country.
84. The letters that are lost here are difficult to restore. But it is obvious that they formed the first part of a personal name ending in *ḍala*.
85. Evidently the original had *balivaḍāna* here.

9. सकडानि⁸⁶ पेसरूपानि दासिदासस चतालि....⁸⁷
10. कुभिकडाहस चतारि लोहियो⁸⁸ कडाहानि कंस—
11. स भायनानि चतारि वदालाभिकारो करोडियो⁸⁹ यो—
12. नकदिविकायो⁹⁰ च अतरगिरिय पिचपाके तळाक
13. काहापनान च पुरानसहस अखयनिवी
14. एस महातलवरस देयधमपरिचाको[1]
15. अत पे उतरपसे⁹¹ वापननिवतनानि
16. एतस [स]भारियस सपुतकस सनतुकस[1]
17. अयिरान⁹² पूवसेलियान निगायस⁹³

TEXT SANSKRITISED

1. ऐलस्य माण्डव्यस्य चेति[कराजस्य]
2. सारामो विहारो देयधर्मपरित्यागः ।....
3. निगलसीमायां सवेत्रकुलं न....
4. तिक्षेत्रं सारस्य । पापिकलसीमायां....
5. निवर्तनानि राजदत्तानि (i.e. दत्तानि) च । राष्ट्रे मत्स्ये....
6. पाटसीमायां द्वात्रिंशच्चिर्वर्तनानि राज्ञः ।
7. ऐरपुरसीमायां चतुर्विंशच्चिर्वर्तनानि....

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86. Here Dr. Sastry read *pasarūpāni jaśa jāsa*, took the expression for the Sanskrit *spaśa-rūpāni yāśya yāśya* and interpreted it as “disguises of spies whose”.
 87. The single letter that is lost here is no doubt *ca* of which the lower part is visible.
 88. Dr. Sastry read *lahiya* and took it for the Sanskrit *laghīya* “smaller”.
 89. Probably – *ūbhikūra-karoḍiyo* is intended. See above.
 90. Dr. Sastry interpreted the lines 11–12 as “For the purpose of collecting taxes and other income (*karādāya*) in the form of diamond (*va ja* Skt. *vajra*) from the mines (*ākara*) and also for the subsistence (*jīvikāya*) of the workmen (*raka* i.e. *kāraka?*) etc. are granted the mine called Picapāka” etc.
 91. Dr. Sastry somehow read here *to Tapetatarapasa* and took *Tapetatarapa* for a personal name of Sana supposed to have been mentioned in the record. See below. On the other hand K. Gopalachari read *ata Pedatarapase* and left it unexplained.
 92. Dr. Sastry read here *Sanasa kata Ayirana* and interpreted it as “made by Sana, the king of Āyis”. According to him *Ayirana* is an equivalent of the Skt. *Āyirā jasya*.
 93. Rest of the record is not traceable. An expression like *parigahe savam datam*. Cf. *Āparamahāvīnaseliyūnam parigahe savaniyutam yatithāpitam* in a Nāgārjunakonda inscription (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 21, inscription E, line 2)

8. ण्डलस्य । गवां पञ्च शतानि चतुःषष्टिः बलीपर्दानां
9. शकटानि प्रेष्यरूपाणि दासीदासस्य (i.e. दासानां) चत्वारि (i.e. चतुष्टयम्)
10. कुम्भीकटाहस्य चत्वारि (i.e. कटाहानां चतुष्टयम्) लोहीयौ (लोहमयौ) द्वौ कटाहौ कांस्य --
11. स्य भाजनानि चत्वारि वादालाभिकार-करोटयो याव-
12. नकदीपिकाश्च अन्तरगिरौ पृष्ठभागे तटाकः
13. कार्षापणानां च पुराणसहस्रम् अक्षयनीवि
14. एष (i.e. एते)⁹⁴ महातलवरस्य देयधर्मपरित्यागः ।
15. अत्र (or अतः) अस्य (or तस्य) उत्तरपार्श्वे द्विपञ्चाशन्निवर्तनानि
16. एतस्य सभार्यस्य सपुत्रकस्य सनप्तृकस्य ।
17. आर्याणां पूर्वशैलीयानां निकायस्य [परिग्रहे सर्वं दत्तम् ।]

TRANSLATION

The monastery with a garden (*is*) the gift⁹⁵ of Māṇḍavya, (*the king*) of the Cedi family (and) of the Aila clan. A field (*named*) na ... ti with clusters of bamboos (*located*) on the outskirts of .. nigala (*is the gift*) of ... āra ... *nivarttanās* (*of a field*) located on the boundary of Pāpikala are royal gifts. Also twenty-two *nivarttanās* on the outskirts of ... pāṭa (*included*); in the district of Matsya (*is the gift*) of the king. Twenty-four *nivarttanās* on the boundary of Airapura is (*the gift*) of ... ṇḍala. Five hundred cows; sixty-four bullock-carts; four female and male slaves (*as*) penials; four *kubhi-kaḍāhas*; two copper boilers; four vessels of bell-metal; *Yāvanaka*-lamps with (*oil*) receptacles of the shape of the *vadāla* (*fish*); a tank on the hind part of the Antaragiri and a permanent endowment of one thousand *kāraṣāpaṇa-purāṇas*; (all) are the gifts of the *śahātavalara*. Fifty-two *nivarttanās* (*of land*) there (*itself*) on its northern side (*is the gift*) of the same associated with (*his*) wife, children and grand-children. (*All these are gifted*) for the enjoyment of the venerable monks of the Pūrvaśailīya (school)

94. In Buddhist Sanskrit the Nominative Singular *eṣa* seems at times, to be used as Nominative Plural also. See Edgerton : op.cit., Vol. I. p. 115.

95. *Deya-dhama-paricāka* literally 'the act of sacrifice (*made*) according to the sacred principles of gifts'.

SIDDHESVARA TEMPLE AT TERALA

According to the *Aparājitaṭṭra*¹ and *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, the term *Phāṃsanā* denotes a temple form. The stepped pyramid super-structure form according to the text on Indian architecture is known as *Phāṃsanā*. In the archaeological literature it is referred as *Kadamba-tāgara*.² The temple belonging to this style is found at Terāla, Pal-tādu taluk, Andhra Pradesh. One can approach this temple across the quarries from the Macherla Railway Station.

At present this temple is buried upto the level of cornice. The fragments of the door-way and other architectural elements are found scattered in front of the temple.

On plan (*tālacchanda*), the temple consists of a *gūḍhamandapa* and an *antarāḷa* and a *garbhagrha*.³ The upper part of the *janḅhā* of the *garbhagrha* is only visible. The wall is devoid of niches. Just below the *Kapotapāli*, on the upper part of the wall, flying *gandharvas* are carved. The *Kapotapāli* is shaped into straight edged unlike the *kapota* of the other temples. The *Candraśālās* are carved at the regular intervals over the *Kapotapāli*.

The *sikhara* rises over a tall *kanṭhamauli* and consists of nine *bhūmis*. It is of a stepped pyramidal type and shows a slight curvature at the edges. The interesting feature of the *sikhara* is the employment of *madhyalaṭā*, in the middle portion on all sides. The *sikhara* otherwise is not relieved into recess and offsets as we find in the other *nāgara* *kharas*. The *madhyalaṭā* has a string of *udgamas* which is composed of

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1. Bhanudeva: *Aparājitaṭṭra*, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1950, *sūtra* 178.
 2. K.V. Soundara Rajan: *Early Temple Architecture in Karnataka and its Ramifications*, p. 11, p. 64.
 3. Since the temple is completely buried upto the level of cornice, we cannot give the plan in detail, and it is only a tentative plan.

candraśālās. The decoration of the *bhūmis* is also noteworthy. Each *bhūmi* in its *khaṇḍa* part is decorated with floral scrolls and shouldered arches separated by pilasters. The ornamentation, in the east face of the *śikhara* and its *bhūmis* shows three petalled in the triangular pattern. Another type of the ornamentation is the *mālā* decoration. These two types are alternatively employed in the *bhūmis*. Variation in the *mālā* decoration is observed throughout the *śikhara* in all the faces. They are simple garland motifs and Gherubus carrying the garlands. The *candraśālās* form the main element of the decoration in the *madhyalatā*. The *candraśālās* and the *udgamas* have human heads in their sockets. In the south face of the *śikhara*, *gandharvas* are shown in the *udgamas*. The west face of the *śikhara* also shows the similar decoration.

The *śikhara* is capped by the projecting *pidhānaphalaka* and followed by a short *gala* and a large *āmalaka* all carved. The *kalaśa* as the top element is completely missing.

The *antarāḷa* part of the temple is butted. The fragments of the door-way of the *gūḍhamandapa* are scattered on the ground. The door-way of this *mandapa* carries the *stambha*, *latā* and *patra-śākhās*. The *stambha śākhā* has an elongated bracket topped by *Laiṭna* model showing only *madhyalatā* element. *Laiśākhā* is fluently rendered in its sweep of the carve. Its foliage shows a shallow carving. The lintel portion of the door-way carries *Gaṇeśa*, *Umāmaheśvara*, *Śiva* and *Śiva* as *Yogīśvara* and *Viṣṇu*.

The plan of the temple in its element may be compared to the *Rāmalingeśvara* temple at Satyavolu⁴ and *Śiva* temple at Baṇḍatāṇḍrapāḍu. The *janḡha* of the temple carries the decoration of the *gandharvas* in the upper portion of the wall recalls the same as in the *nāgara* style of the temples at Mahākūṭa,⁵ Paṭṭadakal⁶ and Ālampūr.⁷ The carving of the *gandharvas* in the upper part of the wall along with *ghaṇṭāmālā* is a characteristic feature of the *nāgara* temples of all over the northern India and the Deccan. It is best seen in the temples at Ālampūr also. The feature of the *phāṃsanā-śikhara* reveals the resemblances of the same type of *śikharas* found at Aihole and Baṇḍatāṇḍrapāḍu. The presence of the *madhyalatā* element in this temple and at Baṇḍatāṇḍrapāḍu shows the changes in the evolution of the *phāṃsanā śikharas*. An examination of the *phāṃsanā* superstructural decorative features at Aihole.⁸

4. M. Rama Rao: *Early Chalukyan Temples of Andhradesa*, Hyderabad, 1965.

5. Stella Kramrisch: *The Art of India*, pl. 57.

6. Zimmer, H: *The Art of Indian Asia*, 1968, pl. 304.

7. M. Rama Rao: op. cit., pl. 50.

8. Stella Kramrisch: op. cit., pl. 58.

Mahākūṭa⁹ and other places reveal the practice of shouldered arch design and in the floral scrolls in the period. The extra decorative features which are noticed in the subjoined temple is probably a local phenomenon. Such a tendency in the matters of decoration of the superstructure is seen at Satyavolu in the Rāmalingeśvara temple. The decoration of the *śikhara* on its *bhūmis* shows several motifs such as *gandharvas* and seated lions. All the features show that the Siddheśvara temple at Terāla belongs to the late seventh or early eighth century A.D.

All the inscriptions¹⁰ that are available on the slabs lying near the temple refer to this temple as Siddheśvara temple. Of them, the earliest one dated A.D. 679 refers to the reign of *Sarvalokāśraya* Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana II of the Eastern Cālukya family. On this basis, we can surely fix the date of this temple to the period of Viṣṇuvardhana II. The origin of a *śikhara* capped by an *āmalaka* has already been traced to the early Cālukyas.¹¹

There is a beautiful *Mahiṣāsramardani* sculpture lying on the south face of the wall of the *garbhagṛha*. It may be the one of the sculptures of the temple. The description of the image is as follows:

It is of a four-handed variety. The upper right arm holds a *sūla* and lower right arm holds a *khaḍga*. The left upper arm possess a *kheṭaka* and left lower arm holds on the head of Mahiṣa. The ornamentation is as follows. *Jaṭāmakuṭa*, *Sarpakuṇḍalas* and small rope like necklace. The *ajñōpavīta* runs along the breast on to the right of the abdomen. The arving below the waist is mutilated.

ibid. pl. 57.

M. Somasekhara Sarma : *Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, 1973, pp. 1-2.

K.V. Soundara Rajan : *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi) p. 41.

SOME TELUGU PLACE-NAMES OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The place-names of any country or region deserve a detailed critical study as they reveal many aspects of human life of even remote past. Many a time place-names preserve facts of historical interest, which are not known through any other source. It is proposed in this paper to discuss some place-names of historical significance occurring in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh from the earliest to the thirteenth century.

The place-names of this group may broadly be divided as follows : (1) Places named after a dynasty, (2) Places named after a ruling king or his queen, or prince, (3) Places named after the epithets of the kings, (4) Places named after the subordinate chiefs, officials, relatives etc. of the kings and (5) Places named after official designation.

We find three place-names which owe their origin to the royal dynasties. They are Vāṇavrōlu (identical with modern Vānavōlu in Anantapur district), Vaidumbavrōlu (unidentified) and Ādavāni (modern Adoni, Kurnool district). Of these names, the first one, which occurs in the inscriptions of the tenth century, owes its name to the Bāṇa dynasty, the chiefs of which ruled over the region around Anantapur as subordinates of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi during the eighth century. The second one, Vaidumbavrōlu, also finds mention in the inscriptions of the tenth century and was obviously named after the Vaidumba dynasty, the chiefs of which ruled over the present Chittoor and Cuddapah regions during the ninth and tenth centuries. The place-name Ādavāni, referred to in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, probably owes its origin to the Yādava dynasty which flourished during that period.

The earliest occurrence of naming a town after a king or a chief in the Āndhra country can be dated back to about the third century B.C. The place-name Dhanadapura (modern Candavōlu, Guntur district), referred to in the inscriptions of the twelfth century; appears to have

been named after a chief called Dhanada. The Gaṇapavaram inscription, dated A.D. 1231, states that Dvīpa was populated by Dhanada in ancient times.¹ A king named Kubīraka is known from a Brāhmī inscription discovered at Bhaṭṭiprōlu.² *Dhanada* being a synonym of Kubera it may be presumed that it was Kuberaka who gave his name to Dhanadapura. Chronologically next place-name which owes its origin to a king is Vijayapurī, the famous Buddhist site and modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It appears to have been named after the Śātavāhana king Vijaya-Śātakarni (3rd century A.D.) who might have founded this city.³ Another such instance occurs during the period of the chiefs of Ānanda-gotra. The Maṭṭepāḍu plates⁴ of Dāmodaravarman (4th century A.D.) state that the king resided at Kāṇḍārapura which was obviously named after the king Kāṇḍāra, the founder of the Ānanda-gotra line of kings.

Subsequent to the chiefs of the Ānanda-gotra family it is the Eastern Cālukyan kings who contributed their names or epithets to the places. The village Sarvasiddhi (modern Sarvasiddhi, Visakhapatnam district) referred to in an inscription, dated A.D. 1135, seems to have been named after the title *Sarvasiddhi* of the Eastern Cālukya king either Jayasīma I or II⁵. The village Niravadyapura or Niravadyaprōlu (modern Niḍadavōlu, West Godavari district) seems to have been named after the epithet *Niravadya* of Jayasīma II. The Cellūru plates⁶ of the Coḷa prince Viracōḍa, dated A.D. 1143, refer to a village Kokkili-pūṇḍi. Though there is no direct evidence it may be presumed that this place might have been named after the Eastern Cālukya king Kokkili (A.D. 719). The village Śīlā⁷ (East Godavari district) owes its name to Śīlā, the queen of Viṣṇuvardhana V. Likewise the Bhīmaprōlu (modern Bhīmavaram near Sāmarlakōṭa, East Godavari district), also referred to as Cālukya-Bhīmapurī in inscriptions,⁸ owes its name to Cālukya Bhīma I. It is interesting, to note that the same village is also referred to as Rājanārāyaṇa Bhīmavaramu and Rājanārāyaṇapuramu in the inscriptions.⁹ *Rājanārāyaṇa* is one of the epithets of Rājarājānarendra and perhaps the place was given a new surname after his title. The place-name Mummaḍi Bhīmavaramu (modern Mummiḍivaram, East Godavari district) referred to in the twelfth century inscriptions¹⁰ owes its name to the epithet *Mummaḍi Bhīma* of Vimalāditya. The

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, (EI) Vol. III, pp. 82 ff.

2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 325.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273 ff.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.

5. N. Venkataramanayya: *The Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi*, pp. 64 and 70.

6. *Indian Antiquary (IA)*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff., *EI*, Vol. VII pp. 9-10.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)*, Vol. IV, No. 1214.

8. *ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 68 and 82.

9. *ibid.*, Nos. 62 and 66 respectively.

10. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1139; *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1139.

place-name Rājamahēndrapaṭṭaṇa (modern Rajahmundry, East Godavari district) occurring in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹¹ owes its origin to the epithet *Rājamahendra* of Rājarājānarendra.

A few inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D. refer to the village Tumbaḷam (modern Pedda or Chinna Tumbaḷam, Kurnool district) as Kīrtinārāyaṇapura.¹² We learn from inscriptions¹³ that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III had the title *Kīrtinārāyaṇa*. As the kingdom of this ruler is known to have extended over the Kurnool region,¹⁴ it can be presumed that the second name Kīrtinārāyaṇapura of Tumbaḷam owes its origin to this king's title.

As many as 21 place-names appear to have been named after the imperial Coḷa kings. Modern Nellūru is referred to in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with a second name Vikramasimhapura.¹⁵ *Vikramasimha* appears to be one of the titles of Parāntaka (A.D. 907-55)¹⁶ probably after which the second name Vikramasimhapura was given to Nellūru. Jananāthapuramu mentioned in the inscriptions of the twelfth century and identical with modern Drākṣārāma (East Godavari district)¹⁷ seems to have been named after the title *Jananātha* of the Coḷa king Rājarāja I. The Melpādi (Chittoor district) inscription¹⁸ of the same king dated A.D. 999, informs us that he cancelled the name Vīranārāyaṇapuram, borne by the village Melpādi and named it after his own epithet *Rājāśraya* as Rājāśrayapuram. Since it is known that *Vīranārāyaṇa* was one of the titles of the king Parāntaka I it is obvious that Melpādi was given another name Vīranārāyaṇapuram after this king which was subsequently cancelled by Rājarāja. Some other titles of Rājarāja were also given as second names to some villages. Kālahasti (Chittoor district) is referred to as Tirukkāḷātti *alias* Mummudiśoḷapuram in the inscriptions¹⁹ and the same Mummudiśoḷapuram owes its origin to the title Mummudiśoḷa. Two other villages Tummūru and Sullūrupēṭa (Nellore district) are referred to as Tumbaiyūr *alias* Jayaṅgaṇḍaśoḷa-caturvedimaṅgalam and

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11. *EL*, Vol. V, pp. 31 ff. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARE)*, 1957, No. B 10; *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society (JAHR)* Vol. II, pp. 156 ff.
 12. *SII*, Vol IX-1, Nos. 294 and 295.
 13. *IA*, Vol XII, p. 218; Yazdani (Ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 265.
 14. Yazdani (Ed.), *op. cit.*
 15. *Nellore District Inscriptions (NDI)*, Vol. II, pp. 833, 836, 838, 852, etc.
 16. *Annual Report on South India Epigraphy (ARSIE)*, 1911, Nos. 228, 278 and 279 *ibid.*, 1912, pt. 2, para 16.
 17. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 51; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1091 *ARE*, 1957, No. 139 *EL*, Vol. VI, pp. 334 ff., *ibid.*, Vol X, p. 71.
 18. *ARSIE*, 1920 No. 101; *ibid.*, 1921, pt. 2, para. 31.
 19. *ibid.*, 1909, pt. 2, para 42.

Śūratūr *alias* Singaḷāntapura respectively in the inscriptions.²⁰ The second names of these two villages can be traced to the epithets Jayaṅgoṇḍaśoḷa and Singaḷāntaka. Four villages are found to have been named after different epithets of the Coḷa king Rājendra I. They are Kalidiṅḍi which is referred to as Madhurāntakanallūr,²¹ Cērām *alias* Madhurāntakacaturvedimaṅgalam, Mādamaṅgalam *alias* Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśoḷanallūr²² and Mahīpālakulakālapura.²³ Regarding the last one, it is possible that the Coḷa king might have received the epithet *Mahīpālakulakāla* to commemorate his victory over the Pāla king Mahīpāla and that the village in question came to be named after this epithet. This village is identical with modern Nagari in Chittoor district. A few inscriptions of the twelfth century refer to the village Ghaṅṭasāla *alias* Coḷapāṇḍyapuram (modern Ghaṅṭasāla, Krishna district).²⁴ The term *Coḷapāṇḍya* seems to owe its origin to the title *Coḷapāṇḍya* of the prince Jātavarman Sundarapāṇḍya who was appointed by his father Rājendra I as the viceroy of the newly annexed Pāṇḍyan territory. Vaḷavanārāyaṇa-Caturvedimaṅgalam which was mentioned as the second name of the village Kuṅganūr in the epigraphs²⁵ (modern Puṅganūru, Chittoor district) owes its origin to the epithet *Vaḷavanārāyaṇa* of Kulottuṅga I. Modern Nandalūru (Cuddapah district) is referred to in some inscriptions²⁶ as Nirandanūr *alias* Kulottuṅgacoḷa-caturvedimaṅgalam obviously so named after the same king Kulottuṅga I. Śrikanṭhanārāyaṇapuram. (modern Gaṇḍavaram, Nellore district) is yet another village to be given the second name Kulottuṅgaśoḷapuram as evidenced by an inscription²⁷ dated in the 41st year of the king. Modern Viśākhaṭṭam is also referred to as Kulottuṅgacoḷapaṭṭaṇamu in the inscriptions²⁸ of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A Tamil inscription²⁹ from Vijayavāḍa (Krishna district) refers to that place as Rājendraśoḷapuram. This was so named after Rājendracōḷa, another name of Kulottuṅga I. The village Cindaḍam (unidentified) was also named as Rājendracōḷa-caturvedimaṅgalam.³⁰ The Piṭhāpuram plates of Viracōḷa (A.D. 1093)³¹ furnish us with interesting information that the village Mālavelli with its twelve hamlets and Ponnatorra and Ālami were united and renamed as Viracōḷacaturvedimaṅgalam, after the name of the prince. A Tamil

20. *NDI.*, Vol. III, pp. 1315 ff.

21. *EI.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.

22. *ARSIE*, 1906, No. 553.

23. *ibid.*, 1947, No. B 28.

24. *SI.*, Vol. X, Nos. 115 and 140.

25. *ARSIE.*, 1906 Nos. 540-41.

26. *ibid.*, 1907, No. 578; *ibid.*, 1908, pt. 2, paras 63 and 78.

27. *NDI.*, Vol. II, pp. 779 ff.

28. *SI.*, Vol. X., No. 651 (App. 2)

29. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 779.

30. *ibid.*, No. 1281.

31. *EI.*, Vol. V., pp. 73.

inscription from Nandalūru belonging to Kulottuṅga III, dated in his 26th regnal year³² refers to the village Āṇḍapūr *alias* Tyāgasamudra-caturvedimaṅgalam (modern Āḍupūru, Cuddapah district). This village is obviously named after the epithet *Tyāgasamudra* of Kulottuṅga III.

Two Tamil inscriptions³³ from Āḍupūru and Isukapalli, both dated A.D. 1284, refer to the village Kāmaccoḷa-nallūr. Probably it owes its name to the Telugu-coḷa chief Pottapi kāmadevacoḷa-mahārāju, a feudatory of the Coḷa king Kulottuṅga I. Another Tamil inscription³⁴ from Nandalūru (Cuddapah district), dated in the 26th year of Kulottuṅga III refers to the Village Mantram *alias* Bhujabalasiddhi-caturvedimaṅgalam which seems to have been named after the Telugu-coḷa chief Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddharasa.³⁵ Another Village probably named after the same chief is Nāgapuḍōl (modern Nāgovōlu, Nellore district) which is referred to with a second name Rājamalla-caturvedimaṅgalam in two inscriptions of Rājarāja III.³⁶ An inscription of Rājendra III³⁷ mentions the village Kōyarrūr *alias* Uttamacoḷapuram (modern Laḍḍigam, Chittoor district) probably named so after the epithet *Uttamacoḷagaṅga* *alias* *Viragaṅga* *Veṭṭum Amarābharaṅga*, a Western Gaṅga subordinate of the Coḷa king.

According to the epigraphical evidence only one place seems to have been named after the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga family. However, though there is no direct epigraphical evidence, it can be presumed that the place-names like Anantavaram in the Visakhapatnam-Srikakulam region owe their origin to the Eastern Gaṅga rulers like Anantavaraman-coḷagaṅga. The Bhogāpuram (Visakhapatnam district) inscription³⁸ of Aniyāṅka Bhīma II dated A.D. 1173, refers to the village Bhogāpuram *alias* Vikramagaṅga-Virapēṅṭṭa. It is suggested elsewhere³⁹ that Vikramagaṅga might be identical with Anantavarman-coḷagaṅga. If this suggestion is accepted it may be concluded that Bhogāpuram was given a second name after this king.

The major dynasty that followed the Cālukya-Coḷas in the Āndhra country was the Kākātiyas. The rulers of this dynasty are known to have cleared off the forests for constructing new villages. So it is not impos-

32. *ARSIE*, 1907, No. 578, *ibid.*, 1908, pt. 2, paras 63 and 78.

33. *ibid.*, 1913, No. 239,; *ARE*, 1961, No. B 4.

34. *ARSIE*, 1908, pt. 2, paras 63 and 73.

35. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri: *The Coḷas* (2nd ed.), p. 390.

36. *NDJ.*, Vol. III, pp. 1402 ff.

37. *ARSIE.*, 1906, No: 551; *ibid.*, 1907 pt. 2, para 68.

38. *SII*, Vol. X No. 710,

39. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar: *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, Vol. II, p. 164.

sible that many villages named Gaṇapavaram, Rudravaram etc., owe their origin to the Kākaṭīya rulers. An inscription⁴⁰ from Peddacherukūru refers to the village Tēmaḍṭa *alias* Gaṇapāvaramu which is obviously named after Kākaṭīya Gaṇapati. Another village Gaṅgavaram (Nellore district) is referred to in the inscriptions⁴¹ as Calamartigaṇḍāpuram which is apparently named after the epithet *Calamartigaṇḍa* of the same king.

An inscription⁴² from Mahādevamaṅgalam (Chittoor district), dated in the 16th regnal year of Rājārāja I, refers to the village Māvāli-maṅgalam (i.e. Mahābali-). This place seems to have derived its name from the mythical ancestor Mahābali of the Bāṇas who served under the kings of different imperial dynasties such as the Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas etc.⁴³ An undated inscription⁴⁴ from Pulupattūru (Cuddapah district) refers to the village Pulipattūr *alias* Pottapiccoḷa-Ākōmalla-araśūr (identical with the findspot.). The chief Rājādhirāja-Pottappiccoḷa-Ākomallaraśar, after whom the village is named may be identified with the chief called Bhujabalaviraṇ Ṁkomallaraśaṇ serving under Rājādhirāja II.⁴⁵ An inscription⁴⁶ from Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), dated A.D. 1259 refers to the village Anuṅgurājupalli, (modern Alugurājupalli, Guntur district). This village seems to have been named after the Haihaya chief Anugurāju (A.D. 1135-46). Betapuri (modern Betapūḍi, Guntur district) is yet another village to have been named after another Haihaya chief Beta I or II.⁴⁷ Two inscriptions⁴⁸ of the Kōṭa chief Keta II give a long list of villages named by this chief after his brother and parents. The village Ammalapūḍi (modern Pedda Āmbaṭipūḍi, Guntur district) was given a second name Coḍavaramu after his brother coḍarāju; Kōgallu (modern Kōgaṅṭipalem, Guntur district) was given another name Sab-bāmbikāpuram after Sabbāmbikā, the mother of the chief; three villages Tāḍivāya, Giṅjipāḍu and Callagara (modern Tāḍuvāya, Giṅjupalle and Callagarige respectively, all in Guntur district) were given another name Bhīmāvaramu after Bhīma II, father of Keta II. A Tamil inscription⁴⁹ from Rāyacoti (Cuddapah district), dated A.D. 1233, records that the Kalakada chief Rāyīdeva-mahārāja granted the village Rāyanārāyaṇa-putteri (unidentified), which was named after himself, to the temple of Janārdanaperumaḷ.

40. *SII.*, Vol VI, No. 204.

41. *NDI.*, Vol. I. pp. 323 ff.

42. *ARSIE.*, 1932, No. 167

43. *JIH.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 154.

44. *ARSIE.*, 1930, No. 106.

45. T. S. Pandarattar: *History of the Later Coḷas* (Tamil), Vol. 2, p. 143.

46. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 370.

47. *JAHRS.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 29-30.

48. *EL.*, Vol. VI, pp. 146. ff.

49. *ARSIE.*, 1911, No. 446.

Of the subordinate chiefs of the Kākatīyas, the Malyāla chiefs, the Viryāla chiefs and the Recherla chiefs were among those who contributed either their names or the names of their nearest relatives to the villages. The Koṇḍiparti (Warangal district) inscription⁵⁰ of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, dated A.D. 1203, mentions the village Caṇḍapura (unidentified) apparently named after Caṇḍapa, son of Malyāla Kāṭaya. The Attirāla (Cuddapah district) inscription⁵¹ of Kāyastha Ambadeva, dated A.D. 1287 states that he constructed the village Ambavuramu (modern Ambavaram, Cuddapah district), obviously named after himself. The Kundavaram (Warangal district) inscription,⁵² belonging to the region of Kākatīya Gaṇapati and dated A.D. 1219, records that Kundamāmbā, the sister of Kākatīya Gaṇapati and the wife of Natavādi Rudra granted the village Vemulatoṅṭa after renaming it as Kundavaram, obviously after himself. The gift-village is identical with the findspot of the inscription. The Pākkāl (Warangal district) inscription⁵³ of Kākatīya Gaṇapati states that Jagadāḷa Mummaḍi built the village Gaṇapapura in honour of his elder brother Nalla Gaṇapa, who was a minister of the Kākatīya king.

There appears to be only two place-names, which can be specifically grouped under the places named after the official designations and they are Bhaṇḍāripalli (modern Baṇḍārupalli, Guntur district) (*Baṇḍāru* ('treasurer') and Pregaḍapalli (modern Pregaḍapalli, Adilabad district) (*Pregaḍa* 'Minister').

The foregoing study helps us arriving at the following conclusions. The earliest occurrence of naming a town after a king or chief in the Āndhra country can be dated back to the third century B.C. This practice became more common during the time of the Coḷas, many of whom contributed their names or epithets to a number of places in a major part of South India. It is interesting to note that in many instances the second names of the places given by the kings etc., had fallen out of use and the original names continued to exist. But when a village was newly established and given the name of a king or chief it naturally continues to be in existence. Instances are not wanting where the second name of a village, given by an earlier king, is cancelled by the later king who gave his own name or epithet as a second name to that village.

50. *Warangal District Inss.*, No. 48.

51. *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 448.

52. *Warangal District Inss.*, No. 58.

53. *ibid.*, No. 67.

SCIENCE IN VEDAS II*

Our Universe :

Swedish astronomer V. Charlier has suggested his hypothesis of unlimited complexity, "that just as a multitude of stars surrounding our Sun belong to a single cloud as our galaxy, galaxies themselves form a much large cloud, only a small part of which falls within the range of our telescope. This implies that if we go farther and farther into space, we would finally encounter a space beyond galaxies. However, this super giant, galaxy of galaxies is not the only one in the Universe and much farther in space, other similar systems can be found in their turn; these galaxies of galaxies cluster in still larger units and infinitum. Intriguing as it is, this picture of an ever increasing aggregation of matter is unfortunately outside the possibility of observation study".

According to Vedic calculations there are 1,08,00,000 stars in our galaxy. The Vedic sage has also commented : सो अं वेद यदि वा न वेद
It is He alone who can know all this. Man with his meagre intellect cannot comprehend this.

Apraketam salilam is known to be the earliest cosmic mass in the Vedic terminology—

तम आसीत्तमसा गूढमग्रे
अप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।
तुच्छयेनाभ्वपिहितं यदासीत्
तपसस्तन्महिना जायतैकम् ॥

(*R̥gveda* X, 129, 3)

* This is the second of a series of three Extension Lectures delivered by Prof. S.C. Goyal; Vice-Chancellor, University of Jodhpur in the S.V. University Senate Hall on the 13th and 14th of April, 1977 under the auspices of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute. The first lecture was published in our S.V.U. Oriental Journal, Vol. XIX. pp. 101-107.

It may be noted here that the word *salilam* does not mean water, rather it has a technical meaning in Vedic terminology, quite analogous to the primeval nucleus of modern science. According to Belgian astronomer George Lemaitre - this *apraketam salilam* is a highly compressed, extremely rarified and completely homogeneous state from which the Universe started its evolutionary process.

There are two views prevalent in the scientists regarding stellar evolution. According to the first - there is a continuous evolutionary process which has resulted in the present state of the Universe, while according to the second there is a steady - state universe, the same-state existing since eternity. The vedic view agrees with the first scientific view. The Universe started with a pre-atomic state of squeeze which expanded and will continue to do so for about two billion years, then the contraction process will commence with Brahmā's night.

Professor Kanga has quoted the Dutch astronomer De Sitter¹ in this context "our Universe sphere having started with a comparatively small radius has gradually expanded and this expansion will continue some thousands of millions of years still and then an opposite process will intervene and the Universe will begin to contract and go on contracting and this alternation or succession of expansion and contraction will continue for immeasurable ages."

Age of the Universe :

The various scientific views regarding the age of the Universe are summarised below :

1. Astronomical evidence clearly indicates that the multitude of stars including our own Sun among them were probably formed earlier than Sun two billion years ago from the hot primordial gas that previously filled all the Universe.²
2. According to the radioactive clock method uranite, the oldest mineral dates back two billion years at least.
3. It is found on the basis of the relation between stellar masses and stellar life spans that most of the stars forming the milky way system were born about three billion years ago.

Indian view of age of the Universe :

According to Hindu sages our creation consists of 14 Manus. Each Manu comprises of 72 *caturyugas*. There are four ages as given below in each *caturyuga* :

1. *Where Theosophy and Science Meet*, Vol. 1, p. 46.
 2. Professor Gamow: *Biography of the Earth*, p. 2.

Golden-age	17,28,000 years
Silver-age	12,96,000 years
Copper-age	8,64,000 years
Iron-age	4,32,000 years
Total :	<u>43,20,000 years</u>

1 Manu = $43,20,000 \times 71 = 30,67,20,000$ years.

Present is the 28th cycle of the 7th Manu and in this cycle about 5000 years of Iron-age have elapsed by now.

Age of the Universe can be calculated as given below :

Six Manus $30,67,20,000 \times 6 = 1,84,03,20,000$ years

	$43,20,000 \times 27 = 11,66,40,000$	
28th cycle	{ Golden-age	17,28,000
	{ Silver-age	12,96,000
	{ Copper-age	8,64,000
	{ Out of Iron-age	5,000
	<u>12,05,33,000</u>	12,05,33,000
		<u>1,96,08,53,000 years</u>

Cosmic rays in inter-stellar space :

The cosmic rays found in the space have been classified in three groups in Vedas :

1. The Vāyu group of cosmic rays.
2. The Marīci group of cosmic rays.
3. The Paśu (animal) group of cosmic rays.

1. *The Vāyu group of Cosmic rays :*

Vāyu has been mentioned in the Vedas as a chief element pervading space. It possesses lustre and the solar system as well as the galaxies of the stars move, as if in a string, woven by this Vāyu. Following references may be quoted in this context :

वायुरन्तरिक्षे दीप्यते — (Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, 1, 192) This Vāyu has a lustre.

वायुरसि तिम्भतेजाः (Yajurveda, 1, 24) confirms this, namely; Thou art Vāyu having penetrating lustre.

Yājñavalkya has described this Vāyu to be born of Agni and it possesses lustre because of its birth —

प्राणेन वा अग्निर्दीप्यते । अग्निना वायुः । वायुनादित्यः....

(*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 6, 2, 11)

The solar system and the galaxies are woven by this Vāyu and go on moving like this -

तदसावादित्य इमान् लोकान् सूत्रे समावयते तद् यत् तत् सूत्रं वायुः सः

(*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 7, 3, 20)

Heat waves in the space have been referred to in Vedas as the interstellar birds or *vayāṃsi*

1. In वयो वा अग्निः (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* V, 7, 6), वयः certainly means Agni.

2. अग्ने तव श्रवो वयो महि भ्राजन्त्यर्चयो विभावसो (*R̥gveda* - x, 140, 1) Agni has been described as possessing the wealth of beams *śravaḥ* and *vayaḥ* the fires of Agni blaze mightily. A similar reference has been made in the *Yajurveda*, xii, 106.

Agni is regarded as immortal because of these heat waves -
अग्निरमृतो अभवद् वयोभिः (*R̥gveda*, X, 45, 8)

The state of mortality which has been described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* corresponds to the state of instability of planets. The sun became effulgent As soon as these heat waves affected the space at the time of expansion of Universe, afterwards when the moon also started emitting light there was motion in stability. This ancient law is known in the Modern Sciences as *the law of mutual stability due to heat waves*. In the cosmic expansion from *Āpaḥ* to *Agni* to *Vāyuh*, *vayāṃsi* the heat waves emit light and that is why the earth shines at night-

सर्वा वा इयं वयोभ्यो नक्तं दृशे दीप्यते

तस्मादिमां वयांसि नक्तं नाध्यासते ॥

(*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, V, 6, 4,)

2. *The Marici group of Cosmic rays :*

Maricayaḥ are corpuscles from the sun which are caused by the cyclic motion of the Maruts. These *Maricayaḥ* are known collectively in the modern science as an aurora. Professor Carl Kiepenheuer has described them in these words, "they take so many form - beams of light or glowing arches, stable or changing patterns, long drapes or narrow strips of pulsating light, or coloured flames or white sheets.³ *Maricayaḥ* emit heat and light as they are also born out of heat--

मरीचयो विस्फुलिङ्गाः (*Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 45).

Maricayah being most uniform and shining in their movement are regarded as very important out of the 49 cosmic rays rotating in different fields and giving rise to different shapes. Lord Kṛṣṇa has also pointed out their importance—

मरीचिर्मरुताम् अस्मि *Bhagavadgītā* (X, 21.)

Sant Tulsidas has also mentioned 49 types of Maruts in Sundarkāṇḍ of *Rāmcarit mānas*—

हरि प्रेरित तेहि अवसर चले मरुत उनचास
अट्टहास करि भजा कपि बढि लाग अकास

These rays move in electric fields. Pointing out this electricity in these Maruts, the sage addresses them in the *Ṛgveda* as—

विद्युन्मद्भिः मरुतः —

3. The *Paśu* (animal) group of Cosmic rays :

Some heat and electric current in space have the configuration of a quadruped — आग्नेयश्च मारुतश्च पशुः.... (*Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 231). The *Ṛgveda* describes them as the dust and storm type - समूढमस्य पांसुरे *Ṛgveda*, I, 22, 17).

These cosmic rays contain heat -

प्रजापतिस्तेषु पशुष्वेतम् अग्निम् अपश्यत् तस्मादेवैते पशवः

(*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 2, 1, 4)

आग्नेयाः पशवः (*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 1, 4, 3)

सर्वे पशवो यदग्निः । तस्मादग््नौ पशवो रमन्ते ।

(*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 1, 4, 12)

There are eight animal shapes moving in space. Out of these the horse form and the bull form are conspicuous and can be seen moving in the sagittarius and taurus signs of the zodiac—

वृषभो मरुत्वान्, (*Ṛgveda* II, 33.6)

प्रबभ्रवे वृषभाय श्वितीचे (ibid 8)

आकाशसम्भवैरश्वैः

Aśva does not mean 'a horse' here, rather it refers to the cosmic rays having an electric field of the shape of a horse.

Cosmic rays are found to be grouped in the Vedas in the following additional groups also :

The Marut group of cosmic rays :

These rays have their fields shining like gold — भ्राजत् ऋष्टयः (R̥gveda, I, 31, 1).....which means shining rays. रुक्मवक्षसः (R̥gveda, II, 24, 2).

The electro-magnetism present in the space is due to the Maruts. This magnetic power of the Maruts is referred to as अयोदंष्ट्रः in the R̥gveda, I, 88, 5.

The direction of the electro-magnetic field generated by the Maruts has been defined in the R̥gveda *Īśānah* i.e. north-east (R̥gveda I, 87, 4.) and also (R̥gveda I, 64, 5). This is confirmed in *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* III, 381.

ततो मरुतोऽसृजत ईशानसुखात् ।

They have a silvery white colour श्वेतं रूपं तत् (Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa, III, 382).

The R̥bhava group of Cosmic rays ?

R̥bhavas are solar rays — ऋभवः सूरचक्षसः (R̥gveda, I, 110, 4). The entire *sūkta* of the R̥gveda *Maṇḍala* first relates to R̥bhavaḥ and their evolution.

Apsara group of Cosmic rays :

The sun is the Gandharva and his rays are the Apsaras—

सूर्यो गन्धर्वः तस्य मरीचयोऽप्सरस....आयुवो नाम....आयुवाना इव हि मरीचयः प्लवन्ते ॥

(Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, IX, 4, 1, 8)

Eggeling translates the word *Apsarasaḥ* as 'sun-motes'.

Cosmic Dust :

The space between stars is far more empty than the best vacuum that can be produced in a laboratory, but it is not utterly void. It is pervaded by an excessively tenuous distribution of interstellar matter partly in the form of gas and partly dust. -⁴

The vedic equivalent of cosmic dust is यो अन्तरिक्षे रजसो विमानः (*Rgveda*, X, 121, 5). It is a cosmic wind, a constant stream of protons and electrons. This cosmic dust is not the same as the dust on the terrestrial sphere, which is called *Pārthiva Rajaḥ*.

आरात्रि पार्थिवं रजः

पितुरग्रायि धामभिः (*Yajurveda*, XXXIV, 32)

The colour of the cosmic dust has been described as dark कृष्णा रजांसि (*Rgveda*, I, 35, 4), but the phrase कृष्णेन रजसा (*Rgveda*, I, 35, 9) has been interpreted by Macdonell as 'dark spaces'.

Modern science points out, "the space immediately near the sun is free of dust, since here the dust of the sun evaporates all solid particles."⁵ This view is also found to be true in context of the Marut type of cosmic ray – अरेणवो मरुतः (*Rgveda*, I, 168, 4). But in the *Parāśaru Samhitā* (which is a later work), the colour of the cosmic dust is mentioned as red, blue, white etc. Obviously this is quite confusing and probably this situation arose because of the limited intellect of those who wrongly interpreted the original *sūktas* of the *Rgveda*.

I do not know Sanskrit so well and have not read the *Vedas*, but being a technologist and an engineer, I have a firm belief that it should be possible for us to trace back the source of scientific and technical knowledge in the *Vedas*. It is possible only when we are in a position to have the correct understanding of the meaning communicated by the *Sūktas* of the *Vedas*.

The word गौः has 47 different meanings ascribed to it. It may mean sun's rays in a particular context while it may mean the cow in some other context.

अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते

(*Rgveda*, X, 85, 13)

One interpreter has sanctioned the killing of cows in vedic marriage ceremonies absolutely ignoring all other prohibitions and references wherein she has been mentioned अघन्या. However, a [correct approach can help us in understanding the correct meaning as "cooling down of the sun's rays in the winter season of marriages". It need not be

5. Karl Kiepenhauer: *The Sun*, (p. 38).

emphasised that the diversity and complexity of vedic interpretation arise largely on account of the lack of knowledge on the part of interpreter. If the students of science group who have got a scientific outlook and rational thinking are taught Sanskrit, probably they will be able to dig out the correct meaning and interpretation of the *sūktas* of the Vedas. This would put an end to the unfortunate practice of putting forth distorted meanings which came into vogue due to vested interests.

TERMINOLOGICAL STUDIES OF SELECTED PLANT NAMES OF THE KRŠIPARĀSARA

In spite of the long discussions on the development of the ancient Indian society we have a considerably insufficient knowledge of the origin and development of agriculture, the most important part of the productive forces in India. This circumstance sets up the claim to make a comprehensive study of that subject. This study can be carried out almost only by means of the material that has come down to us in various literary sources since the archaeological data are sporadic and are still not evaluated.¹

Here in the present paper we are going to examine a selected group of plant names attested in the *Kr̥ṣiparāśara*, an unparalleled handbook of agriculture assignable to the eleventh century A.D.² as well as to give a preliminary answer to two questions: 1. The historical development of the cultivation of the plants concerned 2. A short etymological investigation in order to ascertain the provenance of these words and to identify

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1. The present paper is the part of my comprehensive study in preparation about the ancient Indian agricultural terminology.
 2. *Kr̥ṣi-Parāśara* Ed. and translated by G.P. Majumdar and S. Ch. Benerji, Calcutta 1960; L. Gopal, *The Date of Kr̥ṣi-Parāśara*, Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee Vol, 1973, pp. 152-168; Gyula Wojtilla: "Kr̥ṣiparāśara", Berlin, March 1975, published in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin-ger-Sprachw. R. XXV* (1976) 3 pp 377-378; "Which Class of people was the *Kr̥ṣiparāśara* Addressed to?" Moscow, January 1976; "Indian Village Community According to the *Kr̥ṣiparāśara* and some Other Contemporary Literary Sources", Warsaw, Mai, 1976, (all in the press); "Parāśara" paper read at the session of the "Magyar Okortudományi Társaság" (Hungarian Society for Ancient Studies), Budapest, September 1976; 'The plough as described' in the *Kr̥ṣiparāśara*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen V.* Berlin 1977 pp. 245-252.

the linguistical data with the cultural data of the ethnical groups using the languages to the vocabulary of which these words belong.³

- i. *ĀMRA* m.n. "The mango tree (*Mangifera indica*) and its fruit".

A tropical tree of the cashew-nut family with a fleshy juicy fruit.

Śat. Br. XIV, 7, 4, 1; P. VIII, 4, 5; Mahābhā I, 7584; Rāmā II, 33, 14;

SuśruS I, 141,13; II, 479, 21; BṛSaṃ LIV, 11; AmaK II, 4, 33; MēghaDū 18; Śāk 78, 16; Kuṭṭānī 733; KūrmaP. 11, 20, 38; GaruP I, 169, 26; 170, 27; 170, 33; 171, 42 etc. Abhi-dhāCi 1133; KṛṣiPa 240.

Pā *amba* m idem D I, 46; 53; 235; J. II. 105; 160; Miln 46.

Pk *amba* m. n. "āmra-Phal" He 1, 84.

It is represented in the ancient Buddhistic sculptures (BIRD-WOOD, 90).

NIA: TURNER 1268 and KṛṣiK I, 24.

3. In the case of languages, handbooks, dictionaries, periodicals, we follow the system of abbreviations found in, R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1962-66; and M. Mayrhofer: *Etymologisches wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg 1953.

The abbreviations of the Sanskrit sources have been taken from the "Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles (Specimen Fascicule) Ed. by A.M. Ghatage and M. A. Mahendale, (Poona 1973), and that of the Pāli sources are in accordance with The Pāli Text Society's *Pāli-English Dictionary*. Ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. (London, 1965). Prakṛt sources are standing as in the *Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo; A Comprehensive Prakṛt-Hindi Dictionary with Sanskrit Equivalents etc.* by Pandit Hargovind Das, T. Sheth (Vāraṇāsi 1963). Other abbreviations used are as follows:

Birdwood: G. Birdwood: *The Industrial Arts of India*, London 1880.

Chau Ju-Kua, His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*. Transl. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1911.

E. K.: Personally communicated by Dr. Eva Korenchy.

Ferrand, Taxis: G. Ferrand: *Voyage du March and Arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine* 'Paris' 1922.

Hudūd-al-Ālam: Ed. V. Minorsky, London, 1937.

I B.: *Inscriptions of Bengal*.-Vol. III. Ed. by N. G. Majumdar, Rajshahi. 1929
Kṛṣik: *Kṛṣikoṣa*, I-II Sampādak/V. Śvanāth prasād, Patna, 1959-1966.

Niyogi: P. Niyogi: *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India from the tenth to the twelfth Century A.D.* Calcutta, 1962.

Peripl. Erythr: *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. Ed. by W. H. Schoff./ London, 1912.

From phonetical point of view the word may be connected with *amla* "sour-sweet" and so the name comes from this physical nature of the fruit. In this case the word can be regarded as a part of the I.E. vocabulary inherited from Indo-Aryan peoples. (EWA I. 46 and 77)

ii. *KADALĪ* f. "Banana (*Musa sapientum*)".

A gigantic tree-like herbaceous plant with a nutritious fruit. Its leaves are used for different purposes (Plate etc.).

Mahābhā III, 10581; 11120; XII, 637; Rāmā III, 17, 9; V, 56, 70; KumāraSa I, 36; SuśruS I, 74, 15; BśSaṃ LIV, 4; BhagP IV, 6, 21; 9, 54; AmaK II, 4, 113; Kuṭṭanī 102; 588; 1021; AbhidhāCi 1136; Trikāse 2, 426; Mānaso vol. III. P. 175.

- *dalanirmītaḥ*; Kṛṣipa 223.-*dala* "banana leaf used as plate".

Pā *Kadalī* f. idem. Vin 188; Miln 166. It is represented in the ancient Buddhist sculptures (BIRDWOOD, 91).

Pk *kayali* f. idem. He 1, 220.

NIA . TURNER 2712 and KṛṣiK I, 78.

It is probably a word belonging to the Austro-Asiatic group of languages. Savara *kinen-ḍn* "Banane"/EWA I, 150/ ?

iii. *KARPĀSA* m. (its another form of *kārpāsa*) "Cotton (*Gossypium herba ceum*)"

A fibrous plant, the seeds of which are covered with long hairs called cotton.

GobhiGS II, 10, 8, 12; ArthaSā II, 41; ManuSm II, AmaK II, 5, 35; BṛSaṃ V, 75; XV, 9; XXIX, 5; AbhidhāCi 1139. It is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chandela dynasty (NIYOGI, 28); KṛṣiPa 90.

Pā *Kappāsa* m. idem. D II, 141; A III, 295; J. I, 350; VI, 41.

Pk *Kappāsa* m. idem. Nicu 3.

NIA : TURNER 2877.

It is probably of Austro-Asiatic origin → Javan. *kapas*.

Pers *Kirpās* "feines Gewebe", Arm. *kerpas*, Ar. *kirbās*, Hebr *karpas*, Gk. κᾶρϝ60s. Lat. *carbasus*, derived from the Sanskrit word.

iv. *KARPŪRA* m. "Camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora* L.) or camphor".

A species of *cinnamon* tree, its bark has an aromatic taste and smell.

It is employed as medicine and spice for meals.

PañcT V, 15; AmaK II, 6, 130; SuśruS 1, 215, 5; AbhidhāCi 643; Trikāṣe 2, 6, 39; CaurPañ 9; KathāSaSāg IX, 7, 31: *dvīpaṃ karpūrasaṃjñītam* "the karpūra island", probably Borneo or Sumatra; KṛṣiPa 226.

Pā *kapūra* m.n. idem. J.VI. 537.

Pk *kappūra* n. idem. Paṇaha 2,5; Sura 2,6; Supā 293.

NIA : TURNER 2880.

Foreign accounts :⁴ Chau Ju-kua (p 88 f.) writes that camphor (*chang-nau*) is an imported spice from south-east Asia.

Hūdūd-al-Ālam (p. 86) and Ibn Khordadbhah (Ferrand Texts, 81) speak of the export of Indian camphor to west.

It is probably of Austro-Asiatic origin. Khmer *kāpōr*, Cam *kapū*, Mon. *khapuiw* (EWA, I, 75). The European languages borrowed the Middle Indian form, (S.Pā and Pk).

Lit. : W.H. Schoff: Camphor, JAOS 42 (1922) pp. 355-370.

v. *KUṆKUMA* m. "The Indian saffron (*Curcuma longa*)".

A species of *crocus*, its dried stigmas used as a dye and flavouring.

It has a special orange-yellow colour. It has to the present day remained a famous product of Kāśmīr. Its cultivation has apparently from an early time specially flourished about Padmapura, the present Pampar. (*Stein Rājat Transl. II, 428*).

SuśruS 1, 103, 16; 139, 10; 223, 20; 2, 35, 4; 286, 6; 327, 16; 515, 3; Kuṭṭanī 698 (*kuṅkumā*); RājTa/Ka/ I, 13, 16; II, 8, 12; III, 14, 15, 20; SamaMa II, 8; AbhidhāCi 645; Trikāṣe 2. 6, 35; Mānaso vol. III. p. 182, 183; KṛṣiPa 100.

Pā *kuṅkuma* n. idem. Miln 382; Vism 241.

Pk *kuṅkuma* m. idem. Śrā 18.

NIA : TUNER 3214.

The word belongs to the common vocabulary of the human civilization/Kulturwörter/→Akkad. *kurkanū* Hebr. *karkōm*, Aram. *hūrām-ā*, Ar. *kurkum* Gk. κρόκος derive from an unknown source. The Sanskrit *kuṅkuma* was replaced by a Middle Indian form (EWA, I, 219).

4. The references to foreign accounts are occasional, the giving of complete list of such data is out of the scope of our present work.

vi. *TĀMBŪLA* n. "Piper betel"

The piper betel plant the leaf of which is chewed in India and other countries of the east. Inscriptions of Bengal show that large plantations of betel-leaves existed during the Sena-period augmenting the wealth of her people. Bengal and Malabar were the most important betel-leaf growing regions in India. (10th-12th century A D.) (NIYOGI, 33)

BṛSam XII, 10; LXXVI, 41; RājTa/Ka/V, 364; BhāgP VIII, 16, 41; VetāPañ (Śi) 2, 6; KṛṣiPa 226.

Pā *tambūla* n idem. J I, 266, 291; II, 320; Vism 314; Dha III, 219.

Pk *tambola* m. "the piper betel plant" He I, 124.

NIA : TURNER 5776.

It is surely of Austro-Asiatic origin (EWA I, 495).

Lit. : N.M. Penzer : *Romance of Betel-Chewing*. in : *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. VIII. Appendix II (Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1968); P.K. Gode : *References to tāmbūla in Indian inscriptions between A D. 473-1800*. in : *Sarūpa-bhārati* or the homage of Indology being Dr. Lakshman Sarūp memorial volume. Ed. by J. Agrawal and Bhider Shastri (Calcutta 1954), pp. 208-215.

vii. *TĀLA* m. "The palm tree (*Borassus flabelliformis*)"

A tree of the large tropical and subtropical family of monocotyledons with a crown of fan-shaped leaves.

P IV, 3, 152; MahāBhā I, 7585; III, 935; III, 11574; - *Vana*; "∞ forest" VI, 5441; HariVaṃ. 3715; ManuSm VIII, 246; Lalivi 273, 22; AbhidhāCi 1136; Trikāśe 3,3,393; The plate from Kelga (E.I. XXVIII, 327-328); KṛṣiPa 200.

Pā *tāla* m. idem. M I, 187; J.I, 202, 273; VvA 162; PvA 100.

It is represented in the ancient Buddhistic sculptures (BIRD-WOOD, 91).

Pk *tāla* m. idem. Paṇaha 1,4; Gauḍ 284, 351, 366, 1100.

NIA : TURNER 5750 and Kṛṣik II, 62.

It is a borrowing from the Dravidian languages.

Kan *tār*; Tel *tāḍu*. (EWA I, 498 and DED 2599).

viii. *TILA* m. "*Sesamum indicum*".

A plant of the Pedaliaceae yielding gingili-oil.

AV II, 8,3; VI, 140, 2; XVIII, 3, 69; 4, 32; TaiS VII, 2,10,2; MaiS IV, 3,2; VājaS XVIII, 12; ŚatBr IX, 1,1,3; BrĀraU VI, 3, 22; ChāndoU V, 10, 6; ĀpaGS I, 9, 6; 17, 2; II, 5, 15; PāraGS I, 15, 4; ŚāṅkhāGS IV, 1,3; 3,4; 4,9; GobhiGS II,9,6. ArthaŚā II, 41; AmaK II, 4, 56; BrSam V, 75; XV, 14; XVI, 36; XXV, 2; XXIX, 4; DaśKuCa 118, 162, 173; AvantiKa 18; 83; KūrmaP 11, 18, 56; 26, 43 etc; PañcT 11, 3; AbhidhāCi 1179; RājTa/Ka/I, 38; KathāSaSāg X, 5, 8; *tilapīḍanayantra* "mill" is mentioned in some Inscriptions: Inscriptions E.I. I.

97; KṛṣiPa 167.

Pā *tila* m. idem. Vin I, 212; A IV, 108; J I, 392; II, 352; Vism 489; PvA 47;

Pk *tila* m. idem. Gā 695; Nāyā 1,1; Prāsū 64; 108;

NIA: TURNER 5827 and Kṛṣik II, 94.

Foreign account: Peripl Erythr 41: export to West.

The origin of the word is not satisfactorily cleared up (EWA, I, 504). The most important views are: Munda origin (Kuiper), Dravidian origin (Burrow): cit. from EWA I, 504.

Lit: K.L. Mehra: *History of Sesame in India and its Cultural Significance*. in: VIJ 5./1967/pp. 93-107.

- ix. *DHĀNYA* n./m./ "grain generally, esp. paddy (*Oryza Sativa* L.)"

RV VI, 13, 4; AV III, 24, 2; V, 29, 7; VI, 50, 1; KauṣiBr XI, 8; SaḍviBrV, 5; ŚāṅkhāGS I, 28, 24; III, 4, 9; GobhiGS III, 2, 58; ManuSm VIII, 320; AmaK II, 9, 28; BrSam XV, 6; XVI, 7; XIX, 6; XXIX, 4; XL, 2.3.5; XLV, 33; DaśKuCa 157; AbhidhāCi 471; AbhidhāRaMā II, 425; Sama Mā VIII, 88; RājTa/Ka/I, 246; RamC V, 176 mentions paddy plants of various kinds in Varendri, (Bengal); paddy cultivation during the Sena period: I.B.p. 129; ŚukSa 32; KṛṣiPa III; 154; 167 etc: In the mediaeval period Bengal and Assam were very important rice producing areas. /NIYOGI, 26/

Pā *dhanā* n. "grain" Vin IV, 264; DA I, 78; M I, 57 etc.

Pk *dhanna* m. idem. Sura 1, 49;

NIA: TURNER 6778; and Kṛṣik II, 118.

It can be listed to the Indo-European group of words in Sanskrit. Opers. *dānaka* "Achtelsekel"; Khot. *dana* f. "Getreide, Korn"; Sogd. ḍn "Getreidekorn"; MiPers. *dānak*; Pers. *dāna* "Korn"; Lith. *dūona*, "Brot"; Toch *Btāno* "Korn" "Samenkorn". /EWA II, 98/.

Lit : H.M Johnson : *Grains of Mediaeval India*, in : JAOS 61./1941/pp. 167-171.

- x. *MARĪCA* m. "The pepper shrub and its seeds (*piper nigrum*)."

A plant of the genus *piper nigrum* having berries of pungent, aromatic taste. It is the most popular spice in the world.

ArthaŚā II, 41; HariVa 5367; SuśruS I, 139, 3; 142, 11; 145, 5; 161, 10; 217, 3; 231, 11; II, 338, 17; KāmSū VII, 1, 24; AmaK II, 9, 36; RaghuVaṃ 4, 46; BṛSaṃ LI, 15; KūrmaP II. 10. 47; AbhidhāCi 419; AbhidhāRamā 2,461; KathāSaSāg II, 5, 124; ∞ *kṣodanirbharam* "full of pepper dust"; KṛṣiPa 223.

Pā *marīca* n. idem. Vin I, 201; Miln. 63.

Pk *mariya* n. Ācā II, 1,8,268.

NIA : TURNER 9875 and KṛṣiK II. 273.

It is most probably an Austro-Asiatic loanword which was earlier borrowed by the Dravidian languages too.

Ta *miḷagu* idem. /EWA, II, 588/

- xi. *MĀṢA* m. "Bean (*Phaseolus radiatus*)".

A kind of leguminous plants. Its fruit is one of the most important nourishment in India.

AV VI, 140, 2; XII, 2, 53; TaiS V, 1, 8, 1; KāthS XII, 7; XXXII, 7; MaiS IV, 3, 2; VājaS XVIII, 12; ŚatBr 1, 1, 1, 10; BṛĀraU VI,3,22; ChāndoU V,10,6; ĀpaGS I,13,2; 17 2; Gobhi GS II, 2, 10; 6, 6; 9, 6; ŚāṅkhāGs I, 28, 6; P V, 1, 7; V, 2, 4; ArthaŚā II, 41; KāmSū VII, 1, 43; MaVastuAva II. 432, 16.19; ∞ *varṇa* "the colour of bean": SuśruS I, 70, 5; BṛSaṃ XV, 14; XVI, 36; XXV, 2; AbhidhāCi 1171; Trikāṣe 2, 9, 5; 3, 3, 439; KṛṣiPa 191. NilanP 422;

Pā. *māsa* m. "*Phaseolus Indica*". - *khetta* "a field of beans". Vv 808; VvA 308.

Pk. *Māsa* m. idem. De I, 98.

NIA : TURNER 10097.

The word belongs to the common vocabulary of the human civilization (Kulturwörter)-Turkmen burcak "Bohne", (EWA II, 630.

- xii. *YAVA* m. "Grain, corn, especially barley"

"Grain": RV I, 23, 15; 66, 3; 117, 21 etc; "Barley": AV II, 8, 3; VI, 30, 1; 50, 1.2; 91, 1; TaiS VI; 2, 10, 3; 4, 10, 5; VII,

2, 10, 2; KāṭhS XXV, 10; XXVI, 5; MaiS IV, 3, 2; VājaS V, 26; XVIII 12; XXIII, 30; SatBr I. 1, 4, 20; II, 5, 2, 1; III, 6, 1 9.10 etc; P VI, 1, 49; ArthaŚā II, 41; Kṣetra-“Barley-field” PañcT IV, 5; AmaK II, 9, 15; BṛSam, VIII 30; XV, 6; XVI, 7; XIX, 6; XXIX, 4; XL, 2 3; LXIX, 2, DarpDa VI, 39; KṛṣiPa 167, KūrmaP II, 20, 37; NilamP 696-97; 719;

Pā *yava* m. “Corn, barley” Vin IV, 264; S IV, 220; A IV, 169;

Pk *java* m. idem. Naya 1, 1; Paeh 1, 4; Gauḍ 258; 587; 588; 589.

NIA: TURNER 10431 and KṛṣiK II, 53,

Foreign account : I-tsing Records 43-44/is grown in Western India Its correspondent words can be found in the cognate IE languages Av *yava* m. “Getreide”, MPers *jav, jo* “Gerste”; Osset iron, *yaeu* “Hirse” etc. (EWA III, 9). If we regard the Finno-Ugric **juva** < *jeva* as loans from IE we may hold it to be a word belonging to the common vocabulary of the human civilization (Kulturwörter). At the same time the data of the Samoyedic languages, if they are not taken from the Finno-ugric, bear the witness to the very early cultural contacts between the IE and Uralian languages (E.K.)

- xiii. *SARṢAPA* m. “The mustard seed (*Sinapis dichotoma*)”
A plant belonging to the species of the *Sinapis* section of the genus *Brassica*.

ChāndoU III, 14, 3; ṢaḍviBr V, 2; SāṅkhāŚS IV, 15, 8; PāraGS I, 16, 23; ŚāṅkhāGS II, 1, 3; ArthaŚā II, 41; SuśruS 1, 139, 4; 182, 16; AmaK II, 9, 17; BṛSam XXIX, 5, XI, 5; DaśKuCa 118; AbhidhāCi 1180; AvantisuKa 18; AbhidaRaMa II. 426; Trikeśe 2, 9, 3; RājTa /Ka/ III, 338; *kṣodakūṭa* “The hammer pounding mustard seeds” : SubhāRaK 318 : Jayanāga’s grant of Vappaghoṣavāṭa (6th century A.D.); E.I. XVIII. P. 60 ff. KṛṣiPa 217.

Pā *sāsapa* m. “mustard seed”. S II, 137; V. 464; A V. 170; J VI, 174 etc.

Pk *sāsava* m. idem. Ācā 2, 1, 8, 3; and *sarisava* m. idem. Ogha 406; Sam 44; Kamma 4, 74; 75; 77; Nāya 1, 8.

NIA: TURNER 13281; and KṛṣiK II, 323.

Its origin is uncertain. There are various explanations Ancient “Kulturwort” borrowed by IE languages (Henning; It comes from the Austro-Asiatic languages (Przyluski-

Regamey). It is an ancient IE word (Wüst, Thieme) etc (EWA III, 447),

xiv. *SASYA* n. "Grain especially Wheat".

AV VII, 11, 1; VIII, 10,24; TaiS III, 4, 3, 3; V, 1,7,3; VIII, 5, 20, 1; MaiS IV, 2, 2; ŚatBr XI, 2, 7, 32; ŚāṅkhāBr 19, 3; ĀśvaŚS 2, 9, 2; ĀśvaGs I. 55, KāṭhU 1, 6; ManuSm IX, 49; MahāBhā B, 6623; KumāSaṃ II, 44; RaghuVaṃ I, 26; 62; X, 49; XV, 58, BṛSaṃ XXIX, 9; -*Vipatti* "the destruction of grain" BṛSaṃ XIX, 10; DaśKuCa 196; HarṣaC 42; KīṣiPa 179, 184, 19.6 Pā. *sassa* n. "corn, crop" MI, 116; J I, 86; 143; 152; II, 135; Miln 2; DhA I, 97; SnA 48; *sassasamaya* "crop time": J. I, 143.

Pk *sassam* n. idem. Gā 689; Supā 32.

NIA : TURNER 13295.

The word fairly can be listed to the IE vocabulary of Sanskrit. Av *hahya* "frumentarius", *hashus* "fructus" (grain nach Bailey AION 1, 143) Kymr. *haidd* "herdeum", Call *asiam* **sasiam*? etc (EWA III, 449)

The conclusions to be drawn from the material examined are as follows -

- I. The names of various cereals, *dhanya*, *yava* can be attested in the earliest strata of the Sanskrit texts/before 800 B C The names *āmṛā*, *tila*, *māsa sasya*, *sarṣapa* appeared in the upper Vedic period (ca 800-540 B.C.), the names *kadalī*, *kārpāsa*, *tāla* can be traced back to the Pre-Mauryan times (540-325 B.C.) and finally the literary evidences of the Mauryan age (325-185 B.C.) speak of *karpūra*, *kuṅkuma*, *tāmbūla* and *marica*. This enrichment of Sanskrit vocabulary covers the period of the historical expansion of the Indo-Aryan speaking peoples and later on the great empires of North India. During this period the traditional agriculture also came to be more developed and the list of agricultural products grew larger.
- II. From etymological point of view the names *āmra*, *dhānyu yava*, *sasya* belong to the IE, *tāla* to the Dravidian, *tāmbūla*, *marica*, *kadalī* (?), *kārpāsa* (?), *karpūra* (?) to the Austro-Asiatic vocabulary of the Sanskrit language. The origin of the words *kuṅkuma*, *tila*, *māsa* and *sarṣapa* cannot be precisely located. This brief review fairly illustrates the highly problematic cultural interchange among different peoples of India in the ancient times.

REVIEWS

WATER QUALITY IN BHĀVAMIŚRA'S BHĀVAPRAKĀŚA: Dr E.A.V. PRASAD, Department of Geology, S.V. University, Tirupati: MASSLIT Series, No. 2; N.J. Publications, 1979 - Pages x+107; Price: Rs. 50-00

Bhāvamiśra, a great Ayurvedic specialist of the mediæval India, is said to have headed a medical institute, with a strength of about 400 Āyurveda students in Vāraṇāsi, sometime in the 16th century A D (p. 4). He has written a book by name *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*. Its first part, consisting of about 2,100 verses, written in simple and beautiful Sanskrit, is divided into six (according to Dr. Prasad 'seven') broad divisions (*prakaraṇas*) and further divided into 24 sub-sections (*vargas*). The entire work describes the medicinal properties and utilities, mainly of the products of the kingdoms of the plants (*Audbhida*), of the animals (*Prāṇija*) and of the minerals (*Dhātuja*). In this work Bhāvamiśra has not only recorded the views of all his predecessors in this field, like Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhata, Hārīta etc., but also has incorporated in it the views of his contemporaries and the results of his own researches. Thus, the work seems to be an important one from the point of view of the students not only of the Āyurveda but also of the history of Indian medicine.

In the 13th sub-section of this work, called 'Water Section' (*Vāri-varga*) consisting of 86 verses (Chowkhamba edition, 1969; but 82 verses according to Dr. Prasad) Bhāvamiśra describes in detail the different types of water and their respective properties. Dr. Prasad, who is an authority in Geology and has already done much work in the hydro-science, enshrined in ancient Sanskrit literature, has undertaken to write a series of monographs on the subject (he has named the series as MASSLIT meaning, Monographs in Ancient Scientific Sanskrit Literature). In the present work under review Dr. Prasad has taken the above mentioned *Vāri-varga* for his study. After introducing the subject in general (pp. 1-2) and Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa* in particular (pp. 3 and 4) the author gives the text of the verses in Roman with English

translation (pp. 7-31). The rest of the work is devoted to examine and scientifically evaluate what Bhāvamiśra has stated. Dr. Prasad's analysis falls into different headings like, Unique Properties of Water; Hydrologic Cycle; Classification of Water, Atmospheric Precipitation; Ecology; etc., etc. Here, we are happy to read the observations of Dr. Prasad, the scientist, such as "the Hydrologic Cycle is a continuous global process involving thermal energy and gravitation as its motive forces ... it provides the ground work upon which the Hydrosience is constructed ... It is strikingly evident that while dealing with the water quality, this important concept of Hydrologic cycle has been faithfully adopted in Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa*' (p. 36)". "The water types described in Bhāvamiśra's work (*Bhāvaprakāśa*) is essentially meteoric" (p. 18). ".....the study of natural water composition involves concept of Ecology, because a large number of factors and processes are interrelated in bringing about the compositions of water. This is one of the important concepts of the modern Hydrosience which is again faithfully reflected in this ancient Sanskrit literature" (p. 47). While concluding Dr. Prasad observes with satisfaction that he has found "many aspects of science of water as stated in Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa* to be in complete accord with the findings and conclusions of modern science"; and hence the author pleads "for a critical study and experimentation of the ancient lore" (p. 85). Dr. Prasad deserves our congratulations on his performance of the work which he has undertaken with sincerity and devotion. The value of the book is enhanced by different Tables, as many as 11 in number, one Drawing, and a lengthy Glossory (pp. 89-100) and a long list of references (pp. 101-107).

However, the value of this good monograph would have been higher, had the author based his studies on the text as found in some standard publications of the work (In fact Dr. Prasad does not indicate the edition which he consulted); had he avoided the wrong-splitting, and wrong transliteration of the Sanskrit text throughout; and had he consulted a good Sanskritist for proper explanation of some of the Sanskrit passages. At times one feels pained to see parts of verses being omitted (verse 2) unconnected words added (verse 71); and so on and so on. In fact there cannot be any denying in that a work of this nature would be fruitful to the maximum provided it is undertaken by the scientists working in collaboration with Sanskritists. One hopes that Dr. Prasad will give a serious thought to these points while making the second edition of his book.

VIṢṆUSAHASRANĀMASTOTRA Translated and annotated by C SIVA-RAMAMURTI, Publication (No. 6) of the Vishnusahasranama Satsan-gham, 469, Sector IX, Rāmakriṣṇā-puram, New Delhi, 1978. pp xiv+105.

Apart from *jñāna* and *bhakti* the *Nāmajapa* or regular chanting of the name of the Almighty is prescribed as a means of *mokṣa* especially in the present age *Kaliyuga*. The famous adage *Kalau nāmaiva kevalam* stresses upon the chanting and recitation of the names of Lord *Viṣṇu*. As obviously mentioned in the preface, the great polymath of this country Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stressed two things in his *Bhaja Govinda stotra* 'geyam Gītānāmasahasram'. From his commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* (VSS) along with that on the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavad gītā*, we can easily understand the importance given by Śrī Śaṅkara for it. Of course there are many commentaries on VSS written by Parāśara-bhaṭṭa, Vidyādhiraṅga, Raghunāthānandatīrtha and others. But Śaṅkara's commentary is the first among them.

The present work contains VSS in original form printed in Deva-nāgarī script with a literal translation in English and an elaborate annotation for each and every name mentioned in VSS. The translator has taken utmost care in rendering into English, even the difficult ones such as *Puruṣaḥ* etc. All the thousand names of *Viṣṇu* are annotated in the light of the famous commentary of Śaṅkarācārya in a very good manner. Many appropriate Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic sources are given in Roman characters. Besides, the present edition of VSS contains six illustrations:

1. Śaṅkara with Vyāsa flanking Dakṣiṇāmūrti, (8th century A.D.)
2. Kṛṣṇa with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā,
3. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (5th century A.D.),
4. Śeṣasāyī Viṣṇu (5th century A.D.),
5. Trivikrama (9th - 10th century A.D.) and
6. Viśvarūpa (9th - 10th century A.D.).

The dates given to each of these figures along with the names of places where these are available throw light on the antiquity of these forms of *Viṣṇu*, which were in worship even in those periods and in the various parts of the country. In this respect, it can be said that the present edition of VSS is the best among the editions so far published in the country.

Devotees of Lord *Viṣṇu* would heartily welcome this handy edition of VSS and make use of the text, translation and annotation for their recitation and better understanding. We are deeply indebted to Sri C. Sivaramamurti for this valuable contribution. The *Viṣṇusahasranāmasatsan-gham*, is to be appreciated for its laudable service to devotees.

S.B. RAGHUNADHACHARYULU

DHVANYĀLOKA: A critical edition with introduction, English translation and Notes by K. KRISHNA MOORTHY: Published by the Registrar, Karnataka University, Dharwar, Pages 406+41 Price: Rs. 25/- or \$ 8 or Sh. 60.

It can not an exaggeration if it is said that the present edition of the *Dhvanyāloka* brought out by Prof. Krishna Moorthy satisfies a long-felt need for a critical and correct edition of the text in the field of poetics. The pains taken by Prof. Krishna Moorthy to go through many valuable manuscripts available to fix the correct readings of the text with a critical eye are commendable. His doctoral thesis *The Dhvanyāloka and its Critics* bears testimony to the interest developed by Prof. Krishna Moorthy for the text *Dhvanyāloka*. The improved readings in this edition shown in the Introduction are not without justifications.

The text is really a treat for both the scholars of Sanskrit and English. His English translation speaks of his mastery over English. Every reader can easily notice the perspecuity in his style of expression. The English rendering in no circumstances goes beyond the Sanskrit thought. In addition to this, another striking feature lies in his rendering the Sanskrit verse—examples given by Ānandavardhana into English verse. This is really more fitting in the context in view of the fact that the text deals with poetry.

In his enthusiasm Prof. Krishna Moorthy seems to have left some minor points unnoticed in connection with translation, specially while quoting some others. For example in the verse *Syāmāsvaṅgam* - (p. 70) the editor gives the translation of Rooke. Here when the Sanskrit verse reads *bhīru* the translation given is 'oh jealous one', ...the word *bhīru* does not mean jealous, it should have been *Caṇḍī* as noted in the footnote. But these can safely be overlooked as they do not hamper the understanding.

On the whole we feel that the Sanskrit world remains indebted to Prof Krishna Moorthy who deserves the congratulations of one and all.

K.S. RAMAMURTHI

ESSAYS IN SANSKRIT CRITICISM : By Dr. K. KRISHNA MOORTHY, Professor of Sanskrit, Karnatak University, Dharwar, Second Edition, 1974. Rs. 12/- pages 319.

This work contains 26 essays published by Prof. K. Krishna Moorthy in different journals. Out of these 26, only 20 exclusively deal with literary criticism in Sanskrit. Prof. Krishna Moorthy is more than justified to publish them in one volume as they deal with different topics of one and the same subject. He clearly brings out the views of the ancients as well as the moderners in the field. The work itself in brief can be treated as a compendium in the Sanskrit Poetics.

Throughout these essays the author exhibits his vast erudition and logical acumen in his presentation. Starting from *alamkāra* (essay No. 2) he gradually traces the development of the science of rhetoric upto Ruyyaka (essay 19) dealing thoroughly the theory of *rasa* of Bharata and the views expressed on it later by Bhaṭṭa Tauta and others. In the essay 'Concept of Suggestion in Sanskrit Poetics' he deals with the *dhvani* theory of Ānandavardhana who postulated this long before the realisation of this element in the poetry by the west. His essays 'Indian Definitions of Poetry' and 'Essence of Poetry' give a clear cut and comprehensive view of the Indian rhetoricians regarding the soul of poetry. His essay 'Indian Poetics and T.S. Eliot's three voices of Poetry' exhibit his mastery over English aesthetics. Besides this, we note that the author quotes profusely the European Criticism whenever needed in the course of his writings only to show that the Indian writers exercised their minds in this field far earlier than any other class of writers in the world.

On the whole Prof. Krishna Moorthy's language is sonorous and befits the context. His analytical mind and expression in English always go hand in hand. The printing and get up of the book are excellent.

K.S. RAMAMURTHI

KRIYĀKAIKAVACANDRIKĀ OF VARĀHAGURU: Critically edited by Sri S.B. RAGHUNADHACHARYA with his commentary *Rākā*. Published by H.H. Srimannarayana Ramanuja Jeeyar Swamy, Srimadubhaya-vedantacharya Peetham, Sri Vasudasasramam, Nadigaddapalem, Guntur dt, A.P., India, 1976. Price : Rs. 16/- pages XXVII+389.

The *Kriyākairavacandrikā* is a manual on the *kriyā* and the *caryā* aspects of the Pāñcarātra Āgama. Out of the 37 chapters which this work contains, the first twenty five treat the *kriyā* aspect and the remaining the *caryā* aspect. The treatment is based on the *Pādmasaṃhitā* and the *Viṣṇutilako*. The importance of this work lies in the presentation of the essential acts with pointed references to the items in each and avoiding digressions. The *kriyā* portion begins with the selection of the site for the building of the temple and deals with the *nyāsa* and *pratiṣṭhā* of various kinds of the images to be installed in the temple constructed on that site. And it ends with the method of installing the image of the deity in the house. The method of initiation of the pupils for conducting worship of God, the *mānasa* and the *bāhya* methods of worship, ablation of several kinds, conduct of the festivals, renovation and *Pavitrāropana* are dealt with in the *caryā* section.

That the principles of architecture were followed by the builders of temples is evident from the detailed description in chapters 5 to 7. Mention of Vāsudeva, Acyuta, Satya, Puruṣa and Ananta as the deities to be invoked during installation indicates that the Pāñcarātra system inherited the Vaikhānasa tradition which admits the above mentioned deities. Reference could be made, in support of this, to the *Jayākhya-saṃhitā* 4.1 to 7; *Mahābhārata, Śānti*. Ch. 358; *Pāramēśvarasaṃhitā* 1.35a-81. The charge, that the Pāñcarātra system is non-vedic, rather anti-vedic, is disproved by the profuse citations of the Vedic *mantras* which are required to be recited in the rituals connected with both the *kriyā* and the *caryā*. Special attention may be drawn to pp. 160-162 and 200-201. The author Varāhaguru, who must have been an ardent follower of the Pāñcarātra tradition, follows *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* for the procedure conducting the rite *godohana* (Ch. 15).

In the opening introductory verse, Varāhaguru pays his obeisance to his father Peṅṅarārya, who was his preceptor and was a descendent of Anantadeśika of Kauśikagotra. The name Peṅṅarārya is taken by many scholars as Pātrācārya. It is hard to agree with this view since the title Pātrācārya is assumed by the Vaiṣṇava family of Śaṭhamarṣaṅagotra living at Kumbakonam, while the author belonged to Kauśikagotra. A suggestion could be made here for taking this name as equivalent to Ammāiacārya which was the title of Vātsya Varadācārya well-known as Nadādūr Ammal. *Peṅṅār* means in Tamil one who has given birth to a

child. This suggestion is also faulty since *peṅṅār* can mean father not mother (*ammā!*). Besides, the title *Ammā!* is held by the Vaiṣṇavas of Śrīvatsagoṭra. Those of Kauśikagoṭra do not appear to have had this title. This suggestion, if admitted, may point to the name *Varadadeśika* for the author. There is thus no means of finding out what this name *Peṅṅār* means. There is also no evidence available to fix the date of the author.

The editor Sri S B. Raghunadhacarya has contributed a worthy commentary or gloss called *Rākā* for this work. He justifies convincingly (p. 244) the inclusion of the *caryā* materials in a work which should deal only with the *krtyā* portion as its title suggests. With rare and abundant scholarstic skill, he questions (p: 272) the genuine nature of a passage in the *Pādmasaṃhitā*. On the treatment of *N. āsa* (pp 267, 268) and *Tattvādhvārcana* (pp. 280-281), the author displays his skill in blending harmoniously the traditional scholarship with modern research. Convincing derivations and explanations are offered to words such as *valoja* (p. 250), *garbha* (p. 253), *maṇḍapa* (p. 275), *niśācūrna* (p. 295), *galantikā* (p. 286), *tripādukā* (p. 286), and others. Technical expressions get adequately explained, e.g., *sampāta* (p. 269) *gokarṇa*, *vitasti* and *prādeśa* (p. 279) and others. The word *utsava* (p. 294) is explained according to the *Pādmasaṃhitā*. It is worth noting that two other ways of explaining this word are also available in the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (30.8) and *Atri's Śamūrtīrcanādhikaraṇa* (54.3). Of interest is the editor's discussion on the readings of the text (pp. 269 and 270).

The worth of this edition is enhanced by the Appendices which contain the rules for *Vāsudeva Puṅyāhavācana*, and the texts of the *Puruṣasūkta*, *Śrisūkta*, *Nārāyaṇānuvāka*, *Nārāyaṇopaniṣat*, *Viṣṇusūkta*, *Bhūsūkta*, *Nilāsūkta*, *Varuṇasūkta*, *Pavamānasūkta*, *Ghṛtasūkta*, *Trisuparnasūkta*, *Lākunasūkta*, *Rākṣoghnasūkta* and *Śāntipañcaka*. The Index of the *śedamantras*, occurring in the text numbering 182, gives references to the sources of these *mantras* which are also quoted in full. One hundred and sixty five *Āgamamantras* are alphabetically arranged mentioning their sources which are mostly in the *Pādmasaṃhitā* and *Viṣṇutilaka. fudrās*, which the text mentions, are thirty-seven in number. They are indexed giving the definitions for them. It is also stated that there are 31 *mudras* not enumerated in this text. The sources from which this list is prepared are also mentioned. The *svaras*, eight in number, eleven *śilas*, fourteen *rāgas* and sixteen *nr̥ttas* are indexed citing their definitions. An index of half-verses for 281 *ślokas* is prepared mentioning their sources. Of value are the index of technical terms 115 in number and a bibliography.

This edition has a benediction (*maṅgalāsāsana*) from H.H. Tridāṇḍi Śimannārāyaṇa Jiyar Swāmi, a preface from Prof. E.R. Sreekrishna

Sarma, a foreword from Prof M.D. Balasubrahmanyam, an introduction by Dr. N.S. Ramanujatacharya and *Āmoda* by Āgamācārya S.B. Lakshminarasimhacharya, an English Introduction by Dr. M. Narasimhacharya, *Prastāvana* (in Telugu) by the editor, list of abbreviations and a table of contents.

This manual is too well-known among the followers of the Pāñcarātra system. This edition is in many ways better than the Grantha and Devanāgarī editions which are not now available. For the understanding of the subject matter presented in this work, there is no need for any one to take the aid of other reference books. The work is self contained in all aspects and satisfies all the requirements of a modern edition.

A suggestion is offered to the editor for bringing out this work with his commentary in the Devanāgarī script so as to make it reach the scholars who do not know the Telugu script. The editor can also take up, with confidence, the edition of two other Pāñcarātra texts *Kapīñjala-saṃhitā* and *Viṣṇutilaka*, of course in the Devanāgarī script with his valuable gloss.

V. VARADACHARI.

ŚĀSTRADĪPIKĀ OF PĀRTHASĀRATHIMĪŚRA WITH PRABHĀ OF TATSAT VAIDYANĀTHA : A Part I, Edited by Acharya P.N. PATTABHIRAMA SASTRI : Sri Lalbahadur Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, New Delhi, 1978; Pages 2+11+8+504, Price : Rs. 50/-.

The *Vedas* and the Śrautasūtras deal mainly with the performance of sacrifices for which *mantras*, formulas and procedures are laid down by them. The sacrifices are, however, of various kinds. Some among them are principal requiring the performance of certain rites which are only subsidiary to them. The relative nature of these sacrifices regarding their roles as principal and secondary is not dealt with in the *Vedas* or the Śrautasūtras. It is the Mīmāṃsā system that offers the rules for interpreting the *mantras* and the formulas and contains directions for determining the procedures for the performance of these rites.

Many sages framed rules for this interpretation and it is the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā sūtras* of Jaimini that finally emerged as the authentic work to serve this purpose. Śabarasvāmin wrote a *bhāṣya* on them. This *bhāṣya* was commented later by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara. These two writers held divergent views on many topics and their followers maintaining their tradition came to be known as Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara.

As years rolled by, there arose mutual recriminations between the two schools. Besides, the *sūtras* of Jaimini, on which the *bhāṣya* of Śābarasvāmin and commentaries upon it were based, are 2744 grouped in twelve chapters. Each chapter contains a number of sections called *Adhikaraṇa* which is defined as:

viśayo viśayaścaiva pūrvapakṣas tathottaram |
prayojanam ca pañcāṅgam śāstredhikaraṇam matam ||

The *adhikaraṇas* are 881 in number. The very elaborate and voluminous system required a concise treatment, in the sense that the contents of the sections could be presented a clear cut treatment. It was Pārthasārathimīśra who undertook this responsible task and produced the *Śāstradīpikā*. He flourished about A.D. 1100 and was the son of Yajñātman. His other works are: 1. *Nyāyaratnākara*, a commentary on the *Śloka-vārttika* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa; 2. *Tantrarātna*, again a commentary on the *Ṭupṭikā* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa; and 3. *Nyāyaratnamālā*, an independent work in which the author discusses the nature of certain important topics, bringing out the differences in the views held by the Bhāṭṭas and Prābhākaras and showing the weakness in the latter school.

The *Śāstradīpikā* is written in an easy and simple prose interspersed with the author's verses in the appropriate contexts emphasizing his views on the particular topic taken up in the section. Pārthasārathimīśra was the earliest writer in the field of the Śāstra to write a book of this kind. He states *prima facie* view in each section and after offering a detailed discussion upon it, gives his *siddhānta*. Another aspect is that the inner connection (*saṃgati*) between the quarters (*pāda*) and chapters are explained at the beginning of each quarter and each chapter.

The edition of the *Śāstradīpikā* under review contains the text and commentary for the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* from the *pāda* II of Ch. I to the end of Ch. V. The second and third *pādas* of Ch. I are devoted to the treatment of validity of the *arthavādas*, *Smṛtis* and *ācāra*. The last *pāda* of the chapter determines the ways in which certain names of sacrifices are ascertained from the Vedic passages. For instance, *Citrā* is the name of a sacrifice. This name is derived from a variety (*citrā*) of materials used in the performance of it and the feminine gender of the name is to be justified as it refers to an *iṣṭi*. The second chapter determines the basis for distinguishing one *karma* from another. The principal and subsidiary character of the sacrifices is explained in Ch. III. *Śruti*, *Liṅga*, *Vākya*, *rakaraṇa*, *Sthāna* and *Samākhya* are shown to be the six *pramāṇas* for deciding this. Ch. IV contains a discussion on the subject matter of Vedic injunctions and how the results are to be obtained. How should the rites of various kinds, like the principal and subsidiary, should be performed in particular sequences is treated in Ch. V. *Śruti*, *Artha*,

Pāṭha, Pravṛtti, Stāna and *Mukhya* are the *pramāṇas* to be employed to determine this sequence.

There are some interesting points in the *Śāstradīpikā* which, from the point of explanation offered, are valuable for understanding the nature of the contribution made by the author. On the *arthavādas*, the author remarks that everybody is attracted to the worldly objects which are enchanting by their nature. The means to get at them is indeed hard. Man is therefore reluctant to take to those means. In order to create a liking for obtaining those objects the objects are glorified as having exquisite virtues. Driven then by a desire to have them, man may not mind the hardships he has to undergo to get them. Likewise, the results to be obtained are also extolled so as to attract man (pp. 10, 11) The *arthavādas* are stated to be of three kinds: 1) Some of them condemn the undertaking of certain deeds as forbidden, as they would lead to undesirable consequences. 2) Some glorify the Vedic injunctions. 3) Some describe vividly the reasons for undertaking certain rites. (p. 21).

Bhāvanā is classified into two kinds: those which have sacrifice as their object and those having the sacrifice as the efficient instrument for obtaining the cherished goal (p. 96).

While discussing the role of the *arthavādas*, the author notes a case: *yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ*. How can *yajamāna* be a *prastara* (seat) or *prastara* be *yajamāna*? In the context the seat is praised as useful to *yajamāna*. Then the word *yajamāna* will have metaphorical import. The author discusses the basis for such imports and states that similarity and not superimposition is the basis for usage (pp. 108-109).

Elaborate discussion is undertaken while making clear what the terms *śeṣa* and *seṣin* mean. In this context, the view of Bādari is cited and refuted and Jaimini's view is stated to be that the concept of *śeṣa* lies in being of service to another and not doing help to another, (pp. 220-222).

While dealing with sequence, the author states that it is known in the case of the *mantras* when they are recited, and in the case of injunctions when they are known (p. 470).

In the sacrifices like *Jyotiṣṭoma* and *Paunḍarika*, cows and horses are offered as gifts. A question is raised as to who among the donor and recipient should perform those rites. After discussing the issues pertaining to both, the author decides that the sacrifice should be performed only by the donor. Then he remarks that according to a *bhāṣyākāra*, earlier to Śābarasvāmin, the receiver shall perform it.

Clarification sare offered as to the possibility of the *pramāṇas* becoming mutually opposed (p. 44) and as to what a word stands for (pp. 74, 75).

The author offers derivations and explanations to some technical terms like *aṣṭākapaḷa* (P. 105, 106), *kalpa* (p. 59), *karṇa* (p. 130), *nigada* (pp. 144-145), *hīṣ* (p. 189), *nivida* (pp. 238-239, 245) and *prāsasta* (p. 451).

The author mentions the names of some early writers for his statements. Some of them are Gautama (p. 57), Āśvalāyana (p. 60) Vājasaneyya (p. 67) and Bādari (p. 222). Some writers are mentioned as *kecit*, *ekadeśinen*. It is curious to note that the author does not mention Prabhākara or Śālikanātha by name. Prabhākara's reasoning is ridiculed as the fool's prattle (p. 275).

Even the lucid exposition of Pārthasārathimīśra was felt as hard for understanding with the result that commentaries were required to be written about A.D. 1600. The authors of them were all near contemporaries. Except the commentary of Somanātha, all others have remained only in manuscripts. The next commentary to appear in print is the *Prabhā* published in the book under review.

The author of the *Prabhā* is Tatsat Vaidyanātha, son of Rāmacandra Tatsat. In the colophons at the end of the *pādas* in his commentary, he refers to his father by the names such as Rāmabhaṭṭa, Rāmabhadra, Rāmacandrasūri, and Rāmabudha. His father was well-versed in *pada*, *vākya* and *pramāṇa*, was respected by scholars (*vidvānmānya*) and had the title *Tatsat*. *Tat* and *Sat* are the titles by which Vedic scholars ritualists, sacrificers and donors were honoured. (*The Bhagavadgītā*, XVII, 25-26, 27). It is evident that Vaidyanātha and his father belonged to the family steeped in Vedic learning and devoted to the performance of Vedic rituals.

Vaidyanātha is known to have written five works 1. *Agnihorā-rthacandrikā*; 2. A commentary on the *Kālamādhavakārika*; 3. *Udāharaṇacandrikā*, a commentary on the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*; 4. *Alaṃkāracandrikā*, a commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda*; and 5. *Prabhā*, a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā*. The reference to himself as a *kavi*, in the second introductory *śloka* in the *prabhā*, gets justified by his commentaries on Alaṃkāra works cited above. The *Udāharaṇacandrikā* was written in 1683 and so Vaidyanātha may be taken to have flourished at the end of the 17th century.

The *Prabhā* is lucid, easy and brief and not exhaustive like the commentary of Somanātha. Though brief, here the knotty points get

adequate explanation. It is valuable for information it contains on matters mainly related to the sacred rites.

The inner relation (*saṃgati*) is said to be of four kinds, big, *sāstra*, *adhyāyā*, *prakṛta* (context), and *anantara*. (p. 1). Four kinds of fallacies are to be avoided while seeking to know Dharma (p. 2).

On the question of wearing *yajñopavita* the commentator remarks that it is ordained in the *Darsapūrnamāsa* while the *Kāṭhaka* enjoins it for all sacrifices. *Yajñopavita*, mentioned here is not the one that is made up of threads but it means the wearing, the cloth worn as *yajñopavita*. So, the injunction is of the thread - *yajñopavita* would be not of the Śrauta kind (pp. 44-45). Somanātha held the opposite view, that *yajñopavita* made of threads is meant here. (p. 30).

While discussing whether one can marry one's maternal uncle's daughter, the commentator refers to this practice as prevailing in the Āndhradeśa (p. 50). The writers of North India refer to this practice as prevailing among South Indians. Somanātha offers some comments on this practice. Prohibition is only when the mother's (of the girl) *gotra* is to be taken into account. There cannot be any objection, if the girl is given in adoption to some one else when the *gotra* of the parents do not come for consideration (p. 34).

The *Rājāsūya* shall be performed by a Kṣatriya, that is one who is not only a born Kṣatriya but also a crowned king. The commentator notes that even those, who do not get rulership, are called *Rāja* in the Dravida country. (p. 194-5), Kumārilabhaṭṭa observes that Śabarasvāmin identified such persons who get the name *Rāja* as Āndhras and that this must be taken to refer to the people of South India without reference to any particular region (*Tantravārttika* P. 591).

While *Kāriri* sacrifice is performed, the followers of the *Taittirīya* recension of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* are enjoined to dine on the ground (p. 215).

The worth of this commentary is high in one more respect: That is, many words of ritualistic nature are fully explained. Some of them are *ājyabhāga* (p. 470), *ukhā* (pp. 390, 486), *prśadājya* (p. 483), *Maitrāvaruṇa* (p. 423), *svaru* (p. 418), *hautra* (p. 391), *havirdhāna* (p. 373), *sparśana* (p. 370), *saṃsthā* (p. 364), *sadas* (p. 355), *ghṛtam*, *mastu*, *niṣpakvam* (p. 312), *ūrdhvaṣātra* (p. 234), *aratni* (p. 233), *sphya* (p. 225), *śamyā* (p. 224) and others.

There are words which are ancient in their usage and convey meanings which are not current outside the śāstraic sphere, especially

Mīmāṃsā. To those, not acquainted with śāstras, the meanings which the author gives for them may appear to be strange and incorrect too. Some of them are:— *ulapa* (p. 247), *niṣkarṣa* (p. 259), *sāmparāyika* (p. 260), *śundhana* (p. 295), *prākāśa* (p. 303), *avagurāṇa* (p. 316), *upavarṇana* (p. 333), *abhiśava* (pp. 168, 334), *anupahūta* (p. 341), *parivāśya* (p. 420), *nidevanam* (p. 448), *cañcala* (p. 451), *antarita* (p. 451), *vyatireka* (p. 456), *pratyāsatti* (p. 465), *pratibala* (p. 476), *avaroddhum* (p. 504), and others.

Another noteworthy feature is that the commentator cites passages from certain recensions of the Vedas such as the Kauṣītakī (p. 304), Maitrāyaṇīya (p. 322), and Tāṇḍya (pp. 80, 84). Mention is made of writers on Kalpasūtras, Dharmasāstras, such as Kāṭīya (pp. 40), Āpastamba (p. 45), Yājñavalkya (p. 45). Reference is made to earlier writers like Bādari (p. 220), Vārttikakāra (p. 244) who must be Kumārilabhāṭṭa, Maṇḍanamīśra (pp. 13, 130), Sālikanātha (p. 19), Bhavanātha (p. 121), and Mīśra (p. 134), the author of the text. Readings are also taken note of along with a discussion on them. (Vide:— pp. 128, 308, 383).

In his Preface, the editor has given a valuable but brief account of the development of the Mīmāṃsā tradition. He has vehemently and justifiably condemned the approach taken by modern Indian scholars towards the understanding of the contribution made by the ancient writers of India and fixing the periods of their activities. Yet, it is doubtful whether his arguments for fixing the period of Śaṅkara are infallible and acceptable.

Useful information is given regarding Pārthasārathimīśra's contribution to the Mīmāṃsā system, and the family of the Mīmāṃsā traditionalists in Mithilā.

The editor's foot notes are useful for clarifications on the use of expressions like *vāji* (p. 179) *rājā* (p. 195), *veda* according to the Pārthakāras (p. 275) and others. Reference could be made also to the notes on pp. 164, 175; 216, 219, 276-277, 280-281 and 287-288.

Curiously enough, the editor has not furnished information on the MSS. materials he has used in editing this work, though he has used the letters like *ka*, *ga* and others while referring to the readings, e. g. pp. 122, 128, 187, 188 and others.

This edition is really an asset to the students of the Śāstras and scholars. Printing and get up are good. It is hoped that the *Tarkapāda*

of the *Prabhā* and on the remaining portion of the *Sāstradīpikā* will be brought out in the near future by the learned editor who is equipped with critical acumen and erudition acquired from his talented Guru.

V. VARADACHARI

नागेशभट्टकृतः परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः दुर्गाख्यसंस्कृतव्याख्यया हिन्दी-
भाष्येण च समुपेतः । टीकाद्वयस्य लेखकः सम्पादकश्च डा. हर्षनाथमिश्रः,
व्याकरणसाहित्याचार्यः, एम.ए.पी.एच.डी., वरिष्ठो व्याख्याता, श्रीलालबहादुर
शास्त्रीकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्, नईदिल्ली, १९७८. मूल्यम् ७५ रूप्याणि.

श्रीमता व्याकरणार्णवपारावारपारीणेन करतलामलकीकृतसकलशास्त्रसाराथेन
नागेशभट्टेन प्रणीतस्य परिभाषेन्दुशेखरस्य विंशत्यधिकानि प्राचीनानि व्याख्यानानि सन्ति
येषु प्रायो नागेशहृदयं साधु प्रकाशितमेवास्ति । तथाप्यस्ति कस्यचिन्नवीनस्य व्याख्यानस्या-
पेक्षा यत् आधुनिकानां छात्राणां मनोरथं पूरयितुं प्रभवेत् । प्राचीनानि व्याख्यानानि
व्युत्पन्नहृदयसमारोधानानि न व्युत्पित्सुमन्दबुद्धिसुग्राह्याणि । अधुनातनकाले आयु-
रारोग्यवलवीर्यश्रद्धाशमदमग्रहणधारणादिशक्तेरहरहरपचीयमानतया प्रौढरीत्या लिख्यमाना
ग्रन्थाः दुर्वाधा एव भवन्ति । अतः प्रौढानां प्राक्तनशास्त्रीयग्रन्थानां सुलभशैल्या
व्याख्यानस्याधुना आवश्यकता मञ्जाता । प्रथमतो मूलार्थः स्पष्टीकरणीयः, तदनन्तरमेव
युक्तयुक्तत्वविमर्शावसरः । प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु प्रायो रीतिरियं न दृश्यते । अत एव
व्याख्यानग्रन्था अपि स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थायन्ते ।

परिभाषेन्दुशेखरे ये शब्दा उदाहरणार्थमुद्ध्रियन्ते तेषां का प्रक्रिया, प्रकृते
कुत्रांशे विचारः इति प्रतिपङ्क्ति स्पष्टीकरणीयं भवति । तथा भाष्यकैयटादिकं यत्र
प्रमाणत्वेनोल्लिख्यते तत्र भाष्यादिग्रन्थाशयं स्पष्टं विलिख्य तेषां प्रकृते योजनमपि
कर्तव्यम् । सर्वमिदं मनसि कुर्वता प्रकृतव्याख्याकारेण यथाशक्ति यथा मितमतीनामपि
स्पष्टं बोधो भवेत् तथा प्रयतितम् । प्रयत्नश्च प्रायेण सफल इत्येव मे मतिः । व्याख्याता
मूलस्य भावं सरलैर्वचोभिः स्पष्टीकरोति । उदाहरणतया आगच्छतां शब्दानां सम्यक्
प्रक्रियां प्रदर्शयति, येन कौमुद्याद्यन्वेषणश्रमोऽप्यनवसरो भवति । तथा तत्र तत्रो-
द्धृतानां भाष्यकैयटादिग्रन्थानां पूर्वोत्तरसन्दर्भसहिततया अनुवादपूर्वकं सरलभाषया
तात्पर्यमुक्त्वा प्रकृते समन्वयं करोति ।

परं तु क्वचित् व्याख्याकारस्य वचांसि अनन्वितानीव लक्ष्यन्ते । यथा
पृ. ४४ -

“अनुशब्दस्य पश्चादर्थद्वयोक्तत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । णादयश्च अणादि-
प्रत्यये अकारादौ वृद्ध्यादिकार्यार्थमाचारेण भाविकार्यदर्शिना
कल्पिते पश्चान्निबद्धाः”

इति वाक्यविन्यासो दृश्यते । आचारेण पाणिनिना णकारादयः वृद्ध्यादिकार्यार्थं
पश्चात्काले निबद्धा इति हेतोः अनुबन्धशब्दवाच्या भवन्तीत्यत्र विवक्षितम् । यथा-
श्रुतवाक्यात् दूरान्वयं विना अयमर्थो दुर्लभः । ‘अणादिप्रत्यये णादयश्च, कल्पिते
अकारादौ भाविकार्यदर्शिना आचारेण वृद्ध्यादिकार्यार्थं पश्चान्निबद्धाः’ इति कथंचि-
दन्वैतव्यं भवति ।

एवं पृ. ४१३ -

“‘अकः सवर्णे’ इत्यस्य विषयस्तु दैत्य + अरिः इत्यादिः ‘अतो
गुणे’ इत्यनेनास्पृष्टो वर्तते इति न तस्य तदप्राप्तियोग्येऽचारि-
तार्थ्यम्”

इति वाक्यं दृश्यते । दैत्य + अरिः इत्यत्रापि ‘अतो गुणे’ इत्यस्य प्राप्तिसत्त्वात्
अश्रुमुदाहरणमिदं ‘अतो गुणे’ इत्यनेनास्पृष्टं भवेत् ? अतोऽत्र दैत्य + अरिः इत्यस्य
ग्राने ‘श्री + ईशः’ इत्यादिकमुदाहरणार्थम् ।

एवं तत्र तत्र अक्षराशुद्धिरपि विरलतया अवलोक्यते - यथा पृ. ५१, पं. ६
‘सिद्धमित्यनेनान्वयः’ इति ‘सिद्धमित्यनेनान्वयः’ इति शोधनीयम् । पृ. १९२
. १५ ‘तद्धितान्ततदादित्वनिबन्धं प्रातिपदिकत्वम्’ इत्यत्र ‘निबन्धनम्’ इति
शोधनीयम् । अत्यल्पाः इमास्तुटयः व्याख्यायाः महत्त्वं न विव्रन्ति ‘एको हि
लोको गुणसंनिपाते’ इति न्यायात् ।

व्याख्याकारः मिश्रमहोदयः व्याकरणशास्त्रे कृतभूरिपरिश्रमः अध्यापनानुभवेन
त्राणां स्वभावेन परिचितश्चेति व्याख्यानस्यास्य परिशीलनेनावबुध्यते । व्याख्या-
नानेन अध्यापकाश्छात्राश्च नितरामुपकृताः इति शम् ।

एन्. एस्. रामानुजताताचार्यः

శ్రీ తాళ్లపాక అన్నమాచార్యులు - ఐతిహాసిక నవల - రచయిత - తుమ్మలపల్లి రామలింగేశ్వరరావు - పుటలు 219 - డబల రూ 6-00 - ప్రతులకు శ్రీ యార్లగడ్డ వెంకన్న చౌదరి వద్దవైభవార్చ్యుత్సవ సంఘము - 899. జి. యన్. కెట్టెరోడ్డు, మద్రాస్ 17.

ఇదొక ఆప్రామాణిక గ్రంథము. ఇంత కటవుగా వ్రాయవలసి వచ్చినందుకు వింతిస్తున్నాను. ఎందుకంటే శ్రీ తాళ్లపాక అన్నమాచార్యులు చారిత్రక పురుషుడు - వదక వితాపితామహుడు - సంకీర్తనాచార్యుడు - శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామి భక్తుడు - ఇట్టి మహనీయుని చరిత్ర సరిగా రచించలేదనే వింతతో వ్రాస్తున్నాను.

సుమారు నాలుగువందల సంవత్సరాలకు పూర్వమే అన్నమాచార్యుల మనుమడు చిన్నన్న అనే చినతిరువేంగళనాథుడు తన తాతగారైన అన్నమాచార్యుల చరిత్రను "అన్నమాచార్య చరిత్ర" పేర ద్వీపవరూపంలో రచించినాడు. అన్నదురుడేవులు పూజ్యులు శ్రీ వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారు ఆ గ్రంథానికి విపులమైన ఓరిక వెలయినచో తిరుమల తిరుపతి దేవస్థానమువారు (SRI VENKATESWARA ORIENTAL SERIES No 17గా) 1949లో ప్రకటించినారు. వీటి సన్నిధిని త్రోసిరాజిని "ఐతిహాసిక నవల" పేరుతో ఈ గ్రంథాన్ని శ్రీ రామలింగేశ్వరరావుగారు రచించినారు.

ఈ గ్రంథంలో ఐతిహాసిక నవల కుండవలసిన లక్షణాలేవీ లేవు - వ్యాఖ్య నిర్మాణము సరిగాలేదు - అన్నీ చరిత్రవిరుద్ధ విషయాలే - కల్పించిన కల్పనలన్నీ కృతకంగా ఉన్నాయి

పై విషయాలన్నీ సోదాహరణంగా నిరూపిస్తూ వ్రాయాలంటే ఈ పుస్తకానికంటే పెద్దపుస్తకం వ్రాయవలసి ఉంటుంది. పుస్తక సమీక్షరూపంలో అయ్యేవనికాదని మచ్చుకు కొన్ని ఆప్రామాణిక విషయాలు చూపుతున్నాను.

1. నవల 1, 2, పుటల్లో "భక్తచరిత్రగా 12 ఏండ్ల కుజువాడైన అన్నమయ్యను తోడ్కొని తిరుచానూరు (అలమేలు మంగుళూరు) వచ్చి దేవాలయంలో పరచారికావృత్తి చేస్తూ లక్కమాంబ జీవితం గడుపుతూ ఉండెను" అనీ 12వ పుటలో "అన్నమయ్యకు అయిదవ ఏడయినా నిండకమునుపే తండ్రి మరణించినాడు" అనీ వ్రాసినారు శ్రీ రావుగారు.

ఈ క్రింది కారణాలచేత చరిత్ర విరుద్ధపు వ్రాత పైవ్రాత -

- (a) అన్నమయ్య మనుమడు చిన తిరువేంగళనాథుడు రచించిన అన్నమాచార్య చరిత్ర ద్వీపవ పుటలు 11 నుండి 16లలో "తల్లిదండ్రులకు తెలువక అన్నమయ్య మాత్రం మొట్టమొదట తిరుమలకు వచ్చి పరుషబృందంతో వచ్చినట్లుంది.

(b) **అన్నమయ్యనాడు తిరుచానూరులో** అలమేలుమంగకు ప్రత్యేక దేవాలయము లేదు. తిరుమల తిరుపతి దేవస్థానములవారు ప్రకటించిన శిలాశాసనాల సంపుటాలు ఏడింటిలో గాని ఎఫ్.గ్రాఫికల్ రిపోర్టులో గాని అలమేలు మంగకు ప్రత్యేక దేవాలయమున్నట్లు ఎక్కడా పేర్కొనలేదు.

2. నవల 12 వ పుటలో "నారాయణయ్య కుమారునికి జాతకర్మాదులు నిర్వహించి తన తండ్రిపేరే తన కుమారునికి ఉంచాడు - వాళ్లవంశంలో పూర్వపురుషులొకాయన నిరతాన్న ప్రదానం చేశాడట - అందుచేత ఆయనకు అన్నమయ్య అనేపేరు జనశ్రుతిలో రూఢినామంగా ఏర్పడి పోయిందట" అన్నారు శ్రీరావుగారు.

ఇది క్రింది కారణాలచేత చరిత్ర విరుద్ధపు వ్రాతే -

- (a) చిన్నన్న అ. చ. ద్వీపద 9 నుండి 8 పుటల్లో అన్నమయ్య వంశక్రమం - నారాయణ - విఠల - నారాయణ - విఠల - నారాయణ - నారాయణ సూరి - అన్నమయ్యలుగా పేర్కొనబడ్డారు.
- (b) నారాయణసూరి తండ్రి నారాయణే కాని అన్నమయ్యకాదు.
- (c) అ.చ. ద్వీపద 10 వ పుటలో "జలజోదరునకు నామమై - విన బంజా మమై మున్ను - హేమాంబరుం వానతిచ్చిన యట్టి - అన్నమయ్య హ్యాయం బతనికి నొనగె" అని ఉంది. కాబట్టి తన తండ్రి పేరుపెట్టినారనడంగానీ - వాళ్ల పూర్వులు అన్నదానం చేయకంచేత అన్నమయ్య అన్న పేరు వచ్చిందనడం గానీ సరియైన వ్రాతలు కావు.

3. నవల 16 వ పుటలో, లక్కమాంబ కోరికిమీద పోతనామాత్యులవారు మంచి ముహూర్తాన్ని నిశ్చయించి అన్నమయ్యకు ఉపనయనం చేశాడు" అన్నారు శ్రీరావుగారు.

ఈ క్రింది కారణాలవల్ల ఇది పై వ్రాతలవలె ఆపరిణితుపు వ్రాత -

- (a) చిన్నన్న అ. చ. ద్వీపద 11 వ పుటలో "పంచనమంబులైనంత - నియతిమై గురుడువనీకు గావించి - నయవేది నధ్యయనంబు సేయించె" నన్నాడు కాబట్టి తల్లిదండ్రులు 9 వ పుటనే అన్నమయ్యను ఉపనీతు గావించినట్లు తెలియుచున్నది.
- (b) బోధాయన ధర్మసూత్రంలో "ఉపనయనం బ్రాహ్మణస్యాష్టమే. నవమే పంచమే వా కామ్యమ్" అని ఉన్నది. కాబట్టి 9 వ ఏట ఉపనయనం అన్నమయ్యకు జరపడం శాస్త్రసమ్మతమే అని తెలిసింది.

- (c) శ్రీ శ్రీ ఆదిశంకరులకు 9వ ఏటనే ఉపనయనం అయినట్లు శంకరవిజయములో ఉంది. ఈ విషయం మా డైరెక్టరు గారైన డాక్టర్ S. శంకరనారాయణ M.A. P.h.d. గారు తెలిపినారు.
- (d) చిన్నప్ప అ.చ. ద్వీపద 29వ పుటలో "నెల జవ్వనము మేన నిగు రొత్తు కొడుకు - దలిదండ్రు లరసి యాతని దోడుకొనుచు - కులము వారిండ్లకును బోయి సుతున - తెలిమి మీ పడుచుల నీ వలె నన్ని" అని ఉంది. కాబట్టి ఉపనయనమేకాదు అన్నమయ్య వివాహంకూడా కల్పి దండ్రులే చేసినట్లు తెలియుచున్నది.

ఇట్లా చరిత్రవిరుద్ధ విషయాలతో నిండిన గ్రంథం ఇది. విచరంగా తెలియ గోరేవారు - చిన్నప్ప అనే చివరిరువేంగళనాడుడు రచించిన అన్నమాచార్య చరిత్ర (ద్వీపద) శ్రీ ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారు పరిష్కరించిన గ్రంథంతో సరిమాడవలెనని కోరు తున్నాను.

పై ద్వీపద గ్రంథాన్ని చూడకనే శ్రీ రామలింగేశ్వరరావుగారు ఊహించి రచించిన గ్రంథమిది. రైలు - బస్సు ప్రయాణాల్లో కాలక్షేపం జరగడానికి ఈ గ్రంథం బాగా ఉపయోగ పడుతుంది.

సాహసించి చారిత్రక పురుషుడైన శ్రీ తాళ్లపాక అన్నమయ్య చరిత్ర నవలారూపంలో ప్రప్రథమంగా ఆంధ్రదేశానికి అందించిన గ్రంథకర్త అభినందింపదగినవారే. ఆంధ్రులంతా ఈ గ్రంథాన్ని కొని ఆచరిస్తారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

A. V. SRINIVASACHARYULU

एन्, एस्, रामानुजताताचार्यः

प्रामाण्यवादस्य तुलनात्मकदृष्ट्या विचारः

प्रमात्मकज्ञानगतं प्रामाण्यं अप्रमात्मकज्ञानगतमप्रामाण्यं च किं स्वतः उत परत इत्यत्र तीर्थकरा विप्रतिपद्यन्ते । तत्र प्रामाण्यमप्रामाण्यं चेत्युभयं स्वत इति सांख्याः । उभयं परत इति वैशेषिकादयः । अप्रामाण्यं स्वतः, प्रामाण्यं परत इति बौद्धाः । प्रामाण्यं स्वतः, अप्रामाण्यं परत इति मीमांसकाः वेदान्तिनश्चेति चत्वारः पक्षाः । तत्र तत्तद्वादिनां मतमादौ संगृह्य नैयायिकमतं तत्र संभवदोषाणां निराकरणप्रकारं च अत्र परामृशामः ।

सांख्यमतम्

ज्ञाने पूर्वमविद्यमानं प्रामाण्यं अप्रामाण्यं वा पश्चात्कारणबलादुत्पद्यत इत्यङ्गीकारे अस्तकार्यवादो भवेदिति भीताः सांख्याः प्रामाण्यमप्रामाण्यं चोभयमपि स्वाश्रयाभ्यां सहैव उत्पद्येते इति अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । यद्यपि सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुद्यामयं विषयो न स्पष्टः, तथापि अथर्ववेदभाष्यभूमिकास्थात् एतद्विषयकसांख्यमतादिदं तन्मतत्वेनास्माभिरवगतम् ।

तन्मतपरामर्शः

इदं च अस्तकार्यवादनिषेधादेव निरस्तप्रायम् । अस्तकार्यवादश्च बहुषु नैयायिकग्रन्थेषु निरस्त इति नात्र स विषयो वितन्यतेऽप्रसक्तत्वाच्च । किं च प्रामाण्यमप्रामाण्यं चेत्युभयमपि हेतुविशेषं विना यदि स्वभावतो भवेतां तदा इदं ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् इदं ज्ञानप्रमाणम् इति व्यवस्था न घटेत् । ज्ञानव्यक्तिभेदात् व्यवस्थोपपद्यत इति चेन्न । कस्यां ज्ञानव्यक्तौ प्रामाण्यं कस्यां च ज्ञानव्यक्तावप्रामाण्यमिति निरूपयितुमशक्यत्वात् । अतः प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्ययोः कारणविशेषादुत्पत्तिरित्यवश्यमास्थेयम् । तदुक्तं सायणाचार्यैरथर्ववेदभाष्यभूमिकायां¹ —

‘ तस्मात् सत्कार्यनिषेधात् प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्ययो-
रुभयोरपि स्वतस्त्वे किञ्चिदेव प्रमाणं किञ्चिद-
प्रमाणमिति व्यवस्थानुपपत्तेश्च नोभयं स्वतः ’ इति ।

यद्येतद्दोषपरिहाराय प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्याश्रयज्ञानव्यक्तिभेदो नाभ्युपगम्यते तदा एकमेव-
ज्ञानं प्रमाणरूपप्रमाणरूपं च स्यात् । तच्च न संगच्छते । विरुद्धयोः प्रमाणत्वा-
प्रमाणत्वयोरकस्मिन् समावेशासंभवात् । अथ एकस्मिन्नेव ज्ञाने अंशभेदेन
प्रमाणत्वमप्रमाणत्वं चेति चेत् — एवं तर्हि स्वसिद्धान्तजन्यज्ञानमपि प्रमाणाप्रमाणात्मकं,
परसिद्धान्तजन्यज्ञानमपि प्रमाणाप्रमाणात्मकमिति कृत्वा स्वसिद्धान्तेऽपि द्वेषं परसिद्धान्तेऽपि
रागं भजस्व । तदेतदुक्तं तच्चमुक्ताकलापे² —

‘ व्यक्त्यैक्ये व्याहृतिः स्यादथ निजविषयेष्वंशतस्ते तथापि
स्याद्धीः सर्वा तथेति स्वपरसमययोर्द्वेषरागौ जुषस्व ।’ इति ।

अप्रामाण्यं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं परत इति बौद्धमतम्

बौद्धाः अप्रामाण्यं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं परत इति मन्यन्ते । तथाहि यदि प्रामाण्यं
स्वत एव निश्चीयेत तर्हि प्रामाण्यरूपैकतरकोटेः निर्धारणात् इदं ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् अप्रमाणं
वेति संदेहो नोपपद्येत । अतः कारणभूतस्य गुणस्य ज्ञानात् प्रवृत्तिसंवादाच्च प्रामाण्यं
निश्चीयते । तदुक्तम् —

‘ तस्मिन् सदपि मानत्वं विनिश्चेतुं न शक्यते ।
उत्तमार्थक्रियाज्ञानात् केवलं तत् प्रतीयते ॥ ’ इति ।

अप्रामाण्यं तु स्वत एवावसीयते । अप्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वादेव वेदादुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं विपर्ययरूपम् ।
अतः स्वतोऽप्रमाणं वेदा इति बौद्धानामाकृतम् । तदुक्तं सेश्वरमीमांसायाम्³ —

‘ वेदादुत्पन्ने च ज्ञाने निश्चयात्मके च दृश्यमाने
विपर्ययत्वमाधनार्थं हि स्वतोऽप्रामाण्यं सिषाधयिषसि ’ इति ।

तन्मतपरामर्शः

अप्रामाण्यं स्वाभाविकमिति वादिनां मतेऽपि भ्रान्तिज्ञानेऽधिष्ठानांशे प्रामाण्यस्य
स्वाभाविकत्वं वक्तव्यम् । अन्यथा निरधिष्ठानभ्रमप्रसङ्गात् । किं च ‘प्रमाणात्प्रमेयसिद्धिः’

2. त. मु. क. श्लो. 107 (बुद्धिसर)

3. सेश्वरमी. पृ. 36

‘युक्तियुक्तं वचो ग्राह्यम्’ इत्यादिकं वचनं सर्वैरपि वादिभिः सत्यैकविषयकं वक्तव्यम् । अतः स्वतःप्रामाण्यं सिद्धम् । किं च बुद्धेस्तत्त्वपक्षपातित्वमिति बौद्धा एव वदन्ति ।

‘अनुपप्लवभूतार्थस्वभावस्य विपर्ययैः ।

न बाधो यत्नवत्त्वेऽपि बुद्धेस्तत्त्वपक्षपाततः ॥’

इति तेषां द्विण्डिमः । तथा निर्विकल्पकस्य वासनोपप्लवशून्यस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । सविकल्पकस्यापि स्वांशे प्रामाण्यं विषयांशेऽप्रामाण्यं च वदन्ति । तथा च कुत्रचित् प्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वं तेषामप्यवर्जनीयम् ।

ननु प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्ययोरुभयोः स्वाभाविकत्वायोगात् एकतरस्य स्वतस्त्वे अप्रामाण्यस्यैव तदस्तु इति चेन्न । प्रामाण्यस्य सर्वेष्वपि ज्ञानेषु किञ्चिदंशे सत्त्वात् अप्रामाण्यस्यैव क्वचित्कत्वात् तदेव किंशुकाद्युपाधिकारुण्यवत् सहेतुकम्, प्रामाण्यमेव निर्हेतुकमिति व्यवस्थापनात् ।

ननु अप्रामाण्यस्याभावरूपत्वेन शून्यात्मकस्य हेत्वपेक्षा नास्ति, प्रामाण्यं तु भावरूपं सत् हेतुमपेक्षत इति चेन्न । मुद्गरप्रहारघटध्वंसयोः पौर्वापर्यनियमदर्शनेन अभावो हेतुनिरपेक्ष इत्युक्तेरसंभवात् ।⁴

तस्मात् अभावो भावो वा यस्य स्वरूपानुबन्धी स स्वाभाविकः यच्चोपाध्यन्तरसापेक्षं तदौपाधिकम् । तत्र प्रामाण्यं धर्म्यंशे स्वरूपानुबन्धीति सर्वत्र स्वत इति मीमांसकाः । नैयायिकास्तु दाघतः अप्रामाण्यं गुणतः प्रामाण्यमित्यातिष्ठन्ते । सर्वथा अप्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वं न संघटते ॥

मीमांसकमतम्

प्रामाण्यं स्वत एवोत्पद्यते ज्ञायते च । अप्रामाण्यं तु परत उत्पद्यते ज्ञायते चेति मीमांसकाः । प्रामाण्यं स्वतः उत्पद्यत इत्यस्य प्रामाण्याश्रयज्ञानस्य या सामग्री उत्पादिका तथैव ज्ञानगतं प्रामाण्यमप्युत्पद्यते, न तु तदुत्पत्तौ गुणापेक्षा इत्यर्थः । तेन च वेदादुत्पन्नस्य ज्ञानस्य यत्प्रामाण्यं तत्र वक्तव्यार्थज्ञानरूपगुणापेक्षाविरहात् वेदस्यापौरुषेयत्वं स्थिरं भवतीति प्रामाण्योत्पत्तौ स्वतस्त्ववादिनां मीमांसकानामाशयः । प्रामाण्यं स्वतः ज्ञायते इत्यस्य प्रामाण्याश्रयस्य ज्ञानस्य यया सामग्र्या ज्ञानं भवति तथैव सामग्र्या ज्ञानगतस्य प्रामाण्यप्रापि ज्ञानं भवति । न तु तत्र प्रामाण्यज्ञाने कारणगुणज्ञानं संवादज्ञानं अर्थक्रियाज्ञानं

4. [किञ्च, अप्रामाण्यस्य अभावरूपत्वे तस्य घटादिसाधारणत्वापत्तेः । तथा च “तदभाववति तत्प्रकारकत्वम्” अन्यद्वा अप्रामाण्यम् इत्येव वक्तव्यम् - Ed.]

वा अपेक्षितम् । तथा मति कारणगुणज्ञानादीनामपि प्रामाण्यावधारणाय कारणगुण-
ज्ञानान्तराद्यपेक्षया अनवस्था स्यात् । अतो ज्ञानज्ञानवेलायामेव तद्वत्प्रामाण्यमपि
ज्ञायते । पश्चात्तु बाधकज्ञानकारणदोषज्ञानाभ्यां प्रामाण्यं बाध्यते । एवं च वेदेऽपौ-
रुषेये अनासपुरुषसंस्पर्शकृतदोषाणामसंभवात् बाधकज्ञानाभावाच्च ज्ञातं प्रामाण्यं
तथैवावतिष्ठते इति वेदजन्यज्ञानस्य अबाधितप्रामाण्यस्थिरीकरणमेव प्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञातौ
स्वतस्त्वसाधनस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

विचारस्य प्रयोजनम्

यद्यपि प्रत्यक्षादिषु दृष्टार्थेषु प्रमाणेषु प्रामाण्यनिश्चयमन्तरेणैव व्यवहारसिद्धेस्तत्र
किं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं उत परत इति विचारेण न नः प्रयोजनम् । तथापि अदृष्टे विषये
वैदिकेष्वगणितद्रविणवितरणादिक्लेशसाध्येषु कर्मसु तत्प्रामाण्यावधारणमन्तरेण प्रेक्षावतां
प्रवृत्तिर्न भवेदिति वेदस्य प्रामाण्यनिश्चयोऽवश्यं कर्तव्यः । तत्र परत एव वेदस्य
प्रामाण्यमिति निर्धारणार्थं प्रमाणसामान्यस्य प्रामाण्यं परत इति साधने प्रयस्यन्ति नैयायिकाः

प्रामाण्यविषये न्यायदर्शनाभिप्रायः

यद्यपि न्यायसूत्रे प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वपरतस्त्वविचारः न कृतः । तथापि
'मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच्च तत्प्रामाण्यमात्प्रामाण्यात्' (न्या. सू. 2-1-68) इति सूत्रेण
परतः प्रामाण्यं सूचितमेव । न्यायभाष्यकारः आरम्भवाक्यमेव प्रामाण्यपरतस्त्वख्यापकं
विन्यास्यत् -

'प्रमाणतोऽर्थप्रतिपत्तौ प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादर्थवत्प्रमाणम्' इति ।

इदं च भाष्यवाक्यं वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः एवमवतारितम् -

ननु यच्छास्त्रमनुष्ठातुमशक्यमुपायं प्रतिपादयति तदनर्थकम्, यथा ज्वरहरतक्षक-
चूडारत्नाहरणोपदेशकं शास्त्रम् । इदं न्यायशास्त्रमपि तादृशमेव । तथाहि, षोडश-
पदार्थतत्त्वज्ञानाद्धि निःश्रेयसमुपदिश्यतेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रे, तदेव दुर्लभम् । प्रमेयादीनां
पदार्थानां तत्त्वज्ञानं प्रमाणतत्त्वज्ञानाधीनम् । नहि प्रमाणं तत्त्वेनानिर्णीतं सत् स्वविषयं
अवधारयितुमलम् । प्रमाणतत्त्वावधारणं च प्रमातत्त्वावधारणाधीनम् । न हि प्रमां
तत्त्वेनानपधारयन् प्रमाजनकस्य तत्त्वमवधारयितुं शक्नोति । प्रमायाश्च तत्त्वमव्यभिचा-
रित्वरूपं स्वतः परतो निश्चेतुमशक्यम् । घटदिविषयगोचरं ज्ञानमात्मानमपि
विषयीकर्तुमशक्नुवत् कथं हि नाम स्वगतं प्रमात्वं ग्रहीष्यतीति स्वतःपक्षस्तावन्न युक्तः ।
ज्ञानं स्वयंप्रकाशम् इति पक्षेऽपि कथंचित् ज्ञानस्य स्वविषयकत्वसंभवेऽपि स्वगताव्यभिचा-

स्तिरूपप्रमात्वविषयकत्वं दुरुपपादम् । परतः प्रमात्वं ज्ञायत इति पक्षेऽपि परशब्देन ज्ञानविषयकज्ञानान्तरस्य वा अर्थक्रियाविषयकज्ञानस्य वा अन्यस्य वा विवक्षायां तेषामपि स्वस्मिन् प्रमात्वानवधारणे पूर्वज्ञाने प्रामाण्यं कथं ज्ञातुं शक्येत । अतस्तेषां प्रामाण्यं ज्ञानान्तरेभ्यश्चेत् तेषामपि तथेत्यनवस्था । तेषां प्रमात्वं स्वत इति तु पूर्वोक्तरीत्यानुपपन्नम् । तथा च स्वतः परतो वा प्रमातत्त्वानवधारणात् प्रमाणतत्त्वावधारणं न संभवति । तदसंभवाच्च प्रमेयादितत्त्वज्ञानमपि न संभवति । तस्मात् प्रमाणादिषोडशपदार्थतत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगम इत्युपदिशच्छास्त्रमनर्थकमित्याशङ्कायाः निराकर्णार्थं 'प्रमाणतोऽर्थप्रतिपत्तौ' इत्यादिभाष्यं प्रवृत्तमिति ।

अस्य च भाष्यस्यायमर्थः — प्रमाणम् अर्थवत् इति प्रतिज्ञा । प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादिति हेतुः । प्रमाणमिति करणार्थकल्युङ्न्तः शब्दः । अर्थवदिति नित्ययोगे मनुप् । नित्यता चार्थाव्यभिचारिता । अर्थाव्यभिचारित्वं च तद्वति तत्प्रकारकत्वं तच्च प्रमाणस्य ज्ञानद्वारकम् । तथा च प्रमाणं तद्वति तत्प्रकारकज्ञानजनकमिति प्रतिज्ञार्थः । समर्थायाः भावः सामर्थ्यम् । प्रवृत्तेः सामर्थ्यं प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम् । सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वमिति तदर्थः । यदि प्रमाणं अर्थाव्यभिचारि नाभविष्यत्, सफलां प्रवृत्तिं नाकरिष्यत्, यथा अर्थव्यभिचारी प्रमाणाभासः, इति व्यतिरेक्यनुमानमत्र विवक्षितम् । प्रमाणस्य प्रवृत्तिजनकत्वं न साक्षात्, किंतु अर्थप्रतिपत्तिजननद्वारेणेत्याशयेन प्रमाणतोऽर्थप्रतिपत्ताविति कथितम् । तथा च विप्रतिपन्नं ज्ञानं तद्वति तत्प्रकारकं, सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वादित्यनुमान एव पर्यवसानम् । इत्थं च सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वहेतुकानुमित्या ज्ञानगतप्रमात्वं गृह्यते इति भाष्यकाराशयः ।

ननु अनुमितिरूपज्ञाननिष्ठं प्रमात्वं केन गृह्यते ? अनुमित्यन्तरेणेति यदि, तदा अनवस्था इति चेत् — न । अनुमितिविषयकानुव्यवसायेन अनुमितौ गृह्यमाणायां तन्निष्ठप्रामाण्यस्यापि ग्रहात् ; अनुमितिप्रामाण्यस्य स्वतो ग्राह्यत्वाभ्युपगमात् । तर्हि 'घटमहं वानामि' इत्यनुव्यवसायेन घटज्ञाने गृह्यमाणे तत्प्रामाण्यमपि गृह्यताम्, किमर्थं तत्र वृत्तिसामर्थ्यलिङ्गकानुमित्यनुधावनमिति चेत् ; तत्र इदं ज्ञानं प्रमा न वेति संशयानुदोघेन प्रमात्वनिश्चयाय प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यरूपहेतुपरामर्शात्, प्रकृते तदभावात् इति तात्पर्यरीकाकाराः निरूपयन्ति ।⁵

उदयनाचार्यनिरूपणप्रकारः

उदयनाचार्याः कुसुमाञ्जलौ प्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञप्तवृत्तौ च परतस्त्वं मीमांसकमत-

निरामपूर्वकं सयुक्तिकं निरधारयन् । तदादर्शितमेव पन्थानमवलम्ब्य मणिकाराः
ग्रामाण्यवादे परिष्कारमकार्षुः । कुसुमाञ्जलिग्रन्थस्य प्रौढत्वात् तत्रस्था युक्तीः सरलया
शैल्या अनूद्य तत्र वेदान्तदेशिकजयतीर्थप्रभृतिभिरुद्धावितानां दोषाणां परिहारप्रदर्शन-
पूर्वकं मणिकारमतं निरूपयिष्यामः ॥

ग्रामाण्यस्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वम्

ज्ञानं द्विविधं—प्रमा भ्रमश्चेति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नम् । तत्र ज्ञानस्य उत्पादिका सामग्री
द्विविधा—सामान्यसामग्री विशेषसामग्री चेति । लोके सर्वत्र कार्यं सामग्रीद्वयस्य
दर्शनात् । तत्र ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्री प्रमात्वात्मकविशेषप्रयोजकसामग्रीसहकृतैव प्रमात्मकं
ज्ञानविशेषं, भ्रमत्वात्मकविशेषप्रयोजकसामग्रीसहितैव भ्रमात्मकं ज्ञानविशेषं चोत्पादयति ।
अतः ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्र्यतिरिक्तो गुणः प्रमात्वस्योत्पत्तौ, तादृशः दोषः भ्रमत्वस्योत्पत्तौ
कारणम् । तथा च प्रमात्वमप्रमात्वं चेत्युभयमपि परत एवोत्पद्यते । अप्रमात्वस्य
परतस्त्वं तावन्मीमांसकानामपि संमतम् । तदृष्टान्तेन च प्रमात्वस्य परतस्त्वं नैयायिकैः
साध्यते । प्रमात्वस्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वं च ज्ञानसामान्यकारणातिरिक्तकारणजन्यत्वम् ।
तथा च प्रमा ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्तहेतुजन्या, कार्यत्वे सति ज्ञानविशेषत्वात् अप्रमावत्, इत्यनुमान-
प्रयोगः कुसुमाञ्जलौ प्रदर्शितः ॥

अत्र हेतौ कार्यत्वे सतीति विशेषणानुपादाने ईश्वरज्ञाने नित्ये ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्त-
हेतुजन्यत्वरूपसाध्याभाववति ज्ञानविशेषत्वरूपहेतुसत्त्वात् व्यभिचारः स्यात् । न चायं
हेतुरप्रयोजकः । यदि प्रमा किञ्चिद्विशेषकारणमनपेक्ष्य ज्ञानसामान्यकारणमात्राज्जायेत
तदा अप्रमापि प्रमैव भवेत् । ज्ञानसामान्यकारणजन्यत्वस्याप्रमायामस्वीकारे सा ज्ञानमेव
न स्यात् कुतस्तस्या अप्रमात्वरूपो विशेषः इत्यनुकूलतर्कसद्भावात् ।

उक्तानुमानस्य तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां दूषणम्⁶

तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां चित्सुखाचार्याः उदयनाचार्योक्तमनुमानं द्वेषा दूषयन्ति ।
ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्रीत एव प्रमोत्पत्तिसंभवे तदतिरिक्तस्य गुणस्य कारणत्वकल्पने गौरव-
प्रसङ्गरूपबाधकतर्कदूषितं परतस्त्वानुमानमिति एकं दूषणम् । प्रमा दोषव्यतिरिक्तज्ञान-
हेत्वतिरिक्तजन्या न भवति, ज्ञानत्वात्, अप्रमावदिति प्रतिसाधनग्रस्तत्वात् सत्यतिपक्षं
चौदयनमनुमानमिति द्वितीयं दूषणम् ।

तत्प्रमाधानम्

प्रमात्वं यदि ज्ञानसामान्यकारणमात्रप्रयोज्यं स्यात् तर्हि अप्रमावृत्त्यपि स्यात् इति वाचकस्य कुसुमाञ्जलावेव प्रदर्शितत्वात् प्रमात्वस्याप्रमावृत्तित्वं वारयितुं गौरवं मोहव्यमेवेति चित्सुरवोक्तप्रथमदूषणस्य नावकाशः। प्रतिसाधनस्य विपक्षवाचकतर्कशून्यतया दुर्बलत्वात् सत्प्रतिपक्षस्यापि नावकाश इति।

परतस्त्वानुमानस्य देशिकचरणैर्दूषणम्

उदयनाक्ते परतस्त्वानुमाने कार्यत्वे सतीति हेतुविशेषणं व्यर्थम्। तथाहि — नित्यप्रमितिमान् ईश्वरः सिद्धो न वा? आद्ये स्वतःप्रामाण्यमेव सिद्धं भवति। ईश्वर-प्रमायाः नित्यत्वेन प्रामाण्यकारणाभावात्। तथा च ईश्वरप्रमितेः पक्षान्तर्भावे तत्र कार्यत्वे सतीति विशेषणमसिद्धम्। पक्षान्तर्भावे क्वचित् स्वतः प्रामाण्यमेव सिध्यति। नित्यप्रमितिमान् ईश्वरः असिद्ध इति द्वितीयपक्षे कार्यत्वे सतीति हेतुविशेषणं व्यर्थम्। व्यवच्छेद्यायाः नित्यप्रमायाः अभावात् इति रीत्या वेदेन्तदेशिकाः पूर्वोक्तानुमानं दूषया-गसुः। अयं च तेषां श्लोकः⁷ —

मानं वेदोऽपि वक्तुर्गुणत इति परं न्यायवित्साधयिष्यन्

सामान्याद्बुद्धिहेतोः प्रमितिमधिकतः साधयत्यन्यनीत्या।

कार्यत्वं भेदकं सत्त्विह वदतु कथं धीर्विशेषत्वहेतौ

सिद्धेऽसिद्धेऽपि नित्यप्रमितिमति विभौ निष्फलत्वादमुष्य ॥ इति।

था च प्रमा ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्तहेतुजन्या न भवति, ज्ञानविशेषत्वात् ईश्वरप्रमावत् इति तिसाधनपराहतमुदयनोक्तानुमानमिति सत्प्रतिपक्षोद्भावने तात्पर्यं देशिकचरणानाम्।

तत्प्रमाधानम्

अत्र प्रतिविधीयते। उदयनाचार्योक्तानुमाने कार्यत्वे सतीति विशेषणानुपादाने न विशेषत्वमात्रस्य हेतुत्वे ज्ञानविशेषत्वरूपहेतुरस्तु ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्तेत्वधीनत्वरूप-।ध्यं मास्त्वित्यप्रयोजकशङ्कायां यदि तादृशहेत्वधीनं न स्यात् तर्हि ज्ञानविशेषो न।दिति तर्को न वक्तुं शक्यते, तादृशहेत्वजन्यस्य नित्यस्येश्वरज्ञानस्य मद्भावादिति दोषः।पज्येत। अतः अप्रयोजकशङ्कानिवर्तकतर्कवत्त्वसंपादनाय कार्यत्वे सति इति हेतु-।शेषणमुपात्तम्। अतो न हेतुविशेषणवैयर्थ्याद्यो दोषः।

अपि च अनित्यप्रमैव अत्र पक्षत्वेनाभिमतेति सूचनार्थं कार्यत्वे सतीत्युक्तम् । तथा च अनित्यप्रमा ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्तहेत्वधीना ज्ञानविशेषत्वादित्यनुमानमेव आचार्याणां विवक्षितम् । अत एव मणौ अनित्यप्रमामेव पक्षीकृत्य परतस्त्वं साधितम् । अत एव सत्प्रतिपक्षस्यापि नावसरः । अनित्यप्रमा ज्ञानहेत्वनिरिक्तहेतुजन्या न भवति, ज्ञान-विशेषत्वात् इति हि प्रतिसाधनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् । तत्र नित्यप्रमात्वमुपाधिः इति ।

उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वे न्यायसूत्रसंमतिः

‘मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच्च तत्प्रामाण्यमाप्तप्रामाण्यात्’ (न्या.सू. 2-1-68) इति सूत्रेण वेदप्रामाण्यमाप्तप्रामाण्याद्भवतीति प्रतिपाद्यते । अत्र आप्तशब्देन वेदकर्ता विवक्षितः । तस्य प्रामाण्यं नाम उपदिश्यमानधर्मविषयकसाक्षात्कारवत्त्वं, भूतदया, यथाभूतार्थ-चिरव्यापयिषा च । तज्जन्यत्वं वेदप्रामाण्यस्य कथ्यता सूत्रकारेण प्रामाण्यं गुणत उत्पद्यत इति सूचितमेव । तत्र च —

‘किंकृतमेतत् आप्तप्रामाण्यकृतम् । किं पुनराप्तानां प्रामाण्यम् ? साक्षात्कृतधर्मता भूतदया यथाभूतार्थचिरव्यापयिषेति ’

इति भाष्यम्,

‘लौकिकस्याप्युपदेष्टुः उपदेष्टव्यार्थज्ञानेन परानुजिधृक्षया यथाभूतार्थ-चिरव्यापयिषया च प्रामाण्यम्, तत्परिग्रहादाप्तोद्देशः प्रमाणमिति ’

इति भाष्यम्⁸ च उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वमावेदयतः । तत्रैव

‘दृष्टार्थेनाप्तोपदेशेनायुर्वेदेन अदृष्टार्थो वेदभागः अनुमातव्यः प्रमाणमिति ’

इति भाष्येण प्रामाण्यस्यानुमानग्राह्यत्वं प्रतिपाद्यता प्रामाण्यज्ञावपि परतस्त्वं ज्ञापितम् ।

उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वे वैशेषिकदर्शनसंमतिः

कणादमहर्षिरपि — ‘तद्वचनादान्नायस्य प्रामाण्यम्’ (वै. सू. 1-1-3) इति सूत्रयन् ईश्वरप्रोक्तत्वादेव वेदप्रामाण्यं मन्यते । तथा —

‘बुद्धिपूर्वा वाक्यकृतिर्वेदे’ (वै. सू. 6-1-1)

इति वेदवाक्यरचनायाः पुरुषबुद्धिमूलकत्वं वदता वेदप्रामाण्यं वक्तृगतयथार्थज्ञानरूप-

8. न्या. भा. (न्या. सू. 2-1-68)

गुणजन्यमिति सूचितम् । एवं

‘ब्राह्मणे संज्ञाकर्म सिद्धिलिङ्गम्’ (वै. सू. 6-1-2)

इत्यादीन्युपरितनानि सूत्राण्यपि परामर्शनीयानि । अत एव प्रशस्तपादाचार्योऽपि⁹

‘श्रुतिस्मृतिलक्षणोऽप्याम्नायो वक्तृज्ञानापेक्षः’

इत्यभाषत ।

उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वे जयन्तभट्टोक्ता युक्तिः

जयन्तभट्टस्तावत् न्यायमञ्जर्यां प्रामाण्यस्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वमेवम् उपपादयति — प्रसिद्धमेतत् यत्कार्याणां कारणाधीना उत्पत्तिरिति । प्रामाण्यस्यापि कार्यत्वात् कारणाधीना उत्पत्तिरेष्टव्या तत्रापि कार्यं द्विविधं सम्यगसम्यक् चेति । तत्र समीचीनं कार्यं गुणवत्कारकव्यतिरेकेण न निष्पद्यते, तथा असमीचीनं कार्यं दोषवता कारकेणैव जायते । तथा च समीचीनज्ञानोत्पादकं कारकमपि स्वगतगुणसापेक्षमेव तज्ज्ञानमुत्पादयतीति वक्तव्यम् । अयं चात्र अनुमानप्रयोगः । सम्याज्ञानोत्पादकं कारकं स्वरूपातिरिक्तस्वगतधर्मसापेक्षं कार्यनिर्वर्तकम्, कारकत्वात्, मिथ्याज्ञानोत्पादकारकवत् इति । इदं च ज्ञानोत्पादकारकपक्षकमनुमानम् । यद्वा सम्यग्ज्ञानं धर्मिस्वरूपातिरिक्तधर्मसंबन्धवत्कारकनिष्पाद्यम्, कार्यत्वात् मिथ्याज्ञानवदिति ज्ञानपक्षकमनुमानम् ।

अपि च आयुर्वेदात् इन्द्रियेषु गुणा भवन्तीति प्रतिपद्यामहे । स्वस्ववृत्तेरौषधोपयोगमुपदिशन्ति, तत् गुणाधानायैव न दोषशान्तये । दृश्यते च तदुपदिष्टौषधोपयोगात् इन्द्रियगुणातिशयः । तस्मात् प्रामाण्यं स्रोत्पत्तिं प्रति स्वाश्रयोत्पादकनिष्ठगुणसापेक्षमेवेति ।

न्यायभूषणे¹⁰ — प्रामाण्यं परतो भवति, अभूत्वा भावित्वात्, अप्रामाण्यवत् इत्यनुमानेन प्रामाण्यस्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वं साधितम् ।

उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वे कन्दलीप्रोक्तमनुमानम्¹¹

न्यायकन्दल्याम् — विवादाध्यासितानि ज्ञानानि कारणगुणाधीनप्रामाण्यानि, प्रमाणज्ञानत्वात् शब्दाधीनप्रमाणज्ञानवत् इत्यनुमानेन उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वं समर्थितम् ।

9. प्र.भा. पृ. 23.

10. न्या. भू. पृ. 39

11. न्या. क. पृ. 219

न च दृष्टान्तेऽपि कारणगुणस्य दोषाभावे व्यापारो न प्रामाण्यस्योत्पत्ताविति वाच्यम् । गुणेन दोषप्रतिबन्धात् दोषकार्यस्यायथार्थत्वस्य उत्पत्तिर्मा भूत् ; यथार्थत्वोत्पादस्तु कुतः ? कारणाभावे हि कार्याभावः न तु विपरीतस्योत्पत्तिः । तस्मात् ज्ञानयाथार्थ्यं कारणगुणादेवोत्पद्यत इति श्रीधराचार्याः उपपादयन्ति ।

मणिकारसंमतं उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वसमर्थनम् ¹²

मणिकाराः वक्ष्यमाणैरनुमानैः प्रामाण्यस्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वं साधयन्ति । तत्रैकैकमप्यनुमानं तर्कताण्डवे बहुधा दूषितम् । मणिकारोक्तरीत्या एकैकमप्यनुमानं प्रदर्श्य तत्र तर्कताण्डवोक्तं दूषणमप्यनूद्य तत्परिहारप्रकारमपि पर्यालोचयामः ।

मणिकाराः कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रदर्शितमनुमानमनूद्य तत्र बहून् दोषान् प्रदर्श्य स्वयं सिद्धान्ते कानिचित् अनुमानानि प्रदर्शयामासुः । तान्येव अत्र परामुशामः ।

लांके यत् कार्यं यत्कार्यविजातीयं तत् तत्कारणविजातीयकारणजन्यं दृष्टं, यथा घटः पटविजातीयः, पटकारणतन्त्वादिविजातीयकपालादिरूपकारणजन्यः । तद्वत् अप्रमाविजातीया प्रमापि अप्रमाकारणविजातीयकारणजन्या इति वक्तव्यम् । तदेव कारणं गुण इति सिध्यति । तथा च अनित्यप्रमा अप्रमाकारणविजातीयकारणजन्या, अप्रमाविजातीयकार्यत्वात् घटवदित्यनुमानं सामान्यतो दृष्टाख्यं प्रामाण्योत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वे साधकम् ।

तर्कताण्डवे उक्तानुमानदूषणम् ¹³

अत्राहुस्तर्कताण्डवकाराः — हेतो विजातीयत्वं यदि विरुद्धजात्यधिकरणत्वं तदा प्रमात्वस्य जातित्वाभावेन विरुद्धजात्यधिकरणत्वरूपहेतोः प्रमारूपपक्षवृत्तित्वाभावेन स्वरूपासिद्धिः । यदि तु विरुद्धधर्मभात्राधिकरणत्वम्, तदा पटज्ञानविजातीये कार्ये घटज्ञाने व्यभिचारः, अनुमित्यादिसाधारणं यत् घटज्ञानत्वं तदवच्छिन्नं प्रति अनुगतस्य कारणस्याभावेन विजातीयकारणजन्यत्वरूपसाध्याभाववति तत्र हेतुसद्भावात् । किं च अप्रयोजकमप्युक्तानुमानम्, पाकजरूपरमादौ कारणवैजात्येऽपि कार्यवैजात्यदर्शनात् इति ।

12. त. चि. प्रि. 323

13. त. ता. पृ. 141

तत्समाधानम्

विरुद्धधर्ममात्राधिकरणत्वमिति पक्षे न कोऽपि दोषः । अनुमित्यादिसाधारण-
घटज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नं प्रति अनुगतस्य आत्ममनस्संयोगत्वङ्मनस्संयोगादिरूपस्य कारणस्य
सद्भावेन अनुगतकारणाभावरूपो दोषोऽपि नास्ति । पाकजरूपरसादावपि कार्य-
वैजात्यानुसारेण कारणे तेजस्संयोगरूपे पाकेऽपि सूक्ष्मवैजात्याभ्युपगमात् अप्रयोजकत्व-
दोषोऽपि न प्रसजतीति प्रतिभाति ।

द्वितीयानुमानम्¹⁴

एवम् अनित्यप्रमात्वम् अनित्यज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नकार्यतानिरूपितकारणताभिन्न-
कारणतानिरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकम्, अनित्यज्ञानत्वव्याप्यकार्यतावच्छेदकधर्मत्वात्, अप्र-
मात्ववत् इत्यनुमानेन अनित्यप्रमायाः गुणजन्यत्वं सिध्यति । प्रमात्वस्य नित्यानित्यवृत्ति-
तया कार्यतावच्छेदकत्वाभावात् बाधवारणाय अनित्यप्रमात्वमिति पक्षनिर्देशः कृतः ।
एवं साध्येऽपि अनित्येति विशेषणस्य प्रयोजनं ज्ञेयम् । अनित्यज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नं
यत्कार्यत्वं तन्निरूपिता या कारणता आत्ममनोयोगादिनिष्ठा तद्धित्वा या कारणता गुण-
निष्ठा दोषनिष्ठा च तन्निरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकत्वम् अनित्यप्रमात्वे अप्रमात्वे च यथाक्रम-
मस्तीति पक्षदृष्टान्तयोः साध्यसिद्धिः । अनित्यज्ञानत्वे व्यभिचारवारणाय हेतौ व्याप्यान्तं
धर्मविशेषणम् । अभेदेऽपि व्याप्यत्वमिति पक्षे तु न्यूनवृत्तित्वं व्याप्यत्वं बोध्यम् ।
घटविषयकनित्यज्ञानत्वे व्यभिचारवारणाय कार्यतावच्छेदकेति धर्मविशेषणम् ।

ताण्डवे उक्तानुमानदूषणम्¹⁵

उक्तानुमाने बाधो दोषः । अनित्यप्रमामामान्यहेतुभूतस्य अनुगतस्य गुणस्या-
भावेन पक्षे गुणजन्यतावच्छेदकत्वरूपसाध्याभावात् । अप्रमामात्रे अनुगतदोषाभावेन
साध्यसाधनं वैकल्यञ्च दृष्टान्ते प्रसजति ।

ननु प्रमाविशेषहेतूनां भूयोऽवयवेन्द्रियमन्निकर्षादीनां प्रमामात्रे मन्निकर्षत्वा-
दिनाननुगमेपि गुणत्वेनानुगतिरस्ताति कथं बाध इति चेन्न । गुणत्वस्य जातित्वाभावात्,
संयोगत्वज्ञानत्वादिना साङ्कर्यात् प्रमाजनकत्वमेव गुणत्वमिति वक्तव्यम् । तत्र चानित्य-
प्रमात्वस्य कार्यतावच्छेदकत्वसिद्धावुक्तत्वरूपगुणत्वसिद्धिः, तस्मिद्धौ च तत्सिद्धिः इत्यन्यो-
न्याश्रयादिति दूषणं तर्कताण्डवे प्रदर्शितम् ।

14. त.चि. पृ. 338

15. त.ता. पृ. 145 to 148.

तत्प्रमाधानम्

अत्राच्यते । “प्रमामात्रे नानुगतो गुणः, किन्तु तत्तत्प्रमायां भूयोऽवय-
वेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षयथार्थलिङ्गमादृश्यवाक्यार्थज्ञानानां यथायथं प्रत्येकमेव गुणत्वम्” इति
मणिकारैरेव¹⁶ स्पष्टतया उक्तत्वात् प्रकृतानुमाने अनित्यसाक्षात्कारिप्रमात्वम् इत्यादि-
रूपेण विशिष्यैव पक्षत्वमभिमतम् । अप्रमात्वस्य दृष्टान्तत्वमपि तथैवाभिमतम् । तथाच
न बाधः नवा साध्यमाधनवैकल्ये । तदुक्तम् मन्तान्तरादिपरामर्शं सुदूरं कृत्वा अन्ते
प्रकाशकारैः ।¹⁷

‘तस्मादनित्यप्रमात्वपदेन अनित्यसाक्षात्कारिप्रमात्वादिकमेव विशिष्य विवक्षित-
मित्येव तत्त्वम्’ । इति

प्रत्यक्षप्रमाहेतुगुणः

यदपि तर्कताण्डवकारैः पूर्वनिदर्शितमणिग्रन्थदुदूषयिषया प्रोक्तम्¹⁸ — प्रत्यक्ष-
प्रमामात्रे न सन्निकर्षार्थो हेतू, शुक्तौ रूप्यभ्रमकालेऽपि तयोः सत्त्वेन शुक्तित्वेन शुक्ति-
प्रमापसङ्गात् । दोषः प्रतिबन्धक इति चेत् तर्ह्यविशयकत्वात् दोषाभाव एव प्रमा-
हेतुरस्तु ।

ननु भ्रमसामान्येन प्रत्यक्षादिभ्रमे वा अनुगतदोषस्याभावेऽपि तत्तद्भ्रमविशेषे
पित्तादिरिव स्थूलावयविप्रत्यक्षप्रमायां भूयोऽवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षः, संशयविपर्ययोत्तरप्रत्यक्ष-
प्रमायां विशिष्टप्रमा, नियमेन प्रमयोरनुमितिशाब्दज्ञानयोः सत्यलिङ्गपरामर्शवाक्यार्थ-
ज्ञाने हेतू । एवं च प्रमायाः अप्रमाव्यावृत्ताननुगताधिकहेतुजन्यत्वात् परतस्त्वम्
त एवानुगता हेतवः प्रमां प्रत्यसाधारणहेतुत्वेनोपाधिना गुणा इत्युच्यन्ते । तस्मात्
अनित्यप्रमात्वम् अनित्यज्ञानत्वप्रयोजकाधिकप्रयोज्यम्, तदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायित्वात्,
अप्रमात्ववत्, अन्यथा अप्रमाऽपि प्रमा स्यादिति मम सिद्धान्तरहस्यमितिचेत् — मैवम् ।
भूयोऽवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षे शङ्कत्वादिविशेषदर्शने च सत्यपि पीतः शङ्क इत्यादिभ्रमस्य,
वंशारगभ्रमस्य वाष्पावयवे भूमावयविभ्रमेऽवयव्यंशे एव भ्रमस्य दर्शनेनान्वयव्यभिचारात् ।
यदि च तत्र पित्तमंडूकवमांजनादिदोषरूपप्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् प्रमा नोत्पद्यत इति मन्यते,
तर्हि आवश्यकत्वादोषाभाव एव प्रमां प्राप्तिहेतुरस्तु । तथाच दोषाभावेन अप्रमारूप-
विपरीतकार्यानुत्पत्तौ ज्ञानसामग्र्यैव प्रमा उत्पद्यते इति ।

16. त.चि. पृ. 353

17. त.चि.प्र. पृ. 335

18. त.ता. पृ. 168.

तत्र प्रकाशोक्तं समाधानम्¹⁹

अत्र रुचिदत्तमिश्राः प्राहुः — भूयोवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षादिगुणोत्कर्षेण प्रमाया-
मुत्कर्षां दृश्यते । अतो दोषाभावसहकृतगुणस्यैव प्रमां प्रति हेतुत्वं वक्तव्यम् ।
अपि च प्रमात्वं प्रत्यक्षप्रमात्वं वा नैकमनुगतम्, यत्त्वत्त्वधटितत्वेन तयोरननुगमात् ।
किन्तु धटत्ववति धटत्वप्रकारकत्वादिरूपं प्रत्येकमननुगतम् । तथा च तत्रानुगतगुण-
चिन्तापि नास्ति । तत्र चादृष्टमन्यद्वा यथायथं गुणत्वेन बोध्यमिति ।

एनेन प्रत्यक्षप्रमायामपि भूयोवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षो गुणः न भवति, आत्मरूपादि-
प्रत्यक्षव्यापनात्, सत्यपि तस्मिन् पीतःशंख इति प्रत्यक्षस्य भ्रमत्वात् इति वेदान्तपरि-
भाषोक्तदूषणमपि परिहृतं भवति ।

वस्तुतस्तु प्रत्यक्षप्रमायां विशेषणवद्विशेष्यसन्निकर्षो गुणः, 'पीतःशंख' इत्यादि-
भ्रमे च भूयोवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षस्य सद्भावेपि विशेषणवद्विशेष्यसन्निकर्षो नास्ति । इन्द्रिय-
सन्निकृष्टे शंखे पीतत्वरूपविशेषणवत्त्वाभावात् । अतस्ताण्डवाक्तोऽन्वयव्यभिचारो न
लगतिः । स्पष्टं चेदं मुक्तावलीग्रन्थाध्येतृणां भविष्यतीति सारम् ।

अनुमितिप्रमाहेतुर्गुणः ।

अनुमितिरूपायां प्रमायां यथार्थलिङ्गपरामर्शः गुणविधया हेतुरिति मणावुक्तम् ।
अत्राहुस्तर्कताण्डवकाराः²⁰ — बाष्पे धूमत्वभ्रमेण उत्पन्नायां यादृच्छिकसंवादेन प्रमा-
रूपायां बह्वनुमितौ न यथार्थः लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽस्ति । तत्रत्यस्य वह्निव्याप्यधूमवान्
ति परामर्शस्य धूमत्वाभाववति धूमत्वप्रकारकत्वेन भ्रमत्वात् । तथा चानुमितापि
ानुगतो गुणो वक्तुं शक्यः । किं च गन्धप्रागभावावच्छिन्नो घटो गन्धवान्,
शिवीत्वादित्यनुमाने तादृशो घटः गन्धव्याप्यपृथिवीत्ववानिति परामर्शस्य यथार्थत्वात् ।
ज्जन्या अनुमितिः प्रमारूपा स्यादिति प्राधान्येन दूषणद्वयं प्रसजतीति । तत्रब्रूमः —
त्सामान्ये यत्सामान्यं प्रयोजकं बाधकं विना तद्विशेषे तद्विशेषस्य प्रयोजकत्वमिति
यमात् प्रमासामान्ये कश्चित्, कश्चिद्विशेषे प्रत्यक्षादौ गुणः, कश्चिन्तु तद्विशेषेऽर्पाति
स्तुगतिः । तदिहाप्युपन्यस्तगुणानां यदि प्रत्येकं प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमितार्थापि नानुगमः
मनेन ? यावत्येवानुगमस्तावत्येव गुणत्वसम्भवात् । तथाहि स्थूलावयविप्रत्यक्षे
मायां भूयोवयवेन्द्रियसन्निकर्षः, पक्षतावच्छेदकविरोधिसाध्यकानुमितिप्रमायां यथार्थ-

1. त.चि.प्र. पृ. 359

2. त.ता. पृ. 172.

परामर्शः गुणः । प्रमासामान्ये तु यथार्थग्राह्यज्ञानं गुणः, ईश्वरज्ञानस्य सर्वविषयकस्य तद्वेतुत्वेन तद्व्यभिचारभावात् । अतस्तर्कताण्डवोक्तद्वितीयदूषणं समाहितं भवति । तत्र साध्यस्य गन्धस्य गन्धप्रागभावरूपपक्षतावच्छेदकविरोधित्वेन तदनुमितौ यथार्थं -- परामर्शस्य गुणत्वाभावात् । कस्तत्र गुण इति चेत् - ईश्वरज्ञानम् अदृष्टमन्यद्वा । अतो न दोषः ।

किं चानुमितिप्रमायां साध्यवति पक्षे साध्यव्याप्यवैशिष्ट्यावगाहिपरामर्श एव कारणम् । बाष्पे धूमत्वभ्रमकार्त्वीनां यः परामर्शः सः वस्तुतो यः साध्यव्याप्यो धूमः तद्वैशिष्ट्यं पक्षे न विषयीकरोति । धूमत्वेन रूपेण बाष्पवैशिष्ट्यस्यैव तत्र भानात्, तथाच तत्र यथार्थपरामर्शरूपकारणाभावेऽपि तत्प्रमायामदृष्टमीश्वरीययथार्थज्ञानं वा कारणं । अनुमितिप्रमासामान्ये अनुगतस्य गुणस्य अनभ्युपगमात् अतो न दोष इति आलोक-कारादिभिः²¹ निरूपितम् । अतस्ताण्डवोक्तप्रथमदूषणमपि परिहृतम् । एवंजातीयान्यन्यान्यपि दूषणानि उक्तरीत्यैव समाधेयानि ।

एवम् अनित्यप्रमात्वं अप्रमाकारणतानवच्छेदकरूपवच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपित-कार्यतावच्छेदकम्, भ्रमावृत्तिकार्यतावच्छेदकत्वात्, घटत्ववत् इत्यनुमानेनापि प्रमायाः गुणजन्यत्वं सिध्यति । यथाहि घटः अप्रमाकारणभिन्नैः दण्डादिभिर्जायत इति घटत्वम् अप्रमाकारणतानवच्छेदकदण्डत्वाद्यवच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकम्, भ्रमावृत्तित्वे सति कार्यतावच्छेदकत्वात्, तथा अनित्यप्रमात्वमपि तेनैव हेतुना अप्रमाकारणतानवच्छेदकगुणत्वावच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकमिति सिध्यति ।

तथा विशिष्यापि अनुमानप्रयोगः भवति-चाक्षुषप्रमात्वम् चाक्षुषप्रमाकारणतानवच्छेदकरूपवच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकम्, चाक्षुषभ्रमावृत्तिकार्यतावच्छेदकत्वात्, घटत्ववत् इति; अनित्यरजतप्रमात्वम् रजताप्रमाकारणतानवच्छेदकरूपवच्छिन्नकारणतानिरूपितकार्यतावच्छेदकं, रजतभ्रमावृत्तिकार्यतावच्छेदकत्वात्, घटत्ववत् इति च । अन्यथा भ्रमप्रयोगैरेकविधमामग्रीजन्यत्वे चाक्षुषादिरजतज्ञानं किञ्चिद्रजतवृत्तिधर्मप्रकारकम्, किञ्चिद्रजतावृत्तिधर्मप्रकारकमिति नियमो न स्यादिति मणिकाराः प्राहुः ।²²

प्रमायाः उत्पत्तौ न दोषाभावमात्रं कारणम्

ननु उक्तानुमानैः प्रमायाः भ्रमकारणविलक्षणकारणजन्यत्वं यद्यपि सिध्यति, तथापि तत्कारणं गुण इति न सिध्येत् । तथा हि भ्रमं प्रति ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्यति-

21. त.चि. आलोक. पृ. 181.

22. त.चि. पृ. 338

रिक्तो दोषः कारणं, प्रमायां तु तदभावः कारणम् ; तथा च प्रमायाः ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्र्य-
तिरिक्तदोषाभावजन्यत्वेऽपि तदतिरिक्तभावजन्यत्वं नाङ्गीक्रियते । ततः आगन्तुक-
भावानपेक्षज्ञानसामान्यसामग्रीजन्यत्वमेव स्वतस्त्वमिति चेत् — न । भूयोवयवेन्द्रिय-
सन्निकर्षादिमवधाने प्रमा तदभावेत्वमेति प्रमायां गुणो हेतुः । अप्रमायां गुणाभावो
हेतुरित्येव किं न स्यात् । तस्मात् गुणाभावातिरिक्तस्य दोषस्य भ्रमकारणत्ववत् दोषा-
भावातिरिक्तस्य गुणस्य प्रमां प्रति हेतुत्वं वक्तव्यम् । तथा च भावानपेक्षज्ञानसामग्री-
जन्यत्वरूपं स्वतस्त्वं प्रमायां दुरूपपादमिति नानायुक्तिपुरस्सरं कुसुमाञ्जलिद्वितीयस्तवक-
प्रदर्शितं पन्थानमाश्रित्य समर्थितं मणौ ।

एवमागृह्यापि प्रमायाः उत्पत्तौ परतस्त्वसाधनस्योद्देश्यं तु ईश्वरसाधनमेव ।
प्रमायाः उत्पत्तौ गुणजन्यत्वे सिद्धे शाब्दप्रमायाः वाक्यार्थयथार्थज्ञानरूपगुणजन्यत्वात्
वेदेऽपि तादृशगुणस्य, वेदजन्यज्ञानीयप्रमात्वार्थमावश्यकत्वात् तादृशज्ञानश्रयस्येश्वरः
सेध्यतीति । तदुक्तं मणौ²³ — 'एवं प्रमायाः गुणजन्यत्वेन वेदेऽपि प्रमा वाक्यार्थ-
ार्थज्ञानगुणजन्येति तदाश्रयेश्वरसिद्धिः' इति ।

यान्यत्र तर्कताण्डवकारैः शाब्दप्रामायां वाक्यार्थयथार्थज्ञानस्य वा यथार्थयोग्यता-
नस्य वा गुणत्वं न संभवतीति बहुधा दूषणानि प्रदर्शितानि । तेषु कानिचित्
णावेधानुद्य परिहृतानि, कानिचित् आलोक-प्रकाशादिषु परिहृतानीति विस्तरभिया
णिकारसिद्धान्तमालं प्रामाण्योक्तिकारणविषये प्रादर्शयाम ।

प्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञप्तौ परतस्त्वम्

एवं ज्ञानगतं तद्वृत्ति तत्प्रकारत्वरूपं प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते । प्रामाण्याश्रयभूतं
न यथा सामग्र्या ज्ञायते तथैव ज्ञानगतं प्रामाण्यमपि ज्ञायत इति मीमांसकादयः ।
नग्राहिकया सामग्र्या तत्प्रामाण्यं न ज्ञायते अपि तु तदतिरिक्ततया समर्थप्रवृत्त्यादि-
ङ्गकानुमित्या ज्ञायत इति नैयायिका । ज्ञप्तौ स्वतस्त्वं परतस्त्वं च कीदृशमिति
चविप्रतिपत्तिप्रदर्शनव्याजेन मणौ प्रदर्शितम् । तदनन्तरं मीमांसकमतानुसारेण
प्रामाण्यं स्वत एव ज्ञायत इति पूर्वपक्षं प्राप्य प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इति सयुक्तिकं
धत्तं मणौ । तत्र प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तिविषये प्राचीनग्रन्थानामाशयं परासृश्य मणिकार-
शितमार्गं परिशीलयिष्यामः ।

तात्पर्यटीकाप्रोक्ता ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वयुक्तिः²⁴

‘प्रमाणतोऽर्थप्रतिपत्तौ’ इत्यादिभाष्यव्याख्यानावसरे टीकाकाराः प्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञप्तौ परतस्त्वमेवमुपपादयन्ति - स्वतःप्रामाण्यं नावधारयितुं शक्यते । तथाहि ज्ञानस्य द्वे दशे भवतः - अनभ्यासदशा अभ्यासदशा चेति । अनभ्यासदशा नाम प्राथमिकजलज्ञानोत्तरदशा, जलज्ञानं प्रमा इत्याकारकजलज्ञानविशेष्यकप्रमात्वनिश्चयाभावदशा इति यावत् । अभ्यासः आवृत्तिः ज्ञानसजातीयज्ञानोत्पत्तिः । जातु जलाशये जलमवलोक्य तत्र विहितस्नानपानादेः पुंसः परस्मिन् दिने मध्याह्ने दूरात्तत्र यज्जलदर्शनं तत् अभ्यासदशापन्नं ज्ञानम् । प्रथमतो दूरात् जलाशये यत् जलज्ञानं तत् अनभ्यासदशापन्नं ज्ञानम् । तत्र अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानगतं प्रामाण्यं प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादेव ज्ञायते । प्रथमतः तोयं पश्यति, ततः पिपासुस्त्र प्रवर्तते, प्रवृत्तश्च जलं प्राप्नोति, जलं लब्ध्वा तत्पिबति, पीत्वा च उदन्याम् उपशमयति । अनया प्रणाड्या प्रवृत्तेः फलवत्त्वम् उपलभ्य पूर्वोत्पन्नस्य जलज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यं निश्चिनोति । तथा च जलज्ञानं प्रमा, सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वात्, यन्नैवम् तन्नैवम् यथा अप्रमा, इति व्यतिरेक्यनुमानेन अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं ज्ञायते । अभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं तु प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यपरामर्शात् प्रागेव प्रमात्वेनावधारितं यत्पूर्वं ज्ञानं अनभ्यासदशापन्नं तज्जातीयत्वेन लिङ्गेन अवधार्यते । एवं च दृष्टार्थानां मन्त्रायुर्वेदानां सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वेन हेतुना प्रामाण्यमवधार्य अदृष्टार्थस्य वेदस्य आप्तोक्तत्वेन यत् मन्त्रायुर्वेदसजातीयत्वं तेन हेतुना प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यं विनैव, प्रामाण्यमवधार्यते ।

ननु प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यलिङ्गकानुमितेः प्रमात्वं केन गृह्यते, अनुमित्यन्तरेण चेत्, तस्यापि तथैत्यनवस्था प्राप्नोतीति चेत् - न । उक्तानुमितेः साध्याव्यभिचारिलिङ्गसमुत्थत्वात् स्वतः एव प्रमात्वं ज्ञायत इति स्वीकारात् । प्रत्यक्षज्ञानं तु प्राथमिकं जलादिविषयकं अर्थादुत्पद्यमानमपि न गृहीताव्यभिचारम्, अपितु सत्तामात्रेणावस्थितादर्थोज्जायते । एवं शब्दस्यापि लिङ्गस्येवार्थाव्यभिचारो नास्ति । किं तु सङ्केतग्रहणमात्रात् पदार्थोपस्थितिद्वारा वाक्यार्थं बोधयति शब्दः । तस्मात् प्रत्यक्षशब्दविज्ञानयोर्न स्वतोऽव्यभिचाररूपप्रामाण्यग्रहः । अनुमितेस्तु गृहीताव्यभिचारलिङ्गजन्येति तत्प्रामाण्यं स्वत एव गृह्यते - इति ।

न्यायभूषणोक्ता ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वयुक्तिः²⁵

न्यायभूषणे - प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते ज्ञेयत्वात् अप्रामाण्यवत् इत्यनुमानं ज्ञप्ति-

24. ता.टी. पृ. 29 - 30.

25. न्या.भू. पृ. 40.

परतस्त्वसाधकमुपन्यस्तम् । ननु बोधात्मकत्वेन स्वतः एव प्रामाण्यं निश्चीयत इति चेत्, न । अप्रमाया अपि बोधात्मकत्वाविशेषात् स्वतः प्रामाण्यनिश्चयप्रसङ्गात् । न चाप्रमायां निश्चितमपि प्रामाण्यं पश्चात् बाधकज्ञानेन अपोद्यते । यस्य च देशान्तरे कालान्तरे पुरुषान्तरे अवस्थान्तरे च बाधो नोत्पद्यते स बोधः प्रमाणमिति वाच्यम् । तर्हि बोधात्मकत्वमात्रं न प्रामाण्यनिश्चायकं, किं तर्हि तैकालिकबाधाभावविशिष्टं बोधत्वं, तच्चाशक्यनिश्चयम् किमस्योत्तरकालं बाधो भविष्यति न वेति । सम्यक्त्वेनाध्यवसितस्यापि पक्षमासादिकालविकल्पेन बाधोत्पत्तेर्दर्शनात् । तस्माद्यथा प्रवृत्तिवैफल्यादिज्ञानमूलकदोषजन्यत्वज्ञानेन अप्रामाण्यं ज्ञायत इत्यप्रामाण्यज्ञप्तेः परतस्त्वं तथा प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तिरपि समर्थप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वादिति ज्ञानजन्या इति प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तेरपि परतस्त्वमेव इति निरूपितम् ।

न्यायमञ्जर्युक्ता ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वयुक्तिः²⁶

ज्ञानप्रामाण्यं स्वत एव ज्ञायत इति पक्षः न युक्तः । तथाहि — यदेतत् नील-
रकाशने प्रवृत्तम् इदं नीलं इत्याकारकं ज्ञानं तत्तावत् इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षजन्यं नीलरूपं
वेष्यं प्रति प्रत्यक्षरूपमित्यत्र न कोपि विवादः । तस्य ग्राहकं ज्ञानं तद्गतप्रामाण्य-
पि विषयीकरोतीत्यङ्गीकारे तत्किम् प्रत्यक्षरूपं वा अनुमितिरूपं वा इति विचारणीयम् ।
। तावत् प्रत्यक्षं भावितुमर्हति । भवन्मते ज्ञानस्य नित्यपरोक्षत्वाभ्युपगमेन ज्ञानस्यैव
त्यक्षतः ग्रहणानुपपत्तौ ज्ञानप्रामाण्यं कथमिन्द्रियसन्निकर्षलब्धजन्यमा प्रत्यक्षेण
यिष्येत् । न च मानसप्रत्यक्षं ज्ञानगतयथार्थतावसायसमर्थमिति कथनीयम्, तदानी-
ननुभूयमानत्वात् । न हि नीलज्ञानोत्पत्तिसमनन्तरं यथार्थमिदं नीलज्ञानमिति
नान्तरमुत्पद्यमानमनुभूयते । नाप्यनुमानेन ज्ञानग्राहकेण ज्ञानप्रामाण्यं गृह्यते ।
। तृव्यापाररूपस्य ज्ञानस्य ग्राहकं यल्लिङ्गं तस्याभावात् । यद्यपि ज्ञानस्य कार्यभूतं फलं
नस्य लिङ्गं भवेत् । फलस्य क्रियाव्याप्यत्वात् ; तथापि तत् ज्ञानस्य स्वरूपसत्ता-
त्रमनुमापयितुमुत्सहते न यथार्थत्वलक्षणं प्रमात्वमपि ।

अपि च यदि ज्ञानप्रसवसमय एव तद्गतं प्रामाण्यमपि निश्चिनुयाम तर्हि ततः
र्तमाना न क्वचिदपि विप्रलभ्येमहि, विप्रलभ्यामहे तु । तेन मन्यामहे ज्ञानग्रहण-
ने तत्प्रामाण्यं न निश्चितमिति । तस्मात्स्वयं प्रामाण्यं गृह्यत इत्येष पक्षः दुर्घटः, किन्तु
त्तिसामर्थ्याधीन एव प्रामाण्यनिश्चय इति न्यायमञ्जर्यां सुनिपुणमुपपादितम् ।

ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वे कन्दल्युक्ता युक्तिः²⁷

न्यायकन्दलीकाराः प्रामाण्यं परत एव ज्ञायत इत्येतदेवमुपपादयन्ति - यदि ज्ञानेन स्वप्रामाण्यं स्वयमेव ज्ञायेत यथार्थपरिच्छेदकमहमस्मीति, तर्हि उत्पन्ने ज्ञाने इदं यथार्थमयथार्थं वेति संशयः कदापि न स्यात् । अथ आत्मनि क्रियाविरोधात् स्वस्वरूप-मेवागृह्यद्विज्ञानं स्वगतं यथार्थपरिच्छेदकत्वलक्षणं प्रामाण्यं न गृह्णाति, तर्हि तज्ज्ञानाय परमपेक्षितव्यम् । तथा च प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इत्येव सिध्यतीति ।

उदयनाचार्योक्ता ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वयुक्तिः²⁸

उदयनाचार्यैः न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ - 'प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते अनभ्यासदशायां सांशयिकत्वात्, अप्रामाण्यवत्' इत्यनुमानेन प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तौ परतस्त्वं साधितम् । तेषामय-
माशयः । कदाचित् जलाशये जलमवलोक्य तत्र स्नानपानादिकं कृतवतः पुंसः
अन्यस्मिन् दिने दूरात्त्र यज्जलदर्शनं तत् अभ्यासदशापन्नं ज्ञानम् । तस्य च समर्थ-
प्रकृत्या गृहीतप्रामाण्यकं यत् पूर्वज्ञानं तत्सजातीयतया ज्ञातत्वेन इदं ज्ञानं प्रमा नवेति
संशयस्य न प्रसक्तिः । यत्तु प्राथमिकं अनभ्यासदशापन्नं गृहीतप्रामाण्यकज्ञानसजाती-
यत्वानुसन्धानशून्यं जलज्ञानं, तत्र तु इदं ज्ञानं प्रमा नवेति संशयो भवत्येव । तेन च
सांशयिकत्वेन हेतुना प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इत्यनुमीयते । ज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यं यदि
स्वत एव ज्ञायते तर्हि ज्ञानग्रहणकाले ज्ञानत्वस्येव तत्प्रामाण्यस्यापि ज्ञातत्वात् यथा -
इदं ज्ञानं न केति संशयो न जायते तथा इदं प्रमा न वेति संशयोऽपि न जायते । संशयं
प्रति हि अन्यतरकोटिनिश्चयः प्रतिबन्धक इति प्रामाण्यरूपैकतरकोटिनिश्चये सति
इदं प्रमा न केति संशयानुपपत्तेः । यतः संशयो जायते अतः ज्ञानज्ञानेन तत्प्रामाण्यं न
ज्ञायते इति वक्तव्यं भवति ।

ननु प्रामाण्यं ज्ञानग्रहणकाल एव गृह्यते । किन्तु तत्प्रमाभूतज्ञाने इव अप्रमा-
भूतेऽपि ज्ञाने स्वतो गृह्यते । पश्चात्तु बाधकज्ञानादिना पूर्वज्ञातं प्रामाण्यं त्यज्यते ।
एवं च प्रमायां प्रमात्वे ज्ञातेऽपि अप्रमावैलक्षण्यनियामकस्य विशेषस्य ज्ञानग्रहणकाले
अदर्शनात् इदमप्रमाणं किमिति संशयो भवितुमर्हतीति चेत् - न । किं प्रमाभूतज्ञान-
ज्ञानेन ज्ञानप्रामाण्यं विषयीक्रियते न वा ? न चेत् कथं स्वतःप्रामाण्यग्रहः । विषयी-
क्रियते चेत् तद्वत्प्राबुद्धिं प्रति तद्भाववत्तानिश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकतया अप्रामाण्याभावरूप-
प्रामाण्यनिश्चयकाले कथम् अप्रामाण्यविषयकः संशयो भोयुज्यते ? तस्मात् प्रामाण्य-

27. म्वा.क. पृ. 218.

28. न्या.कु. पृ. 78 (द्वितीय स्तबक)

संशयस्थले प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तिः परतः — पश्चादवगम्यमानात् सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वरूपाद्धेतो-
रेव, न तु स्वतः । एवं चानभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इति सिद्धे
सति अभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यमपि गृहीतप्रामाण्यकज्ञानसजार्तायत्वरूपहेतुनैव ज्ञायते
न स्वतः इति ।

उदयनोक्तानुमानस्य चित्सुखीयं दूषणम्²⁹

यदुक्तमुदयनेन संशयानुपपत्त्या प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इति । तत्रोच्यते ।
भवतां धर्मिमात्रज्ञानं स्वत एव प्रमाणम्, सर्वं ज्ञानं धर्मिण्यभ्रान्तमिति स्वीकारात् ।
तथा अनुव्यवसायस्य स्वयंप्रकाशत्वाभ्युपगमात् तदात्मकज्ञानप्रामाण्यं तत्तज्ज्ञान-
स्फुरणसमय एव स्फुरति । तथापि तत्र बौद्धानां धर्मधर्मिभावाद्यपलापाय अप्रामाण्य-
बुद्ध्यात्मको विपर्यासो दृश्यते । एवम् अनुमितेः भवदभिमतस्वतःप्रामाण्यविषये
चार्वाकस्य विपर्यासः, उपमितेः प्रमात्वविषये च वैशेषिकस्य विपर्यासो वर्तते । एवं
स्वरूपमेव भेद इति वादिनां मते स्थाणोः स्वरूपे स्फुरत्यपि भेदाऽग्रहात् स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो
वेति संदेहः पुरुष एवेति विपर्ययश्चोपलभ्यते । तथैव प्रामाण्ये गृहीतेऽपि संशयो
भविष्यति । न च प्रतिभासपुष्कलकारणे सत्यपि प्रतिबन्धकदोषवशात् तत्र संशय-
विपर्यासावुपपद्येते इति वाच्यम् । तथा प्रकृतेऽपि प्रामाण्यग्रहपुष्कलकारणे सति
प्रतिबन्धकदोषबलात्तदग्रहात् तत्संशयोत्पत्तेः संभवात् । एवं चानभ्यासदशायां
सांशयिकत्वादिति हेतुः अनैकान्तिकः । स्वतःप्रमाणत्वेन भवदभिमतेषु अनुमानोपमानानु-
व्यवसायधर्मिण्यवसायेषु साध्याभाववत्सु हेतुसद्भावात् । उक्तं चैतदनुमानादेः स्वतः-
प्रामाण्यमाचार्यवाचस्पतिना न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीकायाम्³⁰ ।

‘अनुमानस्य तु परितोनिरस्तसमस्तविभ्रमाशंकस्य स्वत एव प्रामाण्यम्, अनुमे-
याव्यभिचारिलिङ्गसमुत्थत्वात् । एतेनोपमानं व्याख्यातम् ।’ इति

अनुव्यवसायस्य स्वयंप्रकाशत्वं मणिकारैरभ्युपगतम् । एवं भवदुक्तानुमानं सत्यतिपक्षं
३ — विवादाध्यासितं प्रमात्वं ज्ञानग्राहकसामग्रीमात्रग्राह्यम्, अप्रामाणावृत्तित्वानधि-
तरणत्वे सति ज्ञानैकवृत्तित्वात्, ज्ञानत्ववत् इति स्वतोब्राह्मत्वसाधकस्य प्रत्यनुमानस्य
आगुरुकत्वात् इति चित्सुखाचार्यैः तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां कृतस्य प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वदूषणस्य
आरांशः । अनुव्यवसायधर्मिज्ञानयोः स्वतःप्रामाण्यं परिशुद्धावुदयनाचार्यैः प्रोक्तम् ।³¹

9. त. प्र. पृ. 218-221.

0. ता. मी. पृ. 29.

1. ता. टी. प. पृ. 99-100.

तत्समाधानम्

अत्रोच्यते । भवन्निर्दिशितेषु ज्ञानेषु प्रामाण्यसंशयोऽस्ति वा न वा । नास्ति चेत् हेत्वभावात् व्यभिचारः । अस्ति चेत्, तदीयप्रामाण्यमपि परत एव ज्ञायत इत्येव नैयायिकानां मतम् । अतो व्यभिचारस्य नावकाशः । न चैवं सति अनवस्था स्यात् इति वाच्यम् । प्रतिज्ञानं प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेयत्वानभ्युपगमात् । यत्र ज्ञानेऽप्रामाण्यशङ्का तत्रैव प्रामाण्यानुमितेरपेक्षा । न पुनः प्रामाण्यानुमितावपि प्रामाण्यग्रहस्यापेक्षा साध्या-व्यभिचरितहेतुजन्यायां तस्यामप्रामाण्यशङ्काया अभावात् । तदुक्तम् मणावेव—³²

‘यत्र तु प्रामाण्यज्ञाने अप्रामाण्यशङ्काया प्रामाण्यसंशयः तत्र प्रामाण्यज्ञाने प्रामाण्यनिश्चयादेव प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः । एवं यावदप्रामाण्यशङ्कं तज्ज्ञान-प्रामाण्यनिश्चयादेव तन्निश्चयः । न चैवमनवस्था, चरमज्ञानप्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञानाभावेन कोटिस्मरणाभावेन विषयान्तरसंचारेण वा प्रामाण्यसंशयान-वश्यंभावात्’ इति ।

तदुक्तम् तात्पर्यटीकापरिशुद्धौ—³³ ‘यत्र यत्र चापरो विशेषतः सामान्यतो वा विप्रतिपद्यते जिज्ञासते वा तत्र तत्र प्रामाण्यमुक्तेनोपायेनावधारणीयम् इति ।

प्रामाण्यानुमित्यादेः प्रामाण्यं स्वत एव गृह्यत इति वाचस्पतिग्रन्थस्यापि प्रामाण्यस्या-वश्यज्ञेयत्वाभाव एव तात्पर्यं वक्तव्यम् । अन्यथा तु चित्सुखाचार्योक्तव्यभिचारो दुर्वार एव । अथवा येषु येषु ज्ञानेषु प्रामाण्यं स्वतो गृह्यत इति वाचस्पतिना प्रोक्तं तद्विज्ञानगतं प्रामाण्यं पक्षः अतस्तादृशज्ञानगतप्रामाण्यानां पक्षतावच्छेदकानाक्रान्ततया तत्र साध्याभावेऽपि न बाधस्यावकाश इति प्रतिभाति ।

जयतीर्थोक्तदूषणम्

‘प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते अनभ्यासदशायां सांशयिकत्वात्’ इत्यस्मिन्ननुमाने हेतौ अनभ्यासदशायामिति विशेषणं व्यर्थम् । न चाभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्ये प्रामाण्यत्वरूपपक्षतावच्छेदकान्ते सांशयिकत्वरूपहेत्वभावाद्भागासिद्धिरिति तद्वारणाय तद्विशेषणमिति वाच्यम् । हेतावसिद्धिवारकविशेषणस्य व्यर्थताया भवद्विरभ्युपगमात् । उक्तं हि ‘एकामसिद्धिं परिहरतो द्वितीयापत्तिः’ इत्यात्मसिद्धौ । क्षित्यङ्कुरादिकम् अकर्तृकं, शरीराजन्यत्वादित्यनुमाने शरीररूपहेतुविशेषणं व्यर्थमित्युद्भाविते, अजन्यत्व-

32. त. चि. पृ. 294

33. ता. टी. प. पृ. 100

रूपहेतोः पक्षावृत्तितया स्वरूपासिद्धिः स्यादिति तद्वारकतया तद्विशेषणं सार्थकमिति शङ्कायां, हेतुघटकदलानां व्यभिचारवारकतयैव सार्थकत्वात् असिद्धिवारकस्य शरीररूप-विशेषणस्य व्यर्थतया व्याप्यत्वासिद्धिर्दोष इति हि तद्ग्रन्थस्यार्थः । तथा च अनभ्यास-दशायामिति विशेषणं व्यर्थमिति दूषणमभ्यधुः जयतीर्थश्रीचरणाः न्यायसुधायाम् ।³⁴

तत्समाधानम्

अत्रोच्यते । 'अनभ्यासदशायाम्' इत्येतत् न हेतुविशेषणम्, अपि तु पक्षविशेषणम्, तथा च अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं पक्षः । गृहीतप्रामाण्यकज्ञान-सजातीयत्वानुसन्धानरहितज्ञानप्रामाण्यमिति तदर्थः । एवं च अभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानगत-प्रामाण्ये सांशयिकत्वरूपहेत्वभावेन भागासिद्धिवारणाय तस्य पक्षबहिर्भावसंपादनाय पक्षविशेषणमिति तत्सार्थक्यम् । हेतुविशेषणस्यैव व्यभिचारवारकत्वनिर्वन्धः न तु पक्षविशेषणस्येति । तथा च मणावपि उदयनाचार्योक्तानुमानघटकस्य अनभ्यासदशायामित्यस्य पक्षविशेषणत्वमिति ज्ञापनार्थं —

'तत्सादनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते सांशयिकत्वात् अप्रामाण्य-वदित्याचार्याः'³⁵ इत्येव आचार्यग्रन्थोऽनूदितः । अतो न कोऽपि दोषः । यदपि न्याय-सुधायाम् — अनभ्यासदशायामित्यस्य पक्षविशेषणत्वपक्षेपि नैयायिकाभिमतधर्मिप्रत्यक्षानु-मानोपमानेष्वपि संशयदर्शनेनानैकान्त्यमिति दूषणमुपन्यस्तम्, तस्य परिहारः चित्सुखोक्त-दूषणसमाधानव्याजेन कृत एव ।

देशिककृतं ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वदूषणम्

प्रामाण्यं परत एव ज्ञायत इति वक्तुं न शक्यते । ईश्वरज्ञानं सर्वविषयकत्वात् स्वगतप्रामाण्यमपि विषयीकरोतीति वक्तव्यम् । तथा च तत्र स्वेनैव स्वगतप्रामाण्यस्यापि प्रहात् तत्प्रामाण्ये परतो ग्राह्यत्वाभावात् बाधः । तथा 'निर्बाधा धीः प्रमा' इत्याकारिका या प्रमालक्षणविषयिणी बुद्धिः सापि निर्बाधधीत्वाक्रान्तस्वगतप्रमात्वमपि विषयीकरोतीति तत्रापि परतो ग्राह्यत्वाभावाद्बाधः । अतोऽन्यत्र परत एवेति नियम इति चेत् — तदपि । तद्दृष्टान्तेनैव प्रतिप्रयोक्तुं शक्यत्वात् — विगीतं प्रामाण्यं स्वाधारेण ज्ञायते, प्रामाण्य-रूपत्वात् ईश्वरज्ञानादिप्रामाण्यवत् इति । यदि प्रमात्वं स्वतो ज्ञायेत, कथं तर्हि इदं ज्ञानं प्रमा अप्रमा वेति संशयः संभवतीति चेन्न । विशेषतो गृहीतेष्वपि लोके

1. न्या. सु. पृ. 248.

2. त. चि. पृ.

संशयोत्पत्तेर्दर्शनात् । भवति हि मुहुः शुक्तिकारजतमोहात् अन्धीकृतधियः कलधौतेऽपि इदं रजतमिति ज्ञाने सति यथोपलम्भमिदं रजतमेव वा पूर्ववच्छुक्तिरजतं वेति संदेहः । तथा अत्रापि गृह्यमाणेऽपि प्रामाण्ये किमिदं प्रमाणमेव सत् प्रमाणतया ज्ञायते, उत बाधात् पूर्वभ्रमवत् अप्रमाणं सत् इति संशयो युज्यते । अतः प्रामाण्यं परतो न ज्ञायते युक्त्यभावात् इति वेदान्तदेशिकाः न्यायपरिशुद्धौ³⁶ प्राहुः ।

तत्समाधानम्

अत्राभिधीयते । यत्र यत्राप्रामाण्यसंशयो भवति तत्र तत्र प्रामाण्यं स्वतो न गृह्यत इति हि उदयनाचार्याणामाशयः । उदाहृतस्थलेऽपि प्रामाण्यं गृहीतं चेत् संशयो न भवत्येव । अथ संशयो भवति तर्हि प्रामाण्यं न गृहीतमेव । अतो न दोष इति ।

अपि च मणिकारैरेव³⁷ एतज्जातीयां शङ्कामुत्थाप्य परिहारोपि कृतः । तथाहि शंखः पीतत्वाभावव्याप्यशंखत्ववान् इति विशेषदर्शने सत्यपि यथा पित्तरूपदोषमहिम्ना पीतः शंखः इति भ्रमो जायते, तथा निश्चितेऽपि प्रामाण्ये अन्ततः अनभ्यासदशारोपरूपात् दोषात् तत्संशयो भवितुमर्हतीत्याशङ्क्य, साक्षात्कारिणि निश्चये तादृशमेव विपरीतदर्शनं विरोधि, शंखे चापीतत्वधीः पित्तरूपप्रतिबन्धकसत्त्वात् न साक्षात्कारिणी, किन्तु आनुमानिकीति पीतत्वभ्रमो भवति । प्रकृते च मानसे प्रामाण्यग्रहे सति साक्षात्कारिविपरीतज्ञानसत्त्वात् कथं प्रामाण्यतदभावसंशयरूपो भ्रमो भवेदिति समाहितं मणौ । तदेव समाधानं देशिककृतदूषणस्यापि बोद्धव्यम् ।

मणिकारीयं प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वोपपादनम्³⁸

मणिकारास्तावत् वक्ष्यमाणेन प्रकारेण प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायत इति निरूपयन्ति -

1. प्रामाण्यस्य स्वतो ग्रहे अनभ्यासदशोत्पन्नज्ञाने प्रामाण्यसंशयो न स्यात् । ज्ञानग्रहे सति तद्वत्प्रामाण्यस्यापि तेन गृहीतत्वात्, अन्यथा स्वतःप्रामाण्यग्रहो न स्यात् । ज्ञानाग्रहे च ज्ञानरूपस्य धर्मिणः ज्ञानाभावात् ज्ञानधर्मिकप्रामाण्यसंशयो न घटेत् । अतः प्रामाण्यं परत एव ज्ञायते । इयं युक्तिः कुसुमाञ्जलावप्युक्ता । तथा च अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते सांशयिकत्वादित्यनुमानेन प्रामाण्यपरतस्त्वं सिध्यति ।

36. न्या. प. पृ. 156.

37. त. चि. पृ.

38. त. चि. पृ.

2. अत्र च परतो ज्ञायते इत्यस्य न स्वाश्रयग्राह्यम् इति वा स्वाश्रयातिरिक्तमात्र-
ग्राह्यमिति वा अर्थः। सांशयिकत्वादित्यस्य च स्वाश्रयाधिकरणक्षणवावधिकतृतीयक्षणवृत्ति-
संशयविषयत्वादित्यर्थः। स्वं प्रामाण्यं तदाश्रयः यत् जलज्ञानं, तदुत्पत्त्यधिकरण-
द्वितीयक्षणे जलज्ञानरूपधर्मिविषयकं ज्ञानं, ततः प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्यरूपकोटिस्मृतिः ततः
जलज्ञानम् प्रमा न वा इति संशय इति क्रमः। तथा च प्रामाण्याश्रयजलज्ञानाधि-
करणद्वितीयक्षणवावधिकतृतीयक्षणवृत्तिसंशयविषयत्वं प्रामाण्येऽस्तीति हेतोः पक्षवृत्तित्वम्।

3. यद्वा अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यं न यावत्स्वाश्रयग्राहकग्राह्यं स्वाश्रय-
निश्चये सति तृतीयक्षणे संदिह्यमानत्वात् अप्रामाण्यवत् इत्यनुमानं परतस्त्वे प्रमाणम्।
जलज्ञानानन्तरं जलज्ञानरूपधर्मिविषयकज्ञाने सति तदनन्तरं कोटिद्वयस्मरणबलाद्
प्रामाण्यसंशयो जायते। तत्र धर्मिज्ञानं प्रामाण्याश्रयजलज्ञानग्राहकं, तेन चेत्
जलज्ञानप्रामाण्यमपि गृहीतमभविष्यत् तदा कथमुत्तरत्र संशयः उदपत्स्यत। तथा च
संशयबलात् ज्ञानग्राहकज्ञानग्राह्यत्वरूपं स्वतस्त्वं प्रामाण्यस्य न संजाघटीति इति उक्तानु-
मानस्य तात्पर्यम्।

4. यद्वा अनभ्यासदशापन्नज्ञानप्रामाण्यम् एतत्प्रामाण्यसंशयपूर्वकाली-
नैतज्ज्ञाननिश्चयविषयः, एतज्ज्ञाननिश्चयानन्तरं संदिह्यमानत्वात् अप्रामाण्यवदित्यनुमानं
ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वे प्रमाणम्। पूर्वानुमानापेक्षया एतदनुमानाकृतौ भेदेऽपि विषयः समानोप-
पादनः।

एवं च कुसुमाञ्जल्युक्तमेवानुमानं लिभिः प्रकारैः परिष्कृत्य प्रदर्शितं
मणावपि।

साध्यप्रसिद्ध्यभावात् प्रामाण्यानुमानासंभव इत्याक्षेपपरिहारः³⁹

ततः यदि जलज्ञानादिगतं प्रामाण्यं प्रामाण्यैकविधेयकानुमित्यैव गृह्येत तर्हि
तादृशानुमितेः प्राक् तादृशप्रामाण्यरूपसाध्यस्याज्ञानात् साध्यप्रसिद्ध्यभावात् व्याप्तिग्रहस्या-
सम्भवात् कथं प्रामाण्यानुमितिर्भवेदित्याक्षेपमुत्थाप्य तत्र सम्प्रदायानुसारेण स्वमतानुसारेण
च द्वेषा समाधानमुक्तं मणौ। तथाहि -

1. जन्मान्तरानुभवजन्यसंस्कारबलात् तद्वति तत्प्रकारकत्वरूपप्रामाण्यमालं
स्मृतम्। तेन च व्याप्तिग्रहणे सति 'इदं जलमिति ज्ञानं तद्वति तत्प्रकारकम्'

इत्यनुमितौ सर्वनाम्नः तच्छब्दस्य प्रकृतपरामर्शकत्वात् घटत्ववति घटप्रकारकत्वरूपस्य प्रामाण्यस्य भानमिति सांप्रदायिकानां समाधानम् ।

२. मणिकाराणां समाधानं तु — न प्रामाण्यं साध्यते, अपि तु तदभाववति तत्प्रकारकत्वरूपाप्रामाण्याभाव एव । पक्षधर्मताबलाच्च प्रामाण्यं अनुमितौ विषयः तथाहि — अयं जलत्वप्रकारकानुभवः जलत्वाभाववति जलत्वप्रकारको न, शीत-स्पर्शवद्विषयकप्रवृत्तिजनकजलत्वप्रकारकज्ञानत्वात् यत्रैवम् तत्रैवम् यथा जलभ्रमः । जलभ्रमे च जलत्वाभाववति जलत्वप्रकारकत्व — समर्थप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वाभावयोर्व्यासिर्गृहीता । तत्र च व्यापकस्य समर्थप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वाभावस्य निवृत्तौ व्याप्यस्य जलत्वाभाववति जलत्व-प्रकारकत्वरूपस्य अप्रामाण्यस्य अभावः पक्षे सिध्यति । स च जलत्वप्रकारकानुभव-रूपपक्षवृत्तिवमहिम्ना जलत्ववति जलत्वप्रकारकत्वमादाय पर्यवस्यति । यद्वा अप्रामाण्या-भावानुमित्यनन्तरं जलत्ववति जलत्वप्रकारकत्वरूपप्रामाण्यं विना जलत्वाभाववति जलत्व-प्रकारकत्वरूपाप्रामाण्यभावस्यानुपपत्त्या अर्थात् तादृशप्रामाण्यं सिध्यति इति ।

अनवस्थापरिहारमार्गः

प्रामाण्यस्य परतो ब्राह्मत्वाभ्युपगमे येन ज्ञानेन प्रामाण्यं गृह्यते तस्य ज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यमप्यन्येन गृह्यते तस्याप्यन्येनेत्येवमनवस्थापत्तिरिति दोषः स्वतस्त्ववादिभिः सर्वैरापाद्यते । तस्य परिहारप्रकाराः अनेकविधाः तत्तद्ग्रन्थेषु प्रादर्शितम् । तात्पर्य-टीकायां⁴⁰ तावत् — प्रामाण्यानुमितिः येनानुव्यवसायेन गृह्यते तेनैवानुमितिप्रामाण्यमपि गृह्यत इत्येवं स्वत एवानुमितिप्रामाण्यं गृह्यते अतो नानवस्थेति परिहारः प्रोक्तः ।

न्यायमञ्जर्यां तु⁴¹ — ज्ञानप्रामाण्यं तावत् प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यात् निश्चीयते । प्रवृत्ति-सामर्थ्यं नाम अर्थक्रियाख्यफलज्ञानम् । तस्य फलज्ञानस्यापि स्वप्रामाण्यनिश्चयार्थं फलज्ञानान्तरापेक्षायामनवस्था स्यादिति नाशङ्कनीयम् । अर्थक्रियाज्ञाने प्रामाण्यस्या-परीक्षणीयत्वात् । प्रवर्तकं सर्वमपि ज्ञानं गृहीतप्रामाण्यकमेव प्रवृत्तिं जनयितुं प्रभवतीति न निर्बन्धः । फलज्ञाने सति प्रयोजनस्य सिद्धत्वात् तत्प्रामाण्यजिज्ञासैव नास्तीति कुतोऽनवस्था ।

अपि च संशयाभावादपि फलज्ञानप्रामाण्यविचारो न भवति । प्रवर्तकं हि प्राथमिकं जलज्ञानम् अविद्यमानेऽपि जले सूर्यकिरणेषु दृष्टमिति तत्र संशेरते जनाः ।

40. ता. टी. पृ. 29.

41. म्या. म. पृ. 158-159.

फलज्ञानं तु सलिलमध्यवर्तिनां भवत्फलाविनाभूतमेव भवतीति न तत्र संशयः उदेति । संशयाभावाच्च न तत्र प्रामाण्यविचारः, विचारस्य संशयपूर्वकत्वात् ।

अपि च फलज्ञानान्तरापेक्षां विनैव विशेषदर्शनाद्वा फलज्ञाने प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः भवति । कः पुनर्विशेषः फलज्ञानस्य मिथ्याज्ञानात् इति चेत् अयम् । योयं शौच-आचमन-मज्जनदेवपितृतर्पण - वस्त्रक्षालन - श्रमतापापनोदनाद्यनेकप्रकारः जलपर्यालोचन-प्रबन्धः न ह्ययमियान् कार्यकलापः मिथ्याज्ञानात् प्रवृत्तस्य क्वचिदपि दृष्टः । न हि सलिलमन्तरेण एताः क्रिया वर्तमाना दृश्यन्त इति विशेषस्य दर्शनात् अर्यक्रियाज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यं सुज्ञानम् ।

अपि च कारणपरीक्षातोपि फलज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यं निश्चेष्टव्यम् । प्रयत्नेनाप्यन्विष्यमाणो यदि कोऽपि दोषो न ज्ञायते तत् प्रमाणमिति निश्चीयते । यथा विषयस्य चलत्वसादृश्यादिदोषविरहः आलोकस्य मलीमसत्त्वादिकारणवैकल्यं, अन्तःकरणस्य निद्राद्यदूषितत्वं, आत्मनः क्षुत्प्रकोपाद्यनाकुलत्वं, चक्षुर्युगलस्य तिमिरपटलादिविकलत्वमित्यादि यदि सम्पन्नं तदा उत्पद्यमानं ज्ञानं प्रमा इति निश्चयः सुलभः । यद्येवं प्राथमिक एव जलादिज्ञाने किमिति प्रामाण्यनिश्चयार्थं कारणपरीक्षा न क्रियते, किमर्थं फलज्ञान एव प्रवर्तते इति चेत् - आयुष्मन् ! आद्येऽपि ज्ञाने कारणपरीक्षायां क्रियमाणायाम् कः प्रमादः? किमेतावता तव स्वतः प्रामाण्यं सिद्धयेत्? मम वा परतः प्रामाण्यमपहीयेत? किन्तु लोकः प्रवर्तकज्ञानानन्तरं फलप्राप्तिं प्रति यथा सोद्यमो दृश्यते, न तथा तत्कारणपरीक्षां प्रति । अतः फलज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यमेव कारणपरीक्षया निश्चीयते, आद्यस्य ज्ञानस्य तु फलज्ञानादेव प्रामाण्यनिश्चय इति जयन्तभट्टाः अनवस्था-परीहारप्रकारान् प्रादर्शयन् ।

कन्दलीकारास्तु⁴² - अनवस्थामेवं परिहरन्ति । प्रमाणं हि स्वोत्पत्त्यैवार्थं ज्ञापयति न ज्ञातप्रामाण्यम् । तेन त्वर्थे ज्ञातेऽपि यत्र कुतश्चिन्निमित्तात् इदं ज्ञानं प्रमा वा अप्रमा वा इति संशये जाते विषयसंदेहात् पुरषस्य प्रवृत्तिः तत्रास्य प्रवृत्त्यर्थं प्रामाण्यजिज्ञासा भवति, अनवधृते प्रामाण्ये संशयस्यानिवृत्तेः । यत्र पुनरत्यन्ताभ्यासपाटवात् अखिलविशेष-ग्रहणाद्वा निस्संशयलेशं ज्ञानमुदेति तत्र तदुत्पत्त्यैवार्थनिश्चये प्रमातुर्निराकाङ्क्षत्वात् जिज्ञासैव नास्तीति न प्रमाणान्तरानुसरणम् । अतो नानवस्था इति ।

कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रदर्शितः अनवस्थापरिहारमार्गः⁴³

प्रामाण्यज्ञप्तेः परतस्त्वाङ्गीकारे द्विप्रकारा अनवस्था कार्यमुखी कारणमुखी च संभाव्यते । ज्ञानगतस्य प्रामाण्यज्ञाने ज्ञानस्य कार्यक्षमत्वाभावात् अनुमानफलभूतो योऽनुमितिरूपः प्रामाण्यग्रहः तद्वत्प्रामाण्यमनुमित्यन्तरेण ग्राह्यम्, एवं तद्वत्प्रामाण्यमनुमित्यन्तरेण इत्येवं एका कार्यमुखी अथवा फलमुखी अनवस्था । एवं कारणभूतलिङ्गनिश्चयाभावे अनुमितिर्न भवति, लिङ्गनिश्चयश्च लिङ्गज्ञानप्रामाण्यनिश्चयमन्तरा न भवतीति लिङ्गज्ञानप्रामाण्यनिश्चयार्थं लिङ्गान्तरापेक्षायां तज्ज्ञानेपि तथेत्येवं कारणमुखी द्वितीयानवस्था ।

तत्र फलमुख्या अनवस्थाया एवं परिहारः — प्रामाण्यज्ञानस्य प्रवृत्त्यर्थमनपेक्षितत्वात् अनवस्था न भवति । प्रवृत्तिं प्रति यद्यर्थनिश्चयो हेतुः स्यात् तदा अर्थनिश्चयार्थं प्रामाण्यग्रहस्यापेक्षा भवेत् अर्थनिश्चयाभावेपि संदेहमात्रेणापि प्रवृत्तेः तत्साफल्यस्य च दर्शनेन नार्थनिश्चयः प्रवृत्तिं प्रति हेतुः । अनवस्थाया अपि न प्रसङ्गः प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेयत्वानभ्युपगमात्, प्रामाण्यज्ञानस्य विषयनिश्चयहेतुत्वाभावेन तदावश्यकतानभ्युपगमात्, ज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यज्ञानेऽपि स्वविषये निश्चयरूपत्वात् ।

न च अप्रामाण्यग्रहकालेऽपि अर्थज्ञाने निश्चयत्वस्य अक्षततया प्रवृत्त्यापत्तिरिति वाच्यम् । अप्रामाण्यज्ञानानास्कन्दितार्थनिश्चयस्यैव प्रवृत्तिं प्रति हेतुत्वेनादोषत् ।

ननु बहुवित्तव्ययायामाधयेषु वैदिकेषु व्यापारेषु प्रामाण्यज्ञानमन्तरा प्रवृत्त्यनुदयात् प्रामाण्यज्ञानविशिष्टार्थनिश्चयस्यैव प्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वं वक्तव्यम् । तथा च तत्र प्रामाण्यज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यज्ञापनार्थं हेत्वन्तरापेक्षायामनवस्था स्यादेवेति चेत् —

अर्थज्ञाने अप्रामाण्यशङ्कापरिहारय प्रामाण्यानुमित्यपेक्षायामपि तत्र प्रामाण्यानुमित्वापि प्रामाण्यग्रहस्यानपेक्षितत्वात् । अन्यथा उपर्युपरि अप्रामाण्यशंकापरिहारकत्वेन वा विषयनिश्चयकत्वेन वा प्रमात्वज्ञानधाराभ्युपगमे स्वतस्त्वपेक्षेऽप्यनवस्था दुर्वारा स्यात् । तथाहि — ज्ञानस्य स्वयंप्रकाशतया स्वगतप्रामाण्यं स्वेनैव गृह्यत इति **प्रभाकराः** । ज्ञानस्यातीन्द्रियतया ज्ञाततया ज्ञानमनुमीयते, तथा चानुमित्या ज्ञानप्रामाण्यमपि गृह्यत इति **भाट्टाः** । ज्ञानस्यानुयवसायात्मकमानसप्रत्यक्षवेद्यतया अनुयवसायेन ज्ञाने गृह्यमाणे तत्प्रामाण्यमपि गृह्यत इति **मुद्गारिः** । तत्र प्रथमपक्षे ज्ञानोत्पादकसामर्थ्येव

ज्ञानप्राहकसामग्री, द्वितीयपक्षे ज्ञाततार्तिगकानुमितिः सा, तृतीयपक्षे अनुव्यवसायः सा इति भेदेऽपि ज्ञानप्राहकसामग्रीप्राह्यत्वात्मकं स्वतस्त्वं मतत्रयसाधारणम् । अत्र मतत्रयेऽप्यनवस्था प्रसजति । प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेत्यवगमे गुरुमते एकेनैव ज्ञानेन घटांशे प्रामाण्यस्यैव, प्रामाण्येऽपि प्रामाण्यस्य, तत्प्रामाण्येऽपि प्रामाण्यान्तरस्येत्येवमनन्तविषयग्रहणात् विषयनियमाभावादनवस्था । भट्टमते अनुमितिगृहीतप्रामाण्यांशेऽपि प्रामाण्यग्रहणार्थमनुमित्यन्तरमाश्रयणीयमित्येवमनवस्था । विश्वमते तदर्थमनुव्यवसायपरंपरा इत्येवमनवस्था । तथा च फलमुखी अनवस्था स्वतस्त्वपक्षेऽपि समाना । सा चेत् प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेयत्वानभ्युपगमात् भवद्भिः परिह्रियेत तथैवास्माभिः न परिह्रियेतेति किम् राजाज्ञा कापि वर्तते ?

एवं कारणमुखी अनवस्थापि न भवति, लिङ्गज्ञाने प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेत्यनभ्युपगमादेव । अन्यथा भट्टमते ज्ञाततारूपलिङ्गज्ञाने प्रामाण्यज्ञानार्थं लिङ्गान्तरापेक्षायामनवस्था स्यादेवेति । तस्मात् प्रामाण्यस्यावश्यज्ञेत्यनभ्युपगमात्तानवस्थेति परिहार एव सर्वेषां रक्षकः ।

एवं च यत्र यत्र कारणविशेषात् प्रामाण्यशङ्का जायते तत्र सर्वत्र परत एव प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः । यावदाशङ्का प्रामाण्यानुमितेरभ्युपगमात्तानवस्था इति कुसुमाञ्जलावुदयनाचार्यप्रदर्शितस्य अनवस्थापरिहारप्रकारस्य सारांशः ।

मणिकारप्रदर्शितः अनवस्थापरिहारमार्गः —44

यत् ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्तरप्रामाण्यं विषयीकरोति तत् किमन्येन ज्ञानेन गृहीतप्रामाण्यं सत् विषयीकरोति, उत स्वेनैव गृहीतप्रामाण्यं सत् ? आद्ये अनवस्था, द्वितीये स्वतःप्रामाण्यग्रहापत्तिः । अतः अगृहीतप्रामाण्यमेव ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्तरप्रामाण्यनिश्चयरूपमङ्गीकरणीयम् । तथा च व्यवसायोऽप्यगृहीतप्रामाण्य एव स्वविषयनिश्चयरूपो भवतु, किं विषयनिश्चयार्थं तत्प्रामाण्यनिश्चयेन ? इति पूर्वपक्षमुद्घात्य, न वयं ज्ञानप्रामाण्यनिश्चयादेवार्थनिश्चय इति ब्रूमः, किं तु यत्राप्रामाण्यशङ्का नास्ति करतलामलकादिज्ञाने, तत्र व्यवसाय एवार्थनिश्चयरूप इति तत एव निष्कम्पा प्रवृत्तिर्भवति । यत्र तु अनभ्यासदशायामप्रामाण्यसंशयेनार्थसंशयः तत्र प्रामाण्यनिश्चयाधीनज्ञानार्थं निश्चित्य निष्कम्पं प्रवर्तते नान्यथेति सर्वानुभवसिद्धम् । तथा च गृहीतप्रामाण्यमेव ज्ञानं परज्ञानप्रामाण्यं निश्चययति । न चैवमनवस्था । चरमज्ञानप्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञानाभावेन कोटिस्मरणा-

भावात् विषयान्तरसंचाराद्वा प्रामाण्यसंशयानवश्यंभावात् । अप्रामाण्यसंशये सत्येव प्रामाण्यनिश्चयस्यापेक्षितत्वात् । अन्यथा भट्टमते प्रामाण्यस्य स्वाश्रयज्ञानविषयकानुमिति-ग्राह्यत्वोपगमेन अनुमितिप्रामाण्यस्याप्यनुमित्यन्तरग्राह्यत्वमित्येवमनवस्था स्यात् । गुरुमते च प्रामाण्यस्य यत् स्वग्राह्यत्वं न तत् स्वग्राह्यम् । ज्ञानस्वरूपतत्प्रामाण्ययोरेव स्वग्राह्यत्वाङ्गी-कारेण तदुभयभित्तस्य स्वग्राह्यत्वस्य स्वग्राह्यत्वासंभवात् । किंतु परिशेषानुमानेन प्रमान्तरेण वा ग्राह्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । तथा च तादृशानुमानादिगतस्य प्रामाण्यस्य यत् स्वग्राह्यत्वं तदप्यन्येनैव ग्राह्यमित्येवमनवस्था प्रसज्येत । इति समाधानं प्राब्रुवन् मणिकाराः । अयं फलमुखानवस्थायाः परिहारमार्गः ।

एवं लिङ्गज्ञानरूपकारणस्य प्रामाण्यावधारणार्थं लिङ्गज्ञानान्तरापेक्षया या कारण-मुखी अनवस्था उद्भाव्यते, तत्रैवं परिहारमभ्यधुः मणिकाराः 45 —

‘अप्रामाण्यशङ्काकलङ्काभावे लिङ्गदिज्ञानस्यैवार्थनिश्चयकत्वात्, तत्कलङ्के तूक्तैव गतिः’ इति । उक्तैव गतिरित्यनेन यावदप्रामाण्यशङ्कं परत एव प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः । न चानवस्था, चरमज्ञाने प्रामाण्यसंशयानवश्यंभावादिति फलमुखानवस्थापरिहाररीतिरभिप्रेता ।

निष्कर्षः—

अत्रेदं तत्त्वम् । प्रामाण्यं नाम किमिति निर्णयति सति तत्परत एव गृह्यत इति निश्चेतुं शक्यते । यो धर्मी यश्च धर्मः एतदुभयग्राह्यत्वमेव प्रामाण्यमित्युक्तौ ‘इदं रजतम्’ इति भ्रमात्मकज्ञानमपि प्रमा स्यात् । तस्यापि शुक्तिरूपधर्मि — रजतत्वरूप-धर्मोभयग्राहकत्वात् । अतः तद्वति तत्प्रकारकत्वमेव प्रामाण्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । इदं ज्ञानं रजतत्ववत्येव रजतत्वप्रकारकमित्येवंरूपं रजतत्ववद्विशेष्यकत्वावच्छिन्नरजतत्व-प्रकारकत्वरूपं प्रामाण्यं ‘इदं रजतं जानामि’ इत्यनुव्यवसायेन ग्रहीतुं न शक्यत इति परत एव प्रामाण्यं गृह्यते । तेन हि अनुव्यवसायेन पुरोवर्तिविशेष्यकरजतत्वप्रकारक-ज्ञानवानहमित्येव गृह्येत, न तु रजतत्ववद्विशेष्यकत्वांशग्रहणं, न हि विशेष्यं रजतत्व-वत्येन तत्र भाति । इदमित्यस्य हि पुरोवर्तीत्यर्थः, न तु रजतमिति । यदा तु ‘रजतं जानामि’ इत्यनुव्यवसायः । तदापि रजतविषयकज्ञानवानहमिति तदर्थो भवति । तत्र रजतत्ववद्विशेष्यकत्वावच्छेदेन रजतत्वप्रकारकत्वभानं दुरुपपादम् । तस्मात् ज्ञान-विषयकज्ञाने प्रामाण्यमपि विषय इत्यस्य उपपादयितुमशक्यत्वात् परत एव प्रामाण्यं गृह्यत इति वदतां नैयायिकानामाकृतमिति ।

एतन्मणिकारसिद्धान्तोपरि तर्कताण्डवे प्रामाण्यवादे व्यासतीर्थैर्मध्वमताचार्यैः बहुधा दूषणानि अभ्यधीयन्त तेषां च परिहारः चिन्तामणिव्याख्यानेषु प्रकाश - आलोक - दीधित्वादिषु प्रायः कृत एवेति विस्तरभिया तद्विषयकः प्रयत्नः परित्यज्यते ।

अथ प्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वपरतस्त्वविषये मीमांसकव्यतिरिक्तानि मतानि संगृह्यन्ते । एतत्प्रकरणारम्भ एवास्माभिः सांख्यबौद्धयोर्मते परिशीलिते । इदानीं जैनमतं पर्यालोचयामः ।

जैनमते प्रामाण्योत्पत्तिज्ञप्ती - 46

‘तत्प्रामाण्यं स्वतः परतश्च’ इति परीक्षामुखमूत्रम् । तस्यायमर्थः - प्रामाण्यं परत एवोत्पद्यते ज्ञप्तौ स्वकार्यप्रवृत्तौ च अभ्यासदशायां स्वतः प्रामाण्यं, अनभ्यासदशायां परतः इति प्रमेयफलमार्ताण्डे प्रोक्तः । प्राय इदं नैयायिकमतमनुकरोति ।

अद्वैतिमते प्रामाण्योत्पत्तिज्ञप्ती - 47

प्रत्यक्षादीनां षण्णामपि प्रमाणानां तद्वृत्ति तत्प्रकारकज्ञानत्वरूपं प्रामाण्यं स्वत एवोत्पद्यते ज्ञायते च । उत्पत्तौ स्वतस्त्वं च दोषाभावसहितज्ञानसामान्यसामग्रीप्रयोज्यत्वम् । ज्ञप्तौ स्वतस्त्वं च दोषाभावविशिष्ट्यावत्स्वाश्रयग्राहकसामग्रीग्राह्यत्वम् । स्वं प्रामाण्यं तदाश्रयः वृत्तिज्ञानं तस्य ग्राहकं साक्षिज्ञानम् । तेन च वृत्तिज्ञाने गृह्यमाणे तद्गत-प्रामाण्यमपि गृह्यते । न चैवं प्रामाण्यसंशयानुपपत्तिरिति वाच्यम् । यत्र प्रामाण्यसंशयो भवति तत्र दोषस्य सत्त्वात् दोषाभावघटितस्वाश्रयग्राहकाभावेन प्रामाण्यस्यैवाग्रहात् । यद्वा स्वाश्रयग्राहकग्राह्यत्वयोग्यत्वं स्वतस्त्वम् । प्रामाण्यसंशयस्थले प्रामाण्यस्योक्तयोग्यता अस्ति । अथापि दोषरशात् प्रामाण्यं न गृह्यते । अतः संशय उपपद्यते इति परिभाषाकाराः प्रतिपादयामासु ।

वस्तुतस्तु एतन्मते परामृश्यमाने ज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वविषये नैयायिकोक्तमेव शब्दान्तरेण परिभाषायामङ्गीकृतमिति प्रतिभाति । प्रामाण्यसंशयानुरोधेन ज्ञाने गृह्यमाणे तत्प्रामाण्यं न गृह्यते इति हि नैयायिकाः । तदेव परिभाषायामपि स्वीकृतम् । एवञ्च तदनुगुणं स्वतस्त्वपरिष्कारेऽपि मूलसिद्धान्तः समान एवेत्यालोचनीयं सुधीभिः ।

46. प्र. क. मा. पृ. 149

47. वे. प. पृ. 332-339

द्वैतमते प्रामाण्योत्पत्तिज्ञप्ती - 48

प्रामाण्यं स्वत एवोत्पद्यते ज्ञायते च । उत्पत्तौ स्वतस्त्वं च ज्ञानकारणातिरि
कारणानपेक्षत्वम् । ज्ञानग्राहकग्राह्यत्वमेव ज्ञप्तौ स्वतस्त्वम् । ज्ञानपदेन वृत्ति
गृह्यते । तस्य ग्राहकं च साक्षिचैतन्यम् । नैयायिकाभिमतानुव्यवसाय एव सा
चैतन्यपदेन व्यपदिश्यते । तेन वृत्तिज्ञानं तत्प्रामाण्यं च गृह्यते । न चान
शङ्कनीया । साक्षिचैतन्यस्य स्वयंप्रकाशत्वेन तेन स्वस्य स्वप्रामाण्यस्य विषयीकरणा
वृत्तिज्ञानस्य तु जडस्य स्वस्वप्रामाण्योभयग्राहकत्वासंभवात् साक्षिचैतन्यस्वीकारः । कं
प्रामाण्यसंशयस्तु कारणान्तराद्भवतीति न्यायसुधादौ सविस्तरं न्यरूपि ।

विशिष्टाद्वैतमते प्रामाण्योत्पत्तिज्ञप्ती -

ज्ञानानां यथावस्थितार्थविषयकत्वं सामान्यम् । भ्रमस्यापि धर्मिण्यभ्रान्तत्वा
अतः बह्वादेर्दाहकत्वादिवत् ज्ञानानां प्रामाण्यं स्वतःसिद्धम् । दोषवशात् भ्रम
अप्रमात्वम् । किं च ईश्वरज्ञाने प्रमात्वस्य दोषाभाव एव प्रयोजकः एष्टव्यः ।
एव सर्वेष्वपि ज्ञानेषु प्रमात्वस्य प्रयोजकोऽस्तु, न तदधिको गुणः तथा च दोषाभावा
रिक्तकारणनिरपेक्षत्वमेव प्रामाण्योत्पत्तौ स्वतस्त्वम् । एवं प्रामाण्यं स्वाश्रयेण ज्ञाने
ज्ञायते । स्वाश्रयग्राह्यत्वमेव प्रामाण्यस्य ज्ञप्तौ स्वतस्त्वम् । तत्र प्रामाण्यं नाम वि
स्तित्वम् । घटोऽस्तीति हि ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । तेन ज्ञानेन घटास्तित्वरूपं प्रामाण्यं गृहीतमे
यत्र पुनः शुक्तौ रजतज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, तत्रापि रजतमस्तीति रजतास्तित्वमेव प्रतीयते ।

न पुनर्नास्तित्वं तेनैव ज्ञानेन प्रतीयते । अतो विषयास्तित्वं स्वेन प्रती
नास्तित्वं तु बाधकेन प्रतीयते । तथा च प्रामाण्यस्य स्वतः प्रतीतिः अप्रामाण्यस
परतः इति वेदान्तदेशिकाः निरूपयामासुः । अयं च उक्तार्थसंग्राहकस्तेषां श्लोकः⁴⁸

“संविक्तीनां यथावस्थितनिजविषयोह्येव औत्सर्गिकः स्यात्
बह्वादेर्दाहकत्वप्रभृतिवदुपधेरन्यथात्वं भ्रमांशे ।
नित्यज्ञानप्रमात्वं वदसि च निरुपाध्येव निर्हेतुकत्वात्
दोषाभावात्प्रमा चेच्छ्रुतिरपि जयिनी दोषदूरोज्जिता वः ।”

इति । विषयास्तित्वरूपे प्रामाण्ये गृहीतेऽपि क्वचित् दोषरूपकारणवशात् तत्सं
भवितुमर्हतीत्यपि उपपादितं तैरेव ।⁵⁰ एतत्तत्त्वं च प्रागेव विमृष्टमस्माभिः ।

48. न्या. सु. पृ. 248

49. त. सु. क. श्लो. 103 (बुद्धिसर)

50. त. सु. क. श्लो. 108 (बुद्धिसर)

प्राभाकरमतम् -

प्राभाकरास्तु प्रामाण्यं स्वत एवोत्पद्यते ज्ञायते च । तथाहि - स्मृत्यनुभव-साधारणं यथार्थत्वमेव प्रामाण्यम् । तच्च ज्ञानसामान्यसामग्रीजन्यम्, न तु गुणं दोषाभावं वा अपेक्षते । सर्वेषामपि ज्ञानानां यथार्थत्वात् । ज्ञानजन्यप्रवृत्तिरूपो व्यवहार एवायथार्थः, तस्यैव बाधितत्वात् । ज्ञाने अयथार्थत्वव्यपदेशोऽपि बाधितव्यवहार-जनकत्वनिवन्धनः । एवं च ज्ञानस्य अप्रामाण्यं न अयथार्थत्वम्, सर्वधियां यथार्थत्वात्, अपि तु विपरीतव्यवहारजनकत्वम् । तच्च दोषसहितया ज्ञानसामाग्र्या जायते । एवं अर्थतथात्वं वा तथाभूतार्थविषयकत्वं वा यथार्थत्वं स्वत एव ज्ञायते । अथवा प्रमात्वं स्वतः परतो वा न ज्ञायताम् । तज्ज्ञानस्य प्रवृत्तावनुपयोगात् । अर्थं हि निश्चित्य प्रवर्तत इत्यावश्यकार्थनिश्चयादेव प्रवृत्तिसंभवात् । तथा च प्रामाण्यज्ञानमनावश्यकमिति तस्वतस्त्वनपरतस्त्वविचारोऽप्यनावश्यक इति दर्शयन्ति ।

एतच्च प्राभाकरमतं मणौ विस्तरेणानूद्य खण्डितमिति तन्मतमात्रमत्र प्रादर्शयामः । तथा च प्रामाण्यपरतस्त्वेऽपि दोषाणां परिहारात् तदेव युज्यत इति नैयायिकाः ।

आधुनिकविद्वन्मतम् -

वेदापौरुषेयत्वं साधयितुमिच्छन्तः सर्वेऽपि प्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वमेवाद्वियन्ते । अधुना-तनाः प्रचण्डपण्डिताग्नेसराः करपात्रिस्वामिनः 'सूर्योदय' नामिकायां पत्रिकायां वेदापौरुषेयत्वस्थापनपूर्वकं प्रामाण्यस्वतस्त्वं 'वाचस्पतिमतसमीक्षा' इति शीर्षकाङ्कितेषु लेखेषु 1965 तमे ईसवीयाब्दे क्रमशः प्रकाशितासु संचिकासु न्यरूपम् । तथा तर्ककर्कश-विचारचतुरीधुरीणाः महर्षिकल्पाः पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिणः वेदापौरुषेयत्वं 'वेदो-का औपौरुषेयत्व' नामके ग्रन्थे समसाधयन् । तद्रीत्यादरे तु स्वतःप्रामाण्यमेव योयुज्यत इति त्रिदुषां परामर्शः ॥

Dr. एस्.बि. रघुनाथाचार्यः

अपि मीमांसका मनोवैभववादिनः!

उपोद्घातः -

यथा चक्षुरादीनां बाह्येन्द्रियत्वं तथा मनसः अन्तरिन्द्रियतामातिष्ठन्ते संख्यावन्तः । तच्च सुखादिसाक्षात्कारौपयिकमित्यत्र नास्ति तावद्विप्रतिपत्तिलेशो विचक्षणानाम् । तत्परिमाणे परं विवदन्ते वादिनः 'किमिदं विभु मन उताण्विति?' तत्र मीमांसका मनोवैभववादिन इति महती प्रसिद्धिर्वरीवर्ति तावत्समाजेषु तत्त्वविदाम् । सा च प्रसिद्धिः किंनिबन्धना? कियदवधि च सा मूलग्रन्थसंवादं भजते तत्संप्रदाये?

मीमांसाशास्त्रे समुल्लसति भाट्ट-प्राभाकरभेदेन सुप्रसिद्धं प्रस्थानद्वितयम् । तत्र प्राभाकराः पुनः मनस आतिष्ठन्ते तावदणुत्वम् । भाट्टप्रस्थाने शास्त्रदीपिकायां पार्थसारथिमिश्रैश्च मनसोऽणुत्वमेव व्यञ्जितम् । प्रत्यपादि च गागाभट्टेन भाट्टचिन्तामणौ तथात्वमेव तस्य । चिदानन्द-नारायणावन्तरा न कोऽपि भाट्टमीमांसकः मनसः विभुत्वं प्रत्यपादयदिति प्रतिभाति ।

अतः पत्नेऽस्मिन् मनोवैभववादः किं प्राचीनैरूरीकृतो वा उत अर्वाचीनैरुप-
कल्पितो वेति विमृश्य तस्य प्राचीनमीमांसकोपज्ञतां सोपष्टम्भं प्रतिपादयितुं यत्न
आधीयते ।

१. मनसः परिमाणम् -

स्मृत्यनुमानागमसंशयप्रतिभास्यज्ञानोहसुखादिप्रत्यक्षेच्छायुगपज्ज्ञानानुत्पत्ति-
रूपैर्लिङ्गैः सिद्धयन्मनः अन्तःकरणम् अणुपरिमाणमेवेति बहुविदां बहूनामभिसन्धिः ।

अस्ति कश्चन वादः नेदं मनः अणु किन्तु विभ्विति । स च वाद इदम्प्रथमतया कैरुपस्थापित इत्यत्र न हि नाम किमपि विशदं प्रमाणमुपलभामहे वयम् । अद्यापि चारित्रिकदृष्ट्या सावधानं गवेषणीयोऽयमंशः समुपजातानेकतन्त्रपरिचयैर्विद्वत्सल्लजैः ।

१.१. दार्शनिकमतभेदः -

आ सूत्रकारात् महर्षिर्मूर्धन्यात् गौतमात् अद्यावधि प्रहतोऽयं पन्थाः नैयायिकानां अणु मन इति । यत्सूत्रकारः कण्ठरवेणैव तस्याणुत्वं प्रत्यपीपदत् ।¹ तदनु चतुर्थ-शताब्दवासी वात्स्यायनो भाष्यकारः तस्याणुत्वं सम्यक् स्पष्टीचकार अव्यापीत्यादिदलैः ।² तदनुरोधमेव भारद्वाजोद्योतकरेण वार्त्तिककारेण मनसः क्रियाशीलिता अणुपरिमाणकृता प्रपञ्चिता ।³ तात्पर्यटीकाकारेण वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण नात्र मनःपरिमाणविषयेऽतीव व्यवसितम् । इदमत्रावधेयं यत्-भाष्यकृता प्रयुक्तस्य अव्यापीति पदस्य प्रयोजनं वार्त्तिक-टीकाकृद्भ्याम् आत्मनः व्यापिद्वयस्य मनस्त्ववारणायैति प्रदर्शितम् । परिशुद्धि-कारोक्तरीत्या सहकारिपदेनैव तद्व्यावृत्तिलाभात् अव्यापीति पदं मनसः अविभुपरिमाणं मनसिकृत्यैव तेन प्रयुक्तं स्यात् । तेन तदुत्तरवाक्यमपि सार्थकं जागर्त्ति । परिशुद्धिकृता न्यायाचार्योपाधिविभासुरेण श्रीमता उदयनाचार्येणात्र विषये भूयान् प्रयासः स्वीकृतः । तेन न केवलं मनसः अणुत्वं व्यवस्थापितं किन्तु विभुत्ववादश्च निरस्तः । परिशुद्धिगताः पङ्क्तय एव पुनः न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ तृतीयस्तबके मनोवैभवखण्डनप्रस्तावे तेन यथावन्नि-वेशिताः । त्रयोदशशतकाब्दवासिना गङ्गेशोपाध्यायेन तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ मनसः विभुत्वसाधकहेतून् निरस्य तस्याणुत्वं सम्यक् न्यरूपि [त. चि. ८२३] । एवमेव नचैरपि नैयायिकैः तस्याणुत्वमेव तत्र तत्र ग्रन्थेषु व्यवस्थापितम् । [ITK 100]

महर्षिणा कणादेनापि कण्ठरवेणैव मनसः अणुत्वमभिहितं वैशेषिकदर्शने ।⁴ विभवाभावस्याणुपरिमाणत्वाव्यभिचारात् अणुपरिमाणमेव मन इति तदनुयायिभिरपि

1. यथोक्तहेतुत्वाच्चाणु इति न्या. द. ३-२-६०.

2. अस्ति तत्तदिन्द्रियसंयोगि सहकारि निमित्तान्तरमव्यापि, यस्यासन्निधेर्नोत्पद्यते ज्ञानं, सन्निधे-श्चोत्पद्यत इति न्या. भा. ४३७.

3. यदि तर्हि चक्षुरादीन्द्रियं मनस्सन्निधानापेक्षमर्थानामयुगपद्ग्राहि, य एकेन्द्रियग्राह्यास्तेषु कथमयु-गपद्ग्रहणम्? न हि तत्रासन्निहितं मन इति न्या. वा. ४४०.

4. तदभावादणु मनः इति वै. द. ७-१-२३.

अपनेरुर्ध्वज्वलनं वायोस्तिर्यक्पवनं अणूनां मनसश्चाद्यं कर्म अहष्टकारितम् इति वै. द. ५-२-१३.

प्रशस्तपाद — शंकरमिश्रादिभिः अणुत्वमेव तस्य सुष्ठु प्रपञ्चितम्⁵ [वै. सू. उ. २०२—२०३] । बौद्धैः जैनैश्च तस्य मध्यमपरिमाणत्वमूरीकृतमित्यन्यदेतत्⁶

विलसति सुप्रसिद्धं प्रस्थानद्वितयं पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रे भाट्टप्रस्थानं प्राभाकरप्रस्थानञ्चेति । तत्र प्राभाकरप्रस्थानशिरोमणिना शालिकानाथेन अष्टमशताब्दनिवासिना प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां नैयायिकाभ्युपगतं मनसोऽणुत्वमेवाभ्युपागामि [प्र. प. १४९] ।

२. मनोवैभवसाहित्यम् —

मनसो वैभवं साधयन्तौ द्वावेव भाट्टमीमांसकौ गुरुशिष्यौ चिदानन्दपण्डित — नारायणौ नीतिउत्त्वाविर्भावमानमेयोदयकारौ समुपलभ्येते । तत्र नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावे चिदानन्दपण्डितेन मनोवैभवसाधकान्यनुमानानि समुपन्यस्तानि । तत्रैव तावत् उदयनाचार्योक्तदूषणान्यपि समाहितानि । सर्वथा तन्मार्गानुगामी नारायणः मानमेयोदये मनोवैभवसाधकानि अनुमानानि प्रदर्शयामास⁷ कुमारिलमतोपन्यासाख्येऽविदितकर्तृके लघुग्रन्थे मनोवैभववादः भाट्टानामेवेत्येवमुपलभ्यते यथा । —

कौमारिलानामेवास्ति मनसो वैभवं भुवि [कु. म. ७] इति ।

२.१. अन्यग्रन्थानुवादः —

एवमेव तत्त्वचिन्तामणिव्याख्याने प्रकाशाख्याने षोडशशताब्दभवेन रुचिदत्तेन प्रणीते मनोवैभववादः भाट्टनामिति समुपलभ्यते । यथा —

तच्च विभु ज्ञानासमवायिकारणसंयोगाधारत्वात्, नित्येन्द्रियत्वात्.....

इत्यादि मणिग्रन्थस्य मनोवैभवानुवादकस्यावतरणिकां विरचयन् रुचिदत्तमिश्र एवं लिखति —

“भट्टमतमाह — तच्चेति” [त. चि. ८२३] इति ।

5. तदभाववचनादणुपरिमाणम् । अपसर्पणोपसर्पणवचनात् संयोगविभागौ । मूर्तत्वात् परत्वापरत्वे संस्कारश्च।...क्रियावत्वात् मूर्तत्वम् । प्रयत्वाहृष्टपरिग्रहवशादाशुसञ्चारि चेति । प्र. भा. ३६—३७
6. With the Buddhists and the Jains it is medium-sized (*madhyama Parimāṇa*) ITK 101
7. सुखाद्यपरोक्षसाधनेन्द्रियत्वेन कल्प्यमन्तरिन्द्रियं विभुपरिमाणमस्पन्दं च मनः । अणुपरिमाणं चक्षुश्च मनः इति केचिद्बुद्धिरे । तदसङ्गतम् । मनो विभु, स्पर्शनिर्हृद्व्यवत्वात् अनारभ्यारम्भकद्रव्यत्वात् वा, ज्ञानासमवायिकारणसंयोगाधारत्वाद्वा, आत्मवत् इति मा. मे. २१४

एतावता इदमवधार्यते यत् मनोवैभववादः भाट्टानामिति नैयायिकैरपि रुचिदत्तमिश्रसमये षोडशशताब्दे समभ्युपगत इति ।

तथैव वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कारे शङ्करमिश्रोऽपि मनोवैभववादिनः मीमांसका इति तान्निर्दिशति । एवञ्च न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिव्याख्यायां विस्ताराख्यायामपि प्रागुक्ततृतीये स्तवके मनोवैभवसाधकयुक्तिनिरासावसरे व्यलेखि चैवं श्रीमद्भिः वीरराघवाचार्यैः यथा — मनसो विभुत्वं वदतां मीमांसकानां नेदं सम्मतमिति [न्या. कु. १४८] इति ।

३. प्राचीनभाट्टमतपरिशीलनम् —

एवंस्थिते भाट्टमतानुयायिनः कति वा प्राचीनाः मनोवैभववादमभ्युपाजग्मुरिति परिशीलनीयम् । तत्र नार्ताव भाट्टग्रन्थेषु प्राचीनेषु इमं वादमधिकृत्य समुपलभ्यते ।

३.१. पार्थसारथिमिश्रमतम् —

भाट्टप्रस्थानधौरेयेण एकादशशताब्दीनिवासिना पार्थसारथिमिश्रेण शास्त्रदीपिकायां मनसः न विभुत्वं स्थापितमपितु अविभुत्वमेव तदिष्टमिति तत्पङ्क्तिपरिशीलनेनास्माभिः अवधार्यते । यथा —

मनस्तु पृथिव्यादीनामेवान्यतमात्मकं तेभ्यः अन्यद्वा सर्वथा तावदस्ति मनः । तच्चात्मतद्गुणेष्वेव स्वतन्त्रं प्रवर्तते न बाह्येषु रूपादिष्वित्यान्तरमित्युच्यते । रूपादिज्ञानादिष्वपि तच्चक्षुरादिसहायं प्रवर्तते । एवमनुमानादिष्वपि लिङ्गादिसहायम् । अन्यमनस्कस्य सम्प्रयुक्तेष्वपि रूपादिषु ज्ञानानुत्पत्तेः । [शा. दी. ३६]

इति । अत्रान्यमनस्केत्यादिप्रयोगदर्शनात् अन्यमनस्कत्वं अणुतादशायामेव युज्यत इति तस्यपि मनसः अणुतायामेव नैर्भर्यमिति गम्यते ॥

३.२. गागाभट्टभणितिः —

भाट्टचिन्तामणिकर्त्रा भाट्टमीमांसकवरेण्येन गागाभट्टेनापि मनसः अणुत्वं कण्ठरवेणैव प्रत्यपादि । यथा —

तच्चान्तरिन्द्रियं स्वातन्त्र्येण आत्मतद्योग्यगुणतद्गतजातिमात्रग्राहकम् बाह्यविषयेषु तस्य स्वातन्त्र्याभावात् । कुतो न स्वातन्त्र्यमिति चेन्न ।

तस्याणुपरिमाणस्य देहाद्बहिर्भावाभावेन सन्निकर्षसंभवात् । युग-
पदज्ञानानुत्पत्तिश्च मनसोऽणुत्वे प्रमाणम् [भा. चि. १६]

इति ।

४. उदयनपरामर्शः —

एवं स्थिते उदयनाचार्येण एकादशशताब्दनिवासिना न्यायसूत्रव्याख्याने टीका-
परिशुद्धिसमाख्याने प्रथमं मनोवैभववादः उपक्षिप्य महता प्रबन्धेन निरस्तः।^१ स एव
खण्डनग्रन्थसन्दर्भः अक्षरशः न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलावपि साग्रहं मनोवैभवखण्डनावसरे
तृतीयस्तत्रके सम्बद्धं तेन निवेशितः । उदयनाचार्येण दर्शितेनैव मन्त्रेण गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः
तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ प्रत्यक्षखण्डे मनोवैभवयुक्तीः प्रतिचिक्षेप ।

५. प्रसिद्धिः —

इत्थंभूते वस्तुनि मनोवैभववादः मीमांसकानामिति या प्रसिद्धिः लब्धप्रचारा
सा किंनिबन्धनेति तावज्जायते संदेहः । प्राभाकराः अणुत्ववादिन इत्यवधारणात् प्राचीन-
भाट्टग्रन्थेषु तदनुपलम्भाच्च । न हि नाम प्राचीनभाट्टग्रन्थेषु मनोवैभववादः उपलभ्यते
कुत्रापि । प्रत्युत पार्थसारथिमिश्रः मनसः अणुत्वमेव मन्यत इति पूर्वोक्तग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण
अवगम्यते । तर्हि दुरूहोयं प्रश्न उदेति यत् — अपि मीमांसका मनोवैभववादिन ? इति ।
यदि मीमांसका न मनोवैभववादिनस्तर्हि तावदुदयनपरामर्शस्य गङ्गेशरुचिदत्तादि
नैयायिकानुवादानाञ्च को हेतुरिति ? यद्युदयनः तदानान्तनेषु केषुचिन्मीमांसग्रन्थेषु मनो-
वैभववदं नाद्रक्ष्यत् तर्हि स्वपरिशुद्धौ न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ च तन्मततया तं नैव निरदैक्ष्यत् ।
अतः नेयं प्रसिद्धिः केवलप्राचीनग्रन्थनिबन्धनेति विज्ञायते ॥

8. ननु मनो विभु सर्वदा स्पर्शरहितद्रव्यत्वात्, विशेषगुणशून्यद्रव्यत्वात्, नित्यत्वे सत्यनारम्भक द्रव्य-
त्वात्, ज्ञानासमवायिकारणसंयोगाधारत्वात् इत्यादेः । तत्कथमुच्यते — अव्यापीति — नैतदेवम्,
सर्वेषामेवापाततः स्वरूपासिद्धत्वात् । तथाहि — यदा सुखाद्युपलब्धीनां क्रियात्वेन करणतया
मनोऽनुमितं, तदा न द्रव्यत्वसिद्धिः । अद्रव्यस्यापि करणत्वात् । अथासामेव साक्षात्कारितया
इन्द्रियतया तदनुमातव्यम्, तथापि व्यापकस्य निरुपाधेः नेन्द्रियत्वमित्युपाधिर्विकल्प्यः । तत्र यदि
कर्णशङ्कुलीवज्रियतस्य शरीरावयवस्योपाधित्वं, तदा तावन्मात्रे वृत्तिलाभः । तद्वेषे च
वृत्तिनिरोधः श्रोत्रवत् प्रसज्येत । ततः शरीरमात्रमुपाधिः अभिधेयः । तथा च
तदवच्छेदेन वृत्तिलाभे “शिरसि मे वेदना पादे मे सुखम्” इत्याद्यव्याप्यवृत्तित्वप्रतीतिविरोधः ।
अज्ञानवायिकारणानुरोधेन निभुक्तार्याणां देशनियमात्... यदि तु मनसो वैभवेऽपि अदृष्टवशात्
कम उपपद्यते, तदा मनसोऽसिद्धेः आश्रयासिद्धिरेव वैभवहेतुनामिति । टीका परि. ४४२.

६. उपसंहारः -

इत्थं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया न्याय-मीमांसाचारित्रिकदृष्ट्या परिशीलने क्रियमाणे निर्गलितोऽसावर्थः ममैवं प्रतिभाति यत्-प्रथमं केषुचन भाट्टमीमांसाग्रन्थेषु मनो-वैभववादः सम्यक् प्रतिपादितः प्रचारितश्च । ये च ग्रन्थाः उदयनाचार्यसमये एकादशशताब्दे लेब्धप्रचाराः तदनन्तरं कालगर्भे निर्लिनाः । यांश्च दृष्ट्वा आचार्य उदयनः स्वग्रन्थयोः मनोवैभववादं सोपष्टम्भं खण्डयामास । पश्चात् भाट्टैरपि कैश्चित् मनोवैभववादः नाभ्युपगतः । तदेकदेशिभिरेवाभ्युपगतः । अत एव वादद्वयमपि भाट्टग्रन्थेष्वेव अस्माभिः परितृश्यते । अर्वाचीनैः चिदानन्दनारायणप्रभृतिभिः षोडश-शताब्दवासिभिः पाठपरम्पराप्राप्तः अथवा तत्कालमीमांसाग्रन्थद्वारा समुपलब्धो वा खण्डनग्रन्थपरामृष्टो वा स वादः पुनः स्वग्रन्थेषु भाट्टसिद्धान्ततया समर्थितः । तस्मादेव रुचिदत्तादिभिः स्वव्याख्यानेषु मनोवैभववादः भाट्टानामिति व्यलेखि । अतः वादोऽयं न केवलमर्वाचीनैः भाट्टैरुपकल्पितः । किन्तु प्राचीनभाट्टसम्प्रदाय-परिप्राप्त एवेति तर्क्यते । एतत्सिद्धान्तमुपोद्बलयन्ति न्यायादीतरशास्त्रग्रन्थेषु मीमांसकपक्षतया तस्यानुवादभागाः । एवं समासादितशास्त्रीयसामग्रीबलात् चारित्रिक-परिशीलनेन च प्राचीनैरेव भाट्टैः उपस्थापितः मनोवैभववादः । अतः भाट्टमीमांसका मनोवैभववादिन इति निर्णयन्तो वयं मन्यामहे नापभाषिणः स्मः ॥



ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

कारि.	कारिकावली	शङ्कररामशास्त्री सि.	मद्रास्	१९२३
कु.म.	कुमारिलमतोपन्यासः	पिल्लै एस्. के.	त्रिवेण्ड्रम्	१९२६
त.चि.	तत्त्वचिन्तामणिः	रामानुजताताच. र्यः एन्. एस्.	तिरुपति	१९७३
त.र.	तन्त्ररहस्यम्	रामस्वामिशास्त्री के. एस्.	बरोडा	१९५६
त.सि.र.	तन्त्रसिद्धान्तरत्नावली	पट्टाभिरामशास्त्री पि. यन्.	बेनारस	१९४४
नीति	नोतितत्त्वाविभक्तिः	पिल्लै पि. के. एन्.	त्रिवेण्ड्रम्	१९५३
न्या.कु.	न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः	वीरराघवाचार्यः	तिरुवाडि	१९४१
न्या.द.	न्यायदर्शनम्	अनन्तलालटक्करः	दभङ्गा	१९६७

न्या.म.	न्यायमञ्जरी	सूर्यनारायणशुक्लः	वाराणसी	१९५१
प्र.प.	प्रकरणपञ्चिका	सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री ए.	काशी	१९६१
भा.चि.	भाट्टचिन्तामणिः	सूर्यनारायणशुक्लः	बनारस्	१९३४
मा.मे.	मानमेयोदयः	कुन्हनराजः सि.	मद्रास्	१९३३
वै.द.	वैशेषिकदर्शनम्	दुण्ढिराजशास्त्री	काशी	१९२३
वै.मू.उ.	वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कारः	”	”	”

SRI K.J. KRISHNAMOORTHY

తాళ్లపాక పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల సారస్వత సేవ

ఆంధ్రసారస్వతంలో విలసిల్లిన అనేక కవివంశాలలో అగ్రగణ్యమైనది తాళ్లపాక కవులవంశం. ఈ వంశంలో అయిదుతరాల కవులు వాఙ్మయప్రపంచంలో లబ్ధి ప్రతిష్ఠలుగా తెలియపడ్డవారు. వీరందరిలోను పవకవిశాఙ్గతామహాదగు అన్నమాచార్యుడు, ఆయన కుమారుడు పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుడు, ఈరని ప్రథమ, చతుర్వపుత్రులైన చివరితిరుమలాచార్యు, చివరితిరువేంగళనాథులు అత్యంతగణనీయులు. ఈ నలుగురు కవిశిష్యులను 'తాళ్లపాక కవి చతుష్టయం'గా పేర్కొనవచ్చు. వీరిలో అన్నివిధాలా తండ్రికి దగిన తనయుడు, అముష్యా యణుడు, అద్వితీయ సారస్వతమూర్తి పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుడు (క్రీ.శ. 1468-1553). ఈయన అన్నమాచార్యులకు ద్వితీయకళప్రమేన అక్కలాంబయందు జన్మించాడు. సరసమృ, తిరుమలమ్మ అనే ఇద్దరు చెల్లెళ్లు ఈయనకు కలరు.

పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుడు తన తండ్రి అనతి సమసరించి ప్రతిదినం ఒక సంకీర్తన రచించి శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారికి సమర్పించేవాడు. ఈ విధంగా అన్నమయ్య ఆర్పణించిన సంకీర్తనాచార్యత్వాన్ని ఈయన అవిచ్ఛిన్నంగా కొనసాగించాడు. పెక్కగ్రామాలను, ధనాన్ని స్వామిసన్నిధికి దానంచేసాడు. ఎన్నో జీర్ణోద్ధరణలు, నూతన నిర్మాణాలు, ఉత్సవాలు మొదలగు పలుతెజగుల కైంకర్యాలను పరమభక్తితో నెలకొల్పాడు. తన తండ్రి, తానూ రచించిన సంకీర్తనలను రాగిలేఖలపై వ్రాయించి సంకీర్తన భాండానికి శాశ్వతత్వాన్ని కల్పించాడు. శ్రీరంగంవంటి దివ్యదేశాలను దర్శించి ఆయా దోట తమ సారస్వతానికి స్థానమూ, చక్కని ప్రచారమూ కల్పించాడు.

తిరుమలయ్య మందెంకోటకు వెళ్ళినప్పుడు అచ్చట గిట్టనివారో వెనుకనుండి ఆయనపై కత్తి విసిరారట. అది ఆయన పీఠానికి తునకలై పడిపోయిందట! మఠాక మారు ఇరుకైన కొండదారిలో వెళ్ళుతూవుండగా దుండగులు కొందరు ఈదెలు గుట్టెట్టి పట్టుముట్టారట. కమలనయనుని దలచిన మాత్రాన ఆ అకతాయిముక కకాపికలై పారి

పోయిందట. ఒకానొక అంధునికి వేంకటేశ్వరు డొకకన్నుచ్చి తనవద్దికి పంపగా తిరుమలయ్య ఆతనికి, పరుషలు చూడగా ఇంకొక కన్నుచ్చాడట! ఇవన్నీ ఆయన మహానుభావతకు నిదర్శనాలు ¹

తాను రాజాశ్రయాన్ని వాంఛింపకపోయినా, విజయనగరరాజగు అచ్యుతదేవ రాయలు ఆయనకు అనేకాగ్రహారాలను దానం చేశారు. తిరుమలయ్య వాటిని తిరువేంగళ నాథదేవునకే అర్పణంచేశారు. ఈ తీరును స్వామివారి సకలవిధ కైంకర్యాలలోనూ కర్తగా, కారయితగా విరాజిల్లిన ధన్యశీలి పెదతిరుమలదేశికుడు.

పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల ధర్మపత్ని తిరుమలాంబ. ఈ దంపతులకు ఐదుగురు కుమార్తెలు. వీరల గొప్పతనాన్నిగూర్చి పెదతిరుమలయ్య మేనల్లుడు రేవణూరి వేంకటార్యుడు శకుంతలాపరిణయావతారికలో ఈ రీతిని ఉగ్గడించాడు :

“.....తత్తనూజాండగు పెదతిరుమలాచార్య విదౌజనకు త్రిపురుషపర్యంతంబుగా ప్రత్యక్షంబును, సప్తపురుషపర్యంతంబుగా మోక్షం బొసంగెడనని వరంబిచ్చి, సచ్చరిత్రులగు తదీయ పౌత్రులకు చినతిరుమల దీక్షిత, అన్నయాచార్య, తిరువేంగళనాథ, కోనేటి తిరువేంగళనాథ, వేంగళార్యులకు విచిత్రముకాతపత్రరత్నకవాలముద్రికాప్రచండమణిమండిత మకరకుండలోత్కరాహాకరదీపికాప్రసాదుకాది బహుకరణంబులం గరుణించె.....”³

పైరీతిగా తాను మొదలుకొని తనవంశంలో మూడు తరాలవారికి ప్రత్యక్షిస్తే, ఏడు తరాలవారికి మోక్షిస్తే సాక్షిత్తు స్వామిముఖతః వరంగా పడసిన పెదతిరుమలయ్య ఎంతటిమహాత్ముడో, ఒక్కమాటలో చెబితే ‘శ్రీవెంకటప్పని సేవచేయగోరి చేకొన్న తను వికడు.’⁴

ఈ మహనీయుని కవిత ప్రతిభ అనే పంటపొలంలో, పాండిత్యమే సారంగా. భక్తిప్రవృత్తులనే దోహదక్రియలతో పెద్దగా పెంపొందిన కల్పమహీరుహము ; ఆ దివ్య

1. చూ : అన్నమాచార్యచరిత్ర పీఠిక (వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రి గారిచే విరచితము), తి.తి. దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1949), పుటలు 85, 85, 86.
2. ఈకడు పెదతిరుమలయ్య చెల్లెలగు తిరుమలమ్మకు తనయుడు. ఇతనినొండ్రి తిరుమల కొండయార్యుడు. చూ : ఆంధ్రకవి సప్తశతి, పుట 259.
3. శకుంతలా పరిణయము, R. No. 520 (Paper), పుట 7, S.V.U.O.R. Institute Library, Tirupati.
4. చూ : ‘తాళ్లపాక సంకీర్తనలు’, No. 6609 (Paper), పుట 17, S.V.U.O.R. Institute Library, Tirupati.

తరువున పండిన మధురసాహితీఫలాలు పదునాలుగు. అవి 1) చక్రవాళమంజరి 2) వీతిసీన శతకము 3) వేంకటేశ్వరోదాహరణము 4) సుదర్శనరగడ 5) రేఫణకారవిర్ణయము 6) శృంగారదండకము 7) వైరాగ్యవచనమాలికాగీతాలు 8) శృంగారవృత్తవద్యాల శతకము 9) మేలుకొలుపు ద్విపద 10) అధ్యాత్మసంకీర్తనములు 11) శృంగారసంకీర్తనములు 12) భగవద్గీత తెలుగు వచనము 13) సంకీర్తనలక్షణవ్యాఖ్య 14) ద్విపద హరివంశము. వీటిలో మొదటి పండ్రెండు రచనలు ముద్రితాలు; తక్కిన రెండు అలభ్యాలు. వీటి స్వరూప, విశేషాలను సంగ్రహరూపేణ చర్చించడం ప్రకృతోద్దేశం.

చక్రవాళమంజరి

'మంజరి' అనేది ద్విపదకు తోబుట్టువు. ప్రాసనియమంలేని ద్విపదయే మంజరి. "శ్రీమందిరాకారు జితదైత్యధీరు.....బూజింపవలయు వాక్కున్నమంజరుల" 5; "పద్మాక్షిడెప్పుడు చేపట్టు మంజరుల చందాన నలరు జగతి మంజరులు" 6 అనే లాక్షణిక వాక్యాలనుబట్టి 'మంజరి' యొక్క ఉపయోగం విదితమౌతున్నది. ఈదేశి చందస్సు దేవతాస్తుతికి, ఇష్టదైవలీలావిభూతికి సంబంధించిన ఒకానొక రమణీయపన్నివేశాన్ని క్షప్తమోషసంహారాలతో చక్కగా, సంగ్రహంగా వర్ణించడానికి మిగుల అనువయింది. ఈ పయోజనాన్ని గుర్తించే, అన్నమాచార్యుడు 'రుచుల శృంగారమంజరి'ని రచించాడు. 7 అయిన కుమారుడైన పెదతిరుమలయ్య అటువంటి కథనే స్వీకరించి ఈ కృతిని రచించాడు. 8 వ్రంగా ఇందలి ఇతివృత్తం ఇది :

ఒకానొక పూజోజీ వేంకటరమణుని ధీరూపగుణాలను విని, వినుకలి చింతను ందుతూవుంటుంది. చెలికత్తె లామెను ఉద్యానవనానికి తోడ్కొనిపోయి వనవిహారం యిస్తారు. సరోవరంలో జలకేశి అనంతరం సమీచీన చీనాంబరాలు, సౌమ్ములు, విరి ండలు, మైపూతలు — వీటిచే అలంకృతలై ఆ తరుణులు మన్మథపూజలు చేస్తూవుంటారు. సపాలకులు వెళ్లి ఆ యువతీమణివైనాన్ని వేంకటగిరీంద్రునికి తెలియజేస్తారు. పొందైన ాషణాలు ధరించి, వేంకటేశ్వరుడు, ఇంద్రుడు, బ్రహ్మ ఇరువైపుల నడవగా, ఈడి ప్ప మగువలు ఇంపొందగా, గరుడునిపై కేళీవనానికి విచ్చేస్తాడు. వీతాంబరవ్రభలు వెల్లి యుగా వనవీధుల్లో విహరిస్తూ స్వామి, మన్మథపూజ జరిగే మణిహర్యుంచాయలకు

5. చందోదర్పణము, III-49.
 6. అప్పకవీయము, IV-281.
 7. 'అన్నమాచార్య చరిత్రము' — తాళ్లపాక చినతిరువేంగళనాథకృతము. (విపులమైన పీఠికచేర్చి, వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారి చే పరిష్కృతము).
 8. తి. తి. దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1949)

వస్తాడు. ఆ సమయంలో నాయికా నాయకులు పరస్పరం వీక్షించుకొంటారు అటు పేమ్మట నాయకుడు మలగొన్న సంపంగిమ్రాకుల క్రింద - అనగా రసమందిరప్రాంగణం లోనూ, నాయిక తన మేడలోనూ విరహాలాపాన్ని పొందుతారు. అరాత్రి ఆలాగే గడుస్తుంది. మరునాడు ఉదయాన్నే వెలదులు కొండరు వేంకటేశ్వరునికడ కేగి మ్రొక్కి ఇలా విన్నవిస్తారు: 'మానఖి నిన్ను మిమ్ముల్ని చూచినప్పటినుంచీ వియోగరక్షయై చింతిస్తున్నది. శ్రీవారు విచ్చేసి ఆ యెలనాగను పరిణయమాడగోరుతున్నాము.' ఆ పల్కులు తన అంతరంగంలోని కోరికల్ని ప్రేరేపగా శ్రీ స్వామివారు ఆ నారీమణులను బహూకరించి, వారివెంట వైనతేయనిపై శృంగారవనానికి వస్తారు. ఆ జవరాలిని చేపట్టి అనుభవమొనగి, శ్రీనివాసుడు ఆ బామాక్షితోపాటు తన నగరు ప్రవేశించటంతో ఈ రథ సమాప్తమవుతుంది.

ఇతివృత్తం ఆధారంగా ఇట్లదైబమగు వేంకటేశ్వరుని శృంగారలీలను కీర్తించడమే ఇందులో ఈ కవియొక్క ముఖ్యోద్దేశమైనట్లు కనబడుచూపుంది. మంజులో చక్రవాళ రచనా పద్ధతిని ప్రవేశపెట్టడం ఈ కవి ప్రదర్శించిన సవచతురతల్లో ఒకటి. పద్యంలోని మొదటిపదం(సమాం) చివరి రెండక్షరాలను రద్దాతిపదం(సమాసం) మొదట్లో వచ్చేటట్లు కూర్చి రచించే రచనావిధానమే చక్రవాళం. అయితే ఈ 'ముక్తాక్షర గ్రస్తత'ను (వదలిన అక్షరాలను మరలా స్వీకరించడం) పద్యంలో చివరి వరకూ పాటించడమే గాకుండా ఆ పద్యం చిట్టచివరి రెండక్షరాలు అదే పద్యం మొదట్లో వున్న రెండక్షరాలై ఉండేటట్లు చూడాలి. అప్పుడే 'చక్రవాళ' మనే పేరుకు సార్థక్యం. ఈ లక్షణానికి ఉత్తమ లక్ష్యంగా ఈ కృతి వెలసింది. ఇందులో ప్రతిపాదం చివరి రెండక్షరాలను తరువాతి పాదంమొదటికి స్వీకరిస్తూ, సహజంగా, సమర్థవంతంగా నిర్వహించిన పెదతిరుమలయ్యగారి కవనకౌశలం నిరుపమం. ఇందలి అద్యంతాలు ఇందుకు ఉదాహరణీయాలు :

8. i) లక్షణము :-

కం॥ తొలి సమసనాంత్యవర్ణయు
 గళమే పునరుక్తిగాఁగఁ గైకొని సామీ
 ప్యం లన త్వమాసము మొదల
 నలరించినఁ జక్రవాళమగు దాశార్థా!

— అప్పకవీయము, IV - 860.

ii) లక్ష్యము :-

చం॥ వనచరివంశగుంభవ భవస్తుకశోర్బ్యగుణాళిరామ రా
 మన్మపతి సేవకక్షితిజ మాధవ మాధవ శేషణామణి
 జనక సుధాసమాన విలనత్పటు కీర్తనివాస వాస వా
 దినిఖల దేవతాతతియతి ప్రజవర్ణిత లోకపావనా!

— లక్షణసారసంగ్రహము, ద్వితీయాశ్వాసము, పుట 80.

ప్రారంభం :-

శ్రీలలనాచారుఁ డిన్నయాకాదుఁ
 గారుజ్యవర్తి చేంకటగిరిమూర్తి
 మూర్తిప్రయశరీరు మునిజనోద్ధారు
 ధారుణీసంగు సుత్రమ శోభితాంగు
 నంగుష్ఠభవసింధు యదులోకబంధు

వినిగింపు :-

... ..
 నదులతోఁ బాజ్యుల దిన్నయనిర్వహణయి
 నయశాలి తిమ్మయ్య నమఃకురతల
 దలంపి మంజరి కెప్పెయిబోజ్జరింపార
 నారవిలాకాద్దమ్మి యున్న జగతి
 గతి యెని విష్ణుమంగళమహాశ్రీల.

ఈ కృతియందలి పెనిపెహలవల్లన ఈ మహాకవియొక్క వర్ణనానైపుణ్యానికి ముచ్చిరునకః లలితలదివారైన వచనతో ఇంగళి శైలి రసానుగుణంగా నిరవదిస్తూవుంది.⁹

సీతి సీస శతకము

తాళ్లపాకవారు శతకవాఙ్మయ్యానికి చేసిన సేవ చొడ్డది. అందులోనూ పెరియరుమలాచార్యులది అగ్రశాంబాలం. ఆయన రచించిన సీస శతకం నీతులపుట్టః అందలి ప్రతిపద్యమూ సూక్తులకు నిలయం. మకుటాన్నిబట్టి ఇది 'వేంకటేశశతక' మైనా ఇందలి నీతుల ప్రాశస్త్యాన్నిబట్టి ఇది 'సీతీసీస శతకం' గా ప్రఖ్యాతిగాంచింది.

9. i) 226 పంక్తులు గల ఈ అముకృతిలో కొంతభాగం, తొలుత 'అనంత్ర సాహిత్య చరిత్ర తృత్తి' లో ముద్రింపబడినది.
 చూ: సంపుటము III (1915), పుటలు-10, 11, 12 (అనంత - చూడఁ దుష్ట్య ఘోరనములు) పుటలు 486 - 490.
 ii) 'కెడవతూ' 'The Minor Works of Tallapakam Poets' (తాళ్లపాక పులి అముకృతులు) Edited by Pandit V. Vijayaraghavacharya, తి.తి. దేశస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1935) లో పూర్తిగా ముద్రితమయింది.
 చూ: పుటలు 15-20.

ఇందు దాదాపు ఇరువదియైదు పద్యాల్లో రాజనీతివిశేషాలు రమ్యంగా ప్రపంచించబడినాయి. తక్కినవాటిలో అమూల్యాలైన అనేక లోకనీతులు—మానవుడు చక్కనిపథంలో నడవడానికి కరదీపికలైనవి—వెదజల్లబడివున్నాయి. ఇందులోని ఆయా విషయాలకు ఈ క్రింది సంఖ్యలుగల పద్యాలు ముఖ్యంగా పరికింపదగినవి :-

రాజనీతి—26, 27, 28, 29, 46, 49, 55, 61, 81, 84; సజ్జనులు—7, 8, 34, 44, 80; ఉత్తమయిల్లాలు—32; నీతిసంపన్నులు—12, 14, 37, 39, 43, 57; పురుష రత్నములు—15, 45; కాలగతి—53; ఉత్తమయోగి—42; సుఖముల, సిరుల అనిత్యత—45, 54, 71; పొందు సేయదగనివారు—9, 20; ఉత్తముడైన గురువు—92; సచ్చిస్సుడు—93; ముదిమి—90; శ్రేష్ఠమైన మతము—94; శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరుని దివ్యాకృతి—99.

ఈ శతకం రచనంపరకాలీనులైన శతకకవులనేకులకు భావల్లోను, భాషలోను, శైలిలోను—వేయేల: 'పాదం' మొదలుకొని 'మకుటం' వరకుగల అన్ని అంశాల్లోనూ ఒజ్జబంతియై దేశికత్వాన్ని నెఱపి, పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుని సాహిత్యాచార్యతను చాటుతువున్నది.¹⁰

వేంకటేశ్వరోదాహరణము

వివిధ విభక్తుల్లో ఇష్ట దైవాన్ని స్తుతించడానికి ఉద్దేశించిన లఘుకృతి ఉదాహరణం. ఉదాహరణప్రక్రియలో సంగీతసాహిత్యాల సమన్వయం, మార్గదేశి చందస్సుల మనోజ్ఞ సమ్మేళనం నెలకొని ఉంటుంది.

పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుడు రచించిన వేంకటేశ్వరోదాహరణం తెలుగు ఉదాహరణ శాఖలో తొట్టతొలిది కాకపోయినా అగ్రగణ్యమైంది. ఉదాహరణకావ్యంచివర అంకితాంక పద్యాన్ని రచించే పద్ధతికి తిరుమలయ్యయే మార్గదర్శకుడు, భక్తిరసప్రధానంగా వెల్వడిన ఉదాహరణకృతులో తిరుమలాచార్యుని రచన ప్రథమశ్రేణిలో నిలుస్తుంది. తిరుమలాచార్యులకు పూర్వం తెలుగున వెల్వడిన ఉదాహరణాలు రెండేరెండు. అవి పాల్కురికి

10.i) మొదటి ముద్రణ :

ఆంధ్రసాహిత్యపరిషత్పత్రిక, సంపుటము V (1917), సంచికలు-4, 6 and 7 (నళ-ఆషాఢము, భాద్రపదాశ్వయుజములు). పుటలు 145-152; 281-290.

ii) రెండవ ముద్రణ :

'తాళ్లపాక కవుల లఘుకృతులు' Edited by Pandit V. Vijayaraghava-charya (1935), పుటలు 21-54.

సోమనాథుని (క్రీ.శ. 1190-1280) బరవోదాహరణం, రావిపాటి త్రిపురాంతకుని (క్రీ.శ. 14వ శతాబ్ది) త్రిపురాంతకోదాహరణం. పెదతిరుమలయ్యకృతి పీఠికీ అన్నివిధాలా దీటయింది. పైగా, మొదటిరెండు శైవకృతులు కొవదంవల్ల, విష్ణుసంబంధులుగా వెలువడిన ఉదాహరణాల్లో వేంకటేశ్వరోదాహరణం కనిపికొద్దీపితమై వెలసింది.

తిరువేంగళనాథదేవునికి ఈ మహాకవి స్వయంగా విన్నవంచేసిన ఈ రచనలో ఎక్కువగా కృష్ణావతారసంబంధి లీలలు, అక్కడక్కడ శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరుని మహిమలు, నృసింహ, వామన, శ్రీరామ, బలరామాద్యవతార పరాక్రమాలు మొదలైనవి హృద్యంగా కొనియాడబడినాయి¹¹. మచ్చుకు ఇంవలి అంకితాంకపద్యం :

ఉ॥ ఆరవితారకంబుగ నుదాహరణంబు రచించె భక్తివి
స్తారతఁ దాళ్లపాకపురశాసనుఁ డన్నయ తిమ్మనార్యుఁడిం
పారఁగఁ జక్ర నందక గదాంబుజధారికి, శ్రీవధూమనో
హారికి, వేంకటాచలవిహారికి, శౌరికి నంకితంబుగాన్.

సుదర్శన రగడ

గానయోగ్యాలైన దేశి చందస్సుల్లో రగడలకు ప్రత్యేకత ఉంది. ఉదాహరణాల్లోని 'కొక్కొక్కీలు ఆ యా రగడల వికృతులే! ఈ 'సుదర్శనరగడ' శ్రీమహావిష్ణుని పంచాముఖాలలో అత్యంతముఖ్యమైనదీ, తిరువేంకటవతి నిత్యం ధరించేదీ అయిన సుదర్శన

11.i) ప్రథమముద్రాణం:

అంధసాహిత్యచరిత్రత్పత్తిక, సంపుటము V (1917), సంచిక-10, 11, 12 (నళ-పుష్పమాసుఫాల్గునములు), పుటలు 406-410.

ii) ద్వితీయ ముద్రాణం:

Tirumala Sri Venkateswara Journal (తిరుమల శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర పత్రిక), Vol. I, No. 7 (February 1933), పుటలు 566-570.

iii) తృతీయ ముద్రాణం:

'తాళ్లపాక కవుల లఘుకృతులు' (1935), పుటలు 55-58.

iv) చతుర్థ ముద్రాణం:

'ఉదాహరణవాఙ్మయచరిత్రో' (నిషుదవోలు వేంకటరావుగారిచే విరచితము) (1950), పుటలు 105-122.

v) ఐదవ ముద్రాణం:

అదే (1968), పుటలు 119-127.

చక్రంయొక్క స్తుతి. ఇది 'మధురగతి'¹²లో ప్రవచించబడింది. ఇందులో నూట యెనిమిది పాదాలున్నాయి. ఒక్కొక్కపాదంలో చక్రానికి సంబంధించిన ఒక్కొక్కవిశేషణం ఉల్లేఖింపబడడమేగాక, ప్రతిపాదం చివర 'చక్ర' శబ్దం కూర్చబడిఉండడం ఇందలి విశేషం. ఇందువల్ల ఈ స్తోత్రశైలికి మరింత మార్గపం చేకూరింది.

సుదర్శన చక్రంయొక్క వివిధకోణాలు, స్వరూప, తేజోవిశేషాలు, కావించిన ఘనకార్యాలు ఇందులో ఛందోఘటితాలైన విధేయవిశేషణనాక్కాల్లో, నమాసాల్లో చక్కగా వర్ణింపబడినాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఈ రచన రాళ్లపాక కవుల సుదర్శన చక్రోపాసనకు అక్షరసిదర్శనంగా, తెలుగులో 'సుదర్శనచేపు'ని స్తుతించే ఏకైక అష్టోత్తరశతంగా అలరారుతూవుంది.¹³

రేఫణకార నిర్ణయము

ప్రాచీనాంధ్రభాషా ప్రత్యేకలక్షణాలలో 'శకటరేఫ సాధురేఫల భేదం' అనేది ప్రధానమయింది. ఏయే పదాల్లో సాధు రేఫం ఉంటుందో, ఏయే పదాల్లో శకటరేఫం ఉంటుందో అనేది యతిప్రాసల ప్రయోగవిజ్ఞానం కొరకూ, శబ్దదృష్టితోనూ, అర్థదృష్టితోనూ, ప్రయోగికి, భాషావేత్తకూ ఆవశ్యకమైన విషయం. ఈ అవశ్యకతను గుర్తించి, కవులకూ, పండితులకూ మార్గదర్శకంగా 'రేఫణకారనిర్ణయ'మనే లక్షణగ్రంథాన్ని ప్రప్రథమంగా రచించిన లాక్షణికుడుకూడా పెనవేరుమలాచార్యుడే!

ఈ గ్రంథంలో నూటయేడు కందపద్యాలు, చివరనొక తేటగీతి ఉన్నాయి. ఇందులో 'కృష్ణా!' అనే మకుటం ఉండడంచేత విమర్శకులు దీన్ని 'లక్షణశరణ' మన్నారు. తర్వాతి కాలంలో వెల్వడిన ఇట్టి లక్షణశతకాల కన్నీంటికి ఇవి ఆద్యమైంది; ఆదర్శమయింది.

మొదటి పద్యంలో అంకితప్రసక్తి, తర్వాతి నాలుగు పద్యాల్లో రేఫణకారాల ఉనికిని గూర్చిన స్థూలవివరణ ఉన్నాయి. పిమ్మట యాభై పద్యాల్లో సాధురేఫగల పదాలు, అటు తర్వాతి యాభై రెండు పద్యాల్లో శకటరేఫగల పదాలు అకారాదిఅక్షరక్రమంలో కూర్చబడినాయి.

12. 'మధురగతి'లగడలో ప్రతిపాదంలోనూ నాలుగు మాతృక గణాలు నాలుగు ఉంటాయి. ఐతే జగణం ఉండదు. ఎనిమిది మాతృకలైన పిమ్మట యతిమైత్రి స్థానం ఉంటుంది. ప్రతి రెండేసి పాదాలకు వ్రాసనియమ, అట్లే పాదాంతస్కాంధ నియమం నియతంగా ఉంటాయి.

చూ : అశ్వకవీయము, IV-292, 299.

13. చూ : 'తెల్లపాక కవుల అఘోకృతులు' (1985), పుటలు 84-85.

ఇందులో ఆ యా పదాలకు అవశ్యకతనుబట్టి అర్థవివరణం, వాటిని వాక్యాల్లో ప్రయోగించి విశదీకరించడం—ప్రశంసించడం గ విశేషాలు. ఒకవిధంగా దీనిని రేఫణకార పదాల 'పద్యరూపనిఘంటు'వని చెప్పవచ్చు. "కవిత్రయము మొదలైన పూర్వపు కవీశ్వరుల ప్రబంధములలోని రేఫణకారము లేర్పఱచి," పరమ హంసోత్తముడైన తిరుమలార్యుడు "క్షీరసీరవిభేదంబు చేసినట్లు, వేర్వేఱు దేటపఱచిన భవ్యకృతి" యిది! ఈ ప్రశస్తకృతిని రచించినందువల్లనే లాక్షణికశిరోమణియైన అప్పకవి

"తాళ్లపాకాస్వయోదధి పూర్ణధవళదీ
దితి పెద్ద తిరుమల దేశికుండు"¹⁵

ని ఈ పండితకవిని ప్రస్తుతించాడు.

శృంగార దండకము

సంఖ్యారహిత చాటురచనల్లో దండకం ఒకటి. తన్మయాభావంతో కూడిన గవన్నుతికి దండకాన్ని వాడడం కవులకు పరిపాటి. ఇన్నదైవంయొక్క దివ్యశృంగార భవాన్ని వర్ణించడంకూడా ఒక విధంగా స్తుతే అవుతుంది. ఇట్టి ఉత్కృష్టభావనతో దతిరుమలాచార్యనుకృతి సృజించిన సుకుమార కృతి 'శృంగారదండకం.'

ఇందులో వర్ణితమైన 'వస్తువు' 'చక్రవాళమంజరి' ని పోలించే. అయితే ఇందు బందుగా జలకేశి, అటపిమ్మట వననిహారం వర్ణింపబడ్డాయి. సరోవరసావికలైన తలలు వెళ్లి, సఖీసమేతంగా జలక్రీడలాడుతూవున్న నాయికనుగూర్చి స్వామివారికి న్నవిస్తారు. తోడనే, స్వామి సమీపంలోవున్న సౌధాన్ని ఎక్కి, జలకేశిలో నిమగ్నయై న్న నాయికను తనివిదీర తిలకిస్తాడు; హేమనాళంతో కస్తూరి ఉండను సందించి నాయిక చానికి హత్తుకునేట్టుగా వేస్తాడు. పిమ్మట నాయికా నాయకులకు పరస్పరావ 'కనస్రాప్తి.

గాలిపటంపై కస్తూరితో విచ్చుపంవ్రాసి, స్వామి వున్న మేడవైపునకు ఎగర సినందువల్ల ఇందలి నాయిక 'చక్రవాళమంజరి' లోని నాయికకన్న ప్రౌఢ అని తెలుస్తుంది.

4.i) తొలి ముద్రణ: అంధ్రసాహిత్య పరిషత్పత్రిక, సంపుటము III (1915), సంఖ్య-10, 11, 12 (అనంద-పుణ్యమాఘాల్గనములు), పుటలు 480-487.

ii) మలిముద్రణ: 'తాళ్లపాకకవుల లఘుకృతులు' (1935), పుటలు 69-83.

5. అప్పకవీయము, II-196.

వేంకటేశ్వరుడు ఆ గాలిపటాన్ని బంగారుచిలుకుతో అందుకొని, అందులోనే ఆ యువతికి ప్రేమసందేశం వ్రాసి పంపిస్తాడు. తర్వాత నాయక విరహం. తదనంతరం కొందరు చెబులు వెళ్లి శ్రీవారిని సంప్రార్థించడం, స్వామివారు పక్షివాహనంపై పూల తోటకు వేంచేసి ఆ వధూటిని స్వీకరించి ఆత్మీయగోహాన్ని ప్రవేశించడం యథార్థంగా జరిగిపోతుంది.

సన్నివేశోచితాలైన శబ్దాల్లంకారాలతో ఒప్పుతూవున్న ఈ శృంగారదండకం, నిత్యభోగసంపన్నుడైన వేంకటభర్తకు అన్నయతిమ్మనార్యుడు అర్పించిన 'శృంగారపు దండ' యే అలరుతూవుంది.¹⁶

వైరాగ్యవచనమాలికాగీతాలు

'వేంకటేశ్వరవచనా'లనీ, 'వేంకటేశ్వరవిన్నపా'లనీ వీటికి నామాంతరాలు. ఇవి నూటాఅరవైయారు లభించాయి. రాగతాలతో, వరుసగా పాడుకోవటానికి అనువుగా రచించబడిన మాలికాగీతా లివి. భక్తిరసపరిపూర్ణమైన పెదతిరుమలయ్య హృదయాన్నుండి వెల్లువెత్తిన కమనీయ కవితామృతతరంగా లివి! వీటిలో ఆదిని ఆహ్లాదకారియైన ఒకానొక దివ్యనామ సంబోధన, చివర్లో 'శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరా!' అనే మకుటం ప్రతియొక్క వచనం లోనూ నియతంగా కనిపిస్తాయి. మచ్చుకుగా నొక్కటి :

భగ్యసి (యేకతాళి)

సర్వేశ్వరా : యవధారు, జగంబు నీ నాటకశాల । నే నెత్తిన తొలు జన్మంబుల యాకారంబులు నీ ముందర నాడెడు బహురూపంబులు । దారసుతబంధుజనులు మేళగాండ్రు । విన్ను సుతియించు వేదశాస్త్రపురాణములు తూర్యత్రయంబు । మా పాదప్రచారంబు నాట్యంబు । చేయు చేతలు నాడెడు మాటలు క్రియాభాషాంగంబులు । మా భోగవస్తువులు నీవు మెచ్చిన యీవులు । యీరీతి నెంతగాలంబు నీకు వేడుక యంతగాలంబు నాడెదము । కొలువున ర్తులమైనవారము నీకు వినోదంబు సేసుకొని బ్రదుకవలయుఁ గావి నెమ్మది మోక్షంబున నుండెదమనుట యే సంగతి ? నీవేదయదలంచి కృపసేసినపు డయ్యెడుగాక, యెఱుకగల యేలికను గొలిచినవారికి యడుగ నేమివని ? నీవు నన్ను నన్నిటా మన్నించితివి, శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరా : ॥౩౦॥

ఈ రీతిని ప్రతిపదంలో ప్రవృత్తిభావాలు పరిమళిస్తున్న ఈ వచనమాలికలు, తాళ్లపాకవారు నిర్మించిన 'శ్రీవేంకటేశసాహితీ మందిర' మహాద్వారానికి వందనమాలికలుగా

16. చూ: 'తాళ్లపాక కవుల లఘుకృతులు' (1985), పుటలు 87 - 93.

విలసిల్లుతున్నాయి.¹⁷

శృంగారవృత్తపద్యాల శతకము

ఇందు చంపకోత్పల శార్దూల మత్తేభ వృత్తాల్లో రచింపబడిన నూటమూడు పద్యాలున్నాయి. తండ్రియగు అన్నమయ్య రచించిన వేంకటేశ్వరశతకా న్ననుసరించి పెద తిరుమలాచార్యుడు ఈ శృంగారశతకాన్ని చెప్పినట్లు తోస్తుంది. శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరుని దక్షిణ నాయకత్వం ఇందులో పెక్కురీతుల వర్ణింపబడింది. ఇందలి భాషాకైలినిబట్టి ఇది పెద తిరుమలాచార్యుని తొలిరచనేమో అనిపిస్తుంది.¹⁸

ఒక ఉదాహరణ :

శ్రీగలవాడ పేమనినఁ జెల్లును, నేనికె సడ్డమాడినన్
 బాగులు గావు, మౌనమునఁ బితము దక్కును, మీతపల్కినం
 దీఁగెలు సాగి యీరోకటి దీయఁగఁ జేసెటు వచ్చునండ్రు; నీ
 భోగము నాకు నిచ్చితివి పొందుగఁ దొలనె వేంకటేశ్వరా :

— 51 వ పద్యము.

మేలుకొలుపుద్విపద

దేవతలకు, ముఖ్యంగా శ్రీ మహావిష్ణువుయొక్క అర్చనార్థములకు మేలుకొలుపులు కాడడం అనాదిగా వస్తూవున్న ఆచారం. 'నాఽవిష్ణుః పృథివీపతిః' అనే నానుడి సనుసరించి రాజులకుకూడా ఇది అనువర్తింపజేయబడింది. రాజరాజులకు రాజరాజా, కిట్టలందరిని శాసించే వేల్పు అయిన వేంకటేశ్వరునకు 'సుప్రభాతసేవ' అనే పేర ఈ పర్య అనేక శతాబ్దాలనుండి ఆచరింపబడుతూవుంది.

పెద తిరుమలాచార్యుని 'మేల్కొలుపు ద్విపద' అట్టి సుప్రభాతకైంకర్యానికై ద్విష్టమైన రచనగా తోస్తుంది. అయితే ఇది నేడు ప్రచారంలోవున్న 'శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర ప్రభాత' స్తవానికి అనువాదం కాదు. ఇది ఆద్యంతాల్లో కథాసూత్రం కనబడేరీతిని కమనీ పంగా కూర్చబడిన స్వతంత్రరచన.

17. i) ప్రథమ ముద్రణ :

'తాళ్లపాక కవుల లఘుకృతులు' (1935), పుటలు 93-118. ఇందులో, రాగి రేకుల్లో వ్రాయబడివున్న 47 వచనాలు మాత్రం ముద్రింపబడినాయి.

ii) ద్వితీయముద్రణ :

'శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరవచనములు', పరిష్కర్త: వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రి గారు, తి. తి. దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1945)

8. చూ: 'తాళ్లపాకకవుల లఘుకృతులు' (1935), పుటలు 119 - 136.

శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరుడు యోగనిద్రలో ఉండగా బ్రహ్మాదిదేవత లరుదెంచి, ఆ విత్యకల్యాణమూర్తిని మేలుకోవలసిందని పలుతెలుగుల ప్రస్తుతిస్తారు. స్వామి వారల ప్రార్థనను మన్నించి, మేల్కొని, వారిపై కరుణాకటాక్షవీక్షణాలు ప్రసరింపజేస్తాడు. కోనేటి నిర్మలోదకాలతో తన ఆనందనిలయంలో తానమాడి సముచితవేషభూషాలంకృతుడై, భూసురులకు దానా లొసంగి, వారిచ్చిన అక్షతలు స్వీకరిస్తాడు; విబుధుల, మునుల మనవులను మన్నిస్తాడు.

పిమ్మట శ్రీనివాసుడు రత్నసింహాసనారూఢుడై సవరివారంగా వైభవంతోకొలుపు దీరి ఉంటాడు. నారదవీణానినాదం, అప్పరసల నాట్యం చెలగుతూవుండగా మహామహాల, మహీపతుల సేవలందుకొంటూ, జనులు కోరిన కోర్కెలొసగుతూ లోకాలను పాలిస్తూ వుంటాడు. ఇది ఇందలి కథాంశం.

ఈస్తుతిలో కృష్ణావతారానికి సంబంధించిన గాథలు_అందులోనూ ఆ లీలామానుష విగ్రహాని పరాక్రమహేలులు, అనుగ్రహమహిమలు, శృంగారతీలు సమపాళంగా సొంపుమీలు ప్రశంసించబడినాయి.

సుక్రావ్య సంతోడనలతో, 'మేల్కనుము' అనే మకుటంతో ఇందలి ద్వీపదిలు 'వరకవిత్వవాణీవీణానాదాలు'గా నివదిస్తున్నాయి. పరిమితిలో ఆలతియైన, ఈ ద్వీపకృతి రసానుభూతికి వలతియైన సుందర తి 119

ఉ ళ ఉ అధ్యాత్మ, శృంగార సంకీర్తనములు

పెదతిరుమలయ్య తనతండ్రి ఆనతి తలదాల్చి దినమొక సంకీర్తన రచించి శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వరునకు అంకితం చేశాడు. ఈ విధంగా ఈయన విన్నపంచేసిన అధ్యాత్మ సంకీర్తనల్లో 483, శృంగార సంకీర్తనల్లో 544 మాత్రమే లభించాయి. ఇవన్నీ భావంలోనూ, భాషలోనూ అన్నమయ్యకృతులను అప్పటంగా పుణికిపుచ్చుకొన్న అనర్హుల వాగ్దేయ కుసుమాలు 120

- 19. వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారు ఈ ద్వీపకృతిని పరిష్కరించి, వేంకటేశ్వర వచన ములతోపాటుగా చేర్చి ప్రకటించియున్నారు.
చూ : 'శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర వచనములు' (1949), పుటలు 81—86.
- 20. i) 'అధ్యాత్మసంకీర్తనలు' -పరిష్కర్త: డా. పి.టి. జగన్నాథరావు, తి.తి దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1974)
ఈ 'అధ్యాత్మ సంకీర్తనల'లో కొన్ని శ్రీరంగంనుండి తెప్పించిన రాగి రేకుల్లోనుండి స్వీకరింపబడినాయి.
- ii) 'శృంగారసంకీర్తనలు' -పరిష్కర్త: డా. పి. టి. జగన్నాథరావు, తి.తి దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1976)

‘పన్నుగ పెదతిరుమలయ్య పదమున కెఱుగున్’²¹ అని ప్రశస్తికెక్కిన ఈ సంకీర్తనాచార్యుడు, నిత్యోత్సవంగా విర్యహించిన ఈ సారస్వతారాధనలో వెలువడిన కృతులు మరెన్నో మనకు లభింపవలసివున్నాయి.

భగవద్గీత తెలుగువచనము

భారతీయ వాఙ్మయంలో అన్నివిధాలా అగ్రగణ్యమైంది భగవద్గీత. మన ప్రాచీనుల ఆధ్యాత్మిక వికాసోన్నతికి నిదర్శనమైన ప్రస్థానత్రయంలో అతిముఖ్యమయింది గీత. అందువల్లనే శంకరుడు, రామానుజుడు మున్నగు ఆచార్యోత్తము లనేకులు ఈ ‘శ్రీకృష్ణార్జున సంవాదా’నికి భాష్యాలను సమకూర్చారు. తరువాతికాలాల్లో జ్ఞానేశ్వరునివంటి మహానీయు లనేకులు మరాఠీ మొదలైన దేశభాషల్లో గీతోపనిషత్తుకు అనువాదాలూ, వివరణలూ వెలయింపజేశారు. తెలుగులో తొట్టతొలి ‘గీతావ్యాఖ్యాత’గా అట్టి చిరయశస్సు చూరగొన్న మహామనీషి పెదతిరుమల దేశికుడు.

ఈ వ్యాఖ్య విశిష్టత స్థూలంగా ఈక్రింది అంశాల్లో ఇమిడిఉంది :

- i) తెలుగున వెలసిన భగవద్గీతలలో మొట్టమొదటిదై ఉండటం.
- ii) వచనంలో, అందులోనూ సకలజనులకు సుబోధకమైన వ్యావహారికభాషలో రచించబడివుండడం.
- iii) విశిష్టాద్వైత సంప్రదాయానుసారం శ్రీమద్రామానుజముని రచించిన గీతాశాస్త్రం యొక్క అడుగుజాడల్లో అనువాదం సాగివుండటం.
- iv) అనువాదమైనా స్వతంత్రరచనగా భాసింపజేయుటలో పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుడు ప్రదర్శించిన అపూర్వకౌశలం.
- v) అనంతరకాలాల్లో అవతరించిన అనేక వ్యాఖ్యలకు మార్గదర్శకమై, తెలుగున వ్యాఖ్యాన పద్ధతికి ఒరవడియై వరలటం.

అదివరకెవ్వరూ తెనుగుపేయని ‘గీతాసప్తశతీ’ని అనువదించడంలో తిరుమల రురుని ముఖ్యోద్దేశం, భగవద్గీతల పరమార్థాన్ని ఆబాలగోపాలానికి బోధపడేలాగున తెలియజెప్పడమే. ఇందుకు పద్యంకన్న వచనం, అందులోనూ శిష్టవ్యావహారికం

21. ఈ పద్యపాదంలోని క్రియాపదాన్ని కొంచెదు ‘ఎఱుగున్’ అని పెర్కొంటున్నారు. కాని, ‘ఎఱుగున్’ అనేదే సందర్భానికి సన్నిహితంగా కలబడుతుంది. తెనాలి రామలింగకవి చెప్పిన ఈ చాటువు, అప్పకవీయం యొక్క పూర్వముద్రణల్లో ‘ఎఱుగున్’ అనే ముద్రితమై ఉంది.

చూ: అప్పకవీయము, ఐదవముద్రణ (1951), III-225, పుట 159.

మిగుల అనువయిందని ఈ మహాకవి గుర్తించాడు. గీతాకారుని హృదయాన్ని, ఆనాడు చెల్లుబడిలో ఉన్న జీవద్భాషలో పొందికగా, సహజసుందరంగా ఆవిష్కరింపజేశాడు. ఈ కారణంచేత ఈ వ్యాఖ్య భాషాచారిప్రకృష్టితో చాలా విలువైందిగా పరిగణింపబడింది.

పెదతిరుమలయ్యంగారు, తన తనన, విశిష్టాద్వైతదర్శనానికి మూలకందమైన ప్రపత్తిదర్శాన్ని ప్రతిపాదించేదిగా ఉండాలన్న పవిత్రతాయంతో శ్రీరామానుజభాష్యాన్ని ఇందులో స్వేచ్ఛగా అనుసరించాడు. ఇందువల్ల ఈ కృతి తెలుగులోని వైష్ణవవాఙ్మయానికి తలమానికంగా వెలసింది.

ఇక, తిమ్మయార్కుని అనువాదవిధానం అపూర్వమైంది; అత్యంతవిశిష్టమయింది. నిత్యపారాయణలో, నిరంతరపరిశీలనలో తనకు వాచోవిధేయాలై ఉన్నగీతనూ, తద్భాష్యాన్నీ సమన్వయించడమే ఇందులోని అపూర్వత. ఈ విధానంలో ఈయన మూలాన్ని ఆధారంగా, భాష్యాన్ని సహాయంగా స్వీకరించాడు. ప్రతి శ్లోకంయొక్క భావాన్ని కూలంకషంగా భావన చేయడం, ఆ భావనను భాష్యాన్నుండి గ్రహించిన విశేషాలతో దీపింపజేయడం—ఈ క్రమం ఇందులో ఎక్కడ పట్టినా స్పష్టంగా గోచరిస్తుంది. ఈ విషయమై ఈయన రామానుజ భాష్యాన్నేగాక, ఆ భాష్యానికి వివరణయైన వేదాంతదేశికుల 'తాత్పర్యవంద్రిక'ను నైతం సంప్రదించాడు. ఈ విధంగా పెంపొందించిన శ్లోకభావాన్ని, వ్యావహారిక భాషలో పొంకమెటిగి పదిలంగా పలుకుటే ఇందలి విశిష్టత. ఈలాగున భావంలోనూ, భాషలోనూ ప్రత్యేకతను గడించి, మరీ సంగ్రహమూ మిగుల విఫలమూగాక, మధ్యేమార్గంగా వెలసి నందువల్లనే ఇది ఇటు మూలానికిగాని, అటు భాష్యానికిగాని కేవలానువాదం కాకుండ ఆ రెంటినీ ప్రతిభతో ఆకళించుకొన్న "ఆంధ్రవేదాంతం"గా ఆవిర్భవించింది.²²

ఇక, తిరుమలార్కుడు రచించిన 'సంకీర్తన లక్షణవ్యాఖ్య', 'ద్విపదహరివంశము' ఏనాటికైనా లభిస్తే, అవి రెండూ ఆంధ్రవాఙ్మయంయొక్క అదృష్టవలా లౌతాయి.

- 22. ఈ గ్రంథానికి 'ఆంధ్రవేదాంత' మనే నామాంతరం వ్యవహారంలో ఉన్నట్లు ఈయన నాల్గవ కుమారుడైన చిన్నన్న రచించిన అష్టమహాపీఠికల్యాణమందలి 'వేదాంత విద్యాప్రవీణుడై యాంధ్రవేదాంతమొనరించె' అనే వాక్యాన్నిబట్టి తెలుస్తుంది. చూ: పుటలు 4, 5, తి. తి. దేవస్థాన ప్రచురణ (1937).
- 23. ఆంధ్రసారస్వతంలో అమూల్యమైన ఈ 'భావానువాదం' శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వ విద్యాలయ ఉపకులపతులు, సుప్రసిద్ధవేదాంతవిద్యావేత్తలు, సుగృహీతనామ ధేయులు అయిన ఆచార్యశ్రీకొత్త సచ్చిదానందమూర్తిగారి సమగ్రక సమాదరణంలో, వారి విఫల ప్రస్తావనతో, శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ తెలుగు విభాగాధ్యక్షులు, సుప్రసిద్ధ భాషా శాస్త్రవేత్తలు, గురువర్యులు అయిన ఆచార్య జి. యస్. రెడ్డి గారిచే పరిష్కృతమై, శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ ప్రాచ్య పరిశోధనాలయ పజాన ఇటీవలే (మార్చి, 1978) ప్రచురితమయింది.

ఇంతటి వైవిధ్యమూ, వైచిత్రీ కలిగిన ఈ మహనీయుని సారస్వతంలో 'యక్షగానా'నికి చోటులేకపోవడం వింతగా తోచినా, అప్పటికింకా అది ఒక ప్రసిద్ధ సాహితీ ప్రక్రియగా పరిణతి చెందివుండలేదనే సమాధానంతో సంతృప్తిపొందవచ్చు.

తిరువేంగళనాథ దేవదివ్యశ్రీపాదపద్మారాధకుడైన తిరుమలాచార్యుడు సృష్టించిన సారస్వతం రాశిలోనూ, వాసిలోనూ అద్వితీయమై, ఐహికాముష్మికవిభూతివిలసితమై, ఆంధ్రవాఙ్మయంలో అత్యంతప్రాముఖ్యం వహించి ఉంది. లౌకిక పారమార్థిక జీవన రంగాలను రెంటినీ సారస్వతంతో సమన్వయించి సముద్దీపింపజేసిన ఆయన, కేవలం ఒక వ్యక్తిగా గాక, ఒక మహానంధగా, కీర్తిమూర్తితో సాక్షాత్కరిస్తాడు.

నీతిసీనశతకంలో వెల్లడియౌతున్న పరిణతరాజనీతిప్రజ్ఞనుబట్టి, ఆయన సాధించిన పెక్కుమనకార్యాలనుబట్టి ఆలోచిస్తే, పెదతిరుమలయ్య, ఒకవేళ ఐహిక జీవితం వైపే గనక మొగ్గుచూపి ఉంటే, తనకు సమకాలికుడైన సాకుప తిమ్మరుసుమంత్రివలె ఏదో ఒక సామ్రాజ్యానికి సర్వశిరఃప్రధానిగా విరాజిల్లి పేరుప్రతిష్ఠలు గడించివుండేవారని తప్పక అనిపిస్తుంది. ఇక, ఈయనకుగల "శ్రీమద్వేదమార్గ ప్రతిష్ఠాచార్య, శ్రీరామానుజసిద్ధాంత ప్రాపనాచార్య, వేదాంతాచార్య, కవితార్కికకేసరి, శరణాగతవజ్రవంజర"⁴ అనే బిరుదాలు విశిష్టాద్వైతసిద్ధాంతప్రవర్తకులైన శ్రీమద్వేదాంతదేశికులను జ్ఞాపకానికి తెస్తాయి. ఒక్కమాటలో, పెదతిరుమలదేశికుడు 'ఆంధ్రవేదాంత' దేశికుడు!

“చేరి నీ విహారమైన శ్రీవేంకటాద్రి గాఢ
కోరి వరము లందరు కౌల్లగానిరి;
ఆ రీతిగ దాశ్లపాక అన్నమయ్యః ఘనుఁడాయ
వారివారమైన నేము వహికి నెక్కితిమి.”

— పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల అధ్యాత్మనంకీర్తన, 164

విశ్వనాథ రామకథాభాష్యకారిత్వము

I

వందే కవీంద్ర వక్త్రేందు లాస్యమందిర నర్తకీమ్ ।

దేవీం సూక్తిపరిస్పందసుందరాభినయోజ్జ్వలామ్ ॥

పైద్రుల ముఖచంద్రుడనెడు లాస్యమందిరమునందు లాస్యము చేయునదియు, పురులోతుల విలసితములనెడు సుందరాభినయములచే ప్రకాశించునదియునగు సరస్వతీదేవిని స్మరించుచున్నాను¹

వాల్మీకి మహర్షి సంగ్రహరామాయణ కథనములో రామకథ సీతాదేవి చరితమే స్పష్టీకరించి యున్నాడు. “కావ్యం రామాయణం కృత్స్నం సీతాయాశ్చరితం మహత్.”² నాథ, కల్పవృక్షములో పైసత్యమునే ప్రపంచించి స్థాపించినాడు. “సీతమ్మ తల్లి ప్రజ్ఞామే రామాయణ రచన లక్ష్యం”³ అని నిష్కర్షించిన విశ్వనాథ, తన స్వగతమునే మంతవి స్వగతముగా జేసి యిట్లన్నాడు.

“చేతము నందు బూర్వమున శ్రీ రఘురాము నెఱింగి నట్లుగా
నే తలపోసినాడ విషదీయమ గాంచిన యంత సర్వమ
జ్ఞాతముగా గనుండె నను సంగతి నాకెఱుగంగ నయ్యెడున్
సీత నెఱుంగకుండ రఘుశేఖరు డర్థము కాడు పూర్తిగా”⁴

1. మంతకుని వక్రీక్తి జీవితము - ఉన్మేషము - 1, శ్లో. 1 (అను.) డా॥ పుల్లెల శ్రీరామచంద్రుడు, కేంద్ర సాహిత్య అకాడెమీ, న్యూఢిల్లీ, 1977.
2. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - బాలకాండ - సర్గ 4, శ్లో. 7.
3. ఖమ్మం సభా ఉపన్యాసం - ఆంధ్ర ప్రక, 21-10-1983; మా॥ విశ్వనాథవాఙ్మయ సూచిక. పుట - 97
4. కల్పవృక్షము - సుందరకాండ - వరరాత్రఖండము - ప. 63

విజానికిది పాతకుని స్వగతము. పై చివరి పాదము సీతాదేవి యొక్క మహోన్నత స్థానమును తప్పక చెప్పుచున్నది. సీతాదేవి అనగా నేమియో పూర్తిగా బోధపడిన విషయము సుందరకాండ ఉషఃఖండమందు కవి హనుమంతుని చేతనే చెప్పించినాడు.⁵

జగత్తంతయు వైష్ణవీతేజస్సుగా దర్పించిన విశ్వనాథ, ధ్వనిగర్భితమైన సన్నివేశ కల్పనములెన్నో చేసినాడు. చేసి, తానుకూడ రామకథా భాష్యకారులలో నొకడని ఆత్మవిశ్వాసముతో చెప్పికొన్నాడు.⁶ ఈ వ్యాసములో అరణ్యకాండ లోని దశవర్షఖండములో (214 ప. - 216 ప.) కవి కల్పించిన యొకానొక సన్నివేశమును పురస్కరించుకొని విశ్వనాథ రామకథా భాష్యకారిత్యము నిరూపింపబడును. “రామాయణ కల్పవృక్షం వాల్మీకి గ్రంథానికీ భాష్యం”⁷ అని కవి స్పష్టికరించిన దాని కుపబలకముగా తక్కిన కాండలలో ఆయాచోట్ల వివిధ పాత్రలచే తాను ప్రత్యక్షముగనో పరోక్షముగనో చెప్పించిన వాక్యములు గ్రహింపబడును. ప్రధానముగా నొక సన్నివేశమునే దృష్టిలో పెట్టుకొని ‘రామాయణము సీతాదేవి కథ’ యను మహర్షి వాక్యము సోపవత్తికముగా నిరూపింపబడును.

కథాసందర్భము — వాల్మీకి విశ్వనాథులు

సీతారామలక్ష్మణులు సుతీక్ష్ణుని యాశ్రమమునుండి నెలవుగైకొని బయలుదేరినారు. సుతీక్ష్ణమహర్షి శ్రీరాముని ‘భుజాద్భుతవృత్తి’ని ప్రశంసించినాడు. దానికి ముందే రాముడు సర్వర్షి సంఘముముం దిట్లు ప్రతిజ్ఞ చేసి యుండుట తత్రప్రశంసకు కారణము.

“ఇది వాగ్దానము మీతపః పరమ సాహిత్యంబు నిత్యత్వ సంపద వర్ధిల్లగ దైత్యయాధముల వ్యాపాదింతు నే గాఢ వన్యదరీ గూఢుల నైన గూడికొని యిట్లై వచ్చి యర్థింతు నా పదలో దీవ్రత యెంతయో తెలియ సర్వర్షుల్ నమస్కారముల్.”⁸

- 5. *ibid*, ప. 52
- 6. “భాస, కాళిదాస, భవభూతి, దిక్షాగులకుఁ బ్రశస్త వాగ్విలక్షణుడు మురారి భట్టునకును రామకథా భాష్యకారులకును మోద్దుకై ఘటించి.” — కల్పవృక్షావతారిక - ప. 29
- 7. మైదరాబాదు - సభా ఉపన్యాసం = ఆంధ్రవత్తిక, 29-10-1959 చూ॥ విశ్వనాథ వాఙ్మయ. సూచిక, పుట - 97
- 8. కల్పవృక్షము - అరణ్యకాండము దశవర్ష - ఖండము-177 ప.
- 9. *ibid*, 140 ప. ఈ వాగ్దాన ప్రసక్తికి మరియూ చూడు *ibid*. 129, 207, 211 పద్యాలు.

ఆ మాటలు వినిన సీత సుతీక్ష్ణునినుండి నెలవుగైకొని పోవునప్పుడు దారిలో “—స్వామి యల్ల ఋషి సంవయ మాడిన మాట చేయ నెంచెనః ?” యని “విశ్వయంబయిన చేరికగా దితితో పోవును”¹⁰ నిట్లన్నది. ఎవరికి గాని ‘అకారణవైరము’¹¹ కూడదన్నది. “దితిజ పాళికై తుదిది నీకది యేటికి జెప్పవే ప్రభూ : ”¹² అని బ్రతిమాలినది. “తల్లి కానకు సంబగా, మన భాగ్య మీవిధము కాగా అది చాలనట్లు యీ తీరున విరోధములు నెత్తికి గొని తెచ్చుకొనుట యెందులకు ? ”¹³ అని మెత్తగా మందలించినది. “ఆ దైత్య సంతానమే మైనన్నీకపరాధమున్ సలిపెనా యొగాని నిర్దేశుక ప్రాణాపాయము వారికేటికి పుటింపం జూతువో చెల్లరే : ”¹⁴ అని సీత ‘చనవు’గా రాముని కార్యవిముఖుని చేయుటకు యత్నించినది. చిట్ట చివరిగా —

“అస్థమెయి పేల యెండులు
జ్యోతి పాలింప ధృష్టాంగహణ రసా
గ్రస్తాయి తపము చేయక
ప్రసానము వైర కలుష భావమునకా ? ”¹⁵

ని నూటిగా ప్రశ్నించినది. పై ఘట్టము వాల్మీకమునందును ఉన్నది. కాని, అచ్చట త చివరకు చెప్పినమాటలివి. “శ్రీచాపల్యముతో నేనేదియో చెప్పితి ననుకొనుకుము. ది ధర్మమని సీతో చెప్పుటకు సమర్థుడెవరు ? నీవు చక్కగా ఆలోచించి, నీ తమ్మువి ‘ను కలిసి విచారించి ఏది యిష్టమో అట్లు చేయుము.”¹⁶ ఇవి జానకి భర్తమీది ప్రేమతో గ్కన మాటలు. ధర్మస్థితుడైన రాముని కార్యవిముఖుని చేయుటనగా కార్యోన్ముఖుని ముటయే. ‘రామోవిగ్రహపాన్ ధర్మః’ ‘రామోద్విర్వాణిభాషతే’ అన్న మాహర్షి వాక్య ల కర్తమిదియే. ఒకమాట, ఒకఖాణము, ఏక సత్త్వివృత్తము రాముని ఊచితధ్యేయము. పుననే, వాల్మీకములోను, కల్పవృక్షములోను సీత, రాముని పరదార సంగమము, సత్యము లేనివాడని ప్రశంసించినది.¹⁷ సీతకు రాముడిచ్చిన సమాధానముపై ఆమె చేసిన ంత్కారములో కథాధ్యయి యిమిడియున్నది అది కేవలము పైకి చమత్కారము. దాని ంకనున్న రహస్యము సహృదయ హృదయైక వేద్యము. ఈ రహస్యమయ సన్నివేశ వ్వ విశ్వనాథ. ఇది వాల్మీకి చెప్పినది.

0. *ibid* 185 ప.

1. *ibid*. 187 ప.

2. *ibid*. 188 ప.

3. *ibid*. 189, 191 ప.

4. *ibid*. 197 ప.

5. *ibid*. 202 ప.

6. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము-అరణ్యకాండ. సర్గ-9, శ్లో. 33

7. *ibid*. శ్లో. 4. కల్పవృక్షము - అరణ్య - చళవర్ష - 167వ.

శ్రీరాముడు, సీతచెప్పిన మాటలలోని పరమార్థము గ్రహించినాడు. ఆమె నుద్దేశించి రాముడు చెప్పిన మాటలు వాల్మీకమునందు ఘాడు శ్లోకములలో నున్నది.¹⁸ అందు మొదట, చివర చెప్పిన శ్లోకములలోని భావమును విశ్వనాథ రెండు వచ్యములలో చెప్పినాడు. “—సర్వము యథార్థము నెప్పితి వంతెకాద, యెంచగ హిత ఓంతకంచెను నెసంగద, నాదగు మంచి నిన్ను మించి గణన నేయగా నెవరు?”¹⁹ అని వెంటనే “క్షత్రియైర్దార్యతే చాపో నార్తాశభో భవేదీతి”²⁰ అని తన స్వాభిప్రాయమును వెల్లడించినాడు. దీనికి విశ్వనాథ రచన యిట్లున్నది.

“క్రమమొప్పంగను నాల్గు ధర్మములలో గై పూసగా క్షత్రధ
 ర్మము కోడందము, పూని యార్జునసంరజై విధానంబు ద
 ర్మము వాగ్దానము తీర్పుటో పరమ ధర్మం బీ శ్రయీ ధర్మము
 త్తమ మర్మత్రియ మీ తపస్విజన మధా : యేమి కానానోకో”²¹

వాల్మీకి సూచించిన యంశమును ప్రపంచించిచెప్పట విశ్వనాథ కథాభాష్యములో నొక లక్షణము. “మునీనాం అన్యధాకర్తుం సత్యమిష్టం హి మే సదా”²² అన్న శ్లోకభావమును కూడ యిందు సంగ్రహించినాడు కవి. క్షత్రియశబ్దోత్పత్తి యేమి? క్షత్రాత్మయత ఇతి - క్షత్రియః! అని. ఆ క్షత్రి ధర్మక్షత్రి. అది జరుగు చున్నప్పుడు ధర్మసంస్థాపనార్థము శ్రీరాముడు ఋషికార్యమును నెప్పేర్చుటకే ఋష్యశృంగరి ఆధ్వర్యమున జరిగిన యజ్ఞమున అవతరించి ఇక్ష్వాకు వంశమున క్షత్రియుడై జన్మించి తమ జీవితమును ధర్మయజ్ఞముగా గడుపు మహర్షుల సనాతన ధర్మమును పరిరక్షించుటకు కంకణము కట్టుకున్నాడు.²³ అదియే పై ‘వాగ్దానము’లోని రహస్యము. (ఋషిప్రోక్తమైన ధర్మమును అనుష్ఠింప వలసినవాడు మానవుడు. లోకానికి రాముడు నడచి చూపించిన ఆదర్శమిది.) అట్టి ‘వాగ్దానము’ను సీత మెల్లగా త్రోసిపుచ్చి మాట్లాడగా రాముడు క్షత్ర ధర్మమును గూర్చి ప్రసంగించి చివరి కిట్లన్నాడు.

“వలసిన నిను వదలెదనో
 వలసిన సౌమిత్రి గూడ వదలెద నో మై
 ఫిలి ! తన చేయు ప్రతిజ్ఞా
 స్థలనము ప్రాణంబు తోడ గానీకుండన్.”

18. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్యకాండ - సర్గ - 11, శ్లో, 2, 26, 21
 19. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 204, 205 వ.
 20. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్య - సర్గ. 10, శ్లో. 3.
 21. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 207వ.
 22. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్య - సర్గ, 10, శ్లో. 18.
 23. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 122, 124, 125వ.

“రాఘవులు మౌనులును దపోరక్ష తత్ర
కలిత వాగ్దాన మిద్ది యుగాలుగాఁగ
యౌగవద్య సంగత సమాహార ధర్మ
శుద్ధి నేనటవే పరిచ్యుతుడ నివట.”²⁴

ఇందు భవిష్యత్కథానూచియైన మొదటి పద్యమునకు మాత్రము మూలమున్నది.²⁵ రెండవది విశ్వనాథ వ్యాఖ్యానము. రాముని వాగ్దానము నేడు క్రొత్తదికాదు. అది వంశ పారంపర్యముగా వచ్చు వాగ్దానమట! మూలములో క్షేత్రధర్మమునుగూర్చి రాముడు ప్రసంగించిన వెంటనే దండకారణ్య నివాసులైన మునులు శరణువేడి తమ బాధలు చెప్పి కొన్న విధము పదకొండు శ్లోకములలో నున్నది.²⁶ దానిని విశ్వనాథ రెండు పద్యములలో కుదించినాడు.²⁷ వాల్మీకి రామాయణములో నీఘటము ఈ క్రింది శ్లోక భావముతో ముగిసినది. “మహాత్ముడు, ధనుష్కంతుడైన రాముడిట్లని పలికి తన ప్రియురాలైన మైథిలితో సలక్ష్యుడై రమణీయమైన తపోవనమునకు వెళ్లెను.”²⁸

విశ్వనాథ విసూత్స కథాచిల్పన

వాల్మీకీయమునందు అరణ్యకాండ దశమసర్గాంతమునకు, ఏకాదశసర్గప్రారంభమునకు మధ్య విశ్వనాథ తానొక చక్కని సన్నివేశకల్పనము చేసి కథతో కలిపినాడు. ఆ కల్పనయే రామకథా భాష్యము. దశమ సర్గాంత శ్లోకభావము పైన చెప్పబడినది. దాని వెంటనే, అనగా రాముడు తన వాగ్దానము రఘువంశము యొక్క వాగ్దానమేయని నిష్కర్షించిన వెంటనే, కథాభాష్యకారుడైన కవి ఒక చిన్న వచనపు తునక వ్రాసినాడు. అది యిది.

“అంత జానకి పతిచేతిలోని ఖడ్గము తాను దీసికొని నడచుచుబోగా.”²⁹

ప్రణవములో ప్రసవచమంతయు పర్యవసించునట్లు పై వచన శకలములో సకల రామకథా పరమార్థ తత్త్వమంతయు పర్యవసించుచున్నది. మహాకవి పరిణత ప్రజ్ఞకీడి ర్మష్టాంతము.

24. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 212, 213, 3.

25. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్యకాండ - సర్గ. 10, శ్లో. 18, 19

26. ibid. సర్గ. 10 శ్లో. 5 - 15

27. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 210, 211 3.

28. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్యకాండ - సర్గ - 10, శ్లో. 22

29. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 214 వచనం.

మూలములో 'రామో ధనుష్మాన్' అనియే చెప్పినాడుకదా! రాముని చేతికి కత్తియెట్లు వచ్చినది? అని ప్రశ్నింపవచ్చును. వాల్మీకములోనూ, కల్పవృక్షములోను ఆరణ్యప్రవేశము చేయునపుడే రామలక్ష్మణులిద్దరి చేతిలో చెరియొక కత్తియున్నది. "ఒడ్డెల్లన్ బహు కంట కావృతముగా నున్నన్ సుమిత్రా సుతుం డడ్డం బాచిన కత్తితో దుడిచి యోగ్యాసీనతాస్థాన మేర్పరచి"నాడు.³⁰ విరాధుని బాహువులను రామలక్ష్మణు లిద్దరు ఖడ్గముతోనే ఛేదించినారు.³¹ కావున, కత్తులతోను, విల్లంబులతోను అన్నదమ్ములు వనప్రవేశము చేసినటుట స్పష్టము.³²

విశ్వనాథ ఈ ఘట్టమును కల్పించుటకు మూలములో ఆధారమేమైన యున్నదా? అని ప్రశ్నించినచో నది స్పష్టముగా లేదు కాని లీలగా ఆధారమనదగిన ఒక పురావృత్త కథనమును సీతయే వాల్మీకీయమునందు చేసియున్నది.³³ ఆ పురావృత్తమును విశ్వనాథ సీత కూడ చెప్పియున్నది.³⁴ ఆ కథ సీత రామునితో ప్రసంగించు నీఘట్టమందే యున్నది. విశ్వనాథ, సీత చేతికి కత్తి విప్పించుటలో అవ్యవహిత పూర్వకమైన తత్పురావృత్తకథనమే ప్రేరకమై యుండునని నేను భావించు చున్నాను. ఎట్లనగా, మూలములో లేకమాత్రముగా (8 శ్లోకములలో) సీత తన వాదమునకు బలముగా చెప్పిన యీ కథ రాముని సమాధానముతో నివృత్తమయినను ఆ కథ సీతా ముఖవినిరూపము గనుక దానికి ప్రాధాన్యమీయదలచినాడు విశ్వనాథ. ఎంతలేక మాత్రమైన కథయైనను ఆ కథలో నొక సందేశమున్నది. అది, నివృత్తి కోరువారు ప్రవృత్తి మార్గ మవలంబించరాదని. అంతేకాదు, సీత వాదమున కది అత్యంత సన్నిహిత దృష్టాంతమైయున్నది. ఆ కథలోని ముని చేతిలో ఖడ్గమున్నది. వల్కలములు ధరించిన రాముని చేతిలోను ఖడ్గమున్నది. ఇది బాహ్యముగా కథాగత సామ్యము. మరియు వేషధారణ దృష్ట్యా పరస్పర విరుద్ధము (Juxtaposition) దీనికే, రాముడు తాను మునికాడు. క్షత్రియుడని సమాధానము చెప్పి సీత వాదము పరాస్తము చేసినాడు. కాని సీత తనవాదము నెగ్గించు కొనవలయును కదా! ఏ ఖడ్గము యొక్క నిమిత్త మనవనరమని సీత దృష్టాంత పూర్వకముగా వాదించిన దానిని రాముడు కాదని త్రోసి పుచ్చినాడో ఆ ఖడ్గము రాముని చేతి యందుండుట సీతకు ఓర్వరానిదైనది. వెంటనే ఆ ఖడ్గమును తాను లాగికొని కోపముతో చరచర ముందుకు నడచివెళ్లినది.

ఇంతగా స్ఫురించుచున్న విషయమునకు మూలమున ఆధారములేదు అన్నను వచ్చు నష్టమేమియులేదు. ఎట్లయినను పై సన్నివేశ కల్పనము నందలి తార్కికానుసూయతి (logical sequence) వాల్మీకమునందు లేదు. కావున నిది అమూలక సన్నివేశ చిత్రణమే.

30. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 28వ.
 31. ibid. 72వ., శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్య - సర్గ. 3, శ్లో. 20, 21
 32. ibid. 19వ.
 33. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - ఆరణ్యకాండ, సర్గ. 9, శ్లో. 18 - 28
 34. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 194 - 198వ.

'కేవలము సన్నివేశము కల్పించినంత మాత్రమున ప్రయోజనములేదు. దానిని లౌచిత్యము చెడకుండ నిర్వహించుటలోనే యున్నది మహాకవి ప్రతిభ,' అనవచ్చును. విశ్వనాథ ప్రతిభ యీ ఘట్టమునందు ధగధగయమానముగా నున్నది. అనరాదు గాని వాత్మికి రామాయణమందును యిట్టి కల్పనలు సకృతే. ఎందుకనగా, రామహస్తమందలి ఖడ్గము సీత హస్తమునకు ప్రదానము చేయించుట యీ ఘట్టమునకే పరిమితమై యింతటితో ముగిసిపోవుటలేదు. కల్పవృక్షములో ఈ ఖడ్గప్రస్తావన అనేక ముఖములుగా వ్యాపించి యుద్ధకాండలోని నిస్సంశయ ఖండమువరకు ప్రస్తరించి యున్నది. ఇది మున్ముందు వివరింపబడును.

లీలగా మూలమవి చెప్పదగిన ఆ పురావృత్తమిది. సీత తాము తపము చేయుటకు వచ్చితిమి గాని అకారణవైరము కౌనితెచ్చుకొనుటకు కాదు అనుచు, మరి ఈ కత్తులు, పిల్లంబులు చూచినవారు తమ తమ పనులు చేసిపెట్టుమనుటచే వైరము తలస్థపడుచున్నదని చెప్పును. దానికి దృష్టాంతముగా నొకముని కుచియై, సత్యవాక్యై తపము చేయుచుండగా బిశ్వర్యలోభియైన యింద్రుడు కావలెనని ఆ మునికొక ఖడ్గమిచ్చి దానిని రక్షించుచుండుమనెను. అది న్యూన వస్తువుకదా యని ఆ ముని దానిని హస్తమందే ధరించి మొదట దుంపలను, పిదప మృగములను ఆ పిమ్మట అన్నియు ఖడ్గముతోనే చేయసాగెను. ఖడ్గమును రక్షించుట మాని అత్యరక్షణకై, ఉదరపోషణకై దాని నుపయోగించి తపస్సుకు దూరమయ్యెను. దానితో మోక్షమార్గదూరుడై, నిషాదుడై చెడిపోయెను. మూలములో యీ కథ ఎనిమిది శ్లోకములలో నుండగా విశ్వనాథ దానిని మూడు పర్యములలో చిత్రించినాడు. ఈ కథా ప్రసక్తి తరువాతనే రాముడు క్షత్ర ధర్మమును గూర్చి ప్రసంగించినది. సీత వాదమేమనగా తాము వల్కలములు ధరించితిమికదా తపోవృత్తికి తగిన మునులమను అహింసావాదము. రాముని వాదమేమనగా తాము జన్మతః క్షత్రియులుకదా తద్ధర్మమాచరింపవలెనను క్షత్రియాలివవాదము. అప్పుడు సీత యేమిచేయవలెను? ఏమి చేసినది? రాముని చేతిలోని ఖడ్గము తాను తీసుకొని ముందుకునడచినది. కనుక పైపురావృత్తకథనము నుండియే ఈ సంఘటన వెలువడినది. కథాకథన విశ్లేషణముచే నిది అవగతమగు విషయము. ఏది యేమైనను విశ్వనాథ వంటి ప్రతిభావంతుడే పై సున్నితమైన కల్పన నిశితముగా చేసి నిరూపింపగలడు.

సీత యిట్లు వాదించుటలో ఆంతుర్యము లేకపోలేదు. ఆమె తాను చేయు వాదన తర్కనహముకావని తెలిసియే, దానినట్లుగా కనపడనీయక వాదించినది. రాముని సత్యసంధత ఏమాత్రము స్థిరమైనదో నిశ్చయించుటకే పై వాగ్వాదము చేసినది. ఇది పరోక్షముగా రాముని మనఃస్థైర్యమునకు సీత పెట్టిన పరీక్ష. ఆ వాదనలో రాముడు నెగ్గుటతో ఆమెయే రాముని తత్పలప్రాప్తి పర్యంతము ముందుండి కథ నడిపించినది. రావణునికి స్వయముగా తానే పట్టు పడినది. దానికి తానే తగిన వెనులుఖాటును కల్పించినది. సీత చేతిలోని కత్తికింత ఆర్థపోరకత్వమున్నది.

పై సున్నితము, నికరము అయిన కల్పనలో కవి చేసిన రెండవ మార్పు సీతా రామలక్ష్మణులగమనము. నిజముగా అది మార్పు కాదు. వాల్మీకి సీతారామ లక్ష్మణుల గమనమును రెండు విధములుగా చెప్పి యున్నాడు. అయోధ్యాకాండలో వనప్రవేశ సమయమున —

అగ్రతో గచ్ఛ సౌమిత్రే! సీతాత్వామనుగచ్ఛతు |

పృష్ఠతోఽహం గమిష్యామి, త్వాంచ సీతాంచ పాలయన్ ||³⁵

అని చెప్పబడినది. ఇందు, ముందు లక్ష్మణుడు, ఆతని వెనుక సీత. ఆమె వెనుక రాముడు. ఇదీ వరుస. కాని, ఆరణ్యకాండ ఏకాదశ సర్గ ప్రారంభ శ్లోక మిట్లున్నది.

అగ్రతః ప్రయయౌ రామః సీతా మధ్యే సుమధ్యమా |

పృష్ఠతస్తు ధనుస్పాణిః లక్ష్మణోఽను జగామహ ||³⁶

ఈ శ్లోకానుసారము రాముడు మొదట, సీత పిమ్మట. లక్ష్మణుడు కడపట. వాల్మీకి చేసిన ఈమార్పుకు పెద్ద ప్రయోజనమేమియు లేదు. కావుననే, విశ్వనాథ, అయోధ్యాకాండ మందలి పై వరుసనే గ్రహించినాడు.

“మును లక్ష్మణుడు, జానకి

వెనుకను, మఱి యామె వెనుక వీరుడు రాముం

డును గాగఁ బోవుచున్ రా

ముని కనులామె కచ భారముననే యుండెన్.”³⁷

రాముని దృష్టి సీత కచభారముపై ప్రసరింపవలెననియే విశ్వనాథ, పై మార్పును చేసెను. దీని వెంటనే వచ్చిన “దీప్రమోహన చంద్రకి... ..” యిత్యాది సీత పద్యము డేవి కచభరము యొక్క వర్ణన. ఇందలి రహస్యార్థమేమి? ఇది పరిశీలనాంశమగుచున్నది.

రహస్యార్థ పరిశీలన మనగా ఒక సన్నివేశము వెనుకనో, ఒక మాట వెనుకనో నున్న యాధార్థ్యమును భావించి వెలికి తీసి అది కథకు, రసమునకు యెంతవరకు పరిపోషక మగుచున్నదో యెంత అవినాశావ సంబంధము గలిగియున్నదో వేర్వేరుగా వింగడించి చూపుట. కథ నుండి ఒకానొక సన్నివేశము సంఘటించినది, అనగా కథలో తత్సన్నివేశ కల్పనమునకు వెనుకబాటున్నది. ఆ కల్పన వట్టి కల్పనయైనచో కథకు యేమాత్రము ప్రయోజనము లేదు. అట్లుగాక, కథ యనగా నది నిబిడ సన్నివేశ నిబిడము, సంఘటన

35. శ్రీమద్రామాయణము - అయోధ్యాకాండ, సర్గ, 53, శ్లో. 98

కల్పవృక్షము - అయోధ్య - పఠాన - 481, 482 ప.

36. ibid అంణ్యకాండ, సర్గ, 11 శ్లో. 1.

37. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్యకాండ - దశవర్ష ఖ. డం-215 ప.

బద్ధము గనుక కథాగతికి దోహదము కల్పించు నొక సన్నివేశ కల్పనము కవి స్వకపోల కల్పితమైనప్పుడు తత్కల్పనమునందలి సార్థక్యము, బాచిత్యము - తత్రాపి ప్రసిద్ధితి వృత్తము గల రామాయణాది మహాకావ్య కథాకథనములో విచారణీయాంశముగుచున్నది.

మహాకవి యైనవాడు ఊరకయే ఒకసన్నివేశమును ప్రయోజనరహితముగా సృష్టించెను. "బహుశార్థ సంగ్రహణ బంధుర్ధీకుడైన"³⁸ విశ్వనాథ, "వ్యాఖ్యాన లబ్ధి విశేష ప్రతిపత్తి యున్నయెడ నా వ్యాఖ్యానము"³⁹ అని ఏ సీత ఖడ్గధారియైన మినివృత్తాంతము చెప్పినదో యా సీత ముఖ్యతః చెప్పించి దానిని ఋజువు చేసినాడు. కథాభాష్యమన్నది విశ్వనాథకు కొట్టినపిండి. "విశ్వంభర సత్యసంస్థ" యైన విశ్వనాథ సత్యనారాయణ "సత్కృతిమతల్లి శ్రేణిక"⁴⁰ ను గూర్చినవాడు. అతడు "సకలార్థ ప్రవిభాగధీవరిణత స్వచ్ఛాత్యకుడు"⁴¹ గనుకనే రామకథాభాష్యము రచించగలిగినాడు.

కల్పనలో వర్ణనకు వీలున్నది. ఆ వర్ణన సుదీర్ఘము కాలాదు, క్లుప్తముగా, సమర్థముగా, సార్థకపద ప్రయోగ నివిష్టమైయుండవలెను. పిండికార్థమేముగూ కల్పన, వర్ణన కూడా కథాకథన శిల్పములో నొకభాగమే. కవికృతమైన కల్పన, తదంతర్గతమైన వర్ణన శిల్ప పరిపోషకము లెట్లుగు చున్నవో పరిశీలించుటకే రహస్యార్థ పరిశీలనమరిపేయదు. శిల్పమునగా అనేక రహస్యార్థములతో కూడుకొన్నది. అది సన్నివేశమును పుట్టించుటకు విలయు శక్తి గలది. కథలో నై సర్గికముగా నిక్షిప్తమైన ఆ దుంపనుండి అపూర్వ సన్నివేశము సృష్టించుట యనగా కవి తత్కథాకర్తవ్యమున పాఠము ముట్టినవాడు కావలెను. లేనిచో ఆ కల్పన వట్టి కల్పనగా మిగిలిపోయి నిష్ప్రయోజన మగును. సార్థకమైన కల్పనలోనే కవి ప్రతిభ గుర్తింప బడును. ఒక ప్రసిద్ధితి వృత్తమునకు భాష్యము చెప్పబడయినగా నిట్టిక్షిప్త కల్పనలే కవి ప్రతిభకు నికషోపలము. సన్నివేశ కల్పనకై కవి గ్రహించిన ఘట్టమునకు ప్రత్యూర్వాసర సందర్భములు దానిని విశేషముగా సమర్థించవలెను. ఈ ప్రైలక్షణములన్నియు విశ్వనాథ కల్పవృక్షములో కల్పించిన సన్నివేశముల కన్నింటికి అన్వయించు చున్నది.

విశ్వనాథ యొక్క సన్నివేశ కల్పనలో గల విశిష్టతయేమిటగా అది కల్పన యన్నంత వ్యస్తముగా కన్నడక సహజముగా కథాధోరణిలోకి ఆపివోవునంత సూక్ష్మతంతువుగా ముండును. అసాగా కవి యిక్కడ ఒక రహస్యార్థము నిక్షేపించినాడు అని పాఠకుడు గుర్తుపట్టుట కష్టమగును. సూక్ష్మపరిశీలనామతియైన పాఠకుడు తప్ప తత్కల్పన యందలి విలక్షణత్యమును గ్రహించి ఆస్వాదించలేడు. కవి వాడిన మాటలు కథలో నెంత వరకు

38. ibid, 138 ప.

39. ibid, 191 ప.

40. ibid, 124 ప.

41. ibid, 125 ప.

ప్రసరించునో గ్రహించుట “వ్యాఖ్యానతో విశేషప్రతిపత్తిః సహి సందేహాదలక్షణమ్” అన్నట్లుగా వ్యాఖ్యానమేదా విలసిల్లమై యుండును. కావున, ప్రతిభోనేమిటపై నున్న ఒకానొక కవి కల్పన యందలి యోచిత్యమును ఒకానొక విలక్షణకృత్తి గల పాఠకుడే పట్టు కొనగలడు. సహృదయుడనగా అలడు. పరమ భావుకుడనగా అలడు.

సీతాదేవి త్రైలోక్య సర్వస్వైకాకృతి పూనిన అంబిక

అంతవరకు సీత చేసిన ప్రసంగమేమిటి? ఇప్పుడిట్లు రాముని ఖడ్గము తాను గైకొని అలనికంటే ముందు నడుచుటలోగల అంతరార్థమేమిటి? “ఇంతవరకు నేను చేసిన వాదనను నీవు ధర్మము కాడవి త్రోసి వుచ్చితివి. సైగా ధర్మోపన్యాసము చేసితివి. నీధర్మము, నీ జీవితము రెండును అసిధారాన్రవముగా నున్నవి. కృత్తి వాచరవలె నీధర్మము నిశితము. దురత్యయము దానిని నీవు అనుష్ఠింతునను చున్నావు. అట్లైనచో దానికి నేనే అధిష్ఠాత్రిని. కనుక ఆ ఖడ్గము నిజముగా నాచేతిలోనిది. నా కిమ్ము. నీవు నావెంట నడువుము. నేను పోయెడి మార్గమే ధర్మమార్గము. అదియే నీ మార్గము, ధ్యేయము కూడ. విశేషించి, నేను నీ ధర్మపత్నిని, సహధర్మచారిణిని. అట్లయినను నీవు నామాట విన వలసినదే. నా వెనుక నడువ వలసినదే.” ఇది సీత చెయిదములోని అంతరార్థము.

రాముని అగామి జీవితమంతయు ఆరని ధర్మనిష్ఠకు సీతాదేవి పెట్టిన పరీక్ష. రాముని ‘వాగ్దానము’ సీత ‘వాగ్వాదము’తో స్థిరపడినది. దానికి సంఘటన నాంది పలుకు చున్నది. తత్పర్యవసాన మెట్లున్నది? సీతాపహరణము జరిగి రామాయణమంతయు నడచినది. అరణ్య కాండములో జరిగిన యీ వాగ్దాన వాగ్వాదములకు సమాధానము యుద్ధ కాండలోని ఉపసంహంజ ఖండమందున్నది. అనగానేమి? అది రామాయణముగాదు. ‘సీతా యణము.’ రాముని ధర్మనిష్ఠ మూలబీజముకాగా సీత ముందునిలిచి కథ నడిపినది. ఆ బీజము పెద్ద వృక్షమైంది. సీతను రాముడనుసరించగా రామకథ పూర్తియైనది. అది “సీత కథ” అన్నాడు మహర్షి. నిజమే! రాముని నిజజీవితము, ధర్మానుకృతి ఈ రెంటికి అభేదాధ్యవ సాయము. ‘రామాయణ’ శబ్దములో వలెనే రామునికి సీతకు అభేదాధ్యవసాయము. సీతను పరిగ్రహించుటయూ, పరిత్యజించుటయూ యన్న సంశయము వచ్చి పడినప్పుడు తనకెదురుగా నడచినవచ్చి నిలుచున్న సీతనుచూచి రాముడిట్లనుకున్నాడు.

“ఈ యమహేతువై పనులనెల్ల జరించెను దా బికారిగా
 నీయమ హేతువైజలధికెంతో శ్రమంపడి కట్ట గట్టె దా
 నీయమ హేతువై గెలుచుటెంతో శ్రమంబయి పోయె లంకలో
 నాయమ జూచినంత హృదయంబున బట్టగరాని తోవమై.”

“అకడు రాక్షసుండటంచు సౌమిత్రి వ
 చించె నుంత వినదు చెలువ తాను
 ననుభవించె దాను ననుభవించితి మేము
 నాడదింత నేయు ననుచు గలదె ?”

“ఇట్లుహించుచు రాముడు మనసులో నూరక తోపంబు పెంచుకొంచుండగా.”⁴²

ఈవిధముగా మనసులో కోపమును పెంచుకొనుచున్న భర్తను నిలుచున్న సీత నిలోకించినది. అతని యింగితమును వెంటనే గ్రహించినది. అక్కణునో, విభీషణునో, యూర్యుతునో చూచుకొమ్మనిన రాముని దూషణ వాక్యములు విన్నది.⁴³ గుండెలు దహించు హుటలవి. కావుననే అగ్నిలో జొర్రునన్నది. చివరి కిట్లున్నది.

“అడది యింత నేయు ననుచున్నది యున్నదె యంచు నన్నునూ
 టాడితి, తెల కౌరక మహా ప్రభు నీవని రాక లేదు, నీ
 యాడది సీత కౌరక మహాసుర సంహారణులు లేకయా
 యాడది లే: లేద జగమంచు నడంతయు నేన చెసితిన్”⁴⁴

ఇది రాముడు మనసులో నూహించిన దానికి సీత ప్రత్యక్షముగా నిచ్చిన సమాధానము. భర్త యొక్క యింగితమును ఆమె యంత చక్కగా నెఱిగినది. ‘ఇవంరయు నేన సితిన్’ ఇది సీతాదేవీ మాహాత్మ్యము. ఇంకను చెప్పవలయునన్నచో భర్తయొక్క ప్రతిపాత శక్తి సామర్థ్యము లామెకే తెలియును. అన్నచుట్టు ముట్టి దానివశ్రీలతో సీత బుట్లన్నది.

“వారిధి యడ్డమున్నదని బట్టినధైర్యము నాత్మవంచనం
 బా రిషురాము బాణముల కట్టులు తెలము లిడ్లరావుడు
 ర్వార తదీయ దివ్యతమ బాణమహాగ్నికే నింక పోవునో
 యూరకయే కరంగి చనునో యదిసేన మెఱుంగగల్గుదునో”⁴⁵

ది భవిష్యత్కథా సూచకము. రాముడు సాగరతీరములో నిలిచి చూపిన పరాక్రమమును స్ఫురింపజేయుచున్నది.⁴⁶ ఇంకను నిరూపింపవలయునన్నచో, విభీషణుడు స్వాలాను

42. కల్పవృక్షము - యుద్ధ - ఉపనిషదులు - 121, 122, 123 ప.
 43. ibid. 139 ప.
 44. ibid. 154 ప.
 45. కల్పవృక్షము - సుందర - పరిరాత్ర - 320 ప.
 46. కల్పవృక్షము - సుందర - సుధ్యా - 348, 350 ప.

లిప్తాంగియైన జానకీదేవిని రాముని సన్నిధికి సగౌరవముగా పిలుచుకొని వచ్చుచుండగా సవ్యత సమావిష్టులైన వానరదైత్యవీరులలో కలిగిన గొప్ప సంరంభమును కవి యిట్లు వర్ణించినాడు.

“ఏత్రీ కోసము దక్షిణాంబునిది యిట్లీ దెన్ రఘూత్తంసుడా
యేత్రీ కోసము చంపెనో సకల దైత్యేంద్రున్ మహాయత్నమై
యాత్రీ త్రీవలె గాక వేఱ యెదియో యయ్యయ్యో త్రైలోక్య స
ర్వస్యై శ్రీజాకృతి పూని యంబిక వలెం బద్మాక్షి రంజిల్లనో!”⁴⁷

సీతాదేవి అంబిక ! వట్టి అంబిక కాదు. త్రైలోక్య సర్వస్యైశ్రీజాకృతి పూనిన అంబిక ! రాముని ఖడ్గమును తానుగైకొని ముందుకు నడచిన సీత 'ఖడ్గధారిణియైన అంబిక' అని కవి స్థాపించినాడు. 'ఇదంతయు నేన చేసితిన' 'అది నేన యెఱుంగ గల్గుదున్' ఇంతకు 'సీతాదేవికి తెలిసినదేమి? ఆమె చేసిన దేమి? శ్రీరాముడు పైన రాను చేసినవని చెప్పు కొన్నవన్నియు సీత చేసినవే. చేసినవనగా ఆమె కారణముగా రాముడు చేసినవి. సీత తానై చేయక రాముని చేత చేయించినవని యర్థము. ఆమె 'వైష్ణవీశక్తి!' 'అనంతవీర్య!'⁴⁸ 'సమస్త జగదాధారభూత!' 'అలంఘ్యవీర్య!'⁴⁹ 'సర్వభూతాంతర్గతయైన విష్ణుమాయ'⁵⁰

రాముని అభ్యుదయ మంతయు ఆమె చేతిలోనున్నది. ఆమెకు సర్వము తెలియును. రావణ సంహారమునకై పుట్టిన వేదవతియే యామె అని దేవీ భాగవతాదులు చెప్పుచున్నవి.⁵¹ ఆమె రావణుని విడిచిపెట్టినా? వానిని తాను సంహరించదు. రాముని చేత చంపించును. ఆమె శక్తిస్వరూపిణి. భగవంతుడు గీతలో తాను సమస్త జగత్తును ఓజస్సుచే ధరించి యున్నానని చెప్పినాడనగా అర్థమేమి?⁵² ఆ ఓజస్సుయే దేవి! అదియే అనంత, అలంఘ్యవీర్య! ఇది దేవి యొక్క శక్తి! ఆ శక్తిని సద్వినియోగము చేయుటలో నిమిత్తమాత్రమైన సాధనము రాముడు. ఫలితము వర్యవసించునది దేవిలో. కాని కీర్తి ప్రతిష్ఠలు సాధనభూతుడైన రామునికే. అనలు ఫలితమెట్టిది? అది ధర్మసంస్థాపనము. ఇది రాముని జీవిత ద్యేయముగా నిశ్చయించిన చెవరు? సీతాదేవియే సీత రాముని కత్తి పుచ్చుకొని ముందు నడచుటలో గల రహస్యార్థమిది.

47. ibid, యుద్ధ - ఉపసంహరణ - 113 ప.

48. దేవీ మాహాత్మ్యమ్ అధ్యాయ. XI, శ్లో. 5

49. ibid, శ్లో. 4

50. ibid, ఆధ్యాయ. V, శ్లో. 14

51. శ్రీదేవీ భాగవతము - సవమర్కంధము (అను.) చరిత్ర విశ్వనాథ శాస్త్రి (Pp. 451-55)

52. శ్రీ మద్భగవద్గీత - అధ్యాయ. 15, శ్లో. 13.

ధరాసుత భాష్యకారుడై యాడెడు స్వామి

జానకీదేవి రామునికి ముందు నడచుచున్నది. రాముని కనులామె కచభారము పై ననే యున్నవి. దీని వెన్నెంటినే సాగిన “దీప్రమోహన చంద్రకి...” యిత్యాది సేవ పద్యము దేవీకచభరము యొక్క వర్ణన. ఆ పద్యమిది.

సీ॥ “దీప్రమోహన చంద్రకి ప్రణాద్యోతిత వనసీమము మయూర వైభవంబు
అభి సీలాసీల యామ్య దిశాలంబమానాంబుదా భోగ మధురరేఖ
చందనాచలవనీ సంవాసి చమరీమృగాలి వాలాంచల వ్యజనరేఖ
లలిత తమాల పల్లవ గుళుచ్చ కదంబి కల్పితచ్చాయా ప్రకామరేఖ

జరత వర్షర్తు సమయ భూసచ్చవి ప్రతను నవోర్భ్రలోమ కంఠా సుషమయుఁ
గాంచుచును దారి నడువ రాఘవకుటుంబు, జనక సురభర్త మున్నంటి

చనుచునుండు”⁵³

పై సీన పద్యపు చివరిపాదములో “కోమలమైన తమాల వృక్షపు చిగుళ్ల గుత్తుల సమాహముచే నేర్పడిన నీడవలె” నున్నదట దేవి కచభరము. ఇచ్చట ప్రతి పాదాంతమునందున్న ‘రేఖా’ శబ్దము చిత్రకళ యందలిరేఖ (line)ను స్ఫురింపజేయుచున్నది. చిత్రకళకు రేఖ ప్రాణభూతమైనదని ప్రాచ్యపాశ్చాత్య చిత్రకారులందరు అంగీకరించినదే. ఇక్కడ ఈ రేఖావైభవమునందు కవి ప్రతిపాదాంతర్గతమందలి ప్రాణభూతమైన అర్థ ‘వైభవము’ను నిక్షిప్తపరచినాడు. ఆ రేఖ యెట్టిది? మధురరేఖ, వ్యజనరేఖ, ప్రకామరేఖ. ఇందు ఉత్తరోత్తరోత్కర్షణ గల్గిన చివరి పాదము గ్రహింతము. సీతను రాముడు వెనుకనుండి చూచుచున్నాడు. ఆమె నడచుచున్నది. కొంచెము కోపగించుకొని నడచుచున్నది. వాల్మీకి మహర్షి ఆమెను ‘సుశోభనా’ ‘సుమధ్యమా’ అని వర్ణించి యున్నారు. రాముని కనులు సీతాదేవియొక్క చక్కని నడుముపై గాక ఆమె కచసౌభాగ్యముపై నున్నది. ఆ కచదైర్ఘ్యము ఆమె నడుమును దాటియున్నది. ఓహో! రాముడు ధరాసుతయొక్క తనూ సౌందర్యమునకు భాష్యము చెప్పుచున్నాడా యేమి? అవును. ప్రతిమతః రాముడు సీతా తనూసౌందర్య భాష్యకారుడు. లోనారసి చూచినచో వేద ప్రతిపాద్యమైన మహోజ్వల సీతాతత్త్వ భాష్యకారుడు. దేవీ భక్తుడు. ఉపాసకుడు. దేవికి ‘శ్రీరామానందమయ్యైసమః’ అని దేవీభక్తమాలాస్తోత్ర రత్నావళి యందొక నామము. ‘లక్ష్మీజాగ్రజ్ఞాజితా’ అని శ్రీమచ్చంకరుల లలితాత్రికతీ భాష్యము.⁵⁵

53. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 216 ప
54. శ్రీ మద్రామాయణము-ఆరణ్యకాండ-పర్వ. 11, శ్లో. 1. రెండవది పాతాంతరము.
55. లలితాత్రికతీ భాష్యమ్ - శంకరాచార్యులు, Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam
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శృంగారవేషరుచిరయై, నదాబోడశ వర్షణియైన కామేశ్వరిలో 'ప్రకామరేఖ'ను దర్శించిన ఆదిచేవుడైన కామేశ్వరుడే శ్రీరామచంద్రుడు. ప్రకామమనగా 'ప్రగతం కామమితి' 'ప్రకృష్టః కామః అన్యప్రకామః' 'మిక్కిలి కామము గలది' అని శబ్దకల్పద్రుమము, ఆంధ్ర శబ్దరత్నాకరము.⁵⁶ అమరకోశములో ప్రకామమనగా 'యథేష్విరమ్' అని చెప్పబడినది. శబ్దరత్నాకరములోను యిదే అర్థ మివ్వబడినది.⁵⁷ మహాభారత విలాస పర్వములో కీచకుడు ద్రౌపదిని యిట్లు సంబోధించుచున్నాడు. "చిత్రమాల్యాంబర ధరా సర్వాభరణ భూషితా, కామం ప్రకామం సేవత్వం మయా సహ విలాసిని."⁵⁸ కావున ప్రకామమనగా ప్రకృష్టమైన కామము. ఇది గాఢత్వ సూచకము. ఈ కామమే నృప్తికి మూల బీజము. "కామస్తదగ్రే సమవర్తతాది మనసోరేతః ప్రథమం యదాసీత్" అని ఋగ్వేదము.⁵⁹ ఈ కామ శబ్దము ఆర్తమస్తువు కామ కళ యని ధ్రువీకరించిన 'కామ కళా విలాసము'ను చెప్పుచున్నది. "బిందురహంకారాత్కార విరేతన్మిథున సమరసాకారః, కామః కమనీయత యా కలా చ దహనేందు విగ్రహా బిందూ"⁶⁰ కామమనగా "కామ్యతే అభిలష్యతే స్వాత్మత్వేన వరమార్థ మహద్విర్యోగిభిరితి కామః" కమనీయత అనగా స్పృహణీయత. కల అనగా విమర్శ శక్తి. "అగ్నిబోమరూపిణీ విమర్శ శక్తిః తదభయ భూత కామేశ్వరా వినా భూతా మహా త్రిపురసుందరీ బిందు సమష్టిరూపా కామకలా"⁶¹ ఇతి ఉచ్యతే. నైవ ఉపాస్యతయా సర్వాగమేషు ఉద్దోష్యతే" అని పుణ్యానందాచార్యుల భాష్యము. ఇట్లు శ్రీవిద్యకు తల్లివంటిదైన 'కామకళావిలాసము'ను సీతమ్మ తల్లి ప్రజ్ఞా కథనమున ధ్వనింప జేసినాడు కవి. 'ప్రకామరేఖ' యనగా 'ప్రకృష్టమైన కామకళ'యని అర్థము.

తమవును రేఖచే స్ఫురింప జేయుట చిత్రకళా సంప్రదాయము. సీతా తనూ రేఖ ప్రకామరేఖగా ప్రతిభాసించిన దనగా అది సర్వ కళాదర్శన సిద్ధికి పరాకాష్ఠ. ఆమె సౌందర్య రేఖ. ఉత్పితాధిష్ఠాత్రి దేవి. సీతను 'సౌదామని' యన్నాడు విశ్వనాథ ఒక చోట. ఇది సుమిత్ర లక్ష్మణునితో నన్నది. రాముడు 'సీలమేషు కాంతాపమను' డట. సీత 'సౌదామనీ సమశరీర' యట. (2-277) ఇది తైత్తిరీయారణ్యకము నందు (10-11)

56. శబ్ద కల్పద్రుమమ్. Vol. III పుట. 241; ఆంధ్ర శబ్దరత్నాకరము - పుట. 1138
 57. శబ్దరత్నాకరము, పుట 535.
 58. మహా భారతమ్. Ed. B.O.R.I, Poona, విలాసపర్వం. అధ్యాయ. 12, శ్లో 35 App. I (P. 309)
 59. ఋగ్వేదము. 10-129. 4.
 60. కామ కళా విలాసమ్ - పుణ్యానందాచార్య విరచితమ్. శ్లో 7.
 61. ఇతి కామకలా విద్యా దేవీ చక్ర క్రమాత్మికా సేయం విదితా యేన సముక్తోభవతి మహాత్రిపుర సుందరీ రూపః || Ibid, శ్లో. 8.

చెప్పబడిన “నీలతోయద మధ్యస్థా విద్యుల్లేఖేవ భాస్వరా,” అను దానితోను “తటిల్లతా సమరుచి షట్పుక్రోపరి సంస్థితా” (40) అను లలితా సహస్రనామ స్తోత్రము తోను సంవ దించుచున్నది. దేవియే సౌందర్య సౌధ సౌదామిని, లోకమునునది యొక పెద్ద వీకటి ముద్ద యైనచో ఆనగా వీకటిచెట్టు చిగుళ్ల గుత్తులయొక్క చిక్కని వీకటి వంటిదైనచో ఆ ‘మొలక వీకటి’ లో చరచరప్రాకు ప్రాచుపామువంటి వేణిగల తటిల్లతయే దేవి. దీర్ఘ తమస్సులో ప్రతిపాసించునది దేవి యని అంతరార్థము. ఋగ్వేదమున అశ్వవామీయ సూక్తమున్నది.⁶² ద్రష్ట - దీర్ఘ తమసుడు. ఈతని సూక్తములు రహస్యార్థ గర్భితములు. తమస్సులో దాగియున్న విశ్వరహస్యము లను అతడు దర్శించినాడు కాబట్టి దీర్ఘతమసుడనుపేరు వచ్చినదని కా॥ వి. యస్. ఆగ్రవాలా గారు చెప్పియున్నారు.⁶⁴ ప్రథమమున తమస్సు తమస్సు చేతనే అవరింపబడి యుండెనని ఆ తమస్సునుండే సృష్టి కల్గినదని నానదీయసూక్తము చెప్పు చున్నది. “రమ ఆసీత్ తమసా గూఢమ్ అగ్రే”⁶⁵ దేవి కేశపాశములను తమాల వృక్షపు చిగుళ్ల నీడలతో పోల్చినాడనగా అర్థమేమి? కేశములు నలుపు. తమాల వృక్షము నలుపు. దాని చిగుళ్ల నీడలు నలుపు. కామము నలుపు. ఇందలి చిగుళ్లే సృష్టియొక్క మొదట్లు. దానినే వేదముపైన చెప్పుచున్నది ‘కామాక్రొన్మః’ ‘కామదాయి న్యైనమః’, ‘కామ్యాయైనమః’ ‘కామకళాపాపాయైనమః’ అని శ్రీ లలితా సహస్రనామ భాష్యము.⁶⁶ కావున, కామరేఖ యనగా తటిద్రేఖ. ఈ తటిద్రేఖయే సృష్టి. కవి సూదయ సీమలో విద్యుల్లత వంటి సద్యః స్ఫురణ కూడ ఇట్లే. దీనినే ‘ఆర్థం తే ప్రాతిభం చక్షః’ అన్నాడు భవభూతి. సీత ‘కుండలిసీకెక్తి’ అని పైచర్చ యొక్క సారాంశము

పైన చెప్పినదంతయు వ్యక్తవిషయము కాదు. అవ్యక్త విషయము. కావుననే కవి యీ అవ్యక్తప్రత్యమును స్మరణాలంకారము ద్వారా ధ్వనింపజేసినాడు. ఈ స్మరణము నాయకుని స్వగతము. నాయకుడెవరు? శ్రీరామచంద్రుడు. ఈ స్మరణకు హేతువేమి? దీనికి కాలిదాసు చెప్పినదే సమాధానము. “రమ్యమైన దృశ్యములు చూచి, ఉధురమైన శబ్దములు విని సుఖముగా నున్న జీవుడు సైతము పర్యుత్సాహుడగు చున్నాడు. కారణమేమి? అజ్ఞాతములై, అర్థముకాక, భావస్థిరములైన పూర్వజన్మల స్మృతులను

62. ‘మొలక వీకటి ఇలలల రాల్చుగారాచె నెటులు మించిన వీక కురులయను’ - పాండురంగమాహాత్యము - తెనాలి రామకృష్ణుడు. ఆశ్వా. 1-117 క.

63. ఋగ్వేదము - I. - 164 - 1. 32

64. Vision in Long Darkness - Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Varanasi, 1963.

65. ఋగ్వేదము - 10 - 129.3

66. లలితా సహస్రనామ భాష్యం - నామావళి No. 61, 62, 821, 822.

ఆ జీవుడు చేతన్నలో త్రవ్వకొనుచున్నాడు.”⁶⁷ అదియే నిజమైన కారణము. ఇది శ్రీరామ చంద్రుని భావస్థిరమైన జననాంతర సౌహృదస్మరణము. కవి స్మరణాలంకారము ద్వారా పై మహావిషయమును నిరూపించుటలోగల ఆంతర్యమిది. అవతారస్మృతణ పూర్తిగా భాసింపని మాయామానుష విగ్రహుడైన శ్రీరాముడు ఎక్కడో లోలోపల లీలగా స్ఫురించిన శ్రీమహాలక్ష్మీదేవీ సౌందర్యమును సీత కచభారము చూడగనే హఠాత్తుగా స్మరించినాడు. ఇది రామచంద్రుని అవతార విషయమును ప్రదీప్తమొనర్చు చున్నది.

జీవుని అంటిపెట్టుకొని కామభావన యున్నది. విశ్వనాథ చెప్పిన ‘జీవుని వేదన’ లో యిదొక ఆంశము. జీవగత కామభావన అనివార్యము. ఉదాత్తుడైన నాయకునిలో నిది లీలగా తోపింపజేసి ప్రతి నాయకుడైన రావణునిలో సహజకామమును నిరూపించి ఆతనిచే సీతను “కామభూమీరుహ”⁶⁸ అని సంబోధింపజేసినాడు. అట్లుగా నేమి? కామ భూమీరుహము కల్పవృక్షము. అనగా సీతయే కల్పవృక్షము. మహర్షులు వేదమాతను “కామభూషా” అని ప్రశంసించిరి. రావణుడు సామాన్యుడు కాడు. వేదముల వింగడించిన వాడు. అట్టివాడు సీతను “కామభూమీరుహ” అన్నాడన్నచో దాని వెనుక “వేదః ప్రాచేతసాదాసీత్ సాక్షిద్రామాయణాత్మనా” అన్న మహర్షి వాక్యము నిరూపింపబడు చున్నది. వేదవతియే సీత అని దీని పిండితార్థము.

ఈ కవి మిక్కిలి గడుసరి. ప్రయోగించిన పదములకు విధేశించిన యర్థమునే గాక సందర్భానుగుణమైన ప్రకరణార్థ స్ఫూరకత్వము యీతని వైశిష్ట్యము. పైన, దేవి కచభారవర్ణనలో శబ్ద పరిసౌకర్యమున్నది. “లలిత తమాల పల్లవ గుళుచ్చ కదంబ లలిత చ్చాయా ప్రకామరేఖ” ఇందలి ‘లలిత’ ‘కదంబ’ ‘కల్పితచ్ఛాయా’ శబ్దములకు నైఋతి కార్యములు వేర్వేరుయినను ప్రకరణ దృష్ట్యా విచారించినచో ‘లలిత’ శబ్దము ‘లలితాదేవి’ ని ‘కదంబ’ శబ్దము ‘కదంబవనవాసినీ,’ ‘కదంబ మంజురీ క్లప్త కర్ణపూరమనోహరా’ ‘కదంబ కుసుమ ప్రియా’⁶⁹ అని ప్రశంసించబడిన దేవికి ప్రీతికరమైన కదంబ వృక్షమును, ‘కల్పితచ్ఛాయా’ యనెడు మాట ‘మాయావిలసితమైన జగత్తును’ ధ్వనింప జేయుచున్నది. ఇక ప్రకామ రేఖావిషయము పైన వివరింపబడియే యున్నది.

విశ్వనాథ కల్పవృక్షమును అద్వైతముఖముగా వ్యాఖ్యానించినాడు. అద్వైత మునకే శాంతబ్రహ్మవాదము, కేవలద్వైతవాదము, మాయావేదాంత వాదమనియు పేర్లు. విశ్వనాథ శాంతరసమును కల్పవృక్షములో అంగీరసముగా చేయుటలో ప్రధానోద్దేశమిదియే.

67. అభిజ్ఞాన శాకుంతలమ్ - అంకము-5, శ్లో. 2
 68. కల్పవృక్షము - ఆరణ్య - జటాయుః ఖండం - చ. 384
 69. శ్రీ లలితా సహస్రనామ భాష్యం. (అను.) పొంగూరి సూర్యనారాయణ శర్మ నామావళి నెం. 60, 21, 323

పైగా దేవికి 'శాంతా, శాంతిమతీ, శాంత్యతీతకళాత్మికా'⁷⁰ అనియు పేర్లు. అభినవ గుప్తుడు శాంతరస్థాపకుడు. ఈతడు కాశ్మీర శివాద్వైతి. ఈ మతమునకే ఈశ్వరా ద్వయ వాదము. ప్రత్యభిజ్ఞా సిద్ధాంతము, త్రికసిద్ధాంతమనియు పేర్లు. ఈ ప్రత్యభిజ్ఞా సిద్ధాంతములో ఐదు కళలున్నవి. అందు చివరి రెండు 'శాంతకళ', 'శాంత్యతీతకళలు'⁷¹ తురీయాతీతయైన దేవియే శాంత్యతీతకళాత్మిక : దీనినే విశ్వనాథ కల్పవృక్షములో స్థాపించినాడు. 'కల్పిత' మనగా మాయ. అద్వైత వేదాంతమున జగత్తు కల్పితము. అనగా మాయా విలసితము, (బ్రహ్మసత్యమ్, జగన్మిథ్యా) భౌతిక చక్షుర్వేదము. అంత వరకే దాని అస్తిత్వము. అభౌతిక, అలౌకిక దళలో ఆది వట్టి మిథ్య, క్రాంతి. దేవి 'మహామాయ' అను విషయమును లోకమోహనమైన యామె కవభారముపైనాధారపెట్టి వర్ణించినాడనగా యిక్కడనే కవి ప్రతిభ తళతళలాడు చున్నది. సీతాదేవి కవభరము సృష్టిరహస్యమునకు వ్యాఖ్యానము. అది జీవలోకమును ఆవరించిన మహామాయ. ఇది తాత్త్వికార్థము. దీనిని ఆధ్యాత్మరామాయణము స్థాపించు చున్నది.

ఆధ్యాత్మము ననుసరించి రాముడు మాయామానుష వేషము ధరించినవాడు.⁷² నిత్యము, నిర్వికారము, నిరవధిక విభవము, మాయా నిరాసకము అయినది బ్రహ్మవదార్థము, సీతయోగమాయ⁷³, చైతన్యము, ప్రాణశక్తి. జడము, స్థాణువు అయిన బ్రహ్మవదార్థమును చైతన్యవంతముగాజేసి క్రియోస్మృతిని చేయునది యోగమాయ. పరిణామహీనమైన దానిని పరిణామ శీలమొనర్చునదిమాయాశక్తి. కావున 'మాయ' లేకుండ లోకములేదు. అనగా సృష్టి లేదు. చలనములేదు. అందుకనియే ఆధ్యాత్మము రాముని 'నిత్యమాయానిరాసో' మాయా కార్యానుసారీ మనుజు ఇవ నదాభాతిదేవోభిలేశః"⁷⁴ అన్నది. కల్పవృక్షములో ఖడ్గధారిణియైన సీత వెనుక రాముడు ఆమె కేక పాశముల చూచుచు నడచినాడనగా అర్థమేమి? ఎంత 'మాయానిరాసకు' దై నను మనుజు శరీరము దాల్చినంతనే 'మాయాకార్యానుసారీ' కాక తప్పదు. రాముడే సౌమిత్రితో నన్నట్లు "ఎప్పుడు మేను దాల్చితివో యీ తను సంగత లక్షణంబులుం దప్పవు"⁷⁵ అన్నది దీని యంతరార్థము.

కల్పవృక్షములో సీత, కైల కందరములలో అవతార ఘట్టములను చిత్రించి రామునికి చూపు సందర్భములో కవి యొకమాట వాడినాడు. "—ధరాసుత భాష్యకారుడై

70. శ్రీ లలితా నహస్రనామ శాష్యమ్ - (అను) పొంగూరి సూర్యనారాయణ శర్మ
 71. ప్రత్యభిజ్ఞాహృదయమ్ - టే.మరాజు (సంపా.) జయదేవసింగ్, 1977
 72. ఆధ్యాత్మరామాయణము - బాలకాండ - నారద ఉవాచ. సర్గ, 3 శ్లో. 38
 73. ibid. నారద ఉవాచ, శ్లో. 37
 74. ibid. శ్లో. 205
 75. కల్పవృక్షము - సుందర - సంధ్యాఖండం - 241 ప.

యాడెడు స్వామి—”⁷⁶ రాముడు ధరాసుతకు భాష్యకారుడై యాడెడు వాడట; కాంతా సమ్మితముగా కల్పవృక్షము చెప్పినదానినే ఆధ్యాత్మము ‘మాయాకార్యానుసారీ’ యని స్పష్టిక రించినది. రాముడు సీత కచభారము చూచుచు వెనుక నడుచుటయే దీనికి ప్రబల దృష్టాంతము. ఇంతేకాదు. రావణుడు సీత నదిక్షేపించుచు పల్కినవల్కుల వెనుక నిదేయర్థమిడి యున్నది.

“నీ మగడంత గొప్పవాడేమి? ఇంద్రునికంటే నధికుండు, బ్రహ్మను బుట్టించిన వాడు, శివుని దలదన్నినవాడు. వానిని జేతిలోని కేలుబొమ్మగా నాడించు నీవంతకంటె గొప్పదానవు.”⁷⁷ “అదవిలో నెవడైన దన భార్య నెత్తికొనిపోగా నీ మగండు కాక మఱెవ్వండును గొంతనేపేడ్చి యూరకుండును. వీడు మాత్రము నిన్నువెడకి కొంచు వచ్చును. నీవు వానినంత వలలో వేసుకొంటివి” “నేను నిన్నాశ్రయించితిని గదా! నీవు వానిని నా మీదికి రాకుండ జేసి పెట్టుము.”⁷⁸ చివర సాపేక్షముగా రావణుడన్న మాటలు సీతాదేవి మహాన్నత్యము తెల్పుచున్నది. సీత కచభార వర్ణనలో ఎత్తుగీతి యందు “రామవకులుండు, జనకసుతభర్త” యనినాడు కవి. సీతయే రాముని ‘సీతా పతి’ యని సంబోధించినది.⁷⁹ ఈ ‘జనకసుతభర్త’ ‘సీతాపతి’ యనెడు సంబుద్ధులు “ధరాసుత భాష్యకారుడై యాడెడు స్వామి” కి పోషకము. శ్రీరామచంద్రుని ‘మాయా కార్యాను సారీ’ యని ఆధ్యాత్మము స్థాపించిన దానిని, కల్పవృక్షము, సీత కత్తి తీసుకొని ముందు నడువగా రాముడామె ననుసరించుచు కచభారము నీక్షించు ఘట్టముగా కావ్యీకరించినది. కావ్యమనగానిది, ఆధ్యాత్మికత యనగా అది.

కల్పవృక్షము సీతారాముల సౌందర్యము తుల్యమైనదిగా వర్ణించినది. ఇది వారియొక్క భాష్యభ్యంతర అభేదప్రతివత్తిని స్థాపించు చున్నది. దేవి కచభారము ‘దీప్రమోహన’ శుని వర్ణించినాడు కవి. రాముని తనూసౌందర్యము లోక మోహన మని ఆధ్యాత్మము కీర్తించినది. “రామాభిధేయం రమణీయ దేహీనమ్, మాయాతనుం లోక విమోహనీయామ్”⁸⁰ ‘రామ’ శబ్దమందే సీతారాములిద్దరు కలిసియేయున్నారు. ఇది ‘రమణీయము,’ కల్పవృక్షము రాముని ప్రవృత్తి. నివృత్తులను స్పష్టముగా వర్ణించినది. “వినిహత నమస్తలోకమోహుని, నిరీహం రామచంద్రుని గాంచెను రావణుండు”⁸¹ మరొక వద్యములో రాముడు మోహవిదూరునిగా, బైరాగిగా వర్ణింపబడినాడు. ఆధ్యాత్మ

76. ibid. అయోధ్య - అనసూయాఖండం - 51 వ.
 77. ibid. సుందర - పరరాత్రఖండం - 221 వ.
 78. కల్పవృక్షము - సుందర - పరరాత్రఖండము - 221 వ.
 79. ibid. యుద్ధ - ఉపసంహరణ - 115 వ.
 80. ఆధ్యాత్మరామాయణము. అహల్యాకృత రామస్తవము. కాలకాండన, ధృ. 4. శ్లో. 9.
 81. కల్పవృక్షము - యుద్ధ - నిస్సంశయ - 191 - 195 వ.

రామాయణము రాముని “నిత్యశ్రీ నిర్వికారో”⁸² అని వర్ణించినది. దేవియెంత ‘శృంగార రస సంపూర్ణ’యో అంత ‘విరాగిణి’. ‘ఓం విరాగిణ్యైనమః’ అని దేవీ నామము⁸³.

దేవి కవభారము “అబ్ధినీలానీలయామ్యదిశాలంబమానాంబుదాభోగమధురరేఖ”⁸⁴ రాముడు “నిబిడితాకాశ నీలకాంతి ప్రరోహ కందశీకృత మంజుల కాంతిదేహుడు”⁸⁵ “ఆషాఢమాస నీలాంభోదవల్లి విలాసభాసుర తనూల్లాస విభవుడు.”⁸⁶ “హారావళి విద్యుదంచిత నవాంబుద నీల మనోజ్ఞదేహుడు.”⁸⁷ సీతాదేవి కవములు “లలిత తమాల పల్లవ గుళుచ్ఛకదంబకల్పితచ్చాయా ప్రకామరేఖ.” రాముడు “తరుణ తమాలస్థానీయ కాంతిదేహుడు.”⁸⁸

‘మరు విమనమ్ము గండు సుపమార మనోజ్ఞ తమాల పల్లవాం
తర లవలీకిసాలయ నిశాంత గుళుచ్ఛము లీల మోహనాం
బురుహవిలోచనుండు రఘువుంగవు కౌగిట బొల్చెనీత మం
ధర పవమాన యాస కలనా వలనా చలనాల కాంతయై.’⁸⁹

ఇట్లు హనుమ, త్రిజటలు సీతారాముల ఆభేదప్రతిపత్తిని భావించినారు. ఇది సార్వకాలిక సత్యము.

82. ఆధ్యాత్మ రామాయణము - కాలకాండ - శ్లో. 208
 83. శ్రీ లలితా సహస్రనామ భాష్యమ్ - (అను.) పాంగూరి సూర్యనారాయణ శర్మ.
 84. కల్పవృక్షము - అరణ్య - దశవర్ష - 216 ప.
 85. ibid., యుద్ధ - నిస్సంశయ - 194 ప.
 86. ibid., మందర - సంధ్యా - 51 ప.
 87. ibid., మందర - వరరాత్ర - 344 ప.
 88. ibid., మందర - ఉషః - 268 ప.
 89. ibid., మందర - వరరాత్ర - 349 ప.

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**THE KURUKSETRA WAR
AND
RĀJAVAMŚĀ-VARNANA OF
THE PURĀNAS**

by

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

“The two great epics of ancient India—*Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*I do not know any books anywhere which have exercised such a continuous and pervasive influence on the mass-mind as these two. Dating back to a remote antiquity, they are still a living force in the life of the Indian people.....They represent the typical Indian method of catering all together for various degrees of cultural development, from the highest intellectual down to the simple unread and untaught villager.Deliberately they tried to build up a unity of outlook among the people, which was to survive and over-shadow all diversity.”

Thus writes absorbingly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.) in his inimitable *Discovery of India* (1956, pp. 88-89). It is indeed difficult to imagine what could have been, but for these two epics, the history of Indian people, of their political thought, religious, social, legal and administrative institutions, arts, music, dance, literature etc. Thus these epics constitute not a mere integral part, but a basic factor of the history of Indian people. It should not be forgotten that the epics like Mbh. took their shape not in a year or two, not even in a decade or two, but in course of several centuries. During this long period, gifted reciters have added a lot to Vyāsa's original great mass of material. ‘All the floating literature, that was thought to be worth preserving, historical, geographical, legendary, political, theological and philosophical, of nearly thirty centuries, found a place in it. In those days when there was no printing, interpolation in a recognised classic seemed to correspond to inclusion in the national library. Divested of these accretions, the Mbh. is a noble poem, possessing in a supreme degree, the characteristics of a true epic.’ (C. Rajagopalachari, in his preface to his *Mahābhārata*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, II Ed.).

Now it will be of much interest to see how some of the great thinkers of ancient India viewed our epics and the Purāṇas. In the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa there are about twelve references to certain *smṛtis* (I, ii, 6; iii, 23; II, i, 1; II, iii, 45, 47; III, i, 14, 19; iv, 30, 37; IV, i, 10; ii, 14; iii, 11), and these references, as explained by the earliest known commentator Śāṅkara, in majority of the cases, are to the Mbh. of Vyāsa or, in a few instances, to the Purāṇas of the same Vyāsa. Kumārilabhaṭṭa the celebrated Mīmāṃsā teacher clearly says that the *itihāsas* (epics) and the *purāṇas* are to be treated as *smṛtis*; that they contain a good amount

of fiction, eventhough the *itihāsas* and the *purāṇas* of the Vedas may be otherwise (the *Mīmāṃsā-vārttika*, I. iii, 2 and 7). Śāṅkara, the reputed *ācārya* of Advaita too rates the Mbh. as a *smṛti* or a scripture of law on par with the *Manusmṛti*, *Āpastambadharmasūtra* etc. (*Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, II, i, 1; etc.) Ānandavardhana, the most famous literary critic of ancient India too upholds the Mbh. as a scripture only, but containing certain features of poetry (*Mahābhārote api śāstrarūpe kāvyacehāyānvayini* etc. — See the *Dhvanyaloka*, under IV, 5). Thus it is certain that according to some of the reputed ancient Indian thinkers Mbh. was a book of law like the *Manusmṛti*.

Now it should be clearly understood that the purpose and importance of a *smṛti* lies not in its recording any historical events, but only in its showing or prescribing a way of life and rules and regulations, by sincerely following which the reader can attain a *puruṣārtha* or a goal of life. Further, according to ancient Indian thought, a scripture is purposeful, provided it prescribes certain action, which a person can act upon; and even that part of the Vedas too, recording certain events etc., becomes useless if one cannot act upon what has been narrated there (See *āmnāyasya kriyārthavād ānār'hakyam atadarthānām*, Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, I, ii, 1). Indeed a reader gets nothing to act upon by reading a graphic correct description of Alexander's campaigns, or Aśoka's conquest of Kāliṅga, or by accurately understanding Samudragupta's Allahabad *prasasti* beautifully describing that emperor's *Dakṣiṇā-patha* expedition. If, from this point of ancient Indian thought the Mbh. is adjudged, then it must be credited with full success in achieving, to a remarkable extent, its purpose as *smṛti* throughout the ages, as stated by Pandit Nehru we saw above. Therefore, if Mbh. is found not recording events upto the satisfaction of the historians, it in no way lessens its importance. For, its professed aim and purpose are altogether different. Surely, the fact that the ear does not see the colour affects in no way its importance as an organ of hearing (See *sva-sva-viṣaya-sūrāṇi promāṇāni, śrotrādivat*.....Śāṅkara under *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, II, i, 20). Probably Swami Vivekananda echoed the above idea when, in one of his remarkable interviews, he said :

'The sublimity of the law propounded by *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Bhāratā* does not depend upon the truth of any personality like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa; and one can even hold that such persons never lived and at the same time take these writings as high authorities in respect of the grand ideas which they place before mankind. Our philosophy does not depend on any personality for its truth.It is to be noted that Christianity cannot stand without Christ, Mohammedanism without Mohammed and Buddhism without Buddha; but Hinduism stands independent of any person; and for the purpose of estimating the philosophical truth contained in any Purāṇa,

we need not consider the question whether the persons (and events) treated of therein were real or were fictitious.....

The object of the Purānas was to educate the mankind?

(*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Advaitasrama, VIII Ed., Vol. V, pp. 207-08).

Now arise some pertinent questions: Is it not true that Mbh. has been considered an *itihāsa* in India down the ages? Does not *itihāsa* denote a narration of what took place long ago? Does it not show that the ancient Indian thinkers believed that Mbh. contains historical truth? Let us study the problem in this way: The words *itihāsa* and *purāna* occur probably for the first time in the *āranyaka* parts of the Vedas (See eg. the *Taittirīya Āranyaka* II, 9) and they are usually taken to denote respectively (1) those parts of the Vedas that contain stories like 'the gods and the demons fought each other'; and (2) those Vedic parts that describe the process of the world-creation. (See Sāyana on the above). Both these portions of the Vedas form parts of what the Mīmāṃsakas label as *arthavāda* or the statement indicating the importance and superiority of a thing enjoined or the baseness of a thing prohibited. Kumārilabhaṭṭa, who, as we saw already, rates Mbh. etc. as *smṛtis*, tells us in clear terms as follows: Vyāsa and Vālmiki were masters of Vedic literature and hence they have fashioned their works after the Vedas; their works contain a good amount of *arthavādas*, in the form of *upākhyānas*; sometimes short and sometimes very long; these should not be taken literally to arrive at the truth; they are meant to indicate, on the whole, the greatness of what is being enjoined or the baseness of what is being tabooed; at times these authors have taken upon themselves the roll of poets and used their imaginations, of course mainly with a view to catch the attention of as many as possible. (*sarveṣāṃ cittam grahitavyam ityevam ārambhaḥ*. See the *Mīmāṃsāvārttika*, I, ii, 7).

Śaṅkara too thinks that *itihāsa* and *purāna* that stand outside the Vedic lore are the extension of, and are moulded on the model of the Vedic *arthavādas* (or at times the Vedic hymns); and that they are therefore to be treated in the same fashion as the Vedic *arthavādas* are treated by the Mīmāṃsakas. It means this: When a statement in any of them is corroborated by any other means of knowledge then it is to be viewed as *anuvāda* or explanatory repetition; when a statement in them is contradicted by any other proof then it is to be classed as *guṇavāda* or a figurative statement that is intended to indicate the greatness or baseness of what is being enjoined or tabooed in a given context; and when a statement is neither corroborated nor contradicted by any other proof then only it may be deemed to be a *bhūtiarthavāda* or a statement of fact. (See Śaṅkara and his commentators under the *Brahmasūtra*, I, iii, 33). Therefore, if some of the statements in Mbh. or Purānas are found con-

tradicted by proofs such as archaeology and so on, which have full authority in their respective fields of knowledge—like the eye in its field of seeing colours—then those statements may have to be classed as *gunavāda* as stated above and there is nothing wrong in it. The word *itihāsa* is in fact derived from the word *itiha* from which *aitihya* is also derived and which means only 'traditional instruction'; and there is no special guarantee that the instruction thus imparted contains cent per cent historical truth.

It will be of much use now to know how the Vedic *ākhyāyikā* and also the *itihāsa* have been themselves rated by great thinkers like Śaṅkara. According to that master of Advaita, the Vedic *ākhyāyikās* or stories in the scriptures serve simply as a means of easily understanding a particular philosophical truth (*sukhāvabodhārthā ākhyāyikā*.....See *Aitareyopaniṣad*, preamble to ch. II. See also on *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VIII, vi, 2). Further, he gives only an allegorical value to the Vedic *itihāsa* of the gods-and-demons-fight. He maintains that in this *itihāsa* the expression *gods* denotes, not actual gods, but only the sense-faculties illuminated by, or regulated by, the scripture; *demons* stands, not for the actual demons, but only for the base sense-faculties, that are coloured with selfishness and are rebelling against scripture; and their *fight* is nothing but the perpetual mutual confrontation between these two sorts of faculties in every human being in order to put down one another (See Śaṅkara on the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, I, ii, 1; *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad*, I, fii, 1). Perhaps following this lead, Abhinavagupta, one of the greatest literary critics of ancient India and the foremost among the teachers of the Kashmir Śaivism, applies the same principle of allegory to Mbh. He takes (1) *pāṇḍava*, (2) *kaurava* and (3) their *kurukṣetra-war* respectively to denote (1) the human intention born of wisdom; (2) the human intentions born of selfishness, and (3) their mutual perennial confrontation in the human body, a field of duties. (See Abhinavagupta's *Gītārthasaṅgraha* on the Gītā, I, 1).

All these do go to show that there were thinkers in ancient India who attached to *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* only a figurative or allegorical value and not historical value in full measure. Then does it mean that our ancestors have caused us to get ourselves totally drowned in an ocean of make-belief? No. Some historical truth does constitute the nucleus of every Purāṇa and epic (See Swami Vivekananda, op. cit., ibid.), though in course of time much unhistorical stuff got itself gathered around the historical truth. In this connection it may be suggested that a reader may profitably consult some of the recent books like *Mahābhārata-Myth and Reality, Differing views* (Forward by Prof. Niharranjan Ray; Ed. S.P. Gupta and K.S. Ramachandran, Delhi, 1976), *Age of Mahābhārata* (Ed. G.C. Agarwala, Delhi, 1979) etc., where, upholding that the nucleus of the Mbh. may be historical, various

conflicting theories regarding the date of the Kurukṣetra war have been propounded by scholars from different angles. Swami Vivekananda has shown that a good amount of material in Mbh. may be unhistorical. He has gone to the extent of raising doubts regarding the historicity of the very Kurukṣetra war, of Yudhiṣṭhira's *Aśvamedha*, and of some other items including Arjuna even. A reader may be benefitted by going through Swamiji's views. (See op. cit, Vol. IV, pp. 101-105). However, Swamiji emphasizes that even if the historicity of the whole thing is proved to be absolutely false to-day, it will not in the least be any loss to us. Then what is the use of so much of historical research touching Mbh. one may ask. 'It has its use, because we have to get at the truth; it will not do for us to remain bound by a wrong idea born of ignorance. In this country people think very little of the importance of such inquiries' (ibid).

I am happy that Dr. D.C. Sircar, one of the foremost Indian historians and one amongst a very few researchers in the field of Indology producing a Niagara of serious writings, accepted our invitation to our S.V. University and in March 1978 delivered, under the auspices of our Oriental Research Institute, two lectures, pointing out, in a forceful language, the difficulties a serious historian finds in viewing Mbh. and Purānas as full-fledged historical documents, as they are being considered in some quarters in recent times. For this I express my heartfelt thanks to him. I also express my deep gratitude to Prof. K. Satchidananda Murthy, the former honourable Vice-Chancellor of the S.V. University for generously granting necessary funds for arranging these lectures of Dr. D.C. Sircar; and to Prof M. Santappa, our revered present Vice-Chancellor for kindly granting funds for getting these lectures printed and published. I also thank the Director and the Manager of the S.V. University Press for printing these lectures.

TIRUPATI
28th May, 1980

S. SANKARANARAYANAN
DIRECTOR
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PREFACE

Professor S. Sankaranarayanan, now Director of the Oriental Research Institute, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, was years ago a valued Assistant of mine when I was a Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. As he learnt that I was expected to attend the Madras Session of the Epigraphical Society of India in January this year to receive the Society's *tāmra-paṭṭikā*, he invited me to visit his Institute on my way back from Madras and deliver a few lectures. However, I was then a Visiting Professor at the University of Bhagalpur and found it difficult to be absent from there for a longer period. On learning this time that I would deliver the Late Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Lectures at Hyderabad in March, he again invited me for the same purpose and I thankfully accepted it. Although I am still a Visiting Professor at the University of Allahabad, there I have to deliver some lectures in lieu of teaching work.

The topics of the lectures selected by me for delivering at this Institute involve certain controversies that I raised sometime ago. This is because *vāde vāde jāyate tattva-boḍhaḥ*. One of the topics relates to the *Mahābhārata* and the other to the *Purāṇas*. The *Mahābhārata*, often called the Great Epic of India, is a work of such a nature and magnitude that there is no aspect of Indian life and culture that has no reflection in it —

Yad = ih = āsti tad = anyatra yan = n = eh = āsti na tat kvacit.

In India and in the countries outside wherever Indianism had an opportunity to get a foothold, for hundreds of years, people of all classes have enjoyed the recitation and representation of its episodes emphasising the victory of *dharma* —

Yato dharmas = tato jayaḥ

The Purāṇic literature, on the whole, has also served a similar purpose. Of course, the problems of my discussions here are purely from the historian's point of view.

I am glad to have the opportunity to visit this celebrated and wonderful pilgrim spot of our country, which is associated with the great name of Lord Venkateswara.

Priyatām Bhagavān

March 11, 1978.

D.C. SIRCAR

THE KURUKṢETRA WAR

A

In September, 1975, I was interviewed by some journalists at the Guest House of the University of Poona. In the course of that interview, I gave them my opinion on the Kurukṣetra War on the lines of what I first wrote in a paper read at an Inter-University Seminar on the War held in 1965 at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, which had not only been published in its proceedings entitled *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 18-27, but was also later incorporated in my *Studies in the Yuga-purāṇa and Other Texts*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 35-40.

Besides various other points, I tried to emphasise the fact that the composition of the present *Mahābhārata* text is ascribed by competent authorities to the period from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. while all the early Indian traditions would assign the legendary Kurukṣetra War to dates many centuries or even millennia earlier. In this connection, I particularly pointed out that it was obviously impossible to describe, without any written account and merely from hearsay, a historical event after a long period of time with any accuracy, so that much of the description of the so-called great war in the *Mahābhārata* must be regarded as imaginary. Another point emphasised by me was the significant fact that Kurukṣetra is mentioned many times in the Pre-*Mahābhārata* literature of India, but never as the venue of the great War, and that the said literature does not know any hero of the War as such. This was coupled by me with the great diversity of the dates to which the War was assigned even as early as the age of the Imperial Guptas, since these point to their being fabricated at a late date.

It may be argued that there are many conflicting dates of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa prevalent in the Buddhist countries of the world and that they are not generally regarded as proving the Buddha to be a myth. The two cases are, however, not similar because the Buddha

died in 486 B.C. (according to the reliable Cantonese dotted record) and the earliest definite mention of the Buddha and his Dharma and Saṅgha as well as of Lumbinigrāma as his birth place and Sambodhi (Mahābodhi) apparently as the spot where he obtained *bodhi* or supreme knowledge is found in Aśoka's records of the middle of the third century B.C. This is a difference of a little over two centuries here whereas the difference between the date of the Kurukṣetra War and that of the *Mahābhārata* is by far and immeasurably larger. Moreover, the early Buddhist traditions represent the Buddha as a contemporary of kings Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru of Magadha, king Prasenajit of Kosala, king Udayana of Kauśāmbī and king Pradyota of Avantī, and these monarchs are also known from other sources such as the *Purāṇas*.

It seems that very few people in our country had any opportunity to read my writings referred to above; but as soon as my views that the Kurukṣetra War as described in the *Mahābhārata* must be regarded as a myth appeared in the newspapers, many people came forward to defend the historicity of the epic tradition, and their views appeared in the newspapers. Among the correspondents, the celebrated Archaeologist, Dr. H.D. Sankalia of Poona, was probably the only one who essentially agreed with me. The people championing the cause of the historicity of the *Mahābhārata* War called a conference about the close of October, 1975, at Bijnor in U.P., where they are reported to have decided among themselves that the War is a historical fact. Since then some other similar conferences may also have been held at other places under the auspices of various institutions.

Of course, our people are generally credulous, and critical acumen is rather rare. Even our great historian Kalhaṇa, who wrote his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* about A.D. 1150, failed to disabuse himself of credulousness and to exercise a strong common sense in certain cases. Thus after recounting an absurd tale about king Meghavāhana of Kashmir, which he must have found in some Purāṇa-type work, Kalhaṇa says, "We feel embarrassed indeed in thus recording this and other acts of this king of recent times (i.e., not of epico-Purāṇic antiquity), which cannot be believed by the common people. However, authors who follow the path of the ancient sages are, of course, not dominated by subservience to the hearers' (i.e., the readers') notions on their compositions."¹ Still, however, the attempt to decide the historicity or unhistoricity of a legend by means of votes in an assembly of the supporters of a particular view is really funny. Such incidents remind us of the story of stiffing the views of Galileo (1564-1642). It is well known that Galileo became convinced early in life in the truth of the theory of

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, III, 94-95.

Copernicus that it was the earth that moves round the sun and not the sun that moves round the earth as was then the popular notion supported by Christian scriptures; but he was deterred from avowing the opinion for fear of ridicule. After devising an improved type of telescope, he tried to defend the Copernican theory but was discouraged by the Church. Although his 'Dialogue of the Two Chief World Systems (i.e. the Ptolemaic and the Copernican)' was written in a very clever and non-committal way, the Church authorities ultimately decided to prosecute Galileo for heresy, and he was compelled to journey to Rome despite illness and old age. He was naturally found guilty and had to save himself by reciting a formula in which he 'abjured, cursed and detested' his errors (1) and was under house arrest for the rest of his life.²

That the earth on which we live is roundish in shape is also not a common ancient belief because people all over the world generally supposed that the surface of the earth was a sort of big field. Another instance of the same kind is the belief of the Christians in the story of the creation of the world and what we see on it as it has been described in the Christian scriptures. It was calculated on this basis that the world was created by God in the 710th year of the Julian period i.e. in 1004 B.C., and that the creation of human beings took place shortly afterwards because the entire work of creation was completed in six days and the Creator took rest on the seventh. Thanks, however, to the progress of studies in astronomy, geology, biology, anthropology, archaeology and other allied sciences, it is well known now that the world as also its part known as the earth existed many millions of years ago and that the human beings of our type, i.e. the biological species called Homo Sapiens, reached the present stage of development through a process of evolution in millions of years mainly by way of what is called natural selection.

Our attention is often drawn to the fact that the *Mahābhārata* is called an *Itihāsa*,³ and that this word is usually taken to mean 'history'.

2. In this connection, we are also reminded of Ravindranath Tagore's sarcastic remarks on research work in a note entitled *Pratnatattva* in which he puts up an imaginary controversy between two scholars, named Kuñjavihārī and Madhusūdan Śāstri, on the availability of galvanizing batteries in ancient India as well as the Sanskrit name for the gas called Oxygen. *Ravindra Racanāvalī*, Viśva-Bhāratī, Vol. VII, pp. 506 ff.
3. cf. *Jaya-nām=etihāso='yam* (in Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on the passage *tato Jayam=udirayet*) interpreted by H.C. Raychaudhuri not probably quite correctly as 'song of victory' (*Stud. Ind. Ant.*, 1958, p. 279). In any case, Nilakaṇṭha also says *Jaya-samjñam Bhārat-ākhyam itihāsam yā*. The following stanzas quoted by Nilakaṇṭha from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* assigns the name *Jaya* not only to the *Mahābhārata* but also to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the eighteen *Purāṇas* and other works on the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva creeds —

However, the word *itihāsa* is used in the *Mahābhārata* itself not in the sense of 'history' but to signify any legend even including a mythological tale. Thus the following stanza occurs in the Śānti-parvan, 84.1 :

Ath = āpy = udāharant = imam = itihāsam purātanam |
Bṛhaspatēs = ca samvādām Śakrasya ca Yudhiṣṭhira ||

Here a dialogue between Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, and Śakra, i.e. Indra who was their king, is called an 'old' *itihāsa*. Both the preceptor and the king of the gods being personages belonging to the domain of mythology, there can hardly be any question of taking the word *itihāsa* here in the sense of history. It can at best mean a legend. Sometimes a folktale is also called an *itihās*.

B

The *Mahābhārata* (i.e. the great poem concerning the Bhāratas or descendants of Bharata) is regarded as a whole literature rather than a unified work and as offering a heterogenous mass, parts of which are in some cases incompatible and often date from different centuries. It is believed to contain the remains of the ancient Indian heroic songs which have undergone much retouchment, extension and disfigurement. Winternitz points out the impossibility of the reconstruction of its central theme in its original shape, although its kernel was the battle between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The composition of the epic is placed by him to the period between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth Century A.D.⁴

The central story of the *Mahābhārata* may be summarised as follows. King Śāntanu, a descendant of Kuru and Bharata (for which he could be called both Kaurava and Bhārata), ruled at Hastināpura (on the Ganges, not far from Meerut in U.P.) and had, from his wife, who was the goddess Gaṅgā, a son named Bhīṣma. Later he married a fisher girl named Satyavatī on condition that her son would gain his throne. This was possible because Bhīṣma gracefully renounced his claim. Satyavatī, who now gave birth to Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya had previously given birth to the sage Vyāsa begotten by the sage Parāśara on her. Soon Śāntanu and Citrāṅgada died, and Bhīṣma raised young Vicitravīrya to the throne. The youthful king having died without issue, Satyavatī advised Bhīṣma to produce children on his

अष्टादशपुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
काण्यं वेदं पञ्चमञ्च यन्भद्राभारतं विदुः ॥
तथैव विष्णुधर्मश्च शिवधर्मश्च शाश्वतः ।
जयेति नाम तेषाञ्च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

4. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Eng. trans., Vol. I. pp. 326 ff., 474-75.

widows, Ambikā and Ambālikā, according to the old system of levirate. Bhīṣma having declined, she invited her eldest son Vyāsa, born before her marriage with Śantanu, and Vyāsa begot Dhṛtarāṣṭra on Ambikā, Pāṇḍu on Ambālikā and Vidura on a slave girl. Dhṛtarāṣṭra having been born blind, Pāṇḍu was placed on the throne. Dhṛtarāṣṭra married Gāndhārī (daughter of the king of Gandhāra in the Peshawar or Rawalpindi-Peshawar region) and had a hundred sons, the eldest of whom was Duryodhana. Pāṇḍu married Kuntī or Pṛthā, daughter of the Yādava prince Śūra and sister of Kṛṣṇa's father Vasudeva, and also Mādri (daughter of the Madra king) who was the sister of Śalya, the Madra king of Śākala (Sialkot). Kuntī gave birth to three sons, namely Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma (who was of the same age as Dhṛtarāṣṭra's son Duryodhana) and Arjuna, and Mādri to the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva. Kuntī had given birth to Karṇa before her marriage with Pāṇḍu and discarded the new-born baby whom a charioteer-woman brought up as her son. On the death of Pāṇḍu, Mādri committed *satī*, and Kuntī and the five Pāṇḍavas (sons of Pāṇḍu) were living at Hastināpura under the care of Dhṛtarāṣṭra who was now the king. The Brāhmaṇas Droṇa and Kṛpa were engaged in teaching the art of fighting to the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes (i.e. the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu), Karṇa and Droṇa's son Aśvatthāman also becoming their fellow students. Arjuna was the favourite disciple of Droṇa and excelled all other students, and this caused jealousy in the heart of Duryodhana and his brothers headed by Duḥśāsana. Once in a tournament, Karṇa showed almost equal skill as Arjuna and was at once befriended by Duryodhana and made the king of Aṅga (East Bihar).

Yudhiṣṭhira was made the heir to the Kaurava throne; but a plot was hatched against the Pāṇḍavas to burn them with Kuntī in a house of lac at Vāraṇāṣvata; but Yudhiṣṭhira learnt about the plot from Vidura, and the Pāṇḍavas escaped death and fled together with their mother into the forest, though the Kauravas thought that they had all died. During the period when the Pāṇḍavas were thus in a hiding, they heard of the *svayamvara* of Kṛṣṇā, daughter of king Drupada of Pañcāla (really South Pañcāla with Kāmpilya in the Farrukhabad district, U.P., as the capital, since Drupada had to surrender North Pañcāla with Abhicchatra in the Bareilly district, U.P., as its capital to Droṇa). The Pāṇḍavas went to the *svayamvara* in the guise of Brāhmaṇas. There was a contest in archery in which Arjuna alone came out successful and thus won the hand of the princess; but she was married to the five Pāṇḍavas. Now that the Pāṇḍavas were found to be alive and allied with the Pañcālas, Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Vidura advised Dhṛtarāṣṭra to seek reconciliation with them, and the latter offered the western part of the Kuru kingdom to Yudhiṣṭhira who thus became the king of Khāṇḍavaprastha with Indraprastha (modern Delhi) as his capital.

Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva subdued the rulers respectively of the east, north, west and south, and Yudhiṣṭhira's *Rājasūya* sacrifice was performed in great pomp. Duryodhana, who had been invited to the ceremony along with numerous other guests from different parts of India, left the celebrations with feelings of envy and hatred. A plot was then hatched to invite Yudhiṣṭhira to play dice with the skilled player Śakuni, Duryodhana's maternal uncle, so that the former's kingdom may be won by the latter as a result of victory in the game. Yudhiṣṭhira accepted the invitation to play dice and after losing to Śakuni such stakes as his treasures, state chariot, slaves, elephants, chariots and horses, finally lost his kingdom as well as his own self, his four brothers and their common wife. However, after undergoing considerable humiliation and insults, the Pāṇḍavas were allowed to go back to Indraprastha; but soon afterwards, in another game of dice, Yudhiṣṭhira was defeated and had to go into banishment with his brothers and Draupadī for a period of thirteen years, the thirteenth of which the Pāṇḍavas would have to live incognito. A considerable part of the twelve years was passed by them in the Kāmyaka forest, and the thirteenth year they passed incognito at the city of Virāṭanagara (in the Jaipur district, Rajasthan), capital of the Matsya king Virāṭa. Yudhiṣṭhira became Virāṭa's companion and counsellor, Bhīma his cook, Arjuna the dancing master of his daughter Uttarā, Nakula his horse-tamer, Sahadeva the overseer of his cattle, and Draupadī his queen's chambermaid. About the end of the year, the Kauravas made an attempt to take away Virāṭa's cattle; but Arjuna, who had been taken by Virāṭa's son Uttara as the driver of his chariot, succeeded in repulsing the Kauravas and rescuing the cattle. Soon the Pāṇḍavas disclosed their identity, and the grateful Virāṭa gave his daughter Uttarā in marriage to Arjuna's son Abhimanyu.

The Pāṇḍavas now demanded their half of the Kuru kingdom; but Duryodhana refused to part with any portion of it. In the eighteen days' fight that followed, the chief fighters on the Kaurava side including Duryodhana were all killed, and Yudhiṣṭhira became king of the Kuru land.

As regards the eighteen day's battle, Bhīṣma led the Kaurava forces for the first ten days. He was often confronted by Arjuna though Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna was the general of the Pāṇḍava forces. The Pāṇḍavas succeeded in mortally wounding Bhīṣma on the tenth day of the war by a fraudulent stratagem. They knew that Bhīṣma would not fight Śikhaṇḍin, brother of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna, because he had been born as a girl; so Arjuna was shooting his arrows at Bhīṣma from behind Śikhaṇḍin and soon the Pāṇḍava forces made an all out attack on the Kuru commander. Bhīṣma's body was covered by innumerable arrows sticking to

it so that, when he fell, his body rested above the ground, on the bed of arrows so to say. Droṇa, who was 85 years old, now became the commander of the Kaurava forces. On the thirteenth day of the battle, Arjuna's son Abhimanyu was separated from his protectors by Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu-Sauvira (Sind) and the husband of Duryodhana's sister, and was killed while fighting with several enemy warriors. Arjuna took revenge by killing Jayadratha the next day. On his day, Karṇa killed Ghaṭotkaca, Bhīma's son from the Rākṣasi Hidimbā. On the fifteenth day, Droṇa killed Drupada and Virāṭa. Then Droṇa and Arjuna fought fiercely, and the latter killed the former by another fraudulent trick. Bhīma had killed an elephant named Aśvatthāman, and this was represented to Droṇa as the slaughter of his son of the same name. Droṇa became overcome with sorrow for a while, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna cut off his head at that time. Then on the sixteenth day Karṇa became the leader of the Kaurava forces. On the seventeenth day, Bhīma killed Duḥśāsana, and Arjuna killed Karṇa against the rules of war when the latter was trying to pull out a sinking wheel of his chariot. Śalya became Duryodhana's commander-in-chief on the eighteenth and last day of the battle; but Yudhiṣṭhira killed him at midday. Śakuni was killed by Sahadeva the same day. Having lost all hope, Duryodhana fled to a lake where he was found out by the āṇḍavas and was challenged to a duel by Bhīma. There was a severe club fight between the two, and Bhīma smashed Duryodhana's left thigh even though striking the opponent below the navel was against the rules of club fighting.

Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarma, the only surviving fighters on the Kaurava side, came to the dying Duryodhana, and the latter made Aśvatthāman the Commander of his army which was now really non-existent. Aśvatthāman then resolved to kill the Pāṇḍavas and their artisans while they were asleep in their camps. He succeeded in killing Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the five sons of Draupadī, Śikhaṇḍin and many others. When Dhṛṣṭadyumna's charioteer gave this news to the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīma pursued Aśvatthāman and tried to punish him; but Aśvatthāman could not be killed.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra followed by the Kaurava ladies were proceeding to the battle field when the Pāṇḍavas came and joined this procession of the mourners. Gāndhārī began to lament when she saw the dead bodies of her hundred sons (all of them killed by Bhīma) and other relatives and friends. She rebuked Kṛṣṇa for not preventing the annihilation of the Kauravas and the ruin of the Pāṇḍavas. Yudhiṣṭhira then ordered the performance of the funeral ceremonies for all the deceased persons and became king.

Some additions were made to this main story. Yudhiṣṭhira performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice for which Arjuna had been selected to protect the horse. Old Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who was living at Yudhiṣṭhira court and was held in respect, went to live in the forest with Gāndhārī, Kuntī and Vidura and all of them died there in a forest fire. The Yādavas fought among themselves and were destroyed. Kṛṣṇa was killed through mistake by a hunter when the former was in meditation. Yudhiṣṭhira then anointed Parīkṣit, son of Abhimanyu and Uttara and repaired to the Himalayan forests with his brothers and Draupadī. There Yudhiṣṭhira's followers died one by one, and he himself had peculiar experiences.

C

Scholars have noticed that the Kurus were 'by far the most important people in the Brāhmaṇa literature' and that 'it was in the country of the Kurus, or the allied Kuru-Pañcālas, that the great Brāhmaṇas were composed'.⁵ The name of the Kuru people is usually mentioned not alone but as coupled with that of the Pañcālas with whom they must have been very closely connected. Thus the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*,⁷ *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁸ *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*⁹ and *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*¹⁰ mention the Kuru-Pañcālas as a united people. While the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹¹ speaks of the Kuru-Pañcālas, it has been suggested, on the strength of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* passage cited above, that sometimes 'the Kuru-Pañcālas had actually one king'. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'speech' had its particular home in the Kuru-Pañcāla country¹³ while the mode of sacrifice there was the best.¹⁴ Kings of the Kuru-Pañcāla people used to perform the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, according to the same work,¹⁵ and their princes often raided the neighbouring regions in the dewy season and returned in summer according to the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*.¹⁶ Likewise, the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*,¹⁷ *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*¹⁸ and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* speak of the famous Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañcāla country.

5. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 165.

6. III. 7.6, 8-7; IV. 7.2.

7. IV. 1.

8. I. 2.9.

9. X. 6.

10. Kāṇva Recension, XI. 3.3.

11. III. 2.3.15.

12. VIII. 14.

13. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 166.

14. I. 7.2.8.

15. V. 5.2.3.5.

16. I. 8.4.1.2.

17. II. 78.

18. III. 30.6; IV. 6.2.

19. III. 1.1. 9.20.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions a *purohita* named Devabhāga Śrautarṣa in the service of both the Kurus and the Śrñjayas²⁰ who were probably a branch of the Pāñcāla people.²¹

In connection with the locality called Kurukṣetra, i.e., 'the land of the Kurus' which they occupied, the Kuru people are, however, mentioned chiefly alone.²²

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* speaks of the Kurus as saved by an *āsvā* or mare²³ and of some disaster that they suffered owing to a severe hailstorm.²⁴ The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, which mentions a *Vājapeya* ceremony celebrated by the Kurus,²⁵ refers to a curse on the Kurus, which led to the people being driven out of Kurukṣetra²⁶. In any case, it is a significant fact that in the numerous references to the Kurus and to Kurukṣetra cited above from later Vedic texts, any allusion to the Kurukṣetra War, so famous in the story of the *Mahābhārata* and so popular among Indians and peoples influenced by Indianism in other parts of Asia, is conspicuous by its absence. It is not improbable that a single great calamity that befell the Kurus has been alluded to in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*; but it cannot be associated in any way with the great Bhārata War. Thus reference to the Kuru War is untraceable in the Vedic literature, i.e. in the earliest works of Indian literature, even though the Kurus and Kurukṣetra are both so often mentioned therein. The importance of this evidence is not generally realised by the students of the subject. It has, however, been rightly suggested that the Vedic reference to the calamity befalling the Kuru people 'possibly adumbrates the misfortunes of the Kauravas in the epic tradition'.²⁷

Another equally important evidence is the fact that, even in ancient India, people were not sure as to when exactly the legendary Kurukṣetra War might have occurred if it was at all a historical event.

20. II. 4.4.5.

21. For the intimate association of the Śrñjayas with the Pāñcālas, see Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.; H.C. Raychandhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1972, p. 66. The *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 11.31 and 75.9) represents Uttamaujas as both a Pāñcālya and a Śrñjaya.

22. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 166.

23. IV. 17.9.

24. I. 10. 1.

25. XV. 3.15.

26. XV. 16. 11.

27. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 167.

The *Mahābhārata*²⁸ regards Kurukṣetra, 'the land or field of the Kurus', as good as the heaven on earth; but the *Manusmṛiti*²⁹ calls the same land Brahmāvarta created by the gods, and good customs prevalent therein being the ideal for all people elsewhere, while Kurukṣetra, i.e. outskirts of Brahmāvarta and the neighbouring region including the Kuru country, together with the Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena countries formed Brahmārṣi-deśa which was next to Brahmāvarta in sanctity. The late *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*³⁰ gives the boundaries of Kurukṣetra as Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrgṇa on the north, and the Parīṇaḥ on the west, and is supposed to indicate modern Sirhind in the Eastern Punjab and Haryana. In the same context, the *maru* (desert) in the plural is mentioned as the *ukara* of Kurukṣetra, the word *ukara* meaning 'the mound of earth thrown up' from the excavation of an altar. This has been taken to mean that the deserts were so called because, with reference to Kurukṣetra, they stood in the same relation as the waste earth of the *ukara* to the sacrificial altar.

D

It seems that, when the popularity of the story of the Mahābhārata War developed considerably, an eagerness was exhibited by some people to assign a date to this so-called great event, and this led to the growth of a diversity of traditions which may be enumerated as follows.

28. III. 83.204-05 —

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या उत्तरेण हृषद्वतीम् ।
ये वसन्ति कुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

29. II. 17-20 —

सरस्वतीहृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्दन्तरम् ।
तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मवर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥
तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागतः ।
वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥
कुक्षेत्रञ्च मत्स्याञ्च पञ्चालाः शूरसेनकाः ।
एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मवर्तदिनन्तरः ॥
एतद्देशप्रवृत्तस्य सकाशादप्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्वं शिक्षेरन्त्युषिष्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥

The Kurus had their capitals at Indraprastha (Delhi) and Hastināpura (Meerut district), the Matsyas at Virātanagara (Jaipur district), the Pañcālas at Ahicchatra (Bareilly district) and Kāmpilya (Farrukhabad district) and Śūrasenas at Mathura.

30. V. 1.1.

1. According to Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura (Pāṭalīputra), who was born in A.D. 476 and composed his celebrated astronomical treatise in A.D. 499, the Kaliyuga started in 3102 B.C.³¹ The same view was supported by the author of the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634-35), who states that 3735 years elapsed since the Mahābhārata War in the expired Śaka year 556.³² Numerous later writers have followed this tradition, so that the beginning of the Kaliyuga era in 3102 B.C. came to be more or less generally accepted ultimately. But the division of time into four *yugas* (viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali) is not met with in very early Indian literature, and J.F. Fleet adduced reasons to believe that the reckoning was unknown in Vedic times and that it was invented by the astronomers and chronologists 3500 years after the initial point assigned to it, i.e. about the commencement of the fifth century A.D.³³ In addition to Fleet's suggestion, which has been accepted by most writers on early Indian history and chronology, we have tried to prove that the use of an era in the dating of records was introduced and popularised in India by the foreign rulers not very much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.³⁴ We have shown that all the early documents of Indian rulers, who flourished before the advent of the Scythians in the first century B.C. as well as of many later rulers of indigenous origin are dated in the regnal reckoning of the reigning monarchs and not in any era.

2. A second school of astronomers and chronologists, represented by Vṛddha Garga, Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.) and Kalhaṇa (twelfth century A.D.) placed the Kuru and Pāṇḍava heroes of the Bhārata War 653 years after the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. and 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era in A.D. 78, i.e., in 2449 B.C.³⁵ It is of course impossible to reconcile this tradition with the one discussed above. But it is based on the Purāṇic belief, to be mentioned below, that the Great Bear was in the Maghā constellation when Parikṣit was ruling and that it crosses the 27 *nakṣatras* in 27 centuries.

3. There are two Purāṇic traditions bearing on the problem under study, the first of them found in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* quoting the length of the intervening period from the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda.³⁶ Since Parikṣit was born, according to the *Mahābhārata*, shortly after the

31. *Sans. Lit.*, p. 521.

32. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1ff.

33. *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 479ff., 675ff.; cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 4.

34. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 235ff.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-19.

36. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58.

Bhārata War, and the Nanda dynasty founded by Mahāpadma ruled for a century, according to the *Purāṇas*, before it was extirpated by Candragupta Maurya shortly after Alexander's departure from India in 324 B.C., it is as good as the two traditions discussed above. Unfortunately, the passage giving the duration of the period is often variously read in the different *Purāṇas* and in the different manuscripts of the same *Purāṇa* as 1015, 1050 and 1500 years.³⁷ This divergence may have been due to the fact that the lengths of the reign periods of individual rulers flourishing between Parikṣit and Mahāpadma were calculated or read in their sources differently by the Purāṇic chroniclers; but that the copyists sometimes added the different reign periods in the dynastic lists and corrected the totals seems to be clear from the similar case of the duration of Andhra (Śātavāhana) rule variously given often in the different *Purāṇas* and different manuscripts of the same *Purāṇas*. It is well known that this period is quoted as 300, 411, 412, 418, 456 and 460 years,³⁸ exactly as in the other case. The value that can be attached to such divergent traditions is not as to which of the different readings is correct, because it is apparently impossible to settle that question with the material at our disposal. The only point is that the Purāṇic chroniclers and copyists regarded the duration of the period intervening between Parikṣit's birth and Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation to have been something between 1015 and 1500 years so that this tradition would assign the Mahābhārata War, immediately preceding the birth of Parikṣit, to a date roughly between 1400 and 1950 B.C. Needless to say that this cannot be reconciled with the other traditions ascribing the Bhārata War to 3102 or 2449 B.C. The value of this tradition depends on the importance we attach to the Purāṇic genealogies which are, by their very nature, certainly of little help in determining the exact date of any event of the past, although they appear to place Parikṣit centuries later than 3102 and 2449 B.C.

The *Purāṇas* also quote variously the duration of the reigns of the 22 Bārhadhrathas, 5 Pradyotas and 10 Śaisunāgas flourishing in Magadha, according to them, between the Bhārata War and the rise of the Nandas as follows :—

37. Cf. *evam varṣa-sahasraṃ tu jñeyam pañcāśad-uttaram*. The word *jñeyam* is read in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as *śatam* (with *pañcadaś-ottaram*), and *pañcāśad-uttaram* is sometimes read as *pañca-śat-ottaram* and *pañcadaś-ottaram*.

38. The *Purāṇa Text*, etc., pp. 43, 46. Cf. —

वर्षशतानि स्युञ्जत्वारि षष्टिरेव, शतानि चत्वारि पञ्च षट् वै, द्वादशाधिकम्.... शतचतुष्टयं, शतानि चत्वारि पञ्चाशत् षट्, शतानि चत्वारि पञ्च षट् सप्त, चत्वार्यब्दशतानि षट्पञ्चाशदधिकानि, शते द्वे च शतं च, etc.

I	(a)	Bārhadrathas	940 years
	(b)	Pradyotas	138 years
	(c)	Śaiśunāgas	330 years
			1408 years
II	(a)	Bārhadrathas	1000 years
	(b)	Pradyotas	138 years
	(c)	Śaiśunāgas	360 years
			1498 years
III	(a)	Bārhadrathas	723 years
	(b)	Pradyotas	52 years
	(c)	Śaiśunāgas	163 years
			938 years ³⁹

Thus the total reign period of the three dynasties would fall between 938 and 1498 years, i.e., roughly between 900 and 1500 years. This is similar to the period between the birth of Parikṣit and the rise of Mahāpadma given as falling between 1015 and 1500 years since the basis of both is the same.

The unreliability of such Purāṇic statements, which should better not be regarded as traditions, is illustrated by another statement found in the same context, according to which the intervening period between Mahāpadma Nanda and Puloman, who was the last of the Andhra (Śātavāhana) kings according to the *Purāṇas*, was 836 years (826 years according to a few manuscripts).⁴⁰ We know, however, that Mahāpadma ascended the throne roughly about 400 B.C. and the last king of the Śātavāhana dynasty ruled in the first half of the third century A.D., so that the interval between the two must have been less than 650 years.

4. Another Purāṇic tradition states that the Great Bear was in the Puṣya constellation when Pratīpa (father of Śantanu and great-grandfather of Parikṣit's great-grandfather) was ruling, that it took a century in crossing one *nakṣatra* and that it was in the Maghā when Parikṣit was on the throne; it is further said, in the same context, that, after the end of the Andhra (Śātavāhana) rule, the Great Bear began its cycle again after the period of 2700 years (i.e. was in the Puṣya) and also that it was in the 24th constellation from Maghā after the end of the Andhras (Śātavāhanas).⁴¹ If Pratīpa flourished in the first (Puṣya) of the 27 centuries and Parikṣit in the third (Maghā) and if the downfall of the

39. See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 197.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Andhras (Śātavāhanas) fell in or shortly before the 25th or 24th century after Parikṣit, the interval between Parikṣit and Puloman would be about 23 or 22 centuries. Since Puloman flourished in the first half of the third century A.D. Parikṣit and the Bhārata War appear to be referred here to about the 20th or 19th century B.C., even though the intention was probably to assign Parikṣit to about 2449 B.C., i.e., in the 25th-24th century B.C., when the Great Bear was staying in the Maghā according to Varāhamihira and others. If Parikṣit is said to have flourished about 2449 B.C., and the fall of the Andhras is placed before the 25th century thereafter, i.e., before c. A.D. 51, this tradition also goes against the known facts of history.⁴²

5. There are certain palpably absurd traditions like those in the *Kathāsarisāgara* (11th century A.D.) and the Eastern Cālukya inscriptions, according to which Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī and a contemporary of the Buddha who died about 486 B.C., was the fifth or sixth in the lineal succession from Parikṣit, so that the latter could not have flourished much earlier than 700 B.C.⁴³

6. The Jain tradition makes the heroes of the Bhārata War contemporaries of the Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi who, however, belongs to the domain of mythology. The chronological traditions of the Jains, which are late, conflicting and worthless for historical purposes in many cases for the early period, scarcely help us in determining the date of the Bhārata War. All that can be said on this basis is that the War may have been fought sometime before the days of Mahāvīra, i.e., about the beginning of the 6th century B.C. or earlier.

The divergent traditions, discussed above, would show that the people had originally little knowledge about the Bhārata War, but that they entertained various ideas about its date only after its story had attained considerable popularity with the evolution of the *Mahābhārata* as an epic. If, therefore, the story developed on the basis of a genuine historical event, the latter must have been originally a petty family or tribal feud which formed the theme of a battle-song that was gradually

42. The recently published Hisse-Borala inscription (*EI*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 6) gives the date Śaka 380 (A.D. 458) as when the Great Bear was in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakṣatra* and 3020 years of the Saptarṣi cycle elapsed, in the style of Varāhamihira and others, who speak of the Great Bear staying in Maghā 2526 years before the beginning of the Śaka era, i.e., in 2449 B.C. If the Great Bear had been in Maghā in 2449 B.C. it was in Uttara-Phalgunī in A.D. 458; but the Hisse-Borala tradition puts the commencement of the cycle at 2562 B.C. This has been misunderstood by some scholars who have written on the Hisse-Borala inscription. See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, 1867-68, pp. 94ff.

43. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1950, p. 32; Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 13.

embellished and magnified throughout the centuries by different poets and minstrels, ultimately developing into the great war-poem of the *Mahābhārata*, supposed to have been completed during the long period between the 4th century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.

E

Another question requiring an answer is whether the occurrence of the Bhārata War in the 4th, 3rd or 2nd millennium B.C. is reconcilable with the usually accepted views regarding the proto-historic Harappa or Indus Valley civilization and the advent of the Aryans in India about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. We have probably to answer the question in the negative.

A.B. Keith rightly wonders at the naive credulity of those who believe in the historicity of the Bhārata War in spite of the absence of any mention of it in the Vedic literature, although H.C. Raychaudhuri did not share his opinion.⁴⁴ It appears to us, however, that there must have been reference to the Bhārata War in Indian literary works much earlier than the fourth century B.C., if it was really a remarkable historical event of the hoary past.

Raychaudhuri draws our attention to the mention, in the later Vedic literature, of such figures associated with the Bhārata War story as Pratīpa's son Bāhlika, Vicitravīrya's son Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Devakī's son Arjuna and Yajñasena's son Śikhaṇḍin as well as to the allusion to the unfriendly feelings between the Kuru prince Bāhlika and the Śr̥ṅjayas and to the Kurus reproaching the Dālbyhas associated with the Pañcālas. The Bhārata War being sometimes represented in the Great Epic, it is said, as a trial of strength between the Kurus and the Śr̥ṅjayas or Pañcālas. He further suggests that the battle-songs describing the struggle of the Kurus and the Śr̥ṅjayas and their associates must have been current in the fifth century B.C., because a Vaiśampāyana was known to Pāṇini while the *Mahābhārat-ācārya* Vaiśampāyana is mentioned in Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhyasūtra*. Unfortunately, these arguments are palpably too inadequate to prove that the Bhārata War was regarded by the people as an event of great magnitude much earlier than fourth century B.C. It is not possible to determine whether the original battle-song, which was the nucleus on which the story of the Mahābhārata War finally developed, was one of the *itihāsas* (legends) included to in the Vedic literature.

44. Op. cit., p.6. It is a significant fact, as we have already hinted at, that Kurukṣetra and the Kurus are very often mentioned in the later Vedic literature which is, however, totally silent about the Pāṇḍavas and the battle of Kurukṣetra.

If the so-called Mahābhārata War was originally a small family feud or tribal struggle gradually magnified by poets and minstrels over the centuries, it is obviously not possible to determine its date. The attempts of Pargiter who assigns the event to c. 950 B.C., of Raychaudhuri ascribing it to the ninth century B.C., and of various other writers who have suggested this or that date appear to be all unconvincing.

It is often believed that Pargiter's theory is based on Purāṇic evidence. Actually, however, he not only rejects such Purāṇic statements as the one regarding the period intervening between Parikṣit's birth and Mahāpadma's accession, but even the conflicting statements regarding the length of individual reigns as given in the *Purāṇas* and suggests an arbitrary period covering the reigns on the basis of an imaginary average of 18 years per reign.⁴⁵ We do not understand how only a part of the Purāṇic evidence can be accepted when it militates against specific statements in the *Purāṇas* themselves.

We cannot also overlook the shaky nature of the evidence of averages as is very clearly demonstrated by A.S. Altekar's attempt to prove in 1939 that the Bhārata War occurred in 1400 B.C., but in 1959 that the event took place in 950 B.C., as suggested by Pargiter. In both the cases, he depends on the genealogy of the Eastern Cālukyās of Veṅgī, though in 1939 he spoke of 40 kings ruling for 656 years (16½ years in average), but twenty years later, only of 32 kings reigning for 461 years (14½ years per ruler).⁴⁶

Raychaudhuri depends on the list of Brāhmanical teachers as found in the Vedic literature and rejects a number of Purāṇic statements which are opposed to the Vedic evidence. He says that Kavaṣa's son Tura, who was a priest of Parikṣit's son Janamejaya, was separated by 5 or 6 generations of teachers from Aruṇa's son Uddālaka whose disciple was Kuṣītaka's son Kahola (Kahoda). It is further pointed out that Āśvalāyana, author of the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*, or his pupil, honours a Kahola and that this Āśvalāyana may be identified with Assalāyana of the *Majjhimanikāya*, who was a contemporary of the Buddha whose death occurred in 486 B.C., as we know. Thus it is found that Janamejaya's contemporary Tura was 8 or 9 priestly generations above a contemporary of the Buddha, and, taking the duration of a priestly generation to cover about 30 years as suggested by Jacobi and Rhys Davids, Raychaudhuri assigns Parikṣit to a date more than 240 or 270 years earlier, i.e. in the ninth century B.C.⁴⁷ It seems that he could have better said eighth century B.C.

45. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 181ff.

46. *Proc. IHC*, 1939, p.54; 1959, p.26.

47. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33ff., 50ff.

Unfortunately, Raychaudhuri's theory involves a number of identifications such as that of Kuṣitaka's son Kahola (Kahoḍa) with Kahola of the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* and of Āśvalāyana, author of the *Grhyasūtra*, with Assalāyana, contemporary of the Buddha, and these may not be regarded as satisfactory by all investigators, especially because his chronology is opposed to certain specific statements of the *Purānas*. According to the Purānic lists, Udayana, a contemporary of the Buddha, was the twentyfifth in descent from Parikṣit.⁴⁸ If we do not totally discard this list, we have to face the unconvincing position that 10 generations of priests covered the same period as 25 generations of kings. Again, if the great Mahābhārata War was fought in the ninth or tenth century B.C., it is not only impossible to explain the absence of any reference to it in the Vedic literature, but also to understand why the writers of the Gupta age (viz., Āryabhaṭa, Varāhmihira and the compilers of the historical sections of the *Purānas*) assigned to it such remote dates as falling in the fourth, third and second millennia B.C. Further, even if Parikṣit is believed to have flourished in the ninth century B.C., it hardly proves, it seems to us, anything definite about the date, nature and magnitude of the so-called Mahābhārata War which, in its present form, is no better than a myth without any historical value at all. The usual form of the story represents the War as fought primarily between the Kurus or Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas though it is often supposed that it was really a struggle between the Kurus and the Śrījayas or āncālas. If the latter was the case, then no reliance can apparently be placed on the tradition associating the War with the birth of Parikṣit, which would appear to have been introduced into the story long after the event.

F

Again, in connection with the magnitude of the War as described in the *Mahābhārata*, we have to consider whether the connection of the rulers of the eastern and southern borders of India as active participants in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava War fought in the Eastern Punjab can be much earlier than the fourth century B.C. As for instance, in the last Chapter of the first Section of the Udyoga-parvan and elsewhere, king Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam is mentioned as an ally of Duryodhana, and he is an important figure in the story of the War, although this kingdom and its rulers are conspicuous by their absence in the Vedic literature. With Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* exhibiting no knowledge of the people of the east and south in the 5th century B.C., it is impossible to believe that the name of the king of Assam being a friend of the Kuru king and fighting in the War on the latter's side was conceived earlier than the rise of the

Pargiter, *The Purāna Text*, etc., pp. 65-66.

first historical empire of India, namely that of the Nandas, in the fourth century B.C. Indeed, all stories of earlier *dig-vijaya* and empire-building described in the epics and the *Purānas* have to be regarded as belonging to the domain of mythology and folklore and not of history.⁴⁹

Like Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, another ally of Duryodhana, who fought on the Kaurava side was the Kamboja king Sudakṣiṇa whose army is stated to have contained some Yavana (Greek) and Śāka (Scythian) contingents. This obviously refers to an age when not only the Greeks but even the Scythians were well known in India. This age does not appear to be much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

An important ally of Yudhiṣṭhira fighting on the side of the Pāṇḍavas was the Pāṇḍya king whose army consisted of the people of the sea shore, i.e., the shore of the Indian Ocean. It is well-known that the kingdoms of the Far South of India were practically unknown to North Indians at the time of Pāṇini, but became fairly known in the north by time the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana were written in the fourth century B.C. The extension in the North Indians' knowledge in South Indian topography was due apparently to the expansion of the Magadha empire under the Nandas and Mauryas in the fourth century B.C., as we have suggested.

Then again, a close fight on a single battle-field between 7 and 11 *akṣauhīnis* of soldiers was an impossibility not only in the ancient world, but even today, an *akṣauhīni* being composed of 21, 870 chariots, as many elephants, 65, 610 horse-men and 109, 305 foot-soldiers, and involving about 40 lakhs of men. It must be regarded as a flight of fancy. Moreover, the description of the War shows that it was in all cases more or less a fight between individuals so that there was no necessity of gathering a huge mass of men. Thus the exceedingly large number of fighters should have to be regarded as a later fabrication to impart an exaggerated importance to it.

Lastly, we may refer to the argument that the Mahābhārata War should be regarded as a historical event because the Indians generally accept it as such. It is, however, no argument at all. A few centuries ago, as we have seen already, the whole world believed that the sun moves around the earth; but this has been proved to be a wrong belief. Likewise, the Jain and Buddhist belief in the historical existence of the earlier Jinas and Buddhas has been regarded as an absurdity. As for

49. The idea of the empire of king Jarāsandha of Magadha looks like an echo of the Magadha empire which reached its zenith in the days of the Nandas and Mauryas. Cf. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, pp. 19-20, notes 71 and 79.

instance, the first Jain Tīrthāṅkara Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha is widely venerated by the Jains, and we have works on his life and career; but he has been regarded as no more a historical personage than Indra or Śiva.⁵⁰

G

We have referred above to the contribution made by H.D. Sankalia,⁵¹ the well-known Indian archaeologist, to the controversy on the historical value of the *Mahābhārata* tradition. In the present section we are inclined to quote his views which are as follows.

“Though the interest in history among the present generation of students seems to be flagging, still it appears that the press and people at large are deeply interested in knowing whether the *Mahābhārata* is a myth or a reality. This is an age old problem; but the present controversy was touched off when D.C. Sircar of Calcutta said in an interview at the Mahābhārata War, as described in the epic, was a myth and at its real date was unknown, so that later writers assigned various dates to the event, and large armies could never have taken part in it.

“Such unpalatable views about an event which every Indian, ignorant or educated, is inclined to regard as a fact, were soon challenged by V.N. Datta and M.A. Phadke of the Kurukṣetra University. I too had expressed my views in an article, extracts from which were circulated by the UNI. These as well as the earlier statements of D.C. Sircar were questioned by V.V. Mirashi of Nagpur. The present article examines all the views, elucidating my own and selecting a small section of the *Mahābhārata* for a critical appraisal.

“Mirashi’s views on all these questions are full of contradictions. He admits that the *Mahābhārata* has undergone several inflations. The questions then are: how and when? As pointed out here and in my book *The Rāmāyaṇa*, archaeology provides the conclusive evidence. Thus, the Sabhā-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, among the peoples and counsels from whom the Pāṇḍavas exacted tribute in the course of their *digvijaya* (world-conquest), Rome is mentioned as Romā, along with Tiochus of Syria (Antakhi) and the Greeks (Yavanas). Now, this

⁵⁰ The said Tīrthāṅkara is said to have been 500 bowshots in stature and to have lived for many hundreds of thousands of years. Cf. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 51.

⁵¹ Adapted here from his note entitled *The Mahābhārata: A Myth?* which appeared in *The Times of India*, Bombay, October 19, 1975. This is expected to give an idea about the controversy in the newspapers and refers not only to many of the participants, but also sometimes to their views as well as Sankalia’s evaluation of the latter particularly from the archaeological point of view.

reference cannot be to pre-Imperial Rome, but must be to the Rome of the emperors, particularly after Augustus (A.D. 14) as now proved by archaeology. Again, this Parvan depicts the political geography of India, as known in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. If so, would it be wrong to say that even the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is of the 4th century A.D.?

“Regarding the *Ṛgveda*, there is no unanimity about its date. It is variously dated between 2500 B.C. and 1000 B.C. (B.K. Ghosh in *The Vedic Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 229). If it really mentions iron (*kr̥ṣṇ-āyas*), then it, or the section which mentions it, could be really as late as 900 B.C. The pity is that Mirashi, though he is one of our greatest epigraphists, is not at all conversant with Indian and West Asiatic pre-historic archaeology. So he loves to stick to his 50-year old views. There is nothing strange in this. This has happened before, when well-known scholars and even the geologists of the 19th century refused to regard the world as older than 5,000 years. Mirashi is therefore unable to appreciate what the implications of the discoveries made in India during the last 25 years are. He therefore harps on the genuineness and great antiquity of the Bhārata War. The very source - early Vedic literature - on which he relies is not so old. This literature nowhere refers to the War, as claimed by him. So, instead of challenging our views, he should produce incontrovertible evidence.

“V.N. Datta and H.A. Phadke assert that the tradition is authentic and the great battle took place after the composition of the *Ṛgveda*, but before the composition of the *Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (c. 600 B.C.). It is because of this long, deep-rooted and persistent tradition that the whole land of Haryana still echoes to the din and fury of the battle. They (as well as Mirashi) seem now to agree with D.C. Sircar in disregarding the oft-repeated astronomical evidence. I have also pointed out in detail, in the earlier article, how unreliable this evidence is. The other two points which these scholars stress can be easily accounted for. The *Ṛgveda* was not composed earlier than 1000 B.C. and the War could have been fought between this date and 600 B.C. In fact, this is our view as well, which is further elucidated by a critical study of the *Mahābhārata*, and a fuller appreciation of the recent archaeological evidence. Thus we are able to project a fairly accurate picture of the *Mahābhārata* era, the nature of the battle and its probable date.

“Archaeological discoveries in India since 1947 have clearly and indubitably proved that the whole country was in a chalcolithic stage of civilization from c. 3000 B.C. until 1000 B.C. This last date might have to be lowered if we accept the consensus of the C-14 dates, which fall between 800 and 400 B.C. Actually, the knowledge and regular use of iron were unknown before this period. Further, there were small,

regional and sub-regional cultures outside the large area of the Indus Civilisation, each having a distinctive pottery, but dependent on agriculture, stock-breeding and hunting. All over India beef, mutton and venison, besides grains such as wheat, barley, and rice formed the staple food of the inhabitants. The ox-drawn cart, with a solid wheel, was the main vehicle of transport. The use of the horse was not yet common or widely documented. Probably it was yoked to chariots, but not ridden.

“The picture changes in about 1000 B.C. or slightly later, when all over Northern India, from Peshawar to Ujjain, and from Jodhpur to Janakpur on the Nepal-Bihar border, we find a distinctive pottery, known as the Painted Grey Ware (besides a Black-and-Red-Ware). This is invariably associated with iron, and G.G. Majumdar’s study at the Deccan College has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that it could not have been produced without iron technology. We might also conjecture that such a revolutionary change—from copper/bronze to iron—could have been regarded then or soon after as the end of the Dvāpara-yuga and the onset of the Kali-yuga.

“This more or less uniform material culture in Northern India was mainly dependent on agriculture and stock-breeding, so much so that the cow had become a unit of exchange and wealth, and a ruler’s wealth was calculated on the basis of the number of cows he possessed. Naturally, wars were often waged for large herds, as for instance between king Virāṭa of Virāṭapura (Bairat) ruling the Matsya country (comprising parts of Jaipur district in Rajasthan) and the Kauravas, when the Pāṇḍavas were in exile. Evidence from the Hastināpur excavation shows that the horse was now known and even used as food. It was probably regularly yoked to chariots. However, we badly need this evidence from other Painted-Grey-Ware sites.

“It is this cultural unity that is probably reflected in the alliances we find so often mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, between distant Gandhāra (NWFP), Śibi, Sindhu-Sauvira (Sindh), Magadha (Bihar) and Vidarbha (Berar) with the rulers of Kuru-Pāṇḍāla (in the land including the present district of Delhi) So, when a family feud broke out between the members of the Kuru family, other rulers were naturally drawn in. Still we must not forget the true character of the battle of Kurukṣetra. Right from the beginning, i.e. the blowing of conch-shells as trumpets, to the very end, i.e., the killing of Duryodhana by Bhīma and the battle of Brahmāstras between Arjuna and Aśvatthāman, it was a contest between two individuals whose personal bravery and skill in handling a mace, or discharging arrows, or even managing a chariot, was everything. This was truly a heroic age, like the one described by Homer in Greece. Large armies, called *Akṣauhīnis*, consisting of

infantry, cavalry and elephants had no place in these conflicts. Not a single instance of a cavalry charge or a pitched infantry battle is known or described. As pointed out by me elsewhere, it was Alexander who showed the Indians how efficient cavalry was against slow-moving elephants.

"However, such a realistic picture becomes confusing when the commentators of the *Mahābhārata* describe the effects of the various *astras* - missiles discharged with the help of *mantras* - or when in the *Sabhā-parvan*, the four Pāṇḍava brothers - Arjuna, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva - start on a world-conquest (*dig-vijaya*) with large armies in four different directions, but defeat single-handed and exact tribute from the Syrians, Romans and Greeks, the kings of Karhād, the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraḷas in the south, or the Hūnas and others in the west.

"One may say the same thing about the subsequent rejoinder of Pandey (*Free Press Journal*), where he draws our attention to the lists of *janapadas* mentioned in the *Bhīṣma-parvan* (Chap. 6) of the *Mahābhārata*, and the unreliability of the C-14 dates. If any one cares to examine the lists of rivers, mountains and *janapadas* a little critically, one will have to conclude that these lists must have been added to the *Mahābhārata* and other *Purāṇas*, after the 5th and even the 7th century A.D.

"Among the *janapadas* we find mention of the Pārasikas and Hūnas, besides the Ābhīras, Pahlavas and many others. Now it is well-known that the Hūnas did not enter India before the 5th century A.D. In fact, the very completeness of these lists should make us think about their real age. Frankly, here is an excellent opportunity for our historians to measure the growth in our knowledge of the geography of India from age to age, instead of regarding all this knowledge as belonging to one period. As far as the C-14 dates are concerned, they are quite consistent, and except one date, all the rest - including those from Hastināpur, where the sample was carefully collected for this very purpose of dating accurately the Painted - Grey - Ware deposits - fall between 800 B.C. and 400 B.C.

"When our Sanskritists and historians ask us to swallow a great deal of nonsense and insist on regarding the present *Mahābhārata* as true history, one can only marvel at their lack of a critical faculty. Verily the *Mahābhārata* in its present form - even much of the critical edition - is a myth; it does contain a kernel of truth which archaeology alone can reveal. Hence, the only way to understand this problem is to conduct a large scale excavation at Hastināpur, because so far, all the other sites of the Painted-Grey-Ware have been found to be small and shallow."

H

It will be seen from the above that Sankalia essentially agrees with us in regarding the part played by imagination in the development of the story of the Kurukṣetra War in the *Mahābhārata*. However, there are a few points on which the readers of the writings of both of us may find some cases of difference of opinion. Although a detailed examination of all such cases may be undesirable here, it will be helpful to the readers in avoiding confusion if their attention is drawn at least to a few of them. Thus, at one place, Sankalia seems to agree with those who assign the Kurukṣetra War to a date between 1000 and 600 B.C. He also speaks of the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age about 1000 B.C. or slightly later. What, however, we have said above will show that we do not agree with any such views. The fact is that the said period is the age when the Vedic literature was produced, and the authors of this literature very well knew the Kurukṣetra region where the great battle is stated in the *Mahābhārata* to have been fought. In case a really 'great' battle or war was fought at the place in the period in question, we feel that there must have been at least the slightest echo of it in the literature of the age.

Moreover, the *Yuga* division was fabricated by the astronomers about the age of Imperial Guptas not for explaining any change in our cultural history but for certain astronomical speculations.

Again Sankalia thinks that the lists of *janapadas* and rivers in the Bhīṣma-parvan and the *Purāṇas* were compiled after the 5th or even the 7th century A.D., because the Hūnas are mentioned in them. In our opinion, the lists in the *Mahābhārata* and the earlier *Purāṇas* are not much later than the fourth century A.D. The Hūnas and Pārasikas are mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa who appears to have been a contemporary of Candragupta II (A.D. 376-413) and to have composed his work long before the Hūna invasion of India was repulsed by Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67). It should be noted that India of the authors of the geographical lists in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* included practically the whole of modern Afghanistan in its Udīcya or Uttarāpatha division. Thus the mention of the Hūnas of the Oxus valley in a work of Indian literature does not really prove that it is later than the fifth century A.D.

RĀJAVAMŚA-VARṆANA OF THE PURĀNAS

A

There is a good deal of discrepancy in the Purāṇic accounts of well-known royal families of the historical period. A typical illustration is offered by the Purāṇic genealogy and chronology of the Śātavāhanas,¹ called Andhra in most of the *Purāṇas*, but Andhrabhṛtya (servants of the Andhras) in a few cases.

The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* say that there were 30 Andhra kings, but never quote so many names. The *Vāyu* mentions only 17, 18, 19 or 25 names and the *Viṣṇu* only 22, 23 or 24, while the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* give respectively 17 and 23 names. On the other hand, the *Matsya Purāṇa* says that there were 19 Andhra kings, but quotes the names of 30 rulers.²

There is also discrepancy in the length of the individual reigns quoted in the *Purāṇas*. Taking the longer or longest period wherever there is any difference, we get $471\frac{1}{8}$ years for all the Andhra kings. While the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have two passages, one giving the duration of Andhra rule as 300 years and the other a little above 400 years, one *Matsya* manuscript quotes 412 years, though most manuscripts of this *Purāṇa* quote 460 years as the duration. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* and one manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa* give 456 years instead.³

Again, according to the practically unanimous testimony of the *Purāṇas*, Simuka (whose name is wrongly spelt in all the Purāṇic

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1. *Śātavāhana* and *Śātakarṇi* are also written *Sātavāhana* and *Sātakarṇi*. But the names appear essentially to be patronymics meaning 'the son of *Śātavāhana* (one having hundred vehicles)' and 'the son of *Śātakarṇa* (one having hundred ears, i.e. capable of receiving several reporters at a time)' respectively.
 2. Rapson: *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. lxvi-lxvii; Pargiter: *The Purāṇa Text* etc., pp. 38-43.
 3. Pargiter, op.cit., pp. 43, 46.

manuscripts) established Andhra suzerainty, after having overthrown the last Kāṇva king Suśarman, 294 years (137 years of Maurya rule + 112 years of Śūṅga rule + 45 years of Kāṇva rule) after Candragupta Maurya had extirpated the Nanda dynasty shortly after Alexander's departure from India in 324 B.C. as can be gathered from the writings of early European authors, that is to say, in or shortly after 324-294=30 B.C. Another important fact is that even the earliest Śātavāhana kings, Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi, issued coins bearing their names, a fashion borrowed by the Indian kings from the Indo-Greeks and popular after the Kāṇvas. We also know that the Andhras (Śātavāhanas) could not have ruled as an imperial power after the foundation of the Ikṣvāku and Vākāṭaka kingdoms, respectively in the northern and southern areas of the Śātavāhana empire, in the third century A.D. The length of Andhra rule usually quoted as more than 400 years is thus palpably wrong.

All this discrepancy clearly suggests that the genealogical and chronological traditions of the *Purāṇas* are unreliable. Moreover, numismatic evidence has offered us the names of certain Andhra or Śātavāhana kings (e.g., Kumbha Śātakarṇi, Rudra Śātakarṇi, and Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi)⁴ not known from any of the *Purāṇas*.

Two other unsatisfactory features of the Purāṇic traditions may also be noticed here. In the first place, we may refer to the incredibly long reign period assigned to rulers like Mahāpadma Nanda (88 years) and the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti I (96 years).⁵ It is sometimes suggested, on the basis of the reading *aṣṭāvimśati* (for *aṣṭāśīti*) in some manuscripts only of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, that Mahāpadma ruled for 28 years and that the duration of his life time was 88 years. But this is certainly unwarranted, because another tradition common to the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* states that the nine Nandas ruled for 100 years, i.e., Mahāpadma for 88 years and his 8 sons for 12 years.⁶

Secondly, some of the Purāṇic traditions are clearly anachronical. Thus Bāhu and Sagara, who were distant ancestors of Daśaratha of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā, are stated in a story, found in the *Harivaṃśa* and a large number of the *Purāṇas*, to have fought with the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, etc., who, as we know, came to India more

4. Kumbha's coins have been discovered in the Tarhala hoard (*JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.). Rudra Śātakarṇi and Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi (whose name has been read as *Karna Śātakarṇi* on some Tarhala coins) are known from the coins described in Rapson's *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*.

5. Pargiter: *op.cit.*, p. 25.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

than a millennium after the supposed date of the said monarchs of Indian mythology.⁷

In any case, if the above is the unsatisfactory position in respect of the Andhras (Śātavāhanas) who flourished only a century before the compilation of the historical section of the *Purānas* in the first half of the fourth century A.D., a similar or worse confusion must be expected in the case of the dynasties whose periods are ascribed to the hoariest antiquity.

As regards the solar line of Kosala, the discrepancy between the evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and that of the *Purānas* is well known, and the two cannot be reconciled. Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives only 35 names of Ikṣvāku rulers down to Rāma, whereas the *Purānas* enumerate 63 names for the same period, and, likewise, the former makes Raghu the father of Kalmāṣapāda and places Aja 12 generations below Raghu, although the latter makes Aja the son of Raghu.⁸ It is, therefore, impossible to compile a reliable genealogy of the Ikṣvākus on the basis of such conflicting sources, and it is no wonder that similar discrepancy is noticed in the works of modern writers on the genealogy of the solar line. Thus we find 96 names from Manu to Bṛhadbala in the genealogy quoted by Pargiter,⁹ while V. Pathak quotes only 76 names.¹⁰ After Bṛhadbala, the *Purānas* mention 30 names upto Sumitra so as to make $96 + 30 = 126$ names,¹¹ though in Pathak's list Sumitra's is the 102nd name. Now, in this part of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, the *Purānas* include the following names in succession - Sañjaya, his son Śākya, his successor Śuddhodana, his son Siddhārtha, his son Rāhula, his successor Prasenajit, his successor Kṣudraka, his successor Kulaka, his successor Suratha and his son Sumitra, the last king of Ayodhyā. That the mention of Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha (i.e. Gautama, the Buddha) and Rāhula as kings is due to confusion is clear from Buddhist evidence which makes king Prasenajit of Kosala a contemporary of the Buddha and assigns the latter's *parinirvāṇa* to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.¹² It should also be noted that Buddhist literature mentions Mahākosala and Virūdhava respectively as the father (predecessor) and son (successor) of Prasenajit and that these names are not found in the Purāṇic genealogy.

7. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 4th Series, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962, pp. 49 ff. Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, Chap. III.

8. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 91-92.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 144 ff.

10. *History of Kosala*, pp. 84 ff.

11. Pargiter: *The Purāṇa Text*, etc., pp. 66-67.

12. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, 1950, pp. 102-03, 214.

According to a Purāṇic tradition, the current *manvantara* is that of Vaivasvata Manu, of which the *Kṛta* or *Satya* (1,728,000 years), *Tretā* (1,296,000 years) and *Dvāpara* (846,000 years) *yugas* as well as a portion of the *Kali-yuga* have already elapsed. If, therefore, Vaivasvata Manu flourished 3,888,000 years before the beginning of the Kali age, he cannot possibly be regarded as about one hundred generations in ascent from Prasenajit (c. 500 B.C.). Thus either the chronological or the genealogical tradition has to be regarded as wrong. Since no human civilization had developed anywhere on the earth about a lakh of years ago, the tradition assigning Vaivasvata Manu to the 3,889th millennium B.C. is of course an absurdity.

B

The Purāṇic traditions may be compared with the untrustworthy legends of Greek and Jewish origins, which are regarded as full of 'misinterpretations and mistakes'¹³ as well as with the genealogies found in the earlier books of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in chronicles like the Oriya *Mādalā Pāñji* and the Bengali *Rājamālā*, in the *prasastis* noticed in the early medieval epigraphic records of India, etc., etc.

As regards the first few books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Stein observes, "It seems probable that those portions of Kalhaṇa's chronicle which are most open to critical objection owe their want of historical value largely to the unsatisfactory character of the earlier works. Kalhaṇa's account of the period preceding the sixth century of our era furnishes us on the whole only with bare dynastic lists and with traditions often of a very legendary nature concerning certain individual kings. But.....these scanty records of doubtful value were all that he found in his sources..... It is only too evident that each narrator omitted more and more of authentic but to him uninteresting data, while legendary incidents and popular anecdotes on the other hand received an increasingly large share of attention."¹⁴ But the evidence of the temple chronicles shows that the earliest section of the accounts was based on imagination influencing oral tradition of no value at all. Indeed, it requires greater credulity than those, who are inclined to distinguish legend and mythology from history, possess to accept as historical what the *Purāṇas* say about Manu (the founder of the Ikṣvāku and other houses) and his successors or what the Kashmir chronicle narrates about the earlier rulers of the land, one of whom is represented as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍava king Yudhiṣṭhira (assigned to 2449 B.C.) and another credited with an absurd reign period of

13. Hall: *Anc. Hist. N. East*, 7th ed., pp. 2-3. For the close resemblance of Purāṇic genealogies with Irish annals, cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, p. 361; see *Studia Hibernica*, Vol. III (1963), pp. 113-27. See also below.

14. *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

300 years.¹⁵ The Oriya *Mādalā Pāñji*, which is of the nature of the temple chronicles of South India,¹⁶ must have depended on legends current about the sixteenth century A.D. among the priests of the Jagannātha temple at Pūrī, supplemented largely by their own imagination, regarding three royal families that ruled over the Pūrī region in the near, distant and remote past, namely. (1) the Sūryavaṃśī Gajapatis (circa A.D. 1435-1541), (2) the Gaṅgas (i.e. the later Eastern Gaṅgas, circa A.D. 1110-1435), and (3) the Kesarins (i.e. the later Somavaṃśīs, circa A.D. 1025-1110). Consequently, the tradition about these three dynasties is partially reliable in the first case, mostly unreliable in the second and absolutely worthless in the third.¹⁷ Of the 46 rulers of the Kesarin dynasty assigned to the period between the sixth and the twelfth century A.D., the name of the dynasty and the duration of its rule being both totally wrong, the names of only three may be somehow traced in the Later Somavaṃśī genealogy. The absence of any reference to the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara and other early dynasties (e.g., Gupta, Vighraha, Māna, Gauḍa and Śailodbhava) shows that the compilers of the *Mādalā Pāñji* were absolutely ignorant about the genuine events of the history of Orissa before the tenth century A.D. Faced with these circumstances, who can say that the case of the earlier names in the Purānic genealogies is not like that of the imaginary Kesarin kings of the *Mādalā Pāñji*? It may also be noticed that the earliest and most dubious names in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (i.e. Gonanda I and his successors) were accepted by Kalhaṇa on the authority of a *Purāṇa* called *Nilamata*. Who can be sure that our *Purāṇas* are better in respect of the earliest names in the genealogies than the *Nilamata Purāṇa* ascribed to a sage named Nilamuni?

We have a similar list of the aboriginal Tripura kings in their chronicles fabricated in the eighteenth century.¹⁸ The kings are represented as the descendants of Druhyu, son of Yayāti (a distant ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas) and sixth in descent from the Moon-god. Viravikramakīśoramāṇikya (1723-47) being represented as the 184th descendant of the said god, there are 178 names from Druhyu to Viravikrama, of

15. *Ibid.*, I.56ff., III. 470. As we have seen, Kalhaṇa's attitude to such absurdities is clear from III. 94-95, said in support of his description of the miraculous activities of king Meghavāhana. Indeed, he was embarrassed in recording strange acts of the king of the historical period which could not be believed by the common people. However, Kalhaṇa consoled himself by the thought that he was following the path of the ancient sages, and could therefore ignore the readers' reactions to his description.

16. Cf. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *A History of South India*, 1966, p. 21.

17. See below; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XXXI, 1953, pp. 233 ff., *Journ. As. Soc.*, op.cit., No. 1, p. 9.

18. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, pp. 30 ff.

whom nearly 150 are imaginary.¹⁹ The rulers of Manipur likewise claimed descent from Arjuna's son Babhruvāhana,²⁰ king of Manipur which was, however, near Kalinga on the Orissa-Andhra Pradesh coast according to the *Mahābhārata*. Among their chronicles, the most important is the *Caitihārol Kumbābā*²¹ which does not give any list of the descendants of Babhruvāhana till the beginning of Pākhangbā's rule in the Kali year 3135 or A.D. 33. There are 72 names beginning with the said ruler and ending with Kulacandra (A.D. 1890-91).²² This list reminds us of the Oriya *Mādala Pāñjī* discussed above. It offers us the names often with their dates in Śaka era even though the use of the said era became popular in the Bengal - Assam region of Eastern India not much earlier than the twelfth-thirteenth century. Among the first fifteen rulers, six are allotted abnormally high reign periods, e.g., No. Pākhangbā - 120 years, No. 2 Tompok - 110 years, No. 3. Tāuthingbā - 100 years, No. 8. Nāophangbā - 90 years, No. 10. Urākonthangbā - 90 years, No. 11. Nāuthingbhong - 100 years, and No 15. Ayāngbā - 89 years.

Emulating the Manipur kings, the aboriginal rulers of Cachar claimed to have been the descendants of Bhīma's son Ghaṭotkaca, born of the Rākṣasī Hidimbā, even though the *Mahābhārata* places Hidimbā's land in the neighbourhood of the Delhi region. We are supplied with a list of 103 names beginning with Ghaṭotkaca and ending with Govindacandra who ascended the throne in A.D. 1813. Only the last eight of the names are historical.²³

A Tantric Sanskrit work entitled *Haragaurisamvāda*²⁴ was composed after Śaka 1734 (A.D. 1812); but its ambition is to give an account of Indian history from the days of Yudhiṣṭhira, as well as of the early history of a few other places including Assam not excluding the rulers of the Indra-vaṃśa (i.e. the Ahom kings). It offers another instance of how genealogies, chronologies and accounts can be entirely fabricated. As regards the history of India, we are told that Yudhiṣṭhira, the first

19. K.P. Sen: *Śrī-Rājamālā*, Vol. I, pp. lxi-lxvii; cf. Vol. II, pp. xxiii ff., Vol. III, pp. iii ff. Another work of the same type is Mrtyuñjaya Vidyālañkāra's *Rājāvalī* published in 1808. See an analysis of its pseudo-historical tradition in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1939, pp. 59 ff.

20. R. K. Jhalajit Singh, *A Short History of Manipur*, pp. 6-7.

21. Ed. L.I. Singh and N.K. Singh, 1967, pp. 1 ff.

22. Ibid., pp. 692 ff. Cf. 67 names from Pākhangbā to Kulacandra given by R.K. Jhalajit Singh, op.cit., pp. 315 ff.

23. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, Vol. II, 1975, pp. 403-04. For the date of Govindacandra, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 104.

24. Ed. P.C. Bagchi, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 231-60.

king of the Kali age, ruled for 1412 years and was followed by the Nandas (500 years), the Gautamas (400 years), the Mayūras (132 years), the Pañcasama (105 years), the Śaka kings (180 years) beginning with Śakāditya who began to rule in the Kali year 3179 (i.e. A.D. 78), Vikramāditya who began to rule in Śaka 111 (*ku-viśva-bhūmi* = A.D. 189), etc. The absurdity of this need not be discussed in detail. As regards Assam, it is said that Bhagadatta was followed by 24 or 25 kings of Naraka's line, such as Ja, Sa, Nā, etc., although elsewhere we are told that Naraka's descendants ruled for 19 generations, the latest being Subāhu and his son Suparṇa. Subāhu (accession in A.D. 78) was an ally of Śakāditya who was killed and whose throne was occupied by his brother Vikramāditya. He captured Vikramāditya's sacrificial horse and was defeated by the latter in the Śaka year *aikṣa-pāṇi-vidhu* (122 = A.D. 200). A Kṣatriya boy named Ticārin hailing from the Draviḍa country became king of Kāmarūpa in Śaka 431 (A.D. 519) and ruled for 62 years. Other rulers of the country are mentioned as the Western Kṣatriyas of Gauḍa (105 years); the son of the river Brahmaputra; Indra's son (born in A.D. 1119 and anointed king in A.D. 1149) was the founder of the Indravamśa; one of his descendants became king of Kāmarūpa in A.D. 1362; etc. The fabricated account of the imaginary rulers goes on like the above. What is of great importance is that not a single of the genuine rulers of ancient Assam such as those belonging to the dynasties of Puṣyavarman, Sālastambha and Brahmapāla is mentioned in the above account. Moreover the Kali-yuga and Śaka years are mentioned in connection with the rulers from the very beginning even though the popularity of the use of the said eras in the Bengal-Assam region is not much earlier than the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D. as we have said.

C

Instances of fabricated genealogy are also found in numerous epigraphic records. It is well known that the epigraphs of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi represent Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-81) as the son of Pulakeśin I (A.D. 610-42), although their genealogy quoted less than three centuries afterwards by the Later Cālukyas tells us that Pulakeśin II was succeeded regularly by his son Nedamari, grandson Ādityavarman and great-grandson Vikramāditya I.²⁵ In the records of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Vajrahasta III (A.D. 1038-70), his predecessors are mentioned as: (1) Guṇamahārṇava (i.e. Guṇārṇava), (2) his son Vajrahasta I (44 years), (3) his son Guṇḍama (3 years), (4) his brother Kāmārṇava (35 years), (5) his brother Vinayāditya (3 years), (6) Kāmārṇava's son Vajrahasta II Aniyānkabhīma (35 years), (7) his son Kāmārṇava (1½ year), (8) his brother Guṇḍama (3 years), (9) his step-brother

25. Siṅgar, *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 242.

Madhukāmārṇava (19 years), and (10) Kāmārṇava's son Vajrahasta III (A.D. 1038-70).²⁶ The same genealogy is quoted even in the earlier records of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1147).²⁷ But, in the later epigraphs of Coḍagaṅga, we find the genealogy as follows: from Ananta (Viṣṇu), through the Moon, to Gāṅgeya; from Gāṅgeya to Kolāhala, founder of Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi; his son Virocana; then after 81 kings of Kolāhalapura, Vīrasimha; his five sons Kāmārṇava I, Dānārṇava I, Guṇārṇava I, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta I; of these (1) Kāmārṇava defeated Bālāditya, conquered Kaliṅga and ruled at Jantāvurā for 36 years; (2) his brother Dānārṇava (40 years), (3) his son Kāmārṇava II (reigned at Nagara for 50 years); (4) his son Raṇārṇava (5 years); (5) his son Vajrahasta II (15 years); (6) his brother Kāmārṇava III (19 years); (7) his son Guṇārṇava II (27 years); (8) his son Jitāṅkuśa (15 years); (9) his brother's son Kaligaḷāṅkuśa (12 years); (10) his uncle Guṇḍama I (7 years); (11) his brother Kāmārṇava IV (25 years); (12) his brother Vinayāditya (3 years); (13) Vajrahasta IV (35 years), son of Kāmārṇava IV; (14) his son Kāmārṇava V ($\frac{1}{2}$ year); (15) his brother Guṇḍama II (3 years); (16) his step-brother Madhukāmārṇava (19 years); and (17) his son Vajrahasta V (A.D. 1038-70).²⁸ Leaving aside the mythical figures, we find that a host of apparently imaginary personages (such as Kolāhala of Karṇāṭaka and his descendants, some of whom migrated to Orissa, have been introduced in the modified genealogy between Turvasu and Guṇārṇava II (No. 7) who is the progenitor of the family in the earlier account, but is represented here as Guṇārṇava II. It will be seen that the two accounts tally with each other from Vajrahasta II (called Vajrahasta IV in the later account), grandfather of the great Vajrahasta II (A.D. 1038-70) called Vajrahasta V in the later account. It is not possible to believe that Vajrahasta III made mistakes in recounting the names of his immediate predecessors and that his grandson Coḍagaṅga had more reliable information about them. We have to notice that even the name of the father of Vajrahasta III has been wrongly quoted in the later records of his grandson. There can therefore be no doubt that whatever is new in the later genealogy and is in conflict with the earlier account is imaginary and unreliable. It seems that Vajrahasta II Aniyāṅkabhīma (circa A.D. 982-1016) was the founder of the family's greatness and that there was little authentic information about his predecessors upto Guṇārṇava, progenitor of the family, at the disposal of the court poets of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. The genealogy from the god Viṣṇu to this Guṇārṇava seems to be entirely fabricated, the fabrication depending on several factors,²⁹ the foremost

26. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions. No. 1091.

27. Ibid., No. 1100.

28. Ibid., No. 1103. Nagara is probably the same as Kaliṅganagara.

29. We have discussed the question in fuller detail in *EI.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239-41.

amongst them being the eagerness of the medieval ruling families to trace their descent from a respectable source like the solar, lunar, Yādava, or Nāga lineage. The palpably unreliable nature of the mythical genealogy of the Cālukyas of Veṅgi and Kalyāṇa is quite well known to the student of Indian history.³⁰

In an attempt to determine the date of the Bhārata War, Pargiter suggests an average of 18 years for a generation of the Purāṇic kings. But it is not possible to be sure about such averages. Thus the 17 kings of the Imperial Eastern Gaṅga dynasty from Vajrahasta III (who ascended throne in A. D. 1038) to Bhānu IV (who was ousted by Kapilendra in A. D. 1435) ruled for 397 years, i. e. a little over 23 years in average,³¹ while, on the other hand, Chapters V-VIII of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which are regarded by scholars as quite satisfactory as a historical account, would give 34 rulers (from the accession of Avantivarman in A. D. 855, to the end of Jayasiṃha's rule in A. D. 1155)³² reigning for a total of 300 years, i. e. an average of a little less than 9 years. And, if the two groups are amalgamated, $17 + 34 = 51$ rulers would be found to have ruled for $397 + 300 = 697$ years, i. e. an average of about $13\frac{1}{2}$ years. The difficulty is that when more than a hundred generations are involved, even the difference of one year would create a discrepancy of more than a century. But suppose we accept Pargiter's average of 18 years, then more than hundred generations of the Ikṣvākus before Prasenjit (c. 500 B. C.) would cover a period above 1800 years, so that Manu must have flourished earlier than 2300 B. C. Even on an average of 10 years, the founder of the Ikṣvāku house has to be placed earlier than 1500 B. C. The question now is how to reconcile this chronology with the widely accepted views regarding the existence of the proto-historic Harappa or Indus Valley civilization in the third and second millennia B. C. and the advent of the Aryans in India about the middle of the second millennium B. C. Are Manu and his descendants to be regarded as Aryans or as Pre-Aryans? As the *Purāṇas* appear to represent them as Aryans, we have probably to regard them as mythical figures if we accept the theory of Aryan advent about the middle of the second millennium B. C.

30. See Sircar in *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 229-31. In the mythical part of the genealogy of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi, Parikṣit is represented as sixth in ascent from Udayana (contemporary of the Buddha, 566-486 B. C.), so that he was supposed to have flourished after 700 B. C. Cf. Sircar, *The Gulilas of Kīskindhā*, p. 13. This chronology seems to be absurd, another absurdity being the representation of Udayana and other members of his family as kings of Ayodhyā.

31. The 17 kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty represented 14 generations so that the average per generation is nearly 27 years.

32. The date of Jayasiṃha's death is really learnt from a later chronicle. Kalhaṇa's work was completed five years earlier, about A. D. 1150.

It may be noticed that the non-Aryan association of some of the clans is quite pronounced. Thus the story of Yayāti of the lunar race suggests that his favourite son Puru, the progenitor of the Pauravas, was born of a non-Aryan princess, while his other sons (Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu), whom he had cursed, became the progenitors of the despised Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas respectively, the fourth category being sometimes possibly called Ānava Kṣatriya. In this connection, we should also note the dark complexion of the Yādava hero Kṛṣṇa and the well-known fact that Kṛṣṇa himself and some members of his family married non-Aryan girls. What is more important seems to be that Puru, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu are mentioned in the early Vedic literature as separate clans which are thus made kinsmen of one another in the Yayāti story exactly as the progenitors of the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Puṇḍras and Suhmas are made sons of the same father in the Purāṇic story of Dīrghatamas.

D

The above views of mine on the genealogical traditions of the *Purāṇas* first appeared in a paper that was read at an Inter-University Seminar on Purāṇic Genealogies held in 1965 at the Centre of Advanced Study Ancient History and Culture, University of Calcutta, and appeared first in the Proceedings of the said Seminar in a volume entitled *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 105-14, and later also in my *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 41-46. In the year 1971, an American scholar, Dr. David P. Henige of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A., wrote to me a letter in which he expressed his opinion on some of my views on epico-Purāṇic tradition appearing in the Proceedings of the Seminar referred to above.

The following parts of Dr. Henige's letter were read by me at one of the Monthly Seminars at the Centre because it appeared to me to be of some importance to the students of epic and Purāṇic traditions — "I have recently been reading with great interest *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies* which you edited. My own field is African history, although I have long had an interest in pre-British Indian history as well. In fact, the study of pre-colonial African history is not so far removed from early Indian history, at least in terms of the nature of the evidence available, as one might suspect. That is, the oral traditions, our primary source, bear distinct similarities to the chronicles of early India, and since my own field of particular interest is an analysis of the chronological context of oral traditions, I have found it very useful to look closely at India for comparative purposes — I enjoyed the 'Proceedings of the Seminar' portions of this book for the variety of views concerning the validity and accuracy of the Purāṇic genealogies. Your

scepticism unfortunately does not seem to be shared by many of your colleagues. It seems to me that the Purāṇic genealogies most closely resemble the Irish annals, and I command to your attention an article by John V. Kelleher, entitled 'Early Irish History and Pseudo-History', in *Studia Hibernica*, III (1963), pp. 113-127, in which he discussed how and why these vast genealogies were fabricated at a much later date for partisan purposes. Perhaps it is unfair to suggest that the Purāṇic genealogies are essentially fabrications; but I can see similarities between the two cases."

The normal Indian approach to such views was illustrated by the fact that, when the letter was read out, one of the Senior Research Fellows at the Centre observed that Dr. Henige is probably not familiar with the epic and Purāṇic traditions. In the Research Fellow's opinion, it was unwise to compare the accounts of the *Purāṇas* with those of Ireland. What was striking in this was that the observation was made without any knowledge of the Irish traditions and was quite unfortunate because it exhibited the Indian tendency of failing to appreciate comments on anything that is held in esteem. Thus the great service Dr. Henige rendered by drawing our attention to the tradition of another country, which appeared to him to show similarity with our Purāṇic legends, was not all realised. The subject should not have been viewed with a partisan and uncritical eye and with that of the proverbial *kūpa-maṇḍūka* having limited ideas and satisfied with the knowledge of his own surrounding.³³

The paper on Irish pseudo-history by John V. Kelleher of the University of Harvard was originally read at the inaugural meeting of the American Committee for Irish Studies at the Convention of the Modern Language Association of America held at Chicago on the 27th December, 1961. The author of the paper first points out how the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland was not so decisive in its effects as the Norman conquest of England. In the case of Ireland, this foreign conquest 'had a century of bounding success, less than a century of sunny prime', and then it collapsed; and we have 'the native recovery in Ireland in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'.³⁴ Kelleher observes "The culture that reasserted itself in the fourteenth century and continued viable, though maimed and all too often chaotic, down to the early seventeenth century, was but the latest stages of the culture that had existed continuously and strongly since pre-historic times. It was so instinct in the native population we can be sure that much does survive if only below the level of consciousness."³⁵

33. See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, pp. 360-61; also Sircar: *Some Problems of Indian History and Culture*, Ahmedabad, 1974, pp. 8-10.

34. *Stud. Hib*, Vol. III, p. 116.

35. loc. cit.

For the history of post-Norman Ireland i.e. roughly from about A.D. 1170 to 1600, there is an amount of good modern writing, about eighty per cent of which is based on Norman and English sources. It has been shown that "the native history for that period is almost as poorly attended to as in pre-Norman history."³⁶ It is further said that, during the early historical period, this culture 'was, if essentially barbaric and certainly archaic, yet vigorous, unimpaired, and extraordinarily indigenous.....also proudly self-conscious.'³⁷

When Ireland was Christianized, the Church had to deal with an unbroken foreign culture and had to compromise. However, in the final compromise, the society, which was rigidly stratified and familial, became modified to a considerable extent. Under the influence of the Church, anybody could become a monk or priest or nun, and any monk or nun an abbot or abbess or the founder of a new church while every one had a chance to become learned since learning was no longer a class prerogative. This resulted in a revolution – a sudden release of the long-thwarted energy of the masses, and Irish missionaries and scholars poured abroad during the seventh and eighth centuries. After a century or more, the revolution was over and the people were again thinking of the right order of things and of the sacred order which should not be broken. Kelleher refers in this context to a corpus of saints' genealogies, which is now preserved in several texts and the real purpose of which was to conceal the fact that some of the important 'early clerics had been unpalatably plebian'.³⁸

At the same time, the Irish were not isolated during this period. They knew what was going on in the continent. They appear to have received the legends that developed around the great name of Charlemagne and his court after his death in A.D. 814. Kelleher says, "By the beginning of the tenth century, there is strong evidence that the idea of imitating Charlemagne had occurred to several kings in Ireland as it was indeed occurring to kings everywhere in the Western World."³⁹ In his opinion, the so-called High Kingship of Ireland, which did not exist before the middle of the ninth century, should be understood chiefly in the light of that imitation.

Kelleher gives the summary of the Irish tradition about the High Kingship in the following words: "The High King, or King of Tara, was at once overlord of the provincial kings, the ultimate enforcer of order within the realm, and the highest appeal judge in law. Early in

36. loc. cit.

37. *ibid.*, p. 117.

38. *ibid.*, p. 119.

39. loc. cit.

his reign (and incidentally, we are never given any clear account of how he was chosen), he secured the submission of the provincial kings when he made a sun-wise circuit of the country and took the hostages of each province. If he failed to take the hostages of any province, he was deined full title and was called *ard-ri co fressabra*, 'High King with opposition'. But since this term does not appear before the mid-eleventh century, that is, until after the usurpation of the office by Brian Boróimhe, king of Munster, it would seem plain that the circuit and the taking of hostages were always successfully performed. This over-kingship of Ireland was an office of the greatest antiquity; and all but a few scattered sources maintain that from the time of Eochaid Mugmedon, a fourth-century ancestor of the Ui Neill and the Connachta it had belonged exclusively to his posterity. The Connachta indeed were shut out after the death of Ailill Molt in 482. Thereafter, till Brian's usurpation in 1003, it was the sole monopoly of the Ui Neill, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages who supposedly died in 405 or thereabout. At first six Ui Neill kindreds contended for the title; but from 734, its possession was restricted to two lines, Cenel Eogain, the most powerful of the Northern Ui Neill, and Clann Colmain Mōir, the dominant line among the Southern Ui Neill. These two regularly - and we are apparently to assume, for the most part, peacefully - interchanged the High Kingship alternately from 734 to 1002. Their hold on it was broken only once during that period by the intruded reign of Conghalach mac Maele Mithigh, king of Brega, who was also of the Southern Ui Neill and who reigned as High King from 944 to 956, after which the alternation was immediately resumed."⁴⁰

This tradition has come down through various works, most of which were formerly believed to be old even by notable historians, though they have now been proved to be medieval works. Thus 'the book of Rights' once regarded as the 'constitution' of pre-Norman Ireland is now believed to be much later while the famous poem on the circuit of Ireland by Muirchertach is said to be 'composed perhaps two hundred years after the supposed event it celebrates and is indeed but one more twelfth-century forgery of an all too familiar type'.⁴¹ The tradition as we have it and much of the evidence for it are believed to draw upon the legends of Brian Boróimhe who was the first Irish harlemagne.

It has been said, "It can be shown that everything in the annals upto about 590 and a large number of entries from thence to 735 (the entry on Bede's death) were either freshly composed or wholly revised

40. *ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

41. *ibid.*, p. 121.

not earlier than the latter half of the ninth century. Nor does the writing stop at 735.....most of the information, at least from the early seventh century on, is reliable, because it is about matters with which the revisionists were not concerned.It will, however, be a long while before we shall be able to say with confidence what is reliable and what has been tampered with or falsified.....the tradition was not manufactured out of whole cloth. There was a Kingship of Tara. ... The place had been deserted from sometime in the sixth century.....the title 'King of Tara' used in Christian times..... at once antiquarian revival and the claim to the possession of the national prestige that had surrounded the pagan priest-kingship."⁴²

When we want to compare the Irish legends cited above with the Purāṇic tales, we find that the Irish legend-makers were writing about events only a few centuries old whereas the Purāṇic authors or the revisers of the Purāṇic legends speak of events many centuries or even millennia old. This will be abundantly clear from a comparison of the legends discussed above with the accounts of the first few books of Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, parts of which were composed on the basis of Purāṇa-type works like the *Nilamata* by Nīla-muni. The exceptionally long intervening period that separates Indian authors of the epic-Purāṇic legends from the age to which the heroes of the latter are assigned make the Indian tradition generally much more unreliable. In the long period covered by the Indian legends, the earlier an event and a personage the lesser their claim to authenticity. The origin and development of the legends in India appear to have been more on mythological than on historical lines.

42. *ibid.*; pp. 122-23.

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OBITUARY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN (1908 — 79)

We feel extremely pained to record the sudden demise of Dr. V. Raghavan on the 5th April 1979.

Born in August 1908 at Tiruvarur, Tanjore District, Tamil Nadu, South India, Dr. Raghavan had the unique privilege to study Sanskrit under the great scholar *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Prof. S. Kuppuswamy Sastri. He took his M.A. degree in Sanskrit language and literature in 1930 and Ph.D. in 1935. He started his carrier as a Superintendent of Saraswati Mahal Library, Thanjavur and subsequently joined Sanskrit Department, Madras University and slowly rose upto the Professorship of the Department in 1955, a position which he was holding with all distinction till his retirement.

Dr. Raghavan was the General President of All India Oriental Conference in 1964. He was awarded title *Kavikokila* for his poetic genius and *Sakalalakālakāpa* for his versatility, by His Holyness Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī-Kāmakōṭi Pīṭham. He was also awarded the title *Padmabhūṣan* in 1962 by the President of India. He has published about 80 books and more than 700 papers on various subjects connected with Indian Culture and Literature. Because of his scholarship and versatility, Dr. Raghavan was loved and respected by scholars all over India and abroad. It may not be an exaggeration if we say that Dr. Raghavan throughout his academic carrier served as a connecting link between the East and the West.

Dr. Raghavan's *magnum opus* Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, his doctoral thesis, first published in 1966 has seen the third and revised edition in 1978. He has also brought out first five volumes of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. He was a member of Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1956. In honour of his great teacher M.M. Kuppuswamy Sastri, Dr. Raghavan founded the Kuppuswamy Sastri Research Institute in Madras, which he was organising till his last day. In fact he delivered his last lecture in the above Institute on the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the Śrī Rāmanavamī day, the 5th April 1979 and within a few hours he breathed his last with the same memory.

There is no country and no Indological or Oriental Research Institute in any part of the globe which Dr. Raghavan had not visited and had not enriched that Institute in one way or other. He had been one of the advisers for the development of the Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute since its inception in 1939.

His demise is a great loss for the scholars in Indological field.

श्रीराघवे महासूरौ दिवं याते विधेवशात् ।

संस्कृतप्रियलोकोऽयं निमनः शोकवारिधौ ॥

May His Soul Rest in Peace!

SRI N. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRY

We regret to record the unexpected demise of Sri N. Subrahmanya Sastri in Bangalore in the month of December 1978. Sri Sastri, after obtaining his Post-graduate degree both in Philosophy and Sanskrit from the University of Calcutta in 1932-34 joined the staff of Santiniketan under Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. After serving various Institutions, as Lecturer in Karachi and other places he joined our Oriental Research Institute as Curator in 1944. He enriched this Library till his retirement in 1968. He was a sound scholar in Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Philosophy which he studied on traditional lines under his father-in-law *Mahā-mahopādhyāya* Anantakrishna Sastri. He contributed many articles on different topics to various Indological Journals. His death will be always felt by silent workers in the field.

May His Soul Rest in Peace!

Dr. VISWANATHA SATYANARAYANA (1895-1976)

We are extremely sorry to note the demise of our prolific and renowned Telugu poet and critic Sri Viswanatha Satyanarayana on 18-10-1976 in Guntur.

Sri Satyanarayana popularly known as Viswanatha in Telugu literary field, was born in a village Nandamur on 10-9-1895 of the orthodox parents Sri Sobhanādri and Pārvatamma. He was educated in Masulipatam. After obtaining the M.A. degree he worked as a lecturer in Telugu in the Jatīya Kalasala, Hindu college at Masula and Andhra Christian College, Guntur. During his stay at Masula he studied Vedānta under able teachers like Kuppā Lakṣmāvadhāni and others. Afterwards he entered S.R.R. and C.V.R. College, Vijayawada as the Head of the Department of Telugu in 1939 and retired in 1957. In 1959 he was called upon to take up the Principalship of Karimnagar College which post he held till 1961.

Viswanatha wrote more than one hundred works in Telugu. There is no branch of literature in Telugu that he did not touch and adorn. All his works are full of modern social consciousness, progressive outlook and deeper harmony of man's life. The stream of Viswanatha's creative literature is essentially Indian. Like Ananda Coomaraswamy who interpreted Indian tradition and culture through the medium of art and architecture, Viswanatha with his versatile genius logically evaluated Indian tradition through the various literary forms.

His *magnum opus* viz. the *Rāmāyana Kalpavṛkṣa* stands as the pillar of his glory as the *Rāmakathā Bhāṣyakāra*. His celebrated novel *Veyi Paḍaḡalu* (The Thousand Hoods) is a modern classic and a social novel. Of all his historical novels the *Ekavira* is considered outstanding and his *Kinnerasāni Pātalu* are very popular throughout Andhra. He also wrote three Sanskrit plays viz., *Gupī Pāśupatam*, *Akṛtā Sarmistham* and *Asani Nirāsam*.

As an outstanding literary critic he is always remembered for his critical essays published on various topics.

The honours and awards he won during his sixty years of literary career are numerous. Out of which the title *Kavisamrāṭ* became a part of his name. In 1963 he received the Sahitya Academy award, in 1970 he received the *Padmabhūṣaṇ* from the Government of India and in 1971 the much coveted *Jñānapeeth* award. He was also awarded the *Kalāprapoornā* by the Andhra University, Waltair and the Honorary Doctorate by the S.V. University, Tirupati. He was made poet laureate by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in October, 1971.

It is no exaggeration if we say that in the death of *Kavisamrāṭ* Viswanātha, we lost a manysided genius in the literary field of Telugu.

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