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EDITED BY

P. V. KANE

H. D. VELANKAR

N. A. NADVI

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SOME VEDIC WORDS VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE
GATHAS AND OTHER AVESTA TEXTS *

BY I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.

Since the earliest days of 'comparative philology' it has been accepted that the two Aryan languages, Sanskrit and Avesta, are truly 'sister dialects,' and consequently scholars have made full use of Sanskrit in determining the meanings of Avesta words. But the reverse process of making use of Avesta words to determine the sense of Sanskrit words has not been employed as far as I am aware. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. Avesta Literature is extremely limited in its extent as compared to Sanskrit. And the most helpful comparisons can be made only between what is called 'the Gāthā portion' of the Avesta Texts and the Vedic (mainly the Saṃhitās.) 'The Gāthā portion' of the Avesta Texts comprises sections 28-51 and 53 and 54 of the Book of Yasna ; i.e., only 26 sections out of 72. And of these 26—only 17 constitute the Gāthās—the Songs of Zarathushtra—properly so called which are admittedly the most ancient portion of the extant Avesta Texts.

In this paper I merely consider ten Vedic words (in their alphabetical order) in the light of the corresponding Gāthā words.

(1) *ātri*. This is the name of a Vedic Sage, but in one place (RV. ii. 8·5) the word is used as an appellative of Agni. That passage runs : *ātrim dnu swardīyam Agnim ukthā'ni vāvrdhuḥ*. Sāyaṇa definitely says : *ātrim śatrūṇām annānām vā bhakṣakam*. Grassmann¹ accepts the explanation of Sāyaṇa and renders the word as 'consumer', deriving it from \sqrt{ad} —with the suffix *-tri* (*tra*).² Geldner³ suspects that the text is not quite correct, but he agrees that *ātri* is to be construed as an appellative of Agni. This is the only passage

¹ Wb. 31. ² Whitney, Skt. Gr. § 1185. g. He definitely suggests that the word is *dt-tri* and that the suffix *-tri* is 'kindred' with the usual suffix *-tra*. ³ Der Rīgveda, 1923, p. 257, he has suggested another reading (loc. cit.), which seems to me to be rather fanciful.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

in the RV. where the word is not used as the name of the Vedic Sage,¹ and Grassmann has attempted to explain how this word came to be the name of the Vedic Ṛṣi. The Gāthā word *Ātar* (*Āthra*), Fire, is probably a cognate, and this word also means 'consumer' or 'devourer'.

Moreover we get the word *atrā* used twice in the RV. (i.129·8 and v.32·8). Grassmann² says that the word means 'devourer' and that it is applied to demons. Geldner seems to have left out this word from his translation of the first passage.³ Griffith in the first passage⁴ translates 'devouring fiends' and in the second passage⁵ he says 'ogre'.

(2) *dsura*. Grassmann⁶ gives six distinct senses of this word. (i) belonging to the spirit (geistig) or possessing life (lebendig), and when used as a noun meaning a divine being; (ii) an epithet of individual deities like Indra, Varuṇa and others; (iii) when used with *dyāus* or with *pitā* it is an epithet of the Highest Being, particularly of Varuṇa; (iv) heavenly, when used for an invocation (*hāvah dsurāḥ*—RV. x. 74·2), a flattering epithet when used for a liberal king (RV. i. 126·2 and x. 93·14), also used for the *pitṛs* (RV. x. 56·6); (v) epithet of the highest among the Evil Spirits; and (vi) epithet of evil spirits generally.

Grassmann has quoted quite 70 passages from the RV. where the word *dsura* occurs. Out of these there are only 7 where the word bears an evil sense. These might now be considered in order. (a) RV. ii. 30·4—*dsurasya vīrā'n*. Sāyaṇa explains this phrase as a *dsurasya putrān*. This hymn has been supposed by Ludwig to be a prayer for victory in an approaching battle with the king of the Śaṇḍikas.⁷ The word here is used in an evil sense implying enmity. (b) RV. vii. 99·5—also *dsurasya vīrā'n*. Here also *dsura* signifies 'enemy'. (c) RV. viii. 96·9—*dsurā adevā'h*. Sāyaṇa says, *adevā devavarjitā devadvīṣo ye asurāḥ santi*. (d) RV. x. 53·4—*dsurān abhi devā asāma*. Here Griffith⁸ says in a note: "the Asuras in the later hymns of the Vedas are evil spirits. . . not to be confounded with the great celestial Asuras, the chiefs of the Gods, nor with the Rākṣasas, demons or ogres who disturb the sacrifices of men". (e) RV. x.138·3—*Pīpror dsurasya māyīnah*. Pīpru is the demon of drought.⁹ (f) RV. x. 151·13—*yāthā devā dsuresu śradhā'm ugrēsu cakrīrē*. And (g) RV. x. 157·4—*hatvā'ya devā' dsurān*. In the last two the contrast between *deva* and *asura* is quite clear. The Amarakośa gives *pūrvadevāḥ* as a synonym of *asurāḥ*, which is significant.

¹ See Griffith, Rigveda I, p. 208 and fn. ² Wb. 31. ³ Op. cit., p. 164. ⁴ Op. cit., I, p. 170. ⁵ Op. cit., II, p. 495. ⁶ Wb. 155-56. ⁷ See Griffith, op. cit., I, p. 297, fn. The Śaṇḍikas are mentioned in verse 8 of this hymn. ⁸ Op. cit., II, p. 456, fn. ⁹ Griffith, II, p. 584, fn. also Grass., Wb. 817.

It may also be noted in passing that the Iranian word *ahura* (in its original form) is found in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Śama Veda¹ (i.6.2). This passage reads (*Ahura idam te dadāmy anum* (O Ahura, here to thee I deliver so-and-so). With this passage the Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra is intimately connected. Oldenberg² says: "the Sūtra of Gobhila. . . presupposes besides the Samhita of the Śama Veda, another collection of Mantras which evidently was composed expressly with the purpose of being used at the Gṛhya ceremonies : this collection is preserved to us under the title of Mantra Brāhmaṇa" Oldenberg adds that both "the works have been composed on one common plan"

Of the ancient commentators on this passage Sāyaṇa has evidently not understood the true import of the word *ahura*. Another commentator, Sāmasāmin, identifies *ahura* with *vāyu*. There is also a third commentator who renders the word *ahura* as *jaḥharāgni*. Knauer, accepting this last, has rendered the word *ahura* in his German translation as 'Feuer des Magens' (Fire of the belly). The reason for this last rendering lies in the fact that this invocation to *ahura* is to be recited while touching the navel of the boy who is undergoing the *upanayane* investiture.

There seems to have been some sort of religious split among the ancient Aryans who had been living together in the far-off past. But I am not inclined to accept the usual view that it was the 'reform' of Zarāthushtra that brought about this split. Of course this religious split is clearly observable in 'the inversion of meaning' observed in the two pairs of words *asura-ahura* and *deva-daēva*. There are also several other words which have been 'inverted' in meaning, and there are some customs and beliefs also that show this inversion.³ The word *āsura* is to be derived from *asu* which means life, and so the original meaning of the word is 'Lord of Life.' After the religious split (which must have arisen quite early, even in the Vedic period) the initial *ā* of the word was mistakenly considered to be the negative prefix, and so a new word *sura* was coined to mean 'deity', 'divine being'.⁴ This new word was quite acceptable on account of its phonetic similarity with words like *svar*, *sūr*, *sū'ra*, *sū'rya* etc. It may be noted that this new word *sura* is found in the Maitri Upaniṣhad. That is its earliest occurrence, and it is found used frequently in the Epics and in later Classical Sanskrit works.

(3) *ṛṣi*. This word has always been translated as 'seer', owing to the ancient explanation that it is derived from $\sqrt{dṛś}$, to see. This derivation is clearly of the 'popular etymology' variety. It was Bartholomae who first

¹ I had contributed a paper on "The word *ahura* in Sanskrit and the Gobhilas" to the volume of "Indo-Iranian Studies" in honour of Dastan Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London, 1925). ² SBE, 30, p. 5. ³ E.g. Indra; the sacredness of North and South etc. ⁴ See Mon.-Williams, Skt. Dict., p. 1234, col. 2.

pointed out the identity of the Vedic word *ṛta* and the Avesta word *asha*.¹ Andreas has maintained that the Avesta word *asha* was originally pronounced *urta*. Andreas has based this opinion on the Turfan discoveries, and he is undoubtedly correct as regards the *ancient* pronunciation of the word. But still it is a fact that in later days the word was pronounced (and is pronounced to this day) as *asha*. Indeed all its derivatives in later Zoroastrian literature show the element *-sh-* in place of the ancient *-rt-* (or *-ṛi-*). The only exception seems to be the name *Ardibehesht* (*Arta-Vahishta*). This change of the original *-rt-* to *-sh-* seems to have been a dialectical development in the Avesta itself. In the earliest texts we find a series of variant forms—*arata*, *arash*, *arsh*, *asha*—which very probably represent mere phonetic variants.² Jackson³ has given a rule that the Av. *-sh-* = Skt. *art* or *r't* (accented) whereas the Av. *arət* or *art* = Skt. *ṛt* (unaccented). Jackson adds: “allowing a shift of accent would explain a number of anomalies where the law of accent appears not to hold.” In Avesta itself we find several such pairs of words: *arata-asha* (*truth*), *marata-mashya* (*mortal*), *amarata-amasha* (*immortal*), *parəlu-pəshu* (*bridge*) etc.⁴ Of course the identity of *arata* and Skt. *ṛtā* is obvious. And I think that there was a Skt. variant **r's* also from which *r'si* may have been derived. And so *r'si* would mean originally ‘one who had observed the *ṛtā*’, in other words, the righteous sage. We also find the compounds *r'si-manas* and *r'si-kṛt* in RV. ix. 96·18 used for Soma. Sāyana translates: *sarva-darśana-sīla-manaskah atā eva rṣi-kṛt sarvasya darśana-kṛtā*. Grassmann⁵ translates the words as *rṣi-minded* and *rṣi-maker*. The former compound reminds us of *arsh-manangha* in Yasna 19·17 which means ‘righteous-minded’. This would suit very well the context of the Vedic verse quoted and I would suggest that the second compound *r'si-kṛt* might be rendered ‘doer of righteousness’.

It is remarkable that in RV. 1·173·4 we got the word *dṣatarā* (comparative, neu. plu.), which Sāyana renders *arṣatarāṇi vyāptatrāṇi vā*. Grassmann⁶ says ‘more attainable, and derives the word from $\sqrt{aś-}$, to attain. Monier-Williams⁷ translates ‘more acceptable’, and he also derives it from $\sqrt{aś-}$. I would like to suggest the translation ‘more righteous’. Still, as this is the only occurrence of this word *aśa* in Skt., one cannot be quite sure.

At any rate as regards the accent, the Skt. words *ṛtā* and *r'si* (corresponding respectively to Av. *arata* and *asha*) conform exactly to the rule as given by Jackson. I must, however, confess that in Sanskrit no other such pair of words is known, which could lend further support to my argument. Still, in my opinion, as far as the meaning is concerned the bracketing together of *ṛtā* and *r'si* is fully justifiable.

¹ Arische Forschungen, II, p. 39. See also my paper on ‘Rṣi’ in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III, i, pp. 143 ff. ² The *arə* in Avesta is exactly the Skt. *ṛ*. ³ Av. Gram., § 163. ⁴ Kanga (Av. Gram., pp. 37-38 cites a similar pair from Persian, *dāshlan-dārad*. ⁵ Wb. 203. ⁶ Wb. 104. ⁷ Skt. Dict., p. 116, col. 1.

(4) *aitareya*.¹ This word is found only as the name of a special branch of Vedic literature comprising a Brāhmaṇa, an Āraṇyaka and an Upaniṣad of that name. It has been explained that there was a Ṛṣi of that name, who was the author of these works. And his strange name has been explained by 'popular etymology', as being derived from *itarā* (another), for the legend narrates that he was the son of 'another woman.' Resenting the slight cast upon him by this name he took up the religious life and became the Founder of a Vedic School.

In Avesta we get the word *aēthrya* (which is the exact phonetic equivalent of Skt. *aitareya*) and we also get the word *aēthra-paiti*. In Avesta these two words mean 'pupil' (or 'disciple') and 'teacher' respectively. Nairyosang (the translator of many Avesta Texts into Sanskrit) always renders *aēthrya* in Sanskrit as *śiṣya*. It is also remarkable that in the Avesta these two words are always found together except in one passage—Yasht x (Mihr). 119—where *aēthrya* is found alone.

From our point of view *aēthra-paiti* is the more important word, and the word signifies 'master (*paiti*=Skt. *pāti*) of *aēthra*. This compound word has come down to our own days and is used among Zoroastrians as the 'title' of an ordained priest—Persian *herbud*, Parsi Gujarāti *ervad*. What this *aēthra* might can be determined by a passage in Yasht 13 (Farvardin). That passage (105) runs *Mānthravākahe Sāimushōish aēthra-patōish hamidh-patōish.. Fravashēm yazamaide*, we worship the Fravashi² of Mānthravāka, son of Sāimushi, Lord of the *aēthra* and of the *hamidh*. The word *hamidh* gives us the clue. It is identical with Skt. *samidh*, fuel for the sacred fire. Hence we may safely infer that *aēthra* would also be connected with the fire. As a matter of fact *aēthra* does mean 'the sacred fire.'

In verse 97 of this same Farvardin Yasht the name of Saēna is mentioned and he is described as *sata-aēthrya*. Bartholomae⁴ explains this as 'having a hundred pupils'. But Haug³ has pointed out that in ancient Iran teachers used to number their pupils not by hundreds but by thousands, and that the special mention of Saēna as *sata-aēthrya* implies "a title of great honour which deserves special mention." So we may conclude that Saēna was one who had established a hundred places of worship for the Sacred Fire. Some similar implication is found in the popular explanation of Indra's name Śatakratu.

In ancient Iran, after being invested with the sacred shirt and girdle, the boy was sent to the *aērpatastān* (the residence of the *aēthra-paiti*) for instruction. This is an exact parallel to the young Brahmācārīn going to the Guru's home after the *upanayana*.

¹ I had submitted a paper on this at the First All-India Oriental Conference at Poona (1919).
² Fravashi is the eternal unsullied divine 'principle' in a human being. ³ Altiranisches Wörterbuch, 1556. ⁴ Zand Pahlavi Glossary, p. 120.

Bartholomae¹ has traced the word *aēthra* to the Aryan **aitra*. The probable Skt. equivalent would be **etra* or **etara*. The meaning of the word would be 'sacrificial fire.' He thinks that Greek *aithō* (to burn) and *aithra* (space, aether) are also cognates. So the original sense of Av. *aēthrya* would be 'one who tends the sacred fire,' and hence in a secondary sense 'pupil' or 'disciple.'

So the legend of *itarā* goes back to its proper place as an early example of 'popular etymology' and the name of the Aitareya School of the Vedas denotes what it really is—'the lore of the sacrificial fire.' The contents of the three Aitareya works amply bear out this conclusion.

(5) $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$, to injure. Of course the Skt. $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$, to protect, is known to all. But this meaning utterly fails to explain the origin of the word *rakṣas* (demon). In AV. v. 7·1, we get the finite form *rakṣīh*, which Grassmann² translates as 'thou dost injure.' Whitney,³ however, remarks that "*rakṣis* AV. (only one occurrence) is too weak evidence on which to accept a second $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$, 'harm'." But in the Gāthās we get evidence which strengthens this "too weak evidence" from Sanskrit. We have finite forms of $\sqrt{\text{rash-}}$ (Skt. *rakṣ-*), to injure, to frustrate, in Yasna 32·11; 47·4; 49·3 and 51·9. There are besides two derivatives, *rashah* (neu.), injury, found in Yasna 30·11 and *rāresha*, preventing, excluding, found in Yasna 49·2. With this 'cumulative' evidence we may safely postulate a second Skt. $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$, to harm, which would explain the unique form in the AV. and also give a sound derivation for the words *rakṣas* and *rākṣasa*.

(6) $\sqrt{\text{vabh-}}$, to weave. This root is not found used anywhere in Sanskrit literature. Only one derivative form has been known—*ūrnavābhi*, spider, found in Śat. Br. xiv. 5·1·23. The usual form of the word in Skt. is *ūrṇavābhi*, which seems to be another example of 'popular etymology'. This obsolete Skt. root may be traced to an Aryan $\sqrt{\text{*vabh-}}$. In Av. this would become **vaw-* and then *vaf-* (by dissimilation). This Av. $\sqrt{\text{vaf-}}$ gives the finite forms *ufyānī* in Yasna 28·5 and *ufyā* in Yasna 43·8, both used in the special sense of 'weaving hymns'. We also get a derivative *vafu* (web) in Yasna 29·6. In Skt. the usual form given for the root meaning 'to weave' is *vā* or *ve*.⁴ In the Vedas also we find this root used in the special sense of 'weaving hymns'; as in RV. ii. 28·5—*mā' tantūś chedi vāyato dhiyam me* (sever not my thread while weaving the hymn), and in RV. i. 61·8—*Indrāya arkām ahihātya ūvuḥ* (they wove a hymn to Indra at the slaying of the dragon). This $\sqrt{\text{vā-}}$ (*ve-*) seems to have been the original root in Skt. and *vabh-* seems to have been a secondary (reduplicated?) base from the original.

¹ Air. Wb., 20. ² Wb. 1131. ³ Whitney, Roots and Verbal Forms etc., p. 134. ⁴ See Grass., Wb. 1247 (under 3. *vā*.)

(7) $\sqrt{ven-}$. Grassmann¹ has given four distinct senses of this root : 1. to turn against a person (in an inimical manner) ; 2. to long for a person (to turn towards a person in a friendly manner) ; 3. to be envious ; and 4. to yearn for something. Monier-Williams² also gives similar senses. There are derivatives also, *vend* (longing) and *venyá* (lovable, desirable). The corresponding Av. root is *vañ-* and means 'to see,' 'to observe.' It has been used as a dative infinitive in Yasna 32·10, and finite forms are found, with *aibī* (Skt. *abhi*) in the sense of 'to observe carefully' (Yasna 31·13), and with *ā* (to consider) found in Yasna 30·2 and 46·2. In RV. i. 25. 6 we get the participial adjective *venantā* used for the pair—Mitra-Varuṇa. Geldner³ definitely translates this as 'observing' (ausschauend). This is certainly appropriate in that passage, because in the verse immediately preceding Varuṇa has been termed *urucákṣas* (far-seeing). Also in RV. viii. 10·21 the pair, Mitra-Varuṇa, are called *urucákṣasā*. It might be also pointed out here that in Yasna 33·13 Ahura (=Asura-Varuṇa) has been addressed as *Vourucashñē* (far-seeing). I believe that Skt. $\sqrt{ven-}$ has exactly the same meaning as the Av. $\sqrt{vañ-}$, viz., to see, to observe. The Persian verbal base *bīn* (found in the compound *dūr-bīn*, telescope) is also a cognate.

(8) *svāntā*. This word is found in RV. i. 145·4 and x. 61·21. In the first passage Sāyana says *śrāntam śāntam vā*, and in the second passage he says *pravṛddhasya śrāntasya vā*. Monier-Williams⁴ translates 'tranquil' or 'placid' (i.e., *śānta*). Geldner thinks that in RV. i. 145·4 the word *svāntām* refers to Agni. I wish to make another suggestion. The phonetic equivalent in Avesta seems to be *spenta*, which means 'holy' or 'divine', and I think this meaning would suit both the Vedic passages. The word is to be derived from $\sqrt{svā-}$, *svi-*, *śū-*, to swell, to be great.

(9) $\sqrt{svar-}$. This seems to be the root from which *svar*, *sūrta*, *sūrya*, etc. may be derived. Whitney⁵ enumerates these words under $\sqrt{svar-}$, to sound, with the remark, "hardly to be separated from this root are the derivatives showing the radical sense of 'brightness.'" In Avesta the corresponding root would be $\sqrt{x^ar-}$. In Later Avesta this root usually means 'to eat'. The Pahlavi *x^urtan* and Mod. Persian *khurdan* are cognates, and they both mean 'to eat'. In the Gāthās, however $\sqrt{x^ar-}$ and its derivatives do *not* imply 'eating' or 'nourishment'. There this root means 'to shine', 'to illumine', but the Pahlavi translators have almost always rendered it as 'to eat'. There is a derivative *x^uarenah* found in Later Avesta Texts which means 'light' or 'refulgence'. But the derivative *x^uarenah* (which is found frequently in the Gāthās) has been rendered in almost every passage as 'food' or 'nourishment' by all Western scholars, because they have accepted the Pahlavi commentators. This has

¹ Wb. 1354. ² Skt. Dict., p. 1018, col. 2. ³ Der Rigveda, p. 24. ⁴ Skt. Dict. p. 1106, col. 2. ⁵ Roots, etc., p. 202.

caused needless confusion of thought. Geldner in his *Drei Yasht*¹ discusses the words *sū'rtā* and *asū'rtā* as used in AV. x. 3·9 and RV. x. 83·2. Grassmann² translates these two words as 'light' and 'darkness' respectively. The passage from the AV. reads *asū'rtam rājo dpy agus tē yanlu adhamān tāmāh*, and here the sense of *asū'rtā* is quite clearly 'darkness'. The passage from the RV. brings out the contrast between these two words : *asū'rtē sū'rtē rājasi* (in the dark and bright space). Both these words are past participles from $\sqrt{\text{svar-}}$ (*sūr-*), to shine.

(10)* $\sqrt{\text{snu-}}$. This root is not found in Sanskrit. The phonetic equivalent in Avesta would be *xshnu-*, which means to please, to satisfy. The initial *x* in the Avesta root has no etymological value. In the AV. (x. 86·13) we get the comp. *sū-snušā*, which means 'one possessing a nice daughter-in-law'.³ The second member of this compound *snušā* has been explained by Sanskrit grammarians as being derived from *sūnu*, son. But this is palpably an attempt at 'popular etymology'. There is a root *su-* mentioned in *Dhātupāṭha* but it means 'to drip' or 'to trickle'.⁴ And this root, apart from the semantic difficulties cannot explain the initial *sn-* in *snušā*. Therefore I would suggest a root **snu-*, to please, to satisfy, as the original root from which the word *snušā* can be derived. *Sitā* was once called *nandinī* by the family-priest of Daśaratha and *snušā* embodies the same idea

¹ P. 2, fn. ² Wb. 1507 and 157. ³ Grassmann, Wb. 1559. ⁴ See Monier-Williams, *Skt. Dict.*, p. 1267, col. 3.

A STUDY OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF BUDDHAPĀLITA
MULAMADHYAMAKAVṚTTI *

BY INDUMATI DATAR.

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The author of Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, Ācārya Nāgārjuna, who is said to be the founder of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhist philosophy, lived sometime in the 2nd cen. A.D. We do not know anything about the development of the school in the 3rd and the 4th cen. A.D. The 5th cen. A.D. is an important landmark in the history of this school as¹ in about the first half of the 5th cen. A.D., there lived two equally great champions of the Madhyamaka system, viz. Ācārya Buddhapāḷita and Ācārya Bhāvaviveka or Bhavya, who differ in their treatment of the doctrine of the system. Buddhapāḷita, the founder of the Prāsāṅgika school of Madhyamaka philosophy, is said to have interpreted Nāgārjuna most faithfully, while Bhāvaviveka, the founder of the Swātantrika school of Madhyamaka philosophy is said to have given independent arguments to prove the doctrine.

¹ No. 3, page 66.

• Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

Buddhapālita¹ was born in the south at Hamsakrīda in the province of Tambala. Later on he was initiated in the order and studied the works of Nāgārjuna under Samgharakṣita, a pupil of Nāgamitra. At the vihāra of Dantapurī, he taught the Madhyamaka doctrine to numerous students and wrote commentaries on many works of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and on some Tantra works. According to another source,² he carried on his work in Valabhī in *Surat*. Unluckily, none of his works is handed down to us to-day except his commentary on the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, the Sanskrit original of which is lost and which is preserved in its Tibetan translation.³ The work is named "Buddhapālita" (cordier→°pālītā) after its author and is translated into Tibetan by one Jñānagarbha.

On comparing the first chapters of Akutobhayā, Nāgārjuna's own commentary on Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, and Buddhapālita, we find that Buddhapālita has given really a very faithful interpretation of Nāgārjuna. Both the commentaries begin with a salutation to Lord Buddha who taught the law of dependent origination, which is described by eight negations. The second point dealt with in both the works is the circumstances that led Buddha to teach this law, viz. the delusion on the part of the people. Buddhapālita adds that in order to teach the insubstantiality of phenomena, the Teacher taught this law. Further he explains why Nāgārjuna taught this law again even when it was already taught by Buddha. The next point dealt with in both the works is why the law is described with eight negations. Buddhapālita however adds that in order to refute eight view-points—the first four of which appear to be the view points of the Sautrāntika, Sāmkhya, Nyāya and Jain schools respectively—these eight negations are mentioned. Then both the teachers explain why "anirōdha" is taken first and "anutpāda" next, almost in the same manner. Buddhapālita has given rather an elaborate explanation. After this we find seventeen explanations of the law of dependent origination in Akutobhayā. Then the author of Mūlamadhyamakakārikā proceeds to give the explanation of the Kārikās in Akutobhayā and Buddhapālita also in his commentary has given a very faithful interpretation of the explanation of the Kārikās by his teacher.

I have tried to give here a translation of the introduction and the first chapter of Buddhapālita worked out from its original Tibetan translation.

वृत्ति"वृद्धपालित" आचार्यवृद्धपालितेन कृता प्रारभ्यते। भारतभाषायां वृद्धपालितमूलमध्यमकवृत्तिः। भोटभाषायां वृद्धपालितमूलमध्यमकवृत्तिः।

रत्नत्रयाय नमः। मञ्जुश्रिये कुमारभूताय नमः। आचार्याय—नागार्जुनाय नमः। आचार्य-भदन्त-वृद्धपालिताय नमः।

¹ Author of No. 2.

² No. 3. Page 66.

³ No. 6, Bstan-Hgyur, Dbu-Ma No. 3842 (Tsa. 158b¹—281a⁴).

एवमाचार्यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादमनुदिदिक्षुः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य गभीरभावं सम्यक्तया यथाभूत-
मवलोक्याश्चर्याकुलमनाः श्रद्धात्पन्नाश्रुस्नातविस्फारितचक्षू रोमाञ्चिततनुः प्राञ्जलिः प्रथममुत्पाय
“तथागतास्तु धर्मकाया;” इति परमार्थशिक्षाकारिकां भाषित्वा पूर्वस्थित इव पुरस्कृत्य तथागताय
परमगुरवे

अनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वत-
मनेकार्थमनानार्थमनागममनिर्गमम् ।
यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रपञ्चोपशमं शिवं
देशयामास संमुद्धस्तं वन्दे वदतां वरम् ॥

इतिपूर्वकं नमस्कारं कृतवान्। येनेश्वर-काल-परमाणु-प्रकृति-स्वभावादिवादप्रपञ्चगहने भ्रमते
लोकाय प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद इति परमार्थसत्यं सुगंभीरमनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतमनेकार्थमनानार्थ-
मनागममनिर्गमं सर्वप्रपञ्चोपशमं निर्वाणनगरगामी शिव ऋजुमार्गोऽयं देशितः सम्यक्संबुद्धाय वदतां
वराय तस्मै नमः। भगवता प्रत्यनीकवादाः सर्वे वाला वञ्चिता इत्यवबुध्य गच्छतेऽन्धाय हस्ताधार-
दानवत् प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः शिष्टोऽत आचार्येण सम्यगवलोक्य वदतां वरमित्युक्तम्। अनिरोध इत्यत्र
निरोधो न विद्यते। वाक्यशेषेष्वप्येवमेव प्रयोक्तव्यम्। कारिकायां तु सूत्रवदुक्तम्। शास्त्रशेष एतद्
व्याक्रियते। एतस्मिन् भाषणे तेन तेन शब्देन यदुक्तं तदभिनिवेशशब्दारा यथाक्रमं न कृतम्।

यदि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्यानुरोधेन शिष्टमिति चेदुच्यते। आचार्येण करुणात्मना सत्त्वान् दुःख-
स्कन्धपीडितान् दृष्ट्वा तान् विमोक्तुं भावनां सम्यक्तथतां प्रतिपादयितुमिच्छता प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादमनु-
शासितुमारब्धम्।

अभूतदर्शनं वन्धो विमोक्षो भूतदर्शनम्। इत्युक्तत्वात्। भावानां सम्यक्तथता कीदृशी। उच्यते।
अभावत्वम्। अज्ञानमोहान्धकारेण बुद्धिचक्षुषु आवरणादेव भावेषु सारत्वमवेक्ष्य तेषु रागद्वेषा उत्पद्येते।
यदा प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादज्ञानस्य प्रकाशान्मोहान्धकारं निराकृत्य प्रज्ञाचक्षुषा भावानां साराभावत्वं दृष्टं
तदाऽनालम्बत्वे तस्य रागद्वेषी नोत्पद्येते। तद्यथोदाहरणम्। कश्चित् स्त्रीरूपप्रतिबिम्बे स्त्रीति मतिरुत्पाद्य
तस्यां सर्वथा रागमुत्पादयेत्तत्सम्बद्धचेतसा तत्र विशेषेण निरूपयेत्। यदा सम्यग्यथावत् प्रतीतिस्तदा
स्त्रीति बुद्धेरभावे सति रागरहिताऽतीव लज्जोत्पद्यते। यथाऽऽत्मनोऽनालम्बचित्तमुद्भूतरागं निन्दति
तथा भगवताऽपि भिक्षवः स्त्रियां मनोगतस्त्रिय आधिपत्यं न समनुपश्येत्। भिक्षवो यदि स्त्री भवेत्
(तर्ह्यपि) मनोगतस्त्रिय आधिपत्यं न समनुदृष्टव्यमिति विस्तरणोक्तम्। तस्मादाचार्यं आर्यदेवोऽपि

भववीजं हि विज्ञातं विषयास्तस्य गोचराः ।
दृष्ट्वा विषयनैरात्म्यं भववीजं निरुध्यते¹ ॥

इत्युवाच। तथाऽऽचार्येण भावानां साराभावत्वं प्रतिपादयितुमेतदारब्धम्।

अत्राह। यदा तथागतेन सर्वज्ञेन सर्वसाक्षिणा महाकरुणासामर्थ्येन प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्तत्र तस्मात्तथोक्त्वा
प्रतिपादितस्तदाप्यनुप्रतिपादनस्य किं प्रयोजनम्। उच्यते। तथागतेन यद्यपि प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः सत्यं
प्रतिपादयितुमुक्तः किन्तु लौकिकव्यहारवशं नोत्पादादिवचनैः प्रतिपादयितुमुक्तः। तत्र तथैवापि वचन-
मात्राभिनिविष्टबुद्धेः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादस्य परमगंभीरभावमपरीक्ष्य भावानां सत्ता विद्यते यस्मात्तेषामु-
त्पत्तिनिरोधागमनिर्गमा उक्त यद्वस्तु भावत एव शाश्वतमुच्छिन्नं तत्तदन्यदिति चिन्ता उत्पद्यतेण
(तथापि) शशविषाणाद्यभाववत्ते नोत्पद्येते इति विचारेण तेभ्यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादभावं शासितुमाचार्यं।
न्यायशास्त्रपूर्वकमेवमारब्धम्। अपरमपि यस्मादेव तथागतेन प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद उक्तवता प्रतिपादितस्त-

स्मादेवाचार्येणानुप्रतिपादयितुमुपपद्यते । अनुक्तमप्रतिपादितं च यत्तत् किमनुप्रतिपादनाहम् । तथा हि लौकिकशास्त्रमपि पूर्वाचार्यैरुक्तवद्भिः प्रतिपादितं तदद्यापि तेषां शिष्यैरनूच्यते । तस्मादाचार्येण तदनुप्रतिपादयितुं युक्तम् ॥

अत्राह । कस्मान्निरोधाद्यष्टकमेतदुपन्यस्तम् । अनिरोधमनुत्पादमनुच्छेदमशाश्वतमिति तदेव केवलं कृतं न पर्याप्तं किम् । उच्यते । भावानामात्मभावो वदतां वरेण व्यवहारवशेन निरोधादिवचनाष्टकेन भावसत्ताया निवेदनं कर्तुं शिष्टस्तस्मान्निरोधाद्यष्टकस्योपन्यासः कृतः । तथैव तत्त्वं चिन्तयश्चोदयन् वा यदेव युक्तं तदपि निरोधाद्यर्थानाश्रित्य चिन्तयत्यभियुनक्ति च । यद्दुत यैः कैश्चिद् भावाः सर्वे उत्पादनरोधधर्माणः क्षणसन्तानप्रवन्धेन भवन्तीत्युक्तम् । अन्यैः प्रकृतिपुरुषा उभौ नित्या इत्युक्तम् । अन्यैः पृथिव्यादीनि नवद्रव्याणि नित्यानीत्युक्तम् । अन्यैर्धर्माधर्माकाशकालपुण्डलजीव इति द्रव्यपट्टकं नित्यमित्युक्तम् । अपरेऽपि वरेण्यो जीवदेहेन्द्रयाग्नौन्धनद्वयहेतुफलद्रव्यगुणगुणिद्वयाङ्गाङ्गिद्वयस्य तत्त्वान्यत्वमपि चोदयन्ति । कैचिद्गुणक्रियासमवाया लिङ्गपरिवर्तनमित्युक्तवन्तः । अन्येऽगुणमनोद्वयमचलमित्युक्तवन्तः । सिद्ध्योद्गमनमपीच्छन्ति । तस्मात् केवलं चिन्तासामर्थ्यचोदनावशेन निरोधाद्यष्टकमुपन्यस्तम् ।

अत्राह । अथवा कस्मान्निरोधः पूर्वं निषिद्ध उत्पादः पश्चान्निषिद्धः । अनुत्पादः पूर्वं वक्तव्य इति चिन्तितं चेदुच्यते । अयमुपालम्भो न युक्तः । कस्मादिति चेत् । छान्दसानां पूर्वापरसमाससम्बन्धो नियतस्तथाप्यन्यत्रैतदनियतम् ।

अत्राह । तथाप्युत्पादे सति निरोधो भवति न सति न भवतीति क्रमवत् पूर्वमनुत्पाद इति वचनं खलु भवितव्यम् । उच्यते । यस्यैवमुत्पादः पूर्वा निरोधः पश्चादिति क्रिया येनास्माकं प्रतीता तदुदाहरणं किञ्चिद्दीयताम् । आह । सर्वमप्युदाहरणम् । कथमिति चेत् । तावत्

अनर्थभूत उत्पादः सत्युत्पादे जरा यतः ।

शत्रवो मरणव्याधिवन्धुःखादयस्तथा ॥

इति तद्वत् । उच्यते । यत्र मरणे सति य उत्पादः स मरणपूर्वगतः खलु मन्यते । यदि मरण-पूर्वगतो न विद्येत संसारस्यादिः संभवेत् । तदप्यनिष्टम् । तस्मात् संसारस्याद्यन्ताभावात् पूर्वं उत्पादो मरणमनन्तरमथवा मरणं पूर्वमुत्पादोऽनन्तर इति वक्तुं न शक्यते । अनन्तरं च

यदि जातिर्भवेत्पूर्वं जरामरणमुत्तरम् ।

निर्जरामरणा जातिर्भवेज्जायेत चामृतः ॥ इति संभवेत् ।

अथवाऽऽह । यदि बहुभयंकर उत्पादेऽस्त्यनर्थो न भवति वृक्षोत्पादेऽसति दावानलो वायुनोदो न भवेदित्येतदनुदुदाहरणं भवति । उच्यते । अत्र को विशेषः । आह । विशेषस्त्वयम् । यस्मादत्र निरोध-पूर्वगत उत्पादो न विद्यत इहान्यतरुवृक्षके निरुद्धेऽत्रोत्पादस्यासंभावत् । उच्यते । अत्रापि बीजनिरोध-पूर्वगतादुत्पादात् सोऽपि निरोधपूर्वगत एवोत्पादोऽस्ति । अत्राह । तन्न तथा । कस्मादिति चेत् । अन्यस्मिन्नि-रुद्धेऽन्यस्यैवोत्पादात् । तथेह बीजनिरोध एवाङ्कुरोद्भवोऽङ्कुरनिरोधे तु नाङ्कुरोत्पादस्तस्मात् तथा । उच्यते । तथैव तद् । कस्मादिति चेत् । अत्रोत्पादमरणयोरुभयोः शान्तयोः सतोऽस्त्युत्पादस्याभावात् । यदेव मृतं तदेव यद्युत्पद्येत तर्हि नित्यत्वदोषप्रसंगः । देवता देवतैव संभवेत् । तिर्यक् तिर्यगेव भवेत् । एवं सति कर्मकलेशकृतोत्पादाभावाद् गतिविप्लवाभावात्तदप्यनिष्टम् । ततो यन्मृतं तदेवोत्पद्येतेति यदुक्तं तस्याशक्यत्वात्तस्य तत्सदृशम् । अत्रान्यदेव निरुध्यतेऽन्यदेवोत्पद्यत इति यत्तदपि न युक्तम् । यदि बीजं चाङ्कुरश्चान्यदेव संभवतस्तदा हेतुफलव्यवहारोऽपि न संभवति । व्यवहारतस्तु तदुभयान्यत्वं न विद्यते । अपरमप्यत्र वक्तारो बीजमुत्त्वा मया तरुत्पादितो मयाऽयं पुत्र उत्पादितो वृक्षोऽयं मम पुत्रोऽयं

भवेति वदन्ति । तत्र यदि बीजं च वृक्षश्च पुत्रश्च भिन्ना भवेयुर्लौकिकव्यवहारानामसंभवो भवेत्तस्माद्बीजाङ्कुरा उभौ भिन्ना इति वक्तुं न शक्यम् । अथ च

अन्यदन्यत्प्रतीत्यान्यन्नान्यदन्यदुत्तेऽन्यतः ।

यत्प्रतीत्य च यत्तस्मात्तदन्यन्नोपपद्यते ॥ इति भवति ।

अत्राह । तत्रापि बीजास्तित्वे सति निरोधो भवत्यसति न भवत्यत्रापि पूर्वोत्पन्नं तत्पश्चान्निरुद्धम् । उच्यते । एवं तस्मिन्नपि बीजे बीजननिरोधपूर्वगमत्वं विद्यते । कस्मादिति चेत् । अत्राङ्कुरादपि वृक्षस्यान्यत्वेऽसति वृक्षादप्यन्यत्वस्याभावाद् बीजननिरोधपूर्वगतादङ्कुरोत्पादे बीजमपि बीजननिरोधपूर्वगतादुत्पाद्यते । अत्राचार्यं आर्यदेवोऽपि

एवं बीजस्य दृष्टान्तस्तत्राग्रं नैव विद्यते ।

अथ तस्मादहेतुत्वादुत्पादस्याप्यसंभवः ॥

इत्युवाच । तस्मादुत्पादननिरोधद्वये पूर्वपश्चाद्व्यवस्थितेरभावात् कस्मान्निरोधः पूर्वं निषिद्ध उत्पादः पश्चानिषिद्ध इत्युपालम्भो न युक्तः । तदुभये पूर्वपश्चाद्व्यवस्थितेरभावस्यैव प्रदर्शितत्वादाचार्येणात्र निरोधस्य पूर्वं ग्रहणं कृतमुत्पादः पश्चात् कल्पितः ।

अत्राह । तावद्यथोत्पादवचनं व्यवहारमात्रं तथा प्रतिपादितं किम् । उच्यते । तत्प्रथमं प्रतिपादितव्यम् ।

न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां नाप्यहेतुतः ।

उत्पन्ना जातु विद्यन्ते भावाः क्व चन के चन ॥१॥

अत्र यदि भावः कश्चिदुत्पद्येत तस्य भावस्योत्पत्तिः स्वतो वा परतो वा स्वतश्च परतश्च द्वाभ्यां वाऽहेतुतो वेति परीक्षणे सर्वतोऽपि नोपपद्यते । कथमिति चेत् । स्वत इत्यात्मन इत्यर्थः । तत्र तावद्भावा न स्वत उत्पद्यन्ते तदुत्पादवैयर्थ्याज्जन्मानवस्थानाच्च । न हि स्वात्मना विद्यमानानां पदार्थानां पुनरुत्पादे प्रयोजनमस्ति । अथ सन्नपि जायेत न कदाचिन्न जायेत । तदपि नेष्टम् । तस्मात्तावद्भावाः स्वतो नोत्पद्यन्ते । परतोऽपि नोत्पद्यन्ते । कस्मादिति चेत् । सर्वतः सर्वसंभवप्रसंगात् । स्वतश्च परतश्च द्वाभ्यामपि नोत्पद्यन्ते । उभयतो दोषप्रसंगात् । अहेतुतोऽपि नोत्पद्यन्ते । सदा च सर्वतश्च सर्वसंभवप्रसंगात् सर्वारम्भवैयर्थ्यं दोषप्रसंगाच्च । तथा यस्माद् भावोत्पत्तिः सर्वप्रकारतो न युज्यते तस्मादनुत्पादेनोत्पादोत्कृतिर्व्यवहारमात्रमेव (भवति) ।

आह । भावाः स्वतो नोत्पद्यन्ते । अङ्कुरत्वमङ्कुरत्वात् कथमुत्पद्येत । यदुक्तं स्वतो नोत्पन्नाः स्वतश्च परतश्चोभयतोऽप्युत्पद्यन्ते तदपि न युज्यते । एकांशवैकल्यात् । एवमहेतुत उत्पाद इत्यस्य पक्षस्यैकान्तो निरुद्ध इति तावन्न गृहीतः । भावाः परतो नोत्पन्ना इति यद् गृह्यते तस्मिन् (विषये) यदुक्तं तद्वचनव्यम् ।

चत्वारः प्रत्यया हेतुश्चालम्बनमनन्तरम् ।

तथैवाधिपतेयं च प्रत्ययो नास्ति पंचमः ॥२॥

पंचमो नेत्येतेनाचार्येण केन चित् प्रत्ययचतुष्टयादन्यद् व्यवहारत उक्तं तत्सर्वमपि प्रत्ययचतुष्टये संगृहीतमिति निश्चयन गृहीतम् । तत्प्रदर्शितत्वाद्देत्वादप्रत्ययचतुष्टयं भावानामुत्पत्तिहेतुरिति

अत्राह । प्रत्ययास्तावद्विद्यन्ते । तेभ्यः सद्भ्यो भावाः सिद्ध्यन्ति । तत्सिद्धेरुत्पादः सिद्ध्यति उच्यते ।

प्रत्यया नाक्रियावन्तः

येषु क्रिया नास्ति ते प्रत्यया न विद्यन्ते । कथमिति चेत् । चक्षुरादयो जनिक्रियासाधकत्वेन ज्ञानस्य प्रत्यया भवन्ति । जनिक्रियाऽयुक्तेति पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम् । तदभावात् तत्साधकभावः कुतो भवेत् । तदसिद्धत्वाच्चक्षुरादयो जनिक्रियायाः प्रत्यया न सन्ति । जनिक्रियायाः प्रत्ययाभावे कथं प्रत्ययोऽपि भवेत् । यदि भवेत् सर्वमपि सर्वप्रत्ययात्मकं भवेत् । एवं सति सर्वतः सर्वोत्पादो भवेद्वाऽयं च न भवेद्वा । अतोऽक्रियावन्तः प्रत्यया न विद्यन्ते ।

आह । अस्माभिः प्रत्यया अक्रियावन्त इत्युक्तं वाऽयं प्रत्ययाः क्रियावन्तो वा विद्यन्ते । उच्यते ।
क्रियावन्तश्च सन्त्युत ॥४॥

नेत्यवसरसम्बद्धाः प्रत्ययाः क्रियावन्तो न सन्ति । क्रिया प्रत्ययवती नास्त्यप्रत्ययवती नास्तीति पूर्वं प्रतिपादितमेव । क्रियाऽभावे प्रत्ययाः क्रियावन्तः कथम् । अथ यस्मादक्रियावन्तः प्रत्यया अपि न युक्ताः क्रियावन्तोऽपि न भवन्ति तस्मात्प्रत्ययविचारो निरर्थकः ।

अत्राह । प्रत्यया अक्रियावन्तो वा क्रियावन्तो वेत्यप्रयोजकेनैतेनाभिप्रायेण किम् । यस्मात्सर्वप्रकारेषु हेत्वादिप्रत्ययचतुष्टयं प्रतीत्य भावा उत्पद्यन्ते तस्मात्ते भावानां प्रत्यया भवन्ति । उच्यते । युष्माकमाकाशं मुष्टिताडनमेव । यदा जनिक्रिया न विद्यते तदभावात् प्रत्यया नोपपद्यन्त इति पूर्वं दर्शितं तदा तान् प्रतीत्य भावा उत्पद्यन्त इति वक्तुं कथं युक्तम् । अपरं च ।

उत्पद्यन्ते प्रतीत्येमानितीमे प्रत्ययाः किल ।

यावन्नोत्पद्यन्त इमे तावन्नाप्रत्ययाः कथम् ॥५॥

यदीमान् प्रतीत्योत्पद्यन्त इति ते प्रत्ययास्तहि परीक्ष्य यावन्नोत्पद्यन्ते तावत्प्रत्यया न भवन्तीत्यपि कस्मान्न चिन्तितम् । यदि पूर्वं न प्रत्ययभूतं पश्चात्प्रत्ययभूतमिति चिन्त्येत तदपि नोपपद्यते । कस्मादिति चेत् । सर्वस्य सर्वप्रत्ययभूतप्रसंगात्तदपि नेष्टम् । यद्यप्रत्ययभूता अपि किञ्चिदन्वदपेक्ष्य प्रत्यया भवेरन्नथ सर्वस्य प्रत्ययत्वं सर्वेषु न प्रसज्येतेति चिन्त्येत तदपि तथैव । किञ्चिदपेक्ष्याप्रत्ययभूतमपि प्रत्ययत्वं भवेत् प्रत्ययत्वेऽपि प्रत्ययो भवेत्तत्राप्येवं कल्पनाप्रयोजनम् । अनवस्थादोषोऽपि भवेत् । यद्यन्यत् किञ्चिदन्वदपेक्ष्य प्रत्ययभूतं तदप्यन्यदपेक्ष्य तदप्यन्यदपेक्ष्येत्यनवस्थाप्रसंगात्तदपि नेष्टम् । तस्मात्प्रत्यया नैवोपपद्यन्ते । अपरमपि

नैवासतो नैव सतः प्रत्ययोऽर्थस्य युज्यते ।

असतः प्रत्ययः कस्य सतश्च प्रत्ययेन किम् ॥६॥

इदं प्रतीत्येदमुत्पद्यत इति सम्बन्धेनास्यार्थस्यायं प्रत्यय इत्युक्ते सत्येतदेतदित्यस्य सम्यग्धः सोऽप्यर्थस्यासतो वा सतो वा प्रत्ययत्वेन कल्प्येतेति पर्यायी । अर्थस्यासतो वा सतो वाऽयं प्रत्यय इति न युक्तम् । कथमिति चेत् । असतः प्रत्ययः कस्य सतश्च प्रत्ययेन किम् । अभावस्य प्रत्यये कल्पिते प्रत्ययोऽयं कस्येत्युक्ते किं वक्तव्यम् । एवं पटाभावस्य प्रत्ययास्तन्तवः सन्तीति वक्तुं युज्येत ।

आह । तन्तुभ्यः पटसंभवात् पश्चात् संभवस्य न्यायेन तन्तवः पटप्रत्यया इति वक्तुं युज्यते । उच्यते । किं त्वया नारीसंभूतधनेन पुत्रमातेति पूर्वमेवेष्टम् । अभावस्य प्रत्ययो न युक्त इत्युक्तम् । प्रत्ययस्यायुक्तत्वाद् भावोत्पत्तिनिषेधवत्त्वानागतभावोत्पादेन प्रत्ययसिद्धेरिच्छा । यदा कुत्रापि कस्मिं-

श्चिदपि काले भावोत्पादो न विद्यते-असतः प्रत्ययः कस्य इत्येतदवस्थितं तदा भावस्य पश्चादुत्पादापेक्षणाद्युष्माकं प्रत्ययसिद्धिः कुतो भवेत् । तस्मात् यत्किञ्चिदेतद् । तत्र यदि सतः प्रत्ययोऽस्तीति चिन्त्येत । उच्यते । सतश्च प्रत्ययेन किम् । भावे सति प्रत्ययो नोपपद्यते । अथ सत्यपि प्रत्ययेन किम् । पटे सिद्धे सतः प्रत्ययास्तन्त्वः सन्तीति वक्तुं न युज्यते ।

आह । अस्माभिरुत्पादे प्रत्ययक्रियाऽस्तीति नोक्तं तथापि पटस्य सतः प्रत्ययास्तन्त्वः सन्तीति व्यपदेशकरणेन पटस्य तस्य प्रत्ययास्तन्त्वो भवन्ति । उच्यते । किं भवान् स्वपत्नीति न मत्वा पुत्रपत्नीति चिन्तयति । भावे सत्युत्पादस्य प्रत्ययो नोपपद्यते । प्रत्ययस्यायुक्तत्वाद् भावोत्पादनिषेधवत्त्वया पटोत्पाद-प्रत्ययोपदेश इष्टः । अथ च भावोत्पादसिद्धत्वाद् ग्रहणं शक्यं तत्पश्चादस्य प्रत्ययोऽयमित्युपपद्यते । ततः एतदपि यत्किञ्चित् ।

अत्राह । अत्र भावेषु लक्षणतः सिद्धेषु हेतुः सिध्यति । इति हेतोर्लक्षणमपि निर्दिश्य ततो लक्षणस्य सतो हेतुर्भवति । उच्यते ।

न सन्नासन्न सदसन् धर्मो निर्वर्तते यदा ।

कथं निर्वर्तको हेतुरेवं सति न¹ युज्यते ॥७॥

अत्र यो धर्मो हेतुतो निर्वर्तितः स सन् वाऽसन् वा सदसन्नैकदैव वा निर्वर्तितः । सर्वप्रकारतो नोपपद्यते । अत्र तावत् सन्न निर्वर्तते । विद्यमानत्वात् । अत्र सत्यय्युत्पादेन किम् । यदि सन्नपि विद्यमानत्वादसन्नप्यविद्यमानत्वान्नेष्टः । हेतुशिक्षाऽपि नोपपद्यते । अथ सत्यपि हेतुना किम् अथ । तावत् सन्न निर्वर्तते । सोऽसन्नपि न निर्वर्तते । अविद्यमानत्वात् । यद्यसन्नपि प्रत्ययः शशविषाणमप्युत्पद्येत । भावो हेतुत उत्पन्न इति चेत् (तर्हि) न युक्तम् । हेतोरनुपपत्तेः । अथ भावेऽसति कस्य हेतुर्भवेत् । अपि च कथं हेतोर्हेतुत्वं स्यात् । अथ सर्वेषु भावेष्वसत्सु तत्र को हेतुः । स न विद्यत इति विशेषेण शिष्टम् । स सतः कुतो भवेत् । तथा सत्यसन्नपि न निर्वर्तते । अथ सदसन्नपि न निर्वर्तते । सदसतोऽभयोः सहसंभवाशक्यत्वान्महादोषप्रसंगाच्च । अथ सदसन्नपि न निर्वर्तते । तस्मादथ परीक्ष्य यथा भावसिद्धिः कथमपि नोपपद्यते तथा कथं निर्वर्तको हेतुरेवं सति न युज्यते । एवं सति निर्वर्तको हेतुर्नाम न युज्यते ।

अत्राह । आलम्बनं विद्यते । विज्ञानादेः स्थितेर्विद्यमानत्वात् । उच्यते ।

अनालम्बन एवायं सन् धर्म उपदिश्यते ।

अत्र सालम्बन इत्यर्थः शिष्टः । सन् धर्मं आलम्बनादेव सालम्बन उपदिष्टः । सन् धर्मं अनालम्बनात्त्वया स्वबुद्ध्या सालम्बन उक्तः । कथमिति चेत् । अत्र सालम्बन इत्यालम्बनं विद्यत इत्यस्यार्थः । धर्मः सति सालम्बनोऽसति न भवति । आलम्बनसहत्वात्पूर्वमनालम्बनात्तदालम्बनं न विद्यते । अथ यथा धने सति धनसहत्वं धनवत्त्वं विद्यते । कश्चित् सति सधनोऽसति न भवति । धनसहत्वात्पूर्वं धनाभावात्तद्वन्नं विद्यते तद्वत् । तस्मादनालम्बन एवायं धर्मः । अत्र त्वया स्वविकल्पादालम्बनसहत्वं कल्पितम् । तत्र अस्माभिर्वक्तव्यम् ।

अथानालम्बने धर्मो कुत आलम्बनं पुनः ॥८॥

¹ No. 5 page 83, Candrakīrti reads 'हि' in the place of न.

अयेति शब्दः पृष्टः । कुत इति समग्रं शिष्टम् । अथानालम्बने धर्मो सिद्धे सति कस्मान्निरर्थकाऽऽलम्बनपरीक्षा ।

आह । त्वया समयमचिन्तयित्वा विपरीतं परीक्षितम् । अस्माभिरालम्बनमित्यालम्बनसहत्वं धनसहत्ववदिति नोक्तम् । अथार्थो विद्यते धर्मो सिद्धे येन मूलेन सिध्यति तदालम्बनम् । तथाऽऽलम्बनसहत्वमुपदिष्टम् । उच्यते । तन्नोपपद्यते । तत्रापि वक्तव्यम् । अथानालम्बने धर्मो कुत आलम्बनं पुनः । अथ धर्मोऽनालम्बने सत्यभावान्नाभिसिद्धे सत्यालम्बनं कुतः पुनः सिध्यते । धर्मस्यालम्बनमिति तदपि नाभिसिध्यति । नाभिसिद्धे सति नास्ति तत्रालम्बनं कुतो विद्यते । आलम्बनं न विद्यते । यस्मादालम्बनाद्धर्मः सिद्धस्तस्मादालम्बनेऽसत्यपि धर्मोऽपि सालम्बनो न विद्यते ।

अत्राह । अन्यस्मिन् भावे निरुद्धेऽनन्तरमिति स भावान्तरोत्पत्तेः प्रत्ययो विद्यते । अथ तदनन्तरमित्यस्ति । उच्यते ।

अनुत्पन्नेषु धर्मेषु निरोधो नोपपद्यते ।

नानन्तरमतो युक्तं निरुद्धे प्रत्ययश्च कः ॥११॥

अत्र मूलान्तरं निरुद्धे प्रत्ययश्च कः । नानन्तरमतो युक्तम् ॥

इति पादो द्रष्टव्यः । चेति शब्दोऽत्रानुत्पन्ने (इति) परीक्ष्य द्रष्टव्यः । सोऽप्यनुत्पन्नाच्छद्वात्परीक्ष्य । निरुद्धे प्रत्ययश्च कः अनुत्पादात् कः प्रत्यय इति योजितः । ता उभौ श्लोकयोजनायाः क्रमवन्न कृतौ । अन्यस्मिन् भावे निरुद्धेऽनन्तरं भावान्तरोत्पत्तेः प्रत्ययो विद्यत इति यदुक्तं तन्नोपपद्यते । कस्मादिति चेत् । अथ । अनुत्पन्नेषु धर्मेषु निरोधो नोपपद्यते । निरुद्धे प्रत्ययश्च कः निरोध इति न विद्यते । अत्र यद्यङ्कुरोत्पादात्पूर्वं बीजं निरुद्धं बीजे निरुद्धे न सति योऽङ्कुरोत्पादस्तस्य प्रत्ययोऽपि कः । अपि च बीजनिरोधस्य प्रत्ययोऽपि कः । बीजनिरोधाभावोऽपि कथमङ्कुरोत्पादस्य प्रत्ययः । अङ्कुरानुत्पादस्य प्रत्ययो बीजनिरोधः कथम् । तथा सति बीजे निरुद्धेऽङ्कुरोत्पादं दृष्ट्वा तदुभयोर्हेत्वभावः प्रसज्येत । हेत्वभावो नेष्टः ।

आह । यद्यङ्कुरोत्पादानन्तरं बीजं निरुद्धं तथाप्यनन्तरं सिद्धम् । इहाङ्कुरोत्पादानन्तरं बीजनिरोधप्रत्ययस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । उच्यते । तदपि नोपपद्यते । कस्मादिति चेत् । उत्पन्ने प्रत्ययत्वं कथम् । यद्यङ्कुरोत्पादे नामाङ्कुरोत्पादक्रियाया अन्ते बीजं निरुद्धं तस्य निरोधस्य प्रत्ययोऽपि कः । अङ्कुरोत्पादस्य प्रत्ययोऽपि कः । तस्मात्तथा सत्यप्युभयोः पूर्ववद्धेत्वभावः प्रसज्यते । यदि बीजे निरुध्यमानेऽङ्कुरोत्पादो भवेद्धेत्वभावस्य दोषो न स्यादिति चिन्त्येत तदपि न युज्यते । कस्मादिति चेत् । यन्निरुध्यते यदुत्पद्यते च त उभेऽपि विद्येते । अनिरोधादुत्पादाच्च । उभयोर्भावयोः सतोरनन्तरप्रत्ययत्वं कथम् । उत्पादननिरोधा उभा एककाले दृष्ट्वाऽप्यनन्तरं नोपपद्यते । समकालत्वात् । नानन्तरमतो युक्तम् । अथ यस्मात्सर्वप्रकारतः परीक्ष्यानन्तरं नोपपद्यते तस्मादनन्तरप्रत्ययो विद्यत इति यदुक्तं तन्नोपपद्यते । अपि चायमन्योऽर्थो विद्यते । अत्र भावा अनुत्पन्ना इति पूर्वं सिद्धम् । तस्माद्भावानुत्पादे सिद्ध उच्यते । अनुत्पन्नेषु धर्मेषु निरोधो नोपपद्यते । भावेऽप्यनुत्पन्नेषु नामासत्सु निरोधो नोपपद्यते । असत्सु निरोधः कुतः । नानन्तरमतो युक्तम् । अथ यस्माद्भावनिरोधो नोपपद्यते तस्मादनन्तरं न युक्तम् । अथ निरोधं परीक्ष्यानन्तरं न युक्तम् । कथमिति चेत् । निरुद्धे प्रत्ययश्च कः । उत्पन्नेऽपि प्रत्ययः कथम् । तस्यार्थः पूर्वप्रकारेणोक्तः । अत्राह । स्वभावो विद्यते । स्वस्य भावः स्वभावः । सोऽपि समासतो यस्मिन् सति यः संभूतो यस्मिन्नसति योऽसंभूतः स तस्य स्वभावोऽस्ति । उच्यते ।

भावानां निःस्वभावानां न सत्ता विद्यते यतः ।

सतीदमस्मिन् भवतीत्येतन्नैवोपपद्यते ॥१०॥

अत्र भावानां निःस्वभावानामिति पूर्वमपि सदैव शिष्टं पश्चादपि विस्तरेण शिष्टम्। तस्मात्तेष्वभिसिद्धेषु भावानां निःस्वभावानामिति प्रज्ञप्यते। अथ यस्माद्भावानां निःस्वभावानां सत्तेति सत्ताया भावो नोपपद्यते तस्माद्यस्मिन् सत्यस्मिन् सतीत्युच्यते स भावो न विद्यते। अस्मिन् सतीत्यत्रासतीदं भवतीति कुत उपपद्यते। अस्मिन् सतीदं भवतीत्यत्रानुपपन्ने यत्स्वभावत्वं तत् कुतः। तस्मात् स्वभावत्वमपि नोपपद्यते।

अत्राह। प्रत्ययेभ्यो भावा अत्र सिद्धा इति वक्तुं यद्यपि न शक्यं तथापि प्रत्यया विद्यन्त एव। कस्मादिति चेत्। तेभ्यः फलस्योत्पत्तेः। इह वीजादिभ्यः प्रत्ययेभ्योऽङ्कुरादेः फलस्योत्पत्तिर्दृश्यते। तस्मात्तेभ्यः फलस्योत्पत्तेर्दृष्टत्वात् फलस्य प्रत्ययोऽयमस्तीति ज्ञायते। उच्यते।

न च व्यस्तसमस्तेषु प्रत्ययेष्वस्ति तत्फलम्।

प्रत्ययेभ्यः कथं तच्च भवेन्न प्रत्ययेषु यत् ॥११॥

तदित्यस्य शब्दस्यैवेत्यर्थः। व्यस्तेष्वपि नैव विद्यते। समस्तेष्वपि नैव विद्यते। त्वया प्रत्ययस्याभिसिद्धेर्यः फलोत्पादः शासितस्तस्यानुपपत्तेः प्रत्ययसिद्धिः कुतः कथमिति चेत्। प्रत्ययेषु व्यस्तेषु समस्तेषु च फलस्याविद्यमानत्वात्। प्रत्ययेषु व्यस्तेषु समस्तेषु च यन्नास्ति तत्तेभ्यः कथमुत्पद्येत। फलानुत्पादे तत्र प्रत्ययसिद्धिः कुतः। तत्र यदि प्रत्ययेषु फलं विद्यत एवेति चिन्त्येत तर्ह्यपि प्रत्ययो नोपपद्यते। अथ सति प्रत्ययक्रिया न विद्यत उत्पन्नस्याप्युत्पत्तेरप्रयोजनात्। अन्यच्च यदि प्रत्ययेषु फलं विद्येतानेकप्रत्ययेभ्यो यत्फलं तत् प्रत्येकस्मिन् प्रत्यये परीक्ष्यते वाशतो विद्यते वेति पर्यायी। तत्र तावद्यदि प्रत्येकस्मिन् विद्यत इति परीक्ष्येतानेकप्रत्ययेभ्यो न भवेत्। प्रत्येकस्मिन्नपि भूतत्वाददृष्टात् प्रत्येकस्मादपि फलोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत। यदि प्रत्ययेषु फलस्यांशो विद्यत इति परीक्ष्येत तथाप्यदृष्टात् प्रत्येकस्मात् फलांशोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत तदपि नेष्टम्। तस्मात् प्रत्ययेषु व्यस्तेषु समस्तेषु च फलं नोपपद्यते। यदि प्रत्ययेषु फलमसदपि प्रत्ययेभ्य उत्पद्येत फलोत्पादाददृष्टात्तत्र प्रत्ययोऽभिसिध्यतीति चिन्त्येत तत्र वक्तव्यम्॥

अथासदपि तत्तेभ्यः प्रत्ययेभ्यः प्रवर्तते।

अप्रत्ययेभ्योऽपि कस्मान्नाभिप्रवर्तते फलम् ॥१२॥

अत्र फलभावात् प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोर्विशेषः। फलमपि प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययेषु न विद्यते। तेष्वभूयमानं यदि प्रत्ययेभ्यः फलमुत्पद्येताप्रत्ययेभ्योऽपि कस्मान्नोत्पद्येत। अथ प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययानां फलाभावात् समत्वात् प्रत्ययेभ्यः फल उत्पन्नेऽप्रत्ययेभ्यो नोत्पद्यत इति मनसि विचारमात्रः क्षीयत इव। तस्मात् फलोत्पादो नोपपद्यते। फलोत्पादेऽसति प्रत्ययसिद्धिः कुतः।

अत्राह। प्रत्ययेषु फलं सच्चासच्च प्रत्ययेभ्य उत्पद्यत इति नोक्तम्। फलं प्रत्ययेभ्यो भवति प्रत्ययात्मभूतं प्रत्ययमयमित्युक्तम्। तथा सति पटस्य तन्तुभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तन्त्वात्मभूतस्य भूतत्वात्तन्तवः पटस्य प्रत्ययाः। उच्यते।

फलं च प्रत्ययमयं प्रत्ययाश्चास्वयंमयाः।

फलमस्वमयेभ्यो यत्तत्प्रत्ययमयं कथम् ॥१३॥

फलं प्रत्ययेभ्यो भवति प्रत्ययात्ममयमिति परीक्ष्यते। प्रत्यया अस्वयंमयाः। आत्मत्वे नामिसिद्धे हि स्वात्मत्वं नैव विद्यते। अस्वयंमयं स्वभावशून्यम्। प्रत्ययोऽस्वयंमयः। आत्मत्वे नामिसिद्धे सति स्वात्मत्वं न विद्यते। अस्वयंमयाः स्वभावशून्यास्तेभ्यः फलमुत्पन्नं दृष्ट्वा कथं प्रत्ययमयमित्युपलक्ष्येत।

अथ यदि तन्त्वात्मत्वमभिसिद्ध्येत स्वयंमयस्यापि भूतत्वादथ पटस्तन्तुमय इत्यप्युपपद्येत । यदा तन्त्वा-
त्मत्वं नाभिसिद्ध्यत्यस्वयंमयः स्वभावशून्यस्तन्तुभूतस्तन्त्वात्महेतुमयस्तदा पटस्तन्तुमय इति कथमुपप-
द्येत । आचार्य आर्यदेवोऽपि

पटः कारणतः सिद्धः सिद्धं कारणमन्यतः ।

सिद्धिर्यस्य स्वतो नास्ति तदन्यज्जनयेत्कथम् ॥¹

इत्युक्तवान् । अथ यस्मात् प्रत्ययस्वभावो न सिद्ध्यत्यस्वमयं स्वभावशून्यं तस्मान्न प्रत्ययमयम् ।
फलं प्रत्ययमयं न विद्यते । तत्र यदि फलमप्रत्ययमयमिति चिन्त्येतोच्यते । नाप्रत्ययमयं फलम् ।
संविद्यते यदा पटस्तन्तुमयो गोपपद्यते तदा पटो वर्णमय इति लोकविषुद्धं कथमुपपद्येत । तस्मात्फल-
मप्रत्ययमयमपि न विद्यते ।

आह । प्रत्यया विद्यन्त एव । कस्मादिति चेत् । प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययनिश्चयात् । अत्र प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययनिश्चयो
दृश्यते । तिलेभ्यस्तैलमुत्पद्यते सर्पिर्नोत्पद्यते । दध्नः सर्पिस्तद्यते तैलं तु नोत्पद्यते । सिकताभ्यस्तदुभय-
मपि नोत्पद्यते । अथ यस्मादेषोऽस्य प्रत्यय एषोऽस्याप्रत्यय इति भवति तस्मात्प्रत्ययः सिद्धः । उच्यते ।

तस्मान्न प्रत्ययमयं नाप्रत्ययमयं फलम् ॥

संविद्यते फलाभावात् प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययाः कुतः ॥१४॥

अत्र त्वया तैलादिफलोत्पादानुत्पादौ प्रत्ययाप्रत्ययेभ्य इति निश्चयाद्धेतुशक्तः । फलोत्पादो नोप-
पद्यत इति पूर्वं शिष्टम् । फलेऽसत्येषोऽस्याप्रत्यय एषोऽस्य प्रत्यय इति कुत उपपद्येत । फलात् परीक्ष्य
तदुभयं संभवति तत्फलमपि न विद्यते । फलाभावादप्रत्ययः प्रत्ययश्च कुतः । तथा सति फलेऽप्यनुपपन्ने
प्रत्ययाप्रत्यया अपि न विद्यन्ते । फलप्रत्ययाप्रत्ययानामभूतत्वादुत्पाद इत्युक्तिर्व्यवहारमात्रमेव सिद्ध्यति ।

प्रत्ययपरीक्षा नाम प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ॥

BHĀṢYADĪPA—A NEW COMMENTARY ON ŚĀBARABHĀṢYA ACCORDING TO THE PRĀBHĀKARA SCHOOL *

By V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Kṣīrasāgaramiśra (Kṣīrasāgaravāsimiśra) is known to have written two works,¹ the *Arthavādādivicāra*, briefly dealing with the contents of the second, third and fourth pādas of the 'first adhyāya of Pūrvamīmāṃsā-śāstra, and *Bhāṣyadīpa*, an original commentary on Śābarabhāṣya according to Prābhākara school. Next to Bṛhatī which is very difficult to understand, Bhāṣyadīpa is to be considered a good reliable commentary on Śābarabhāṣya elucidating the Prābhākara doctrines very clearly and commenting on the bhāṣya-grantha in favour of those doctrines. It is generally very brief but is elaborate in places where the important Prābhākara doctrines are explained. The author seems to be a *Maithila* since he possesses the surname 'miśra'. His date is not definitely known. His lower limit may be fixed by the references found in Somanātha Dikṣita's *Mayūkhamaikā*² (c.1600 A.D.) the famous commentary on *Śāstradīpikā* of Pārthasarathimiśra. In all probability he is later than Bhavanāthamiśra (c. 1200 A.D.), the author of *Nayaviveka* which our author might have consulted along with the works of Prabhākaramiśra and of his famous commentator Śālikanāthamiśra

The *Arthavādādivicāra* is not a commentary on any work but a brief treatise (about 500 granthas) dealing with the authoritativeness of arthavādas, mantras, smṛtis and nāmadheyas in general. It has explained the following adhikaraṇas according to Prābhākara school :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| (1) arthavādādhikaraṇa | (I.2.1) |
| (2) mantrādhikaraṇa | (I. 2.4) |
| (3) smṛtyadhikaraṇa | (I. 3.1) |
| (4) śrutiprābalyādhikaraṇa | (I. 3.2) |
| (5) vyākaraṇaprāmāṇyādhikaraṇa | (I. 3.9) |
| (6) ākṛtyadhikaraṇa | (I. 3.10) |
| (7) udbhidadhikaraṇa | (I. 4. 1 and 2) |

¹ Both these works are preserved in the Adyar Library, Madras and the Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum. The first is complete and the second incomplete.

² Vide, N. S. Edition. Pp. 205 and 596.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

At the end of smṛtyadhikaraṇa he speaks of himself as a great and successful controversialist, in the verse :

‘ नित्यानुमेयश्रुतिमूलतेयं मन्वाद्युपज्ञस्मृतिभारतीनाम् ।
प्रसाधिता क्षीरसमुद्रवासिमिश्रेण वादीन्द्रविजित्वरेण ॥’

He closes the vyākaraṇaprāmāṇyādhikaraṇa with the remark that he closely follows Prabhākara whose doctrines are comparable to the hot and brilliant rays of the sun :

इति सिद्धान्तमार्गोज्यमाविरासीन्प्रकाशितः ।
प्रभाकरसमुत्कीर्णप्रचण्डन्यायरश्मिभिः ॥

At the end of ākṛtyadhikaraṇa and udbhidadhikaraṇa the following verse and colophon are found :

सामान्यवाचिशब्दानां व्यक्तिवाच्यत्वद्रूपणम् ।
सुबोधं क्षीरसमुद्रवासिमिश्रेण वर्णितम् ॥
इति क्षीरसमुद्रवासिमिश्रविरचितं नामधेयनिरूपणं समाप्तम् ॥

In the *Bhāṣyadīpa* also several colophons are found, a few of which may be noted here :

- (1) इति मिश्रविरचिते भाष्यदीपे द्वितीयस्य प्रथमःपादः ।
- (2) इति क्षीरसमुद्रवासिमिश्रविरचिते भाष्यदीपे द्वितीयस्य तृतीयःपादः ।
- (3) इति महोपाध्यायक्षीरसमुद्रवासिमिश्रविरचिते भाष्यदीपे द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य चतुर्थः-
पादः ।

Bhāṣyadīpa which is to be considered an authoritative and faithful commentary on *Śābarabhāṣya* interpreting the bhāṣyagrantha according to Prabhākara elucidates the Prābhākara doctrines in every adhikaraṇa. One of the important doctrines is the conception of niyoga, also known as kārya and apūrva, which is conveyed by the vidhivākyas. The mīmāṃsakas who accept the Vedas as self-revealed and independant authorities on dharma are forced to accept apūrva as the immediate cause of the phala—fruit—like svarga and paṣu, of the various sacrifices like Agnihotra and Citrā, which as actions do not last till the fruit is produced. What is this apūrva and wherein it exists are questions of controversy among the two schools, the Bhāṣṭas and the Prābhākaras. The Bhāṣṭas explain that it is produced in the Ātman of the sacrificer when the sacrifice is successfully performed by him and that it continues to exist in him till the production of the phala either in this world or in the other. The Prābhākaras do not accept apūrva as existing in Ātman. They call it niyoga or kārya or apūrva as expressed by the potential, imperative and other vidhi suffixes in injunctions like, ‘अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्स्वर्गकामः ।’

The vākyārthamāṭṛkā section of Prakaraṇapañcikā contains an elaborate discussion on all these topics and at the end there is a summary which is of utmost importance and it may be noted here with great advantage.

“अत्रैषा प्रक्रिया। चोदनासूत्रे कार्यार्थता प्रतिपादिता। षष्ठाद्ये तस्यैव कार्यस्य स्वसम्बन्धितया बोध्यः स्वर्गकामादिनियोज्य इति व्युत्पादितम्। तस्य च कार्यस्य नियोज्यविशेषणीभूतकाम्योत्पत्तिहेतुत्वमिति वादर्यधिकरणे राद्धान्तितम्। तच्च तथाभूतक्रियारूपं न भवति, तस्याः फलसाधनत्वायोगात्। देवताराधनमुखेन तावत्फलसाधनता नास्तीति देवताधिकरणे व्युत्पादितम्। पुरुषसंस्कारमुखेन नास्तीति ‘कर्माण्यारम्भभाव्यत्वात्’ इत्यत्रोक्तम्। कर्मणस्तच्छक्तैर्वा स्थायिता नेतीति चापूर्वाधिकरणे नियोज्यान्वयमुखेन मानान्तरापूर्वभात्मसमवायिकार्यं लिङ्गदिभिरभिधीयत इति अनेकन्यायसाध्यम्। कार्यं च कृतिसाध्यम्। कृतिश्च पुसां प्रयत्न एव। न चासौ भावार्थमन्तरेणास्तीति तत्सम्बन्धिनिर्णययोग एवोच्यत इति भावार्थाधिकरणे स्थितम्। स च भावार्थः संबध्यमानस्तमवच्छिनत्तीति शब्दान्तराधिकरणे निर्णीतम्। विषयभूतश्च भावार्थः करणीभवतीति वादर्यधिकरणे एवोक्तम्। स्वकार्यसाधने भावार्थं पुरुषस्यैव र्यमिति तत्रैवोक्तम्।” [P.P. Benares Edn. p. 187]

The second sūtra of adhyāya I. 1 of Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra, ‘चोदना लक्षणोऽर्थो घर्मः’ has indicated that *codanā*, the injunctive sentence denotes primarily *kriyā* or *kārya*, something to be brought about or produced—‘चोदनेति क्रियायाः प्रवर्तकं वचनमाहुः।’ The first adhikaraṇa of adhyāya VI has further explained that this *kārya* indicated by the injunctive sentence leads to the conception of *niyojya*—the person prompted to its production, who is desirous of acquiring for himself some desirable fruit like the divine *svarga* and the like; and this person is denoted by the works like *svargakāma* and is related to that *kārya*. In III. 1-3 it has been proved that it is this *kārya* which is the direct cause of the production of that fruit which is desired by and as such qualifies the prompted person—*niyojya*—cf. ‘नियोज्यस्सर्वकार्ये यः स्वकीयत्वेन बुध्यते।’ In IX. 1-9 it is held that this *kārya* cannot be the act of sacrifice since it cannot continue to exist till the production of the desired fruit and as such, cannot be the cause of it; nor can it be held that the *phala* can be produced through the favour of the deity (देवताप्रसादः) to whom the sacrifice is offered (since the *devatā* occupies a subordinate position to *yāga*—‘देवतोद्देश्यकद्रव्यत्यागो यागः।’); nor can it be regarded as directly leading to the fruit through a potency in the agent as there is no direct proof for the postulation of any such faculty to be produced in him; on the other hand it can be argued that the act of sacrifice is brought about by the *exertion* of the agent which is also denoted by the injunctive suffix and therefore the causal potency must reside in this exertion. Even the authority of presumption may lead to the assumption of some potency as existing in that thing itself which is found incapable to do its work in the absence of that potency; so presumption can lead only to the assumption of some faculty in the action and not in the *agent* and what is spoken of as residing in the agent cannot be regarded as produced by the action. In the Apūrvādhikaraṇa (II. 1-3) we have the final conclusion of all the above adhikaraṇas.

That which is denoted by the injunctive suffix and other factors of the injunction is the *kārya* or *niyoga* inhering in the agent—*niyojya*—who is prompted by the Injunctive sentence and as connected with whom the *kārya* is indicated. As this *kārya* is not cognisable by any other means of knowledge (except the injunctive suffix), it is called *apūrva*, something new, not known before. This *kārya* by its very nature is brought about by *kṛti*, exertion or volition, resting in the agent. In the *Bhāvārthādhikaraṇa* (II. 1·1 and 2) again it is shown that no such exertion is possible independant of some act denoted by the verbal root. Hence what the injunctive sentence denotes is the *niyoga* relating to that act. This act, thus being the object of that prompting, comes to be spoken of as the instrument by which that prompting is accomplished. Even though the *kārya* is brought into existence at a time other than that of appearance of the final fruit, yet since it is inseparably related to the prompted agent in whom the desire for that fruit is present, and since this agent is present at the time of the production of the fruit, there is nothing incongruous in accepting *kārya* as the direct cause of the final fruit. (*vide* *Prābhākara* School of *Karma Mīmāṃsā* by MM. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, pp. 162-63).

To this effect *Śālikhanātha* observes :—

‘तस्मान्नियोज्यसम्बन्धसमर्थं विधिवाचिभिः ।
कार्यं कालान्तरस्यायि क्रियातो भिन्नमुच्यते ॥’

(*Prakaraṇa Pañcikā*, *ibid*, p. 185.)

The following extract taken from the *bhāvārthādhikaraṇa* of *Bhāṣyadīpa* contains a full explanation of *niyoga* otherwise known as *kārya* and *apūrva* which is related to *niyojya* and to *kṛti*, which again takes the *dhātvartha* as its *viṣaya* or *avacchedaka* :

“ये यजत्वादयः कार्याभिधायिलिङ्शब्दयुवतत्वात् कृत्यभिधानमन्तरेण कार्याभिधानस्य चानुपपत्तेः, कृतेश्च भावनारूपत्वात् क्रियां प्रत्युपसर्जनतया भावनां प्रतिपादयन्ति । ते स्वर्गकामादिना नियोज्यसमर्थकेणैकवाक्यभूतत्वात् भावनामुपादानवशेन स्वर्गभावनारूपकतया प्रतिपादयन्ति । यागभावनयाः स्वर्गभावनान्त्वेन प्रतिपत्तिहेतुभूतोपादानमूलत्वात् स्वर्गकामपदैकवाक्यत्वं स्वर्गभावनारूपतया प्रतिपत्त्युपयोगित्वेनोक्तम् । स्वर्गमाश्रित्यान्योत्पादनाप्रपञ्चो भावशब्दव्याख्यानोपयोगितया । स हि नामधेयव्यावृत्त्यर्थः । नामधेयत्वं च द्येनादीनां धात्वर्थसामानाधिकरण्यात् । तच्च धात्वर्थस्य करणत्वं सति वक्तुं शक्यते । तस्य च करणत्वं लिङोऽपूर्ववाचित्वे सिद्ध्यति । तच्च साधनत्वानुपपत्त्या । अन्यथा हि लोकव्युत्पत्त्या क्रिया कार्यमेव लिङ्गर्थस्यात् । तथा च धात्वर्थस्य करणत्वं न स्यात् । अपूर्वे तु लिङ्गर्थे तत्प्रति स्वर्गं च प्रति करणत्वं धात्वर्थस्य सिद्ध्यति इति भावशब्दव्याख्यानाय स्वर्गमाश्रित्यान्योत्पादना प्रपञ्च्यते ।

ननु यज्यंशस्य भावार्थत्वमिदानीं न सिद्धयति । अन्योत्पादनारूपकृतेलिङ्गर्थत्वात् । त्रयं दोषः । अन्योत्पादनारूपकृत्यन्वययोग्यतया यज्यंशोऽपि स्वार्थमन्योत्पादनारूपोपहितं प्रतिपादयतीत्यभिप्रायः । तस्मात्तस्य’ इति निगमनम् । तस्माद्भावार्थत्वलाभाद्यज्यादिभ्य एव क्रिया प्रतीयतेत्यर्थः । क्रिया

धात्वर्थः स यज्यादिभ्यः प्रतीयेतेत्येवं मा शङ्कीति। क्रियापदार्थं विवृणोति-फलस्येति (फलस्य क्रिया करणं निष्पत्तिरिति।) फलस्य करणभूतमपूर्वं क्रियेत्युच्यत इत्यर्थः। क्रियाशब्दोऽपि करणे (यत्) प्रत्ययान्तः। निष्पत्तिशब्दोऽपि करणे क्तिन्नन्तः। तस्मान्न विरोधश्शङ्कितव्य इत्यर्थः। अपूर्वस्य करणत्वेन यदप्राधान्यं बावयार्थत्वं च तदात्मसिद्धयनुकूलस्येति न्यायेन न विरुध्यत इति मन्यते। ते चेति (ते च यागदानहोमसम्बद्धाः स्वर्गस्योत्पत्तिं वदन्ति।) यज्यादयो यागादिभिरर्थोर्वाचकत्वेन सम्बद्धास्सन्तोऽपि स्वर्गोत्पत्तिकरणीभूतमपूर्वं विषयापेक्षद्वारा प्रतिपादयन्ति, न वाचकतया। कुत इति कार्यतया प्रतियमानमपूर्वं कथं कारणतयावगम्यत इत्यर्थः। एष ह्यर्थ इति (एष ह्यर्थो विधीयते। यथा यागादिना।) षष्ठाद्यसिद्धन्यायं दर्शयति। अस्य चायमर्थः—स्वर्गं कामयमानः केन साध्येदित्याकांक्षायां यागादिना साध्येदिति यथाभूतोऽयमर्थः सोऽर्थो यजेतेति विधिना ज्ञाप्यत इत्यर्थः। कामिनो नियोज्यत्वेन सम्बन्धादयमर्थो विधिना आक्षिप्यत इत्यर्थः। यागादिनेत्युपक्रान्तस्यार्थस्त्व विस्तारार्थः स्वर्गकाम इत्यादिग्रन्थः (स्वर्गकामः केन भावयेत्स्वर्गम्? यागादिना इति।) यस्य चेति (यस्य च शब्दस्यार्थेन फलं साध्यते तेनापूर्वं कृत्वा नान्यथेति ततोऽपूर्वं गम्यते।) पूर्वमपूर्वस्य करणत्वमुक्तं, इदानीं यागस्येति विरोधं परिहर्तुमयं ग्रन्थः। साक्षात्फलकरणभूतापूर्वद्वारा यागादेः करणता। तस्मादपूर्वकरणत्वं यागादिनां करणत्वानुगुणमिति न विरोधः। यस्य यज्यादिशब्दस्यार्थेन फलं साध्यते तेनापूर्वं कृत्वा साध्यते नान्यथेति ग्रन्थायः। ततोऽपूर्वं गम्यत इति। यस्माद्यागादेरपूर्वद्वारा फलकरणत्वं तस्मादपूर्वमेव फलं प्रति साक्षात्करणतया गम्यत इत्यर्थः। अतो य इति (अतो यस्तस्य वाचकः शब्दस्ततोऽपूर्वं प्रतीयत इति।) यस्मात्फलं प्रत्यव्यवहितसाधनत्वमपूर्वस्य तस्मात्तदेव कामिनियो-ज्यान्वययोग्यमिति। लिङादिभिस्तदेव कार्यतया प्रतिपाद्यम्। तच्च निर्विषयं प्रतिपादयितुं अशक्य-मिति। तस्मिन्विषयतया स्वार्थं समर्पयतो यज्यादिशब्दादपूर्वं प्रतीयत इत्यर्थः। तस्य वाचक इति। तस्य यागादेर्वाचको य इत्यर्थः। यस्य च शब्दस्येत्यत्र यागादेः प्रकृतत्वात् तस्येत्यनेन स परा-मृश्यते। तेन भावशब्दा इति।”

In the verbal forms like *yajeta* both *kārya* and *bhāvanā* are known as the meanings of the injunctive suffix—*liñ*—, since *kārya* cannot exist without *bhāvanā* or *kṛti*; this *kṛti* is therefore related to *kārya* as its accessory. These verbal forms are connected with the words like *svargakāma* in the injunctions conveying the *niyojya*; hence the *yāgabhāvanā* with *yāgā* (the meaning of the root) as its *viṣaya* or *avacchedaka*, is also known as *svarga-bhāvanā*, possessing *svarga* as the final fruit. So the *dhātvarthas* if they are connected with the *phala* are known as *bhāvārthas* in contrast with the *nāmādheya* *padas* like *śyenena* which can be connected with the *ākhyātāntas* if the *dhātvartha* is the *kaṛaṇa* of *bhāvanā*; and this *kaṛaṇatva* of *dhātvartha*, viz. *yāgā* is based on the *apūrva* as conveyed by the injunctive suffix *liñ*, without which the *yāgā* cannot be called the cause of *svarga*. So the *dhātvarthas* like *yāgā* known as the *kaṛaṇa* of both *apūrva* and *svarga*. That which is the cause of the final fruit like *svarga* is called *kriyā* and it is conveyed by the injunctive suffix capable of being related to the *niyojya*. It is not the *dhātvartha* *yāgā* since it cannot continue to exist till the production of the fruit. So the *apūrva* is the direct and immediate cause of the *phala* and it is to be directly related to the *niyojya* like *svargakāma* and this *apūrva* is also known as *kārya* and *niyoga* since it is conveyed by the injunctive suffix—*liñ*. This *niyoga* cannot exist without its *viṣaya*—object, which is conveyed by the root closely associated with the injunctive suffix.

A more detailed and logical account of *niyoga* or *apūrva* is given in the *apūrvādhikāraṇa* of *Bhāṣyadīpa* (II-1-3) which is reproduced here with the *bhāṣya* grantha for the advantage of the readers :—

कथं पुनरिदमवगम्यते, अस्ति तदपूर्वमिति । उच्यते ।-

चोदना पुनरारम्भः II. 1. iii. (५)

(भाष्यम्) -

. चोदनेत्यपूर्वं नमः । अपूर्वं पुनरस्ति, यत् आरम्भः शिष्यते स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति । इतरथा हि विधानमनर्थकं स्यात् । भङ्गित्वाद् यागस्य । यद्यन्यदनुत्पाद्यं यागो विनश्येत्, फलमसति निमित्ते न स्यात् । तस्माद्गुणदयतीति । यदि पुनः फलवचनसामर्थ्यात्तदेव न विनश्यतीति कल्प्यते । नैवं शक्यम् । न हि कर्मणोऽन्यद् रूपमुपलभामहे । यदाश्रयं देशान्तरं प्रापयति, तत् कर्मैत्युच्यते । न तदात्मनि समवेतम् । सर्वगतत्वादात्मनः । सर्वत्र कार्योपलम्भः सर्वत्र भावे लिङ्गम् । न तु तदेव देशान्तरादागमनस्य । न ह्यसति आगमने किञ्चिद्विरुद्धं दृश्यते । यत्र समवेतमासीत्, तद्विनष्टं द्रव्यम् । तस्य विनाशात्तदपि विनष्टमित्यवगम्यते । आश्रयोऽप्यविनष्ट इति चेन्न । भस्मोपलम्भनात् । सत्यपि भस्मन्यस्तीति चेन्न । विद्यमानोपलम्भनेऽप्यदर्शनाद् । फलक्रिया लिङ्गमिति चेत् । एवं सत्यदर्शने समाधिर्वक्तव्यः । सौक्ष्म्यादीनामन्यतमद्भविष्यतीति यदि चिन्त्यते, कल्पितमेवं सति किञ्चिद् भवतीति ।

तत्रापूर्वं वा कल्प्येत, तद्वा ? इति । अविशेषकल्पनायामस्ति हेतुः, न विशिष्टकल्पनायाम् । अनाश्रितं कर्म भविष्यतीति चेत् । तदपि तादृशमेव । स्वभावान्तरकल्पनेन देशान्तरं न प्रापयिष्यतीति तादृशमेव । तस्माद् भङ्गी यजिः, तस्य भङ्गित्वादपूर्वमस्तीति । किं चिन्तायाः प्रयोजनम् । यदि द्रव्यगुणशब्दा अप्यपूर्वं चोदयन्ति, द्रव्यगुणापचारे न प्रतिनिधिरूपादातव्यः यथा तर्हि पूर्वः पक्षो, यथा तर्हि सिद्धान्तः द्रव्यं गुणं वा प्रतिनिधाय प्रयोगोऽनुष्ठातव्य इति ।।

(भाष्यदीपः-)

चोदना । कथं पुनरिति । पूर्वपक्षमाह । यदपूर्वं वाच्यमित्यङ्गीकृत्य पूर्वाधिकरणे तं प्रति भावार्थानामेव विषयत्वमुक्तम् । यस्य च शब्दस्यार्थेनेत्यत्र तदपूर्वं वाच्यभूतमस्तीति । कथमिदमवगम्यते, न कथञ्चिदप्यवगन्तुं शक्यत इत्यर्थः । तदपूर्वं कथमिति वदता पूर्वाधिकरणोक्तभावार्थविषयत्वमपूर्ववाच्यत्वे सति सिद्धयति नान्यथा । तस्मात् तत्समाधानार्थमिदमधिकरणं तच्छेषभूतमिति न पृथक् सङ्गतिर्वक्तव्या । तस्य या सङ्गतिरुपोद्घातरूपा संवास्यापीत्युक्तम् ।

एवं चोपोद्घातसङ्गतिलाभादस्मिन्नेवाध्यायेऽस्यारंभः ।

तस्यैव च कामिनियोज्यान्वयावगतस्वर्गसाधनत्वानुपपत्त्या स्थिरत्वं कल्पयितुं युक्तम् । नात्यन्ता दृष्टापूर्ववाचित्वं लिङ्गकल्पयितुं युक्तम् । न च स्थिरत्वकल्पनं प्रमाणान्तरविरुद्धं फलविनाशयत्वेन क्रियाणां दृष्टत्वात् । अत्रापि फलभूतस्वर्गोत्पत्तिकालं यावत् तावत् स्थिरत्वकल्पनेन विरोधाभावात् नित्यभूतात्माश्रयत्वाद्यागादेराश्रयानित्यतयापि न स्थायित्वविरोधः । स्पन्दात्मकविष्णुक्रमणप्रक्षेपादीनां स्वाश्रयशरीरहविरनित्यत्वेऽपि तदारम्भकपरमाण्वाश्रयस्थिरत्वकल्पनान्न स्थिरत्वविरोधः । व्यवहितस्यापि कृष्यादेः सस्यादिसाधनत्वं दृष्टमयोग्यतया यागादेः साधनत्वं नावगम्यत इति न शक्यते वक्तुम् । काम्यं प्रत्यव्यवहितसाधनयोग्यस्यैव कार्यस्य कामिनियोज्यान्वयार्हता । न च यागस्तथाविधः क्षणभङ्गित्वादिति चेत्, न कामिनियोज्यान्वयार्थैव स्थिरत्वं कल्प्यते विध्यन्वयाय करणत्वकल्पनावत् । चोदनेति । चोद्यत इति कर्मसाधनं चोदनाशब्दः । अपूर्वं तदस्तीति । वाच्यभूतमिति शेषः । यत् इति । तत्र हेतुः यस्मादारम्भ एव कामिनियोज्यान्वययोग्यतया कार्यत्वेन लिङ्गा कामिपदेकवाक्यभूतेन प्रतिपाद्यते, तस्मादित्यर्थः । आरम्भतेऽनुष्ठीयत इति । यद्वा कर्मारम्भयत्यनुष्ठापयति । आरम्भशब्देनापूर्वमुच्यते । स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति कामिपदेकवाक्यत्वमपूर्ववाचित्वबीजभूतं दर्शयति-इतरथेति । भाव्यस्य यागादेर्विधानं

प्रतिपादनं कार्यत्वेन निष्प्रयोजनं स्यात्, काम्यन्वयायोग्यत्वादिति भावः । भङ्गित्वादित्ययोग्यत्वहेतुः, विनश्वरस्य यागस्य कालान्तरीयफलं प्रत्यव्यवहितसाधनतायोग्यत्वादित्यर्थः । यद्यन्यदनुत्पाद्येति । मध्ये किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यैव यागः फलं साधयति, नान्यथा । न हि नष्टे यागेऽनुत्पादितावाप्तरकार्ये कालान्तरे ततः फलं भवितुमर्हति । तस्मादव्यवहितसाधनतयान्यन्मध्ये किञ्चिदङ्गीकार्यमिति । तदेव कामिनि-
 योज्यान्वययोग्यत्वाद्वाच्यमित्यभिप्रायः । यदि पुनरिति । फलकामिनि योज्यान्वयादेव क्रियायाः स्थिरत्वं कल्प्येत, तदेतरेतराश्रयत्वं तावदपरिह्वयम् । स्थिरत्वे कल्पिते अव्यवहितसाधनयोग्यतया नियोज्यान्वयः ततश्च स्थिरत्वकल्पनेति । कल्प्यमानमपि स्थिरत्वं प्रमाणान्तरविरुद्धम् । अचिरवि-
 नाशित्वेन क्रियाणां प्रसिद्धेरिति मत्वोक्तम्-नैवं वाच्यमिति । न हि कर्मण इति । अनेकस्पन्दावच्छि-
 न्नस्य यागस्य शास्त्रार्थत्वात्, तस्य चात्मानाश्रयत्वात् । आश्रयनित्यतयापि स्थिरत्वकल्पनं माना-
 न्तरविरुद्धमित्याह । कर्मणा स्पन्दात्मकस्य विष्णुकर्मणादेः स्वरूपं प्रत्यक्षेण न गृह्यते, किन्तु
 योगविभागानुमेयम् । तौ चाश्रयसमवेतौ तत्स्थतया तदसमवायिकारणत्वेन कर्मानुमेयम् । यदाश्रय-
 मिति । स्वाश्रयस्य देशान्तरप्राप्तिहेतुत्वेनानुमेयत्वात्, तदेव तस्य रूपमित्यर्थः । तच्च कर्म स्वा-
 श्रयस्य विभागपूर्वकसंयोगारम्भकस्वभावमात्मनि न सम्भवति । स्वर्गतस्यात्मनः संयोगमूर्तद्रव्य-
 स्थक्रिययैव तत्तद्विभागसंयोगोपपत्तौ तत्समवेतकर्मकल्पने प्रमाणाभावात् । आत्मनो ह्यसत्यागमन
 एव बृद्ध्यादिकार्योपलम्भः सर्वत्र सद्भावे प्रमाणं, मूर्तद्रव्येषु चावश्यं मूर्तान्तरविभागसंयोगार्था
 क्रियानुमेया । तयैव चात्मनोऽपि तेन मूर्तेन विभागसंयोगोपपत्तेः स्थाणुवन्न कर्मानुमेयमित्यभिप्रायः ।
 ननु तत्रानागतस्य बृद्ध्यादिकार्यासम्भवात् कथं सर्वगतत्वं तदाह, नन्विति । नैवमिति । तदेव
 बुद्ध्यादिकार्यं तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यमानमात्मनो देशान्तरादागमनस्य लिङ्गं न भवतीत्यर्थः । कुत इत्याह
 नहीति । आगमने अस्त्येव किञ्चिदपि प्रमाणं न विरुध्यते । आगमनकल्पनायां प्रमाणविरोधोऽस्ति ।
 आत्मागमनशून्यः अस्पर्शत्वे सति महत्त्वात् आकाशवदित्यनुमानविरोधात् । महत्त्वं पुनः प्रत्यक्षगु-
 णाश्रयत्वात् घटादिवदनुमेयम् । अस्पर्शत्वं पुनरकारणगुणपूर्वकप्रत्यक्षविशेषगुणाश्रयत्वादाकाशादि-
 वदनुमेयम् । अकारणगुणपूर्वकत्वं पुनरव्यापकवृत्तिविशेषगुणत्वादिव्यतिरेकेणानुमेयम् । सर्वत्र गतस्य
 बुद्ध्यादिकार्योपलम्भो महत्त्वं गमयन् सर्वगतत्वे लिङ्गमित्यर्थः । अस्पर्शत्वसहितं हि महत्त्वं तद्गम-
 यतीति । यत्रेति । यत्र च शरीरहविरादौ समवेतत्वेन गंयोगविभागाभ्यां तत्कर्मानुमितद्रव्यं नष्टमिति
 तद्वाश्रितकर्मणोऽपि स्थिरत्वान्नानुपपत्तिः । तद्व्यमनष्टमिति चेत् न । हविषस्तदानीमेव भस्मी-
 भावदर्शनात्, देहस्यापि दाहावस्थायाम् । सत्यपीति । हविरारम्भकपरमाण्वाश्रयत्वेन कर्मतिष्ठ-
 तीति चेदित्यर्थः । न विद्यमानेति । हविरादिसंयोगविभागानुमेयं कर्म तत्स्थतयैवानुमितमिति परमा-
 ण्वाश्रयत्वमुक्तमयुक्तम् । तच्च हविराद्युपलम्भनेषु मत्त्वव्यनुपलम्भान्नास्तीत्याह-फलक्रियेति । कर्म-
 साध्यत्वेन फलभावनावगता तदनुपपत्त्या कर्मणः स्थिरत्वं कल्पयति । तदाश्रयहविराद्यवस्थानमपि
 गमयतीति चेत्, न । प्रत्यक्षयोग्यत्वे सति अनुपलम्भादवस्थानकल्पनानुपपत्तिरित्यर्थः । अनुपलम्भे
 समाधिकारणत्वमभावव्यतिरेकेण वाच्यम् । तच्च नास्तीत्यर्थः । सौक्ष्म्यादीनामिति । सूक्ष्मत्वाद्वाच्य-
 हितत्वादिति । दूरस्थत्वात् स्वविरादिकं नोपलभ्यत इत्यमन्यथासिद्धिः कल्प्यत इति चेदित्यर्थः ।
 कल्पितमेवमिति । किञ्चिदाफलोत्पत्तेः स्थिरस्वभावमनेन प्रकारेण वाच्यतया कल्पितं भवति । तत्रा-
 पूर्वं वाच्यतया कल्प्यतामृत तत्कर्मणि सम्प्रधार्यमिति-सम्प्रधारयति अविशेषेति । किञ्चिदाफलोत्पत्तेः
 स्थिरस्वभावं कार्यं लिङ्गाव्यमित्येतावन्मात्रकल्पनया कामिपदैकवाक्यत्वोपपत्तेरेतावन्मात्रकल्पनाया-
 मस्ति हेतुः, न तु हविरादिसौक्ष्म्यकल्पनायामित्यर्थः । अनाश्रितमिति । आश्रये नष्टेऽपि कर्म तिष्ठ-
 तीति कर्मकल्पनमपि तादृशमेव, यादृशं सौक्ष्म्यादिकल्पनमित्यर्थः । प्रमाणशून्यमिति यावत् । तस्मा-
 दिति । यथोक्तहेतोर्विनाशी यागः । अतस्तस्यैव कालान्तरीयफलं प्रत्यव्यवहितसाधनत्वायोग्यत्वाच्च
 कामिनि योज्यान्वयाहर्हेतेति मानान्तरागोचरं क्रियातिरिक्तं स्थिरकार्यं लिङ्गाव्यमित्यिति । चिन्ताया
 इति । एतदधिकरणावसानहेतुत्वाद्भावार्थाधिकरणस्येदानीन्तनस्य प्रयोजनकथनावसर इति । तत्क-
 थयति-यदीति । द्रव्यादीनामपि विषयत्वे तेषामभावे प्रतिनिधित्वात् न स्यात् । न हि विषयस्य
 प्रतिनिधिरस्ति, तदभावे यथावगतनियोगस्यासम्भवादित्यर्थः । अनियमपक्षेऽपि कदाचिद्विषयस्यैका-
 न्ततः प्रतिनिधानमप्रतिनिधानं वा नाध्यवसातुं शक्यत इत्यप्रतिनिधानमेवेति ॥

BHARTṬHARI AND DIÑNĀGA *

BY H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR.

The date of the great grammarian Bhartṛhari, author of the Vākyapadīya, which is regarded as a landmark in the literary history of India in as much as it forms the basis for determining the dates of several sanckrit authors,¹ has been determined so far on the statements of Itsing in his, "Record of Buddhist religion". The Chinese traveller has recorded that Bhartṛhari was a great grammarian, whose fame had spread all over India, that he was the author of the three works Vākyapadīya, the commentary on the Mahābhāṣṭya and another work, Peina, (which may perhaps be the Prakirna Kanda or the third and last chapter of the Vākyapadīya), and that he died in about 650 A.D. i.e., forty years before the date of his record.² The accuracy with which Itsing has reported other contemporary events as well as about the extent of the Vākyapadīya itself has led scholars to assign Bhartṛhari to the seventh century A.D.

But new evidences which have come to light, completely falsify the statement of Itsing and push back the date of Bhartṛhari to the 5th century A.D.³

In the second Kānda of the Vākyapadīya, while describing how the science of grammar, which had been almost extinct, was restored and propagated by the great grammarians, Chandra and Vasurāta, Puṅyarāja, the commentator of the Vākyapadīya, mentions several times Vasurāta as the teacher of Bhartṛhari.⁴ In the Kārikā 490 of the Vākyapadīya⁵ Bhartṛhari himself seems to refer to his teacher Vasurāta by, 'Guruṇā' as is evident from the words

¹ Cf. "A Record of the Buddhist Religion," by I-tsing translated into English by J. Takakusu. p. xv—

² "The most important of all the dates given by I-tsing are those of Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya, and their contemporaries. They serve as a rallying-point for a number of literary men belonging to what I called the 'Renaissance period of Sanskrit literature.'"

³ *Ibid* pp. LVII and pp. 178-180.

⁴ See.—I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya ; By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja contributed to the Krishnaswamy Iyengar Memorial Volume. (pp. 285-298).

⁵ See the comment of Puṅyarāja on Kārikā 486 of Kāṇḍa II :— न तेनास्मद्गुरोस्तत्रभवतो-
र्वसुरातादन्यः कश्चिदिमं भाष्यार्णवमवगाहितुमलमित्युक्तं भवति । See *Ibid* II. 480 :—

केनचिच्च ब्रह्मरक्षसानीय चन्द्राचार्यवसुरातगुरुप्रभृतीनां दत्त इति । ते खलु यथावत् व्याकरणस्य स्वल्पं तत उपलभ्य-सततं च शिष्याणां व्याख्याय बहुशास्त्रित्वं नीते विस्तरं प्रापित इत्यनुश्रूयते ।

⁶ cf. II. 490b :—प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ।

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

of Punyarāja prefaced to the verse.⁶ Again a Jaina writer Simhasūriganī, who may be assigned to the beginning of the 6th century A.D., in his unpublished work, *Nayacakratīka*,⁷ a commentary on the *Nayacakra* of Mallavādin the senior⁸, which is not now extant, mentions, twice in his work, *Vasurāta* as the *Upādhyāya* of *Bhartṛhari*.⁹ This confirms the statement of *Punyarāja* and establishes that *Vasurāta* was a great grammarian of the day under whom *Bhartṛhari* studied and that *Bhartṛhari* often held views quite different from those of his master.

According to *Paramārtha*, *Vasurāta* was a brahmin and brother-in-law of *Balāditya*, a pupil of *Vasubandhu*.¹⁰ He was well-versed in grammar. He defeated *Vasubandhu*, through the intervention of *Chandra*, another great grammarian. This means that *Vasurāta*, *Chandra*, and *Vasubandhu* should be regarded as contemporaries and *Bhartṛhari*, the pupil of *Vasurāta*, assigned to the 5th century A.D.

Another important piece of evidence, which I have discovered in my study of the *Pramāna Samuccaya* of *Diānāga*, lends support to this view. In the fifth chapter of this work, which is devoted to the exposition of the *Apoḥa* theory of *Diānāga*, the following two *Kārikas* are found, which may be rendered into Sanskrit¹¹ as given below.

Thigs-pa-dañ. ni. tshogs. pa-yi,
chu. sogs. rnam, la. rjod byed-ni |
grañs dañ. tshad. dañ. dbyibs. rnam la
ltos. pa. med. par. I jug. par. byed ||
deyibs. dañ. kha. dog. yan. lag. rnam
khyad. par can. la. gañ. I jug. pa.
de. yi. yantag. la sgra-ni
rah tu. I jug. la. dun asma yin.

⁶ cf. : *Ibid* :— अथ कदाचित् योगतो विचार्यं तत्र भगवता वसुरातगुरुणा ममायमागमः संज्ञाय वात्सल्यात् प्रणीत इति स्वरचितस्य ग्रन्थस्य गुरुपूर्वकमभिधातुमाह

⁷ I am deeply grateful to Sri Jambu Vijayaswami, Talegaon—(Poona) for kindly lending a manuscript copy of this important work for my study.

⁸ Mallavādin, author of *Dvādasāranayacakra* should be distinguished from another Jaina writer of the same name who is the author of *Nyayabindutika-Tippaṇū*.

⁹ cf. *Nayacakratīkā folio 272a*—

सोऽभिजल्पोऽभिषेयार्थपरिग्राही बाह्याच्छब्दादन्य इति भर्तृहर्यादिमतम् । वसुरातस्य भर्तृहर्षुपाध्यायस्य मतं तु. . . .

cf. *Ibid folio 277a*— एवं तावत् भर्तृहर्यादिदर्शनमुक्तम् । वसुरातः भर्तृहरेरुपाध्यायः

¹⁰ cf. "A study of *Paramārtha's* life of *Vasubandhu* and the Date of *Vasubandhu*" by J. Takakusu J. R. A. S. 1906. pp. 33ff.

¹¹ The two *Kārikās* may be restored into Sanskrit as :—

- 1) त्रिन्दो च समुदाये च वाचकः सलिलादिषु । संख्याप्रमाणसंस्थाननिरपेक्षः प्रवर्तते ।
- 2) संस्थानवर्णाविवर्तविशिष्टे यः प्रयुज्यते । शब्दो न तस्यावयवे प्रवृत्तिरुपलभ्यते ।

They are only Tibetan renderings of the two Kārikās occurring in the second Kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadiya of Bhartḥhari.¹² This means that either Diñnāga took the Kārikās from Bhartḥhari's work or both Diñnāga and Bhartḥhari took them from quite a different work. But there is no evidence to support the latter alternative. We learn from Jinendra-Buddhi, author of Viśālāmalaṭikā on¹³ the Pramāṇa Samuccayavṛtti of Diñnāga, that Diñnāga is here referring to the views of Bhartḥhari. This evidently supports the former alternative that Diñnāga is quoting from Bhartḥhari.

Now if Diñnāga, a famous Buddhist logician of the 5th century A.D. quotes from the Vākyapadiya, how can we assign Bhartḥhari to the 7th century A.D.? We have only to conclude that Bhartḥhari, the author of the Vākyapadiya lived in the 5th century A.D. and that the statement of Itsing that Bhartḥhari died some forty years before the date of his record is incorrect.

¹² cf. Karikas. II. 160 and 157.—Benares. Edition. pp. 144-145.

¹³ cf. Viśālāmalaṭikā : Mdo. re folio 331b, line 0ff : Kha. cig. tu gtso. bor. cha tshas rnamis la. 'jug. te l bha. rit. na. ris. yis smras. pa l cha. sogs. rnamis la zes pai sogs pai sgras. sa la. sogs pa. yoñs su gzuñ ño. l केचित्तु प्रधानमंशेषु वर्तते । भर्तृहरिणा उक्तं सलिलादिष्विति । आदिशब्देन पृथिव्यादीनां परिग्रहः ।

THE VṚTTA-GHAṬAKAS

By H. D. VELANKAR

INTRODUCTION

The metrical music on which the Classical Sanskrit metres are based is the Music of Sound-variation or the Varṇa Saṅgīta as is shown by me in my Introduction to the Jayadāman, (published by the Haritosha Samiti, Wilson College, Bombay 7, in Nov. 1949) para 7 on p. 15. Vālmiki started the currency of such metres with his peculiar Anuṣṭubh having 4 lines of 8 letters each, the last 4 being regularly adapted to this new type of Saṅgīta. I have also shown on p. 16, para. 8, that owing to the introduction of this music, the old scanning and defining unit of a single letter used for the Vedic metres, had to be given up and a new one consisting of 3 letters short or long, in different combinations, had to be devised and adopted. The regularization of the length and structure of the lines in a stanza which is the characteristic feature of these new metres (see p. 16, lines 12-14) naturally led to the regularization of even the Yati or the metrical pause in the middle of a line. Thus the lines of these metres must have the same number of letters, with the same order of short and long letters and the Yati or Yatis at the same place or places. This regularization of the Yati in the different lines has naturally facilitated the growth of certain fossils or the Ghaṭakas as I have called them here, and these fossils or Ghaṭakas in their turn have helped in the formation of new metrical lines produced by employing them in various combinations. I have collected a few of such fossils or Ghaṭakas consisting of 3 to 8 letters and am publishing them (as promised there on p. 20, (ll. 6-7) in the following pages.

2. It will be seen how different metrical lines have been constituted by putting together 2 or more such Ghaṭakas. It is also interesting to note that the Yati is sometimes forced upon us owing to the familiarity of the music of a Ghaṭaka, even though the metricians do not mention the same. Usually later Sanskrit metricians mention the Yati mechanically and from the tradition known to them. But on the whole they seem to be unmindful of the music of the Ghaṭakas which are caused by the introduction of the Yati, as also of the musical side of the structure of a metrical line in general. This is why some of them have gone to the extreme of disregarding the Yati altogether in the middle of a line. We are told by Svayambhū I. 144, that among the older writers on metres, only Piṅgala and Jayadeva recognize it, but not the others. As a matter of fact, Piṅgala himself has unconsciously kept in the background the basic music of the Varṇa Vṛttas by the introduction of the Gaṇa unit. These 8 Gaṇas or Trikas, though they are ingeniously conceived and are very convenient for the scansion and definition of metres, never-

theless keep off from our view the real musical structure of the line or its parts. This was particularly so because Piṅgala adopted the Sūtra style for his definitions, which though economical and otherwise convenient, yet completely obscured the musical side of the metrical lines.

3. In the List of the Ghaṭakas given below, 1 is of 3 letters, 2 (Nos. 2 and 3) are of 4 letters, 3 of 5 letters (Nos. 3-6), 5 of 6 letters (Nos. 7-11), 5 of 7 letters (Nos. 12-16) and 2 of 8 letters (Nos. 17-18) each. I have quoted portions of the metrical definitions given by one of the three authors namely, Svayambhū, Kedāra and Jayakīrti according to convenience. Usually I have quoted from Kedāra's Vṛttaratnākara as edited by me in the Jayadāman, mentioned at the beginning of this article ; but where the metre is not defined in the Vṛttaratnākara, or when the definition of Jayakīrti in his Chandonuśāsana published in the same book is better i.e., from the point of the particular music, I have quoted from the latter. I have quoted Svayambhū only when the metre is not defined by either Kedāra or Jayakīrti. Svayambhūchandas of Svayambhū is published by me at JBBRAS., Vol. XI (New Series), 1935, pp. 18-58 (only chapters I to III). He illustrates the Varṇa Vṛttas in Chapter I. His work however is composed in Prākṛta. Chapters IV to VII of this work are published by me at the Bombay University Journal, November, 1936, pp. 72-93. These chapters treat of the Apabhraṃśa metres.

4 Of the three authors, Svayambhū (Sc.) is the earliest, Kedāra author of the Vṛttaratnākara (Vr.) comes next, and Jayakīrti (Jk.) is the youngest but not very far removed from Kedāra. In the List, the Ghaṭakas of equal length are arranged alphabetically, the Ghaṭakas themselves being mentioned according to the Paribhāṣā of Piṅgala.

5. At the end I have added an Index of metres which are wholly divisible into 2 or more Ghaṭakas, and also another of metres which are only partly divisible into them. In the List the letters A, B, C, D, E, F etc. occurring after the quoted portion of a line refer to its parts (Ghaṭakas) in succession. Thus A refers to the 1st part, B to the 2nd and so on.

6. I have given first the name of the metre (underlined), then the relevant portion from its definition followed by a letter indicating its place in the (line of the) definition. It will be seen that some of these Ghaṭakas, especially those of 6 and 7 letters are great favourites of the poets and metricians. Thus Ghaṭaka No. 10 (na-sa) is employed in 25 different metres, No. 14 (na-na-ga) in 35, and No. 16 (ra-ra-ga) in 22. Some of them again occur always at the commencement while others always at the end, except when repeated. Nos. 5, 11, 15 belong to the former class., Nos. 9, 12, 13, 16 to the latter. The List is of course not meant to be exhaustive. It is only illustrative and is intended to reveal clearly the real nature and form of the Music, namely the Varṇa Sangīta, which lies at the basis of the Classical Sanskrit metres.

A LIST OF THE VṚTTA GHATAKAS

1 म (3 Letters)

(1) अपवाहः मोनाः पट् A; (2) एकरूपः मः सो जो A; (3) कुटिलः ज्भो न्यौ गौ C; (4) ज्योतिस्ः मित्रं स्यात् D; (5) पुण्डरीकः माद्भौ यः A; (6) प्रहृषिणीः म्नाँ जौ गः A; (7) हंसश्यामाः खं चावधी C; (8) हरिः नो भ्रौ सो B.

2 जग (4 Letters)

(1) कुटिलः युगादिभिः A; (2) दुर्दुरकः रसो लगौ C; (3) नलिनः सजौ गुरुः C; (4) प्रभद्रकः प्रभद्रकं C; (5) मृदङ्गकः मृदङ्गकं C; (6) रुचिः रुचिस्तदा C; (7) रुचिराः जभौसजौ—विधविश्रमा AC; (8) शुद्धविराट्ः जतोजरौ—डिदं मतम् AC; (9) सुकेसरः सुकेसरं C; (10) सुदर्शनाः सुदर्शना C; (11) स्मृतिः कृतोद्यतिः A.

3 मग (4 Letters)

(1) अचलः वंकावंका A; (2) केशरः अर्थाश्वाख्वैः A; (3) चन्द्रमालाः दोष्पा जिस्सा B; (4) जलधरमालाः अब्ध्यङ्गः स्यात् A; (5) ज्योतिस्ः मो मो मोवधौ—त्रिवि-श्रामं—ज्योतिः केषां ABC; (6) पद्मः दो छा वंका B; (7) भावाक्रान्ताः भावकन्ताः A; (8) भुजंगविजृम्भितः वस्वीशाख—च्छन्दोपेतं AB; (9) भ्रमरविलसितः म्भौ न्यौ गः स्यात् A; (10) मण्डूकीः मण्डूकीयं—तुर्यैवश्यं AB; (11) मत्तमयूरः विश्रामोवधौ A; (12) मत्ताः ज्ञेया मत्ता A; (13) मत्ताक्रीडाः मत्ताक्रीडं—मौ लौ नौ ग्लौ AB; (14) मदनललितः दोछा दोषा A; (15) मन्दाक्रान्ताः मन्दाक्रान्ता A; (16) मन्तेभः मन्तेभाख्यं—मौ मौ मात्थौ—मश्चान्ते गः—स्याद्विश्रामो—वाणेष्येवं ABCD-F; (17) मालावृत्त मालावृत्तं A; (18) रोहिणीः दो छेइल्ला B; (19) ललितः एक्को अण्णो B; (20) वातोर्मीः वातोर्मीयं A; (21) विद्युन्मालाः मो मो गो गो—विद्युन्माला AB; (22) शालिनीः शालिन्युक्ता A; (23) सरलः माद्भो गश्चेत् A; (24) हंसश्यामाः हंसश्यामा A; (25) हंसीः ज्ञेया हंसी A; (26) हरिणीः न्यौ भ्रौ स्लौ गो B; (27) हरिणीः दो छेइल्ला A.

4 नलग (5 Letters)

(1) भरविन्दकः नजभजरैः A; (2) अश्वललितः यदिह नजौ A; (3) असंवाधाः ग्रहविरतिः B; (4) प्रभद्रकः भवति नजौ A; (5) प्रहृषिणीः पुरविरतिः B; (6) मणिकटकः मणिकटकं A; (7) रचनाः नजभयसा A; (8) रुचिः तभसजगं B; (9) रुचिराः गिति रुचिरा B; (10) सुकेसरः नजभजरैः A; (11) सुदर्शना शरविरतिः B; (12) स्मृतिः स्मृतिरिति जात् B.

5 भगग (5 Letters)

- (1) कौञ्चपदा: कौञ्चपदा म्मो-स्मो नननन्या AB; (2) तन्वी: भूतमुनीनै: A; (3) पङ्कजमुक्ता: नो यदि सो त्यौ-पङ्कजमुक्ता BC; (4) मत्तमयूर: मत्तमयूरं B; (5) मौक्तिकमाला: मौक्तिकमाला A; (6) रति: भात्तनसं: स्यात् A; (7) रुक्मवती: म्मो सगयुवती-रुक्मवतीयं AB; (8) ललना: पञ्चमुनी म्मो A; (9) श्री: पञ्चरशै: श्री: A; (10) हंसपद: हंसपदं स्यात्-भाञ्च गणा: स्यु: AB.

6 भगग (5 Letters)

- (1) अनङ्गलेखा: मञ्जज्जू दोप्पा B; (2) असंवाधा: म्मो न्मो गावक्ष A; (3) कुरङ्गिका: सव्वासेसाई A; (4) कुसुमितलतावेल्लिता: स्याद्भूतत्वश्वै: A; (5) पुष्पदाम: भूताश्वान्तं A; (6) विम्ब: वृत्तं विम्बारव्यं ; (7) वैश्वदेवी: पञ्चाश्वैश्छिन्ना A; (8) हरिणीपद: मञ्जिल्ला छंसो B.

7 जस (6 Letters)

- (1) अश्वललित: भजोभजभलगा:-तदाश्वललितं-हराकंयतिमत् BCD; (2) उपस्थित: उपस्थितमिदं A; (3) जलोद्धतगति: रसैजंसजसा-जलोद्धतगति: AB; (4) पृथ्वी: जसौजस-यला-वसुग्रहयति: AB; (5) प्रमद्रक: भजो रसहितौ B; (6) मणिकटक: स्फुटं नजभजै: B; (7) मत्तेभविक्रीडित: त्रयोदशयति: B; (8) मद्रक: रनावथगुरु:-दिगर्कविरमं-हि मद्रकमिदं BCD; (9) रचना: जगो च रचना B; (10) रतिलीला: जसौ त्रिरमुकौ-गुरुश्च रसयो: AB; (11) शार्दूलललित: कला पणिहणा B; (12) शार्दूलविक्रीडित: तता: सगुरव: B; (13) शिखण्डित: शिखण्डितमिदं A; (14) संमदविलासिनी: म्लौरिनशरै: C; (15) समुद्रतता: गजाब्धितुरगै:-जसौ जसतभा AB; (16) सुकेसर: विराजितमिदं B.

8 तस (6 Letters)

- (1) मदनललित: छंदमि पअए C; (2) मुक्तामाला: द्रव्यर्तुविरति: C; (3) शार्दूलललित: सद्दूलललिअं C; (4) सुघा: यो मो नसतसा: C; (5) सुवदना: म्लो ग: सुवदना C.

9 नय (6 Letters)

- (1) उपचित्र: युगमुपचित्रं B; (2) कुसुमविचित्रा: नयसहितौ न्यौ-कुसुमविचित्रा AB; (3) जलधरमाला: जलधरमाला B; (4) मकरन्द: नयनयनान्न-त्रयमपि गो चेत्-रिति मकरन्दं ABD; (5) मत्ता: मभसगयुक्ता B; (6) मदललिता: मदललिता स्यात् B; (7) मौक्तिकमाला: यदि भतनाद्गौ B; (8) श्री: भतनगर्गै: स्यात् B; (9) हंसपद: मसभनना न्यौ D.

10 नस (6 Letters)

- (1) अनंगलेखा: इसुरसलगा A; (2) कान्ता: युगरसहयै: B; (3) कुरङ्गिका: पजरउरगा B; (4) कुसुमितलतावेल्लिता: कुसुमितलता B; (5) चन्द्रलेखा: नसरयुगगै: A; (6) छाया: जइ रसजुआ B; (7) जयानन्द: सुललितमृतुच् B; (8) नलिन: मनलयति नो B; (9) पद्म: पगुणपगणा A; (10) भावाक्रान्ता: विषमजगणा B; (11) मकरन्दिका: यमनसजजा B; (12) मदनललिता: मदनललितं B; (13) मन्दाक्रान्ता: जलधिषडगै: B;

(14) मन्दारमाला : शररसयति : B; (15) मुक्तामाला : यमनसतसै : B; (16) मेघविस्फूजिता : रसरसयति : B; (17) रोहिणी : उरलपगणा A; (18) विद्युत् : ऋतुमुनियति : A; (19) शिखरिणी : यमनसभलात् B; (20) सुधा : भवति ऋतुभि : B; (21) सुवंशा : यदि मरमना : B; (22) हंसी : भभनगयुता B; (23) हरिणी : रसयुगहयै : A; (24) हरिणीपद : जइ हरिणीआ A; (25) हारिणी : उरलपगणा B.

11 यम (6 Letters)

(1) चन्द्रिका : यमो री ग : पठे A; (2) छाया : इमा चेअ च्छाया A; (3) जयानन्द : जयानन्दं यान्मो A; (4) मकरन्दिका : रसै : पड्भिलोकै : A; (5) मुक्तामाला : धृती मुक्तामाला A; (6) मेघविस्फूजिता : यमो न्सी री रम्भा A; (7) शिखरिणी : ऋतुच्छेदोत्यष्टी A; (8) शोभा : रसैरश्वैरश्वै : A; (9) सुधा : सुधा तर्कस्तर्कै : A.

12 जजग (7 Letters)

(1) अचल : गमज्ज दुचाचलं C; (2) अपराजिता : स्वरैरपराजिता B; (3) उपमालिनी : स्वरैरुपमालिनी B; (4) कान्ता : यभौ नरसा लगौ C; (5) कुरङ्गिका : चवारगणा इमे C; (6) जया : चता परगा जया B; (7) तरल : तदा तरलं स्मृतं C; (8) प्रमदानन : तदा प्रमदाननं C; (9) भावाक्रान्ता : पवारगणुत्तरा C; (10) भुजंगविजृम्भित : भुजंगविजृम्भितं D; (11) मकरन्दिका : गुरुमकरन्दिका C; (12) ललित : लहू ललितं इमं C; (13) शाङ्गी : भवेच्च गतागतं C; (14) हरि : लगौ हि यदा हरि : C; (15) हरिणी : गतौ च हरिण्यसौ C; (16) हरिणीपद : इमो हरिणीपदं C.

13 ततग (7 Letters)

(1) करिमकरभुजा : छंदे पलत्ता इमा B; (2) केशर : वृत्तं मतं केशरं C; (3) चन्दोद्योत : चंदुज्जुअं भण्णए B; (4) छाया : पा दोष्णि लंता गुरु C; (5) ज्योत्स्ना : ला पूरणे जोष्णिहया B; (6) बिम्ब : म्ती न्सी ततो चेगदुहः C; (7) मत्तेभक्तीडित : मत्तेभक्तीडितं C; (8) रोहिणी : तं चेअ सा रोहिणी C; (9) विद्युत् : विद्युन्नसौ तौ गुरुः B; (10) शार्दूलविक्रीडित : शार्दूलविक्रीडितं C; (11) हारिणी : जिस्सा इमा हारिणी C.

14 ननग (7 Letters)

(1) अचल : मअरहररसा B; (2) अपराजिता : ननरसलघुगै : A; (3) उज्ज्वला : ननभरसहिता A; (4) करिमकरभुजा : करिमअरभुआ A; (5) कुटिल : कुटिलमिति मतं B; (6) केशर : भभनयरयुगै : B; (7) क्रौञ्चपदा : विरतिरिह भवेत् C; (8) क्षमा : तुरगरसयति : A; (9) चन्द्रमाला : छलहुछगुरुपा A; (10) चन्द्रिका : ननतरगुरुभि : A; (11) तन्वी : यतिरिह भतना : B; (12) पञ्चामर : नयुगललगुरुः A; (13) पुष्पदाम : मतनसररगै : B; (14) प्रभा : स्वरशरविरति : A; (15) प्रहरणकलिता : ननभनलगिति-प्रहरणकलिता AB; (16) बिम्ब : शरमुनितुरगै : B; (17) भ्रमरविलसित : भ्रमरविलसितं B; (18) मणिकिरण : ननभनजननै :—ननलगमिहचेत्—रिति मणिकिरण : ABD; (19) मणिगुणनिकर : मणिगुणनिकरः B; (20) मणिमञ्जरी : यभनयजजगा : B; (21)

महास्रग्धराः फणितुरगहयैः B; (22) मालावृत्तः विकसितकुसुमं C; (23) रतिः रतिरि-
षुविरतिः B; (24) ललितः जइ हरिणिमुहे A; (25) ललितलताः इह ललितलता-स्वर-
गिरिविरतिः AB; (26) लालसाः दशवसुविरतिः A; (27) वंशपत्रपतितः भरनभन-
लगैः B; (28) वरदाः भवति च वरदा A; (29) वसन्तः यदि मुनिविरतिः A;
(30) शोभाः यमननततगैः B; (31) सुवदनाः मरभनययुता B; (32) स्रग्धराः त्रिमु-
नियतियुता B; (33) हंसलयः गतिनसपुरभग् B; (34) हंसश्यामाः मभनयगगभाग् B;
(35) हरिः रसयुगहययुक् A.

15 मरा (7 Letters)

(1) चन्द्रलेखाः स्रौ म्यो यान्तौ भवेतां A; (2) चन्द्रशालाः शक्वर्यां स्रौ च तौ गौ A;
(3) जयाः गच्छो पा लोभरा दो A; (4) ज्योत्स्नाः दिप्पंच तेरह्वं A; (5) सुवंशाः
ख्याता पूर्वंः सुवंशा A; (6) सुवदनाः ज्ञया सप्ताश्वपड्भिः A; (7) स्रग्धराः भ्रम्नी-
र्यानां त्रयेण A.

16 रराग (7 Letters)

(1) अनंगलेखाः गं च साणंगलेखा C; (2) कुसुमितलतावेल्लिताः वेल्लिता म्त्तो नयो
यो C; (3) चन्द्रकान्ताः चन्द्रकाताभिवा रौ A; (4) चन्द्रमालाः पुव्वला चंदमाला C;
(5) चन्द्रलेखाः चन्द्रलेखर्तुलोकैः B; (6) चन्द्रशालाः चन्द्रशालाद्रियत्यां B; (7) चन्द्रिकाः
विश्रमश्चन्द्रिका स्यात् C; (8) पद्मः पुव्वला पा अ पोम्मं C; (9) पुष्पदामः कीर्तितं
पुष्पदाम C; (10) मण्डूकीः विश्रमो मौ मयी यः C; (11) मन्दाकान्ताः माद्भनौ तौ
च गौ चेत् C; (12) मन्दारमालाः भाति मन्दारमाला C; (13) महास्रग्धराः स्यान्म-
हास्रग्धरारव्या C; (14) मालिनीः मालिनी भोगिलोकैः B; (15) मेघविस्फूर्जिताः
मेघविस्फूर्जिता स्यात् C; (16) रुद्राः सात्तौ गौ च रुद्रा B; (17) वसन्तः नौ च तौ गौ
वसन्तः B; (18) वैश्वदेवीः वैश्वदेवी ममो यो B; (19) शालिनीः म्त्ती तगौ गोन्धि-
लोकैः B; (20) शोभाः गेन शोभेयमुक्ता C; (21) सुवंशाः तद्वयं गो गुरुश्च C;
(22) स्रग्धराः स्रग्धरा कीर्तितेयं C.

17 ननराग (8 Letters)

(1) उपमालिनीः ननतभरकृताङ्गैः A; (2) चन्द्रोद्योतः गुरुणिहणमिणं तं A; (3) तनुः
इणमिह तणुईए D; (4) पुटः वसुयुगविरतिर्नौ A; (5) मालिनीः ननमयययुतेयं A.

18 ननलल (8 Letters)

(1) उपचित्रकः रविमितलच्युगुरुह A; (2) कलाः त्रिवसुगयतिरथ-नवनगणलगिह-सुविहि-
तगतिरिति ABC; (3) कौञ्चपदाः इपुशरवसुमुनि C; (4) पङ्कजमुक्ताः गतिनिषिय-
तिरिति A; (5) मकरन्दः रसरसवसुयति C; (6) मणिकिरणः मुनिगिरिवसुयति C;
(7) मणिगुणनिकरः वसुहययतिरिह A; (8) मालावृत्तः गतिवसुवसुयति-मभरसमितनस BC;
(9) ललितलताः ननभनजननय C; (10) वनलतिकाः वसुवसुयतिरथ-गुरुयुगपरवसु AB;
(11) हंसपदः व्रतशरवसुयति C; (12) हंसलयः अभिकृतिभवमिति A.

I. INDEX OF WHOLLY DIVISIBLE METRES

(N.B. The letters A, B, C, D, after the name of a metre stand for the Ghaṭakas or Units of which its line is made in succession. The figures after these letters refer to the number which is given to that Ghaṭaka or Unit in the List of the Ghaṭakas given above. Thus *Acala* : A3 ; B14 ; C12 means that the line of this metre is made of three Ghaṭakas which are given under numbers 3, 14 and 12 respectively. The references in the brackets are to the source where the definition of the metre is given ; see Intro. 4.)

Acala : A3 ; B14 ; C12 (Sc. 1·87). *Anaṅgalekhā* : A10 ; B6 ; C16 (Sc. 1·93). *Aparājitā* : A14 ; B12 (Vr. 3·72). *Aśvalalita* : A4 ; B7 ; C7 ; D7 (Vr. 3·101). *Upacitraka* : A18 ; B9 (Jk. 2·177). *Upamālinī* : A17 ; B12 (Vr. 3·84·3). *Karimakarabhujā* : A14 ; B13 (Sc. 1·17). *Kuṣṭhila* : A2 ; B14 ; C1 (Vr. 3·77·1). *Kuraṅgikā* : A6 ; B10 ; C12 (Sc. 1·81). *Kusumavicitrā* : A9 ; B9 (Vr. 3·51). *Kusumitalatāvellitā* : A6 ; B10 ; C16 (Vr. 3·94). *Keśara* : A3 ; B14 ; C13 (Vr. 3·94·9). *Krauñcapadā* : A5 ; B5 ; C18 ; D14 (Vr. 3·104). *Candramūlā* : A14 ; B3 ; C16 (Sc. 1·75). *Candralekhā* I : A10 ; B16 (Vr. 3·70·10). *Candraśālā* : A15 ; B16 (Jk. 2·166). *Candrikā* I : A11 ; B16 (Jk. 2·153). *Candroddyota* : A17 ; B13 (Sc. 1·31). *Chāyā* : A11 ; B10 ; C13 (Sc. 1·104). *Jayā* : A15 ; B12 (Sc. 1·25). *Jayānanda* : A11 ; B10 (Jk. 2·205). *Jaloddhatagati* : A7 ; B7 (Vr. 3·52). *Jyotiḥ* : A3 ; B3 ; C3 ; D1 (Jk. 2·188). *Jyotsnā* : A15 ; B13 (Sc. 1·23). *Pañcakajumuktā* : A18 ; B5 ; C5 (Jk. 2·223). *Padma* : A10 ; B3 ; C16 (Sc. 1·65). *Puṣpadāma* : A6 ; B14 ; C16 (Vr. 3·96·6). *Prabhadraka* : A4 ; B7 ; C2 (Vr. 3·82). *Praharāṅkalitā* : A14 ; B14 (Vr. 3·73). *Bimba* : A6 ; B14 ; C13 (Vr. 3·96·5). *Bhāvākrāntā* : A3 ; B10 ; C12 (Sc. 1·71). *Bhramaravilasita* : A3 ; B14 (Vr. 3·36). *Makaranda* : A9 ; B9 ; C18 ; D9 (Jk. 2·263). *Makarandikā* : A11 ; B10 ; C12 (Vr. 3·96·8). *Manikiraṅga* : A14 ; B14 ; C18 ; D14 (Jk. 2·269). *Mañiguṇanikara* : A18 ; B14 (Vr. 3·80). *Māñḍukī* : A3 ; B3 ; C16 (Jk. 2·193). *Mattā* : A3 ; B9 (Vr. 3·26). *Madanalalitā* : A3 ; B10 ; C8 (Sc. 1·50). *Mandākrāntā* : A3 ; B10 ; C16 (Vr. 3·91). *Mālāvṛtta* : A3 ; B18 ; C18 ; D14 (Jk. 2·265). *Mālinī* : A17 ; B16 (Vr. 3·81). *Muktāmūlā* : A11 ; B10 ; C8 (Jk. 2·218). *Meghavisphūrjitā* : A11 ; B10 ; C16 (Jk. 2·227). *Mauktikamālā* : A5 ; B9 (Vr. 3·43·10). *Rati* : A5 ; B14 (Jk. 2·140). *Rukmavatī* : A5 ; B5 (Vr. 3·25). *Rucirā* : A2 ; B4 ; C2 (Jk. 2·163). *Rohiṇī* : A10 ; B3 ; C13 (Sc. 1·67). *Lalita* : A14 ; B3 ; C12 (Sc. 1·83). *Vasanta* : A14 ; B16 (Jk. 2·170). *Vidyut* : A10 ; B13 (Vr. 3·70·9). *Vidyumālā* : A3 ; B3 (Vr. 3·13). *Vaiśvadevī* : A6 ; B16 (Vr. 3·60). *Sālinī* : A3 ; B16 (Vr. 3·34). *Śobhā* : A11 ; B14 ; C16 (Vr. 3·98·2). *Śrī* : A5 ; B9 (Vr. 3·37). *Sukesara* : A4 ; B7 ; C2 (Vr. 3·84·2). *Sudhā* : A11 ; B10 ;

C8 (Vr. 3·94·12). *Suvamśā* : A15 ; B10 ; C16 (Vr. 3·98·1). *Suvadanā* : A15 ; B14 ; C8 (Vr. 3·97). *Sragdharā* : A15 ; B14 ; C16 (Vr. 3·99). *Hamsapada* : A5 ; B5 ; C18 ; D9 (Jk. 2·255). *Hamsaśyāmā* : A3 ; B14 ; C1 (Jk. 2·167). *Hamsī* : A3 ; B10 (Vr. 3·28·6). *Hari* : A14 ; B1 ; C12 (Vr. 3·93·2). *Harinī* : A10 ; B3 ; C12 (Vr. 3·90). *Harinīpada* : A10 ; B6 ; C12 (Sc. 1·85). *Hārinī* : A3 ; B10 ; C13 (Sc. 1·60). 69 in all.

II. INDEX OF PARTLY DIVISIBLE METRES

Apavāha : A1 ; x (Vr. 3·106). *Aravindaka* : A4 ; x (Jk. 2·192). *Asambādā* : A6 ; B4 ; x (Vr. 3·71). *Ujjvalā* : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·59). *Upasthīta* : A7 ; x (Vr. 3·70·2). *Ekarūpa* : A1 ; x (Vr. 3·43·12). *Kalā* : A18 ; B18 ; C18 ; x (Jk. 2·270). *Kāntā* : x ; B10 ; C12 ; x (Vr. 3·93·4). *Kṣamā* : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·65). *Candrakāntā* : A16 ; x (Vr. 3·84·6). *Candralekhā* II : A15 ; x (Vr. 3·84). *Candrikā* II : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·70). *Jaladharamālā* : A3 ; B9 ; x (Vr. 3·61). *Tanu* : x ; x ; x ; D17 ; (Sc. 1·27). *Tanvī* : A5 ; B14 ; x (Vr. 3·103). *Taralā* : x ; x ; C12 ; x (Jk. 2·226). *Darduraka* : x ; x ; C2 ; x (Jk. 2·178). *Nalina* : x ; B10 ; C2 ; x (Jk. 2·162). *Pañcacāmara* : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·96·4). *Puṭa* : A17 ; x (Vr. 3·49). *Puṇḍarīka* : A1 ; x ; x (Jk. 2·136). *Pṛthvī* : A7 ; B7 ; x (Vr. 3·88). *Prabhā* : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·64·9). *Pramadānana* : x ; x ; C12 (Vr. 3·98·3). *Praharṣiṇī* : A1 ; B4 ; x (Jk. 2·150). *Bhujāṅgavijṛmbhīta* : A3 ; B3 ; x ; D12 ; x (Vr. 3·105). *Maṇikaṅṭhaka* : A4 ; B7 ; x (Jk. 2·175). *Maṇimañjarī* : x ; B14 ; x (Vr. 3·96·7). *Mattamayūra* : A3 ; B5 ; x (Jk. 2·151). *Mattākṛīḍā* : A3 ; B3 ; x ; x (Vr. 3·102). *Mattebhavikṛīḍita* : x ; B7 ; B13 ; x (Jk. 2·233). *Madalalitā* : x ; B9 ; x (Jk. 2·155). *Madraka* : x ; B7 ; C7 ; D7 ; x (Vr. 3·100). *Mantebha* : A3 ; B3 ; C3 ; D3 ; x ; F3 ; x (Jk. 2·259). *Mandāramālā* : x ; B10 ; C16 ; x (Jk. 2·221). *Mahāsrāgdharā* : x ; B14 ; C16 ; x (Vr. 3·100·4). *Mṛdaṅgaka* : x ; x ; C2 ; x (Vr. 3·84·1). *Racanā* : A4 ; B7 ; (Vr. 3·96·2). *Ratīlīlā* : A7 ; B7 ; x (Jk. 2·230). *Ruci* : x ; B4 ; C2 ; x (Jk. 2·164). *Rudrā* : x ; B16 (Jk. 2·168). *Lalanā* : A5 ; x (Vr. 3·64·12). *Lalitalatā* : A14 ; B14 ; C18 ; x (Jk. 2·254). *Lālasū* : A14 ; x (Vr. 3·94·3). *Vamśapatrapalīta* : x ; B14 ; x ; x (Vr. 3·89). *Vanalatikī* : A18 ; B18 ; C18 ; x (Jk. 2·262). *Varadā* : A14 ; x (Jk. 2·224). *Vātermī* : A3 ; x (Vr. 3·35). *Śārngī* : x ; x ; C12 ; x (Jk. 2·229). *Śārdūlalalīta* : x ; B7 ; C8 ; x (Sc. 1·79). *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* : x ; B7 ; C13 ; x (Vr. 3·96). *Śikhaṇḍita* : A7 ; x (Vr. 3·43·1). *Śikhariṇī* : A11 ; B10 ; x (Jk. 2·209). *Suddhavirāṭ* : A2 ; x ; C2 (Vr. 3·64·2). *Samadavilāsīnī* : x ; x ; C7 ; x (Vr. 3·93·1). *Samudratatā* : A7 ; B7 ; x (Vr. 3·96·1). *Saralā* : A3 ; x (Jk. 2·57). *Sudarśanā* : x ; B4 ; C2 ; x (Jk. 2·174). *Smṛtī* : A2 ; B4 ; x (Jk. 2·147). *Hamsalaya* : A18 ; B14 ; x (Jk. 2·257). 60 in all.

TWO BRAHMANIC PHILOSOPHERS IN THE ṚIṢIBHĀṢITĀNI*

BY A. M. GHATAGĒ

A well-known family of philosophers is frequently referred to in the Vedic literature and particularly in the Brahmanas and the Upaniṣads. The names of Uddālaka Āruṇi and Śvetaketu his son, as persons of flesh and blood occupy a prominent place in the Upaniṣads. A few striking features associated with their behaviour and characterising their teaching impart them greater individuality and distinguish them from others who are often mere names in the Upaniṣads. When these persons also occur in the Buddhist and Jain writings, our interest in them naturally gets deepened and it becomes worth our while to compare these different accounts about their lives and teachings, to ascertain how far they can be regarded as historical persons and the doctrines genuinely theirs.

Leaving aside references to members of this family in the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas which are very meagre and those in the Sūtras and the Mahābhārata where they have become legendary, we may form a fairly clear picture of these persons from the numerous incidents told about them in the Older Upaniṣads. In the Chāndogya (3·11·4) we are told that Uddālaka Āruṇi was taught, as the eldest son, the doctrine that the visible sun is a honeycomb extracted from the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. One who knows this cosmic significance of the scriptures will enjoy eternal day without the night. Brahman is the sun of the whole world and the natural sun is a mere representation of it. The same Upaniṣad (5·3·10) again tells us that Śvetaketu, son of Āruṇi, goes to the assembly of the Pāñcālas. There Prāvāhaṇa Jaivali points him out that he does not know answers to his five questions and sends him back to his father. Now Uddālaka is himself ignorant of these answers and goes to king Prāvāhaṇa and receives from him instructions about the doctrine of the five fires and the two ways of Devayāna and Pitryāna, by which men either reach Brahman or return to the human world. The king also remarks that this teaching was not current among the Brahmins so long. A little later (5·11·24) we are told that five sages go to Uddālaka Āruṇi to ask him about the nature of Ātman and Brahman. He finds it hard to explain and takes them all to Aśvapati Kaikeya who knows them. Aśvapati asks them, beforehand, what they understand by Ātman and when he finds that their answers are insufficient, he explains them the nature of Ātmā Vaiśvānara as the innermost self. In the

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course of the discussion, Uddālaka tells him that he regards Ātman to mean this earth, and is addressed as Gautama by the king. The whole of the sixth Prapāṭhaka of this Upaniṣad forms a conversation between Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu, who is proud of his learning, in which the father teaches his son the nature of *sat* and its evolution into the manifold world, the real nature of the individual Self and its identity with the supreme Self.

In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (3·7·1) Uddālaka Āruṇi reminds Yājñavalkya that they once lived in the house of Patañcala Kāpya in the country of Madras, studying sacrifice and that the wife of Patañcala was possessed by a Gandharva, who had put them two questions. Yājñavalkya addresses him as Gautama and explains him that wind is the thread which binds all and the inner controller of all is the self. Another section of this Upaniṣad (6·2·1) repeats the story of Śvetaketu going to the assembly of the Pāñcālas and receiving the doctrine of the five fires as in the Chāndogya. In 6·3·7 Uddālaka Āruṇi is reported to have taught the ceremony called Mantha to his pupil Yājñavalkya, which is expected to bring worldly prosperity and suggests the means to become one with the world. A little later (6·4·4) Uddālaka is credited with the doctrine of procreating a son as a form of ritual, while at the end (6·5·1) of the Upaniṣad we find the names of Aruṇa, Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya forming a line of teachers and pupils.

In the Kauṣītaki (1·1) we read that Citra Gāṅgyāyaṇi chose Āruṇi to be his officiating priest, but the latter sent his son Śvetaketu to do the work. Citra points out the ignorance of Śvetaketu and teaches him and his father the doctrine of the two ways and the course of the reincarnation of the soul. From the Kāṭhaka (1·10·11) we know that Naciketas was the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, though at the beginning of the work we are told that he was the son of Vājaśravasa.

These Upaniṣadic incidents reveal that there were four generations of teachers of the same family, comprising Aruṇa, his son Uddālaka, his grandson Śvetaketu and possibly his great grandson Naciketas. Of them, Aruṇa is credited with the doctrine of the significance of the sun and Uddālaka with the famous doctrine of the identity of the individual with the supreme self and many others. He is repeatedly represented as going to some king to get instructions on some questions, which are pointed out as unknown to the Brahmins so long. His son Śvetaketu is found to be proud of his birth and learning and is often discomfited in discussions. His haughtiness is contrasted with his father's humility and willingness to learn the new doctrines even from the Kṣatriyas. The ascription of Naciketas to this family remains doubtful.

Two from these philosophers, Uddālaka and Śvetaketu, are mentioned in the Buddhist literature. There are two Jatakas dealing with them and bearing their names in the collection of the Pali canon. The Setaketujātaka (No. 377)

tells us a story in which Śvetaketu is represented as a Brahmin youth, proud of his caste and hailing from the north. Once he comes across a Cāṇḍāla on his way, and tries to avoid the wind blowing from his side. The Cāṇḍāla however, stand in his path and demands whether he can answer a question put to him. Śvetaketu readily agrees and is asked what are the *disās*. He simply answers that the *disās* are the quarters. But he was told that he was not asked of such *disās*. Baffled, he comes to his teacher and is told that by *disās* are meant the parents, teachers, generous householders and deliverance from misery. Ashamed of his ignorance, Śvetaketu now goes to Takṣaśilā and learns various arts with a famous teacher. He returns to Benares and lives with a group of ascetics and becomes their leader. Once the king of Benares comes to meet him with his Purohita and Śvetaketu, in order to impress the king, asks all his followers to show themselves engrossed in austerities and he himself remains teaching a few students. The king is pleased at the sight and asks his Purohita whether these ascetics can get rid of worldly dangers. The Purohita, however, answers that the mere knowledge of the Vedas without good conduct does not lead to emancipation. Now Śvetaketu intervenes and asks the Purohita whether he means thereby that the Vedas have no value, but is told that the Vedas bring only worldly glory, while good conduct alone leads to peace. Upon this, the king makes them give up asceticism and takes them in his service.

Uddālaka is the chief person of the other Jātaka (No. 487) named after him. The Purohita of Brahmadatta, king of Kāśī, falls in love with a courtesan and when she tells him that she is pregnant, he gives her his signet ring and asks her, if a boy is born to name him Uddālaka, because he is conceived under an Uddāla tree and to send him to himself with the ring. When the son is grown up, the mother reveals to him that his father is the Purohita of the king and he is a Brahmin. Uddālaka now goes to Takṣaśilā and learns various sciences. Then he joins a band of ascetics and prevails upon them to come to live near the town of Benares, taking upon himself the responsibility of answering questions put by the people. Then the king of Benares visits them along with his Purohita and Uddālaka tries to impress the king by his penance and learning. Then, as in the earlier Jātaka, the king asks the Purohita whether these ascetics can be freed from worldly dangers. To this, the Purohita answers that the knowledge of the Vedas without good conduct is of no avail. Uddālaka now interposes and demands of the Purohita whether the Vedic learning is then of no use. But the Purohita explains that it is not so, and that Vedic learning leads to worldly fame, while good conduct alone leads to liberation. Now Uddālaka finds it prudent to tell the Purohita that he is his own son and hands him over the ring for recognition. The Purohita owns him and agreeing that he is a Brahmin asks him whether he knows the real qualities of a Brahmana. Uddālaka naturally refers to such Brahmanic rites as sacrifice and others. The Purohita, however, denies that such qualities

can make a real Brahmin. When Uddālaka asks him what the real qualities of a Brahmin then are, he explains that not to possess anything, to have no desires and to be free from sin are the qualities of a real Brahmin. Uddālaka now argues that if such were the case, there is no real difference between a Brahmana and the other castes. The Purohita again explains that birth and family have nothing to do with real virtues and illustrates it by pointing out that even when a Vimāna is decked with clothes of different colours, its shadow shows no colours whatsoever. Uddālaka is silenced and the king, at the advice of the Purohita, makes Uddālaka a subordinate priest and other ascetics are enlisted as his guards.

The four common verses and the identical situation about the king's visit closely associate these two Jātakas with each other. In the Setaketujātaka, the haughty temper of the Brahmin youth and his discomfiture are fairly reflected and the person is the same as occurs in the Brahmanic stories. In the Uddālaka Jātaka, the Purohita, his father teaches him what are the real qualities of a Brahmin and denies that caste or Vedic lore has any abiding value. There is little doubt that both Uddālaka and Śvetaketu are the very persons who play such an important part in the Upaniṣads and Uddālaka's adherence to the Brahmanic teaching and social distinctions is quite apparent. His defeat and final conversion may be easily put to the account of the Buddhist story-teller as being quite natural in the circumstances. There is, however, nothing in the discussion which would give any indication about Uddālaka's own teaching as a particular Brahmanic philosopher.

Again two of these sages find a place in a Jain canonical work. Schurbring has made it probable, on linguistic and metrical grounds, that the small tract called Ṛṣibhāsitāni is genuine and is at least as old as the early works of the Ardhamāgadhī canon. It contains the views and opinions of 45 sages called Pratyekabuddhas and two of them are called Aruṇa and Uddālaka. According to a later tradition, both of them lived at the time of Pārśva, the 23rd Thīrthakara, who preceded Mahāvīra. Here again the two sections are put close to each other and their names are certainly those of the famous philosophers of the Brahmanic and Buddhist literatures.

Section 33 of this work is attributed to Aruṇa, son of Mahāsāla, whose teaching is given in some 17 verses. He teaches that an ignorant man is known by his improper use of words and deeds, while a wise person makes the proper use of both the words and acts. Therefore, one should not keep company with ignorant persons, which leads to misery and bad birth ; but the company of good men will bring fame and good birth. Friendship with a wicked man destroys one's welfare both here and in the next life, while friendship with good brings happiness. Both faults and virtues result from the nature of

friendship, as all the rivers become salty when they fall into the ocean, but birds of all colours get a golden hue when they rest on Mt. Meru. Saṃjaya, king of Mithilā went to heaven on account of his friendship with good and hence Aruṇa teaches that one should always keep good company.

Section 35 of the book gives us the teaching of Uddālaka (read as Addālaka in the Ms.). The four passions, anger, pride, deceit and greed, lead to worldly life. Hence a monk should uproot them, should cultivate all the usual virtues of a Jain monk and should accept pure food and bed only to keep up his life and promote penance. Uddālaka points out that while an ordinary arrow may destroy a single life, the arrows of passions lead to endless lives. One should avoid all things which may produce these passions. He further points out that when one's house is on fire, it is no use to go to another for help. One should keep awake and look after one's welfare. If others do wrong, one may keep discrete silence. Why keep watch on another's turret? One should take care of one's own house because the village is full of robbers. If one sleeps they will rob him, so be attentive. These robbers are the five senses, the three prides, the darts, the various obstacles and the four passions. As long as one is keeping awake, the thieves avoid him, as creatures avoid fire, afraid of being burnt.

From these Jain accounts we get very little information about the lives of both Aruṇa and Uddālaka. While the teaching of Aruṇa is quite in agreement with Jain ethics, Uddālaka shows some amount of originality, in stressing the value of helping oneself first and not to neglect one's welfare in attempting to help others. Otherwise, the teachings of both are thoroughly permeated with details of Jain dogmatics.

A close comparison of these three sources about Aruṇa, his son Uddālaka and his grand-son Śvetaketu reveals to us two things quite clearly. The bits of information about both Uddālaka and Śvetaketu that we gather from them agree with each other and suggest that this family of philosophers really lived in ancient times. Their historicity may be readily accepted. At the same time, all these sources ascribe to them doctrines which diverge from each other and what is more important, each religion assigns them views which are closely associated with details of their own faith and scarcely state anything which is outside the horizon of their dogmatics. We naturally find it impossible to believe that any of these teachings really belonged to those philosophers and we have to conclude that their famous names were utilised by all to give weight to the ordinary teachings of their respective creeds.

THE DATE OF THE ELLORA PLATES OF DĀNTIDURGA *

BY V. V. MIRASHI

These plates were discovered at Ellora in the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State. They have been edited by Mr. S. K. Dikshit in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25. They record a grant made by Dantidurga while he was encamped at Elāpura, modern Ellora. The village granted was Pippalāla situated in the territorial division of Chandanapurī Eighty-four. Mr. Dikshit has identified both these places. Chandanapurī still retains its old name and is situated on the Girna, about 45 miles north-west of Ellora. Pippalāla is modern Pimpral, 12 miles south-east of Chandanapurī. There is, therefore, no doubt that the grant belongs to the Aurangabad-Nasik region. This confirms the evidence of the Daśāvātāra cave inscription about the home province of Dantidurga.

The plates are written in the western variety of the southern alphabet familiar to us from the records of the Kalachuris, Early Chālukyas, Harischandriyas and Sendrakas discovered in the adjoining Nasik District. The grant has been dated in numerical symbols. The date has been read as follows:—*Sam 600 60 3 Aśvayuja suddha trayodaśyām Somavāre* 'Year 663, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, Monday.' Mr. Dikshit has, however, admitted that the date is irregular for both the current and the expired Śaka year 663; for the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current year 663 fell on a Thursday (the 8th September A.D. 740) and in the expired Śaka year 663 on a Wednesday (the 27th September A.D. 741).¹

This irregularity in the date raises the question whether the date has been read correctly. The wording of the date which closely resembles that of the Kalachuri-Chedi dates is unlike that of Śaka dates found in Maharashtra. In almost all Śaka dates whether occurring in the records of the Early Chālukyas or the Rāshtrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. See, for instance, the wording of the following Śaka dates from Maharashtra preceding and following the date Śaka 663 in question—

- (i) Śaka 609—Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64) Nav-ottara-shaṭ-chhateshu Śaka-varsheshv=atiteshu.

¹ In A.D. 742, the *tithi* fell on a Monday (the 17th September), but that year can not be equated with Śaka 663.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

(ii) Śaka 640—Bopgaon plates of Vijayāditya (*B.I.S.M. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. ii, p. 3) Chatvārimśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhateshu Śaka-varshieshv=atīteshu.

(iii) Śaka 690—Talegaon plates of Kṛishṇa I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 280) Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭke navaty-uttare Plavamga-varshe Vaiśākh-āmāvāsyāyām=Ādityagrahe.

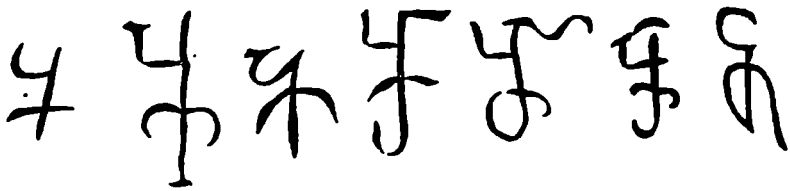
Several dates of a similar type can be cited. In his examination of the dates of the Śaka era Dr. Kielhorn also noticed this peculiarity. Says he, 'What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the list and what distinguishes these dates from those of the other principal eras is this that, with insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word Śaka or its derivative Śāka.'² And even in regard to the five dates Kielhorn showed that the absence of the word Śaka was due to the exigencies of the metre, spuriousness of the record or doubtful reading. This explicit reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings in the dates was quite necessary; for there were then two eras current in Maharashtra, viz., the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era. The latter had, therefore, to be clearly specified to prevent confusion.

Since the date of the Ellora plates contains no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, it is probably *not* recorded in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols shows that the reading of the year is incorrect. The symbols used are as follows—

These symbols have been read as 600 60 3. There is no doubt about the reading of 60 and 3; but the symbols denoting 600 are unusual. This number should be denoted by a symbol for 100 followed by one signifying 6. The first symbol is the usual one denoting 100, but the following one is unlike the symbol usually employed to denote 6. See, for instance, the following symbols taken from Table IX of Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*—

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 148.

It will be noticed that these symbols appear like the letters *phra*, *phrā*, *pha* or *phā*. The last symbol shows that the loop on the right is usual, but not absolutely essential. It is noteworthy that the lower portion of the symbol, where it occurs, is a vertical, not a cross. In this respect these symbols differ from that used in the Ellora plates. The lower portion of the latter symbol resembling *Brāhmī ka* is a characteristic of the symbol for 4. See, for instance, the following forms of the symbol taken from different records³ —



It will be noticed that the symbol resembles the conjunct *pka*, *pkā* or *ñka*. The lower cross is a characteristic of the symbol. It was intended to resemble the letter *ka* and like the latter, underwent change in course of time. Sometimes a horizontal or curved stroke was added to the top of the right vertical of the upper limb. Sporadically it seems to have been added to the left vertical also, which ultimately made the symbol resemble the letter *ñka*.

The symbol added to the sign for 100 in the Ellora plates resembles this symbol denoting 4, with only this difference that there is a loop in the upper limb. The lower cross which is unmistakable shows that the symbol was intended to denote 4. I therefore read the date as 400 60 3, i.e., 463. This date can not be referred to the Śaka era as it would be too early for Dantidurga ; besides, its wording is unlike that of Śaka dates. The only other era to which it could be referred is the Kalachuri era which was current in that period in the adjoining districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

I have shown elsewhere that the epoch which suits early dates of the Kalachuri era found in Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat is A.D. 248-49.⁴ That epoch does not however suit this date ; for according to it the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September A.D. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th September A.D. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular as it did not fall on a Monday.

³ The first three symbols are taken from Bühler's Table IX. The fourth is from the plates of Vijayadevavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 57f; the fifth is from the Kasare plates not yet published and the sixth is from the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, not yet noticed ; the last symbol is from the Kota Buddhist inscription, for the facsimile of which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. For the correct reading of its date, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 152.

⁴ See my article 'Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era' in *A.B.O. R.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 f.

From the recently discovered Nagardhan plates⁵ of Svāmirāja it seems that the epoch of the Kalachuri era at least in Vidarbha was A.D. 250-51, not A.D. 248-49. This epoch suits the date of the Ellora plates; for according to it, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the expired Kalachuri (Kārttikādi) year 463 ended 1 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 16th September A. D. 715 which was a Monday as required.

The date of the Ellora plates is thus A.D. 715. This falls in the early career of Dantidurga when he was still a feudatory; for he describes himself in these plates as one who had obtained the *pañch-mahā-śabdās*. He had not yet assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēvara*. And this is as it should be; for Chālukya supremacy was then undisputed in Maharashtra. The Hariśchandriya king Bhogaśakti who ruled over the neighbouring Nasik District acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukya Emperor in his Anjaneri plates issued only two years earlier.⁶ Soon thereafter the Chālukya Emperor Vijayarāja appears to have annexed the country round Nasik; for his Bopgaon plates dated Śaka 640 (A.D. 718) record his grant of a village in the Samagirivishaya which we know comprised the country near Nasik.⁷ It is therefore not surprising that Dantidurga assumed only a feudatory title in A.D. 715.

Relying on the evidence of the Tivarkhed plates supposed to be dated in Śaka 553 (A.D. 631) and connecting the family of Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura with that of Dantidurga, Dr. Altekar has assigned the latter a short reign of about 11 years from *circa* A.D. 745 to A.D. 756.⁸ But both these props of his theory are shaky. The recent discovery of a copper-plate grant⁹ of the same Nannarāja, dated the Śaka 615 (A.D. 693) in the Akola District of Berar has conclusively shown that the Multai plates of the king dated Śaka 631 (A.D. 709) are genuine, while his Tivarkhed plates supposed to be dated 78 years earlier are spurious. Consequently, Nannarāja and his ancestors who ruled over Vidarbha were the contemporaries, not predecessors, of the forefathers of Dantidurga who flourished in the Aurangabad District (ancient Mūlaka country), as shown in the following table—

Rāshtrakūṭas of Mūlaka

Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha.

Dantivarman
(A. D. 620-630)

⁵ These are under publication in *Ep. Ind.*

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.

⁷ *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. IX, part ii, pp. 1 f. Samagiri is mentioned in the Anjaneri plates of Pṛithvichandra Bhogaśakti, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 237.

⁸ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas* etc., p. 10.

⁹ This is being published by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande.

Indra I
(A. D. 630-650)

Govinda I
(A. D. 650-670)

Karka I
(A. D. 670-690)

Indra II
(A. D. 690-710)

Dantidurga
(A. D. 710-750)

Durgarāja
(A. D. 630-650)

Govindarāja
(A. D. 650-670)

Svamikarāja
(A. D. 670-690)

Nannarāja
(A. D. 690-715)
(Known dates A. D. 693 and 709).

As stated before, this family originally belonged to the Aurangabad District where its earliest records have been found. This part of the country was previously under the direct rule of the Early Kalachuris. The Abhona plates¹⁰ of Śaṅkaragaṇa dated K 347 (A.D. 597) record the grant of a village in the territorial division of Bhogavardhana (modern Bhokardhan in the Aurangabad District) where a large Hindu temple of about the 8th century A.D. has been discovered. The Chālukya Emperor Pulakeśin II annexed this territory after defeating the Kalachuri king Buddharāja in *circa* A.D. 620.¹¹ Dantivarman, the founder of this Rāshtrakūṭa family, seems to have begun his career as a feudatory of Pulakeśin II and his descendants down to Dantidurga continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukyas.

Dantidurga had probably a long reign of about forty years. As shown above, his Ellora plates are dated A.D. 715. His Samangad plates dated Śaka 675 (A.D. 753) are probably spurious. The Ellora cave inscription is undated. The next certain date of this family is Śaka 680 (A.D. 758) furnished by the Poona plates¹² of his uncle and successor, Kṛishṇa I. Dantidurga therefore probably flourished from *circa* A.D. 710 to A.D. 750.¹³ Such a long reign is also warranted by the numerous conquests attributed to him in the Ellora cave inscription.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 f.

¹¹ The Aihole inscription states that Pulakeśin II was 'the lord of the three Mahārāshtras' which included Kuntala, Northern Maharashtra and Vidarbha.

¹² *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. VIII, part iii, pp. 165 f.

¹³ Bhagvanlal Indraji assigned the period A.D. 725-750 to the reign of Dantidurga.

ARCHITECTURAL DATA IN JAIN CANONICAL LITERATURE *

BY MOTI CHANDRA.

Indian architecture, specially religious architecture, has received sufficient attention from scholars. The great monuments such as the cave temples, *stūpas* and *toranas*, medieval temples and some other forms of Indian architecture such as mosques and Mughal palaces and forts have been critically examined. But unfortunately Indian civil architecture has received little attention so far. The reason for this neglect is not far to seek. In the first instance many of the religious monuments still stand and are thus available for our close study, but there is little trace of our ancient palaces and other buildings which, built in wood in early period, have disappeared for ever. Careful archaeological data could throw sufficient light on Indian architecture in different periods, but unfortunately there has been little scientific excavation in this country, and except for the city of Takshasilā, there is little material available for understanding the plan and layout of ancient Indian cities. This paucity of material is, however, compensated to a certain degree by the representation of architectural details in the early bas-reliefs of Bharhut, Sānchī, Amarāvati and Mathurā and the descriptions of cities, palaces, *cāityas*, etc. in ancient literature. Dr. Coomaraswamy has made a detailed study of the two kinds of materials mentioned above.¹ His studies have given us a clear picture of the ancient Indian palaces, forts, gardens, palaces, etc., based chiefly on Buddhist literature. He has also given to us hundreds of architectural terms from the same source the knowledge of which is very essential for studying the various constituents of ancient Indian architecture. In his articles Dr. Coomaraswamy has, however, not utilised the architectural data in Jain canonical literature as most of the Jain texts in readable form have been made available to us only recently.

The Jain canonical literature which consists of the *sūtras*, *niryuktis*, *bhāṣyas*, *cūrṇis* and *ṭīkās* in Sanskrit impart to us encyclopaedic information about the life and culture in ancient India. Jain literature couched in archaic Prakrit no doubt is tough reading and our difficulties are further increased by the absence of well edited and annotated texts. But inspite of all these shortcomings, there is little doubt that the Jain literature has preserved for us first class information about some traits of life and culture of ancient India which are either unknown or partially known from other sources. The architectural the Jain literature data which it contains gives to us much information about

¹ *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art*, 1930, 1931.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

the ancient Indian cities, townlets, villages, palaces, temples and forts and about their mode of construction. The Jain literature gives us not only technical words for various constituents of a building, but also describes in detail the various decorative motifs employed in civil and religious architecture. In this respect the Jain literature is unique, as the Buddhist literature tells us very little about the decorative motifs employed in construction. When we compare their definitions with the actual representation of decorative motifs in early bas-reliefs we are at once struck by the faithfulness with which the Jain authors have preserved the living traditions of their times.

The majority of Jain texts have preserved some architectural data, but the *Rāyapaseṇiya* and *Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya* excel in their information about the civil and religious architecture of India. The *Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra* gives the description of architectural data in a straight forward manner, but the *Rāyapaseṇiya* fits the architectural data with the description of the city of gods and hence there are many exaggerated details and impossible measurements which have to be carefully sifted to reach the kernel of truth. But in spite of all its verbosity and exaggeration there is little doubt that this text is unique for the history of early Indian architecture. From its description it is evident that its author must have been thoroughly conversant with early Indian architecture and there is every possibility that he was an eye witness of the great Jain stupa at Mathurā, whose remains were recovered by Dr. Führer from Kaṅkāli Tīlā.

I

Preliminaries for building a new house.

According to the *Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya*,² as a first step to building activity the land was examined and levelled (*samabhūmi vireyaṇa*), then the surveyor (*akṣara vihaṇṇu*) measured it with the measuring rod and fixed the proper direction of the house. Then the ground was dug and the foundation was laid and well pressed (*koṭṭaṇa ṭhavaṇam*) and the plinth was raised in brick masonry (*iṭṭagaṭhavaṇa*) and over it the building was erected.

In the construction of an ordinary house one rafter (*paṭṭhivaṁso*), two joists (*dharāṇau*) and four laths (*mūlaveṭito*)³ were required. Besides these bamboos (*baṁsaga*), straw mats (*kaḍaṇo*), wooden plate (*ukkaṅcaṇa*), thatching (*chāvavaṇa*), plastering (*levaṇa*) door-making (*duvāra*), and levelling of the floor were also enjoined. After the construction was over the building was white-washed (*dūmiya*), fumigated (*dhūviya*), perfumed with flowers (*vāsiya*),

² *Bṛhatkalpasūtra Bhāṣya*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, Patan, from 1033, I, 331-333 ; to be referred in future as BKSB.

³ *Ib.*, I, 582-583.

illuminated (*ujjoviya*), proper sacrifices offered, painted (*avattā*), well sprinkled (*sittā*) and well swept.⁴

Architecture (*vāstu*) at one place⁵ is divided into three categories—underground cellar (*khāta*), palace raised above ground (*ucchrta*), and a combination of the two. Owing to the climatic conditions underground cellars were considered necessary in India, at least for larger buildings.

The house besides being constructed in wood were also made of stone and burnt bricks (*kāñiṭṭa* described as *lohamaya-iṣṭaka*), burnt bricks (*pakveṣṭaka*) and straws (*tanaghara*).⁶ It was also provided with open space in front and back (*apasārikā*).⁷

The ancient Jain Sūtras have preserved for us a list of different kinds of cities, villages, etc. The list shows that the ancient Indians with their characteristic genius had divided the places of human habitation on the basis of population, and the nature of the profession which the inhabitants of a particular city or town followed. These divisions are recounted as *grāma*, *nagara*, *kheṭa*, *karvaṭa*, *maḍamba*, *paṭṭana*, *ākara*, *dronamukha*, *nigama*, *rājadhānī*, *āśrama*, *niveśa*, *samvāha*, *ghoṣa*, *aṃśikā* and *puṭabhedana*.⁸ These divisions have been defined by the commentaries in later period and, therefore, it is difficult to say with what degree of exactitude their definitions have preserved the ancient nature of these divisions. But there is every likelihood that the commentators have based their definitions on ancient traditions. Their truthfulness can be checked by cross references to Buddhist and Brahmanical literature.

Grāma or village was the smallest unit of human habitation in ancient India. The BKS B gives an interesting discussion as to what constitutes a village. It is said that the limit of a village⁹ is the distance to which the cows go for grazing. But this definition is contested on the ground¹⁰ that the cows proceed to other villages as well and, therefore, the definition is wrong. It is, however, suggested that the boundary of a village is the distance which a grass-cutter or wood-cutter, getting up early in the morning, covers and after doing his work returns to his place about the sunset. But this definition is also challenged,¹¹ as it is argued that the wood-cutter or grass-cutter might be proceeding to other villages as well. The correct definition of a village is, therefore, that it has its own boundaries; its extent could also be determined by the situation of the village garden at the end, or the village well or its distant-most part where the lovers would fix up their rendezvous or the extent to which the village children went to play. The nucleus of an Indian village

⁴ *Ib.*, I, 584.

⁵ *Ib.*, II, 828.

⁶ *Vyavahāra*, III, 3, p. 555.

⁷ BKS B, 3502.

⁸ BKS B, p. 341; *Bagavati*, I, 1, 61; *Acārāṅga*, I, 7, 6, 4.

⁹ BKS B, 1096.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 1097.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 1098.

was formed by a temple (*devakula*), rest house (*sabhā*), assembly hall in the centre of the village (*madhyama goṣṭha*) and a village watering shed (*prapā*)¹².

There were different types of villages : 'open bowl' (*uttāna mallakākāra*), 'inverted bowl' (*avānimukha*), 'broken bowl' (*khaṇḍa*), and 'box or hemispherical bowl' (*samputaka*). The *khaṇḍa* variety is again subdivided into 'open broken bowl' (*uttānaka—khaṇḍamalla-samsthita*), 'inverted broken bowl' (*avānimukha*), 'closed broken bowl' (*samputaka*), 'along the wall' (*bhittisamsthita*), 'avenue' (*paṭalikā*), 'turret' (*valabhī*), 'wrestling ground' (*akṣa-pāṭa*), 'a sort of a building or temple having terrace on their sides and closed on the north side' (*rucaka*) and *kāśyapa* types¹³

In the 'open bowl' type taking the well as a central point the village was situated in a circle.¹⁴ In the 'inverted bowl' type a temple or a tree served as the central point.¹⁵ In the 'hemispherical bowl' type there was a tree on the well.¹⁶ In the 'broken bowl' the trees and wells were situated on one side of the village.¹⁷ The 'along the wall' sub-type had parallel rows of trees planted in the east and the sides ; the 'avenue' type had beautiful rows of trees ; in 'turret' type not very tall trees were planted on four corners ; the 'wrestling ground' type was square with trees planted on four corners;¹⁸ in 'rucaka' type the uneven village ground was ringed with trees ; and the '*kāśyapa*' type was triangular in shape like a barber's razor.

The BKSJ also gives some other types of villages. *Kheṭa* was enclosed with a mud wall (*dhūliprākāra*) ;¹⁹ *maḍamba* which is defined as a village around which no village existed to the distance of 2½ *gavyūtis* or 7 *kosa* (14 miles), or according to others no pasture existed within the same distance ; *ākara* was a mining village ; *samvāha* was a type of village where the farmers or the traders having their business elsewhere proceeded to hilly or some such difficult place and lived there.²⁰ *Ghoṣa* was a cowherds' village, and *amśikā* was half or a third part of the village which lived apart from it.

Some tit-bits of information about an Indian village are also available from the Jain literature. For instance the village office (*grāma-samsthāna*) was provided with landing (*ṇimū*), staircase (*ṇissū*) and towers (*thūbbhiya*).²¹ From another reference it can be surmised that villages and cities had defence walls, which were provided with *bagaḍa* and *dvāras*.²² Unfortunately *bagaḍa* has not been defined but seems to have been a large city or village gate. According to the commentary in the hill villages the defence wall had one *bagaḍa* and one door ; in the village surrounded by lotus ponds or other

¹² *Ib.*, 1100.

¹³ *Ib.*, 1103.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, 1104.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, 1105.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, 1106.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, 1100.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, 1107.

¹⁹ BKSJ, 1080.

²⁰ *Ib.*, 1092.

²¹ BKSJ, I, 1174.

natural defences there were many *bagāḍas* and one door and in the villages provided with many house gardens there could be many *bagāḍas* and doors.²³ In the village *paṇitaśālā* and *bhāṇḍaśālā* the potter sold earthen-ware; in the *kammasālā* he made the pots and in the *pacanasālā* he fired his pots during the rains.²⁴ Villages were also provided with a guest house (*āgamanaḡṛha*) where travellers stayed. Accommodation was also provided at the village *sabhā*, covered water-sheds (*prapā*) and temples.²⁵ In the commentary of the *Ācārāṅga*²⁶ the *sabhā* is defined as a rest-house provided by the inhabitants of the cities and villages for the stay of the travellers.

Villages were provided with many types of receptacles for storing grains. The most common method of storing grain was by piling the rings made of straw on the floorspace coated with the cowdung.²⁷ Grain was stored in *catuḥśālā*, *avaparaka* (which was made of bricks) and *koṣṭhaka* (Hindi *koṭhāra*) made of earthenwork.²⁸ In the rainy season grain was stored in *koṣṭha*, *palya* (store-house made of bamboo and straw), *maṅca* (granary made of bamboo and straw standing on pillars) and *mālaka* (upper storey of the house), etc.²⁹ Grain was also stored in *kumbhi* (apparently large storage jars) and *karabhi* which is defined as made of earthen ring stands (*ghaṭa-samsthāna-samsthita*),³⁰ the *gaṇḍakusūla* of later time, which has been found from many archaeological sites.

II

In the list of the different types of human habitations the following types of cities, towns and ports are mentioned : *Nagara* was exempted from eighteen taxes ;³¹ *karvaṭa* was a townlet ; *negama*, a town inhabited by a class of merchants ; *jalapaṭṭana*, where the goods were brought by boats ; *sthalapaṭṭana*, where the goods were brought by roads on bullock-carts ; *droṇamukha*, where the goods were brought both by land and sea ; *puṭabhedana*, an entrepôt where the packages brought from all directions were opened and distributed to retailers, and *ṛājadhānī*, the capital where the king resided.

Negama in the above list was of two types—*sāmgrahika* which carried on banking and the wholesale business ; the *asāmgrahika* type carried other business as well³².

Before giving the architectural details of a typical city from the Jain literature it would be better to give the picture of an Indian city from the

²³ BKS, III, p. 2120.

²⁴ BKS, 3480.

²⁵ BKS, 3480.

²⁶ *Ācā.*, I, 8, 2, 2.

²⁷ BKS, IV, 3208.

²⁸ BKS., 3209.

²⁹ BKS, 3304-05.

³⁰ BKS, IV, p. 971.

³¹ BKS, 1080.

³² BKS, 1110.

Buddhist literature for the sake of comparison.³³ The *nagara* or *pura* was built by a master architect (*nagara vaḍḍhakī*) assisted by carpenters and bricklayers (*iṭṭhikavaḍḍhakī*). The conspicuous parts of the city were moat (*parikhā*) and ramparts (*pākāra*), gates (*dvāra*), gate houses (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) and their defence towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*, *gopura-aṭṭālaka*), other defence walls not upon the rampart (*antaraṭṭāla*) and the king's palace. There were houses, temples, granaries (*koṭṭhaka*), halls and arenas for sport (*kīlasālā*, *kīlamanḍala*), rest houses (*sālā*, *punyasālā*, *vassamanasālā*), monasteries, (*paṇṇasālā*), almonaries (*dānasālā*) at the city gates, elephant stables (*hatthisālā*), shops (*āpaṇa*), bazzars (*antarāpaṇa*), saloons, cookshops, taverns and slaughter houses (*pānāgāra*, *odaṇiyaghara*, *soṇḍā*,⁰ *suṇḍā*). There were parks, gardens (*ārāma*), flowers gardens and lotus ponds, bathing tanks and sacred trees at the gates.

The city was provided with a main road (*rājamagga*, *mahāpatha*, *toraṇa-magga*), ordinary streets (*vīthi*, *antara-vīthi*), alleys and blind lanes (*patatthi*, *samḍhibbūha*), main public squares (*siṅghāṭaka*), market place (*caccara*), squares (*catukka*) and crossing (*samḍhi*). In common with some medieval cities there were streets inhabited by different castes. The *catumahāpatha* led from the gates to the central square. The drains (*niddhamanamagga*) were led outside the city.

The city was laid out in quarters (*bhāgasīmitam*). The plan was usually square with four gates in four walls facing the four quarters. The gates were closed at night or during the war. The moat was deep and sometimes there was a triple moat, one containing water, the second mud and the third was dry. The city wall rose from a foundation or plinth (*vapra*). It was made of bricks, but sometime of wood. In early Indian bas-reliefs the wall is sometimes shown with re-entrant angles. It is finished off at the top with coping or more usually very with battlements. In some cases there are towers on the walls. The top of the wall (*matthaka*) was of some width. The gate-house was approached by a bridge (*saṅkama*). The traveller on crossing the bridge passed between two high towers (*dvāra aṭṭālaka*) which were forwardly projecting members of the gate house. Perhaps these towers contained the stairways which led to upper floors.

The main part of the gatehouse was contiguous with the rampart on either side and in the centre were bridges and the great hall (*sālā*) connecting the two towers; the two ends of the forwardly projecting towers were in appearance and form in fact, two towers of defence. The space between the projecting towers and immediately in front of the great gatehouse was the 'mouth' (*mukha*).

³³ Dr. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art*, 1930, pp. 209 ff.

The basement of the gateway house was often of bricks and the basement wall was unbroken upto the level of second storey, except that high up on the front face of each forward towers there was a small horizontal slit window and rarely a group of small apertures. These loop holes served the purpose of lighting and also shooting arrows. The second floor on the top of the basement wall was designated as *harmya*. Above this was a top floor supporting an attic house (*uttamāgāra*) with brick walls, four gable window ends (*mahāvātāpana*) and thatched vaulted roof (*chādāna*) having the ridges (*kūṭa*) surmounted with finials (*ghaṭa*, *kalasa*), on each gable and at intervals on roof-ridge. The barrel vaulted roof was constructed of curved rafters (*gopānasīyo*), resting against an interval roof ridge, or if with apsidal ends, against circular or semi-circular roof plates (*kaṇṇitā*).

The gateway was made of heavy wooden panels (*kapāṭa*, *kavāṭa*), sometimes ironbound or studded (*ayokammata dvāra*) and turning on tenons above and below. The upper part of these leaves closed against the top of the archway (*toranaśiraḥ*), and the lower part against the heavy *indakūla* embedded in the ground, between the pillar of the *torana*, forming a low thresh-hold. The gate leaves were framed at sides by heavy jambs usually called *esikā*. The gate was usually closed with heavy *aggalā*. It was provided also with *cūla* or *aṇidvāra* (Hindi *chordarwājā*). The *torana* was the integral part of the gatehouse.

The Jain canonical literature also gives almost similar description of the city, though it must be admitted that certain details are much fuller than in Buddhist literature. The stock description of the city in the *Aupapātikasūtra*, I, is met everywhere in Jain canons. Occasional references to various constituents of the city architecture are met in the *Ācārāṅga*, BKS, the *Rāyapaseṇiya*, the and *Nāyādhamma Kahāo* as well.

The conspicuous parts of the city according to the *Aupapātikasūtra* were the moat broad at the top and cut deep down (*uvvidhagambhīra-khāya-phaliḥā*), solidly built rampart bent in bow-like curve provided with cornices (*kaviśsayā*) in circles, bastions (*attālaya*), paths (*cariya*), gates (*dāra*), *gopura*, *torana* and high roads deeply divided (*subhatta-rājamagga*). Its gate-leaves (*daḍha phalha*), and *indakūla* were strong and fashioned by skillful artificers. It was solidly built down and its defensive weapons consisted of discs (*cakka*), maces (*gaya*), barriers (*musuṇḍhi*), drop block (*sayagghī*), and double doors. The city was also well provided with pleasancess (*ārāma*), gardens (*ujjāṇa*) pools (*agaḍa*) and tanks (*talāya*, *dīhiyā* and *vāpī*). There were also gambling houses (*jūyakhala-yāṇi*), pubs (*pāṇāgārāṇi*), brothels (*vesāgarāṇi*), resorts of robbers (*takkaraḥ-āṇāṇi*) and thieves, *sabhās*, water sheds (*prapā*), shops (*paṇiya-sālāni*), slaughter

houses (*sunṇaḡharāṇī*),⁸⁴ business offices (*paṇyaḡrāḡhāṇī*), stables (*jaṇṇaḡihāṇī*), distilleries (*suhā kammantāṇī*), sheds for manufacturing goods from *darbha* and *baddha* grasses and bark (*dabhhaka kammantāṇī*, *baddhaka**, *bakkayaka**), coal shops (*iṅḡāla**), woodshops (*kaṭṭha**) and workshop for ironsmiths (*āesaṇāṇī*),⁸⁵ underground cellars (*nūmaḡhara*),⁸⁶ barber's shop (*samara*, explained by the commentator also as a smithy or a resort for all sorts of low people⁸⁷) and bathing halls (one called *Sesadravya* at Nalanda is mentioned).⁸⁸

The city contained markets and bazars thronging with craftsmen.⁸⁹ It was provided with open spaces (*siṅḡhāṭaka*), or junctions of three (*trika*, H. *tirmohāṇī*), four (*caṭuṣka*, H. *caumohāṇī*) or six roads (*pravaḡa*)⁴⁰ and market lanes (*caccara*).⁴¹ The roads were often lined with houses and shops. The *āpaṇaḡrha* or *kothī* had shops on all sides or on two sides⁴². The house facing the road was known as *rathyāmukha*. The house could be situated by the roadside, actually facing the road (*abhīmukha*) or turned away from it (*bahirmukha*), or it had its one door opening on the road and one behind (*ubhayatomukha*).⁴³

The *Rāyapaṣeṇiya Sūtra*⁴⁴ gives a very detailed description of the ramparts and its gateways. The rampart (*pāḡāra*) had a pronounced batter, the proportion of slope at the base, middle and the top being in the ratio of 1 : $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{4}$. This batter is also clearly seen in the representation of the city in early Indian reliefs. Owing to this batter the rampart was broad at the base, constricted in the middle and narrow at the top. The rampart was 'cow-tail', i.e. curved, in shape (*ḡopucchasaṇṭhāṇa saṇṭhi*) and furnished with cornices (*kaviṣisaehi*) in five colours, measuring in proportion of one in length (*āyāma*), half in thickness and a little more than one in height. The holes and apertures in the walls were called *ciṇḡḡo* and *khaṇḡḡo*.⁴⁵ The rampart was also provided with gates on all sides. The various constituents of the gateway or door are also given. It was provided with landing (*ṇemā*), pedestal (*praṭiṣṭhāṇa*), pillars (*khaṇbha*), threshold (*elukā*), bolt (*indakīla*), side frame (*chedā*, described as *dvārasakhā*), lintel (*uttaraṅga*)⁴⁶ small door bolt (*sūṛī*), joints (*sandhi*), *samudgaka*, wooden pin for fastening the door (*aggalā*), holes for holding the ends of the wooden pin (*aggalapāsāyā*), revolving boards (*āvattana-peḡḡhiyāo*) *uttarapāsagā* and closely

84 *Nāva*, II, 41.

85 *Acārāṅga*, II, 2, 3, 8.

86 *Ācā*, II, 3, 3, 1.

87 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, I, 26.

88 *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga* II, 7, 4.

89 *Aubhātika*, I, *Vipaṇi-vāṇi-khetta-sippaina-mivvuya-suhā*.

40 BKS, III, 2300.

41 *Aubhā*, I.

42 BKS, III, 2298.

43 *Ib.*, 2208-99.

44 *Rāva*, pp. 155-161.

45 *Nāva*, II, 41, 45.

46 *doḡrasopavarti tiryaḡyavasthītamāṅgaṃ*, com.

fitted heavy door-leaves (*nirantariya ghaṇa-kavāḍā*). The door leaves were divided into panels furnished with globular bosses (*bhilti-gulitā*) fitted on cushions (*gomāṇasīyā*). The door-leaves were also decorated with the 'Tree and Woman' motif (*Śālabhaṇjikās*). The door also had its pinnacles (*kūḍā*) and elevation (*usseha*). The door ceiling (*ulloya*) was done in cage work (*bhoma*) made of cross beams (*vaṁśā*) and rafters (*prativaṁśā*). The constituents of the ceiling were cross beams (*vaṁśāḥ*)⁴⁷ carved beams (*vaṁśakavelliyāo*), ceiling panels (*paṭṭiāo*, Com. *vaṁśānāmuṇari kambāsthānīyāḥ*), mats (*ohāḍanīyo*)⁴⁸ and straws (*puñchanīyo*).⁴⁹ The domed turret of the gate was provided with pinnacle (*kūḍā*), apparently decorated with *triratna* (called here *tilakarātna*), crescent (*ardhacandra*) and jewelled garlands, and was polished inside and outside with stone and sand (*tavaṇijja bāhuyā patthaḍā*). As we shall see later on these doors and gateways in palaces were at times highly decorative.

III

As in the case of the construction of a city, it would be better to know what the Buddhist literature has to say about the construction of a palace for the sake of comparison with the architectural data in Jain literature. Our information is based on the researches of Dr. Coomaraswamy.⁵⁰

In the Jātakas the palaces are known as *nivesapāsāda*, *rāja-bhavana*, *rājageha*, *rājanivesana*, *rañño-nivesa* and *vimāna*. The palace faced the central city square, its exit facing down one of the main streets towards one of the many city gates.

The *antepura* was the private apartment of the king where he was attended by the ladies of the court. It was provided with guard room (*ārakkatthāna*) where the palace guards (*antepurapālaka*) kept watch.

A private or blind street led to the outer or main gate and was known as *antaravāḥi*. The palace was also surrounded with the outer wall. The outer gate (*bahidvārakoṭṭhaka*) lay at some distance from the actual palace.

Passing through the outer gate one entered the royal courtyard or a series of courtyards known as *aṅgana*. These were accessible to the public and judgement hall, garden, tanks and probably housed the the royal chapels.

⁴⁷ *mahāntah pṛṣṭhavamśāḥ-mahatam pṛṣṭhavamśānām-ubhayo yastīryak sthāpamānā*, the rafters or laths fastened to the beams.

⁴⁸ Com. : *avaghātanyāḥ, ācchādanahetu kamboṇarīsthāpya mahā-pramāṇam kiliṅca sthānīyāḥ*.

⁴⁹ *puñchanīyo nibidatarācchādanahetu slakṣṇatara tṛṇa viśeṣa sthānīyāḥ*. Com.

⁵⁰ *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art. Vol. III (1931), pp. 181, ff.*

The palace was built on solid foundation. Either on the ground or basement stood the pillars of the lower palace. The constructive elements of the palace are a pillar (*thambha*) supporting the rest of the construction, joist (*tulā*), jambs or ties (*samghāṭa*), girths (*bhittipāda*), roof-ridges (*kūṭa*), rafters (*gopānasī*), bonding of the walls (*pakkhapāsa*), and brackets (*mukhavaṭṭī*).

The palace was supported by pillars (*thūṇa*, *thambha*). Well cut octagonal columns (*aṭṭhamsā-sukatā khambhā*) are specially mentioned. Wooden pillars were supported by stone bases (*pāsāṇa udukkhalaka*) and fastened with cement. Palace on one column is also mentioned. Such a type of temple still stands at Hanoi.⁵¹

The palace had doors (*pāsāda-dvāra*, *nājanivesana dvāra*). It had many stories (*bhūmika*, *bhūmaka*, *tala* and perhaps *niyyūha*). It was divided into two parts—*heṭṭhapāsāda* or lower palace and *upariṭpāsāda* reached by stairs. In the ground floor were perhaps situated kitchen (*mahānasa*, *pacanāgāra*) wells (*udapāna*) and hot baths. The palace was provided with separate room (*gabbha*), king's chamber (*sirigabbha*), suites (*thūṇa*, *vasanathāṇa*), outside chambers (*kūṭāgāra*, *sīhapañjara*, *hammiya*, *candasālā*) and self-contained roofed apartment on the topmost or other open floors.

The constituents of the steps were the root or base (*sopānapādamaṭṭa*), top (*dhurasopāna*, *sopānasāsa*, *sopānamatthaka*) and steps (*sopāna kaliṅgara*).

Kūṭāgāra or gabled mansion was usually a self contained separately roofed pavilion on any story of the palace. The gabled pent-house on the roof (*pāsādakūṭa*) was the roof-ridge of a palace designed to bear sixty finials (*udakaghaṭa*). It was often safe bolted (*phusitaggala*) when sleeping. *Pāsāda* itself is explained as a long building of several stories or if with a *kūṭāgāra* on the sky floor the term *hammiya* is applicable.

The ceiling was often provided with ceiling cloth (*celavitāna*). The king's private apartment had a scented floor, hung with scented garlands and provided with a golden star-spangled ceiling cloth. The rooms (*gabbhas*) were divided into square (*sivikā-gabbha*), long chambers (*nālika*° : 2 in br. and 3 in length) and *hammiya* also called *kūṭāgāragabbha* or *mudaṇḍacchadana*° translated by Dr. Coomarswamy as having handsome timber and clay roof on the top floor. Then there were lamp niches (*ḍīpa*°) provided with doors. There was probably a verandah (*pakuṭṭa*) round a *gabbha*.

After considering all definitions Dr. Coomaraswamy comes to the conclusion that *kūṭāgāra* was a chamber with walls analogous to *uttamāgāra* of a

⁵¹ *Ib.*, p. 185.

dvārakoṭṭhaka and having a ridged, barrel-vaulted, or domed roof; and that *hammiya* was an open pillared pavilion with a flat or domed roof.⁶² *Candasālā* wās a roof chamber.

Kaṇṇikā and *kūṭa*, characteristics of the roof of a *kūṭāgāra*, are both equally roof plates, against which rested the top of the rafter (the *kūṭa* being usually a long beam forming the ridge, the *kaṇṇikā* being circular ties).

Stūpa is roof top and not necessarily the dome or mound. The *dibba-vimāna* had five *thūpas* or *kūṭāgāras*. The *vimāna* consisted of little *sīhapañjara* (Tamil, *pañcaram*), each with its own basement, railing, window and roof.

The apartments were provided with doors (*sirigabbha*, *gabbhadvāra*).

Alinda may be described as that part of any *tala* which was external to the *kūṭāgāras* or other chambers on that *tala* supported by *hatthinakha* pillars. The *alindas* being open to public view could be screened by movable curtains (*samsaraṇa*, *ugghaṭana-kiṭika*).

There were different types of windows. *Gavāksha* was equivalent to the Tamil *Kuḍu*, the *gokh* of Mathura and Agra. The *Sīhapañjara* described as balcony or bay window was perhaps a French window opening down to the floor level, forming the projecting part or end of a *kūṭāgāra* or the topmost or other floor. That the *sīhapañjara* is really a window bay is supported by J. VII, p. 111, where an *apsarā* is shown looking out from a *sīhapañjara*. Window door leaves (*mahāvātapanadvāra*) and some kinds of grills and lattices (*vedikāvātapanajāla*, *salākā*). The blind window had an opening above too high to look out. *Kucchiya* was something outside the window on which the birds perched.

We have seen above the various constructional elements of a palace as described in Buddhist literature. The Jain canonical literature as well gives at many places more or less full description of the palace architecture. The architectural data from the Jain literature is, however, of comparatively later date than that of the Buddhist literature, and, therefore, employs some new terms and also includes certain elements of decoration which we do not find in early Buddhist literature.

The building of palaces (*pāsāḍe*), excellent houses (*vaddhamāna gihāṇi*) and towers (*balaggapottiyāo*) was supposed to be the duty of the Kshatriya princes.⁶³ *Prāsāda* was the generic term employed for the palace, but at least

⁶² *Ib.*, p. 193.

⁶³ *Uttarādhyāyana*, IX, 24.

at one place the commentator defines it as the second storey of a building.⁵⁴ As we shall presently see, there were many types of palaces supported by a large number of pillars, but in one type known as *khandha* the structure rested on one pillar.⁵⁵ Some constructional elements of a palace as plinth (*mañcasi*), storey (*māla*) and flat roof (*harmyatala*) are also described.

A fairly accurate description of the palace is obtained from the *Nāyā-dhamma-Kahāo*.⁵⁶ It was provided with a terrace outside (*chakkaṭṭha*, the commentator is of the opinion that the word may also stand for prominent door or an adjective of the columns). The columns were beautiful to look at (*laṣṭa*), well polished (*masṣṇa*), well placed (*sañṭhiya*) and carved with the figures of *śālabhañjikās*. It was also provided with turrets or cupolas (*stūpikas*), pigeon holes (*viḷaṅka*), explained in the commentary as *kapotaṭṭhāṭṭhā*, or a kind of hole beneath the verandah (*varaṇṇikādhovarā sūraviseṣaḥ*), perforated window (*gavākṣa*), crescent steps (*ardha-candra*), drain passage (*niryūhakantara*),⁵⁷ *kaṇḍāḷi* (described as a particular kind of hole), terrace room (*candraśālikā*), *pañjaraśālā* and trellises (*jālāntara*).

Besides the features described above the palace was painted in red ochre, white washed and polished with stone (*ghaṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*) to obtain an even surface. Its interior chambers were painted elaborately (*pasatta-suvilihiya-citta-kamma*) and it had a mosaic floor (*kuṭṭimatale*). The ceiling was painted with lotus rhizome (*paumalayā*), flowering creepers (*phulla-valḷi-vara-puppha-jāi-ulloya-cittiya-tale*.) Auspicious pitchers (*kalasa*) were placed at the door which was decorated with hangings (*prataraḥka*).

The drawing room (*avasthānagrha*) was a distinguishing feature of the palace architecture.⁵⁸ Its many pillars were carved with the figures of the *Śālabhañjikās* in playful attitudes (*līlaṭṭhiya*), and the diamond railing terrace (*vaira-veiyā*) encompassing the hall was supported with pillars decorated with the moving figures of the *Vidyādharas*.

The *yāna-vimāna* was a special type of palace very elaborate in construction. The *Rāyapaseṇiya*⁵⁹ has given a very elaborate and exaggerated description of such a palace. It is, however, evident from the description that it was provided with many pillars (*khambha*) carved with the figures of the *Śālabhañjikās* in various sportive attitudes and decorated with the following decorative

⁵⁴ *Acārāṅga*, II, 2, 1, 7.

⁵⁵ *Acārāṅga*, II, 1, 7.

⁵⁶ *Nāyā*, I, 9; I, 23.

⁵⁷ Explained as *dvārapārśva-vinirgatadārū-antarasūravilāsa-eva pāṇtyāntaramiti sūtradhāraṇḍi yaduya-padītyate*.

⁵⁸ *Nāyā*, I, 23.

⁵⁹ *Rāya*. pp. 76 ff.

motifs : wolf (*ihāmiga*), oxen (*usabha*), Gandharva (*turaga-nara*), makara, birds (*vihaga*), dragons (*vālaga*), Kinnaras, winged deer (*sarabha*), yaks (*camara*), elephants (*kuñjara*), creepers (*vanalayā*) and the lotus rhizome (*paumalayā*). It is interesting to note in this connection that all these motifs have been used in the Mathura art of the early centuries of the Christian era. The abacus (*vajravedikā*) of the columns had crowning figures of the Vidyādhara pairs (*vijjāhara-jamala-jyala-janta-yuttam*). The palace was heavily sculptured (*rūvagasahassa-kaliyam*) and decorated with the rows of tinkling bells—a motif commonly found in Mathura sculptures.

The *yāna-vimāna* was provided with flight of steps on three sides (*tisovāṇa paḍirūvae*), i.e., east, south and north. The *Rūyapaseṇiya* goes on to describe the various constituents of the staircase. It had landing (*nemā*),⁶⁰ balusters (*khambha*), steps (*phalagāṇi*), cross-bars⁶¹ (*sāio*), joints (*saṁdhi*),⁶² coping⁶³ and balustradé (*avalambanabāhāo*).⁶⁴

The staircases on three sides of the *yāna-vimāna* were provided with *toraṇas* which had decorative jambs (*thambha*), and their tops (*torañāṇām uppi*) supported eight auspicious symbols—viz., *Svastika*, *Srīvatsa*, *Nandyāvarta*, *Vardhamāna*, *Bhadrāsana*, *Kālaśa*, *Matsya*, and *Darpaṇa*.⁶⁵ The *torañas* jambs seem to have been divided into compartments (*niśīdiāe*), provided with such decorative elements as pegs (*nāgadanta*) from which were hung pearl and gold necklaces and rows of bells (*khinkhinī-ghanṭājāla*), variegated thread garlands decorated with pendants (*lambūsaga*) and gold leaves, and silver hangers (*sikkakesu*) with incense burners.⁶⁶

Some compartments of the *torañas* were provided with the figures of Śālabhañjikās in sportive attitudes (*lilā-supaiṭṭhiāo*) and standing in delicate poses (*supaiṭṭhiāo*). These figures were narrow waisted, with large firm breasts, red eyes and black hair curly at point and reclining against the *Aśoka* tree holding its branch in their left hand. They were coloured garments and garlands.⁶⁷ From the description it seems that the figures were painted.

In the decorative elements of the door and *torañas* jambs were also included latticed windows (*jālakaṭaka*),⁶⁸ trees and gardens⁶⁹ and *prāsādāvataṁsaka*

⁶⁰ *bhūmikāteḥ ūrdhvanirgacchantah pradesah. Guir. bhjya.*

⁶¹ *phalakadvaya-sambandha-vighaṭana-bhāva-hetu-pādūkāsthāniyāḥ.*

⁶² *phalakadvayāpantarāla-pradesah*—intermediate space between two steps. Guj. *Sūdh.*

⁶³ *avalatāmuṭtaratām cālambanahetubhūtū, avalambana-bāhāto vinirgataḥ kecīdanayavah*—support for ascending and descending the flight of steps and some part projecting from the balustrade.

⁶⁴ *Rāya., I, p. 78.; avalambanabāhānām ubhayoḥ pārśvayoḥ avalambanā śrayabhūtābhittayoh.*—Support walls of the staircase.

⁶⁵ *Ib., p. 80.*

⁶⁶ *Ib., pp. 161-164.*

⁶⁷ *Ib., pp. 164-166.*

⁶⁸ *Ib., p. 167.*

⁶⁹ *Ib., p. 168.*

provided with pinnacle (*sikhara*), latticed windows (*jālikā*), and its wall were decorated with *tilaka* and crescent (*ardhacandra*).⁷⁰ The *toranas* were also decorated with rosettes (*pauma-hatthaga*), horses (*turaga*), elephants, (*nāgas*, *makara*, *kimpuruṣa*, *Gandharvas*, oxen and *mithuna* figures in pairs (*samghāḍa*). The floral decorative motifs consisted of *paumalaya* (lotus), *vaṇa*, (wild creepers) *asoga*, *campaga* (*Michelia Champaka*) rhinzome, *cuya* (mango creeper), *vāsanti* (*Bignonia*), *aimutta*, *kunda* (jasmine) and *sāma* (*Echites Frutescens*),⁷¹

Within the compound of the *Yānavimāna* palace sometimes a theatre (*picchā-gharamaṇḍavam*) was constructed.⁷² It was supported with columns furnished with high *vedikā* and other decorative motifs recounted above. The hall was domed (*thūbhiya*) and decorated with flags and bells. It was well plastered inside and outside, the gates were decorated with *kalaśas* and the ceiling with lotus creepers. It was provided with an arena (*akkhāḍaga*) in the centre in the middle of which was a platform (*maṇipīṭhikā*). Seats were provided for the ladies of the palace in the east, for the members of the executive (*abhintara-parisāe*) in the south-east, for the members of the 'middle assembly' (*majjhima-parisāe*) in the south and for the members of the 'outer assembly' (*bāhyantara-pariṣad*) on the south-west. Seven seats in a row were provided for the army commanders on the west; besides these there were seats for guards on all sides.

Certain details of *Sudharmā-devasabhā* which has also been depicted in one of the Buddhist reliefs at Bharhut are available from the *Rāyapaseṇiya*.⁷³ The orb of the house (*layaṇa*) was provided with staircases on all four sides. In its centre was a balconied house (*mūlaprāsādāvataṃsa*), its height and width being in proportion to two to one. The *Sudharmāsabhā* was situated in the north-east of this palace, its length, width and height being in proportion to one, half and a little less three quarter respectively. Its high columns were decorated with the figures of the *Apsarases*. The doors on the east, south and north, their height and width being in proportion to one and half respectively.⁷⁴ Before these doors were pavilions (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) with vaulted doors (*thūbhiya*) on the north, east and south.

Besides the different types of structure mentioned above there are others briefly indicated in the *Rāyapaseṇiya*. First in order come *dagamaṇḍapa* divided into *dagamālaga* and *dagapāsāyaga* types.⁷⁵ The *dagamaṇḍapa* is described as a crystal palace, but apparently it seems to have been a water pavilion of one or more stories.

⁷⁰ *Ib.*, 168-170.

⁷¹ *Ib.*, p. 172.

⁷² *Ib.*, p. 172.

⁷³ *Ib.*, pp. 209-10.

⁷⁴ *Ib.*, p. 214.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, p. 195.

The pleasure bowers were known as *ālikagharaga*, *māli* and *kamalilayā*, nature of their names depending on the creepers which covered them.⁷⁶

The names of various apartments in a palace are also mentioned. They are drawing room (*avasthānagriha*), audience hall (*prekṣaka*) bathroom (*majjana*), toilet room (*prasādhana*), inner apartment (*garbha*), sleeping room (*māhana*), dressing room (*paṭṭasālā*), latticed room (*jāla*), flower room (*kusuma*), painting room (*citra*), music hall (*gandharva*), and mirror hall⁷⁷ (*ādarśa-śālā*).

A comparison of architectural data in Buddhist and Jain canons should convince us that the architectural data in Buddhist literature is older one, though fundamentally the constructive elements both in are the same with minor differences. Our reasons for reaching to this conclusion are :— (1) in Buddhist literature, the wooden architecture is simpler compared with the architecture in Jain literature which is more elaborate, thus showing a later stage of development, and (2) the Buddhist literature seldom refers to decorative ornaments, while the Jain literature gives detailed lists of ornaments employed by the architects and sculptors. It is interesting to note here that almost all decorative motifs mentioned by the Jain texts appear in early Indian sculpture from the 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. The tracing and identification of different motifs found in early Indian sculpture on the strength of literary evidences, however, is a fascinating subject by itself and could not be attempted in this paper. It may, however, be pointed out that the ornaments and decorative motifs mentioned in Jain literature appear in greater number of Mathura sculptures than anywhere else and on that basis we could say that the architectural data in Jain literature belongs to the first and second centuries A.D., though some of the data based on tradition goes to much earlier period.

THE PREM CHINGĀRĪ OF HĀFĪZ NAJAF ALĪ SHĀH OF SALON

BY A. H. NIZAMI

The Prem Chingārī of Najaf Shāh of Salon was first noticed by the present writer in a Hindi Monthly (now defunct) : the Bāndhava-organ of the Shri Raghurāj Sāhitya Parishad, Rewa, Rewa State (now Vindhya Pradesh)—as part of his paper : “Sūfī Aur Unkī Hindī Sevā”. It is proposed, through this paper, to bring it to the notice of English readers.

Our provincial languages are very much indebted to the Indo-Muslim mystics in whose hands they served as powerful vehicles for the propagation of the Sufic doctrines in the mediaeval period. About the end of the fifteenth century our Masnavī Prem-Kavyas were first composed in the Awadhi dialect of Hindī. The Madhumalatī of Manjhan was a poem very well known to contemporary Hindus and Muslims alike and furnished the model for similar attempts in Dakhinī (Urdu) but the celebrated Padmāvat has been, far and away, the most popular of the these love-poems. Through the facile pen of its author—Malik Muhammad of Jāis—the Masnavī style developed its mature form. Awadhi has thus specialised in Masnavīs, this dialect being peculiarly fitted for dohās and chaupāis. Goswamī Tulasidās, as well as all Masnavī writers, have followed Jaisī and have given a particular shape and polish to this tongue. Usmān composed his Chitrāvalī (1613 A.D.) on the lines of the Padmāvat. The Gyāndīp of Shaikh Nabī (1619) constitutes “the highest development” of the Masnavī style while the Indravatī of Nūr Muhammad (1744) may be regarded as the “last link in the chain”. A contemporary of Nūr Muhammad was Qāsīm Shāh Daryābādī, the author of the Hans Jawāhir (1731). The tradition continued upto the Mutiny, Fāzil Shāh composing the Prem Ratan in 1848, and has not yet died out. Among recent books are the Chaturmukut Ki Kathā and the Prem Darpan alias Yūsuf Zulaikhā, the latter being from the pen of Muhammad Nasīr of Ghazīpur, written in H. 1335/1917 A.D. and printed in Persian letters at the Majīdī Press, Kānpur.

Another Awadhi composition of this class, contemporaneous with the Prem Ratan, which forms the subject of this paper, was written in H. 1261/1845 A.D., the only known manuscript of which in Persian characters is in the possession of the present writer. The MS does not bear the date of transcription but the hand made paper (8½" x 6") and the ink used leave no doubt as to its contemporaneity with the author.

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

The poem begins with prayers to God (Chhand 1) in the traditional way thus :—

सुमिरहुं आदि अलख कर नाऊं, जाकेर राज पाट सब ठाऊं।

Then follow the praises of the Prophet, the four Caliphs and Imāms Hassan and Hussain (C. 2.) :—

गुप्त भेद परगट दिखिलावा रचा मुहम्मद नाम सुहावा।

In chhandas 3-6 the poet sings the virtues of the Great Saint, Shaikh Abdul Qādir of Jeelān and describes his legends and miracles. Chhand 7 is devoted to Khwāja Muīnuddīn Chishtī of Ajmer, the patron saint of India, and the saints in his line belonging to the Nizāmiyah Sirājīyah branch of the Chishtiyah Order. Chhand 8 deals with the saints of Mānikpur in the line of Shaikh Hissāmuddīn. From Shaikh Peer Muhammad the scene shifts to Salon (Rai Bareli district of U. P.), the home town of the poet himself. Fourth from Peer Muhammad of Salon was the poet's own preceptor, Peer Karīm Atā who "showed him the path of love" and whose son and grandson are mentioned in the spiritual line uptodate (C. 9). The anniversary of Peer Karīm Atā attracted pilgrims from Rewa in the age before the introduction of the railways. Chhand 10 reads as follows :—

'नजफ़' काह जग फिरत मुलाना, इक दिन अहै अन्त मर जाना।
 यहु संसार ओस कर मोती, सूर उए छिन रहै न जोती।
 जादिन कालाघड़ी नियराई, द्रव्य राज कुछ काज न आई।
 बहुत भंडार भरे धुनि माया, सो सब गयीं छूँछ लै हाया।
 यही विचार सोच मन मानो, प्रेम छोड़ कुछ लाभ न जानो।
 एदाता ! दूनी जग माहीं, तुई छुड़ मोत कोऊ मोरा नाहीं।
 मैं भूला तुई नाहि विसारी, यह सुघ की बलि जाउं तिहारी।
 जस हीनी मत मैं हत्यो, तस कीन्ह्यो बहुपाप।
 तुम दाय़ा वैसे करी, जैसे हो तुम आप॥

The next two chhandas (11,12) are in the same strain. In stanza 13 the poet gives the genesis of this composition. He was passing one Friday night in contemplation at the durgāh (shrine) of Peer Muhammad when his "heart was smitten with love", "tears flowed from his eyes" and the "night proved to be a successful one". On one occasion Maulānā Rūmī occupied his attention and this led to the composition of the Prem Chingārī (C. 14) :—

मेर ध्यान बस्यो इक वारा, 'मौलाना रूमी' उजियारा।
 चुन चुन कुछ बँतै तिनकेरी, लाल रतन सो अधिक उजेरी।
 तिन 'व्रतन' कर तिलक बनाइयो, हिन्दी भाषा में कहि गाइयो।
 सन बाह सँ यकसठ माहाँ, कहि यह कथा प्रेम आगाहो।
 मन उपजा तस किह्यो विचारी, राख्यो नाम प्रेम-चिनगारी।
 साधुन से विनती हम चाहै, चूक लखें तहँ सोघ बनाहै।
 जहाँ चूक यामें लख पावै, अन्धर काट सुघार बनावै।

‘नजफशाह’ विनती करै, साधुनसे कर जोर।
वाँचौ ध्यान लगाइ कै, प्रेम-कथा यह मोर।।

Maulānā Rūmī is the famous saint Jalāluddīn, “no prophet yet having a Book”, whose celebrated Masnavī, “the Qoran in Persian”, is the greatest and the most popular book on sufism written in Persian verse. Here follows the poet’s version of two “Hikāyats” of the great Masnavī Rūmī (Cs. 15-70 and 71-90) with commentary verse for verse, interspersed with hagiographical stories to illustrate the subtle points of the Sufi path of spiritualism. Of these narratives of Rūmī one is the “plaint of the flute” being the introductory part of his Masnavī, the other being the famous conversation of “Moses and the Shepherd”. Every stanza has seven chaupāis and one dohā. For every Persian verse one stanza or more has been devoted but the arrangement is not uniform specially in the latter half of the book where the proportion of stanzas to verses has not been adhered to and often there is a single Awadhi couplet or two for its Persian prototype. The number of verses in the two “narratives” is 41 and 98 respectively. The Awadhi version, short of the commentary, is given here in Nagari; the Persian verses are omitted. Scholars of Persian may easily compare from the original :—

The Plaint of the Flute

- १ सुनौ कथा वाँसुरिया गावै, विछुड़न की गति रोय सुनावै।
- २ बन सो काट भई हम न्यारी, सवद सुनत रोवै नर नारी।
- ३ छाती टुक टुक कै पाऊँ, तौ बिरहा कै चोप सुनाऊँ।
- ४ पिय सो मिलि विछुड़ै जो कोई, फेर मिलन जोहै नित सोई।
- ५ फूँकन हारा जौन वजावै, सो बंसी छिन छिन धुन गावै।
- ६ में सब सों धुन रोय सुनावा, सुखी दुखी सब धुन सुन पावा।
- ७ आपन मत जान्यो सब कोई, मीत भयै मेरे सुन सोई।
- ८ गुप्त भेद कोऊ नहि बूझै, जेहि बूझै निर्गुन छवि सूझै।
- ९ भेद मोर धुनसों नहि न्यारा, चख सरवन पै नहि उजियारा।
- १० जीउ से देह देह से जीऊ, विलग नहीं जस दूध में घीऊ।
- ११ पै उषरें जिय के जब नैना, तब सूझै बूझै यहि बैना।
- १२ आगी कूकिय बंसी केरी, वाउ न होय जो लागै सेरी।
- १३ जेहि हिय प्रेम न आगि लगावै, सुफला होय जो जन्म न पावै।
- १४ प्रेम आगि बंसी भितराहीं, प्रेम उबार भरा मधु माहीं।
- १५ प्रीतम कै वाँसुरिया न्यारी, जा के सुनत हरै मत सारी।
- १६ भरम लाज कै टाटी टोरी, बीच कै आइ फाँद कै डोरी।
- १७ बंसी अस देखा नहि कोऊ, जामें विष औ मारग दोऊ।
- १८ बंसी अस धुनि कूकनहारा, प्रेमी नहीं लखौ संसारा।
- १९ बंसी कै भाषा सुन ताती, मध मध वहै रक्त सों राती।
- २० प्रम कथा बंसी जब गावै, ‘मजनू’ कै बिरही वीरावै।
- २१ प्रेम भेद का भेदी सोई, रहै अचेत, चेत सब कोई।
- २२ प्रेम बचन सरवन सुन पावै, सो रसना कर मोल चुकावै।

- 11 जो न फरत बंसी घुन होती, ऊख खाँड़ जग मा कत होती।
 12 दुख हमरे दिन गयो सेराई, तपन संघ गय दिवस हेराई।
 13 दिवस गये ती जाने दीज, पिउ हमरे संघ, सोच न कीजै।
 14 जो माछरि जल हल नित वाको, जो विन भुकुत बेर है ताको।
 15 पाकी मत काचे नहि पावें, भूमि छोड़ चहे सर्गहु धावें।
 16 कौन कथा बूभी में तोरी, दै असीस भाषा कर थोरी।
 17 फँद टोर न्है जग सों न्यारा, खोजन नहि जो सिरजनहारा।
 18 कब लै पड़े रहउ अंधकृपा, खोजत फिरउ कनक औ रूपा।
 19 कोटि उपाय किये मन तोरे, सिन्ध समाय नही यक खोरे।
 20 जनम जनम का चाही भोगू, एक दिवस न लागै जोगू।
 21 लोभी हियन भरै नहि जोती, भरै सीप सन्तोष से मोती।
 22 नितहि प्रेम तुहि रहस हुलासा, तुइ मोरा बंद रोग सब नासा।
 23 तुम औषद तूषना मघ माया, तुम कीन्हो दरपन हिय काया।
 24 तुम्हरी सुमत बँद सब हारे, तुम उत्तिम सब से गुन न्यारे।
 25 जाकी बरन प्रेम गहि फारा, लोभ दोष मिटि भा उजियारा।
 26 छार के पिंड प्रेम, बलु पावा, कोउ न जाय तहाँ उड़िधावा।
 27 पवनमेष पहुँचै नहि जाहाँ, प्रेमिन कर अस्थल भा ताहाँ।
 28 प्रेम भेद पीतम जहं खोलै, परबत हाल उठै तहं डोलै।
 29 प्रेम से मातो 'तूर' पहारा, 'मूसा' मात गिरे इक बारा।
 30 जो वहि आँच बच्यो न्है न्यारा, भयो भिखार तज्यो संसारा।
 31 फूँकन हारे का संघु राखा, बंसी सम भाषा में भाखा।
 32 नर नारी मिल बाज नगारा, तेहि विच राख्यो भेदु अपारा।
 33 काह कहीं कुछ कहा न जाए, खोल कहीं तो जग बौराए
 34 बंसी घुन भाखी जग जोई, में जो कहीं जग बाउर होई।
 35 गये फूल सूखी फूलवारी, काह कहै पंछी दुख भारी।
 36 प्रीतम सब प्रेमी हियटाटी, अमर वही सब मिरतक माटी।
 37 जापर प्रेम करै नहि दाया, सो पंछी विन पौरुष काया।
 38 में कस चितु राखी जिउबासा, जो न होय पिय की परगासा।
 39 दाहिन बाँय नीच उपराही, अहै जोत पिय कीघट माही।
 40 सीसु घींच जहं लखी निहारी., तहाँ जोत पिय की उजियारी।
 41 प्रेम चहै यहु भेदु अपारा, खोल कहै जान संसारा।
 42 पैजो होय दरपन विन काई, आपन मुख आपुइं निरखाई।
 43 दरपन जिउ निर्मल विन काई, हर की जोत परै निरखाई
 44 जब उजियर दरपन भा जीऊ, परघट गुप्त परै लखिपीऊ।
 45 दरपन मैल दोष से न्यारा, सूर समान दिपे उजियारा।
 46 दरपन मा आपन मुख देखी, यहि दरपन हर रूप सरेखी।
 47 राखो हिया माँज भर पूरी, मैल होय दरपन सो दूरी।
 पुन निरखौ दरसन हर केरा, आठ जाम घट रहै उजेरा।

Moses and the Shepherd

- 1 'मूसा' नवी चले मघ माहाँ, लखें एकु चखाहा ताहाँ।
 बाउर भेषु प्रेम मघ माता, भाषै यहै कि ए जगदाता।

- १ कहीं कहीं तुई प्रीतम मोरे, सेवक तोर रहौं कर जोरे।
पग पनही टूटी लखि पाऊं, टांक सुधार तोही पहिराऊं।
कंधी करौं कैस निरुवारी, झारौं वार संवार सुधारौं।
- २ कापड़ तोर घोय उजियारे, चीलर काढ़ करौं सत्र न्यारे।
अच्छा दूव लाय भौटाऊं, घाल कटोरा तोहि पिलाऊं।
जो कुछ रोग होय तोरी काया, मीत करै जस मीत की दाया।
तस घर चीत मीत होइ तोरा, संधु देउं तिहरो निस भोरा।
- ३ कहीं अहौ हम सेवा कीजै, दरस तुम्हार रात दिन लीजै।
बस्तर तोर जागि दिनराती, तुरपौं सियौं नीक बहु भांती।
ए साहेब कोटिन जिउ मोरे, बलबल जाएं रात दिन तोरे।
सत लछमी मोरी सबहि, लोक कुटुम परिवार।
होयं निछावर जीवसे, तो पर सब घर बार॥
- ४ मंदिल तोर जानौं जहं पीऊ, आनीं नितहि दूधभी घीऊ।
रोटी पोइ पनीर जमाऊं, माघकु दध सब तोहि जेवाऊं।
साज लाइ भोजन जहं ताई, मैं आनीं तुम जेवहु साईं।
- ५ चूबौं कर मीजौं तोर पाऊं, सोवहु जहाँ बहारौं ठाऊं।
६ जहं लै यहि छेरी हँ मोरी, सो सब होयं निछावर तोरी।
जो मुख से निकसै मोरे वाता, सो सुमिरँ तुहरी ही गाता।
- ७ यही भांत बहु बाउर भाखै, चूक अचूक सोच नहिं राखै।
यही बचन छिन छिन रटै, बहु प्रेमी मधु मात।
'मूसै' कहा कि कासो, भूल कहसि अस बात॥
- ८ कहा कि बहु जेहि मोहि पठावा, गगन भूमि यह साज बनावा।
९ 'मूसै' कहा बहुत पछतावा, ज्ञान सीसु अंधि पर तोहि पावा।
छट पंथ निरमल उजियारा, धरँ भुलाय पंथ अंधियारा।
- १० भोपा निपिद कुवास तिहारी, कोन्ह कुवास जगत बिचसारी।
११ का विष बचन कहसि जस गारी, का तुई वाट धरी अंधियारी।
कुछ तोको पिय कर भउ नाही, रुई घाल आपन मुख माही।
- १२ गरँ बचन रखु बांध अवानी, हर का क्रोध नहीं तू जानी।
जो अत्रहँ नहिं करसि विचारा, तो यहि आग जरँ संसारा।
- १३ जो तुई यही जानु बहुप्यारा, दोउ जग की सेवा से न्यारा।
तो यहि बचन न कहसि भुलाई, लाभ न होय रहसि पछताई।
- १४ बैर मितार्इ मूरुख केरी, साहेब चहँ न सेवा तेरी।
१५ कासो कहस बात तुई, यहि विध नाता जोर।
बहु प्रीतम बिन आस है, चहँन सेवा तोर॥
- १६ इन वातन मानुष मन मोहँ, साहेब को यहि बचन नसो है।
बहु वहि भांत आप जस भाखा, हम तस अहँ हमँ जस राखा।
- १७ ओहि जस कहा रोगु में पावा, तुई मोको देखन नहिं आवा।
रोगिहि रोग भयउ न अकेला, महुँ हतउं वाके संध मेला।
- १८ मोरे संध सुनँ औ देखँ, सकल सिष्ट मा मोहि परेखँ।
सेवक को इतनो ही दोखो, भापँ चूकि होइ नहिं मोखो।
- १९ जो तुई कहस पुरुष को नारी, पुरुष नारि काया नहिं न्यारी।
२० डारँ मार सकत भर तोही, बाढ़ँ क्रोध अधिक सुनि वोही।
चहँ होइ बड़ पड़खु सयाना, बिनरिस क्रोध अचल अस्थाना।

- ११ नार किरत नारी कै होई, पुरुष नार भापी जो कोई।
 १२ सुन वाके वरछी अस लागी, उठी रिसाय कोप मन जागी।
 हाथ पाँव हमही को चँना, हर को यहि सोई नहि बैना।
 १३ ना वह पुत्र कहू कर, ना काहू कर बाप।
 पिता पुत्र परिवार सब, सिरजनहारो आप।।
 १४ कहा कि 'मूसा' काह सुनाई, जाप करत मुख मोर सियाई।
 रसना जार गई मन फीका, अब जीवन मेरो नहि नीका।
 १५ वस्तर फाड़ फेर मुख लीन्हा, घरा पंथ बन की सुध कीन्हा।
 १६ सो उपदेस न हर को भायो, 'मूस' बेग संदेस पठायो।
 सुमिरन करत तपा भटकाई, मोसे प्रेमी मोर छुड़ाई।
 १७ तुई बिछुड़े दरसावन आये, की तुई मिले छोड़ावन आये।
 १८ सको तो जिन बिछुड़न मघ धाओ, मिला होइ तेहि जिन बिछुड़ाओ।
 १९ ओहि किरत तोहि निन्दा होई, महिपर ओहि तोहि विष होई।
 २० वाको जोत तोहि है आगी, ओहि फूल कांटा तोहि लागी।
 २१ वाको सुफल पुनि है, तोहि अहै सौ पाप।
 वाको सब गुन नीक है, तोको है सँताप।।
 २२ एकएक हम दीन सुभाऊ, एकएक आने मत भाऊ।
 २३ ना मोहि कष्ट जीउ ना रोगू, ना मोर देह न मोहि वियोगू।
 मेरो भेदु असूभ अपारा, निषिद पवित्र दोऊ से न्यारा।
 २४ में नहि तरौ जाप के कीन्हे, दुइ जग तरें नाउं मोरा लीन्हे।
 २५ परगट जाप मोह नहि भावै, भावै गुपुत जो जीव जरावै।
 २६ में नहि काज कीन्हे अस कोई, जासो मोहि लाभ कुछ होई।
 जो हम दुइ जग मा उपराजा, सो सब सकल सिष्ट के काजा।
 २७ हिन्दी भाषा में करै, हिन्दी जाप हमार।
 सिन्धी करै सिन्धिमें सुमिरन मोर सुधार।।
 २८ निरखी हिया गुपुत तेहिकेरा, हिरदें प्रेम जो राखै मेरा।
 परगट भेषु चहै जस होई, तपै गुपुत प्रेमी बड़ सोई।
 २९ 'मूसा' सुन बहुतक जग मोरे, प्रेमी मीत दोऊ जगधारे।।
 तपसी भगत हमारे दूजे, जीउ जरावनहारे दूजे।
 ३० प्रेम आग जिय में दहकाओ, सोचु विचार बनाय जराओ।
 ३१ प्रेमी लोग घाइ दिन राती, जारै जीउ पतंग की भाँती।
 गाउं उजार भूमि विन बोई, तापर देनु न लावै कोई।
 ३२ प्रेमी वचन चूक जो भाखै, ता पर कोउ दोष जिन राखै।
 जेहि दीन्ह्यो पिय की बल प्राना, ताहि न देई मूए अस्नाना।
 ३३ नीर पवित्र रक्त तिन केरा, परघट गुपुत सरीर उजेरा।
 उनसे जौन दोष कुछ होई, सौ गुनसों उत्तिम है सोई।
 ३४ 'कावा' के भीतर जब जाई, चारिउ दिस कावै निरखाई।
 जो मर जिया होइ दष माही, ताके पाँउ कष्ट कुछ नाही।
 ३५ मतवारन सिर पाग न जोही, वाउर अंग न वस्तर सोही।
 ३६ जंह ले पँष सर्वाहि सो, भिन्न प्रेम की जाप।
 प्रेमिन कर तितुं लोकमें, घरम पंथ हर आप।
 ३७ लालहि सूर विना दुख नाही, प्रेमी सुखी कष्ट दुख माही।
 दुख की नदी वही चहुं ओरा, प्रेमी कष्ट सहै निस मोरा।

- ५१ पुनि साहेब नहि भेदु छिपायो, 'मूसा' को सब खोल सुनायो।
 ५२ 'मूस' हिये पड़ेउ यहु भेदु, देखत कहत खुला सब भेदु।
 ५३ पुनि भाषों तो अहै ठोली, कहं लै कहीं भेद में खोली।
 ५४ जो भाषों बुध जाइ हेराई, टूटें कलम लिखा नहि जाई।
 ५५ जो भाषों अब तिलक बनाई, परलय तक थोरी निरखाई।
 ५६ रसना आपन रोक के, कथा कहीं अब थोर।
 तुइं जो चहस भेदु यह, निरख गुपुत चित जोर।।
 ५७ जो 'मूसा' अज्ञा अस पायो, साहेब की रिस जिउ डर पायो।
 निरखत घाय चलो बन माहाँ, पाछु वहि प्रेमी के ताहाँ।
 ५८ जहं जहं धरत गयो बहु पाऊं, 'मूसा' चले लखत सो ठाऊं।
 ५९ वहि की चाल समन सों न्यारी, माते की चालु [इ] मतवारी।
 ६० यक पगु परो ऊँच कहुं जाई, परो एक पगु नीचे आई।
 यक पगु वहंक चलं जस हाथी, फिरं अकेल न दूसर साथी।
 ६१ कवहूँ सीध लहर जस पानी, कवहूँ चलं मीन के बानी।
 ६२ कवहूँ लिखें छार पर, आपन भेदुहवाल।
 जैसे रमल विचार के, फेके कर रम्माल।।
 ६३ कवहूँ ठाढ़ होइ कभु घावें, कवहूँ गिरें सीसु भुइं आवें।
 ६४ मूसा अंत हेर ओहि पायो, औ सुखकर उपदेसु सुनायो।
 कहा कि कुछ बहु सोच न राखी, मन तुम्हरे आवें सो भाखी।
 ६५ तोहरी दोष पुनि संसारा, पैथ तोर दुइ जग उजियारा।
 तोसे कुसल भूमि उपराही, तोसे जोत सकल जिउमाही।
 ६६ जस हरि करे जौन कुछु चाहै, तस तुम प्रेमी तार निवाहै।
 जेहि दिष चहो निडर होइ घाओ, चहो सो रसना खोल सुनाओ।
 ६७ कहा कि ए 'मूसा' वह बाता, अब न रही मेरी मुख गाता।
 अबहूँहीय रक्त मा बूड़ा, जग सो मोर भयो मन जूड़ा।
 ६८ सातो सरग नाघ जिउ मोरा, पहुँच्यो लाख बरिस के छोरा।
 चाबुक मार तुरी तुइं फेरा, गयो नाघ नभि नभिकर फेरा।
 ६९ काया मत दीन्ह्यो विसराई, अल्प देस मोहि परेउ लखाई।
 घन घन तोर पहुँचा औ हायू, दियो छुडाइ छार कर साथू।
 ७० भेदु मोर अब कहा न जाई, जो कुछ कहो थोर निरखाई।
 ७१ दरपन की सूरत नही, दरपन मा निरखाय।
 ७२ आपन सूरत आपही, दरपन बीच दिखाय।।
 ज्यों वंसी विच फूँकनहारा, फूँके वैन सुनै संसारा।'
 ७३ सो वंसी की वैन न जानौ, फूँकनहारे को पहिचानी।
 ७४ किरत जाप जो तोसे होई, वहि चरवाहे की गत सोई।
 ७५ सुमिरन करे जीभ जो तोरी, तोहि बहुत साहेब को थोरी।
 ७६ सुफल होत जो पिँडु तिहारा, वहि की पीर होत जर छारा।
 ७७ केनुक कहीं बीच की नाए, उर्धर नाहि खेल सब माए।
 ७८ सुमिरन जाप तोर यहि काया, सुफल होय साहेब की दाया।
 कोट भांत सुमिरन करे, जाप करे अत कोय।
 साहेब की दाया विना, गुपुत न निरमल होय।।
 ७९ जैसे निषिद नार दिन चारी, खोर पवित्र होय सो नारी।
 ८० तिरिया निषिद रक्त सों दोखी, जाग तोर दुबिधा मत पोखी।

- ८१ रक्त निषिद बोधं लै नीरा, होय पवित्र न कुपित सरीरा ।
 ८२ कुपित सरीर करै निरबानी, साहेब की दाया कर पानी ।
 ८३ भूमि लिलार सुरत चहुं आंरा, भूठा निषिद ध्यानु यहु तोरा ।
 ८४ कहीं ध्यान जब देंह बिचारी, तुई यहि दोष दया की नारी ।
 ८५ हर का भूमि सुभाउ विचारा, निषिद खोइ फलफूल संचारा ।
 ८६ कूड़ा निषिद भूमि पर, डारें मानुष लाय ।
 ८७ धरती लेइ छिंदाइ तेहि, फूल औ बिरछ जमाय ॥
 ८८ मूढ निरवि साहेब की दाया, पूंजी बिना छूँछि लखि काया ।
 ८९ जेहि काया कुछ जाप न पूजा, पाप दोष छुट लखी न दूजा ।
 ९० फिरउ निरास कहत यक बारा, कुसल होति होते हम छारा ।
 ९१ का हम छार पंथगं । दीन्हा, पँछी कर हम जनम न लीन्हा ।
 ९२ पँथी होइ मारग अस देखा, जहाँ होय पग पग कर लेखा ।
 ९३ छार हते छारै चितु लावा, पँथ चले कुछ लाभ न पावा ।
 ९४ हर सों मुख फेरी जो कोई, ताहि अंत कुछ लाभ न होई ।
 ९५ जो कोउ ध्यान लगाय के, हर सुमिरें दिनरैन ।
 ९६ पावें जीवन मुकुत सों, दुइ जग वाको चैन ॥
 ९७ जो मुख फेर भूमि चित दीन्हा, सो मूख मन की मत लीन्हा ।
 ९८ जा कर जिउ गीतम तक धावा, तेहि हर जोत में जोत मिलावा ।
 ९९ भयो ऊँच पुनि नीच न होई, दिनदिन ऊँच होय अत सोई ।
 १०० हर सों मुख भूमि जेहि हेरा, खाइ सरीर भूमि तेहं केरा ।
 १०१ जोहि हर हेरात आप हेराई, भमे अस्त पै नितहि लखाई ।
 १०२ नखत सूर सस जाय अथाई, तिन सों वहि नहि करै मिताई ।

The "Plaint of the Flute" is illustrative of the great pantheistic doctrine of the Sufis and Najaf Shāh has commented upon it with interest while the story of 'Moses and the Shepherd,' dealing with the Nirgun attributes of Almighty, is self-explanatory and has been rendered with little or no comments. The next Persian couplet (99) covered by chhand 91 is really the opening verse of the next Hikāyat of Maulānā Rūmī wrongly included here and stands alone. Chhand 92 closes the book, thus :—

सन्तो विनती सुनौ हमारी, वांचौ कथा प्रेम-चिनगारी ।
 आरथ अच्छर सोव बनाई, खोय देउ दरपन की काई ।
 यहि जग लाभ यही में जानेउ, सब साधुन को गुर पहिचानेउ ।
 प्रेम वचन जासे सुनि पाइयो, सो हिरद के पत्र लखाइयो ।
 साध सन्त तुम प्रेम वियोगी, तुम्हरी सरन भयऊँ में जोगी ।
 तेहिकी पढ़त प्रेम रस चाख्यो, तव यह प्रेम कथा में भाख्यो ।
 निस दिन आस यही मन मोरी, विनती सुनौ कहीं कर जोरी ।
 यहि असीस देओ मोहीं, पढ़ यह कथा अपार ।
 दोउ जग पिय की प्रेममध, 'नजफ' रहै मतवार ॥

Then follows the last colophon :—

'Hear ends the book of the Prem Chingārī composed by Hāfiz Shāh Najaf Alī.' The total number of pages in the MS is 67.

Another MS of this book in Nagari characters, presumably a transliteration of the first, is dated 3rd January 1899, Monday. The copyist is Raunmast Khān son of Haidar Khān from whose descendent, the late Faizullāh Khān, both the MS were acquired.

During his old age, when he had lost his eye-sight, Najaf Shāh lived in Rewa. He was Hāfiz, i.e., remembered the Qoran by heart, is said to have founded a mosque and led the prayers in another. He was fond of music. One Subhānī would sing on his flute these three lines of Bagheli :—

मितऊ हो काहे सुधि विसराइया हमार।
जबहिन कहुया तइ ओरा निवहवै,
छौंड़ि दिह्या मंभुधार ॥
मितऊ हो - - - - -

and Najaf Shāh would fall into ecstasy. The choice of the “plaint of the flute” for his first “narrative” is thus significant. Najaf Shāh is also reputed to have been very charitable and spent the major portion of his income on alms.

When and how Najaf Shāh came to Rewa is not known. That he was known to and patronised by the spiritually minded Vaishnava poet-prince, Mahārājā Vishvanāth Sinha (1833-54), is certain. The Mahārājā, tradition has it, would receive the blind poet-Sūfī in the palace with great reverence to the great chagrin and annoyance of his orthodox Brahmin minister. The following dohā on Najaf Shāh, composed extempore, is attributed to his heir-apparent, Raghurāj Sinha, also a poet :—

शाह सलोनै जो बसैं, 'पीर अता' के पार।
ओर के नैना दोग हैं 'नजफ़ शाह' के चार ॥

Najaf Shāh died in Rewa and lies buried outside the durgāh of Imam Shāh. The year of his death is not known. Najaf Shāh also wrote earlier an Akharāwati in H. 1224/1809 A.D. which will form the subject of another short paper.

THE UIGUR AND ANGAR LANGUAGE IN KAN SU, CHINA

By DR. M. HERMANN S.V.D.

The present article contains a vocabulary of the Uigur and Angar dialects collected during my research of these tribes. Some grammatical observations conclude the paper.¹

1. VOCABULARY OF UIGUR AND ANGAR DIALECTS

The Uigur language is a sub-group of the Altai language. It is one of the Eastern dialects of the Turkish group. The Uigur in Kan su called themselves Yugur. They themselves admit that they can understand the Salars (in Tsing hai, China) and the Shan tou (in Kan su and Sin kiang) to a certain extent. The Salars are from a Turkish race and had emigrated from Samarkand to the Huang ho valley near Sun hua (Tsing hai). Shan tou is the Chinese name for the Sartic speaking people in Kan su and Sin kiang. Originally of Turkish race they are mixed with Chinese. Nowadays they call themselves Uigur. Since these are all kindred dialects, it is not surprising that the Yugur can understand them to some extent.

The Angar language is a totally different one. The Angars say that they can understand the Daide-Mongols (Kan su, Tsing hai), the Tzaidam-Mongols (Tsing hai) as well as the Ala shan-Mongols (Ning hia). They claim however a still closer connection with the Mongor or Tu jen (Kan su, Tsing hai) as the Chinese called them, an old Mongolian tribe.² From this it follows that the Yugur tongue is a Turkish dialect and the Angar tongue an old Mongolian dialect. Since they were neighbours for a long time, however, both these people naturally borrowed words from each other and also from the Tibetans and Chinese. This will become evident in the following vocabulary.

English	Angar	Yugur
man (in general), human being	kun	xe
man (male)	xkanar	cren
woman	stugun	šarfax
boy (small)	möla	xte baka

¹ The religion and customs of the Uigurs are dealt with in the article "Die Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen", *Anthropos* Bd. XXXV-XXXVI, Freiburg i. Schw. 1940/41. The romanization is in accordance with the Antheopos-Alphabet: š=sh (sch); x=ch; c=tsh (tsch); ' = tj; d'=dj; k=ck; ū=ng as prefix, infix and suffix; ɣ=guttural r; y=j.

² Cf. map 3 in my book "Die Nomaden von Tibet", Wien 1949, which shows the settlements of the different races in Tsing hai and Kan su.

English	Angar	Yugur
big boy	d'a lu	yiket
small girl	rgün	gös dar
big girl	köm bös dök	šartax
old man	awa	awa ka
old woman	ane (tib. ane)	taitai (chin. taitai)
elder brother	gogo (chin. gogo)	aga (tib. aga)
younger brother	düt	öne
elder sister	ñet jai (tib. adjai)	exke, gsaka
younger sister	dökön	sönne
father	ad'a (tib. argya)	ad'a (tib.)
mother	rke	dada, ana (tib. ane)
maternal grand-mother	gadem ke	kadem ke
maternal grand-father	ad'a (tib.)	ad'a (tib.)
paternal grand-father	awa (tib.)	awa, awuga
paternal grand-mother	ana (tib.)	ana, anaga
grandson, grand-daughter	d'ai (chin. djai-elder sister)	gegen
uncle	baba (chin. baba)	baba, dayai (chin. dayai)
aunt	ad'a kat	ad'a kat, dařenai (chin. nai nai)
family	nege ker konbai	bürt, büriö, lax
cousins	dšekan, dšekul	dšekan, dšekul
widow	bel wsön	adkalran, esug
concubine	asa tširasan kömböšto	gdix d'en, song gelgen
twins	skör möla	örkös möla
to betroth	urux targ	beleg salxdor
to marry	tšcreija	kegrine
bridegroom, fiancé	rkanar	gudsege
bride, fiancée	köm bös dök	šartax
mother-in-law	gesana	gesana (of the wife)
father-in-law	guyi	guyi (of the wife)
wedding banquet	xröm	ass
match-maker, matrimonial agent	d'ormadšö	rad'ö (men only)
dowry	galöñ	galöñ
milk-name	bañe nere	ktšigat
big name	xkenere	bösegat
layman	gtšan deltö	akdonax
monk	šawo	šawo
servant (man and maid)	suña sañon	olötkañse

English

Angar

Yugur

adopted child

taiwöret gerewe

gusax yabkelte, asser-
andše

head

tolñö

baš

hair of the head

tolñö sön

saš

plait of hair

rköl

tšöwök

brain

mönē

mönē

skull, cranium

mönē jassen

mönē soñwok, top bai

temple

d'okomait

d'okomait, dšardax

ear

dšekan

wlak

cheek

tšex taña

tašök

eye

nodon

köss

eyeball

garakai

garakai

eye-brows

kerwuk

kerwuk

eyelid

kerwai

kerwai

nose

kawar

kañörk

lip

gšun

domdsok

tongue

klen

döl

tooth

xtön

döss

upper palate

bülö

tañne

under palate

maklen

gteitel

pharynx

gutko

gutko

throat

gol'ün

möin

jaw, chin

rün

jiñag

moustache

sagal

sagal

neck

šölle

erdke

shoulder

möre

jigen

arm

xa

gol

elbow

dokonog

tšikenaik

hand

nuterxa

yudruk

finger

grun

cluk

finger-nail

xmesen

dernag

wrist

belik

belik

finger-joint

xrunañ

xrunañ

chest

db'ön

döss

breasts

rkön

nemik

loins

xawörxa

yige

backbone, spine

tšed'a

gögös

right hand

barun

ñöñ gol

left hand

soñöñar

solñ gol

shoulder-blade

nurun

kükös suñok

coccyx

bel

bel

English	Angar	Yugur
hip	süd'a	ut'a sunok
thigh, femur	ñöya	böt
shank	šketai	yuda
knee	wöduk	dess
foot	köl	asak
toe	köl darmak	asak darmak
belly	gedessen	d'ige
abdomen	bañal	ded'ige
bowels	harra wögön	harra wögön
lungs	uška	ñupō
heart	d'ürgen	rök
liver	hlegen	bañör
vein	dwasen	damör
sinew	šen dassön	ebdük
tent	ger (tib. gur)	yü
tent-square	tar	tar
tent-rope	dšondog	dšondog
tent-pole	tulña	surok
tent-peg	adassen	rügön
fire-place	adags	adags
fire	gal	wut
kettle	togun	döss
spoon	dšomōš	sowak
cup	keire	keire
wooden pail (bucket)	bañad'a	bañad'a
mill	termen	ternmen
barley flour	talñan	talñan
tea	tša (chin. tša)	tša
meat	magan	et
sausage	nañ tša	nañ tša
milk	sün	sut
curdled milk (joghurt)	öndwain	yuñurt
buttermilk	darak (tib. dara)	smak
butter	tosön	yax
noodles	ñlöryenke	mensemen
rice	turgan	turgan
millet	budün amen	yugulsokba
wheat	dran	dark
spelt, barley	harpei	harpei
beans	bud'ak	buda'k
grass	wesön	owt

English	Angar	Yugur
salt	dawsön	düss
tobacco	kañsa	kañsa
tobacco leaves	gödamak	gögdamak
snuff	xwar damak	xalk damak
pipe	hañsa dolnö	hañ sawaś
smoke	dwa	öss
butter tub, churn	tolöm	tolöm
wooden pestle	nödür	nödür
stone pestle	perdök	perdök
holy water	dakel	dakel
image of Buddha in a tent	perkan	perkan
felt	doñöm	yonak
cap	malañai	pörk
dress, garment	möske	giseke
trousers	mudön	yüm
boots	kañtsen	kañtsen
jacket, vest	stotun	stotun
belt, girdle	bse	gur
garment made of skin (fur)	xyo	tördön
robe	döl	don
monk's habit	yalma	gesuk
illness	wetbe	añöbte
medicine	em	em
doctor	emci	emci
to die	gudśoa	gölöbter
the dead person	ksön kun	golabter
to bury	belaye	kömene
to recover	sait'uwain	d'ugur wobter
day	otör	künts
night	söne	yönde
rising sun	noran dastar	gun egöbter
setting sun	girabter	girabter
midday	ödö	gunortö
afternoon	ödös	giñerwobter
sun	nöran	gun
moon	ssara	ai
full moon	ssara süst'ui	ai tollobter
stars	hodön	yülts
comet	dolomkent	dolomkent
shooting star	rü rotuituwai	yülts halbkaipter
fixed star	haruk taduwai	yülts albtöbter

English	Angar	Yugur
month	negescra	berae
year	neged'il	büryail
antiquity	meñañil	möñil
one	nege	bar
two	gor	äge
three	gorwain	uś
four	dörwain	düt
five	dawain	bais
six	tśürgon	altö
seven	dolon	yide
eight	naimen	saxes
nine	ssön	dox
ten	harwain	on
eleven	harwain nege	brigörmen
twelve	„ gor	ägigörmen
thirteen	„ görwain	d'ugörmen
fourteen	„ dörwain	düt'ugormen
fifteen	„ dawain	baiśigörmen
sixteen	„ tśürgon	altigörmen
seventeen	„ dolon	yidigörmen
eighteen	„ naimen	saxsigörmen
nineteen	„ ssön	doxigörmen
twenty	horön	yigörmen
twenty one	„ nege	brotos
„ two	„ gor	skotes
„ three	„ gorwain	uśotes
„ four	„ dörwain	düdots
„ five	„ dawain	baisotes
„ six	„ tśürgon	altotes
„ seven	„ dolon	yidotes
„ eight	„ naimen	saxsotes
„ nine	„ ssön	doxotes
thirty	rd'ön	d'on
„ one	„ nege	d'on bar
„ two	„ gor	d'on äge
etc.	etc.	etc.
forty	död'ain	dürdon
„ one	„ nege	„ bar
etc.	etc.	etc.
fifty	tawön	baiisson
„ one	„ nege	„ bar

English	Angar	Yugur
etc.	etc.	etc.
sixty	d'irain	alton
seventy	dalain	yidon
eighty	naiyain	saxson
ninety	yerain	doxon
one hundred	d'un	yüss
two „	god gon	šküss
three „	gorwain gon	d'tüss
four „	dörwain „	d'utyüss
five „	dawain „	bašüss
six „	tšürgon „	altüss
seven „	dolon „	yidüss
eight „	naimen „	saxšüss
nine „	ssön „	doxtüss
one thousand	nege mañain	bar mön
two thousand	gor mañain	sge mön
etc.	etc.	etc.
ten thousand	nege era	bar agak
once	nege hor	bar hor
horse	more	ad
stallion	ad'irha	asegör
mare	göin	pi
gelding	söin more	gigad
colt, foal	naran	gullön
colt of one year	daran	ssöp
colt of two years	gor nastadwai	šge assapter
cattle (tib. yak)	hgör	ukuss
bull, steer (")	buška	buška
ox („)	kainag	kainag
cow („)	niain	anasse
calf („)	šat	šat
yak-cow and common bull-		
hybrid	omtsö (tib. mdzo	omtsö
calf of one year	yarma (tib. yar ma)	yarma
heifer	mdsogd'an (tib.	mdsölek
	mdzo + chin. d'an)	
sheep	gonö	goi
ram	uxd'a	huyegar
castrated ram	šlige	šötlain
ewe	salak	salak
lamb	guršan	wudse

English	Angar	Yugur
lamb of one year	tölöge	doxte
goat	man	sko
he-goat	tege	tege
castrated she-goat	süss	rkeś
she-goat	man	sko
kid	nogon	wlak
kid of one year	šige	rgiś
camel	teman	te
dog	nogöi	eśt
bitch	lügd'an	yeś
puppy, pup	gedag	gedag
ass, donkey	d'igen	d'igen
she-as	göin d'igen	göin d'igen
wolf	darden	talage
fox	šöñśur	tulkö
stag	bodo	sugun
hind	maral	maral
antelope	d'iran	yigar
chamois	gögmeck	gögbek
musk-deer	šöbar	šöbar
musk-bag	d'are	d'are
tiger	bars	bars
bear	d'atbön	tulkara
vulture	gad'ar	galtar
hawk	haragrei	gultsuřun
raven	honre, garagrei	śarog, gusugun
pigeon, dove	gogeśgün	gogeśgün
magpie	sadśekai	saxkan
sparrow	bulyür	gugśgaś
swan	?	axtan
duck	?	gase
sea-gull	?	añet
black water-duck	?	yugurtik
swallow	garlaxs	garlaxs
strong	bekowan	kapdro
to mount	undürwan	örlügon
above	uñdoxduwan	örlügdro
below	rübud'uwai	boxdro
inch (one)	nege sun (chin. dsun)	bar sün
span	nege tšödse (chin. tšö dse)	bar gerś

English	Angar	Yugur
ell	harwan tšödse	on geré
not to have	wui wai (chin. wu wei)	yogdro
not to be	budabšúwañ	emesdro
world	teñer gad'ar	galmag galtar
hill, mountain	ula	tax
large, great	škulawai	besegdro
to help	buda bañald'a	bañnasine
to throw	hagiga	perine
together	hulwoldurwai	gosine
pole	d'iak	dšemak
piece	nege sik nege sik	bar dükén bar dükén
fork	ald'akbein	ad'amal
centre	d'absarawai	gawurta
beautiful, fine	saikambayin	yaxšdro
to string	budad'üya	sabter
pill	örlö	örlö
gentleman	ct'en düwain	exse
chief	nüön	paige
a long time	xoštrodewai	gönöbter
tired	tšixd'üwan	harbtör
suddenly	řörid'üwan	ogdargör
insolent	xutuyamawai	solxsadro
make use of	geregle	niwölgiger
bent	galyirwan	galdšagdro
to tell fortunes	horgor ed'a	ergarine
rebellious	daksad'üwan	daxsudro
dry	gadagd'ud'üwan	guröbdro
heaven, the sky	teñer	gög teñer
hook	?	clömai
to terminate	wüwöld'üwai	babdro
I	buwai	men
thou	tšüwai	sen
he	terewai	gol
we	budabain	mösler
you	budadšogbaina	seler
they	tereshain	golar
thing, matter	urd'üwai	bord'ödro
in, into	gdörünubai	g'indedro
to say, tell	geleya	dinai
well	d'ilöwai	gašansu
a little	baranigewai	asbrödro

English	Angar	Yugur
quick, hastily	törgön	uñwadro
to cover	xad'ugerya	xalabdro
to die	gud'od'üwain	yulobdro
clear	atšelawain	adšaxdro
brave, courageous	doranešgewai	bösekdro
to throw down	dokerhar'üwain	?
goodness	saneinesembai	güñel yaxšdro
frontier	dabsarenuwai	oiyara
now	odowai	am
enemy	cd'c adana	yusxedro
crooked	ktüwain	sobter
order	end'ukyalya	endugsaline
to support	dönölya	deyanapter
careful	sanadšuwai	güngöldšowabter
to fell	dabd'ai	oxtšüröbter
humble	gaimamgumbai	amörks
utensils	sawasulga	öld'ü
fate	?	begetšö
row, file	mör	gol
to look up	de šcregai	örg heka
to stretch	delgaya	yadsuster
Buddha	burxan	burgan
unemployed	sulawain	xendro
eloquent	gledüwain	delugdrow
to despise	lösulřad'uwain	olördbade
companion	xanuwai	löger
equal, same	řguld sen yamawai	stuas xan nemeter
receive	dšüñ glo d'recai	yom darb glin
praying string	hairge	sanage
to live	suya	olorgo
to wait	baranige saga	mya ulraine
low	boronowai	boxdro
body	be	bos, bolta
cultivate	ušetarya	yirtarine
to serve	d'ama (tib. d'ama)	d'ama
to do	ta yima gedebi	nista bare
to help	baria dana	tutal master
to send	tende gorgea	anda teadine
to trust	šü d'ulegda	detödexdro
to offer	oxbe	maña bexti
to come	rea	gil

English

Angar

Yugur

law
to carry
to feign
sincere
to bind
path
ignorant
to protect
to believe

endugtalyūwain
ragd'awai yavia
arḡalaiya
sain gombai
golea
tśirwai
hulad'ūwai
araxt'ūwain
sinfu lad'ūwain (chin.
sin fu)

?
göter yemaine
göilaine
dsnōmeter
guline
dśoḡarter
xuduabter
adunine
?

custom
weak
wicked
much
to repair
to pour in
to lead
to cost
false
side
to steal
to prepare
to wound
proud
picture
to exceed
good fortune
economical
severe
to fill
to pay
hare
restless
to enter
within
soldier
to hope
crown
dark
black
white

tmema yaltalbain
geimarad'ūwain
gtūlamawai
d'ö d'ambai
halass laiya
gia
mördoxolowyavya
amsad'aya
d'ariyadax amawai
görwewain
tśōmax led'ūwai
belexd'ūwain
ḡdolyuord'ūwai
bardamd'e amawai
d'ürsañamawai
golgaria
loñḡdademawai
garyeamawai
d'od loldeno
d'ürd'ūwain
meleg yased'ūwain
tolai
lolo ord'ūwai
orodridūwain
torōnowai
tsairk
dśūñ yūlanbai
ḡnerañ
haral aga led'ine
xara
tśaḡan

andag sōs böbdro
geimandro
sgelüg nemedro
göbter
yamaxline
gosine
yoleserdine
dadaine
dadalmasnimedro
görwedro
tśōmaxdebdro
belegdi
ges wadebdro
gawadūnemedro
dśōsanimedro
bogolgedśin
gowelañ nemedro
ola gügüdsedro
dadsedro
tölbdro
meleg pelabdro
tusgan
tśaxs hanepter
gerbgcbdro
dśēnde gebdro
dśārektekter
ola göñen legdro
ḡnerañ
gara dsubter
xara
agder

English	Angar	Yugur
blue	řgōwai	gōgder
yellow	xera	saraxder
red	lanbai	bōsgesarder
green	nořombai	yasōlder
violet	grōnbai	goņgor
grey	golwain	golder
ice	mōsoñord'ūwain	bōsdoñ gaip̄ter
to freeze	gord'ūwain	duñob̄ter (chin. duñ)
winter	wōlwōld'ūwain	xswobdro
spring	hawurwōld'ūwain	yasbobdro
summer	d'ōnbōld'ūwain	yaiwobdro
autumn	namerwōld'ūwain	goswobdro
cold	kūtembai	toter
to melt	kesne	yirebdro
cool	surūmbai	ssergendro
clean	arumbai	aragdro
to coagulate	gadag dūt'ūwain	gadabgabdro
table	šare	?
phoenix	šun	?
abyss	šor	gedgō
ravine	d'ilřa	d'orga
misfortune	gemerid'ūwain	gemyebdro
letter	haru	d'añedin
knife	uxdara	byag
to cut	gdolya	dorine
to divide	magañwai	lūne
to sting	gadgeya	dūne
to plunder	bulu yabd'ūwai	gunwalti
beginning	skeleya	bašdaine
to brush	šōria	šōrine
to scape	xsia	graine
to carve	d'orya	ōine
to arrive	gūd'eriguwai	stebgabter
to behead	dabd'a	bašdaine
to shave	řalřaia	gōrgaine
before	mnōwai	rdōr dader
behind	ard'ūwain	ardenda
left over	xdord'ūwain	axdebter
to castrate	d'ogod'ūwain	araglabter
to kill	alaya	ōlōbter
sword	dšeda	bōsend'ema

English

Angar

Yugur

to split
power
to increase
merit
to extort
to strive
agreement
to examine
bridle
halter
saddle
stirrup
saddle-cloth
crupper
belly-girth
to hide
flat
half
south
west
north
east
dangerous
egg
hen
tree
branch
root
stem
leaves
kitchen
to go
to return
friend
to take
to chat
to fold
story

sign
to call

rgalya
pöwüwai
nülügüwai
geryam rid'üwain
darawain
bögd'aria
putsekrled'üwain
hage rid'üwain
gadar
noxtod'öya
tořoya
bdörö
tořöm
oloñ
godorga
řabd'ul řod'owai
tśünbai
röwai
deśö
höśe
řü
nüśe
ad'üwain
bala
daga
dereg
dereg ald'a
yöldös
narambudübai
labśag
dsoxa
yabya
rigyarid'üwai
tañarag
avia
ögö nülülya
nalřared'ulya
namter (tib. rnam
thar)
temdek
doñed'cre

asrine
kamayokter
nemcster
geryam gebter
basanöbter
böğönöriśdro
pukte lepter
hegadi
yugün
loxda mandarine
eser
eseñe
yünak
gosgen
golon
yasöröbter
piñter (chün.piñ)
yarem
yüre
argt
gudsün
endün
ürgümter
bala
daga
dereg
dereg ald'a
yöldös
dereg dembose
labśag
odsalma
maine
berclögapter
tañarag
alene
sösnemapter
skosokapter
lomag

?
kadaşter

English	Angar	Yugur
to beat	hagiya	dšo wardine
word	lar, large	lar
elevation	boloñ	tasañ
to scold	uskaya	dadine
name	nere	at
to drink	uwya	tšine
to eat	edehya	yine
to hang up	örgoya	asaine
to spit	xeru	dorwak
to smoke	detaiya	tamal tatine
to complain	ulana	yıflaine
to accuse	d'aiya	aine
ruler	šgewombai	bösex
dumb	mogo	d'almainter
to quarrel	dsodlolsuna	dšodasuter
to blow	pile	pöde
to hear	añnaya	añna
to swallow	šönegüwain	sañrepter
to surround	degdine rid'üwain	börwabter
to suck	gögöya	em
flavour	amtan	dadepdro
to smile, laugh	hene	golöpter
sound	donorna	enedapter
to cough	hanalyan	yöderuter
pain	wedne	axte
to bite	dšuna	dstepter
to chew	gadilya	gösepter
to groan	ušgönögenö	yüruter
to suffocate	döndöl řod'üwain	döndög dawadöbter
to weep	nölösön	yasa guter
merchant	udald'ö	ssadaxd'ö
to sell	hudal d'ya	sadaine
to buy	hudal awiya	aline
to frighten	aina	gořte
to open	negilye	adšepter
to sing	dulai	yirlaine
song	dun	yir
to ask	sayiya	aidine
joy	bairlena	sönöpter
to lose	hord'orold'üwai	erkölöpter
to breathe	d'akald'üwai	uraluter

English

Angar

Yugur

to fced
to teach
to crow
be noisy
to sprinkle with
to sneeze
bag
fence
prison
round
square
earth
ground
ditch
to sit
sun-dried brick
slope
dust
town
to pile up
wall
to sweep
heap
to inform
thrashing-floor
high
tower

ogeya
surwaiya
daxgayc doñad'isuna
doñad'isuna
ssasaipter
neitulna
smal
xorön
xara tamen
tögörk
dörweld'an
šeru
notok
nögön
dox wucid'ige
dañol
gd'ide garya
tšañburudšewai
?
loloya
bařassen
araiya
gedawai
añnulwa
?
uñdořwai
mtšorten (tib.
mchod rten)

bordaine
öryedine
daxgayc gadeyuter
d'ördsuter
ssadepter
asserduter
gab
yiraš guran
xara tamen
togör
dörweld'an
dörwak
yürt
telak
tořc
töyagc
bařer
dorwagsubter
basar
doxd'ala
balag
šörine
dořd'añ
xülain
gagör
örlig
mtšorten

pool
unclean
China ink
stream, river
brook
dream
step
to run
where
to sacrifice
chest
slave
concubine

gsuner hairegd'üwai
kerwai
paikai
mürre, gol
mürre
d'ödlöne
arem daiya
šugurya
ganawai
xamnaiya
röd'ag
baxda
bařad'in

sudoxdama
kerder
paikai
gol
öyan
dolsüpter
arem naxter
gailaxter
gaida
xamnaiya
ergam
baxda
gdixšaxtax

English	Angar	Yugur
jealous	dsidulabter (chin. dsi du)	olötbenter
pregnant	sarat'üwai	bu sóxdugör
alphabet	bdök	bdök
to write	d'örya	bu dox d'asine
to learn	sorya	örgenine
roof	geltolröi	yübaş
pillar	?	yülasak
peace	amerabter	amerabter
official	?	baxtıśō
ancestors	śkes	karmañe
guest	gunerd'üwai	xsegaipter
to harm	harasanald'üwai	garasagenaippter
tail	ssül	goserak
manure	pasön	halřar
to leak	oresna	axguter
shore	gada	ksat
island	ssolam	ssolam
narrow pass	?	tawra
descendants	bařass	ktiglar
nest	oron	oron
work	?	jone
towel	alt'ur	altśeřer
piece of cloth	pös	yis
silk	toro	dawar
veil	darnag	daı nag
emperor	xan, amlañ xan	xan, amlañ xan
teacher	guñ ma	guñ ma
banquet	horöm	ass
curtain	yölwa	yölwa
flag	dad'ok (tib dař lcog)	śaldar
rifle	demsak	demsak
bow	neman	ssawadak
arrow	seman	og
shield	řgaya	aredköś
monastery	git	seme
to move	gudüne	derwöbter
string	duwasön	og yap
pig	řgai	gawan
feather	xanat	yugö
gay	alagbain	aladör

English	Angar	Yugur
shadow	gölögö	gölögö
slow	agarden	agarden
to follow	dařawiya	eserges
everywhere	gad'ar gard'ata	öyöda
to penetrate	tolyigei	teluster
virtue	hurudalaiya	harudelaine
will	tañxa	tañxa
anger	tširid'üwain	tšegeldor
to forget	martad'öd'üwain	ndokapdro
to think	dmema nasald'üwain	andax ssagönter
true, faithful	?	gönöldös
strange	gönemeter	gönemeter
to carry	?	orgodba
to be ashamed	gad'a rebteme	öwusma
to pardon	yustukter	yustukter
to regret, repent	?	adšagepter
sad	adšelater	adšelater
to thank	dsowd'üwai	dšowadi
to love	halun	sögter
to beg for	yalwarya	yalwarya
door	ödön	sök
to turn	rugülya	yürline
to seize, lay hold of	bart'eya	wtowaline
to draw	širřaya	yidine
to draw out	garřaya	ndrüne
to embrace	twöle	gudšagdapter
to throw away	wortšugia	teidawstine
to smash	řgulya	ssine
to rub	hörya	yegine
to shake	gudgöya	bilraine
to knead	golod'üra	yuguraine
to stroke	argadaine	argadaine
to roll up	hröya	trüne
to wash	řwaya	yüyüne
to scratch	yařadald'üwain	ketsöpter
to grope (one's way)	šewaya	molawörter
to climb	madšea	nodšaxter
to rain	teñer orono	teñer yařadru
to snow	dasön orono	xaryak adro
rain	kwara	yaxmör
snow	dasön	xar

English	Angar	Yugur
smal hailstone	tard'ak	mentair
cause	ima yabdayüwai	ni aldadro
to scatter	tralgana	tradine
surface	gadar	dass
to beat	nodöya	yand'ine
to change	harwa'ad'üwai	gašasclöbter
pound	nege tšeñ laya (chin. tšeñ)	datopgarcine
axe	skö	gömdan
carpenter's hatchet	d'abd'ur	dšabd'agör
saw	kure	kgögö
early	gdewai	gdedair
heavy	guntuwain	salxter
light	göngömbain	yikter
to get up	post'üwain	gobter
brilliant	d'ilmbain	galmanter
today	öndör	bugön
to morrow	me'axta	dañar
the day after tomorrow	tsinida	higen
in three days' time	tšaqedor	scragen
yesterday	mergašta xtigedcreya	dagerstegeline
the day before yesterday	tiñawaya	ssragen manine
three days ago	tšaqedor	ssragen
light	gere	agarder
to bask in the sun	naraneya	gund'araine
to shake	yaxgalna	lexgalter
hot	gladne	ssiter
secret	ssmerene	önyemörten
stuned	hörgene	orliter
glad	bardamtšö	bardamtšö
book	ptök	ptök
to obey	añlaya	asösañna
cloud	manain	manain
mist, fog	manain ptegöne	manain ptegöne
damp, moist	gstüwain	yešördagter
wood	moden	yirax
iron	tamör	damör
gold	altan	altan
copper	golo	golo bagör
silver	möne	gomeš
ring (finger)	blesög	lige sapa

English	Angar	Yugur
ear ring	dšcgan ded'ömei	hulaga gögermai
apricot	gol	ösaik
fruit	alma	dagar
grapes	öd'öm	?
forest	nag (tib.nags)	göbdcreg
brandy	gowön	arax
pillow	dere	yastak
(weaving) loom	örgö memodön	örnairax
threads	örgöme	tašoñ
to twist threads	tomeya	ssogaiñe
to weave	nckeya	higrinc
fir	nag (tib.nags)	guci
cypress	rd'a	rd'a
firewood	telein	teken
carpet	tařar	tařar
air	ur	ur
wind	cir göne	yisagadgör
sweat, perspiration	klösöñan	tairedör
to sweat, perspire	klösön garna	tardöbter
sand	gomag	hom
to draw (water)	gsön dilane	tilane
to bath	pauleiya	pauleiya
to submerge	řořd'üwain	sořoso gögrösöbter
wave	kaiya	sudšalma
to rise	doxgoldona	göger gašgürnübkepter
to swim	gsüñ garna	amna ñösarti
to slow	gsüñ garna	amna axgawörter
spittle	gad'ai	gad'ai
bitter	skemel	ad'axter
sweet	yilmambai	yilmambai
mud	bald'ag	bald'ag
thirsty	mdsana	oste
hungry	torna	oxtati
sugar	skör himalaya	skör xtine
to extinguish	hamulna	gardi
to kindle	bardulya	tamdraine
source	bulag	göss
salty	gašu rad'üwai	ad'axter
desert	cöl	yültangöp
marsh	ssolöm	ssolöm
fish	dšarassön	dšarassön

English	Angar	Yugur
to fish	barna	btüutene
ashes	nesön	köl
to prepare a meal	šöñ gemtalyawa	smeñ heinadine
to cook	cönaya	tollüne
to rot	rgurad'üwain	söñarapter
claws	darmag	darmag
shepherd	adlana	adlana
cat	mörš	mörš
marmot	böleṛan	böleṛna
monkey	beid'in	beid'in
to play	natna	öinaine
glass	šel (tib. šel	šel
comb	?	darak
bottle	loñxo	loñxo
ulcer, abcess	yara	yad'ö
scar	arsoñgoron	arsoñgoron
consumption	uš genam	uš genam
disease of the throat	gudgengam	möin aṛapder
diarrhoea	šuguraya	šugurine
small pox	pörkan	pörkan
paralized	gödüla dad'üwain	dörwülmainter
insane, crazy	ssausṛe deyapter	ssausṛe deyapter
lean, thin	goganad'üwain	ṛurbkapter
fat, grease	taṛalad'üwain	goṛoñör
to limp	doṛoloñnuno	axsakter'
jaundice	šeralad'üwai	sarxatöpter
to itch	dšuna	stinc
louse	bössen	böršt
skin	arṛassön	tarṛe
blader	pukai	pukai
blind	ssugur	legölök
devil	gaisen	osöt
spirit, ghost	berkan	berkan
soul	öwar	öwar
ghost of the earth	šruberkän	dorwaberkan
dragon of the earth	öyiswaisö	öyiswaisö
to stitch	galaiya	teginе
needle	d'ün	yiüne
scissors	gaid'e	gaid'e
thimble	blasög'	blasög
to embroider	huarlaya (chin.hua)	harlabter

English	Angar	Yugur
knot	gei da (chin.gei da)	déerök
rope	desön	yap
tassel	ssadśak	?
bushel	boa d'i(chin.boa d'i)	yelwaxs
sieve	lor	eñnek
mill	tagör men	tagör men
flower	huar (chin hua öl)	huar
printing block	xuar (tib par)	xuar
to print	xuarlain	xuarlain
smell	amdat'üwain	dadöxter
bee	dsona	dsona
turnip	dörma (tib dor ma)	dörma
garlic	sarmsag	sarmsag
to tear out	garra d'awya	dartöwaline
mushrooms	?	dañrok
gnat	?	dśöwen
fly	?	xara dśöwen
worm	horax ge	horax ge
snake	mořoi	yilan
ant	sorgoldsön	sörgoldsön
bat	saxdañanad	?
butterfly	kelepu	kelewe

I. A contribution to a grammar of the Yugur language.

(1) Noun

the horse	ad
of „	ad döñ
to „	ad ga
„	ad dö
the horses	ad gab

(2) Adjective

good	yaxstro
better	daxke yaxstro
best	dśa ma yaxstro

(3) Personal Pronoun

I	men	thou	san
of me	men nañ	of thee	san nañ
to me	men ga (mařa)	to thee	sara
me	men nö	thee	san nö

English	Angar	Yugur
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(4) Verb

I beat	men perine	
I have beaten	men perte	beat ! per per
I shall beat	men daxke perix	to beat pert
We beat	boss perine	to be beaten pert te
We have beaten	boss perte	
We shall beat	boss daxke perix	

(5) Construction of sentences

men usöm perte.	boss usöm ser perte.
I have beaten myself.	We have beaten one another.

men sara yax bták beren	men sara yax bták berbdro.
I to you good knife give	I to you good knife have given.

men enne sara yax bták beren.	san mařa yax bták beredöm ?
I shall to you good knife give	thou to me good knife givest ?

gol ad yustro.	an gaillet ba gol ad.
that horse bad is.	just has run that horse.

am han ne ma ol xe (am=just, han=gone, ne=perfect-particle, ma=genitive, ol=the, xe=man.) just gone man.

men gör yen ol xe.	men san nö görö ran xe dro.
I seen having that man.	I thou seen having man am (I have seen you).

san garx řar ?	bo ad yaxstro.
thou whither goest ?	this horse good is.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF PUNCH-MARKED-COINS—II THE BODENAYAKANUR HOARD

By D. D. KOSAMBI

Twenty-five coins of this hoard were sent to me nine years ago for preliminary examination. They had not been cleaned, but it was immediately evident that the marks as well as the weight (1·47 grams) belonged to a new system of punch-marked coinage. The entire hoard was sent to Bombay in 1950, by courtesy of the Madras State authorities, and of Dr. A. Aiyappan, curator of the Madras Museum. The total number amounts to 1138 silver pieces, of which 500 had been cleaned at the Museum, the rest by me at Bombay. The process consisted of soaking overnight (or longer if necessary) in a 10 per cent solution of formic acid, washing in pure water, and scrubbing carefully with a soft tooth-brush. The Museum chemist's cleaning was more thorough than mine, and he coated the cleaned specimens with celluloid varnish, which we could not get at Bombay. My chief care was to remove the encrustation, but therewith as little of the original coin as possible; so, the pieces cleaned by me show an occasional thin film of copper in parts. The coins themselves are silver alloy. Centuries of immersion in a damp soil pulls out, by electrolytic action, some copper of the alloy to the surface. This further reacts with salts in the surrounding medium to form the encrustations; but occasionally, the encrustation does not penetrate through the whole layer of decuprification. The presence of copper can be verified in the crystals formed upon evaporation of the cleansing bath; it is to be hoped that the Museum authorities will determine the exact nature of the alloy by sample analysis.

Of the 1138 pieces, 13 are blank square bits about $1/2$ " on a side. These are all underweight when compared to the stamped pieces, the heaviest being 1·037 grams, the lightest 0·610 grams, with an average of 0·8655 gms. The entire group is incompatible, by any modern statistical test, with the remainder. Nevertheless, these do not form a separate weight system or type of coin, but show how the coins were minted. That is, the pieces were first cut out of a flat silver plate to the approximate weight, stamped, and trimmed to a more precise weight. No underweight pieces were stamped at all. The lightest punch-marked coin of the hoard was 1·019 gm. and its exceptionally low weight is due in all probability to flaking. The punches themselves show excellent workmanship and beautiful design, so that the crude first appearance of the coins is due to the final trimming. The mint seems to have been unable to produce silver plates of uniform thickness, but the coiners did have sufficient

practice to vary the size of the first pieces in such a way as to minimize the number of rejections. These remarks apply to all hoards of punch-marked coins that I have seen. The one noticeable difference here is that the standard coins are all of the 'square' type, whereas the Taxila, the East Khandesh, the Paila, and other hoards of comparable size always contain a proportion of 'round' coins.

Just one coin is of the Mauryan period, as is seen by the first paper in this series (JBBRAS 24-25, 1948-9, pp. 33-47). This lone specimen shows the Mauryan dynastic *ṣaḍaracakra* and the characteristic Mauryan crescent on three arches quite distinctly, though it is otherwise too worn for any identification of the two marks that would determine its group. The weight is 2.99 grams, which brings it near to the standard of such coins found generally in the south, though these heavier coins are of northern fabric. Examples may be seen in the Hyderabad Museum collection. The question still remains open whether the lower weight is due merely to wear by circulation, or to the pre-existence of a lower standard in the south. I incline to the former view. The northern issue weight was close to 3.5 gm. so that most of the loss of weight was due to other causes than decuprification and cleaning.

The remaining 1124 coins of the hoard belong to just one major type with five obverse and one reverse mark, as in figure 1. It will be seen that

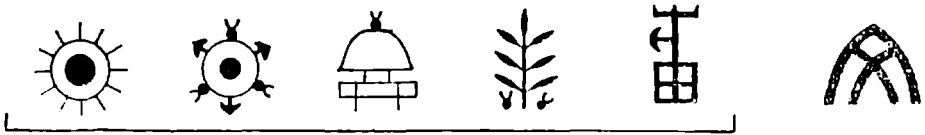


Fig. 1: Marks on the coins.

there is considerable resemblance, as regard the actual marks, with Mauryan coinage. The sun symbol differs only in having 12 rays as against the 16 on northern coins, both Mauryan and pre-Mauryan—with 20 possible on some in the north. The *ṣaḍaracakra* is unquestionably Mauryan. The third mark is a *stūpa*-like symbol which can be derived from the Mauryan crescent on arches. The third differs in the absence of a railing—though even this is not uncommon in the north—and the peculiar orientation of the two taurines. The fifth mark differs from anything else known of the type, and in this hoard occurs in two varieties, namely one where the crescent-axe projection is to the right, thus forming a mirror-image of the other. The proportion of this variant type is not less than 5 per cent nor more than 15 per cent at a rough guess, which is all that is possible because it is very rare to find even one of the five marks complete on any one coin. Finally, the solitary reverse mark is again reminiscent of Mauryan practice, for the older system of issue with blank reverse and regular (in time) punching of many different reverse marks vanished with the Mauryan coinage.

Taking all these points into consideration, I offer the suggestion that the hoard represents coinage of one of those late 'Mauryan' kings whose local existence in the peninsula is known as late as a thousand years after the imperial dynasty had vanished in the north. Unless the king claimed descent from or at least derived his authority from these Mauryans, there is no reason to preserve the Mauryan *akra*. For that matter, we know that the loss of weight at Taxila was 1.5 grain per reverse mark, presumably per 12 years, which would make the single Mauryan coin found in the hoard about 400 years or more old ; the guess is rather dangerous, made for lack of a better. The punch-marked coins had long gone out of fashion by then, having been replaced by cast coins. Therefore, the very fact that this hoard was punch-marked, and that the one stray found in it is Mauryan seems to speak for my conjecture. The actual deposit of the hoard could not be before the 2nd century A.D., and could easily be as late as the 4th century. There are no field-notes of the find available which would enable us to verify or refute this.

Statistical analysis of the weights, when the whole material consists of a single class, would not be expected to give any special results. Nevertheless, one further fact emerges : the hoard is a mixture of coins made in two approximately equal but separate lots. That is, though all the coins seem to be more or less in mint condition, they were either not minted at the same time or not at the same place, or at least not weighed against the same weight. Had the process been uniform, one would expect the weight distribution to have the familiar normal (Gaussian) bell-shaped curve. A look at the actual distribution shows (fig. 2) two peaks (dimodality) instead of just one. The exact statistics, in technical language, are : mean = 1.4728 gm. which is new, for the northern issue weight was approximately 3.5 gm. and even allowing for the loss by decuprification and cleaning, this weight is too low for the 1/2 *kārṣāpaṇa* standard. The variance in milligram units is 13477.5, so that both the heaviest blank piece of the hoard and the half-*kārṣāpaṇa* lie well outside the 5 per cent. fiducial interval, for a single coin ; one must remember that the variance of the mean will be the above variance divided by 1124, so that the estimate of the mean is very sharply separated from any possibility of being any plausible fraction of the northern *kārṣāpaṇa*. The departure from normality is measured by $g_1 = 0.0181$, $g_2 = 0.998$, with their standard deviations 0.073 and 0.146 respectively. Thus the first of these is not significant, and the weight distribution is virtually symmetrical about the mean ; the second, however, is very highly significant and shows that the curve could not possibly be normal, nor of the usual mixed type with coins of different ages (as in the earlier Taxila hoard), for in the latter case the distribution would have been skew-negative and platykurtic. The only explanation that I can think of for the dimodal leptokurtic distribution observed is that given above. The small percentage of variant fifth-mark coins would not account for the difference,

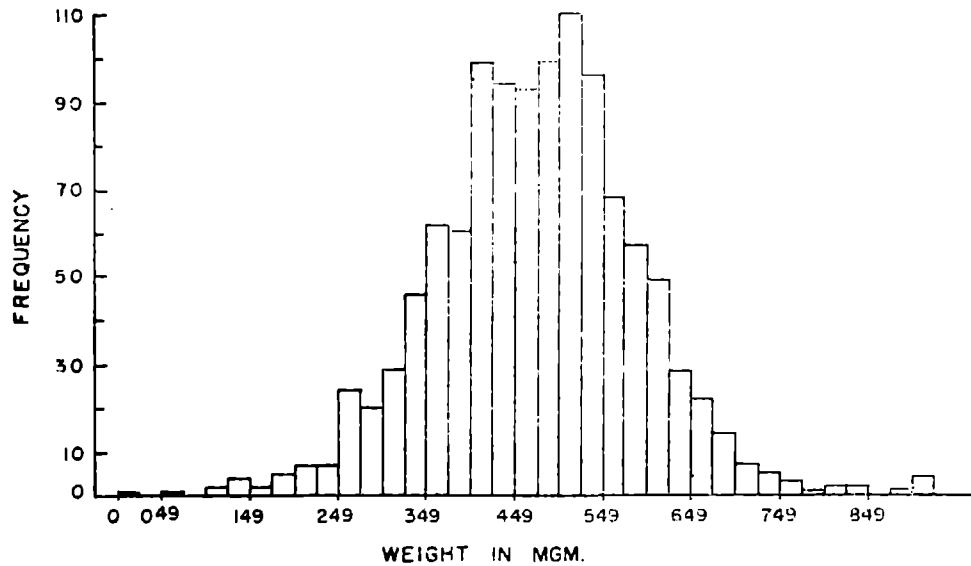


Fig. 2: Weight distribution of the coins.

and in fact none was observed at the time of weighing. The difference between my cleaning process and that at Madras would also not account for the observed distribution, being by actual modern statistical tests quite insignificant both as to mean and variance.

The coins were weighed one by one to the nearest milligram, on a differential torsion balance specially recommended by Messrs. Oertling of London, the manufacturers. This had to be serviced constantly, and developed a backlash of about three milligrams ; I cannot recommend it to numismatists even when many coins of the same type are to be weighed, as the pans do not allow rapid handling of the coins. Our grouping interval of 25 milligrams takes care of the error (which was minimized by constant checking), and loses less than 1 per cent of the total information. My special thanks are due to the authorities of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research for purchasing the balance and giving workshop facilities. The calculations were made by Mr. S. Raghavachari of the Institute. (*N. B.*—In figure 1, the fourth or “tree” mark should have only five branches instead of seven as shown.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat (Places and Peoples in Inscriptions of Gujarat ; 300 B.C.—1300 A.D.) by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Professor of Proto and Ancient Indian History, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, pages 245, Rs. 15/-.

The above studies were originally undertaken on behalf of the University of Bombay who had invited Dr. Sankalia to give in 1944 a series of five lectures under the Thakkar Vassonji Foundation, and are now reprinted with additional material collected as a result of further research conducted by the learned author. The rambling title covering wide subjects like History, Geography and Ethnography does not give the reader a proper idea of the subjects discussed ; the sub-title, however, explains that the volume covers a study of the inscriptions of Gujarat for the period of nearly 1600 years and restricts itself to places, place-names and peoples who inhabited Gujarat during the period. Dr. Sankalia has made a special study of the subject ever since he wrote his noteworthy book "Archaeology of Gujarat", a thesis prepared for his Ph.D. degree in 1930.

Even though the volume is extremely well printed at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press and priced at Rupees fifteen, it lacks a graceful style and continuity of treatment, but coming as a series of lectures from a scholar busy also with field work, perhaps these defects may be overlooked. A bulk of the volume is occupied with lists and scrappy descriptions of place-names and personal names, but the last lecture of "Co-relations and Conclusions" gives the reader, a taste of the scholarship and vastness of the reading of the learned author. For example, he proves that Arbuda (Mount Abu) was inhabited by the Sambaras and the dasas or dasyas who harassed the Aryans living in the area, that Bhilla malla (Bhinmal near modern Jodhpur) and Bhillasata (Bhillslaughter modern Bhilsa) were strongholds of the Bhils who are now classed among the aboriginal tribes, that the correct derivation of Bharuch (modern Broach) is not from Bhrigukachha which is a later sanskritization of the Austro-Asiatic Bharu Kachha.

From the fact that no references are found in Vedic literature to places in modern Mahagujarat, he is inclined to the view that like Bengal and Magadha, Gujarat was outside the pale of Āryavarta. Yet there is abundant evidence that before the Bharata war, Dwarka and Prabhas on the seacoast and Mount Raivataka had acquired great prominence due to the colonisation by the Yadavas from Mathura.

Dr. Sankalia's researches on the inscriptions at Girnar and Cutch enable him to opine that "already by the second century after Christ, fine, chaste, classical Sanskrit had become a court language in Gujarat and remained so for nearly a thousand years or more." If any part of India is to be considered Aryanised earliest on the strength of the epigraphic evidence alone, it would be Gujarat or, more strictly, Saurashtra. But by the 12th or 13th century, even the language of the inscriptions (i.e. the court language) becomes more and more Prakrit, probably due to the increasing admixture of non-Aryan people. Had not Mahomedan invasion upset the political equilibrium, Sanskrit might have remained the court language for a much longer period, as evinced by the "Prasasti"—inscriptions composed in Sanskrit. Dr. Sankalia brings in the comparison of place-names from the Deccan and concludes that in both the areas almost all the place-names from the 5th century onwards are in Sanskrit or Sanskritised. Thus the ancient names, Kachha, Anandpura (Anand), Jambusara, Navasaria (Navasari), Samjana (800 A.D.), remain unaltered, while others like Kantargrama (Katargam) Bhumluka (Bhumli or Ghumli), Palhanpura or Prahladpura (Palanpura), Khetaka (Kheda), Sangamkhetaka (Sankheda), Karpatvanijya (Kapadvanj), Vadapatraka (Vadodara-Baroda), Jirnadurga (Junagadh), Punya (Pune or Poona), Sthanaka (Thana), Palatthana (Phaltan), etc., have undergone slight changes.

He also opines that the place-name studies reveal that Bengal retains many of its varied non-Aryan tracts, while Gujarat and Deccan show a greater degree of Aryanization ; further, Bengal being nearer to the primitive cultures of the far-east and even now surrounded by these, has more of non-Aryan Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian elements. Dr. Sankalia's excavations in the prehistoric archaeological sites in the Gujarat confirm this view. "The Stone Age industries of the Sabarmati, Narmada, Orsang and Karjan Valleys most probably of the middle Pleocene period, the Geological period when man first came to live in what is now called Gujarat, show much resemblance to the Geologically earlier South-Indian industries that in our present state of knowledge it appears that Early Man with his Stone Age Culture came to Gujarat from South-India."

Dr. Sankalia's suggestions for further investigation bear the mark of wisdom and experience. Going beyond the subject of place-names, he suggests extensive field surveys throughout Gujarat and Kathiawad which should eventually cover archaeological, linguistic, sociological and anthropological investigations. These could be best financed by the new universities with regional settings that are coming into existence.

Alamkārasamgraha of Amṛtānandayogin—Edited by V. Krishnamacharya and K. Ramachandra Sarma, Adyar Library, Madras, 1949; pp. xliii+30+ 256; Rs. 9/-

This work is No. 70 in the Adyar Library Series which already has a good number of valuable publications to its credit. *Alamkārasamgraha* is, as the author avers in 1·9, a compendium of poetics—dealing, like Viśvanāthās *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, with *Kāvya* as well as *Nāṭika* and drawing upon the works of his predecessors whose terminology, definitions and, often, illustrations, too, he reproduces almost *verbatim*. It consists of seven hundred and odd *Kārikās* without *Vṛtti*, divided into eleven chapters. The first six chapters are devoted to the treatment of *Kāvya* in its traditional aspects, *viz.*, Rasas, Hero, Guṇas, Doṣas, Figures, etc. In this part, the author is indebted to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* for the names and definitions of Arthālamkāras and to Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa* for the treatment of Doṣas. It is rather curious that Amṛtānanda ignores the fuller treatment of Arthālamkāras found in Mammaṭa and follows Daṇḍin (without his elaboration) from whose list, too, he drops *Bhāvika*. He follows Bhoja in accepting figures based on the six *Pramāṇas* of the Mīmāṃsakas and adds two more—*Sambhava* and *Aitihya*—which he attributes to the Paurāṇikas. His definition of *Sambhava* is practically identical with the view of 'others' referred to and discarded by Bhoja as being not different from *Anumāna*, cf. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa*, 3·26. He has omitted Śabdālamkāras altogether. Nor has he, perhaps following Mammaṭa, mentioned or defined the usual forms of poetry like the *Mahākāvya*. Amṛtānanda does not seem to have made up his mind about what really constitutes poetry. For, he defines *Kāvya* as

तान्येव (वाक्यानि) कविकल्पतानि सार्थानि सगुणानि च ।
सालङ्काराणि निर्दोषाण्याद्बु काव्यं महर्षयः ॥ १ ॥ ८

—the indebtedness to Mammaṭa is only too patent—while in 5·1 where he seeks to introduce the topic of *Rūpīs*, he starts off with the statement : रीतिरात्मान्त्र काव्यस्य ! On the whole, this part, particularly the treatment of figures of speech, is sketchy.

In chapters 7-10, the author deals with drama and in the main follows the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Dr. Kunhan Raja's surmise that in the matter of dramatic forms "Amṛtānanda preserves a tradition which is not found exactly in an identical form in any of the available works" (Introd., p. xxxvi) needs better evidence for support. For, the divergences in the number of *Uparūpakas* as found in different works mainly stem from the question, first, of regarding *Nāṭikā* and *Prakarāṇikā* as two distinct dramatic forms and, secondly, of classing either or both as *Rūpaka* or *Uparūpaka*. The *Daśarūpaka*, following Bharata, has not listed *Nāṭikā* among the *Rūpakas* and yet,

again following Bharata, has noticed and defined it (3·43ff). Dhañika, in the *Avaloka* refuses to concede *Prakaraṇikā* as a distinct dramatic form on the ground that it is not distinguishable from *Nāṭikā*. Bharata, too, defines *Nāṭikā* as a blend of the elements of *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa* with a few distinctive characteristics of its own. And a mere difference in the order of listing the *Rūpakas* or *Uparūpakas* would scarcely be sufficient to justify the hypothecation of a separate tradition.

In the eleventh chapter, the author deals with *Cāḥuprabandhas*—*apostrophes* or panegyrics—most of which are literary forms admixing verse and prose and employing Sanskrit as well as Prakrit languages.

Dr. Kunhan Raja has written an informative introduction in which, after discussing relevant internal and external evidence, he assigns Amṛtananda to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

G. C. J.

JIVANANDANAM of Ānandarāya Makhin—edited by Pandit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar with his own commentary *Nandinī* in Sanskrit, Adyar Library, Madras, 1947, pp. 60+496 ; Rs. 20/-.

This is an allegorical drama in line with *Prabodhacandrodaya* and *Samkalpasūryodaya*, the plot and most of the minor characters being drawn from the medical science and the *denouement* freely feeding itself on Yoga theory and practice for the attainment of the *sumum bonum* by the Grace of Śiva and his spouse. The first five Acts are feeble and full of the old-traditional—“wine,” with little of the medicinal allegory save the characters. The sixth is a cross-section of human anatomy, and an undisguised ‘table of contents’ of a treatise on *Rasāyanas*, while the seventh is a manual of Yoga and devotion to Śiva. The thorough acquaintance of Ānandarāya Makhin with the science of Āyurveda or his ability to turn out some good descriptions is not disputed. Yet, it has to be admitted, *pace* the editor, that this drama has little literary distinction. At no stage, even within its own limitations, does *Jivānandanam* come anywhere near the scholastic brilliance of *Samkalpasūryodaya*.

Pandit Duraiswami Aiyangar’s amended readings generally appear worthy of acceptance. His Sanskrit commentary is lucid and simple. The ease with which he elucidates technicalities and cites authorities in support reveals his intimate knowledge of the *Āyurveda Śāstra*.

G. C. J.

A Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa. By G. V. TAGARE, M.A. Ph.D.,
Deccan College, Dissertation Series, 5, POONA, 1948, Price Rs. 21/-

The study of the Apabhraṃśa language and literature has received an increasing attention from the scholars during the last 25 years or so. Many works written in the Western or the Eastern Apabhraṃśa have been discovered and edited, the very important initial contribution being made by H. Jacobi by his edition of the *Bhavisayattakahā* of Dhanavāla. The existence of the Apabhraṃśa, however, has been known for a long time from the notices of it found in the grammars of the Prakrit languages and in other literary works. Different varieties of it are mentioned by the older grammarians who have also mentioned their grammatical and other peculiarities. But a fuller critical evaluation of these notices could not be undertaken on the basis of actual works written in that language as long as these were not brought out in critical editions. Such an examination has now become possible owing to a large number of Apabhraṃśa works being critically edited and published.

Older grammarians of this language noted down a few peculiarities of its inflection and vocabulary, generally comparing them with those of the main Prakrit namely the *Mahārāṣṭrī*. Sometimes they mention a few varieties of it as said above ; but on the whole the language has not received any historical consideration and treatment at their hands. Historical treatment of a language includes an examination of the changes which its external form assumes in the different successive periods of time, *as also* in the different places of the country where it is employed. A language undergoes a change not only with the change of time but also with the change of its provenance. This latter aspect of the history of the Prakritic language has been so far generally neglected ; but it was first prominently pointed out by Dr. S. M. Katre of the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona. The present Historical grammar of Apabhraṃśa is a result of his initiative and guidance and has been compiled by one of his pupils Dr. G. V. Tagare.

In this book the author has attempted to present the different phonological and morphological facts about the Apabhraṃśa language in their proper 'Space-time Context'. In determining the space-time context of the linguistic facts about the Apabhraṃśa the author adopts a threefold classification of the language into Eastern, Western and Southern, as against the earlier modes of classification whether according to the cardinal points or on the basis of the theory that each of the NIA languages has passed through its Apabhraṃśa stage. The Grammar is divided into four chapters respectively dealing with Phonology, Declension, Conjugation and Nominal Stem-formation of the Apabhraṃśa language. This is preceded by an exhaustive introduction which first gives a brief account of the Apabhraṃśa literature, its origin and growth

through the middle ages (300 to 1200 A.D.), as well as the particular works which are used as the basis of the present investigation (in their space-time context) in secs. 1-8. Purely Apabhramśa forms alone from these are considered and wherever possible the statements of the early grammarians are compared with the actual findings in secs. 9-10. In secs. 11-14 the main results of the investigation namely its characteristic phonetic phenomena, its reduction of the nominal stems into a small number, its crumbling down of the gender system, its fusion of cases, its simplification and modification of the verbal system, and the like are summarized. At the end an Index of all the words and forms occurring in the work is given. In short the work is a monument of patient and intelligent labour and research in the field of Linguistics. An inclusion of a chapter on Syntax of the language would have been very welcome in this book. We heartily congratulate Dr. Katre and his pupil Dr. Tagare on this excellent work.

H. D. V.

Dharmopadeśamālā-vivarāṇa in Prakrit composed by Jayasinhaśūri. Singhi Jain Granthamala, No. 28. Edited by Pandit Lalchand Gandhi and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1949. Price Rupees 9 and annas 12 only.

Dharmopadeśamālā is a short Prakaraṇa in about a hundred stanzas in Prakrit on religious duties and moral behaviour according to Jainism, by an unknown author. The stanzas are in the well known Gāthā metre and each of them generally recommends some particular duty or its aspect and evidently contains a reference to one or more illustrative stories which were supposed to be well known to the reader. These illustrative stories are fully narrated by an ancient writer Jayasinhaśūri in his Prakrit commentary composed in Saṁvat 915 and this commentary is published in the volume under review. The stories are narrated in simple Prakrit prose, now and then interspersed with Prakrit or Sanskrit stanzas, of which the former are very likely memorial stanzas composed by Jayasinha himself, while the latter look like quotations.

The introduction in Gujarati indicates the usefulness and importance of the work for a cultural history of ancient Gujrat in particular. It also discusses the question of the authorship of the Gāthās as well as their extent, assuming on the strength of a stanza occurring in their text as presented in the commentary of Munideva (about Sam. 1300) that Jayasinha himself was their author. It further records the personal history of Jayasinhaśūri as culled out from the stanzas occurring at the end of the Prakrit commentary published in this volume and mentions two other commentaries in Sanskrit on these

Gāthās, one composed by Vijayasinhasūri in Saṃvat 1191 and the other composed by Munidevasūri about Saṃvat 1300. At the end of the introduction six manuscripts which are used in preparing this edition are described. Two *Pariśiṣṭas* are given at the end of the book ; the 1st contains an alphabetical index of all the stanzas quoted or employed in the Prakrit commentary, while the 2nd one gives a similar index of all the proper names in it.

A discussion of the Prakrit language of both the text and the commentary, as also an index of the topics as well as their illustrative stories together with an indication of their sources or occurrences in older literature would have been very useful and instructive.

H. D. V.

Lilavāi of Koūhala, with a Sanskrit Vṛtti. Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye M.A., D.Litt. and published in the Singhi Jain Series, No. 31 by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1949. Price Rs. 15/-

Dr. Upadhye's name as a critical editor of Prakrit works, especially on Jainism, is very well known in the world of scholars. The present volume is an additional testimony to his ability, thoroughness and scholarship.

Lilavāi (Sanskrit—Līlāvati) is a Prakrit poem in about 1330 Gāthās whose author was probably Kutūhala. The poem is a romantic tale of the love-affair between Hāla, the romantic Sātavāhana prince and Līlavatī the princess of the Sinhala Deśa, who has given the poem its name. Dr. Upadhye's edition is based on three manuscripts, one of which is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary and appears to have its Prakrit text of the Gāthās slightly regularized by the scribe under the influence of the commentary, both in respect of metre and grammar. In his introduction Dr. Upadhye has as usual thoroughly discussed the questions of the date of the work, its form and structure, its scenic background, its hero and its Prakrit dialect. At the end an Index of stanzas, a Glossary (this is a mere alphabetical register of all words occurring in the work) and explanatory notes on important words, including a brief summary of the stanzas from topic to topic are given.

H. D. V.

Yoga, Journal of the Yoga Institute, Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2 (March and June 1950) Edited by Sri Yogendra, Director of the Institute Santa Cruz, Bombay 25. The annual subscription is Rs. 6 ; 10 sh. ; \$ 2·00 payable in advance.

The Yoga Institute was founded by Sri Yogendra in 1918. Its official organ *Yoga* was first published in 1933. It is solely devoted to disseminating practical and scientific knowledge of Yoga traditions and culture. 'Its pioneer activities and researches have been solely responsible for practical Yoga Renaissance and also for international acknowledgements in favour of the Science of Yoga'.

Only four volumes of this journal were brought out between 1933 and 1942 and for the last eight years its publication was unfortunately suspended altogether. It is a matter of joy and pride however, that the same has now been revived and two numbers of the 5th volume have been published during the year 1950. These contain valuable signed articles on Yogic topics from the pen of experts. They are preceded by Editorial notes and at the end of No. 2 the Query Corner is reintroduced for the sake of the readers. Altogether this is a journal disinterestedly devoted to the spread of knowledge about Yoga in all its scientific aspects and its utility in the context of the present world circumstances and we heartily welcome its reappearance after a long period of silence due to unfavourable and unfortunate circumstances mentioned in the Editorial Notes in No. 1 by the Editor himself.

H. D. V.

Raghubir Singh : A Hand-List of Important Historical Manuscripts in the Raghubir Library, Sitamau. With a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Sitamau, formerly a Rajput State in Malwa about 400 miles from Bombay, is easily reached by the B. B. & C. I. Railway from Mandasor and Suvasra. A library, specially of unpublished historical manuscripts, has been built up at this place in recent years—thanks to the patriotic zeal and persistent efforts of its enlightened prince, Dr. Raghubir Singh. Persian chronicles form an important source for the history of Mediaeval India. But they are mostly unpublished, and the best transcribed copies of them can be had only in some of the well-known public libraries of Europe such as the British Museum, the Bodleian, the India Office Library, and the Bibliotheque National of Paris. Dr. Raghubir Singh has made judicious selection of the most useful and the rarest MSS. on Indian history available at these centres, and adding to them whatever is of value in the MSS. collection in private hands as well as in the public libraries and archives in India, both in Persian and other languages, had the whole of this material microfilmed and photostated for his library at Sitamau. As a result, there is assembled at Sitamau a fairly exhaustive collection of source material for the History of India of the mediaeval period, which it is difficult to come across anywhere else in this country.

This rich collection which it is the purpose of the brochure under review to describe, relates to the following five topics : 1) the Sultanate of Delhi ; 2) Mughal Empire ; 3) Local dynasties (Malwa, Gujarat, and Rajputana) ; 4) the Marathas ; 5) the British. There is indeed ample material here on the Delhi Padpadshahi and the provincial dynasties ; a good beginning has been made also with regard to the history of the Marathas, while the English collection, which, we are told, is being constantly added to, contains such rareties as the *Manuscript Letter-Book of Charles Malet*. One of the notable features of this collection are the Akhbarats or hand-written news-letters in Persian extending from 1659 to 1830 from the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and the Archives of the Jaipur State. What with the minute details of men and things which they provide, these Akhbarats are expected, when studied, to illumine many an obscure point in the history of the period. Lest the students of Maratha history think that the materials thereon are rare ones, it may be remarked that with the exception of the Gulgule Daftar of which the Library has provided itself with typed copies, the rest are only scattered papers from different sources copied by Mr. S. V. Athale, including translations into Marathi of extracts from English writers made by him.

In bringing within their reach at one centre this widely scattered historical material, Dr. Raghubir has indeed earned the gratitude of the historical scholars in India; and in publishing the hand-list, he has drawn their attention to the richness of its contents. The hand-list however, useful as it is, is not descriptive enough of the items it lists. Had it fulfilled this one requisite, it would have been reckoned as an important publication in Indian heuristics.

G. M. M.

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