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P. V. KANE H. D. VELANKAR
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MORE ON THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* TEXT-CRITICISM

By

REV. A. ESTELLER

An article-review of mine (about Fasc. 22 of the Mhbh. critical edition of the B.O.R.I., Poona) appeared in this very Journal some time back (Vol. 27, Pt. II). In the course of it not only certain details but also matters concerning the principles of Mhbh. text-criticism were discussed. The learned editor-in-chief, Dr. Belvalkar, sent to this reviewer a courteously appreciative letter, asking him to clarify certain points before dealing with the suggestions made. In my reply to his queries I intimated that I would make it public, but that in the meanwhile he was free to make use of that communication, since it contained several corrections and precisions which would help clear the points at issue.

Those answers will follow now in substance. Hence in them the references will be to the above previous article with the corresponding pagination. The learned editor-in-chief will find some considerable modifications of my private answer to him. They are due to a further thorough-going revision of the data —which has abundantly shown me (and, I hope, now him too) that the line of approach suggested by me must be pursued to its logical conclusion "only more so!" I was, if anything, not radical *enough*!

I

ANSWERS TO THE QUERIES

(1) *p.* 242 *last* line.—" 212ef " *is* correct; it means that the apparatus for e does *not* justify the wavy line under the words of the text " te pṛthag," but requires it to be put under " anyonyam."

(2) *p.* 244 *end of para* 1 : 215, 14c.—There *is* a misprint of mine in this reference. In my notes I find the following : for a probably spurious " hi " the ref. should be 12, 180, 6b ; for a probably spurious " iti ", 12, 192, 89cd ; for a purposely-freely omitted " iti ", 12, 192, 100a (besides 202, 14c, about which see below).

(3) *p.* 247, *line* 14 : " *r*tâvâdi " is *my* misprint for " *r*tavâdi "

Same page, *line* 15 : 23a is *my* misprint for 43a.

(4) *p.* 252, *line* 6 *from below* : 14c and 30c are obviously 202, 14c (printed as 14c by oversight !) and 30c ; and I mean that they are possibly cases of reconstructed and " edited " original " hypermetries " (so-called !). In that case 30c *might* have been " ayaṃ kṛṣṇo, sthirībhav(a)ta !," as a parenthetical exhortation, especially if it belongs to the original racy-popular tale patently discernible behind the present " textus ornatior " in that frightfully inflated and kṛṣṇified text. But what those two pādas *actually are*, and which *is* the case of a clearly " edited " hypermetrical pāda (202, 24c) will appear further down.

In any case *my* reconstruction of the passage is very different as I shall try to show. The 6-pâda śloka 27 in the same adhy. is quite wrong ; it must be divided into a 27 proper (27ab + 555*), *and* a new 28 (or 27 *bis*) = 27cd + 556*, putting between square brackets *in the text* 27 ef—as being the *substitute* (for the *original* 556*) interpolated by the last archetype-redactor. The latter did so obviously because 556* was (*he* considered) something of a false step of the older kavi-author if put in the devas' own mouth ! But the surfeiting repetitiousness and context clumsiness of 27ef (as compared with 27cd, and also with 556* : " yena...*tasya* " !) betray its second-hand afterthought origin clearly enough. The origin of the present mess in some Mss was the misreading (by the copyist of the extreme N) of the word " upâdravan " of the original archetype as " upâbruvan "—a very easy and likely graphic-contextual mistake ! This led him to athetise 555* as superfluous (" ūcuḥ " !), while the centre-south kept the *original* reading—and consequently felt no earthly need to do away with that same 555*, and rightly so. That same centre-south, (backed *here* by the extreme N but *against* the extreme S, as I would call it, viz., M) in a manner which I am finding more and more text-critically decisive and characteristic, does preserve from the archetype *both* the old genuine pādas pointed out above *and* also the *substituting* corrections of the last redactor—in this particular case 27ef—which had been added to the archetype between lines or on the margin in all likelihood. It becomes increasingly evident that there are *two* " all-too-clever " sub-redactors in our Mss-tradition : the extreme N, and the extreme S (M) ; and at times they are out to " purify " the old archetype. *Here* the one does it in the case of 555* and the other in that of 556* ; but each time the one *against* the other and *with* the centre-south—which shows that the latter is *both times* right against each of them. And this proves that in the śloka 28 the (partly emendated by us) reading " mahâbâhus " is the *original*

reading—as *against* the Poona edition based mainly on the extreme N *and* S. Their variations show that they are two different "clever" attempts at getting away from an old "mahâbâhu" (with the final s *graphically* merged into the following "stûyamâno") which seems to sit oddly on a "varâha," and which the centre-south has merely completed (from an ancient, most likely *faded* "hu" looking like "ha": "mahâbâha) into the proper grammatical vocative form, instead of the aberrant "ârṣa" one that it appeared to have. (Cfr. the parallel pâdas 202,15ab, where the better reading in b) would also be "samâsthitaḥ" as a (graphically and stylistically) "lectio difficilior" with a stronger Mss. backing.

If one reviews the apparatus criticus it will be plain that here the Poona text is a syncretic mixture of a very old split in the sources: the original *must* have been as I propose *and* as kept by the bulk of the centre-south Mss. as against the (each time isolated!) extreme N. or S.—which latter two are hereby shown to be partly *eclectic* and partly also, it would seem, averse to avoidable 6-pâda ślokas. Hence we cannot understand by what canons of textual criticism the learned editor-in-chief dared to athetise 555* and 556*, especially the latter, attested by such a formidable array of witnesses. Was it only because of M? But M (characteristically "clever") had, rightly, *kept* 555*, and therefore had two obvious reasons for dropping 556*: one was the 6-pâda scarecrow resulting from its possible preservation; the other was its seeming clumsiness in the context, especially after the last redactor's interpolation of 27ef, as indicated above. Everything is pointing in the same direction; and surely the kavi of all this inflated context (s. esp. 26!) and in particular of 24 + 25 *could not* possibly have omitted it, much less the one of 22 + 23!—it bears his sign-manual too evidently.

And I may add here that it was precisely a thorough reconsideration of the whole case around 555* and 556* that led me to the partial changes I have made in my solution since my private answer to the learned editor-in-chief. For, if the above is the right interpretation of the facts in the apparatus, then the value of the *main north-centre tradition*, as against the *extreme* N. and/or S. is very different from the one attributed to it in the whole critical Poona edition—which therefore must be re-edited, or at least corrected *very substantially* in a companion volume!

Practically whenever the edition has athetised one *single* line, thereby leaving a 6-pâda śloka in the critical text, it has incurred the same danger of misvaluation of the sense of the apparatus.

What a mess our text is in! I can sincerely sympathise with the Mhbh. editors. (All this was à propos of 202, 30c.)

As regards 202, 14e (*given as "c" by oversight*) it should be clear that the context is an old rapid-racy popular tale much embroidered over by the last redactor. His touches stick out a mile (here 14 cd), completely disfiguring the original 14abef.

But 14c *cannot* be the original, because it is unmetrical-abnormal and because it does not explain the variants. The latter lead but to one possible original: "śamayiṣyati tān, śrutvā—jahṛṣuḥ surasattamāḥ."

The reason is because metre, sense, grammar and variants absolutely demand an original with a racy-popular *omission of* "*iti*" (cf *is* unmistakably racy-popular in style!) and of course *with* the inexplicably (and impossibly) missing object of "śamayiṣyati" = "tān"! This latter was dropped by the copyists owing to their misreading of the archetype in the syllables "titāñchrutvā" as "titācchrutvā"—which they variously "miscorrected" into "tīti śrutvā" or "anti śrutvā" or "ti tacchrutvā." The latter group of the *north-centre* Mss shows unmistakably the way to the (partly emendated) genuine old original of the archetype, as against (characteristic again!) the *extreme* N. and S. It is *they* (north-centre Mss) who represent the real conservative kernel of true Mahābhārata tradition—*pace* our great Sukthankar himself, since the Ādiparvan is much in the same plight, as we hope to show further on.

This misunderstanding has been made easier by the copyist-interpolator's instrusion of 14cd with the nominatives pl. referring to the Dânavas and obscuring the otherwise unmistakable syntactical relationship of "śamayiṣyati" to the "eṣa" in a! Obviously with such a misinterpretation the original "tân" must have appeared to the copyist-corrector as a silly slip of the pen, both as making no sense at all, and as making the metre impossible; so he preferred to make the sense clear at the expense of two little "ârsa" solecisms (or so he thought!): wrong rhythm (but right number of syllables) and an odd meaning for a causative (intransitive instead of transitive!), *or* right rhythm *plus* the regulation "iti"—but hypermetrical!

And, before we leave this context, let us point out a glaring case of overdone lack of editorial courage. 202, 11bc: "katham śakyâmahe brahman—dānavair upamardanam." This is gibberish, pure and simple; not saṃskṛt: the kavis, even the worst of them, were not *so* stupid! We submit that it was the editor's bounden duty to *emendate* the impossible "śakyāmahe" (an evident misreading of the old exemplar) into the rather obvious "sakṣyāmahe" (from the root "sah"!), to which a mighty host of Mss points the way over "śakṣyāmahe"—their tentative stop-gap solution of the perplexity caused by the obsolescence of the root "sah" (âtman.!) in the sense implied by the context: "how shall we be victorious *in* the conflict-battle *with* the dānavas?" Hence "dānavair *abhimardane*" is the further partial emendation (of another easy misreading of the old exemplar) which completes the only possible "sensible sense" *and* alone explains the birth of the variants. No, the Poona text here does not become a text-critical edition: it is just mangling the epic, alas! To go back to a *solecistic* imitation of a rare and obsolete *Vedic* form is rather unconscious "panditry" than "lectio difficilior."

We shall now give in parallel columns the framework of what the Poona edition offers and what a thoroughly text-critical reconstruction of the archetype could and should be on the strength of the apparatus itself. It will thereby be practically shown how our Mss are ultimately copies of an archetype in which the *interlinear and marginal substitutes* (intended by the last redactor or redactors to *supplant* older "undesirable" materials) are *copied together with the meant-to-be-discarded original lines*—not seldom senselessly *intermingled* with one another through *misinsertions* into the text at the hands of an all-gobbling copyist-tribe! The resulting conglomerate-salad of repetitiousness and inconsistencies quite naturally drives the later recension-redactors to modifications, additions *and* also to *excisions of both newer and older materials*! A patiently careful study will mostly recognise clearly enough the last redactorial substitutes, as will be seen below. Those substitutes (in the text of *our* text-critical edition, purporting to reconstruct *our* immediate archetype) should go in *square-brackets* and with a *numeration* (parallel to that of the śloka to which they are attached) *in square-brackets too*. In the now following *order of ślokas*, wherever a last redactor's *substitute* is found, we shall indicate it with: [*s. for* 1*ab*]—where 1ab or 27ef or 13* etc. point out the line or pāda in text or apparatus *instead of which* that particular *substitute* was intended to function by the last redactor or redactors. Similarly [*add.*] means additional padding by the same agency. It should be noticed that it is that very *copying together* (by more or less *mechanical copyists*!) that as a rule gave rise to what no redactor ever even dreamt of: the monstrous so-called 6-pāda śloka—which promptly disappears (or should do so) under the X-rays of a thorough text-criticism, as will be shown below.

ADHY 202

POONA TEXT		*ARCHETYPE*
1 + 2 [*add.*]	=	1 + 2
3 [*original*]	=	3
4 + 5 + 6 [*add.*] (?)	=	4 + 5 + 6 (?)
7*ab* [*original, with* 8*cd*]	=	7
7cd [*add*]		
8ab [*add.*]	=	8
8cd [*original, with* 7*ab*]		
9 [*original*]	=	9
10cdef ! [*add., misinserted* !]	=	10
10ab + 11ab	=	11
11cd + 12ab	=	12
14cd ! [*add., misinserted* !]	=	13
12cd [*original*]		
13ab [*original*]	=	14
13cd [*add.*]		

POONA TEXT		*ARCHETYPE*
14ab + ef [*original*]	=	15
15 + 16 + 17 + 18 + 19 [*original*]	=	16 + 17 + 18 + 19 + 20
20ab [*add.*]	} =	21
20cd [*orig., with* 21 *ab*]		
21ab [*orig., with* 20*cd*]	} =	22
21cd [*add., s. for* 22 !]		
22 [*original*]	=	23
23 [*add., s. for* 22 ! *cfr.* 27*ef* !]	=	24
24 + 25 [*orig.*]	=	25 + 26
26 [*add.*]	=	27
27 ab + 555* [*orig.*]	=	28
27cd + 556* [*orig.*]	=	29
27ef [*s. for* 556* !]	=	[29]
28 [*orig.*]	=	30
29ab + 30ab ! [*add., misinserted* !]	=	31
pitāmaha uvāca :	=	*pitāmaha uvāca* :
29cd + 31cd ! [*orig.*]	=	32
30cd [*s. for* 29*cd*, *add.*]	=	[32]
31ab [*add.*]	} =	33
31ef [*s. for* 29*cd* !]		
32ab + ef [*orig.*]		34
32cd [*s. for* 32 *ef*]	=	[34]
33 [*add.*]	=	35

CHIEF ARCHETYPE-READINGS AGAINST THE POONA TEXT ABOVE

9*d* : " icchamānas tatas tataḥ." (Only emendation explaining apparatus ! From a copyist's misreading of the archetype's " rajanniccha " : n + n as nv—easy *graphically* !) ;—10*a* : " ārtarūpāṃ te ". (Partly graphic, partly contextual, from copyist's misinsertion of 10cdef—s. above !) ;—10*a* : " abhisaṃstīrṇām. " (Lectio difficilior graphically, better backed by north-centre) ;—10*c* : " bharārtāṃ ca pradhṛṣṭām ca." (No other conjecture explains *all* variants, esp. centre-north !); —11*cd* : " sakṣyāmahe...abhimardane. " (Double part-emendation, as said above) ;—12 *c* : " hi saṃpannāḥ." (No other reading explains *all* variants or the *original* context, or makes sense with " madena " in d) ;—13*a* : " nāva-budhyanti." (Only reading that explains all variants as " improvements " due to last redactor's interpolation of 13cd—when it is clear enough from the sequel that in the old original the gods are *not* supposed to be told in what *form* Viṣṇu wil' achieve his purpose) ;—14*ab* : " gatvā*tha*." (The solid division between N. " hi 'l and S. " vai " indicates as only possible common source the misread *late* " atha " in the archetype. If " hi " had been there, no variants appear possible !) ;—14*cd* :

(misinserted by the copyists, as shown above; hence "ghorā" miscorrected for *original* "daityā," owing to new *wrong* context: cfr. "danavādhamāḥ" in b!);—14*a*: "śamayiṣyati tān, śrutvā". (Already explained);—22*b*: "lokānāṃ kṣobha āgamat." (A reading that explains *all* variants; also "lectio difficilior" stylistically);—22*c*: "saṃtrastāś cāvṛṣaṃlloke." (Only part-emendation that explains *all* variants, *and* context-*sense*, and the attempts at "correcting away" the quaint old trait involved; the whole śloka 22 was meant—by the *last* redactor—to be *excised* and substituted by 23 *and* 21cd—which latter subsequently influenced the miscorrection of the *original* 22c! Really, "wheels within wheels!");—24*b*: "nādenn." (Lectio difficilior in the context because of 23d!) with rock-solid backing!);—24*c*: "gatāsava(ḥ)iva patitāḥ." (A splendid specimen of an *old apparent* "hypermetric" pāda, but quite correct metrically, in reality, through the epic-popular-unpāṇinean *double-saṃdhi*: "gatāsavaiva"; misanalysed and "pāṇinified" by the last redactor—as "gatāsava(ḥ)eva" which is obviously *non-sensical* in the context that demands "iva"; merely regularised as to *rhythm* by the same, with a hiatus-bridging quantity-building *ca*: "gatāsavaścaiva patitāḥ," but left as an "ārṣa" hypermetric, *like many others*; reshuffled by centre-subredactor as to order of words—in order to give more "logical sense" in the presence of the *mistaken* "eva": (bhīṣitāḥ)—patitā(ḥ), gatāsavaścaiva"; *so copied* by the centre-south copyist-sub-redactors, as a faithful conservative bed-rock remnant; but *corrected* fully into "pukka" śloka style by the "clever" *extreme N.*—which latter *gradually infiltrated* even some of the usually non-innovating elements of the rest of the N. and part of the centre. If the N. had been original, no variants could have arisen! Truly, this one specimen is an "epic" of text-criticism in itself. If only Mhbh. editors could read its meaning aright! Alone the fact that two consecutive verses have the same pāda-ending: "ścaiva" should have warned them;—28*c*: "mahābāhuḥ." (This has already been pointed out above; so also in 33a: "sa eṣa hi mahābāhuḥ.")

On the whole it will easily be seen how naturally the so-called 6-pāda monster-ślokas disappear under careful analysis of text and apparatus, and also how the "sensible sense" inherent in the language (*and* the kavis!) shines through the farrago of copyists' meddlings and muddlings! There is still hope for our national epic. But that hope lies *mainly* in the *apparatus* (of our Poona edition) for whose meticulous accuracy *à la* Sukthankar no pains should be spared. As for the Poona *text*, as reconstituted by the editors—it is far too often *a step further away from*, instead of nearer to, *the attainable archetype of our present Mss tradition*. (It is not without a heavy heart that one is forced to such unpalatable conclusions. "*Videant consules*!")

It will be seen from the above how important is the study of both hypermetrics *and* 6-pāda ślokas. They contain the key to a real critical text of a much more primitive Mhbh stage. Hence I should beg of the editors to see to it that all metrical anomalies are duly noted in this edition in future.

One last but rather important point which, though being in reality a further confirmation of my views as expressed in my previous article, is in itself a modification or retractation of a point made in my aforesaid private answer to the learned editor-in-chief. It concerns the very typical passage XII, 218, 31, a 6-pāda śloka in whose pāda c the editor had made the text *emendation* " sūryo astam eti " with an *interpāda* hiatus. In my previous article (p. 248f) I had objected to it and defended the centre-north reading " nāstam eti." But in my private communication I stated that I thought I could withdraw my objection, saying: " And the reason is that the value of the extreme N. and the extreme S. is to be interpreted as two different attempts at bridging the hiatus gap—which being interpāda has a good chance of being original (*especially*—or, rather, *exclusively*—if it belongs to the old bardic pre-redactorial epic materials, as is the case *here* !) In order to realise the *difference* between those two kinds of *inter*-pāda hiatus—*no question of intrapāda ones at all* as also shown further down in part III, under 5, 8a—cfr. below, in the same part III, at the very end, under 11, 22cd)."

But my above reason for accepting the editor's emendated " astam etc.," though possibly valid in general—(there *may* be, though I think there is *none*, at least generally, *inter-pāda* hiatus in the *old* epic materials !)—does *not* actually apply to *this* particular case, as we will now proceed to show. And the conclusion arrived at here is a further consequence of a deeper study of the 6-*pāda problem*, of a more minute examination of the whole *context* (as against the mere immediate *text* and apparatus previously scrutinised) as well as of a clearer and juster evaluation of the *centre-north tradition*, as pointed out above.

As for the passage in question, the Mss show unmistakably (and the whole surrounding context confirms it) that, on the one hand, the " bhīṣma uvāca " before 30 is a late interpolation (last redactor's own, marginal or interlinear) into the archetype, and that on the other hand the ' balir uvāca " (incomprehensibly omitted in the Poona *text* !) is undoubtedly old and genuine. That goes to show that the *isolated narrative* pādas 30ab (plump in the midst of a *pure* " *saṃvāda* " piece !) must also be a last redactor's interpolation, as it will become still clearer. Further, 30cd + 31ab *and* 31cdef hang together inextricably as *two complete* ślokas of the regulation 4-pāda type—no 6-pāda monster, as the Poona text would have us believe ! Finally, 32 is not only a complete perfect śloka, but also obviously a part-repetition of, part-improvement upon 30cd and 31abcdef. The only part of these latter verses which is not made fully superfluous is 30 ef, because it contains the categorical prophecy of the coming titanic fight, which is absolutely needed for the sense of the context ! The conclusion is too obvious for words: the last redactor found the archetype containing, after 29 : " balir uvāca " + (30cd + 31ab) + 31cdef *only* ! He naturally found the first 6 pādas intricate and unclear, so he substituted 6 of his own: 30ab as introduction and first-half to go with 31ef, *plus* a complete 32 *of his own*—evidently intending to excise the equivalent (and *now* for him superfluous) 30cd + 31abcd, whilst keeping only the *indispensable*

31ef, thus forming two complete ślokas, in place of the original two. But now, since 32 is an equivalent of those excised-to-be pādas, it means that the "ekasthas" or "madhyasthas" (as "clarified" by the "clever" S !) is nothing but a paraphrase of 31ab—and *this* means that "nāstam eti" *is* the archetype reading, as *demanded* by the sense, the whole context (s. 30cd + 31abcd *and* 34 for good measure !) *and by the centre-north main tradition* ! (And, again, *no* 6-*pāda śloka* !)

This reconstruction also shows that the reading in 31f must be: "jetāsmi *vai* tadā" (with the *intransitive* sense "I shall be victorious"). It is only the presence of the redactor's own (improvingly "smoother") "yuddhe jetāham tvām" in 32cd that subsequently helped influence the Mss to misread or miscorrect the racy-emphatic "vai" (with the upper strokes of the "ai" probably merged *graphically* with the flourish of the preceding "i") into the uncontextual "vas." But if the latter had been the original, it is not easy to see how "vai" could have arisen. (By the way, though the Mss lead no further, I rather think that an original "vām" = Indra + śrī ! might explain *all* the variants still better !)

But the logic of the language and style certainly demands a further clarification of 30cd + 31ab and 31cdef (as they were in their original form), and that seems only possible if we construe the outline of the whole sentence as: "(yadā) pratapet...divākaraḥ, *tathā* (= ca) madhyandine sūryo nāstam eti yadā, tadā.... jetāsmi vai (vāṃ ?) *tathā*." It is practically impossible to think of *any* sort of *kavi* composing a single śloka with *both* hemistichs ending (in the chief rhythm-bearing 2nd and 4th pādas !) with the same identical word. It just "isn't done !" That in an involved and trailing sentence—with so many tathā, yadā tadā, besides yāvat tāvat (10 in all in the 3 ślokas !) and an evidently dilapidated archetype, *and* the *graphic* ease with which a blurred "tha" can be misread as da—that under such conditions the mistaken "tadā" of 31f should have appeared is not strange. But the *double* "tadā" and no "ca" ? Hardly ! We think further that a case can be made for an emendated original "nāstam etā" (yadā pratapet, tathā nastam etā) because of the kavi's fondness for nominal-verbal forms: "jetā, bhāvi" in *this* context. The urge to mis-correct such a form, if original, would be practically irresistible, especially considering its rare occurrence and the fact that the Mss prove that the copyist-redactors mostly misread an misunderstood this particular part of the text (whence the variants—*and* the mis-emendation by the editor !) and, therefore, that the connection with the preceding *future-like* optative was lost sight of by them. Yet, if it were alone, "yadā nāstam eti, tadā yuddhaṃ bhāvi, tathā jetāsmi" would not be unacceptable ; it is only the syntactical mixture with the future-optative under *one* "yadā" that makes it dubious.

To round off this most instructive case : if there is any value in Mss backing together with the spirit of the context and language-style, then surely 29cd can only be : "upahanyāt, sa me dhṛṣyas." as the sole possible source of all the north-centre-south variants with their imposing array—as against the extreme N. Surely

it is the only thing that makes " sensible sense "—as a threat : " he is bound to be attacked by me." The " dviṣyāt " of the text, even if stylistically possible (with " *me* " !), is rather non-sense *here* ! It is a too " clever " emendation of the extreme N. suggested by the preceding " hanyāt." Hence merely being something of a lectio difficilior in style *alone* does *not* outweigh the reasons that militate decidedly for " dhṛṣyas."

As a final suggestion, it may be noticed that the " śṛṇvantu " in 29d seems to postulate an epic-popular form : " tathā śrūyatu me vacaḥ," since " śṛṇvantu " without any subject in the context does not sound fully idiomatic-elliptic. The original popular-kavi could not accommodate a (to be expected) " śrūyatām " (which would fit the sense perfectly !) into the rhythm ! The present form would of course have to be a " correction " of the archetype either by the last redactor or the first copyist-redactor, and was then accepted by all succeeding copyist-redactors precisely because of the blatantly " unpāṇinean " nature of the old form. But this is just a suggestion which can only be discussed fully in conjunction with other similar cases (there are many as is well-known) of " pāṇinifying " retouches in the epic.

As a result of the above elucidations I should like to formulate the following *fundamental laws* for future Mhbh text-criticism :

(1) *Our* archetype is a *conglomerate*, not only as often *conflating* different versions *side by side*, but also as containing those *older* materials *plus* new *substitutes* —intended by their author (the last redactor) to *supplant* the former ones totally or partially after their elimination from the text. This chaotic state is due to the indiscriminate " double transcription " of *both* alternatives by misguided and not over-intelligent copyist-redactors (with the accent on " copyist " !). *Their* denseness was *our* gain, since thus they saved old materials which otherwise the last redactor would have ruthlessly " liquidated." The consequences for the constitution of *our* critical text are most momentous, as demonstrated practically above, and the results should from now on be indicated in the critical edition itself.

(2) The centre-north Mss represent the real *main* stream of tradition and have primary value—higher on the whole than the extreme N. (śāradā-kashmiri) or the extreme S. This applies especially to the *contents*. As to *details* of the text-*wording* : the extreme N. shows at times a certain *conservative archaism* (due partly to its being an *old* branch-off from the *centre main-stream* !) but mixed with a strong editorial tendency ; the centre-north shows great faithfulness on the whole, as a whole, but it also has *its own* editorial touches in tough spots ; the S. is *mainly editorial*—seldom, if ever, more conservative than either of the other two.

(3) The sense and genius of the language, the " sense and sensibility " of the *kavis* (as against the abysmal potentialities for stupidity of the copyist-tribe !), and

the *graphic factors* of the Mss must be given far greater importance than they receive in the Poona text-edition.

(4) It is not so much what the Mss *show* on their surface as what they *mean* and *imply logically* that has a decisive value for the text-critical reconstitution of the epic; hence they must not be dealt with as mere *fixed quantities* once and for all, but *each time* as expressing also *quality* and the human psychology of the transmitters. Hence it is not so much a question of *choosing* one variant among several, but of finding "*the*-one-reading-that-explains-*all*-the-variants" whether by choice or *emendation*—the latter, *whenever it* is *that one* reading, *not only* when no other reading makes *anyhow* sentence-sense!

(5) The sub-redactors, especially of the extreme N. and S., are "cleverer" and more likely to "improve" on our archetype—messy and confusing as the latter was (owing to the first law above). They actually do so (against the *mostly trustworthy* centre) *both* by *elimination* (N. more so!) and by *addition* or *modification* (S. more so!)—which may make the epic "smoother" to their taste *but not more true to the old original archetype of our text*—which is what *we* seek! They may at times *eliminate* what was really an *old* accretion to the *pre*-archetype epic, and is therefore felt by them to be slag and ballast. Yet, in *excising* that, they are not faithful transmitters but "higher critics," and they may be—and quite often can be proven to be—fully or partly wrong, as also shown above and more fully demonstrated further down. We have as much right as they (and, on the whole, better means) to determine whether their "improving" blue-pencil-and-scissors *eclecticism* was in the right direction or not. *Not seldom* what the Poona edition has put "below the line" or in an Appendix will have to be *restored to the text*, owing to a faulty appreciation (on the part of the editors) of the *rationale of elimination* in the Mss tradition.

II

THE BASIC ERROR OF THE POONA EDITION

We are now going to substantiate the above laws and standpoint by examining and restituting text-critically a typical short passage taken from the *Ādiparvan*. This happened to attract our attention because of its inclusion among the Mhbh selections prescribed for the B.A. (Special) at the Bombay Univ.—from the "*Āstīka*" sub-parvan (containing the well-known *Suparṇākhyāna*). It forms the beginning of adhy. 20, p. 132 of the Poona edition.

By going (the reader is warned herewith) into every detail of that edition we hope to prove that this text is destined to mark a change of direction in Mhbh text-criticism, both by convincingly exposing the unconscious but fundamental error (indicated by the laws above) which was incurred by our great Sukthankar—and

hence vitiated the Poona edition at its very base—and also (mostly a a consequence of it, but not only) his persistent and, to his honour be it said, *consistent* misapplication of text-critical methods to the solution of crucial text-critical problems in the constitution of his text. (As far as I can recollect, only F. Edgerton expressed some misgivings in that sense to a certain extent, if I understood him well).

	POONA TEXT		*ARCHETYPE (TEXTUS ORNATIOR)* !
1.	taṃ samudram atikramya	=	
	Kadrūr Vinatayā saha /	=	
	nyapatat turagābhyāśe	=	
	na cirād iva śīghragā //	=	
		292*	tatas te taṃ **hayaṃ pṛṣṭhe*
			dadṛśāte mahājavam /
			śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyaṃ
			kālavālam ubhe **tathā* //
2.	niśāmya ca bahūn vālān	=	*niśamya*.....
	kṛṣṇān pucchaṃ samāśritān /	=	.....*pucchasam*..... /
	Vinatāṃ viṣannavadanāṃ		**pra*sannarūpā vinatām
	Kadrūr dāsye nyayojayat //	=	.....*ni*yojayat //
		293*,2	dṛṣṭvā kṛṣṇān tu pucchaṃ sā
			vājirājasya vismitā /
		1	viṣannavadanā tatra
			Vinatā sarvato ' bhavat //
		[293*,3	avākśirā dīna*mukhā*
			kadrvā dāsatvam āgatā]
3.	tataḥ sā Vinatā tasmin	=	.....**tena*
	paṇitena(!) parājitā /	=	
	abhavad duḥkhasaṃtaptā	=	(?)
	dāsībhāvaṃ samāsthitā //	=	dā*sa*bhāvam.....

We said that this fragment is *typical* because it involves the most delicately poised appraisal of the value of the different Mss groups—including what *looks* in one case (293*) like a *contradiction* of the above principles, since the extreme-N. alone seems to preserve what the centre (with the S.) *seems* almost entirely to have lost (through an editorial *discarding* of what appeared to be nonsensical, as we shall see). And yet we have no misgivings about the above principles, but think that this very case proves them to the hilt. (This should make it obvious that we must have seen them confirmed to our satisfaction in many other instances, of which the present article offers not a few—practically whenever we have differed and shall

differ from the Poona edition, as will appear). It will at the same time prove what we said above: that even the text-critical master that was our late-lamented Sukthankar often and badly missed the whole point in his text reconstruction, and that *even his own Ādiparvan* needs badly a re-edition or a thoroughly systematic correction in a companion volume—(if only *he* were there himself to do it in person, no one better!) It will also show how much we *can* and *must* go beyond him—*thanks precisely to him*!—through his scrupulous "akribie" in the faithful recording of the *apparatus*, which alone (no matter what the value of the reconstructed *text*) is *an all-time high-water mark for India's text-critical scholarship.*

Coming back to our passage, it will be seen that we have given above in parallel columns the Poona text and the (reconstructed) archetype, but the latter in the form that it should have *after our* text-critical scrutiny and reconstruction. Hence we *italicise* (and mark*) in it the changes and emendations to be demonstrated as necessary in the course of our study. It is the *end result*. But the *bridge* to it are the raw materials of the "textus ornatior" as it is given in the apparatus, but *including* the passages *expunged* by the editor. Thus:

1. taṃ samudram atikramya—Kadrūr Vinatayā saha /
nyapatat turagābhyāśe—na cirād iva śīghragā //

292* tatas te taṃ hayaśreṣṭham—dadṛśāte mahājavam /
śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyaṃ—kālavālam ubhe tadā //

2ab *niśamya* ca bahūn vālān—kṛṣṇān pucchasamāśritān /

293*, 1 viṣannavadanā tatra—Vinatā sarvato 'bhavat //

,, 2 dṛṣṭvā kṛṣṇaṃ tu pucchaṃ sā—vājirājasya vismitā /

,, 3 avākśirā dīna*mukhā*—kadrvā dāsatvam āgatā // (!?)

2cd *viṣannarūpāṃ Vinatām*—Kadrūr dāsye *niyojayat* //

3. tataḥ sā Vinatā tasmin—paṇi*te na* parājitā /
abhavad duḥkhasaṃtaptā—*dāsa*bhāvaṃ samāsthitā //

The *italicised* words are our corrections of the editor's text where he mistook the value of a real "lectio difficilior" or underestimated, as usual, the worth of the *main Centre tradition* as against extreme N. and S. A cursory glance will force anyone to notice that the *order* of verses as it is given by the "textus ornatior" Mss differs essentially from what we considered above as the *original archetype order* in the arrangement of 2 and 293*. No one can read the farrago offered by those Mss without feeling at once that there must be something wrong with the text *as it is now there*, and that this could not possibly have been the original form of the passage, *whether interpolated or archetypal*! Let us justify *our* re-arrangement and solution of this unholy jumble.

And, first, as to the most obvious bone out of joint, 2cd. This, *if* read in the Mss order, is nothing but a mere repetitious appendix (in a 6-pāda stanza!) *and*

syntactically at variance *and* uncoordinated with the previous *complete* (both in sentence and sense) regulation 4-pāda śloka—hence absolutely inorganic ; *but*, by the overwhelming testimony of Centre *and* South Mss, it forms part of one single (fully and naturally sense-making) stanza together with 2ab—which latter half-śloka, by the testimony of *all* K Mss themselves, goes *before* 293*. Hence that *position* is the original one for *both* components of that one stanza : 2abcd followed by 293.*

But since this is so, then it is *impossible* for 293* *originally* to have had its line 1 *before* its line 2 (as given by the Mss.) ; and the reason is because it does not fit in with the originally (as we have just said) immediately preceding stanza 2 as just reconstructed ; nor with *its own* line 2, owing to the latter's "tu" and "vismitā" and whole sense and construction being in absolute contradiction to it—all the more if the reading in the preceding 2cd is what all these K-Mss would have us believe : " *Vinatāṃ viṣannavadanāṃ*—Kadrūr dāsye nyayojayat // *viṣannavadanā* tatra—*Vinatā* sarvato ' bhavat / (dṛṣṭvā kṛṣṇaṃ *tu* pucchaṃ sā—!?). No kavi in his senses would have perpetrated *that* ! Therefore it must be considered as absolutely certain that the original K sub-archetype *must* have had as original order 2abcd + 293*, 2, 1 (in this *inverted* order !) with line 3 remaining at the end, since *only that* arrangement *can* make any sensible sense—and the kavis *were*, among other things, *rational* bipeds.

Now, since this is so, the nature of 293*, 3 will at once be obvious to any one a little conversant with Mhbh text-criticism : it is nothing but the usual redactorial *equivalent-substitute* improving on the previous line (in the original *inverted* order !). The three lines *seem* thus to coalesce into one of those—in reality non-existent—6-*pāda monsters* that are the shameful stigma of all inadequate Mhbh text-criticism. The origin of this one specimen is crystal-clear : simply the blind *simultaneous* transcription of an old original verse *and* of its *new* redactorial *substitute* (added marginally or interlinearly) side by side by later mechanical " vidūṣaka " scribes—or rather scribblers.

But the fact that K *unanimously* (about K1's confirming exception, presently) carries both 2 *and* 293* *in its* (*unoriginal* !) *reshuffled form* proves not only that the *reshuffled* text comes from its *sub-archetype*, but also that the (logically necessary) original *un-reshuffled* form (as restituted above) must be attributed to its *archetype*. As for K1, the only exception, it actually confirms the rule, since its treatment of 292* and stanzas 1 and 3 shows it *wilfully shortening its own* sub-archetype ; hence similarly he *cuts off* the jumble of 293* with still greater reason—*or* he may have merely jumped *haplographically* from 2b + 293*, 1 : ".....tāṃ-viṣannavadanām..." to 293*, 3 + 2c : ".....tā-viṣannavadanā....."—*or* been later influenced by the Centre (which in *this* case favours *his* shortening tendencies).

This logically means that if we can trace the *reason* why K felt bound to shuffle the order of his original archetype we shall find some difficulty in the original

text—a difficulty of such a nature that it could equally well have incited another sub-redactor (in this case, the Centre one !) to *cut* the gordian knot by simply *eliminating* the tangle (with much less bother !) : and since there is a possible gap in the Centre in that very passage, and on the other hand the same Centre is ultimately derived from the same one archetype as K, we shall be entitled to conclude that the Centre's archetype also must have had the same *unshuffled* text *provided* that the difficulty in question is likely to have induced the Centre redactor to *expunge*. That this is so is very significantly indicated by the fact that the Centre (supported by the solid S.) has the text of 2 in what we know is the *original unshuffled order*, and it is in *that* order precisely that there is ample reason for a *wilful redactorial cut*, as we shall see, (though none for a haplography of the K1 type, even though this would make things so much easier for us).

Now the reason why K felt bound to reshuffle his old archetype's original order will be apparent to anyone who considers the " textus ornatior " above *with* our reconstruction of its original *un-shuffled* order (1 + 292* + 2abcd + 293*, 2, 1 + 293*, 3). Within that short passage K's old archetype exemplar contained two stumbling blocks : the first was the second line of 292* where the last word " tathā " was either blurred or miscorrected and written over in such a way that it misled all the sub-redactors to read it as " tadā," but about whose original nature there should be no doubt left when all the relevant factors are taken into consideration. That a *kavi* can compose " tatas.....tadā " in one and the same sentence and sense is not likely. But as to *copyists, they* can and do even worse things—especially since *graphically* and in an old exemplar " tathā " can easily be misread as " tadā " (we have found other very clear cases of such misreading or miscorrection), all the more if it is at the end of a stanza, where the upright bar of " ā " can be confused with the punctuation " daṇḍa." And, of course, once it is in the *text*, especially if the latter is subsequently expunged by many of the " cleverer " Mss (as this line 2 is, even in K, because of its difficulty of meaning !), then the word will be carried on more or less mechanically as an " ârṣa " peculiarity—(all the less offensive here because the two mutually-exclusive words are the very *first* and very *last* of a stanza, with four pādas in between)—and also as similar to other such cases similarly ' swallowed." Hence " tadā " is to all appearances an old misreading or miscorrection in the old archetype exemplar by the last redactor, due to the fact that " thathā " does not *seem* to make sense : for, as it is in the text, it does not *seem* to mean " ca " (connecting the two preceding adjectives), since " ubhe " in between makes such a meaning unexpected—although absolutely *demanded* by the sense and context, where the only alternative meaning " thus " is completely unfitting. Under those circumstances the last redactor was most likely to make the left-handed correction into " tathā," though the kavi's own intended and necessary meaning is obviously : " they both saw the horse being *both* white like the moonlight-beams *and also* black in the tail-hairs."

The second stumbling block is still more serious and far-reaching in its text-critical consequences—in fact we consider it worthy of being held up as a classic and model of text-critical problems in emendation and reconstruction : it is the cluster of questions centering around the word " viṣannavadanām " in 2c of the Poona text above. That word simply *cannot* have been *originally* in the *archetype* from which the K sub-archetype derives. It is like this. We have proved above what the *original order* of that archetype must necessarily have been. Now with *that* order it is simply impossible for a kavi to say in 2c that (owing to the sight of the black-tailed horse) " viṣannavadanā Vinatā " was reduced to slavery—and then, immdiately *afterwards* (!) to tell us in a trailing, syntactically inorganic, appendix both that she *became* " viṣannavadanā," and : " but (" tu " ! !) when she saw the black tail, surprised, etc." It is sheer drivel !—and our kavis *don't* drivel like that.

That is exactly why the last *redactor* could not bear that stupidity and why he purposely composed 293*, 3 as a *substitute* for the (originally—as proved—*immediately preceding* !) 293*, 1—wherein *he* does not say that she *became* " viṣannavadanā," but that *being already*, as she was, " avākśirā dīnamukhā " (synonyms that cleverly avoid the tabooed " punarukti " !) she entered into slavery. How obviously his clever substitute both summarises 293*, 1 *and* adds Vinatā's subsequent submission to Kadrū's previous slavery injunction ; and at the same time how evident it is that, *if* this had been the archetypal original, no one would or could have dreamt of *adding* 293*, 1—*and*, that, therefore, 291*, 3 can only be an archetypal (*secunda manu* !) interpolation which *ipso facto* confirms the archetypal genuineness of 293*, 2, 1. But since that interpolation was made by the last redactor with that obvious " improving " purpose, it only shows more indubitably that the archetype was actually misread by him as containing precisely what no kavi could have dreamt of composing in *that* order—or else he would not have felt the need for such a substitute !

And now we can see full well why the K sub-archetype redactor felt bound to reshuffle the original order of his archetype : his copyist had copied, *as usual*, both the two original archetype stanzas : 2 + (293*, 2, 1) *and* also the archetype's *secunda manu* redactorial substitute (293*, 3) attached to the last line of them ; but since that produces the illogical non-sense pointed out above, he now logically transposes (by the usual reference " kākapādas " and corrections or re-writings) Vinatā's " *becoming* " " viṣannavadanā " (293*, 1) to the position *before* " being " it (2cd) ; but then the sense of 293*, 2, 3 forces him to complete the trick by bringing the logic-offending 2cd down to the only place it can barely bear to keep : that is to say, to the position *after* the redactorial substitute (293*, 2)—where it brazenly betrays its secondary violent displacement and disarticulation by its syntactical disconnection and change of construction, by its forming an impossible 6-pāda stanza, *and*, to cap it all, by blandly telling us that Kadrū enjoins slavery upon her rival *after* 293*, 3 had already told us that the latter had come into slavery under her !

And all that besides telling us *twice over*, with a surfeiting "punarukti," that Vinatā sees the black tail and is duly "vismitā + avākśirā + dīnamukhā"—*after* having become "viṣannavadanā sarvato" forsooth! Only a *secondary redactor* can, "secunda manu" (especially *if* helped by *later indiscriminate copying as* we shall see!) create such stupidly hasty stop-gaps—and no one but the same could (thank heavens for that, the text-critic feels) leave so many finger-prints of his muddling-meddling interference. But he leaves more—the whole mark of his cloven-foot; for, in changing the position of 293*, 1 and 2cd, he performs the astonishing trick of attributing 2ab to *Vinatā*, when the overwhelming testimony of the Mss applies it to *Kadrū*—(as it is naturally to be expected, since the corresponding equivalent (293*, 3) is said of *Vinatā*); and thus we are left with the unnatural and unbalanced description of the seeing of the tail and of the feelings of *Vinatā* in two repetitious stanzas, while nothing is said of their counterpart in *Kadrū*! In the original, as we have so far reconstituted it (and in *this* point in full agreement with the Poona text)—at least *Kadrū's* part is given the full benefit of 2ab. That this is correct is still further shown by the prominent and leading part that the kavi gives to Kadrū in 1 and by his explicitly referring to "ubhe" in the introductory stanza 292* (which the editor most unjustifiably expunges, the same as 294*—the kavis forgive him!), and by the whole character and style of this epically leisurely passage. The kavi is obviously bent on missing nothing; and it is this meandering complacency that will most naturally incline some later subredactors to excise whatever creates difficulty. (Here is the point where our great Sukthankar failed most disastrously; he was—not quite but almost—constitutionally incapable of visualising the conditions under which *all* sub-redactors could, would and *did expunge*—especially, of course, his pet extreme-N. This is an original sin that mars his whole Poona edition—which (paradoxically enough) as a consequence became in his hands an *excising redaction* even more than a *text-critical depuration* of the epic archetype, alas!)

All this confirms that the *order* of the K sub-archetype is unoriginal and that its *archetype* did contain the *original order* given above, (*plus* the equivalent-substitute 293*,3), which it so "cleverly"-clumsily shuffles. But since no kavi could possibly start describing how Vinatā had "*become*" "viṣannavadanā" after already "being" it—and yet *that* is precisely what the kavi seems to do (*even in the restored original order*!), it follows logically that the *one word* which is the cause of all confusion "viṣannavadanā" in 2c *cannot* have been there, but must be a misreading *and*: *or* miscorrection "secunda manu" *in the archetype* itself—since all versions carry at least the equivalent "viṣannarūpā." Alone the strong variants in 2cd would invite an examination.

First, it is against an instinctive *and* conventional trend in all Samskṛt poetry to have anything like (at least verbal-identical) "punarukti" in the same near-context. That is precisely why the last redactor in framing the substitute 293*, 3 squeamishly avoids all repetition and, for "viṣannavadanā," introduces "avākśirā

dīnamukhā (*or*: -manā) "—a slick "*amarakośa*"–like swap! And that is also why the original kavi, in describing what we now know (in the original order) to be the reactions of *both* rivals, uses such as-far-as-possible-*different* descriptions of the one single object, the black tail, in the three consecutive times that he repeats it (292*, 2ab, 293*, 2); and the difference is still greater, as we shall prove, in the *real* archetype text as against the Poona mangled one. Hence, even *a priori*, there is all probability that the centre variant "viṣannarūpā" is the archetype reading, rather than the "viṣannavadanā" of K + S. This is strengthened by the fact that "viṣannavadanām" forms with "vinatām" an hypermetric pāda of the wrong (*always* illegitimate!) type—the one that *cannot* be resolved into a supersanskritisation (like the one in the "*janmejaya, bhauti*, or '*bhivāda-abhinihita*" types (which I discussed here in my previous article and will take up for a definitive study further down). This latter type is the only "semi-original" one, as traceable to our last archetype *redactor* (= secunda manu), but *not* to the *kavis* themselves on any account! (We say this with full realisation of the fact that theoretically "Vinatā" could absolutely speaking be popularly pronounced "Vintā," *à la* Hindi "vinti"; but the use of that too-modern-like form has no warrant in this whole tale).

Of course, it could be argued, with the Poona editor, that "viṣannarūpāṃ vinatām" of the Centre is precisely a later attempt not at dissimilation (since it kept the most offending "viṣanna") but at normalisation of the metre, and that the (hypermetric!) "viṣannavadanām" is the "lectio difficilior." But the principle (too often mishandled, not in Poona only) of "lectio difficilior" involves an essential condition which is too easily neglected: "all other conditions being equal"—and that is exactly what is *not* equal here since precisely "viṣannavadanā" is the one word that cannot fully and finally explain the text of K's archetype in the state in which it was *before* the last redactor-corrector *added* 293*, 3 (therefore, as composed by the archetype *kavi*!); it cannot explain either how from that old archetype the split in the Mss sources could arise, since, as we have already seen, that split *cannot* possibly be explained by deriving the Centre from the K subarchetype: for there was no reason *in that case* to suppress 293* but every reason to excise 2cd, and *if* 293* were excised, there was no reason left to change "viṣannavadanā," except the metre *only*—and yet the Centre does *not* object to hypermetric pādas on principle, since it accepts one only a few stanzas before (19, 15) and another a little earlier (18, 8), besides many more of the semi-genuine kind mentioned above which we shall later point out from the *Ādiparvan* itself.

On the contrary it *can* be shown (and it *will* be, further down) that subredactors, among them the "clever" K, out of a pseudo-archaicising tendency, are not afraid of *producing* an hypermetric pāda when they think it necessary for an hypersanskṛtisation of *their own* or in consequence of a misreading or "correction" deemed necessary by them, though it be really non-existent in the archetype – the

idea being obviously, " since there *are* hypermetric pādas in the Mhbh (the " Janamejaya " type especially !) and *here* good speech or sense requires an extra syllable, one more hypermetric pāda won't do any harm—as long as it is of the " ārṣa-Janamejaya " regulation type ; after all that's what the old kavi *must* have had in mind." This is partly the case here, as we shall see.

Hence " viṣannarūpa " has the better right to be considered as the genuine archetype reading—*provided* only it does *not* refer to *Vinatā*, for in that case the " punarukti " and other objections militating againt " viṣannavadanā " recoil upon it too with practically equal force. *One only* resource is left. Can any " *graphic* " misreading connect it with any other word in the context ? It might be a mistakenly-mechanically added " anusvāra " owing to the adjoining " Vinatām " ; but the sense resulting is absurd : Kadrū *here* " viṣannarūpā (vadanā) !" Or it may be the well-known final *anusvāra* instead of *final* "*n*" in Mss, thus giving an acc. pl. masc. ; but how or why can " vālān " (or " vyālān," which might be a possible *emendated* reading) be said to be *dejected* —to say nothing of the syntactical confusion resulting from the position of the word ? " *Impasse* ! "

But by reaching this real " *impasse* " we have learnt one very important thing: the word, *as it is, cannot* come from the *kavi*; *hence it has been changed* from another original word ; and the context plus the metre will have to teach us which that word should be. And indeed (in the words of another poet), it is " so plain—it mocks our pain " ; for to an attentive reader it will seem unthinkable (as pointed out above) that a kavi like ours should expatiate so relishingly upon the *emotional* reaction of Vinatā—without a single word for that of Kadrū, (especially after she has so obviously been put in the limelight in 1). And the only word that can express *that* is " *pra*-sannarūpā " as the most fitting counter-part (yet without a shred of " punarukti " !) of " viṣannavadanā ". It is only the inexorable exigencies of rhythm and versification (far more peremptory than any Poona editor has ever cared to think, unfortunately for them, as we shall see) that simply force the poet to say :

" prasannarūpā vinatāṃ—kadrūr dāsye niyojayat "

which is the perfect parallel, truly worthy of a genuine versifying kavi, of " viṣannavadanā tatra—vinatā sarvato ' bhavat ' in the very next stanza—both being built throughout so evidently as an intended parallel ! The well-known fact that in the archetype, as in old Mss, there was sure to be no break between words, and that, therefore, to our last redactor "prasannarupāvinatām" would instinctively read like a compound (all the more since it is in *that* order and at the *beginning* of a pāda, and with ' prasannā " separated chiastically from its noun because of the versifying demands) explains everything with one single stroke. But there is another *graphic* factor (one of those so often neglected in the Poona edition) which must have facilitated the mistake : the contiguity of " pā + vi " in devanāgarī brings together the two *upright* strokes of " ā + i " immediately after the *upright*

stroke of the preceding " p "—which makes a haplography almost inevitable. This would then leave the words as "prasannarūpavinatā" which could (and we think actually did) provide a fuller and simpler starting-point for the redactor's work and for the split in the Mss. But alone the " compound " with the " rūpā " would tempt a " pāṇinifying ' mind. For, under those conditions, the last redactor *had* to dissolve the " compound " (whether with " rūpa " or " rūpā " !) so that he could have a long *correct* " ū " in " rūpā "—precisely because the rhythm of *this* " vipulā " demands it (and the alternative " vinatāṃ viṣannarūpām " is *not* a viable " vipulā "). Hence " rūpāṃ." But now, of course, it *had* to strike him, if he was not deaf *and* blind *and* congenitally dumb, that in no case could it possibly be " *prasanna*rūpāṃ vinatām " (*here*, of all things !)—but oh, so obviously, " *viṣanna*rūpāṃ " as the only epithet that befitted the *losing* rival ; hence it must be, thinks he, a slip of the pen or a blunder of his own archetype—which he duly and dutifully mis-corrects on the spot : " *viṣ*annarūpāṃ vinatām."

Now this miscorrection, once the *anusvāra* is written *directly into* the text in the archetype exemplar itself, is so beguilingly plausible that no Ms copyist could do anything but take it over, especially since the new " viṣ " instead of " pras " could have been written *upon* the original two letters involved—with the result that *all* sub-redactors were left no other choice but *either to reshuffle or to mangle* the ensuing confusion of *sense* in the archetype's *textus ornatior* as we saw it above (reconstructed at the beginning of this part II). Substitute there " viṣannarūpāṃ Vinatām " (in what corresponded in the archetype to 2c of the Poona text)—and any one will see for himself that the natural thing for a normally thinking sub-redactor is simply to scratch the whole 293*, bag and baggage, as a foolish and tiresome " punarukti," nonsensical and ridiculous in the extreme : and that is precisely what the rather commonsense-pedestrian Centre *did*—all the more since it is in a context where meandering lengthiness and even wearisome repetitiousness are so outstanding (cfr. the previous adhy. 19 !). The apparatus shows how forbearing and conservative on the whole the centre is here—as against the impatience and blue-pencil-and-scissors of part, often most, of the extreme-N and the surgically-inclined S (which impatience Sukthankar most disastrously interpreted as original purity, to the text-critical undoing of his edition !). But, for all its faithfulness, the centre thought it had to draw the line at *arrant nonsense*—as the text with " viṣannarūpāṃ Vinatāṃ " must be dubbed by any sensible man. Yet the extra " clever " K sub-redactor—who in all this episode (though incomprehensibly unheeded by the editor !) stands nobly by the Centre as a whole—thinks he can ingeniously juggle with the jumble and get away with it. Let us follow him step by step and the whole process will unfold itself clearly before our very eyes.

In reshuffling the order of pādas into the form as we find them in the K sub-archetype the K sub-redactor did it in his copy of the archetype (supplied by a copyist in the normal course of things) by simply himself writing interlinearly (as usual in such cases) the only two half-ślokas that we have seen he displaces (293*,

1 and 2cd) into their new positions while bracketing off the discarded halves. This means that his corrected sub-archetype exemplar would show twice closely superposed the crucial words " viṣannarūpā " and " viṣannavadanā " on the one hand, and " avākśirā dīnamukhā " and " viṣannarūpām " on the o her—Thus :

niśamya ca bahūn vālān—kṛṣṇān pucchasamāśritān
((viṣannarūpāṃ Vinatāṃ—kadrūr dāsye niyojayat))
viṣannavadanā tatra—Vinatā sarvato ' bhavat //
dṛṣṭvā kṛṣṇaṃ tu pucchaṃ sā—Vājirājasya vismitā
((viṣannavadanā tatra—vinatā sarvato ' bhavat))
avakśirā dīnamukhā—Kadrvā dāsatvam āgatā //
viṣannarūpāṃ Vinatāṃ—Kadrūr dāsye niyojayat

That with this bewildering text before his eyes the copyist-redactor should have confused and jumbled the two similar lines is not astonishing—it would almost be a miracle if it had not happened—all the more since he saw that the first time " viṣannarūpāṃ " had been *corrected-eliminated* in favour of " viṣannavadanā "; and, since Vinatā had *become* " viṣannavadanā," it was the natural thing to let her (for the sake of concinnity) *remain* " ditto." This would be supposing that the substitution was due to a mere accidental later copyist's jumble. But since the reading in K has no variants (except a clearly secondary one in K4) and it shows a *purposely inverted* order in the position of " Vinatāṃ," it must have been a *wilful* correction made by the K sub-archetype redactor himself at the same time of the reshuffle. His " cleverness " led him (as we shall see below) to *concoct* the pāda into an archaicising *hypermetric* one by transposing the two words (vinatām viṣannavadanām) so as to give them the only possibly acceptable vipulā form they can bear to have—a " janamejaya "-like rhythm pattern, since " viṣannavadanā vinatā " is absolutely unviable metrically, in the epic.

But the ultimate reason (which *only now* we can fully clearly discern) that impelled him to take this bold step is that he intends to put 2cd into the place and *instead* of the transferred 293*, 1—swapping those two half-ślokas so as to have two *parallel* stanzas (corresponding to the two original ones as reconstructed above)—thus :

" niśamya ca bahūn vālān—kṛṣṇān pucchasamāśritān /
viṣannavadanā tatra—vinatā sarvato ' bhavat //
dṛṣṭvā kṛṣṇaṃ tu pucchaṃ sā—vājirājasya vismitā /
viṣannarūpāṃ vinatāṃ—kadrūr dāsye niyojayat //

A very careful weighing of the fact that he *transfers* but does *not* suppress 2cd ; and that he transfers it to the bottom-place where it is superfluous *only if* 293*, 3 (" avākśirā dīnamukhā kadrvā dāsatvam āgatā ") is *retained*, but *not if* that half-śloka is *bracketed out* ; *and* that he leaves those two naturally *mutually-exclusive* half-stanzas syntactically unconnected and uncouthly abrupt (which he does *not* do anywhere else in this passage) should convince anyone that he *intends to excise*

and *did* actually bracket out in his exemplar the *now superfluous* 293*, 3 (made such by *him* by his *intentional* transfer of 2cd !) so as to avoid what no redactor has ever consciously wanted—a 6-pāda monster, and *such* a one ! : merely heaped together without any syntactical cement, unworthy even of a tyro, parrot-like in its purposeless repetitiousness ! Misled by the archetypal redactor's miscorrection "*viṣannarūpāṃ*," the K subredactor has actually turned the tables on his predecessor by excising *the latter's own* interpolation—just as that previous worthy had excised the *kavi's* original 293*, 1 (viṣannavadanā tatra—vinatā sarvato ' bhavat) and substituted that very same 293*, 3 which is now being guillotined by his successor ! Talk of *palimpsests* -and of traps set for unwary Mhbh text-critics ! But, *again*, in the same way as the copyist of the archetype had served the K subredactor badly by copying *both* the bracketed-out original *and* the intended substitute, so also the copyists of the K sub-archetype continued the " tradition " by blindly copying *both* the bracketed-out 293*, 3 *and* its intended substitute –the transferred 2cd ! It's just a pattern of behaviour in that Wonderland of Mhbh transmission. To those who dare disregard it we have to say with Dante : " lasciate ogni speranza....."

But how can he make those two stanzas with those materials ? Here it is that we shall realise how " clever " the K sub-redactor is—to the point of overreaching himself. That " cleverness " which made it possible for him to attribute 2ab to *Vinatā* (though originally meant by the kavi to refer to Kadrū !) enables him also to find the *way* (since he has the *will*) to connect 293*, 2 with *Kadrū*— even if originally meant for Vinatā ! This he can do *either* by the *tour de force* of taking " vismitā " in the secondary-later sense (made almost logically necessary by the *new* context created by *him* !) of " proud," for Kadrū could obviously not *be surprised* at what she had engineered herself—*or* by accepting the make-believe that Kadrū did *not* know, since she had not been *told*, hence *was* surprised ! But since the line which the sub-redactor intends to eliminate (293*, 3) contains so clearly and explicitly the *amarakośa*-equivalents of " viṣannavadanā," he feels now compelled to substitute that word for the original " viṣannarūpā," so as not to leave out any shade of meaning that he has found in *his* original—all at the small expense of an " ārṣa " hypermetric of the recognised (*janamejaya*) type and rhythm-pattern, similar to the one which he had found *only a couple of stanzas before* (in 19, 15 *besides* the neighbouring 18, 8) ! One can almost hear his brain-works ticking and whirring—so logical is every link in his procedure. It is just thus that the Mhbh scribe-redactors treat their texts, as we know from the apparatus in countless other cases, and shall see repeated further down again and again—it is *not* as if we were inventing things to suit our brief. " But some have eyes, and will not see—And some would see, yet have not eyes..." Truly, text-criticism without psychological insight is doomed to scratch only the surface of the real restitution and depuration of this our precious " palimpsest ." The great master that was Sukthankar was too much of a conscientious logician, hence even he not

seldom lacked (though far from completely) the psychological insight, imagination and flair which the " compleat " text-critic must possess if he has to enter into the workings of the mind and the psychological reactions of that peculiar tribe : the Mhbh-kavis' camp-followers : redactors and transmitters.

In conclusion : " vinatāṃ viṣannavadanāṃ " is a wilful *mis*correction (by the K sub-redactor) of another previous wilful *mis*correction (by the last archetype redactor)—which original miscorrection was based on a misreading and misanalysis of the primordial-genuine kavi-text " prasannarupā vinatāṃ ". *It is the problem of a single misplaced anusvāra* ! ! ! But the consequences are of momentous important for the Mhbh text-criticism : *first*, the *Centre Mss* are the ones that keep *generally* most of the ancient materials of the original *conglomerate* that was our *immediate* archetype (which *included* all the passages *wrongly* excised by Sukthankar in this context : 292*—298* !)—*and yet* that very Centre *does also excise* (hence it does *not* " interpolate " indiscriminately !) in extreme cases, as here in 293*, though *even then* it preserves the ancient *order* and *wording* better than K (" viṣannarūpāṃ vinatāṃ !") even when misled by the last *archetype* redactor (but only by *him* !) as here in " viṣanna " for " prasanna " ; *second*, K is far too " clever," strongly redactorial, archaicising, rather inclined to excise and to improve the text, (*more so in post-sub-archetype stages increasingly*), hence it is further away from the archetype on the whole than the Centre—yet still of ancient lineage, so that *after* its branching off from the *main Centre-stem* (or probably simultaneously—*independently*) the latter seems to have undergone its new sub-redaction, which, though on the whole more conservative in preserving the archetypal *contents*, as we said above, yet added also its own characteristic (mostly minor) *secunda manu* touches ; *third*, the S is a *secondary* offshoot of an (originally) strongly shortening-excising (especially in non-essential tales, as here) yet freely " correcting " and even interpolating (esp. in popular epic episodes) tendency, born *either* of a copy of the Centre archetype under extreme-N influence, (represented here very typically by K1 + D5)—*or*, possibly, of extreme-N extraction with centre contacts and influence. " vinatāṃ viṣannavadanāṃ " forms the great divide ! As a consequence, the S consistently drops (against the *main* trends of extreme-N and Centre) all the tread-mill repetitiousness of K's reshuffled 293* and most of the other *wrongly excised* passages in *this* context up to 298* (and in this it agrees with K1 + D5 !).

To sum up : we have seen that the excised passage 293* *was* in the K sub-archetype (in spite of the wilful excision of K1 !)—but evidently, as we have proved in detail, it had been taken over and reshuffled from its older archetype (whose original *order* and *wording* is partially kept by the Centre in particular—as against K !). This makes it *a priori* logical that the passage *must* have been originally in the *common archetype* of Centre and K. This in turn is made doubly sure by the fact that the reconstructed *original* form of 293*, *after* its mishandling *in the archetype* by its last redactor " *secunda manu* ", almost irresistibly provoked to *excise* it—

as a line of least resistance, in preference to the contortionistic *tour de force* performed by the extra- " cleverer " K sub-redactor with his reshuffling. (The couple of stray Centre Mss that here follow K can only be due to later contamination). Hence the Centre had every reason rather to *excise* than to preserve—and *did* so. The same applies to S—whether it derives its text from the archetype or from the excising branch of K + D. Hence the conclusion is certain : 293* belongs in the text as part of the archetype, *exceptionally but evidently*—in spite of the wilful (as we now know) *excision* by both Centre and S vs. K !

This fact should make us reflect that the type of context here (Garuḍa-purāṇa-like, long-winded—cfr. adhy. 19 alone !—and *not* directly connected with the epic !) is such that *excisions* are bound to be *a priori* likely *and* should be *ipso facto* suspect —in fact, even the Centre (of all things) *excises* !—while it is not likely that the generally stream-lining K *interpolates* ! Therefore *all* the excisions made here by Sukthankar are logically likely to be wrong, especially if the passage is upheld by a sufficiently wide backing of Mss.—and all the more if the latter consists of the *solid* N (which includes *extreme*-N *plus* Centre). As a consequence : 296* belongs in the text (backed by the solid N—except, precisely, K1 + D5 !).

But more important is 292*, upheld by the solid centre (minus just D5 !) *and* by KO. 2.4. Here the missing of K1 is of no account, since (as said above) it systematically and *wrongly* shortens the text against *its own* sub-archetype *and* the *real* archetype text, as in śl. 3. The missing of K3 is also readily explainable, since it keeps 293* which actually makes 292* *look* repetitious —hence so many Mss (Centre !) keep it only by *excising* 293* (while K1 coolly excises *both* as expendable): therefore here K3 is *excising* also. Finally there is the fact that KO.2 lack line 2 of 292*—but, again, it is those Mss precisely that keep the giddily shuffled 293*, and this contains an extra half-śloka hanging in the air which can be made into a normal stanza by *dropping* that line 2, a line which on the other hand contains the partly repetitious, partly contradictory-looking statement : " śaśāṅkakiraṇa-prakhyaṃ—kālavālaṃ ubhe tadā " (whose additional stylistic difficulty was pointed out above), to say nothing of the fact that the resulting ślokas in K3 either make no sensible sense, as we shall show further down, or make no self-contained sense-units but run into one another in a most unnatural way. From all that it should be *obvious* that the K sub-archetype also contained 292*, and therefore it is again the solid N vs. the S. Hence the śloka belongs to the text, since the reasons *for excising* it apply also, all the more, to the S.

We call it *obvious*, because, besides all the detailed reasons given, it should be enough to read once the preceding and following parts of this story in order to realise that *this kavi* just could not possibly, all of a sudden, drop with a bump from the leisurely meandering-florid style he uses throughout into a mere clipped rapid summary *at the most dramatic point of his tale* ! The kavis have also, among other odds and ends, surely a spark of *human* psychology ; but text-criticism seems at

times to put blinkers on the brains, and make people forget that they, or rather, the kavis are men *and* poets—not mere methodological specimens of text-critical abstractions. It is one of the greatest curses of Indian literary history, beginning from the Ṛgveda (and there *only more so* !), that its most precious creations have oft fallen into the hands of men who have been unconsciously reared in an alambicated tradition of inbred superpedantic grammaticality and technical-litteral philistinism that can sharply analyse every leaf of a tree and then blissfully miss the whole living forest of which it forms a harmonious part ! Not even our good Sukthankar could rid himself completely of that unconscious incubus. The result is this awful *butchery* (no other word will fit the facts !) of an epic episode !

But if 292* + 293* are archetypally genuine, so also must be 294* + 295*, and much more 296* (as we have previously said); and further 297* + 298*, since the here missing K Mss have *all* shown a tendency to *excise*. And this (in view of the facts thus supplied by the apparatus) finally means that *on principle*, and since K as a whole tends to eliminate, *every* passage that has a substantial *Centre* backing must be placed on the text against K or S or *both* combined, especially if there is *any* plausible ground for excising.

There remains still śl. 3 (together with its *double* 21, 2) :

3. " tataḥ sā vinatā tasmin—paṇite *na* parājitā /
abhavad duḥkhasaṃtaptā—dāsabhāvaṃ samāsthitā "

21. 2 : yatra sā vinatā tasmin—paṇite *na* parājitā /
atīva duḥkhasaṃtaptā—dāsabhāvaṃ samāgatā

The construction " tasmin paṇitena parājitā " (as given in the Poona text) is simply unbearable, and it is a mere later misanalysis of the copyist-vidūṣakas (*or* of the editor—in a homeric nod ?) What the last archetype redactor *intended* (since the nonsense obviously goes back to his " seconda manu " interference with the original kavi text) *and* what the real old tradition evidently *understood* is " tasmin paṇite *na* parājitā "—thus trying to bring out the point that she was *really* not *defeated* but only *cheated* into slavery. This is nearly as " clever " as the above reshuffle of 293*—" si non e vero e ben trovato." And that is why such a group of Mss (the solid S) avoids the ultimately illogical (in the context and construction trend) sense (*na* parājitā) by substituting the universal stop-gap " vai " for " na "; while the rest, gradually losing the lively sense of racy idiom and context, dumbly acquiesce in the insufferable " tasmin paṇitena " = " defeated by the betting in *that* " ! ! (in *what* ? !)—*if in fact* they *do* so explicitly separate " na " from parājitā while attaching it to " paṇite "; but *do* they, and *which* ? And notice how the S in 21, 2 goes one step further in its clarification by putting " tatra " instead of the barbarous unattached " tasmin." Its sub-archetype had not dared to put the same in 20, 3; and the reason was probably that the same sub-archetype must have still carried (even if only as a bracketed-out excision) the original previous

śloka of the archetype : 293*, 2, 1, in which the second half carries the *same* word " atra " ; but it is also possible, as indicated by the omission of śloka 3 in M1 (together with K1 and D5, as we indicated above !), that the S sub-redactor had intended to excise śloka 3 and had bracketed it out without correcting it (though a secunda manus did later correct the contradicting " na " into " vai "); but, *as usual*, most of the copyists had taken it down all the same. In the first case it would be a further indication that 293* was even in the S sub-archetype originally : but in any case it shows the old feeling that " tasmin " must either go with " paṇite " or not be there at all—which confirms the truth of our emendation " tena " as the *only* solution that explains *all* variants. For there surely can be no two opinions about the original text of the *kavi* in the archetype, which was : " tataḥ sā vinatā *tena- paṇitena* parājitā." The last archetype redactor (it must be *he*, since *all* Mss read " tasmin ") with his characteristically " too-clever " *secunda manu* miscorrection (" tasmin ") merely betrays the fact, which by now we know and shall bring out more fully further on, that he is not a direct descendant and living link with the epic tradition of the bards themselves, but a pedantic product of the clasicistic-sanskriticising later age for whom the living style of the epic was a dead thing artificially revived. He may be a versifying expert, but between him and the epic poets there is a yawning and unbridged chasm, all unknown to him.

An attentive look at the twin ślokas above will show that the second is a mere repetition of the first, and that in all probability it *was* just a *verbal* repetition of the same inserted by *the* kavi-redactor (the last one ?) who first introduced (into the archetype conglomerate) the Garuḍa-purāṇa-like passage : 19, 5—15 *plus* practically all the passages *wrongly* expunged in this context by the Poona text ! The purpose of that repetition was, as is well known from similar cases, merely to resume the thread of the narrative after the interrupting addition. The original of 21, 2 must have had only two necessary variations : " yatra " for " tataḥ (or was it " atra "?); the other variation is the substitute for " abhavat." This latter is given as " atīva " in the Poona edition ; but this looks foolish, since it does not let the sentence have the central verb that one naturally expects as corresponding to " abhavat " and for which the whole verse seems to be clamouring. One can, of course answer that it is a case of idiomatic ellipsis of " āsīt " ; yet, given the *parallelism* with the obviously original other śloka, one cannot help to conjecture that this is another case of the last archetype redactor's *graphic* misreading and misunderstanding of the word (suggested by the context) : " asīdat." Since the following word " duḥkha " begins with " d," there would be an easy haplography (*d* for *dd*) giving " asīda "– and that (*in* an old exemplar !) would easily look like " atīda " " atīva," and/or be miscorrected into *that* by our " clever " redactor. He was capable of anything like that and more, as we know. We would put it as an emendation with a wavy line, all things considered. (In the *first* parallel śloka it is clear that " abhavat " would be protected by the familiarity of its form and the context).

With the above scrutiny of the apparatus we have justified the reconstitution of the original archetype as given at the beginning of this part II of our study. (Only one point of special importance about stanza 3 remains, which we consider further down). It consists of the following ślokas : 1 + 292* + 2 + 293*, 2, 1 + (293*, 3) + 3—*five* stanzas vs. the Poona text's *three*, *plus* a bracketed-out half-śloka (293* 3) which *is* an archetypal component but *interpolated* (as an intended substitute for 293*, 1) by the last archetypal redactor, as we have seen. *Immediately* preceding those *five* stanzas were the *two* from passage 13, App. I, shown (below) to be *genuine*, as against the Poona edition).

Of that archetypal text the *chief decisive* readings against the Poona text have been justified above, but some details remain to be proved. And here there is a preliminary fundamental remark to be kept in mind : the last archetype redactor and the succeeding sub-redactors are in a restive and daring mood (since confronted with a text that offers them unpleasant difficulties) as we have had ample occasion to experience. This should give us additional confidence in uncovering and suspecting their " editorial " activities and tricks of the trade. For it is now certain that the archetypal redactor(s?) is *as* bad in this as the *later* sub-redactors and correctors—and *these* were " the limit."

To begin with in stanza 2 there are three minor variant readings which have a claim to be in the text on the strength of their Centre backing in two cases (niśamya vs. niśāmya ; pucchasāmāśritan vs. pucche) and, in the third case, as a " *lectio epica difficilior* " (augmentless " niyojayat " vs. the pāṇinifying " nyayojayat "). In all of them there is the same trend of *epic* language in a greater or lesser degree to justify their preference. Exactly the same applies to " dāsabhāvam " vs. " dāsībhāvam " in stanza 3. Hence we have adopted them as *by right* belonging to the original archetype text.

In 292* we find two K Mss saying : " tatas te taṃ *hayapṛṣṭhe*– dadṛśāte *mahābalaṃ* / śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyaṃ– kālavālam ubhe tadā // " This, as it lies, can make no sense in the context (besides being *metrically impossible* in *a* !) ; but since precisely in this context K has shown itself peculiarly conservative (293* !) it sets us thinking about a possible *lectio difficilior*. Now, " hayaśreṣṭham " of the Centre and K4 would be bound to be correct (since the sense seems to demand it, as the other half-śloka shows abundantly)—*if* the reading " hayapṛṣṭhe " stands as original. Yet it is absolutely impossible that it should—if only because of the metre ! On the other hand the K Mss that carry it *suppress* line 2 of 292*, which seems unthinkable, since line 1 then makes no sense, as it is obvious ; therefore their suppression is *either* a mere copyist error (a semi-haplography due to the similarity of " niśāmya : śaśāṅka " ?), *or* a wilful suppression of a half-śloka (which is superfluous since 293*, which they both keep, is there with its *three* half-ślokas !) due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of " mahābalam " as " a big group or army " (of the snakes turned into hairs !) and to the feeling of the non-sensical

contradiction in line 2 *if and since* " hayaprṣṭhe " is kept by them. But in any case their way shows that they are keeping something from their archetype which makes difficulty ; but they could never have created such a hurdle if the smooth and perfectly understandable " hayaśreṣṭham " had been in *their* sub-archetype ! Hence " hayaprṣṭhe " is the *lectio difficilior* that must have come from the K *sub-archetype*. But it could not have come *so* from the *kavi*, both because of the *metre* and because of the *sense*. As regards the sense, if we read 292* as above (with " hayaprṣṭhe " and " mahābalam ") we are bound to join " mahābalam " as a *bahuv.* qualifying " kālavālam," the latter being considered as a *karmadh.* ("black tail ")—against the obvious and unmistakable intention of the kavi and the sense of the language—*and* with the additional conundrum of making it be qualified by the (in its common accepted sense) *sheer contradictory* " śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyam " ! (Whence all the trouble and suppressions in the K Mss, as pointed out just above). Besides we are faced by the solid Centre with its " mahājavam" which by no stretch of imagination can go with a *karmadh.* " kālavālam ". But on the other hand, if the Centre's " hayaśreṣṭham mahājavam " had been the original, no K variants *could* arise ! It is *too* naturally pat to be tampered with or misunderstood.

The solution must, therefore, be a kavi-archetype : " tatas te taṃ *hayaṃ pṛṣṭhe*—dadṛśāte mahājavam / śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyaṃ—kālavālam ubhe tathā." And this *does* make sense : " thereupon those two saw the horse from behind (*or* : the horse in his hind-quarters) as being both moonlight-white and also black in-the-tail-hairs." Now, that reading bears the marks of a genuine *lectio difficilior* (as both, perfectly fitting into the sense and context, and yet being unexpected and liable to be misconstrued—esp. as an *inviting* " hayaprṣṭhe " compound !)—while it at the same time explains all the variants, which no other solution can do. Indeed, in a way similar to our basic case above " prasannarūpā ") *it all pivots around a single anusvāra* (here by contrast a *missing* one !) ; yet in this case it does not go back, at least demonstrably, to the last *archetype* redactor himself but to the sub-redactors and their archetype-copyists who omitted that *anusvāra* in transcribing the old exemplar. *Graphically* the loss of the *anusvāra* both by blurring and by confusion with the subsequent-adjacent superscript " e "—especially when following upon another adjacent " anusvāra + e " pair (" *te taṃ hayaṃ pṛṣṭhe* ") in the Mss *continuous* writing—is an ever-present natural possibility (*and* an *actual reality* here in KO.2 !) ; but even *without* those *graphic* inducements it would almost be a miracle if, under the circumstances, the *copyist* had not yielded to the irresistible temptation of reading his original as a compound (" hayaprṣṭhe "),—simply *ignoring* the anusvāra, *even if* still distinguishable, as a mere "lapsus calami" of his predecessor !

But to the *sub-redactors* that, of course, could make no sense. On the one hand, *the K sub-redactor*, accepting " hayaprṣṭhe " as an " ārṣa " rhythm, naturally finds that " mahājavam " makes no sense, since (as already shown) it has to be attached to " kālavālam " (the latter to be understood as a *karmadh.*, in order to

make some sensible sense at all !) Hence he changes it into the (*otherwise unexplainable* !) " mahābalam "—which just manages to fit somehow that *mighty* " kālavālam." On the other hand, *the Centre sub-redactor*, with the same faulty transcription of the archetype before him, cannot stomach the unbearably irregular rhythm of " hayaprṣṭhe " (which is decidedly unoriginal !) nor the contradiction in terms of " śaśāṅkakiraṇaprakhyaṃ kālavālam " which goes with that word, if kept; hence *independently* of K (and with far better sense of the spirit of the language in realising that the three obvious *bahuvr*-compounds require a *noun* to hinge upon) he simply turns " hayaprṣṭhe " into " hayaśreṣṭham." This actually restores a full sensible sense—but, *if* it had been originally there, it could *not* have produced the variants attested by the apparatus. On the other hand the Centre's " mahājavam " bears all the marks of *genuineness* vs. " mahābalam " !

It is well to notice that the kavi shows here the same chiastic tendency that appeared in our basic example : " prasannavadanā vinatāṃ kadrūr ") : " taṃ hayaṃ prṣṭhe dadṛśāte mahājavam "—with the same stumbling-miscorrecting results for our copyist-redactors : a misplaced *or* missing " anusvāra " ! It is also noteworthy that in practically all the other stanzas in this passage our kavi is inclined to arrange his words in that same counter-point chiastic disposition : in 1 (*Kadrū* vs. *śīghragā*) ; in 2, as shown above, and also by making *ab* depend on Kadrū (in *c* !) ; in 293*, 2, 1 (*sā* vs. *vinatā*). It is just *his* way : he thinks of his verse and rhythm (and *something else* involved in them, as we shall see further down !) *first*, and leaves the crystal-clear grammatical terminations to take care of the sense—a thing which in saṃskṛt can be done at least as well as in any other language, if not better. Besides, we shall be able to show further down that there is infinitely more " method in that madness " than meets the unwary eye !

And now, there is one final point—about the two stanzas (20, 3 and 21, 2) above—whose full significance will only appear further down in the course of this study. The pāda : " abhavad duḥkhasaṃtaptā " is (unless it has been " edited " from an original " babhūva "—which is quite possible) exactly of the kind that could have been a so-called " hypermetric " in the form : " abhavad duḥkhena saṃtaptā " (cfr. 23, 10d). It would be one of the many that were *re-normalised* because it did *not* fit in with the conventionalised rhythm pattern of the " janamejaya "-type (as seen in the near neighbourhood of this passage in 18, 8 !)—while another one, just a couple of stanzas before (19, 15), was left untouched as an ārṣa exception precisely because it *did* agree with that " *ādi*-pattern " of all " hypermetries " in the Mhbh. (Exactly the same could be said of 21, 2c, were it not a probable last redactor's concoction-imitation). But of this more anon.

This would naturally mean that the original kavi had intended it as a *normal* 8-syllable pāda, and this was made possible *only* by his *unorthodox popular-epic use of an interpāda saṃdhi* (in this case a " praśliṣṭa " one) with the last word of the previous pāda : " parājitā—(a)bhavat." Now, the epic kavis *can* and *do* make

use of the veda-old convention of absolute caesura at the end of each *half-śloka*; but they do *not* feel in duty bound *always* to do so in the cases when there is a continuous sentence flow running over the pāda-end, for *then* they feel free to use saṃdhi, as we shall see later on more in particular. And precisely when the sentence is *one* they use *either* saṃdhi (more seldom) *or* an uncombinable word-end (mostly) to finish the pāda, but leave *never a hiatus* (just as *within* the pāda itself!) betwe·n the two pādas *inside* of the *same* half-śloka! That this is the logic of *living epic recitation*, as against the super-pāṇinean artificiality of mere paper-and-pen-scribe-redactors, will be obvious to everyone. It can be said to justify itself. But we shall come back upon all that.

And here comes a case in point which will at the same time help us to round off the critical reconstitution of our central passage in confirmation of our text-critical principles as laid down above. The case is that of *passage* 13 considered as spurious by Sukthankar -and consequently relegated to *Appendix I*. In this relegation he was undoubtedly *wrong*, since the passage is backed both by extreme-N *and* Centre in no uncertain manner, *and* its suppression makes an unholy mess of the whole episode, *and*, on the other hand, the reason for the discrepancies and unwarranted *omissions* in part of the Mss tradition are transparent to a degree, as it will soon appear. That passage 13 (of App. I) is :

(1) nāgāś ca saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā —kartavyam iti tad vacaḥ /
(2) niḥsnehā vai dahen mātā —*na* saṃprāptamanorathā //
(3) (prasannā mokṣayed asmān- -tasmāc chāpāc ca bhāmini)
(4) kṛṣṇaṃ pucchaṃ kariṣyāmaḥ- -turagasya na saṃśayaḥ /
(5) tat*heti kṛtvā* te tasya—pucche vālāḥ sthitā *yathā* //
(6) (etasminn antare te tu—sapatnyau paṇite tadā)

In line (2) above the Poona edition gives " asaṃpraptā " with an *hiatus* after " mātā " at the pāda-end. It will soon become pretty obvious to an attentive consideration that the original kavi had very racily-idiomatically and elliptically meant : " niḥsnehā vai dahen mātā ; na (dahet) saṃpraptamanorathā." The " *a*saṃpraptа " variant is just another of the many cases of a *graphic* misreading : " na " as *initial* " a," in an old exemplar (in this case the archetype itself!) This was facilitated by the fact that this passage contains two clearly *additional* lines (inserted by the last archetype redactor) : the first is line 3 " prasannā....."), and the second is line 6 (the last). The purpose of the latter addition is quite clearly given by the facts in the apparatus : that last line does *not* fit in at all with the very context where precisely it is kept by the widest backing of Mss ; while it *does* fit as a substitute for line 1 of passage 12 (Appendix I) where the weaker group of Mss puts it. The explanation can only be that the passage (*minus* the last line, *and* line 3, as we shall also show) was placed by the kavi originally just before our central episode (20, 1-3)—*as given by the better and genuine Mss tradition*. But the pedantic " know-better " that was the last archetype redactor characteristically preferred

to have the little *but all-important and all-explaining incident* (whose *absence* is such an outstanding eyesore and messy " missing-link " in the Poona edition !) in a different place, where it seems to him to fit better *logically* : *after adhy.* 19, immediately *after* Kadrū's curse and *before* the description of the ocean-crossing by the two rivals—so as to give the snakes time to get there (how pedantically logical !) during the night that ensues. But the original kavi had the common-sense of the born fairy-tale story-teller ; hence *he* kept his suspense up till *just before* the appearance on the scene of the all-important black tail ; for, indeed, it is to that appearance that this short incident is the natural and *absolutely inseparable* epic-poetic introduction worthy of a *real kavi*. For *him* this is one of the *essential links* by which he *adaptingly* inserts the old " *suparṇādhyāya* " into the *new* context of the Mhbh. ! (It really passes comprehension how Sukthankar could bring himself to make such a colossal *faux pas*, out of a mistaken loyalty to principles which, alone through this, ought to have rung somehow false to him —as to every one else). But that last redactor of ours *had* to go and meddle—and for that very purpose he was bound to modify the first line of passage 12 (" tatas te paṇitaṃ kṛtvā," which implies *immediate* sequel !) so as to show that, while the snakes were going on their surreptitious errand, the two rivals " etasmin antare...," etc. Hence the last line (6 of passage 13 above) was thus reshuffled and reshaped by him in order to substitute it for line 1 of passage 12, so as to dovetail the two into what *he* thought was the " proper " sequel. But not enough : he would not be the meddling " improver " that we know from 293*, 3 (" avākśirā... ") if he did not also " improve " upon the repetitive-trailing line 4 (vs. line 5) of this same passage 13 by putting (*in place of* its " kṛṣṇaṃ pucchaṃ..... "!) the clarification-complement of the *preceding* line (2)—(which latter he had hastily misread as " *a*saṃprāptamanorathā," *thus leaving it incomplete in sense*)—and *this* he does by *adding-substituting* line 3 with its contrasting " prasannā " (vs. the " niḥsnehā + asaṃprāptamanorathā "). *Shabash* ! (The present editor-in-chief may find it useful to note that this *graphic* misreading of initial *n* as *a* is similar to and a confirmation of the case in " astaṃ eti " *vs.* " nāstaṃ eti " further up. In text-criticism, as (possibly) elsewhere, " history repeats itself ").

Besides indicating that *immediately after* the above text in its original form (*minus* lines 3 and 6) there followed in the archetype our 20, 1 :" taṃ samudraṃ atikramya " etc., we have to clarify two small changes we have made in that text (vs. the Poona text form) : the first is the variant reading " tatheti kṛtvā " (for the senseless " tathā hi gatvā " in line 5); it is a racy-idiomatic phrase, in favour of which the two variants " uktvā " and " kṛtvā " (and even " tasya " by inference ?) in the apparatus support one another *graphically*—for, if " gatvā " had been the original, there could scarcely be such variants of a " *lectio plausibilior*," while " gatvā " itself is clearly enough a *clarifying improvement*, trying to make explicit what the more elliptic-idiomatic expression leaves racily implicit. There are various possibilities of interpreting that " tatheti " : one might be to make " tathā = *ca* " uniting the " saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā " of line 1 with " iti kṛtvā tathā (= *ca*) " ;

yet that is not necessary, since " saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā iti kṛtvā " = " having come to the conclusion that it had to be done, thinking in their minds....." needs no conjunction. But in any case it is a rhythm-imposed *transposition* (for " iti kṛtvā tathā ")—which reminds of the other similar transposition of " iti " in line 1 ("saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā kartavyam *iti* tad vacaḥ ") for the same rhythmical reason, and of the also similar one of " ubhe tathā " for " tathā ubhe " in 292*. It is just our kavi's rhythm-living style. And this will make understandable the second change made in the text above: " pucche vālāḥ sthitā yathā" : it is just the complementary and nicely balanced counterpart to the *first* transposition which is thus capped with a *final* one : *tathā*. (iti kṛtvā), te tasya pucche sthitā(ḥ) vālā *yathā* " ; but since " vālā yathā " murders the rhythm, our kavi uses his favourite trick and transposes " vālāḥ sthitā yathā "—which, naturally, a superpedantic redactor would infallibly turn into the regulation " valā iva sthitā," without any consideration for the intended parallelism of comparison " tathā sthitāḥ —vālā yathā " and with the natural confusion of variants born of the further obscured meaning of the first " tathā." Further reasons for considering this as the genuine text of our kavi will appear further down, though alone those given show that it is the best fitting for sense, context, style and author. But a very strong reason for the " secunda manu " origin of lines 5 and 6 is the fact that they are the only ones that involve the formation of 6-pāda-monster ślokas, *unless* considered as the *intended substitutes* (for original lines) that they evidently *are* meant to be.

Under those circumstances it was sheer inevitable that there should arise confusion in the Mss tradition : on the one hand the *copyists*, in their characteristic style, *would* and *did* mechanically copy *both* the original lines *and* their intended substitutes. Besides, the last redactor must naturally have bracketed out the whole passage in its original place and either written it out again marginally in the new place or rather put a reference mark. That, of course, was bound to be misunderstood (as we have seen it *was*), and construed as a *suppression* pure and simple (some *did* so), *or* it would just *not* be heeded by the *copyist*, so that the passage would be copied *in situ* in its old place, bracket or no bracket (exactly the same as—so very often !—the substitute *plus* the substituted *single* lines !)—*or* it *would* be heeded by some, either because that transfer had thus been taken from the archetype by *their* sub-archetype, or (possibly) because they themselves did make it *against* their *own* sub-archetype, being prompted by the same reasons as the last redactor had had, but further reinforced by the tell-tale last line (6, above) which cannot fit into anything but the beginning of passage 12 (for which the last archetype redactor had clearly intended it). Add to this that the construction of the whole passage looks wobbly, as we have seen, and that the last line is an impossibility *at the place where most Mss have actually kept it*, which is where the last archetype redactor *had* added it (marginally or interlinearly) to the original two ślokas—and you have all the ingredients for the confusion worse confounded that led even our great Sukthankar astray.

A very close parallel is the case in 30, 13ff. within this same Suparṇa story. Here too Sukthankar *expunged* 367* as a non-archetypal later *Viṣṇuite* interpolation. Now, that Viṣṇu does *not* belong in the story *originally* is clear enough from the testimony of the old "Suparṇādhyāya" and from the inner structure of the tale itself; but that the same god had been introduced (*rammed in* would express it better) at the *archetypal* stage (by the *last* archetype redactor *at the latest*, but surely *before* him, as will soon appear) is evident; hence *Sukthankar himself* has consequently accepted as *genuine* the passage 29, 12ff., which is nothing but a horridly dislocating "khila" inside of the old story-frame *–yet archetypal enough, unfortunately*! Hence even *a priori* something like 367* was to be expected *from the same* super-viṣṇuite-redactorial hand and trend. But 367* *as it is now in the Mss* is a sheer barefaced *provocation to excision* (the only wonder being that many *more* Mss have not dropped it like a hot coal!)—and surely none but a congenital moron could have dreamt of *composing* and *interpolating* it *as it is*, as a mere glance at it should convince anyone. Yet an attentive study of the wording and the apparatus will show that the original composer-kavi in question intended it to come *after śloka* 13, as will be shown below and as actually given by Ñ3, though in different line-order, but that the last archetype redactor scrambled it into the present jumble—in a way exactly parallel to our Kadrū ÷ Vinatā basic "text-salad" above. Hence the present unsavoury jumble is due to a miscorrection (by the last archetype redactor) of the old archetype exemplar (whose original tenor has left only faint last traces in the actual wording of few stray Mss, but plenty of pointers and very clear ones in the sense and context and the logic of the variants, as we shall see). Garuḍa is speaking with Indra, who has granted him a boon (*Poona text*, including 367* *as placed* by the Mss):

11. ity uktaḥ pratyuvācedaṃ—kadrūputrān anusmaran /
smṛtvā caivopadhikṛtaṃ—mātur dāsyanimittataḥ //

12 īśo'ham api sarvasya—kariṣyāmi tu te'rthitam /
bhaveyur bhujagāḥ śakra—mama bhākṣyā mahābalāḥ //

13ab! tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ /

367* devadevaṃ mahātmānaṃ—yoginām īśvaraṃ harim // (!?)
sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena vai / (!?)
idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ // (!?)

13cd! hariṣyāmi vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity anubhāṣya tam / (?)

14 ājagāma tatas tūrṇaṃ—suparṇo mātur antikam / (!?)
atha sarpān uvācedaṃ—sarvān paramaharṣṭavat //

Now, śloka 13 (if taken *without* 367,* as is done in the Poona text) is obviously limping badly in style and construction: with "uktvā tam + anubhāṣya tam" (*without* "ca"!) in the *same* sentence *and* śloka *and* with *both* "tam" referring to the *same* object, and *both* ending the (first and last) pāda! No self-respecting kavi can afford to do such a thing. Besides there can be little room for doubt that 14c

with its initial " atha " is clamouring to be at the *beginning* of a new śloka and stage of the tale, while, correspondingly, 14ab sounds for all the world like the *end* of a stanza. *If only* it were something like " anubhāṣitaṃ " as one of those stray Mss *has* it (and the others plainly point to).....And, actually, if we give heed to those Mss we shall realise that at the very least (though it is more than that !), they all *independently* feel that there is something essentially wrong with that repetitive " anubhāṣya tam " which seems perforce, by the sheer trend of the language and style, to have to get tagged on to the " suparṇaḥ " in the *following* line, precisely because it has no " ca " that could naturally connect it with the " uktvā tam " in the *preceding* 13ab. But grammar, sense, style, stanzas and the whole narrative become at once healed as if by magic *if* the silliest-looking *lectio difficilior* of those stray Mss (" anubhāṣitam ") is properly understood and used as a working hypothesis to start with. And then let us just *un*scramble the text, *following the logic of the words and sense*, after putting that one word right, and everything is clear ; and it is then too that one can see reflected in the one term " anubhāṣya tam " the last redactor's " *logical* miscorrection " and *the* reason for all the scrambling and subsequent tentative *excisions*—the wonder being only (as we have said) that the latter were not more universal. Hence one also comes to realise what a rock-like firmness the *main Centre* (and, partially, extreme-N too) *tradition* must be credited with, precisely for having *preserved* such an apparent " eyesore "—where, as was but to be expected, the clever S (and *part* of the *post*-subarchetype extreme-N) reaches for the surgical knife. Hence the archetypal text was, *after* 12 and 13 (as above) expressing Garuḍa's petition for his boon :

13ab	tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ /
+13cd	hariṣyāmi viniḳṣiptaṃ—somam ity anubhāṣitam //
367*, 3	idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ /
+367*, 1	devadevaṃ mahātmānaṃ—yoginām īśvaraṃ harim //
367*, 2	sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena vai /
+14ab	ājagāma tatas tūrṇaṃ—suparṇo mātur antikam //
14cd	atha sarpān uvācedaṃ—sarvān paramahṛṣṭavat /
+15ab	idam ānītam amṛtaṃ—nikṣepsyāmi kuśeṣu vaḥ //
15cd	snātā maṅgalasaṃyuktās—tataḥ prāśnīta pannagāḥ /
+16ab	adāsī caiva māteyam—adyaprabhṛti cāstu me //
369*	bhavadbhir idam āsīnair—yad uktaṃ tad vacas tadā /
+16cd	yathoktaṃ bhavatām etad—vaco me pratipāditam //

There follow now 17 + (18ab + 370*) + 19 + 20 + 372* + 21 + 22 (*end of adhy.*)—but with 18cd *bracketed out* as an addition-substitute (for 370* *of the kavi* !) by the last redactor. (The sign + means that the half-śloka so marked forms a *complete original śloka* with the *preceding* line). Let us justify this reconstruction.

If we examine the above text (and compare it with the Poona text above) we shall easily recognise the *starting-point* of the whole scramble : first and foremost, at the transition from 11 + 12 to the rest of the above text there is the queer and unexpected twist (which is the only-too-clever *tour de force* betraying the meddling Viṣṇuite redactor's hand !) that Garuḍa's request and Indra's consent is on the one hand *a fait accompli*, but, on the other, is left *unnaturally hanging in the air while Indra "refers to the higher authorities" for approval.* To the well-intentioned devotee-"improver" (who had already interpolated 19, 12ff before !) this offered no difficulty, of course—and, besides, how else could he bring his "iṣṭadevatā" into a *previously existent* tale (where that deity did *not* originally belong !) except at the cost of some artificiality, which after all (he sincerely must have thought) was well worth risking for the sake of such an "improvement"? But our *last* archetype redactor could not but notice the unnatural artificiality of the redactorial trick ; he, therefore, simply (and naturally enough) could not bring himself to swallow it. This all the less, since he had already made ample allowance for Viṣṇu's supremacy in the near-by previous sectarian passage (19, 12ff.)—consequently his action can *not* be attributed to any "anti" bias. Hence he boldly *suppresses* the clumsy viṣṇuite reference proper (367*, 1) altogether by bracketing it out—the full reason for which will appear further down. For the rest his method of "healing" this whole passage bears his unmistakable personal signature, it being the same as the one in our basic passage above : a *swapping transposition* which we shall presently see in its full significance.

The second thing to notice is that our redactor has been misled by that very unnatural artificiality of the Viṣṇuite insertion into the colossal misunderstanding that finally drove him to scramble the text so utterly out of its *archetypal* shape and meaning (as above reconstructed). For, in the latter, the word "anubhāṣitam" alone can make any normally acceptable sense, as pointed out above (*provided* only that the rest of the pāda has *not* been tampered with in the transfer to the present Mss form—a problem which we shall solve further down). Hence the old kavi, in his own characteristic free-poetic style, would have originally said, "Indra, ityuktvā, anvagacchat tam (Garuḍam)...ity anubhāṣitam" = having said yes, Indra followed Garuḍa who had been spoken to (in these terms). But our "vidūṣaka" of a last redactor evidently understands the line ending with "ity anubhāṣitam" (13cd) as connected with the *following* line ("idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ")! In this he is misled by the usual *prose* arrangement which is : "thus having spoken, he did this or that" ; and, since precisely *that* is the tenor of 13ab ("ityuktvā agacchat"), he then construes : "ityanubhāṣitam idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha" as forming the *next* sentence (which also shows how *un*naturally built 13 *of the Poona text* is, if read "anubhāṣya tam," and how unlikely *a priori* it is to have come from the *kavi* !). But at the same time our redactor realises that the form and meaning of "idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha" makes it absolutely necessary to *invert* the order of 13cd and 369*, 3—lest it should appear (in the *new* setting) to mean the absurdity that Indra vacuously repeated

his own words ! And *that* is precisely most obviously *the* reason why the redactor has *so inverted* those two half-ślokas to form a complete stanza. And, since he *does* so invert them, he is logically forced to change " " anubhāṣitam " (whatever its original form) into " anubhāṣya tam " *chiefly* in order to say *to whom* the word is addressed, as the *new* context *needs*,—for else it can make no normal sensible sense. For how can he normally say : " idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ / hariṣyāmi vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity anubhāṣitam " ? ! To whom ? Even *he* has more sense than that ! And notice that in order that this " tam " should make smooth sense by referring to Garuḍa as being spoken to *again* by Indra !, our " vidūṣaka " has to make " sa cānvamodat " refer to *Indra* (when it is so unmistakably clear that originally it can *only* mean *Viṣṇu* !) although stylistically it simply refuses to fit in with 13ab with which our redactor forcibly compounds it into a śloka. (Really the finger-prints of our scrambling meddler could scarcely be clearer or more ubiquitous !)

And now a definitive word about that " anubhāṣitam." Since our uninhibited redactor has so evidently modified the line containing that word in transferring it, will he not have altered anything else in it—something that, while being suggested by the context, might have made him reject it *both* in the old setting *and* in the new ? It is true that, as we have shown above, the provisionally adopted reading " anubhāṣitam " does make bearable sense *as the text lies* (in its original setting !) ; but was that the original form ? Considering attentively the arrangement of the sentence *and* the pivotal position of " dānavasūdanaḥ," no one would dare deny that the following tenor would be simply *ideal*, *if* only it could be text-critically substantiated :

tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato *dānavasūdanaḥ* !
hariṣyasi vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity *anubhāṣitaḥ* !!

Now, does this not carry its own justification ? Even if we could not prove it, we would have to propound and uphold it as *the only* natural working hypothesis. And yet all the reasons that we adduced for " anubhāṣi*tam* " speak all the stronger for this final emendated form ; besides, of the four stray variants (*favouring* " anubhāṣita ") only one has the termination " tam " (which is quite understandable as a *secondary* assimilation to the *interlinear* " anubhāṣya *tam* " that would actually be in the archetype itself, after our redactor's manipulations), while the others have a non-committal " ta " for the last syllable (which in turn could be naturally traceable to an original " taḥ " whose *visarga* would be either confused with the śloka-end punctuation-daṇḍa or merely corrected away—after " bhāṣitaḥ " had been misread by haplography-haplology into " bhāṣetaḥ " : bhāṣateḥ," as it very easily can be, and then miscorrected into the *past-tense* demanded by the sense and context). But even leaving aside these possible *graphic* inducements to a mistake (besides the ever-present misleading influence of the interlinear " anubhāṣya *tam* " !) the above so daring-looking emendation is nothing but a *summary-echo* (*of the foregoing ślokas* 8 + 9) such as, on the one hand, would most naturally be

made by the kavi *in precisely the emendated form* above (because *exactly corresponding* to that previous passage), and such as, on the other hand, can actually explain much more graphically and satisfactorily *why* Indra " anvagacchat tam " after granting Garuḍa's petition : it is at Garuḍa's own invitation, *in return* for the granted boon !

But there is still more : the redactor who, for whatever reason, is bent upon making a new śloka out of the two components 637*, 3 + 13cd in the emendated form above :

" idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ /
(*plus*) *hariṣyasi* vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity *anubhāṣitaḥ* /

is *bound* to change the *italicised* words into " hariṣyāmi " and " anubhāṣya tam " (or " anubhāṣitam " ?) *if* he has to make any semblance of sense at all in the *new* context, as it is obvious. Hence anything that fits too well into that *new* context is *ipso facto* suspect of having been adapted by a redactor who is out to adapt *and* has been caught red-handed by us at his editorial tricks. On the other hand, the Mss could still retain traces of " anubhāṣitam " (or its variants) because it still makes some semblance of sense, even in the new setting—in fact, in a way, much better than " anubhāṣya tam " *except* for the mentioning of the *addressee*—but they could not possibly keep " hariṣyāmi " and...their senses ! Hence in restoring the old kavi-text we must emendate into *those* forms (of the demonstrably changed and changeable words) which best fit into the context and style of the *original* setting ; and those are, without any tergiversation, the ones proposed above. The fact that our redactor, in making that form change, also transfers the words from Garūḍa's to Indra's mouth need not shake our confidence in the least, for *that* is a minor conjuring trick for him who coolly applied a Kadrū verse to Vinatā, and in this very context applies (without batting an eyelid) the *Viṣṇu*-line 367*, 2 to *Indra* ! Besides, *here* he has the additional satisfaction of being able thereby to introduce a touch of variety, since in the original it was *both* times Garuḍa who said the words in question, while in *his* changed context they appear as attributed to Indra—as a sort of acceptance corresponding to Garūḍa's previous offer (in 8 + 9). He must have almost felt proud of himself, rather ; but in reality he just could not help it, if he had to make *some* sense, as we pointed out above.

With this indiscriminating " salad " served before their eyes, the more fastidious subredactors (S, and, subsequently, individual extreme-N Mss) have scarcely any choice but to drop that ballast of sheer childish nonsense, or at least part of it, for the honour of the Mhbh. (as they *sincerely* must have thought !) They only keep what still seems to make sense ; and they can do so in the case of the *unnatural combination* of 367*, 3 + 13cd only because the last redactor, in putting them together, has felt bound to change the only word-form that could have gone with the *original* order (" anubhāṣitaḥ ") into the one *demanded* by the *new* arrangement, if it had to make some sort of bearable sense (*complete with addressee*) : " anubhāṣya

tam." But what an awful sort of patchy stop-gap style !—it simply stinks in the nostrils of anyone who *senses* his sanskrit in a *living* way : " idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha.....ity *anubhāṣya tam* " ! Every word of it and more particularly, the foolish nonsensical iteration of the last two (= " uvāca idaṃ vacaḥ ...ity uktvā " !) speak of unnaturalness—*and also* of the *original* meaning and place they had by " birth-right " (as restituted above).

Of course, the fact that we *know* our man (the last archetype redactor !) and his bag of tricks from our basic example (*and* from all the others above) gives us added assurance in this reconstruction, though the inner logic of the language should by itself suffice—especially together with the circumstance that this *alone* really explains *all* the facts in the apparatus.

And now comes the final step of the *swapping transposition* : our redactor puts things in " full order " by letting the words " sa cānvamodat " (367*, 2) apply to *him* who (according to *his* reading of the text !) really did approve of Garūḍa's petition and intimation—Indra ; hence he finishes the trick by putting into the *now* empty place of 13cd (which latter he has transferred, as we have seen) the line 267*. 2 (originally Viṣṇu-meaning) :

tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ /
sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena vai //

That this transfer *and mis*-application to Indra (against the obvious original kavi's intention) is a neat parallel to the similar juggling in the Kadrū-Vinatā case is obvious, as pointed out above. But, since our redactor is in a changing-blundering mood, and considering the old-epic type of our episode, we suspect him of having done here something we have often found in the Mhbh Mss tradition elsewhere : a tendency to substitute the old-fashioned epic particle " ha " (so popular with the older popular-epic kavis (precisely at the *pāda-end* !) with some other one. The reason is mainly *graphic*—that is to say, " ha " becomes easily blurred and (especially because old-fashioned) misread and miswritten as " ca " (a glaring example, further down in 16ab !) : then, when the latter particle does not fit the context (as here, where there is another " ca " in the same sentence and sense) a convenient substitute is found ; and this is often just " vai " (cfr. the apparatus of 20, 2, 3)—seldom, if ever, " ha." Hence our conjecture in this case—for which, though, we shall find more solid confirmation in a later part of our study.

Let us now examine the state of the archetype after the above manipulations by the last redactor. Naturally, since the main transfers were only of 13cd and 367*, 3 over one single śloka-length, it must have been made without re-writing the transferred pādas, but only by counter-marking (though re-writing—with its aid to confusion—would make matters still easier for our explanation). Thus, after 11 + 12 (as above) :

(13) tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ /
harisyāmi anubhāṣya tam /
(*mark* **) *harisyasi* vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity *anubhāṣitaḥ* //
(*mark* *) idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ / (367*, 3)
((devadevaṃ mahātmānaṃ—yoginām īśvaraṃ harim)) (367*, 1)
vai
sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena *ha* / (367* 2)
(*countermark* *)
(*countermark* **)
(14ab) ājagāma tatas tūrṇaṃ—suparṇo mātur antikam //

Naturally, in copying, the copyists would duly transfer the marked parts as indicated (and as we have seen them doing in other similar cases), but they would *also* " conscientiously " write down *the bracketed-out pādas* (for *their* job was just to *copy, not* to edit-redact !)—in this case 367*, 1, which was followed in the original by 367*, 2, while this latter gets *now* (due to the redactor's *transfer* !) an attached 367*, 3, followed in turn by 13cd, owing to the same transfer—and *that is exactly what we find in the Ms* that contain 367* !

But then the more " cleverer" sub-redactors were bound to find the " salad " (resulting from the unconnected-inorganic nature of the meant-to-be-excluded viṣṇuite line, and from the natural connection with it of 367*, 2—which does not smoothly dovetail into the new Indra-context into which it is being forced by the redactor) completely indigestible ; hence they proceed to discard it (367*) either totally (S) or partially (individual K Mss). What else could they do if they wanted to make some sense ? For, if one takes 13ab leaving it *with* 367*, 1, it is obviously nonsensical and unnatural ; and yet, if one discards that inorganic line and puts istead 267*, 2 (as the redactor—the asinine blunderer !—had actually intended) it gives an extremely foolish and stylistically unnatural second half-śloka, as anyone can see for himself ; and if one discards *both* those (*as* placed in the Mss) *stupid* lines, as single Mss do, in order to tag on to 1 ab the last line (367*, 3) you get only a uselessly repetitive (vs. *anubhāṣya tam* !) half-śloka that, together with 13cd, leaves a six-pāda freak without any need (for the sense) ! *Excision* one way or the other is so obviously the only escape that the fact of so many Mss keeping 367* (or part of it at least) in spite of all their squirmings and partial surgery is in itself an evident proof that the text *must be archetypal*—and the desperate mad-cap attempt of Ñ3 to place 367* (in its *present* arrangement and wording) is an object-lesson in this sense. Hence the S is simply and evidently *excising* against its archetype or sub-archetype—*and* the Poona editor with it. (What Procrustes-methods—poor Mhbh.-kavis !)

It should be clear that the copyists would also naturally copy alternative readings (interlinear or marginal) that were not altogether illegible or too obviously incompatibly-exclusive ; hence the possibility of an old word persevering in stray copies even when a sub-archetype has on the whole adopted as preferable one

particular variant. It is thus that some of the above " lectiones difficiliores " like " anubhāṣita " had a chance of survival ; but " hariṣyasi " would have no chance because of the incompatible *new* context.

But if we go still deeper into the state of text and apparatus, we shall finally see that it is precisely the *emendated* form which, besides being the most natural and genuine-ringing by all tests, it is also the one that best explains all the changes, reconstructions and discardings that face us here. For it is only *with* those emendations that we fully realise *why* the redactor is so confused by the clumsiness of the viṣṇuite interpolation (even though he had not turned a hair at the previous one in 19, 12) : the original archetypal text before him, after stating (13ab) that Indra says yes *and follows* Garūḍa, seems to start something that he (as we saw) interprets as a *new* stage in the story—in the following staggering way : (13cd) " Having been told, ' You will snatch the deposited Soma ' (367*, 3) the worshipful king of the gods said this same word again to the supreme Viṣṇu "—which to our redactor (as to anyone who would understand the text as *he* does—and as, of course, the kavi never even dreamed of !) sounds silly in the extreme ! Just imagine that, when being told, " *you* will snatch the soma," Indra goes and retails " that same word again " to Viṣṇu-the-great, as if passing the command-invitation to *him*—and Viṣṇu agrees forsooth, *after* everything has been settled ! " sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ yathoktaṃ Garuḍena " ! And now we see that the real reason for the *suppression* of the viṣṇuite touch proper (367*, 1) is (practically certainly) a respectful desire not to seem to put Viṣṇu in a ridiculously banal situation. For, that the redactor *suppresses* such a (to him) silly-looking appendage is undeniable from the state of the text, and hence he must have bracketed those two pādas off in the archetype itself intending to leave them out as *expunged*. The irrefragable proof that this *must* have been his intention is the barefaced fact, shown by *all* the concerned Mss, that *precisely* those two *lines* are left absolutely untouched *and* unconnected with the surrounding text—a thing impossible for our last redactor as we know him !—and this proves beyond cavil that he left them out of all account for *his* reading of the text. That explains the *arrant nonsense* that all the Mss with 367* dish out to us, which is a sheer insult to human intelligence, *as it lies. But* that arrant nonsense is only due to the usual fact that the archetype-*copyists afterwards* took down *both* the new swapping arrangement *and also the bracketed-off lines destined for excision* !

And now comes the final point that will lead us to the definitive solution of this text-critical problem. For there is one seemingly slight difficulty left : how could the redactor bring himself to build the śloka :

> " tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ
> sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena ha "

if the second line so clearly referred to Viṣṇu, not Indra, in the kavi-original ? Of course we can answer that he *just did it*, whatever the reason, and that he makes

no bones about transferring and misapplying verses from one subject to the other, as we know—yet, was not there something in the text itself to mislead and hoodwink him and to give an even clearer motive for all his juggling and (especially) his *excising* of a viṣṇuite line? The following gives, we feel sure, the ultimate and satisfactory answer, if, arguing back from the facts in the Mss, we reconstruct the order of the pādas in a slightly different manner—thus:

tathety uktvānvagacchat taṃ—tato dānavasūdanaḥ /
hariṣyasi vinikṣiptaṃ—somam ity anubhāṣitaḥ //
devadevaṃ mahātmānam—yoginām īśvaraṃ harim
idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha—bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ /
sa cānvamodat tat sarvaṃ—yathoktaṃ garuḍena ha
ājagāma tatas tūrnaṃ—suparṇo mātur antikam //

It will easily be seen *first*, that *this* order comes still closer to the one actually given in the Mss containing 367*; *second*, that it actually is more likely that the viṣṇuite interpolator should have started this passage with what *all* the Mss give as the *first* line of it, both because of the syntax order within the sentence and the emphasis on Viṣṇu as a new factor, as well as in order to avoid the close proximity of "idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ" to the foregoing Indra's speech, lest it should create the misunderstanding that *this alone* was what Indra repeated to Viṣṇu—(which is precisely what our redactor, notwithstanding that precaution, actually misunderstood to his undoing!); *third*, that "bhagavān tridaśeśvaraḥ" forms a very natural-sounding sentence *end* parallel to the "dānavasūdanaḥ" in the previous sentence *end*; *fourth*, that the redactor (as said above) misunderstands the two first lines, construing them as *parallel* sentences in a way never intended by the kavi: "ity uktvā (indra) anvagacchat tam" and (*separately*!) "ity anubhāṣitaḥ... devadevam...idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha...tridaśeśvaraḥ"; and since (when *so* construed the word that Indra repeats seems to be (in spite of the kavi's care!) just and only what he himself has already just said, and since Viṣṇu is clearly considered by the kavi as in no need of being told what his omniscience must have directly known, and what (according to the natural meaning of 19, 16 ff. must have happened before his eyes, the redactor feels justified in sparing that deity the banality and almost the indignity of the implication. But there is more—and that explains fully our redactor's desperate reshuffle: the text, as reconstituted above, does actually seem to attribute to *Indra* the obnoxious line "sa cānvamodat" *if* one looks only at the *grammatical immediate* context, (especially *if* "ity anubhāṣitaḥ" is *mis*-shunted as our redactor *does*!) even though, if one looks at the trend of the story and the wider context and the prominent position given to Viṣṇu in the preceding śloka there can be no doubt about the intention of the kavi himself, who by "*sa ca*" could stylistically mean only Viṣṇu—given his *original* clause arrangement in *this* sentence setting!

And now it is clear as daylight why the redactor feels no qualms of conscience in attributing to *Indra* the line in question and in swapping it while also changing

"harişyasi" into "harişyāmi"—since indeed Indra (according to *his* understanding of the text!) had really said just that sentence and no more when he "idaṃ bhūyo vacaḥ prāha." Therefore since, as we saw, our redactor does discard (by bracketing off, as usual) the Viṣṇu line—also, if not chiefly, because it forces to form a six-pāda freak (as *he* understands the sentence!) *and* is the *only* part of it that can be dispensed with while keeping the sense unimpaired—he proceeds to his reshuffling: first, either by countermarks or by re-writing, he brings 13cd, ("harişyasi", duly "corrected" for the new context), to its new berth *after* 367*, 2 (sa cānvamodat"); and, next, with a couple of countermarks he merely *inverts* the order of the two *contiguous* half-ślokas ("idaṃ bhūyo" and "sa cānvamodat"), and *presto* the text is in the very order (*and* in the very nonsense-*salad*) in which our Mss containing 367* sport it. For now the copyists, also as usual, and as part of their *métier*, *copy* everything, bracket or no bracket, while at the same time blindly changing the order according to the marks and countermarks. AND THEN the subredactors come into their own and have their innings on that queered pitch, as shown above. That, in all this, the I.Q. of our last archetype redactor is shown to be barely average, *if* that, only proves to what sort of transmitting hands the jewels of our epic kavis came to be entrusted in the course of their chequered career. Though well-intentioned, it was "kāvya-rākṣasās"—not "rakṣakās"—that they were, and not even very clever ones at that (for which let us be truly thankful, since we can still unmask them!)

It is thus that all our previous conclusions and findings about this passage receive in this slightly changed order their final confirmation and crowning. And though the difference between the two solutions is apparently small, we have given *both* as a practical demonstration of how every detail, even the minutest, counts in achieving a completely satisfactory solution—which the last one *is* in preference to the first.

And now, to pick up the last hanging threads of this whole passage: 30, 11—22 (end of adhy.), here go the remaining corrections. The wilful transposition of 369* (which the Mss give as coming immediately after 15) is also due to the last redactor, who tries to re-arrange it because he finds the original śloka (16ab + 369*) rather repetitious-looking—but it really isn't at all so: "yad uktam vaco bhavadbhir...bhavatām etad vaco yathoktaṃ me pratipāditam"; it is only epic-leisurely. But *his* transposition only makes it look *more* superfluous—hence excisions in the Mss. He also finds 18ab + 370* repetitious and inserts an intended substitute (an echo of 15cd!) for 370*—but again there is no *real* repetition: "sarpā āgatās tam uddeśam, yatraitad amṛtam cāpi sthāpitam..."—they reached the place *and* the very spot where..." That 370* *must be* the archetypal original is *completely* made sure by 19a, whose "*tad*" can *only* refer to the "*etad* amṛtām" of 370*! (How an editor can perpetrate such a mangling of the text passes my comprehension). But, besides, 18cd can only make a *six-pādas* śloka (since both 18ab + 370* *are* genuine)—and "*there ain't no sich thing*" in the *real* archetype, as we have again and again demonstrated above.

As for the genuineness of 372*, there is not only the broad Centre + K backing, but also the fact that it *looks* repetitious-superfluous especially because of the two ornamental end-stanzas (most likely an after-thought !) with their solemn epilogue and *phalaśruti*. Hence there is *every* incentive for *dropping* that śloka—and next to none for thinking of *adding* it. In fact, both the two last ornamental stanzas and a *secunda manu* bracketing off of 370* may come from the last redactor. But in all the cases above our *gobble-gobble copyists* copied everything—and then the Centre (especially !) conservatively kept it, while the other sub-redactors tended to excise.

In 16ab there is one obvious small emendation to make : the *two* " ca " *cannot* be original ; hence the reading must be in a : " adāsī*haiva* mateyam " instead of the " caiva " (vs. " cāstu " in b !), with an easy *graphic* misreading " haiva " : " caiva "), due to the unexpected " iha," and to the fact that the long-ī of " adāsī " gives no hint that a " praśliṣṭa " is at work, and also to the free-poetic *displacing* of the expected " ca " to the *tail-end* of the sentence. As regards " pratyuktvā "... in 17b, it can scarcely have come *so* from the kavi's pen ; but of that more anon.

To sum up : the foregoing samples, taken together, should be deemed enough to justify the above directive norms (concerning the value of the different Mss tradition streams) as well as their application to the practical solution of Mhbh text-critical problems. They will also be seen to bear out our contention that *the Poona Mhbh edition must needs be done all over again—beginning with, and with special reference to, the fundamental* " *Ādiparvan*," precisely *because*, and in as far as, it is fundamental for the rest. This applies particularly to the text-critical reconstitution of *our archetype-text*, as far as it is actually warranted by *our* Mss material *when* and *if* rightly and thoroughly scrutinised. A further proof of all this will follow in due course as a continuation of this study. But the far-reaching nature of the above claims—which are tantamount to saying that *the Poona edition is substantially upside-down*—made us go into all the details of the above investigation, sparing neither ourselves nor the reader, so that all the cards may be laid on the table. But anyone wishing to gauge the full value of our arguments will have to keep the Poona edition constantly before his eyes and be thoroughly familiar with it—else he will soon feel lost and get no forrader. But to him who peels that bitter rind, " the fruit shall taste exceeding sweet."

BĀDARĀYAṆA'S CONCEPTION OF BRAHMAN

(*A Fresh Interpretation of Brahmasūtra I.3*)

By

P. M. Modi

It is well-known that according to the author of the *Brahmasūtra* the Reality has two Aspects, the *a-rūpavat* or the Impersonal One and the *rūpavat* or the Personal One. He calls the latter Puruṣa or Puruṣavidha and points out that in certain Śrutis the Reality is called by that name (Puruṣa, e.g., *Puruṣam api c ainam adhīyate*—Sūtra I. 2.26; for "*puruṣavidham.....*" see the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the same). Regarding the interpretation of Śrutis Bādarāyaṇa remarks that the Śrutis distinguish the Personal Aspect with adjectives of the Impersonal One and *vice versa* (*viśiṃṣanti hi itaravat*—Bra. Sū. III. 3.37). Therefore, says the Sūtrakāra, there is "an interchange" (*vyatihāra*) of the adjectives or the attributes of the two aspects of the Reality, (Bra. Sū. III. 3.37) allowed to the meditator for the purpose of meditation on either of the two. He further says that *ānanda*, etc., collected in Bra. Sū. I. 1, are attributes belonging to the Impersonal One and are to be used in meditation on the same only (Bra. Sū. III. 3.11); that *satyasaṅkalpa* and others (*satyādayaḥ* -Bra. Sū. III. 3.38-39) collected in Bra. Sū. I. 2 by the Sūtrakāra and explained by him as belonging to the Personal Aspect may be used by the meditator, if he so chooses, in meditation on the Impersonal One; Bādarāyaṇa says the same for the *dyubhvādyāyatana* and other attributes collected by him in Bra. Sū. I. 3. (*Satyādayaḥ kāmād itaratra tatra ca āyatanādibhyaḥ* -Bra. Sū. III. 3.38-39; for the interpretation of these Sūtras see *A Critique of the Brahmasūtra*: Part I: Interpretation of the Sūtras, pp. 165-178). It is meant that the Śrutis considered in Bra. Sū. I. 2 profess to deal with the Personal Aspect (the Puruṣa or the Puruṣavidha), but they use for It some adjectives which properly belong to the Impersonal Aspect. The same seems to be the view of the Sūtrakāra about the Śrutis discussed in Bra. Sū. I. 3, as his remarks about the Śrutis of this latter (I.3) Pāda are the same as those about Bra. Sū. I. 2. (*tatra c'āyatanādibhyaḥ*—in Bra. Sū. III. 3.39; 'the attributes of the Reality collected in Bra. Sū. I. 3, viz., *āyatana*, i.e., *dyubhvādyāyatana*, etc. may be used in the meditation on "THAT" i.e., on the Impersonal One, at the will of the meditator).

We shall in this Paper interpret Bra. Sū. I.3 and try to see if the view expressed in Bra. Sū. III. 3.37-39 can be verified with the help of the actual interpretation of Bra. Sū. I.3.

In our opinion the Sūtrakāra interprets all Śrutis which are the *viṣayavākyas* of Bra. Sū. I.3, as dealing with the Personal Aspect of the Reality.

Section I : Sūtras 1-7

The Abode (*āyatana*) of the sky, the earth, etc. (*dyubhvādi*), in Mu. Upa. II. 2.5, is the Personal One,

(*a*) because there is His own word (*svaśabdāt*). There is the word "*ātman*" in "*tam eva ekaṁ jānatha ātmānam....*" Mu. Upa. II 2.5-6-7, and that is a word used for the Puruṣa,—Sūtra 1,

(*b*) and (*ca*)[1] because the Abode is given the name (*vyapadeśa*) "Puruṣa," lit., "the One to be reached by the liberated soul." (*muktopasṛpya*, referring to "*tathā vidvān nāmarūpād vimuktaḥ parāt paraṁ Puruṣam upaiti divyam.*" so does the wise man liberated from the name and the form, *i.e.*, from the transmigration, reach the Puruṣa Who is higher than the highest. Mu. Upa. III. 2.8).

The Abode is not the principle taught in the Anumāna, the Inference, *i.e.*, the Smṛti as distinguished from the Śruti which is called Pratyakṣa, the Perception. The Abode is not the Prakṛti of the Gītā, the Smṛti, because we have the word "*ātman*" used for It, and "*ātman*" is "not a word for the Prakṛti of the Gītā Smṛti" (*a-tac-chabdāt*),—Sūtra 3;

and the Abode is not the Jīva, the individual soul, lit., the bearer of the breath (*prāṇabhṛt*). Sūtra 4, because the Jīva is mentioned (*vyapadeśa*) separately (*bheda*) in "The Syllable OM is the bow, the individual soul the arrow; Brahman is said to be the aim of that arrow" "*praṇavo dhanuḥ śara ātmā Brahma tal-lakṣyam ucyate*," Mu. Upa. II. 2.4,—Sūtra 5; because the Context (*prakaraṇa*) as per Mu. Upa. II. 2.1-2, and Mu. Upa. II. 2. 6-7 shows that the individual soul is not the topic here,—Sūtra 6; and because of the *sthiti*, the non-eating or mere staying, of the One Who is the Abode, and the *adana*, the eating of the tasteful pippala-fruit of the individual soul, mentioned in Mu. Upa. III. 1.1. (*tayor anyaḥ pippalaṁ svādv atty anaśnan anyo' bhicākaśīti*)—Sūtra 7.

Bādarāyaṇa refers to the two words "*ātman*" and "*puruṣa*" to show that the Abode is the Personal One.

Section II : Sūtras 8-9

The Plenty (Bhūman), in Chā. Upa. VII. 23-24, is the Personal Aspect,

(*a*) because He is mentioned (*upadeśāt*) as superior to (*adhi*)[2] Happiness' *samprasāda*,[3] i.e., the Happiness of Liberation. This Happiness is called "*sukha*"

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1. We add "*ca*" to the reading of Śaṅkara. Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha read the Sūtra with "*ca*."

2. Cf. *adhi* in *sattvād adhi mahān ātmā* (Kaṭha Upa. VI. 7). "*adhi*" means "higher than." As each succeeding item in the Lore of the Bhūman, *nāman*, *vāk*, *manas*, etc., is "higher than" each preceding one and as the Bhūman is mentioned after the mention of "*sukha*" (This must be noted carefully), the Sūtrakāra takes the Bhūman as higher than the *sukha*. He is quite clear in his view and states it in clear words that the Bhūman is superior to *saṁprasāda* which means *sukha* in the Śruti in question.

3. "*Saṁprasāda*," like "*adhi*" is an Upaniṣadic word. Cf. *Evam evaiṣa saṁprasādo.*

in the Śruti in question, viz., "*Yadā vai sukhaṁ labhate'tha karoti*...(Chā. Upa. VII. 22.1) *Yo vai Bhumā tat sukham*...(*ibid.* VII. 23), *Yatra nā'nyat paśyati nā'nyac chṛuṇoti nā'nyad vijānāti sa Bhūmā*" (ibid. VII. 24.1). The Happiness, *sukha*, is explained by the Sūtrakāra, who uses the word "*samprasāda*" and refers to *sukha* thereby;—Sūtra 8;

(*b*) and because the attributes mentioned here would be appropriate (*dharmopapatti*) only if the Bhūman be the Personal Aspect. The Bhūman is One Where one sees none else, hears none else and knows none else; this is the attribute called "*anyabhāvavyāvṛtti*" in Sūtra 12 of this Pāda; it was admitted by both, the Sūtrakāra and his Opponent, that there was no other and higher principle than the Puruṣa; the Sūtrakāra has already said that the Bhūman is superior to Happiness (*saṁprasādād adhi*).

How would "*anyabhāvavyāvṛtti*" be an attribute of the Puruṣa? I suggest that the Opponent of the Sūtrakāra was one who believed that the highest principle was the Puruṣa and that as the highest principle was all this visible world, there was nothing else but the principle in this world. The Opponent and the author of the Sūtras held that the exclusion (*vyāvṛtti*) of any other principle but the Puruṣa (*anyabhāva*) was the characteristic of the Puruṣa. This was the view of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. This has been fully proved by us elsewhere.[4] This view is used by the Sūtrakāra only to prove that a Śruti which mentions *anyabhāvavyavṛtti* (exclusion of any other thing or principle) deals with the Puruṣa. The other part of the same view was that the Puruṣa was higher than the Avyakta (Cf. *Avyaktāt Puruṣaḥ paraḥ—Kaṭha Upa.* IV. 8) was accepted by the Opponent but it was rejected and refuted by the Sūtrakāra (Vide our interpretation of "*param ataḥ setu-unmānasaṁbandhabhedavyapadeśebhyaḥ*—Bra. Sū. III. 2.31).[5] The Sūtrakāra's argument that the Bhūman is superior to the *sukha* or *saṁprasāda*, is significant in this connection. It is very likely, and I feel quite sure, that the Opponent of the Sūtrakāra took the Bhūman as identical with *sukha* and said that the Puruṣa, mentioned in other Śrutis like the *Kaṭha Upa.* and in the *Gītā*, though not in the Śruti under discussion, was higher than the Bhūman. The Sūtrakāra replies by interpreting *sukha* as *saṁprasāda* i.e. as *sukha*, but by taking the Bhūman as superior to *sukha* and by emphasising the fact that there is no other thing or principle than the Bhūman according to this very Śruti.

We have taken "*anyabhāvavyāvṛtti*" *as* the *dharma* meant in *dharmopapatteś ca*. The Śruti mentions that *dharma*, while defining Bhūman, and the Sūtrakāra

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'*smāc charīrāt samuthāya paraṁ Jyotir upasaṁpadya svena rūpeṇā' bhiniṣpadyate*" (Chā. Upa' VIII. 12.3) and *sa vā eṣa etasmin saṁprasāde ratvā caritvā* ..(Br. Upa. IV. 3.15)' The Sūtrakāra does not use the word in the Upaniṣadic sense exactly, though he is very near t.

4. Vide "Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy" by Dr. P. M. Modi.

5. Vide "A Critique....," pp. 46-69.

also mentions "*anyabhāvavyāvṛtti*" as an argument in Bra. Sū. I.3.12, i.e., in this very Pāda.

Section III : Sūtras 10-12

The Immutable One, the Akṣara, in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.8. is the Personal Aspect of the Reality.

(*a*) because He sustains (*dhṛteḥ*) all those beginning with the sun and the moon and ending with the sky (*ambarānta*). Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.9 and 11. The word "*ambara*" in the Sūtra serves two purposes ; it shows that the Sūtrakāra refers to the word "*ākāśa*" in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.11 (*Etasmin nu khalv akṣare Gārgy ākāśa otaś ca protaś c eti*) ; at the same time it means that the Sūtrakāra takes *ākāśa* in the sense of the sky, a part of the Nature like the sun, the moon,...the rivers. The word "*dhṛti*" is taken from "*vidhṛta*" which occurs thrice in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8. 9 ; *ambarānta* shows that the Sūtrakāra takes the *ākāśa* along with the sun, the moon,.....the rivers, the fact of the receiving persons praising the giving persons, the gods depending upon the sacrificing man and the ancestors depending upon the *darvī*, the sacrifice offered to them. All these, the sun, etc., and the last three facts are maintained or sustained under the government (*praśāsana*) of the Akṣara. The Śruti ends with the fact of the dependence of the ancestors on the *darvī* ; the Sūtrakāra would add the ākāśa to the list, and hence he speaks of "those ending with (*anta*) the sky (*ambara*). This also means that the Sūtrakāra who interprets the ākāśa in the sense of sky, takes "*otaś ca protaś ca*" in the sense of "*dhṛta* or *vidhṛta* upheld, maintained or sustained. The act of upholding or sustaining, which may be interpreted as the act of physically supporting or fixing, is interpreted by the Sūtrakāra as that of ruling or governing ; thus, the sun and the moon are governed by the Akṣara the Immutable One, the fact of the ancestors depending upon the *darvī* is also governed by the Akṣara ; and similarly, the sky is governed by the Akṣara ; through this governing act of the Akṣara, all these ending with the sky are *dhṛta* i.e., kept in order and made to work regularly, and the facts or laws about the receivers, the gods and the ancestors remain unchanged. Therefore, the Sūtrakāra says, "And that act of sustaining (*dhṛti* referred to by *sā*) is performed by Governing (*praśāsanāt*)." The Sūtrakāra, by interpreting *dhṛti* as maintaining through governing, precludes the possbility of taking *dhṛti* as *sthiti* in *janma-sthiti-pralaya*, the threefold function of the Impersonal Aspect ;—Sūtras 10 and 11 ;

(*b*) and because the existence of any other principle than the Akṣara is excluded by saying "There is no seer other than This Akṣara, there is no Hearer other than This Akṣara....." (Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.11). The Sūtrakāra means that there is no principle other than and higher than the Akṣara, and the Akṣara must be taken as the highest One, *viz.*, the Puruṣa. Whom the Opponent also believes to be the highest One. Re the interpretation of *anyabhāvavyāvṛtti*, see our interpretation of Sūtra I.3.9 *supra*—Sūtra 12.

Section IV : Sūtra 13.

The Puruṣa in Praśna Upa. V. 5. is the Personal Aspect because He is called (*vyapadeśa*) " Puruṣa," lit., " the object (*karma*) of the action of seeing (*īkṣati*), in the Śruti, *viz.*, " He sees the Puruṣa the higher than the highest from this Mass of Life." *sa etasmāj jīvaghanāt parāt paraṁ puriśayaṁ Puruṣam īkṣate* " (Pra. Upa. V. 5).

Section V : Sūtras 14-25

The small Ether. Dahara Ākāśa. in Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.1, is the Personal Aspect.

(*a*) because the subsequent statements (*uttara vākyas*) mean so ; viz., " *Eṣo'ntarhṛdaya ākāśaḥ* (Chā. Upa. III. 1.3). " *Eṣa ātmā'pahatapāpmā vijaro vimṛtyur viśoko vijighatso' pipāsaḥ satyakāmaḥ satyasaṁkalpo* (Chā. Upa. III. 1.5), *tadya ihātmānam ananuvidya vrajanti*.....(Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.6). These sentences prove that the Small Ether is the Puruṣa : Sūtra 14 :

(*b*)-(*c*) because the Śruti mentions the " going " of all beings everyday to this " Small Ether " (*gati*), which is possible only if the " Small Ether " is the Puruṣa. " All these creatures, though going (*gati*) everyday, do not get this Brahmaloka, because they are carried away by falsehood " (Chā. Upa. VIII. 3.2) ; and because the Śruti uses the word (*śabda*) " *ātman* " which is used for the Puruṣa. " That *ātman*, here, is in the heart," (Chā. Upa. VIII. 3.3) ; because there are in similar manner a direct Śruti (*dṛṣṭa*), viz., " Even so all *these beings*, having united with Sat, do not know ' We have united with Sat ' " (Chā. Upa. VI. 9.1-3), and an indicatory mark (*liṅgam*) viz., the use of the word " *ātman* " e.g., in Mu. Upa. II. 2.5 (and in many other Śrutis) which the Sūtrakāra looks upon as a word for the Puruaṣa.– Sūtra I. 3.15.

(*d*) and because the greatness in the form of the power of sustaining (*dhṛteḥ mahimā*), which belongs to this Dahara Ākāśa, viz., the one stated in " *Atha ya ātmā sa setur vidhṛtir esāṁ lokānām asaṁbhedāya*....." (Chā. Upa. VIII. 4.1), is found (*upalabdheḥ*) in this i.e., in the Personal Aspect. e.g., in " *Eṣa setur vidharaṇa eṣām lokānām asaṁbhedāya*... " (Bṛ. Upa. IV. 4.222), as has been shown in Bra. Sū. I. 3.41, or in " *Etasya vā Akṣarasya praśāsane Gārgi sūryācandramasau vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ* " in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.9, which has been discussed by the Sūtrakāra in Bra. Sū. I. 3.10-12.

(*e*) and because the Small Ether is well-known (*prasiddhi*) to be the Personal Aspect in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā, e.g., Chā. Upa. III. 14.1-2, which the Sūtrakāra has discussed in Bra. Sū. I. 2.1 (*sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt*). Sūtra 13.

If the Opponent says, " Because there is here the consideration (*parāmarśa*) of the other i.e., the Jīva, the Dahara Ākāśa is the Jīva, not the Puruṣa " ; we reply, " No, it is impossible (*asaṁbhava*) to apply the statements (*a*)-(*c*) to the Jīva. " *asya* etc." in Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.5. refers to the Jīva. But the arguments put forth by the Sūtrakāra to prove the Dahara Ākāśa to be the Puruṣa show that there is no possibility of the Jīva being the topic here.

If the Opponent argues on the ground of the subsequent sentences in Chā. Upa. VIII. 3.4, we reply, " But, he, i.e., the Jīva mentioned in Chā. Upa. VIII. 3.4, is the soul whose nature (*svarūpa*) has become manifest (*āvirbhūta*) " ; and the consideration of the individual soul here in Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.5, is for another purpose, viz., to distinguish the Jīva from Brahman, rather than to describe the Jīva as Brahman, as the Opponent thinks.

If the Opponent says, " Because the present Śruti is a Śruti about the small one (*alpaśruteḥ*), *dahara* meaning small," we reply, " That objection has been already refuted viz., in Bra. Sū. I. 2.7, where " *vyomavat*," is intended to explain the Dahara Ākāśa in the present Śruti and Sūtras. The Sūtrakāra has already said in Sū. I. 2·7 that Brahman has a very small residence (*arbhakaukastva*) viz., the heart, because He is so prescribed to be meditated upon ;—Sūtra 21 ; and because the Puruśa imitates (*Tadanukṛtes tasya*) the heart in which He is said to reside.—Sūtra 22 ; moreover, there is a Smṛti also, viz., " God resides in the place of the heart of all beings. Bha. Gī. XVIII. 61 —Sūtra 23.[6]

Section VI : Sūtras I. 3.24-25

The measured One (*pramitaḥ*), the Puruṣa of the size of the thumb (*aṅguṣṭha-mātraḥ Puruṣa*), in Kaṭha Upa. IV. 13, is the Personal Aspect of the Reality, merely (*eva*) because the very word " *Puruṣa* " occurs (*śūbdāt*) in the Śruti itself,—Sūtra 24.

But, He is said to reside in the heart, *hṛdi*, in "*madhy ātmani tiṣṭhati*," Kaṭha Upa. IV. 13, due to the necessity (*apekṣayā*) of His being present there, arising from the fact that men have the religious fitness (*manuṣyādhikāra*) for the type of meditation meant here.—Sūtra 25.

The Sūrakāra emphasises the use of the very word " Puruṣa " in the Śruti under discussion (Sūtra 24).

6. Śaṅkara and others take Sūtras 22-23 as a new Section, dealing with Mu. Upa. II. 2.10 and Kaṭha Upa. V. 15. Rāmānuja, however, takes these Sūtras as part of the Section beginning with " *dahara uttarebhyaḥ* " (Bra. Sū. I. 3.14). Generally, we find a word in the nom. sing., when a new Adhikaraṇa is begun, e.g., *āyatanam* (I. 3.1), *Bhūmā* (I. 3.8), *Akṣaram* (I. 3.10), *saḥ* (I. 3.13), *Daharaḥ* (I. 3.14), *Pramitaḥ* (I. 3.24). As there is no such nom. sing. form in Bra. Sū. I.3.22, it should be taken with the preceding Sūtra.

Section VII : Sūtras 26-33
and
Section VIII : Sūtras 34-38

Sūtras 26-33 discuss the question whether beings higher than men, i.e. the gods and others, are entitled to the meditation on the Reality ; while Sūtras 34-38 deal with the question whether a Śūdra is entitled to the same. As these problems have no direct concern with that of the nature of the Reality, no interpretation of the Sūtras has been attempted here.

Section IX : Sūtra 39

The Breath, Prāṇaḥ, in Kaṭha Upa. VI. 2. is the Personal Aspect, because the act of " shaking " (*kaṁpana*) which belongs to the Puruṣa, is mentioned here, viz., in *Prāṇe ejati*, i.e., " when the Breath is shaking." Kaṭha Upa. VI. 2.

Section X : Sūtra 40

The Light, Jyotiḥ, in Chā. Upa. VIII. 12.3. is the Personal Aspect, because we see (*darśanāt*) in the Śruti itself that the Light is called " *Puruṣa*," viz., in " *sa uttamaḥ Puruṣaḥ* " That is the Highest Person " (according to Śaṅkara also).— Sūtra 40.

The Sūtrakāra takes "*sa uttamaḥ Puruṣaḥ*" to be the description of the Jyotiḥ.

Section XI : Sūtras 41-43[7]

The Ether, Ākāśa, in " *tayor eṣa saṁstavo ya eṣo'ntar hṛdaya Ākāśaḥ.*" Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.3.[8] is the Personal Aspect.

(*a*) because there is in the Śruti the mention (*vyapadeśa*) of the fact of the Ether's being *something else than Ākāśa* (*arthāntara*),[9] the Ether's being the *saṁstava* or the hymning together of the Puruṣa and the Virāṭ (*ibid*). This fact proves

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7. See Note 6 *supra*. Sūtras 41-43 should make one Adhikaraṇa. Sūtra 41 has the word " ākāśa " in nom. sing. There is no such form in Sūtra 42, which gives only an argument or a reason.

8. According to Śaṅkara, Sūtra 41 explains " ākāśa " in Chā. Upa. VIII. 14 ; but the mention of deep-sleep state and the departure from the body in Sūtra 42, can refer only to Bṛ. Upa. IV. 4, and likewise Sūtra 43 to also Bṛ. Upa. IV. 4. Hence I suggest, Sūtra 41 must refer to " *ākāśa* " somewhere in the same Upaniṣad-Śruti and we do find such an Ākāśa-Śruti in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.3. So this latter would be the *viṣayavākya* of Sūtra 41.

9. " *Arthāntaratvādivyapadeśāt* "—We find that the Puruṣa is called " Indra " i.e., " something other than what He is," in " *Indho ha vai nām aiṣa yo'yaṁ dakṣiṇe'kṣi Puruṣas taṁ va etaṁ indhaṁ santaṁ Indra ityācakṣate parokṣeṇaiva, parokṣapriyā iva hi devāḥ pratyakṣadviṣaḥ//2// Athaitad vāme kṣaṇi Puruṣarūpaṁ eṣāṣya patnī Virāṭ, tayor eṣa saṁstāvo ya eṣo'ntarhṛdaya Ākāśaḥ* ....." (Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.2-3). So by " *arthāntaravyapadeśa* " ' naming a thing other than what it is, the Sūtrakāra seems to refer to (1) the Puruṣa being called ' Indra " and (2) the Ākāśa being called " *saṁstava*, hymning together i.e., a joint name of the two, the Puruṣa and the Virāṭ. The gods are *parokṣapriyāḥ* " fond of giving a name other than that of the thing itself."

that the Ākāśa in question is the Personal Aspect of the Reality. "*Ādi*," in "*arthāntaratvādi*, perhaps refers to the fact that "the *antar hṛdaya Ākāśa*" is said to be (*vyapadeśa*) "as it were One whose food is finer than that of the individual soul (*praviviktāhāratara iva bhavati asmāc chārīrād ātmanaḥ*).—Sūtra 41.

"Ākāśa" in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.2 is taken up for discussion at the end of Bra. Sū. I. 3, perhaps because it refers to Puruṣa and also to Virāṭ, instead of only to Puruṣa, as do the other Śrutis discussed in the earlier Sūtras.

(*b*) due to the Ākāśa's separation (*bhedena*) under the name "Prājña Ātman," from the individual soul during the latter's state of deep-sleep and his departure from the body (*suṣuptyutkrāntyoḥ*) -Sūtra 42.

According to the Sūtrakāra's view expressed in this Sūtra, Bṛ. Upa. IV. 3.7-20 and also a portion of 21 (*tad va.....abhayaṁ rūpam*) mention the Ākāśa (or Puruṣa) and the Jīva as identical in the dreaming state, while Bṛ. Upa. IV. 3.21 (*tad yathā priyayā.....veda nāntaram*) mentions the two as separate (*bhedena*) from each other; the Jīva is described in the deep-sleep state (*suṣupti*) as embraced by the Ākāśa Who is called in the Śruti "*Prājña Ātman*." So, the Ākāśa is the Personal Aspect as It is here separated under the name *Prājña Ātman* from the Jīva. The name "Prājña" is a name of the Puruṣa according to the Sūtrakāra, who notices the use of the word "*Pati*," a word of similar sense, in the next Sūtra.

Again, the Ākāśa and the Jīva are separated (*bhedena*) from each other in the latter's state of departure from the body (*utkrānti*). "Just as a cart, well loaded, would go, leaving on the way some of its contents, (*utsarjat*), exactly so this embodied soul being ridden (*anvārūḍha*), i.e., being controlled by the Intelligent Soul (*Prājña Ātman*), departs leaving the body (*utsarjat*), when he is here breathing up loudly. Here also the Sūtrakāra believes that the "Ākāśa" is meant by Prājña Ātman, a word which he takes to mean the Personal Aspect and that He is separated from the Jīva.—Sūtra 42:

(*c*) and[10] due to the words "*Pati*" and others, which mean the Personal Aspect and which are used for the "Ākāśa." "This well-known, great, unborn Ātman... He is the Controller of all, the Ruler of all, the Lord (*adhipati*) of all.....He is the Master of all, He is the Lord of beings; He is the Protector of beings, He is the Bridge, the Sustainer of these worlds, leading to their separation or distinction from one another (Bṛ. Upa. IV. 4.22)". The words like Adhipati, Īśvara, Vaśin, Bhūtapāla, signify the Personal Aspect.

So the "Ākāśa in the heart" in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.3 means the Puruṣa.

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10. According to Vijñānabhikṣu there is "*ca*" at the end of the Sūtra (43). As the Sūtra is the last Sūtra of a Section the reading with "*ca*" is the correct one.

Though some of the details of the meanings of some of the Sūtras interpreted above may have to be revised in future, the general conclusion that the Sūtrakāra explains the Śrutis in question as dealing with the Personal Aspect of the Reality, will in my opinion remain unchanged. While interpreting the Śrutis the Sūtrakāra emphasises certain words and certain attributes. "Ātman," which the Sūtrakāra calls the Personal Aspect's own word (*svaśabda* of Puruṣa, Sūtra 1) occurs in Mu. Upa. II. 2.5 (Sūtra 1), Chā. Upa. VII. 1.1, 3, (Sūtra 15); the word "Puruṣa" occurs in Mu. Upa. III. 2.8 (Sūtra 2), Kaṭha Upa. IV. 13, (Sūtra 24), Chā. Upa. VIII. 12.3 (Sūtra 40); "*ātman*" is the svaśabda for Puruṣa; the "mere word" Puruṣa is sufficient to prove that the topic of a Śruti (e.g., Kaṭha Upa. IV. 13) is the Personal Aspect; the word "Puruṣa" (joined to "Virāṭ," both combined being called "*saṁstava*") helps to decide that "*ākāśa*" in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.3 means Puruṣa, (Sūtra 41). "*Prājñaḥ Ātmā*" proves that *ākāśa* in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.3 is Puruṣa (Sūtra 42). The words *Adhipati*, Īśvara, Vaśin, Bhūtapāla, n Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2.22, do the same (Sūtra 43).

The Sūtrakāra argues that particular attributes belong to only the Puruṣa. "Being mentioned higher than Happiness" proves that Bhūman is Puruṣa. "Exclusion of another higher principle or thing" also does the same (Chā. Upa. VII. 23-24. Bhūman. Sūtra 8). The latter attribute is found also in Akṣara (Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.8. Sūtra 12). "*Satyakāma, satyasaṁkalpa* in *Dahara Ākāśa* (Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.1; Sūtra 14); "*gati*" "going to or emrging into the *Dahara Ākāśa* during the deep-sleep state" (Chā. Upa. VIII. 3; Sūtra 15); "*Dhṛti*" or "*vidhṛti*," sustenance through ruling (*praśāsana*) belonging to Akṣara (Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.8; Sūtra 10) and to *Dahara* Ākāśa (Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.1, Sūtra 16), which is a greatness (*mahiman*) of the Puruṣa only; "*kaṁpana*" "shaking" (Kaṭha Upa. VI. 2; Sūtra 39)—All these are attributes of the Personal Aspect only.

In spite of the fact that these special words and these special attributes prove the topics of these Śrutis to be the Personal Aspect, the very Śrutis contain certain other words and certain other attributes which show that these Śrutis treat of the Impersonal Aspect; the Sūtrakāra says, 'the Śrutis distinguish the Personal as the Impersonal and the Impersonal as the Personal Aspect' (Bra. Sū. III. 3.37. Vide "a Critique of the Brahmasūtra: Part I, Interpretation of the Sūtras, Pp. 167-168). Hence, in Bra. Sū. III. 3.38-39 the Sūtrakāra clearly allows the Śrutis of Bra. Sū. I. 3 to be taken in meditation on the *nirākāra* or the Impersonal Aspect, at the choice of the meditator (*ibid.* pp. 168-178).

We may here note the Sūtrakāra's method of interpreting the Upaniṣads. He decides the sense of Mu. Upa. II. 2 (*Yasmin dyaus*.....) with the help of the word "Puruṣa" in Mu. Upa. III. 2.8. So he takes the Upaniṣad as a whole. He does not take Bhūman as the same Happiness (*sukha*), but in his opinion Bhūman is superior to *sukha* (Sūtra 8). The "Ākāśa" in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.8-9, is to be added to the sun, the moon,.....the rivers, etc., mentioned in Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.8,

and "*otaḥ protaḥ*" is to be interpreted as "*vidhṛta*" "sustained" (Sūtra 10). Lastly, the sense of "*ākāśa*" in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 2 is to be decided with the help of "*Prājña Ātman*," "*Adhipati*, etc." in Bṛ. Upa. IV. 4.

When I say that in Bra. Sū. I. 3 the Sūtrakāra interprets the Śrutis in question as dealing with the Personal Aspect, a question may be asked, "Does he refute the view that these Śrutis deal with the Impersonal Atpect?" My answer is that according to the Sūtrakāra the Śrutis discussed in Bra. Sū. I. 2 and 3 do not deal with only one of the two aspects, and that in Bra. Sū. I. 3 he interprets the Śrutis as belonging to the Personal Aspect, but in Bra. Sū. III. 3.37-39 he allows them to be used in meditation on the Impersonal One, at the desire of the meditator. It should be noticed that the Sūtrakāra is particularly emphasising the special words and attributes in the Śrutis themselves, which belong only to the Personal Aspect. This emphasis on this kind of words and attributes is found in the beginning Sūtras of each Adhikaraṇa, which precede the Sūtras, if any, refuting the Pūrvapakṣas interpreting the Śruti in question as dealing with the Prakṛti, the Jīva, an element (a *bhūta*), a deity (*devatā*), etc. Thus, if we try to find out the Pūrvapakṣas in Bra. Sū. I. 3 (all Sūtras except Sūtras 26-33), we see that Bādarāyaṇa himself refutes the Pūrvapakṣa of the Prakṛti in Sūtra 3 and that of the Jīva in Sūtras 4-7 and 18-23.

In a vast majority of the Sūtras, viz., in Sūtras 1-2, 8-9, 10-12, 13, 14-17, 24-25, 39, 40, 41-43 (19 Sūtras in all) the Sūtrakāra, in my opinion, argues that the Śrutis discussed deal with the Puruṣa and thereby he indirectly refutes or rather *sets aside for the time being* the view that these Śrutis deal with the Impersonal One. But in Bra. Sū. III. 3.37-39 he says that these very Śrutis may be also understood as dealing with the Impersonal One.

According to Saṅkara the following Pūrvapakṣas are refuted by the Sūtrakāra in the respective Sūtras dealing with the various Śrutis :—

No.	*Pūrvapakṣa*	*Sūtras*	*Śrutis*
I.	Sāṁkhya Pradhāna	1-2.	Mu. Upa. II. 2.5
II.	Prāṇa	8-9.	Chā. Upa. VII. 23-24
III.	Varṇa, letter, being the meaning of Akṣara	10-12.	Bṛ. Upa. III. 8.7-8
IV.	Apara Brahman	13.	Praśna Upa. V. 2.5
V.	Bhūtākāśa or Vijñānātman	14-17.	Chā. Upa. VIII. 1.1
VI.	Vijñānātman	24-25.	Kaṭha Upa. IV. 13
VII.	Vāyu	29.	Kaṭha Upa. VI. 2
VIII.	*prasiddham eva tejaḥ*	40.	Chā. Upa. VIII. 12.3
IX.	*prasiddham eva bhūtākāśam*	41.	Chā. Upa. VIII. 14
X.	"*saṁsārin*"	42-43.	Bṛ. Upa. IV. 3.7

But, we should note that not only when the Pūrvapakṣa is that of Prakṛti or Jīva, but even when the Pūrvapakṣa is that of an element (*bhūtam*) or a deity (*devatā*), the Sūtrakāra clearly says so, e.g., in Bra. Sū. I. 2.27 (*ata eva na devatā bhūtam ca*). So, I submit that the various Pūrvapakṣas taken by Śaṅkara as refuted by the Sūtrakāra in the various Sūtras, hardly ever existed in the latter's mind at all. Moreover, the Sūtrakāra has devoted one whole Pāda (Bra. Sū. I. 4) to the discussion of the Śrutis, claimed as mentioning the Prakṛti, etc.

Therefore, it may be safely concluded that Bādarāyaṇa in Bra. Sū. I. 3 explains the Śrutis discussed as the Śrutis of the Personal One, that the opening Sūtras of each Adhikaraṇa where there is a Pūrvapakṣa, refuted by the Sūtrakāra, or all the Sūtras where there is no Pūrvapakṣa, mention and establish the Sūtrakāra's view that the topic of the Śruti under consideration is the Puruṣa; that there is very little likelihood of the Pūrvapakṣas of Śaṅkara being in the mind of the Sūtrakāra; that the Śrutis require to be freshly examined from the point of view of the Sūtrakāra discovered in this Paper. Lastly, we may add that in the light of the conclusions arrived at in this Paper the history of one of the most important problems of Indian Philosophy, *viz.*, that of the Personal and the Impersonal Aspects of the ultimate Reality, will have to be revised.[11]

11. A comparison of the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara on the several Śrutis discussed in Bra. Sū. I. 2 and 3, as commented upon by him in his *upaniṣadbhāṣyas* with his interpretation of the same in his Brahmasūtrabhāṣya would be a great help in this direction.

KĀLIDĀSA AND THE SMṚTIS

By

Dr. V. Raghavan

While preparing a full study of Kālidāsa and the Dharmaśāstra, in continuation of other similar studies of the poet in relation to other Śāstras,[1] I came across a striking instance of the poet's close use of the Smṛtis which I desire to present here.

In the story of Dilīpa with which the *Raghuvaṁśa* opens, the poet introduces the motif of the king's longing for a son, and as a circumstance impeding the appearance of the son, the poet gives the episode of the king's unconscious offence against the celestial cow Kāmadhenu. Now, the poet introduces also an expiation for this sin, in the form of a careful tending and worship of the cow Nandinī, the daughter of Kāmadhenu. Setting forth the method of propitiating the younger cow, the sage says :

वन्यवृत्तिरिमां शश्वदात्मानुगमनेन गाम् ।
विद्यामभ्यसनेनेव प्रसादयितुमर्हसि ॥

प्रस्थितायां प्रतिष्ठेथाः स्थितायां स्थितिमाचरेः ।
निषण्णायां निषीदास्यां पीताम्भसि पिबेरपः ॥

वधूर्भक्तिमती चैनामर्चितामा तपोवनात् ।
प्रयता प्रातरन्वेतु सायं प्रत्युद्व्रजेदपि ॥ 88–90 ॥

In the concluding verse of canto 1 and in the course of the second canto, the poet describes in detail how the king attended upon the cow.

Where did the poet draw from the main idea of this kind of expiation and the details of the propitiation ? I think this great *āstika*, the finest flower of all-round Indian culture, worked in this motif and its details from the Manu Smṛti.

In Manu, in the section on expiations, under the sin of inflicting fatal harm to a cow, a series of acts of piety towards a cow is prescribed for the *Goghna* ; and, in idea as well as expression, the parallel here between Manu and Kālidāsa is telling and surprising. In xi. 108-15 Manu says :

उपपातकसंयुक्तो गोघ्नो मासं यवान्पिबेत् ।
कृतवापो वसेद्गोष्ठे चर्मणा तेन संवृतः ॥

1. For e.g., Kālidāsa and Kauṭilya, Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, pp. 102-108.

चतुर्थकालमश्नीयादक्षारलवणं मितम् ।
गोमूत्रेणाचरेत्स्नानं द्वौ मासौ नियतेन्द्रियः ॥

दिवानुगच्छेद्वास्तास्तु तिष्ठन्नूर्ध्वं रजः पिबेत् ।
शुश्रूषित्वा नमस्कृत्य रात्रौ वीरासनं वसेत् ॥

तिष्ठन्तीष्वनुतिष्ठेत्तु व्रजन्तीष्वप्यनुव्रजेत् ।
आसीनासु तथासीनो नियतो वीतमत्सरः ॥

आतुरामग्निशस्तां वा चौरव्याघ्रादिभिर्भयैः ।
पतितां पङ्कलग्नां वा सर्वोपायैर्विमोचयेत् ॥

उष्णे वर्षति शीते वा मारुते वाति वा भृशम् ।
न कुर्वीतात्मनस्त्राणं गोरकृत्वा तु शक्तितः ॥

आत्मनो यदि वान्येषां गृहे क्षेत्रेऽथवा खले ।
भक्षयन्तीं न कथयेत्पिबन्तं चैव वत्सकम् ॥

अनेन विधिना यस्तु गोघ्नो गामनुगच्छति ।
स गोहत्याकृतं पापं त्रिभिर्मासैर्व्यपोहति ॥

Goṣṭhavāsa mentioned by Manu in v. 108 is implied in *Raghu.* ii. 24.

तामन्तिकन्यस्तबलिप्रदीपामन्वास्य गोप्ता गृहिणीसहायः ।

and the restriction in diet mentioned by Manu is also implied in *Raghu.* i. 93. The prescription that the penitent should rise when the cow rises, sit when it lies down, move when it moves, is verbally reproduced by Kālidāsa.

Manu	*Raghuvaṁśa*
तिष्ठन्तीष्वनुतिष्ठेत्तु व्रजन्तीष्वप्यनुव्रजेत् । आसीनासु तथासीनः नियतो वीतमत्सरः ॥ XI.11	प्रस्थितायां प्रतिष्ठेथाः स्थितायां स्थितिमाचरेः । निषण्णायां निषीदास्यां पीताम्भसि पिबेरपः ॥ I.89
	स्थितः स्थितामुच्चलितः प्रयातां निषेदुषीमासनबन्धधीरः । जलाभिलाषी जलमाददानां छायेव तां भूपतिरन्वगच्छत् ॥ II.6
दिवानुगच्छेद्वास्तास्तु तिष्ठन्नूर्ध्वं रजः पिबेत् ॥ XI.110	cf. तस्याः खुरन्यास– पवित्रपांसुम् etc. II.2

The service to the cow reaches its completion when the king is made to offer his own life to save that of the cow. The episode woven by Kālidāsa for this leaps into

fresh sigificance when we see the following lines of Manu :

आतुरामभिशस्तां वा चौरव्याघ्रादिभिर्भयैः ।
पतितां पङ्कलग्नां वा सर्वोपायैर्विमोचयेत् ॥

न कुर्वीतात्मनस्त्राणं गोरक्त्वा तु शक्तितः ॥ XI. 112 3

For a beast of prey like tiger mentioned by Manu, Kālidāsa gives a lion ; following the injunction '*sarvopāyaiḥ*', he makes Dilīpa lay down his body and say, following Manu's very words :

स्थातुं नियोक्तुर्नहि शक्यमग्रे विनाश्य रक्ष्यं स्वयमक्षतेन । *Raghu.* II. 56.

That this *vrata* was briefly called *Go'nugāna* and that in its basic features it was mentioned by all the Smṛtikāras is known from *Yājñavalkya* v. 26. and the elaborate exposition of this in the *Mitākṣarā* thereon. Some of the minor details mentioned by Kālidāsa are also probably based on some text, at any rate on actual practice, for we find them mentioned by Kullūka on these verses in *Manu*. *Cf.* Kālidāsa —कण्डूयनैः दंशनिवारणैश्च (ii. 5) and Kullūka--कण्डूयनादिना ताः परिचर्य.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF MSS. SOURCES (A CRITIQUE ON THE KONGUDĒŚARĀJĀKKAL AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE HISTORY OF THE GANGAS)

By

M. Arokiaswami

Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* squarely concludes on the value of tradition as a historical source in the following words :

> "The position now is this –there is a strong presumption in favour of tradition ; if any one contests tradition, the burden lies on him to show that it is wrong ; and till he does that, tradition holds the field."

It has, however, become more or less a custom with our scholars nowadays to discredit tradition as far as possible in their search for historical truth. That this should not be so, particularly in our country famous for her hoary traditions and agelong learning that has been committed to posterity for many generations –in fact generations without number–only through tradition, is a truth that does not need much argumentation. I have been frequently brought to realise the reality in this matter in the course of my researches and have often thought of giving expression to it particularly with reference to certain historical facts that are unmistakably brought out by tradition and tradition alone.

In recent times I came up against one such demonstration while using one of the Mss. collections of Col. Mackenzie. That is a chronicle called *Kongudēśarājākkal*, literally meaning the "Rulers of Kongudēśa."[1] I have used it fully in my book on the subject ;[2] and I have discovered later that certain inscriptions bearing on the subject attain a meaning only in the light of what the chronicle says about the history of the rulers of this region.

In this paper it is my aim to elucidate a few cases in which this chronicle does the same kind of service to the history of the Gaṅgas of Talakād. It is from this that we are able to arrive at a plausible genealogy and chronology for these Gaṅga rulers. All epigraphists, who have dealt with the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas prior to the VII century A.D., have declared their unreliability in unmistakable terms.[3] The conjoint effect of the published records of this period of Gaṅga history has been more to pour confusion than enlightenment into the state of our knowledge with regard to the subject. Thus with regard to the Gaṅga genealogy the inscriptions

1. First translated into English by the India Office, London in 1840, which was followed by an even more literal translation by Rev. Taylor in MJLS, XIV in 1847. Its Tamil original has been printed for the Government of Madras by C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar in 1950 (Gov. Oriental Mss. Library publications No. VI).

2. *Konga country* by M. Arokiaswami (to be published by the Madras University shortly).

3. See for example, Rice : *Coorg Inss.*, p. 310.

give many more names than the chronicle here referred to and is thus laid the first step in the confusion which goes on increasing as we study them. It is not even possible to say whether all these are names or titles, though one of the grants of Prithvi Kongani clearly equates Avinīta with Durvinīta—whom other records mention as two different persons as when they say "Avinīta also called Durvinīta".[4] Again when the chronicle makes Viṣṇugopa son of Harivarma, some inscriptions would lead one to conclude that he was the son of Konganivarman I.[5]

Other examples of such mystifying pieces of evidence can be mentioned from the same inscriptions, to show how far these so-called trustworthy records sometimes falsify the truth. The most astounding fact is that two of them dated respectively in S.S. 388 and 698 -the Mercārā and the Nāgamaṅgala plates—are said to have been engraved by one and the same person, Viśvakarmācariya, which seems to give in all conscience the lie- direct to their authenticity. It is under circumstances such as these that a document based on tradition comes to the rescue of the historical writer.

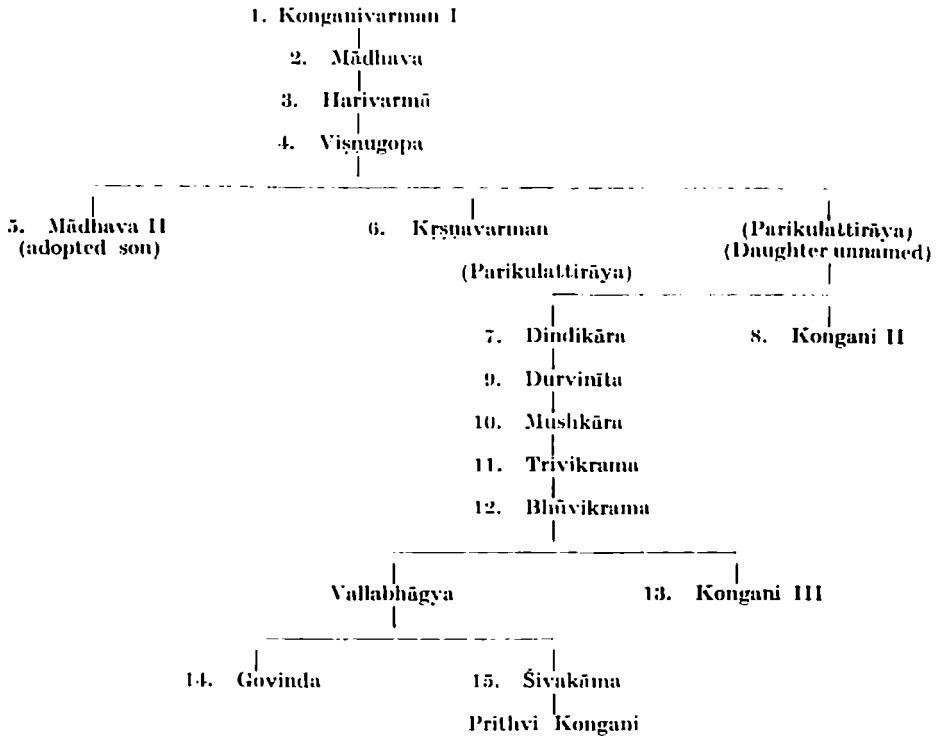
A few examples will suffice to bear out the nature of the historical light shed by this document.

1. From the dates assigned in certain documents a period of exactly 137 years intervene between Viṣṇugopa and Konganivarman II if we calculate from the date of Harivarma's grant (ss. 210) to that of Koganivarman II (ss. 347).[6] Though these dates need not be taken as correct, they must be at least taken as placing before us the time or space-limit between the two kings here mentioned. Now, according to the grants only two kings are mentioned for this long duration, which is manifestly incorrect. But the chronicle more reasonably points three or four kings (Viṣṇugopa, Mādhava, Kriṣṇavarmā and Dindikāra) to cover the period. Thus a very valuable truth fundamental in Gaṅga history is brought to light by the chronicle where the copper plates mislead us.

2. Mr. Lefanu writing the *Salem Manual* said: "The genealogy from Bhūvikrama to Prithvi Kongani presents a difficulty which cannot at present be surmounted."[7] While the chronicle makes the latter the great-great grandson of the former, the grants represent him as the great grandson. Thus the grants cut off a whole generation from the genealogy and yet seek to fill in a gap of 130 years between Bhūvikrama and Prithvi Kongani as is seen by the time-space indicated by the grants themselves. The chronicle, on the other hand, divides this period between three or four rulers—Bhūvikrama, Konganivarman III, Govinda and a portion of the reign of Śivamāra—which seems to be obviously more correct.

4. Rice: *Mysore Inss.*, p. 284.
5. MJLS., XIV, p. 8. Compare with *Mysore Inss.*, p. 292.
6. IA., V., 136; Rice; *Mysore Inss.*, p. 289; Fleet; IA., VII, 102.
7. Le Fanu; *Salem Manual*, p. 33.

Thus the genealogy of the Gaṅga kings from Konganivarman I to Prithvi Kongani will arrange itself as follows:



The above is the genealogy of the early Gaṅgas as it is seen in the *Kongudēśarājākkal* and as it appears to us plausible for reasons already indicated. And yet there is perhaps only one inscriptional record of the Gaṅgas that approaches the genealogy made by the chronicle in any measure and that is the grant of Prithvi Kongani edited by Mr. Rice.[8] To those who seek after inscriptional corroboration of traditional evidence this offers a satisfying answer. But the truth goes beyond that. The traditional account here referred to goes beyond inscriptional evidence in establishing truth. Small wonder then if Mr. Rice himself says that " the utility of the *Kongudēśarājākkal* is greater than that of the inscriptions."[9] and Rev. Taylor considers it as one of the most useful of the Mackenzie collections.[10]

Thus it would appear that the succession of the early Gaṅga kings descended from father to son in the case of the first six kings—Konganivarman, Mādhava I, Harivarmā, Vishnugōpa, Mādhava II (adopted son) and Kṛṣṇavarmā. There is

8. Rice : *Mysore Inss.* pp. 284 ff.
9. Rice : *op. cit.*
10. MJLS,. XIV, p. 3.

an apparent break in succession after Kṛṣṇavarma's death, since he died childless and he was followed by Dindikāra, son of Praikulattirāya. The dynasty then reverts to the original house in the person of Konganivarman II, son by the daughter of Viṣṇugōpa. The eight rulers who succeed him descend from the family of Parikulattirāyā, who must be the Pāruvis of the Gaṅga inscriptions, Pāruvikullattirāya being interchangeable with Parikulattirāya of the *Kongudēśarājākkal*.

The succession thus set forth in the chronicle is certainly more involved than what we have from the inscriptions. But at the same time the chronicle's account seems more natural indeed. This is evidenced, for example, in the account of the chronicle relating to the break after Viṣṇugōpa. This ruler Viṣṇugōpa, having no issue, adopted one Mādhava who ruled with him for some time, when a son was born to the former in the person of Kṛṣṇavarma. He was crowned, as the inscriptions themselves tell us, "while still an infant in his mother's lap."[11] Then a daughter was born to Vishnugōpa and her son, Konganivarman II was crowned king after a brief period when Dindikāra was in power. The chronicle takes care to say that he "held the kingdom in power,"[12] which may be taken to mean that he was playing the rôle of the regent to the young queen, Viṣṇugōpa's daughter. The account is so faithful to details as to demand our credence :

> "But afterwards the mantri, the senāpati, and other courtiers taking counsel together anointed in Dalavanapuram Śrīmat-Kongani-Mahāthirāya son of the younger sister of the late Kṛiṣṇavarma Mahāthirāya."[13]

The account of the chronicle is further corroborated by the Bangalore museum plates, for example, when they simply mention Mādhava II in succession to Viṣṇugōpa without mentioning any relationship between them.[14]

The reliability of the chronicle is borne out in other important particulars as well. It is this document that furnishes the clue for the date of the conquests of the Cola Āditya beyond his frontier, since it mentions his conquest of Kongu and the decline of the Gaṅgas at the same time. Even a careful historian like Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri has to acknowledge the utility of the document in this particular. "Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka's records are found in the Kongudéśa and he does not seem to have conquered it."[15] Again the support which the Gaṅga rulers showed to Jainism while themselves were Brahmans is clearly explained by the *Kongudēśarājākkal*. The abruptness with which this account

11. IA, VII, 172.
12. MJLS., XIV, p. 9.
13. *Ibid.*
14. IA., VII, p. 175.
15. Colas, I, pp. 137-38.

ends the reign of Vikramadēva and the quickness with which it begins the history of the Gaṅgas shows that there was some powerful cause then at work against the Rattās and in favour of the Gaṅgas. That appears to have been the power of the Jains, who seem to have entered into a compact with the latter in favour of Jainism. While the chronicle gives a lead in these suppositions, certain records of the period like those of Kallurgudda and Purale give strong support to the account found in the chronicle. Thus while one of these stone records has the following passage in its description of Mādhava assuming power, " On Mādhava impressing him (the Jain sage Siṁhānandi) with his extraordinary energy when he broke into two a stone pillar, with a single stroke of his sword.....he gave them (the two brothers) the dominion of all the earth " we find the chronicle referring to Mādhava's practice of " cutting a stone asunder with his sword," which could not but refer to the act mentioned by this stone record.[16]

It is strange that while the chronicler of this XVII century Mss. agrees so well with the inscriptional records and even copper plate grants of the time of the Gaṅgas, in a few important particulars, the former comes off in better colour than even the contemporary records. This must be due in a large measure to the very distance of time and space that divided the chronicler from the events narrated by him. He could see without prejudice, as all contemporary writers cannot do, the events he was recording. Nor can it be said that he had no facts to go by, as the contrary is clearly seen from the numerous grants to which he refers. He might have gone wrong with regard to their dates but not with regard to facts mentioned therein. Here is thus a supreme example of tradition being of immense help in the dilineation of our history, acting as a corrector of records that are generally considered as being very trustworthy.

16. Compare EC., VII, Sh. 4, 64 and MJLS., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

A UNIQUE SCULPTURE OF THE JAINA GODDESS SACCIKĀ

By

Śrī R. C. Agrawala

It is a matter of great privilege for me to bring to light a fragmentary (11″ ×11″ in measurement) but very interesting sculpture of white marble, now preserved in the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur (Exhibit No. 96/2386). The image, under study, was recovered from the village Rewāḍā *alias* Harasawāḍā in Jaswantapurā *parganā* of the Jodhpur Division. It is regretted that the upper portion of the image of the female deity is completely broken. Only the lower portion of the legs, the buffalo (*mahiṣa*), the lion and the inscription on the pedestal below speak of the glory of this sculpture of Mahiṣamardinī. The prancing lion has caught hold the tail (of the buffalo) in his mouth with such a great force that the tongue of the latter (*i.e.* buffalo) has come out and is clearly visible in the image. The *dhotī* like object has covered the lower portion of the body of the *sthānaka* deity.

From the inscription, on the pedestal of this image, we know that :—

(1) It was caused to be made and installed by a Jaina lady in *saṃvat* 1237 [*i.e.* 1180 A.D.] and that she was a *gaṇinī*[1] (*i.e.* chief of the community of the Jaina nuns).

(2) The goddess, as represented in this fragmentary sculpture, has been called *Saccikā* and not *Mahiṣamardinī*.

The text of the inscription runs in 6 lines thus :

1. *Saṃvat* 1237 *Phālguna Sudi* 2 *Maṅgalavāre*
2. *Śrīmadūkeśa—gacchīyā sarvva-devā-mahattrā* (*Āśi*)[2]
3. (*t*) *lokavikhyātā satya-śīlā-kṣamā* - - *-syā*
4. *Vineyikā Gaṇinī Caraṇamatyā*.....*rmmalā*
5. *Teneyaṃ kāritā Devī-Saccikā stā*.....*yase*
6. ...../*Pratiṣṭhitā Śrī Kaku*.....

From the above account it is evident that *Mahiṣāsuramardinī* was worshipped even by the Jains though under a different name (*i.e. Saccikā*). As a matter of fact the Tāntric goddesses were frequently adorned by the Jaina community and the ancient Indian painting and sculpture bear testimony to the truth of this

1. She was a disciple of the lady who belonged to *Ūkeśagaccha*.
2. It should have been *āsīt* and not *āśīt*.

statement.[3] The *Upakeśagaccha Paṭṭāvalī*[4] (a Jaina work) clearly states that *Saccikā* was the name given to the goddess (having all the traits of *Mahiṣamardinī*) after her entry into the Jaina pantheon. Referring to her nature, diet, temple etc., the above *Paṭṭāvalī* states that "*Ye should not go to the temple of Saccikādevī ; she is merciless and incerssantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking of bones and killing of buffaloes, goats and other animals ; the floor of her temple is stained with blood and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins ; she is altogether disgusting and horrible—What she wanted was an animal sacrifce.*" [*Teṣāṃ devīnāṃ nirdayacitāyā mahiṣa-botkaṭādīvadhāsthi-bhāṅga-śabda-śravaṇakutuhala--priyāyā aviratāyāḥ raktāṅkitabhūmi-tale ārdracarma-vaddha-vandanamāle niṣṭhura-janasevitaṃ dharma-dhyāna vidyāpake mahāvībhatsa-rodre Śrī-Saccikādevi-grihe gantuṃ na budhyate..... Paraṃ raudrādevī yadi chalisyāma tadā sā kuṭumbān mārayati.* It now becomes evident from the above work that the goddess *Saccikā* was closely associated with Upakeśa (i.e. modern Osian).[5] There still exists a temple of this goddess at Osian and it is famous by the name of *Saciyā-Mātā-kā-Mandira*. *Saciyā* is in fact the same as *Saccikā* as referred to above. It is interesting to note that the principal outer niches of the main shrine of this temple depict the images[6] of *Cāmuṇḍā Mahiṣamardinī* etc. Besides this, the inscriptions[7] (of *saṃvat* 1234[8] and 1236) of this very temple clearly state that the sanctuary was of *Saccikā devī* and that she was closely associated with *Cāmuṇḍā, Mahiṣamardinī*.....etc. Her temple was even adorned with the images of *Cāmuṇḍā, Kṣetrapāla, Kṣemaṅkarī, Śītalā*, etc. I was extremely happy when I noted that the inscription of V.S. 1234 was engraved very near the image of *Mahiṣmardinī* in the principal back niche of the main shrine of *Saciyā Mātā* at Osian itself.

We also learn, from an inscription, on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa (now lying in the Pārśva Nāth temple, Ludravā, Jaisalmera), that the images of *Gaṇapati* and *Saccikā* were made and installed (along with those of the *Jinas*) as far as the fort of Ajmer.[9] Now we are in a position to say that the goddess Saccikā was worshipped in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. in this part of Rājasthāna at least. It is now extremely essential to find out more images of *Saccikā devī*. The above sculpture of the Jodhpur museum goes a long way in confirming the data supplied by the epigraphs and the literature of the mediæval period.

It is really interesting to note that there also exists a temple dedicated to Saciyā Mātā, at Jūnā (Mārwār). Śrī Puruṣottama Prasāda Gaur (*Prācīna Śilālekha*

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3. Consult B. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya, *The Jaina Iconography*, 1939, Lahore, pp. 128-29, 170-71, 180-181 ; *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII (1950), Lucknow, pp. 218-227 ; *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XV (1947), pp. 114-177 ; H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, 1950, Oxford, p. 30.

4. *The Paṭṭāvalī Samuccaya*, Text only, I, Veeramagama, 1933, p. 187 ; A. F. Hoernle's translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1890, XIX, pp. 237-238.

5. Only 39 miles from Jodhpur.

6. For details consult *ASIAR*, 1908-1909, pp. 109-110.

7. Cf. P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*, I, Calcutta, 1918, Nos. 804-805, p. 198.

8. *Ibid.*, II, 1929, p. 172, No. 2565. This inscription is dated *Saṁvat* 1337 i.e. 1280 A.D.

Saṅgraha, Hindī, Jodhpur, 1924, p. 2) refers to the existence of exactly a similar [rather identical] inscription as has already been referred to in connection with the above fragmentary sculpture of the Jodhpur Museum. The inscription from Jūnā runs as follows :—

> "Dated *Saṃvat* 1237, Tuesday, the second day of the bright half of Phālguna. There was a pious lady named Sarvadevā. She was renowned in the world, belonged to the Ukeśagaccha and was endowed with good many virtues as piety, truth, etc. She had a pure hearted female disciple called Caraṇamātya (cf. *Caraṇamatyā* of the inscription of Jodphur Museum image). The latter happened to be a *Gaṇinī*. It was she who caused to be made this image of Saccikā for her own welfare as well as for that of others. The existing image was installed by Śrī Kakuda Sūri."

The epigraph from Jūnā thus clarifies the name of Kakuda Sūri whereas the image of Jodhpur Museum refers to only two letters i.e. *Kaku*.

The identity of the above epigraphs is very interesting indeed. Since both the epigraphs bear the same language, phraseology and the date, *it is very likely that the image now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum, once graced the temple of Saciyā Mātā at Jūnā*. It is really regretted that not a single stray sculpture of Saccikā has so far been procured from Osian—a place which is so closely associated with the worship of this female deity. But it is interesting to note that the principal back-niche of the temple of Saciyā Mātā at Osian contains the image of Mahiṣamardinī. Not only that, the inscription of V.S. 1234, referring to the temple as that of *Saccikā devī*, has been engraved just near the image of Mahiṣamardinī. Moreover, the deity under worship in the main temple here is that of Mahiṣamardinī. This is sufficient to prove that Saccikā and Mahiṣamardinī were closely associated with each other. As a matter of fact, Cāmuṇḍā, Mahiṣmardinī.....etc., come within the fold of the well known '9 Durgās' (*Nava-durgā*).

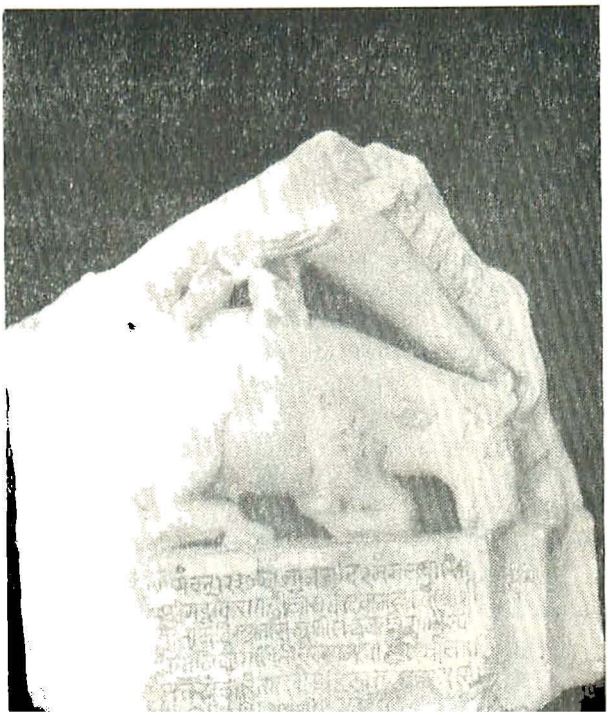
The following epigraph from the temple of Saciyā Mātā at Osian confirms that Cāmuṇḍā was the former name of Saccikā and that she was converted to the Jaina pantheon by Śrī Ratnaprabha-Sūri :—

(*i*) *Saṃvat Vīrāt 70 varṣe*
(*ii*) *Śrī Ratnaprabhasurajī ne*
(*iii*) *Savāla kiyā Cāmuṇḍā*
(*iv*) *Ko Siciyāyā karī be*
(*v*) *Oeśa Kanwalāgachawāle saṃ. bī*
(*vi*) 1655 *ro.*

[—*Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur*, xxi p. 10].

It was well-known to the people in V.S. 1655 (= 1598 A.D.) that Saccikā was none other than Cāmuṇḍā or another name given to the Brahmanic goddess Durgā. Besides this, they were fully aware of the narration as given in the *Upakeśagaccha—paṭṭāvalī* and already cited above. This is a brief account of the cult of the Jaina goddess Saccikā as prevalent in the medialval Rajasthana.

A unique image of Saccikā



JOHN STUART MILL AND INDIA

By

GEORGE D. BEARCE JR.

Many of the English utilitarians during the early nineteenth century gave considerable thought to India and were closely involved in formulating British policy toward that country. Although the sage of the movement, Jeremy Bentham, had only a slight contact with India, his followers were in the thick of Indian affairs. James Mill was the author of a six volume *History of British India* and from 1819 to 1836 served the East India Company, the paramount power in India up to 1858, as an examiner of correspondence in the London offices of the company.[1] Lord William Bentinck, governor-general, 1828-1835, a utilitarian in outlook and policy, went to India with the strong approval of Bentham and James Mill.[2] Various others, radicals, liberals, and utilitarians, had a share in Indian affairs. Joseph Hume, a member of parliament from 1812-1855, was a stock-holder of the company, a former civil servant of Madras, a friend of James Mill, and a tireless speaker on Indian affairs in the General Court of the Company and in parliament. David Ricardo, also a stock-holder, used part of his talent during the early 1820's to encourage the adoption of free trade in India.[3] Sir James Mackintosh held judicial posts in Bombay and from 1818 to 1824 was a professor of law and general politics at Haileybury College, the training school for Indian civil servants. Thomas Babington Macaulay, legal member of the supreme council of India, 1834-1837, backed a number of utilitarian reforms in India and wrote a penal code which has become the basis of India's modern criminal law.[4] Indeed, utilitarian ideas dominated British thought during the first half of the nineteenth century. The idea that the end of government was the happiness of the governed was universally advocated.[5] Utilitarian writings were part of the curriculum of trained Indian civil servants; in fact, old-time Indian officials complained about the radicalism and the "spirit

1. For a brief summary of James Mill's career in the India House, see Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (3 Vols., London, 1900), II, 23-24.

2. Alexander Bain, *James Mill* (London, 1882), 203-204.

3. *The Asiatic Journal*, August, 1822, 152-153, debates in the Court of Proprietors at the India House, June 12, 1822. Piero Sraffa, ed., *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* (9 vols., Cambridge, England, 1952), V, 297-301, 475-483.

4. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (2 Vols., New York, 1904), I, 366-368; Elie Halevy, *The Growth of Philosophical Radicalism* (London, 1934), 510; K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance* (New York, 1954), 497.

5. This precept appears in most writers on India from Burke through John Morley, and Macaulay suggests it as the central principle of Lord William Bentick's governor-generalship. See D. C. Boulger, *Lord William Bentick* (Oxford, 1897), 203; John Morley, *Edmund Burke A Historical Study* (London, 1867), 216-217; Edmund Burke, *Works* (12 Vols., Boston, 1860), VIII, 3, 41, "Ninth Report of the Select Committee," June 13, 1783; James Mill, *History of British India* (6 Vols., London, 1820), I, 247; A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England* (London, 1920), 60.

of liberty " which had entered India.[6] Among the noted figures in the midst of this flowering of utilitarianism was one of the best known thinkers of the age, John Stuart Mill, who from 1823 to 1858 followed in his father's footsteps as an examiner in the India House. It is his ideas about India and those parts of his official career pertinent to his thought which are the subject of this essay.

John Stuart Mill's entry into the service of the East India Company had been part of his utilitarian inheritance. James Mill had risen high in the counsels of the directors of the company. In 1830, James Mill became chief examiner, an official who was equivalent to a permanent undersecretary of state, and in this post he put into effect those principles of Indian administration which, as a historian and critic of the company, he had determined necessary for the improvement of India. As his son comments, " He was the originator of all sound statesmanship in regard to the subject of his largest work, India."[7] The directors depended on the elder Mill's knowledge and advice when in 1833 they sought and received from parliament a continuation of their government of India.

John Stuart Mill was brought into the company's business early in life, when he was seventeen ; and beginning as a clerk, he was within three years a full-fledged examiner. After all, as John Mill relates in his autobiography, he was twenty-five years ahead of his contemporaries in his knowledge of philosophy and public affairs, and he was equally well prepared for the responsibilities of a post generally held by much older and more experienced men. He had read the proof sheets of his father's history of India, and from this work he had received an education in British government in India and in Indian civilization –instruction which was " eminently useful " to the " subsequent progress " of his official career.[8]

The years between 1823 and 1858, John Mill's years of service as an examiner, were a time of great changes in British policy toward India. The company of Clive and Warren Hastings, of adventurers shaking the " pagoda tree," had considerably improved. It had begun training conscientious civil servants ; it made an effort to understand, perhaps as well as could be expected at the time, the civilization and problems of India ; and after 1813 the company abandoned its commercial privileges in India and concentrated solely on government. The age was one of the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire in India ; liberalism was first introduced, missionaries arrived on the shores of India, and Western ideas and institutions began to have an effect. India, in fact, was stirred out of its past, so that in 1857, as a result of the stimulus of liberalism, the anxiety over the intentions of Christianity, and resentment toward recent annexations of Indian

6. Commonwealth Relations Office, India Office Library, Home Miscellaneous 734, Ltr. Sir John Malcolm to Melville, April 2, 1829 ; Home Misc. 770, report of T. Forteseue, September 1, 1814.

7. J. S. Mill, *Autobiography*, (New York, 1924), 18-19, 143.

8. Mill, *Autobiography*, 17, 21.

states, a revolt broke out, the Sepoy Mutiny, which for a time threatened to terminate British rule. British government survived, of course, but the company's government was brought to an end.

John Stuart Mill, to be sure, was more than merely an administrator concerned with public policy in India. His life was mainly that of a moral and political philosopher, and this philosophical work has completely overshadowed and somewhat obscured his official career. Mill kept the two careers as separate as possible; he was only an occasional and a discrete writer on Indian problems when he was an official, even though he wrote extensively on public questions for the newspapers and journals.[9] Mill gave some attention to India in *The Principles of Political Economy* (1848) but very little in any other works published before his retirement in 1858. During this period, nevertheless, Mill was a prolific author of official papers and correspondence to governments in India, and was called upon by committees of parliament, notably in 1852, to testify on the operation of the Indian government. Mill wrote, in fact, over 1,700 official dispatches to India, many of them quite lengthy. Most of these dispatches, over 1,500, dealt with "political "affairs in India, that is, with the relations between the company's governments and native Indian states. The rest of the dispatches dealt with miscellaneous topics: education, up to 1836; the problem of Dutch and Portuguese settlements in India; the social condition of native Christians; and, in 1857-1858, public works.[10] Only a few of these dispatches were significant, to be sure, but Mill's influence was considerable, especially in 1856-1858 when he was chief examiner. These were the critical years of the Sepoy Mutiny and the abolition of the company's government of India, and Mill became, he suggests, "the chief manager of the resistance which the Company made to their own political extinction."[11]

How did these two careers influence each other? In a survey of the views he expressed about India, one will be able to see considerable connection between the two careers which Mill kept separate, for there were a number of problems in India, *viz.*, education and moral improvement, economic development, and government, which were of major concern to Mill in all his thought. The rôle of Indian problems in this thought must not be exaggerated, and in his autobiography Mill does not allude much to India; but his great essays written after the close of his official career indicate that he was prepared to apply his philosophical convictions with considerable precision to India and that in some measure his grasp of Indian affairs was part of the empirical foundation for these ideas. Moreover, in his dispatches, despite the fact that he did not have much chance to express his own

9. Among these few is Mill's article "Penal Code for India," published in *The London and Westminster Review* (New York edition, July, 1838), 211-217. As if to conceal his identity, Mill did not sign the article in his usual fashion. Since Macaulay was the author of the penal code and the Mills had clashed with Macaulay, J. S. Mill's discretion was perhaps intended to forestall further controversy.

10. India Office, Home Misc. 832, "List of Dispatches by J. S. Mill."

11. Mill, *Autobiography*, 169.

thoughts, to say nothing of philosophical ideas, fragments of his philosophical outlook appear.[12] An official career, however, was valuable to Mill. It obliged him to consider more than the theoretical aspects of the opinions and institutions in his age. Even though, as Mill admits, the transaction of business on paper, to take effect on the other side of the globe, was not "of itself calculated to give much practical knowledge of life," still Mill was able to see the results of public measures, the reasons for the success and failure of them, and the obstacles blocking their adoption. As an official, he did not have the prerogatives of a purely speculative thinker; he had to satisfy practical men in order to get his proposals accepted; he had to compromise, to sacrifice the non-essential for the essential; and he had to learn how to accept indifference to his ideas and the rejection of his proposals with good grace. He found such a task important to his personal happiness, for it enabled him as a theorist and a practical administrator "to effect the greatest amount of good compatible with his opportunities."[13] His official career, in short, enabled Mill to put his own precepts into action.

In analyzing Mill's views about education, economic conditions, and government in India, one must make a few preliminary observations. First, Mill's treatment of these questions was not often systematic, for while he expressed himself at considerable length and clarity on government in state papers, before committees of parliament, and in *Representative Government*, his views on other topics were scattered. Second, though Mill's attitude toward India was enlightened, it was hardly free of that sense of British political and cultural superiority which still might be irritating today. Third, the source of Mill's ideas was at least initially the opinions of Bentham and James Mill. The younger Mill had been brought up by his utilitarian predecessors to become the philosophical defender of the system. Mill, however, was not as accommodating as that. He was marvellously open-minded, especially during his middle years from about 1828 to 1840, and in studying the diverse ideas of his contemporaries, Coleridge, Carlyle, Comte, De Tocqueville, the St. Simonians, and the French socialists, Mill tended to be sympathetic to the opinions of others and to adapt the creed of philosophical radicalism accordingly. The result of this tolerant appreciation of the ideas of others was Mill's gradual divergence from the convictions of his teachers. As Mill said of himself: "I found the fabric of my old and taught opinions giving way in many fresh places and I never allowed it to fall to pieces but was incessantly occupied with weaving it anew."[14] This divergence, of course, should not be exaggerated. It was in the framework of Bentham and James Mill that John Stuart Mill "tried to organize the new truths that he discovered for himself.[15] But certain differences should

12. Parliamentary Papers, 1852-1853, XXX, 308-309, testimony of J. S. Mill to a select committee, June 21, 1852.
13. Mill, *Autobiography*, 59-60.
14. Mill, *Autobiography*, 110.
15. R. P. Anschultz, *The Philosophy of J. S. Mill* (Oxford, 1953), 6.

briefly be noted. Bentham's utility, determined by a calculus of pleasures and pains, Mill transformed into a normative principle that the highest utility is the self-development and perfection of individuality. Mill incorporated into his advocacy of representative government a fear of the tyranny of the majority—a problem which had not engaged his father's attention. And, in his restatement of classical economics, Mill showed a sympathy for cooperative socialism and a tendency to criticize certain forms of property ownership, a criticism missing in the earlier economists.[16] This restatement of utilitarianism and classical economics may not have been successfully worked out, as many critics have suggested, but it was a necessary modification in the "fabric" of thought which must be considered when one deals with Mill's ideas about India.

Mill's consideration of Indian education began early in his career, between 1825-1836 when he wrote almost all the official dispatches to India on this subject. Education, of course, played a major rôle in his thought, and Mill was concerned with encouraging education in India for the same reason that he wanted to extend education in Britain, that is, to encourage individual self-development, the highest utility, which would mean the progress of society and the development of man as a "progressive being." This was an important element of his concept of liberty, for as soon as men could be guided to their own improvement through conviction or persuasion, compulsion would not have to be used as a "means for their own good," but would be justifiable "only for the security of others."[17] Political and social institutions, moreover, were closely connected with education. As Mill suggests, the choice of political institutions was a "moral and educational question more than one of material interests."[18] Through education also, Mill hoped that society could escape the Malthusian horror of overpopulation which threatened the world.[19]

The task of promoting the education of the Indian people had started before John Stuart Mill entered the India House. The British authorities had taken up the subject as a result of pressure from three groups, the missionary societies, who believed that education would help spread Christianity; oriental scholars, who wanted the government to patronize the art, literature, and learning of India for its own sake; and the utilitarians like James Mill, who in 1824 set the tone of the home government's policy by insisting that the aim of education should be "useful knowledge" rather than the study of what he termed obscure and worthless Oriental subjects.[20] It is this last attitude toward Indian education which Thomas Macaulay established as British policy in his celebrated minute on education in 1835.

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16. Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians*, III, 52-53; Anschultz, *Mill*, 14-20.

17. J. S. Mill, *Liberty*, in E. A. Burtt, *The English Philosophers From Bacon to Mill* (New York, 1939) 950-957.

18. Mill, *Autobiography*, 120.

19. Stephen, *The English Utilitarians*, III, 184.

20. Parliamentary Papers, 1831-1832, IX, 488, extract dispatch to Bengal, February 18, 1824; Mill, *History of British India*, II, 134. The hopes of the missionary view-point can be seen in a letter from Sir Charles Trevelyan to Bentinck, April 9, 1834, in the Bentinck Papers at Nottingham University, England.

Before Macaulay's minute cleared the air, however, there was considerable controversy over the aims of education and many efforts to compromise the several view-points involved; and John Mill, in writing a series of dispatches on the subject from 1825-1836, of necessity reflected the confusion in aims and the controversy between the orientalists and the utilitarians. In fact, his dispatches partly represent his father's view-point and partly the opinions of other Indian authorities such as the directors and influential Indian governors like Sir Thomas Munro of Madras and Mountstuart Elphinstone of Bombay. Mill was no oriental scholar himself, and initially, like a utilitarian, he recognized grave defects in the traditional oriental education. It often consisted, he wrote in 1828, of colleges where a Brahmin and his disciples concerned themselves wholly with religion and where, except for the reading of horoscopes, the students did not attend to anything that even remotely resembled science. The cultivation of the intellect in the fields of theology and philosophy was likewise neglected.[21] This unfavourable impression of Indian culture, however, was only a passing phase of Mill's thought. The rhetoric of Macaulay's minute in 1835, of course, had been a brusque dismissal of all of Indian learning. " A single shelf of a good European library," Macaulay wrote, " was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia"; Indian medical science was disgraceful; its astronomy laughable; its history, which dealt with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and its geography, which consisted of " seas of treacle and seas of butter," were beneath contempt.[22] The younger Mill could not dismiss the whole of Indian learning as " useless, or worse," as James Mull and Macaulay had done.

John Stuart Mill, instead, began to feel, as he made very clear later, that the philosophy, literature, and learning of India were the " authentic and interesting product of the human mind," deserving of study and patronage.[23] India, as he commented in *Liberty*, had been a vigorous and powerful nation once, " populous, lettered, and versed in many of the arts of life "; but, like other peoples in the East, the Indians had lost the quality of individuality which insured progress; and the despotism of custom, a thing Mill feared in England during his own age, had stifled the liberty which had produced intellectually original work in art and literature.[24] In the draft of a dispatch on education in 1836, Mill incorporated, though not always in cogent language, this philosophy of progress as a reason for the promotion of Oriental literature and learning.[25]

21. India Office, Dispatches to Madras (original drafts), LXXV, 359-414, April 16, 1828.
22. T. B. Macaulay, *Minutes on Education in India* (Calcutta, 1862), 107-115, minute, February 2, 1835.
23. J. S. Mill, *Letters of J. S. Mill*, ed., H. R. S. Elliot (2 Vols., New York, 1910), II, 235-237, Mill to Charlotte Manning, January 14, 1870.
24. Mill, *Liberty*, 1004.
25. India Office Library, Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee, Miscellaneous Papers, IX, draft dispatch, October 5, 1836, " Recent Changes in Native Education "; an additional copy in Home Miscellaneous 723.

The draft dispatch, which is interesting as an early and embryonic expression of ideas later to appear in *Liberty* and *Representative Government*, was designed to counteract Macaulay's famous minute. The main fault with Macaulay's programme, Mill found, was that it would not encourage a "disinterested love of knowledge or an intelligent wish for information."[26] It would not develop Indians to pursue Western science and literature for its own sake, but would stimulate vocational goals: that is, Indians could merely learn English in order to obtain public offices and advance economically. Such a goal, Mill felt, would not result in much intellectual improvement. Moreover, Macaulay's proposal to withdraw government patronage from Oriental studies would destroy India's venerated scholarly class and interest in her classical literature—essential bases for improvement. That Indians would cultivate their ancient philosophy and literature, Mill wrote, without stipends, without the printing of Oriental books at public expense, and without public recognition for achievements in classical literature, supposed "a degree of consciousness in the people, of the nature of their intellectual wants, a desire for remedying those wants, and a knowledge of the appropriate remedy, such as never yet existed in the most civilized nations..."[27] Indeed, as Mill later wrote in *Representative Government*, the factors which would determine the intellectual improvement of India were beyond the "ken" of Indians themselves; so a wise government would utilize every means, including the promotion of Oriental literature certainly, to bring about progress in India.[28]

Since both Mill and Macaulay agreed that the government had to do something to promote education, the question was which man proposed the better means. With considerable insight, Mill saw that only a few Indians would learn English well enough to grasp the complexities of Western thought; but many more persons would be affected if such thought were presented in classical and vernacular Indian languages: hence Mill's approval of the cultivation of those languages. Moreover, Mill feared that Macaulay's programme might arouse resentments and weaken Indian confidence in the good intentions of the company's government; for India's scholars were highly respected and their fall would arouse these resentments. Of course, one might well point out, Macaulay's programme did not mean the end of India's cultural tradition, and the very class of scholars who Mill felt were threatened with extinction became the leaders of India's growth as a modern nation. The tradition, however, was preserved initially by European rather than Indian scholars, so that there was a danger inherent in Macaulay's policy: for Indians might acquire little more than a veneer of Western and Indian culture. Still Macaulay's programme raised apprehensions. As he expressed himself later, Mill did not want to force English ideas down the throats of Indians or force

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. J. S. Mill, *On Liberty and Representative Government*, ed., R. B. McCallum (Oxford, 1948), 316.

Christianity and the teaching of the Bible on them; he did not believe one community had "the right to force another to be civilized."[29]

Mill's draft dispatch did not achieve the specific aim for which Mill had designed it: it did not become the policy of the home government. The president of the board of control, Sir John Hobhouse, found it full of "many curious facts," disagreed with the whole draft, and decisively rejected it, as was his prerogative.[30] Mill's proposals were perhaps ahead of the intellectual currents of the age and perhaps not very well presented; but they deserved a better hearing than they received. Mill's concern with the improvemnt of human intellect, however, was not a hopelessly lost cause. He sharpened the expression of his thought and incorporated it into his last great essays, where its influence was to be far greater than that of a draft dispatch; and if his ideas as they concerned Indian education were initially rejected, the broad principles of his educational thought, applicable to the whole of society, were ultimately examined with respect.

Mill's treatment of Indian economic problems, largely found in his *Political Economy*, like his educational thought, was merely a portion of his whole analysis of economics. Within the framework of classical economics, then, Mill dealt with the key problems of India, *viz.*, the stimulation of Indian industry and agriculture, the growth of capital investment, the promotion of peasant proprietors. Of course, he made modifications in classical economics, but he did not stray far from the conviction that individual enterprise rather than governmental supervision and control was preferable in economic affairs. He was not an apologist for landlords in England, nor was Ricardo, for that matter, and Mill's treatment of property was a little less than pleasing to orthodox free traders.[31] Most important of his changes, however, was his emphasis, found also in his analysis of education and government, on individual self-development. He foresaw the possibility of great social progress, where Ricardo had not, once individuality were free to develop.[32] Governmental aid to the economy, then, must be designed as a "course of education for the people" in the art of conducting their economic affairs by "individual energy and voluntary cooperation."[33]

Without making a special study of the Indian economy, Mill tended to use India to illustrate the problems of underdeveloped areas, or in his own phrase, countries where civilization was stationary and unprogressive. In considering the likelihood of improving India and other like regions Mill proposed much more governmental intervention than in advanced countries. In countries of the east accustomed to despotism, Mill wrote, where there was a wide difference in civilization

20. Mill, *Liberty*, 1022-1023; *Representative Government*, 310.
30. India Office Library, Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee, Misc. Papers, IX, Hobhouse to Carnac, December 12, 1836.
31. M. S. Packe, *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (New York, 1954), 298.
32. Stephen, *The English Utilitarians*, III, 197-199.
33. J. S. Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy* (2 Vols. New York, 1883), II, 603.

between the rulers and the people and where the people of India could do very little for themselves, there would be " no roads, docks, harbours, canals, works of irrigation, hospitals, schools, colleges, printing presses" unless the government established them ; for the public was either " too poor to command the necessary resources, or too little advanced in intelligence to appreciate the ends....."[34] The object of such intervention, which is somewhat meagre compared to that of modern governments, was to raise the people to a civilized level where individual and cooperative efforts could regulate the economy.

To improve India, then, was Mill's primary aim, but there were difficulties in finding the way. Mill was struck, first of all, by the wretched agricultural techniques in a country where he felt the natural fertility of the soil and a highly favourable climate ought to result in greatly increased yields and a capacity to support a much larger population on the land. In considering why production was in such a miserable condition, Mill first attended to the system of land tenures in India. These varied : great landowners, the zemindars ; small individual proprietors ; and villages cooperatively organized—all had a share in agricultural production. And Mill showed his inherited opposition to English landlords and his familiarity with his father's views on Indian tenures by strongly condemning the great landowners of India. " The village institutions and customs," Mill wrote, "...are the real framework of Indian society."[35] Mill would not dispense with them, since they were the kind of cooperative enterprise likely to be beneficial in the long run. In his study of peasant proprietorship in France and the Lowlands, Mill had found that the system was an " instrument of popular education."[36] The thrift, prudence, and temperance of the Flemish peasants allayed the Malthusian spectre and led to better living standards. On the other hand, in England where thirty thousand families in times past had appropriated the property rights of peasants (Mills' interpretation of the enclosure movement), the dispossessed English day labourer had grown improvident and miserable, and the result was a wretched social arrangement which impeded the progress toward happiness. The system in India, in fact, as he wrote in 1871, offered a warning : Britain must reverse the process whereby great landed estates had been formed in England ; and in India itself, where the rights of many proprietors had been trampled upon by the zemindars (an injustice, though an innocent one Mill feels, resulting from British ignorance of Indian land tenures), the government must restore those cultivators who had been depressed and maintain those who still survived. Landlordism in Britain and India was a vicious system for a civilized community, Mill asserted.[37]

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34. Mill, *Political Economy*, II, 602.

35. *Ibid.*, I, 163-164.

36. Mill, *Political Economy*, I, 357.

37. J. S. Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions*, (5 Vols., New York, 1875), V, " Maine on Village Communities," 104.

The improvement of India, however, depended on more than maintaining peasant proprietors. New markets for Indian products had to be found so that the level of industrial and agricultural production could be raised. Mill saw that the cities were depressed because the peasants, men of "few wants and unaspiring spirit," did not consume the manfactures of the cities; rural areas were poverty-stricken because there were no markets for their produce. What was needed was a variety of things: the introduction of foreign capital, skill, and enterprise into India to supplement local thrift and encourage capital accumulation; education and the spread of new ideas, which could break old habits and stimulate new ambitions and new tastes; and the development of European markets for Indian raw materials and manufactures, which would create the demand necessary to raise production. In addition, better government, the security of property, moderate taxation, all these would promote progress, so Mill hoped. These expectations, in view of India's surge of population since Mill's time, are still largely to be realized.

Mill's ideas on the Indian economy were not extraordinarily original in his own age, nor unfamiliar proposals in our own time. Utilitarians before Mill, as one sees in the public policy of Lord William Bentinck in India, had much the same programme.[38] If there were any special features to Mill's thought, they were his insistence that India's interests must be considered first, regardless of British interests, that the goal was the promotion of individual enterprise, and that more than strictly economic measures were needed; that is, the government had to step in vigorously. All aspects of Mill's thoughts about India, in fact, focus on the problems of government, and his writings on this topic were extensive and influential among British politicians who had to write the legislation dealing with India.

Mill's main concern was the constitutional structure of Indian government, which was a prerequisite to the establishment of liberty and the rule of law, Mill's other major concerns. By Mill's time, Indian government could be characterized as a complicated system of dual control exercised jointly by the East India Company and a British cabinet minister, the president of the board of control. Officially, the company was the paramount power in India, and its directors, assisted by a permanent staff of officials like Mill, exercised a number of responsibilities. They formulated public policy, appointed and trained a civil service which conducted administration in India, and supervised the execution of public measures. But the board president rather than the directors was the decisive figure; for the crown appointed the highest officials in India, like the governor-general, and the board president had unlimited opportunities for meddling in Indian affairs and in many cases initiated public policy himself. At its worst, with so many institutions and

38. Nottingham University, Bentinck Papers, Financial and Revenue Minutes, May 30, 1829. See also, Daniel Thorner, "The Pattern of Railway Development in India," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, February, 1955, 202-203.

officials involved, the system could become deadlocked ; at best, it was a government of record, a government of law, whose public measures were always open to public examination and correction.

John Stuart Mill, who like his father had to make the system work, felt that it was a thoroughly wise arrangement, in which the amount of good government attained was "truly wonderful" considering the circumstances.[39] It was, however, despotism, and to justify such a form, Mill had to distinguish between the needs of civilized and backward areas. For a civilized region, representative government was the goal of society ; but in a backward area, not ready for self-government, a "vigorous despotism" of a civilized nation (which would supplant the tyranny of native despots) was the only possibility whereby the peoples of that region could reach "a higher stage of improvement."[40] The difficulty of course, lay in arranging the constitutional structure so that Britain's "moral trust" to India would be carried out and something close to the ideal would be attained.

There were a number of alternatives to the company's government of India. After all, wasn't the company, formerly a commercial monopoly, some thing of an anomaly ? Wouldn't a cabinet minister, a secretary of state for India, more properly be made completely responsible for India instead of an anachronistic company ? Mill fought against such a proposal for what he felt were a number of significant reasons. He denied that a cabinet minister responsible only to parliament and not assisted by an independently constituted court of directors was likely to bring good government--though that has been the system since the abolition of the East India Company in 1858 ; for, as he suggested to a select committee of parliament in 1852, neither members of parliament, nor cabinet ministers, nor British public opinion were sufficiently well-informed or interested in India to act as a substitute for the company. "The public opinion of one country is scarcely any security for the good government of another," Mill declared.[41] Some other control besides public opinon had to be established to keep the "despotism" from becoming irresponsible and injurious. As a group, the directors had great knowledge of Indian affairs and understood the issues involved and the peculiarities inherent in India ; and, since opinions, Mill suggested, should be weighed as well as counted, then the directors were far more valuable to India than the thousands in Britain who knew next to nothing about that country. The directors served the interests of good government because of their knowledge and because they were likely to make decisions as a result of great deliberation and discussion. As Mill told a select committee in 1852 :

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39. Mill, *Representative Government*, 267.

40. Mill, *Representative Government*, 313 ; see also Karl Britton, *John Stuart Mill* (London, 1953), 92.

41. Parliamentary Papers, 1852 (88), 300-308, June 21, 1852.

> Discussion, by persons all of one mind, is of no use ; where you have not the advantages given by a representative government of discussion by persons of all potentialities, prepossessions and interests, to secure that the subject shall be looked at in many different lights, though you cannot have a perfect substitute for this, still some substitute is better than none. If you can have a body unconnected with the general Government of the country, and containing many persons who have made that department of public affairs the business of their lives, as is the case with the court of directors, there is much better sifting of matter committed to their charge, by having such a body in addition to the minister of the crown, than by having the minister of the crown without such a body.[42]

One can easily perceive the similarity between this passage and one of Mill's statements in *Liberty* : "The beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded."[43] Both in working out abstract ideas and in the formulation of public policy, only public discussion and sifting of ideas would approximate truth. Mill's defense of the East India Company rested on his convition that the directors could accomplish this aim. He credited the company, at least, with the capacity of thoroughly considering public measures of improvement, of having the least possible interest in bad government, and of looking out for the rights and liberties of the people. On the other hand, he officially charged the ministers of the crown supervising the Indian administration with having been the source " of some of the greatest errors and of the greatest calamities which are recorded in our Indian history."[44] Undoubtedly also, Mill preferred the company because it was free of aristocratic influence—the bane of British government according to utilitarians. Likewise, Mill found that English public opinion was of little value. He had reached this conclusion early in his official career, when in 1838, he had the opportunity to comment on the Black Act, passed in India to establish some degree of equality of law and to remove some of the inequalities between Indians and Europeans. This act, put through by Macaulay, subjected British residents in certain parts of India to company courts and company law, and Britons could be brought to trial before non-European judges. A protest arose in Calcutta and in England over these provisions, and Sir John Hobhouse, the president of the board of control, sought Mill's opinion on the measure. Mill felt that the law was a good one, for it tended to give protection to Indians, and they needed protection against Englishmen in India. Moreover, since the English were inclined to depise the Indians and form themselves into a " privileged caste," as Mill was well aware, the Indians faced not merely legal disabilities but something worse, colour discrimination. Mill favoured measures to

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42. Parliamentary Papers, 1852-1853, XXX, 309, June 21, 1852.
43. Mill, *Liberty*, 965.
44. Parliamentary Papers, 1857-58, XLIII, Ltr. (written by Mill) from Currie and Eastwick, chairman and deputy of the East India Company, to Lord Stanley, June 23, 1858.

remove such discrimination.[45] In pursuing his arguments to a conclusion, Mill made this significant statement about British rule in India—a kind of warning which neither in 1838 nor twenty years later when the company was abolished, the British were prone to heed :

> Our empire in India, consisting of a few Europeans holding 100 millions of natives in obedience by an army composed of those very natives, will not exist for a day after we shall lose the character of being more just and disinterested than the native rulers and being united among ourselves. It is difficult enough for the Government to watch sufficiently over the acts of its own servants : but when to these come to be added a far greater number of Europeans spread over the whole country, coming into competition and collision with the natives in all walks of life and not a few of them profligate ; then unless the control of the courts of justice over these men be strict and even rigid, the conduct of a large proportion of them is sure to be such as to destroy the prestige of superior moral worth and justice in dealings which now attaches to the British name in India.....[46]

The functions of this despotic government, which Mill found the company eminently well-suited to control, were directed toward the preparation of India for modern institutions, ultimately for self-government. Education, equality under the law, the removal of racial differences, religious freedom, the improvement of the economy—all were preparatory. Mill had no expectation that representative government would be soon established in India, and so he made no specific suggestions about initiating even preliminary representative institutions. In 1858, in fact, no one supposed that representative government was near. But Mill was certain that if the British failed to bring about such improvements, the result would be " disgraceful to England and civilization."[47] This attitude is a key to Mill's importance as a critic and a career official ; Mill was the British conscience at its best in dealing with India. He refused to approve the abolition of the East India Company or to serve on the Council of India when offered an appointment in 1858 because he considered that the change in government was for the worse and that the council was an inadequate substitute for the directors. He was shocked by the " monstrous excesses " and the " brutal language " used toward Indians during the period of the Sepoy Mutiny.[48] He warned against any attempts to destroy peasant proprietors in India. He was disturbed by the concept of imperialism as it appeared in such works as Sir Charles Dilke's *Greater Britain*, for Mill could not agree that race and climate made Britain superior to India ; he felt that the only rational superiority came from education, intellectual development, and enlightened

45. British Museum, Add. Ms. 36468, 401-407, January, 1838.
46. British Museum, Add. Ms. 36468, 407.
47. Mill, *Representative Government*, 324.
48. Mill, *Letters*, II, 68-70, Mill to David Urquhart, October 4, 1866, October 21, 1866.

institutions—things which any people could develop in time.[49] Mill's thought, though not wholly free of inconsistencies and prejudices, was of a high standard.

What was his effect on British India? India was better off for having had the benefit of Mill's opinions, and the indirect influence of these ideas on British statesmen and Indian leaders has been perhaps incalculable in the progress of India afterwards.[50] In his economic ideas, Mill made clear the kind of policy needed in India, the development of resources, capital, and productive output. In his consideration of Indian government, Mill influenced political measures directly as well as indirectly through his philosophical exposition of the principles for governing an underdeveloped area. His testimony to select committees in 1852 formed the basis for a Government of India Act in 1853 and was widely cited as the *rationale* for the act.[51] He fought against the abolition of the company in 1858 with a series of extremely able state papers and obliged the government to modify its final proposals for Indian government passed in that year. Single handed, it seems, he gained nearly all the principles of government which he felt necessary for India, though not quite enough for him to sanction the changes made.[52]

The effect of India on Mill's thought was also important. His draft dispatch of 1836 was a proving ground for his conviction that the cultivation of the intellect was the highest utility and that governmental education plans must embody that principle. India also gave Mill breadth in dealing with representative government. His theory would have been somewhat empty if he had not considered the political needs of non-European countries; and Mill's familiarity with India supplied him with the information which enabled him to formulate a well-rounded and plausible theory for justifying representative institutions as the political goal of a progressing civilization.

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49. *Ibid.*, II, 187-190. Mill to Dilke, February 9, 1869. See also C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (New York, 1925), 67-71.

50. For example, see Morley, *Edmund Burke*, 196-224.

51. Hansard, 3rd ser., CXXVII, 1135-1169, speech of Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control, June 3, 1853, in introducing the bill.

52. See *The Times*, January 28, 1858, debates in the General Court of the East India Company, January 27, 1858; *The Economist*, XVI, 82-3, January, 23, 1858; Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs*, Part 3 (2 Vols., London, 1887), II, 156-159; Hansard, 3rd ser., CXLVIII, 1299-1304; *The Times*, July, 8, 1858; Mill, *Letters*, I, 211.

Note respecting manuscript materials. From three English libraries unpublished manuscripts have been used: Commonwealth Relations Office, formerly the India Office Libray, particularly the Home Miscellaneous Series, drafts of dispatches, and miscellaneous papers from the Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee; additional manuscripts from the British Museum; the Bentinck Papers at Nottingham University.

THE ṚBHUS

By

N. G. Chapekar

Ṛbhavaḥ comprise Ṛbhu, Vibhu, and Vāja. These three are supposed to be the sons of one Sudhanvan. There is, however, not much evidence to support this supposition. The Ṛbhus are addressed as Soudhanvanaḥ. This is possibly the reason why they are taken to be the sons of Sudhanvan. But the Ṛgveda knows no individual of that name. The term Soudhanvan occurs twice and there it is the adjective of Rudra and Maruts. The meaning of Soudhanvan is not certain. Dhanva means an arid region. As Soudhanvan is an attribute of Maruts, it may mean winds blowing over such a region. The velocity of such winds is great. I suggest, therefore, that Soudhanvanaḥ as applied to the Ṛbhus means rapid, that is of rapid motion. Ṛbhus is the name given to the rays of the sun, and the motion of the rays is very swift.

According to Yāska, the Ṛbhus are the rays of the sun. They are so-called because they are resplendent. Vibhu is significant in that the rays pervade the whole universe. They are also productive of wealth and food, and so comes in the name of Vāja which means food. Sacrifices begin with the rise of the sun and provide occasion for kings and philanthropic persons to make gifts of wealth. Similarly, it is during the day that people engage in agricultural activities. The Ṛbhus are naturally welcome as harbingers of wealth and food. In this context ' śavasaḥ naptaḥ ' as applied to the Ṛbhus may mean ' givers of wealth '. The usual interpretation ' sons of valour or physical strength ' is inapplicable here. The expression ' śavasaḥ naptaḥ ' has been used five times in reference to the Ṛbhus and ' manoḥ naptaḥ ' once. The latter, to me, seems to be the paraphrase of the former. I reject its usual meaning, namely ' the sons of Manu '. Originally ' manu ' might have meant that which is non-immortal, or that which is opposed to ' amṛtaḥ '. The purport of 3-60-3, in which the Ṛbhus are addressed as ' manoḥ naptaḥ ', is that the Ṛbhus who were originally non-immortal secured the companionship of Indra and went to the sacrifice.[1] They [thus] became immortal by their good deeds.

It is easy to see why the Ṛbhus were described as ' naraḥ ', leaders. For, they ushered the day. As ' Ṛbhus ' means rays, the story that they were originally humans must be discredited. That the Ṛbhus acquired the status of gods has been repeatedly related by Ṛgvedic poets. The fiction that they were humans who later attained to godhood by their heroic deeds is very likely founded on the fact of their being introduced at a later date at the men's sacrifice. Ṛgvedic gods are luminaries like the sun, the moon, the stars, and different phenomena of nature. These are

1. Apasaḥ = sacrificial act.—Apte's dictionary.

immortal, perennial or deathless. Therefore they are ' amṛtaḥ '. At the sacrificial ritual they are entitled to have the ' Soma ' drink. It seems the rays of the sun were deified not along with Indra, Uṣas, etc., but much later than that.

' Martāsaḥ ', in 1-110-4, which is taken to mean humans seems to be responsible for the belief that the Ṛbhus were first humans. I think ' martāsaḥ ' does not mean humans here. It is an antonym of ' amṛtaḥ '. Sacrifices are eternal. Sacrificers may die but not the gods, without whom no sacrifice can be performed. Even when a sacrifice is performed today, we are required to invoke the same gods whom the Vedic sacrificers invoked. So these gods are ' amṛta ', everything else being ' mṛta ' or ' marta '.

The story of the Ṛbhus is analogous to that of the Maruts. The latter had to serve Agni for one year before they were deified (1-72). In the fourth stanza of this ' sūkta ', Sāyanācārya takes ' martaḥ ' to mean ' marutgaṇa ', that is a group of Maruts, which supports my argument that ' martaḥ ' does not necessarily mean a human being everywhere. In 9-101-13 the word means a dog, while in 5-41-13 it denotes an enemy. There is no doubt that the Ṛbhus aspired to join the ranks of gods (amartyeṣu-1-110-5) and to obtain the ' Soma ' drink '(śravaḥ). Their habitation was in the intermediate region (antarikṣasya nṛbhyaḥ—1-110-6). This discredits the idea of their being humans, as the latter dwell on earth.

It is related that the Ṛbhus enjoyed the hospitality of the sun for twelve days. During this period, they slept there. This description points to the sky being cloudy and the sun invisible. This is corroborated by what the poets further say, namely that during the period grass grew on high lands, low lands were surcharged with water, fields were filled, rivers were in spate, and vegetation grew on parched land (1-161-11; 4-33-7). It is obvious that there was incessant rain for twelve days without any sunshine. The ṛṣis naturally prayed that the Ṛbhus should go to them.

Verse 1-161-9 is rather obscure. It says, " One said, the waters are great; another said, Agni is great; the third said, the earth is the greatest of all. The truth-sayers separated the ' camasaḥ '." These statements seem unrelated. Yet what has been said in the preceding paragraph will help us understand them better. The waters, the sun (agni) and the earth are the chief agents here, each important or great in its own way. The earth, all the same, should be regarded as the greatest as it is the earth which is served by the sun and the waters. The sun is one of the three manifestations of Agni, and the term ' agni ' is taken to mean the sun here. It may be that Ṛbhu, Vibhu and Vāja were deities representing the rays of the sun, clouds or waters, and the earth respectively. What they said being wisdom, they merited ' camaspān ' at sacrifices.

1-161-10 is not less obscure. It says, " one drives the red (or lame) cow to the waters, one separates flesh with a knife, one takes away excreta from the fleshy part.

What more can parents get from sons ? " The last sentence helps us to understand the verse. Heaven and Earth are the parents of the Ṛbhus (4-36-1). One of the Ṛbhus brought waters from below to the cippled sun. Another made (piṁśati) the cloud (māṁsam) full with it, or filled it with water with the help of some contrivance (sūnayā).[2] The third evacuated or emptied the contents (śakṛt) of the cloud (nimracaḥ) It is in this way that the Ṛbhus served their parents, Heaven and Earth.

A ṛṣi inquisitively asks the Ṛbhus where their paternal ancestors were when the whole universe was covered up and it began to rain (1-161-12). Evidently this alludes to the twelve days' continuous showers.

1-161-13 should, I think, come after 4-33-7. In it the Ṛbhus who wanted to sleep enquired of the sun as to who would wake them. Thereupon the sun said to the watchdog (maruts—Sāyaṇa). " now that (adyaidam) we are living together, you wake (vyakhyata) us up."

The last stanza of 1-161-12 says, " you cursed him who held you by hand ; you remonstrated with him who censured you." This suggests that despite resistance the Ṛbhus succeeded in letting off the waters or making the sun shine again.

As already stated the Ṛbhus are three. In 4-33-9 we find Ṛbhu assigned to Indra, Vibhu to Varuṇa and Vājah to gods generally. Indra is the rising sun and Varuṇa, the setting sun. But for the plural, I would have treated Vājah to represent the rays of the noon sun.

Though the Ṛbhus, individually and separately, are mentioned in the Ṛgveda at seven places, references to two of them without Vibhu are found in ten places. It is remarkable that there is no mention either of Ṛbhu and Vibhu, or of Vājaḥ and Vibhu.

The Ṛbhus are credited with several miracles, one of which is that they rejuvenated their pale and worn-looking parents (1-20-4, 110-8, 111-1, 161-3 etc.). As we have already seen, the heaven and the earth are, probably, their parents ; for, 4-36-1 states that the Ṛbhus made heaven and earth bloom and this great exploit brought fame to them. During the rains, the sky and the earth are shrouded in darkness and with the rise of the sun both appear bright.

Another miracle ascribed to the Ṛbhus is that they created a cow out of hide. For a rational interpretation of this passage we should understand the sun by the term ' go '. The other term ' carman ', I suggest, should be taken to mean a cloud. The term is derived from the root car = to move ; and the cloud moves. The fable thus means that the Ṛbhus extricated the sun from the clouds. This action is indicated by the verbs (*i*) apiṁśata, (*ii*) ariṇīta, (*iii*) tatakṣuḥ, and (*iv*) Kartvā. The first and the third verbs out of these denote the action of cutting, chopping or separating.

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2. It is only here that this term occurs. I shall show that ' carman ' and ' māṁsa ' mean the same thing, namely a cloud.

The second verb, according to Sayaṇācārya, is synonymous with 'niragamayata', meaning forced out or took out. The passage, therefore, means that the Ṛbhus extricated the sun from the clutches of the clouds. In this context, the fourth verb 'Kartvā' should be taken to carry the same sense. I think we should derive 'Kartvā' from Kart = to cut. If 'Kartva' is derived from Kṛ = to make, the Ṛbhus would be credited with having made or created the sun. This is a poetic way of saying the same thing. During the twelve days of heavy rains, the sun was not seen. The Ṛbhus made the sun reappear or reborn.

There is yet another hurdle. Though lexicographers accept 'go' to mean the sun, they do not ascribe the same meaning to the term 'dhenu' which we find used in the place of 'go', at some places. 'Dhenu' is derived from the root 'dhe' which means to draw, to suck or to absorb. I suggest that the term 'dhenu' should be taken to mean here, the sun who sucks the water of the ocean.

In 4-33-4, the word 'māḥ' is used in the place of 'carman'. Sāyaṇācārya renders 'māḥ' as 'māṁsam'. I prefer to take it in the sense of 'carman' (hide) denoting a cloud. Again, I interpret the term 'saṁvatsara', which is usally taken to mean a year, in a different way. This is the only place where this word appears in the Ṛgveda. 'Saṁvatsara' is from 'vas' = to live and I take it to denote the period during which the Ṛbhus were with the sun. The introduction of 'ta' in the term is not new even to Marathi. We have it in the past tense of the verbs 'sāṅgaṇe', 'baghaṇe', etc. I translate the verse (4-33-4) thus: "While the Ṛbhus lived in close company of the sun, they protected him; they separated the clouds and fed him with luster. By these deeds they rose to become gods."

Another miracle for which the Ṛbhus are praised is the creation of a horse from a horse. This alludes to the rays, especially of the morning sun, which swiftly get multiplied. It is explicitly stated that these horses (rays) carry Indra (the rising sun), and are very swift (4-35-5).

The Ṛbhus are credited with having made four 'camas', where there was one. Originally Indra alone was offered the 'soma' drink (4-35-7). The Ṛbhus, on their deification, took their seats with Indra and were offered the 'soma' juice. Naturally four cups of 'soma' drink had to be kept ready, one for Indra and three for the Ṛbhus. This is how the miracle may be explained. There are numerous references to the Ṛbhus being invited to sacrifices along with other gods and offered 'soma' juice. The present sacrificial ritual, however, does not preserve the Ṛgvedic practice. No 'camas' is offered to the Ṛbhus though relevant hymns are recited. The tradition, it seems, died out before the Brāhmaṇas were written.

Indra is called Ṛbhumān, that is an associate of the Ṛbhus (1-110-9). This confirms the character of Ṛbhu as rays of the sun: Indra, as already pointed out,

being the morning sun. The description of Ṛbhu as the son of Indra (4-37-4) is naturally justified in this light.

The heroism of the Ṛbhus is described as follows : " Having seen the supernatural act of making four vessels out of one, Tvaṣṭā, the architect of gods concealed himself among their wives " (1-161-4). Evidently, he felt himself disgraced. In plain words it means that with the deification of the Ṛbhus the sacrificial godhood of Tvaṣṭā was thrown in the background. Tvaṣṭā had vowed that he would kill those who desecrated the ' camas ' from which gods drank the ' soma ' juice (1-161-5). He had now to eat his words, for he saw other names being announced when the ' soma ' juice was ready. The change in names is compared to that of a girl, who (on marriage) changes her name.

The Ṛgveda is known for its poly-connotative words. ' Ṛbhu ' is an instance in point. It means a sacrifice (10-93-8), the sun (6-3-8), great (' mahān ', 3-5-6 and 5-7-7) and ' Karmakār ' (8-75-5). ' Ṛbhavaḥ ' means ' Maruts ' (1-51-2). As an adjective, it signifies in many places bright or radiant (3-36-2, etc.).

' Ṛbhu ', ' ṛbhukṣaṇa ', ' ṛbhukṣa ' are synonymous terms. Ṛbhukṣaḥ denotes Indra (10-64-10) and ṛbukṣaṇa conveys the sense of proficiency (8-93-34). Provision is made for these younger gods in what they call ' tṛtiya savan ' which takes place at the end of the day.

This episode of the Ṛbhus becoming gods as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa seems not to have been based on the text of the Ṛgveda. The version there is that the Ṛbhus practised rigorous austerities which pleased Prajāpati so that he interceded for them with gods for the privilege of being given the ' soma ' juice. The gods, however, declined to concede to his request, with the result that the Ṛbhus were allowed to share the ' soma ' drink with Prajāpati only.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Critical Study of the Bhagavadgītā. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. UMESHA MISHRA M.A., D.Litt.—Published by Tirabhukti Publications. 1. Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad, pp. 1-65.

Śaṅkarācārya in his Introduction to the *Bhagavad-gītā* remarks 'this Gītā-śāstra collects in one place the quintessence of the teaching of all the vedas; it is hard to understand; many have tried to expound it. Noticing that common people hold that many contradictory views are contained therein (in the *Gītā*) I shall expound it briefly in order to determine its purport with proper discrimination (reasoning).'

There is such a plethora of works on the *Bhagavadgītā* that one is often tempted not to notice any new book dealing with that philosophical work of fundamental importance. The work under review naturally arrests one's attention when one considers the eminent position that the author of it holds in the domain of Sanskrit scholarship. The book in question occupies only sixty-five pages. It would have been more appropriate if the writer had chosen some such title as 'a critical study of the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā*'. A critical study of the *Bhagavadgītā*—imperatively demands discussions of numerous problems such as the following: Is the *Bhagavadgītā* a genuine part of the *Mahābhārata* or a later addition; Is the *Gītā* Vyāsa's composition; the date of the composition of the *Gītā*; the position of the *Gītā* in Sanskrit Literature—and its relation to the Upaniṣads, the Vedānta-sūtras and the several *darśanas*; the meanings of such words as '*yoga*', '*brahma*', '*svabhāva*', '*buddhi*', '*ātaman*' employed in the *Gītā*; how to resolve the contradictions between VII-18, IV-38 on the one hand and VI.46 on the other, between XII.12 and VII.18; between X.32 and XII.19-20; the attitude of the *Gītā* towards the four varṇas; the position of the *Gītā* in regard to the doctrines of the Buddha and of Jina. The learned writer says in his brief Preface, 'my close study of the text of the *Gītā* and its commentaries has shown me that the commentators have paid more attention to their own view-point than to the text of the *Gītā* while explaining its lines'. It is unfortunate that the few pages (2-10) devoted to the consideration of the relation of the Gītā to the Mahābhārata, of the genuineness of the text and to the date of the Mahābhārata war contain only perfunctory treatment of the three topics mentioned and omit all reference to the other matters referred to above that must be considered in a critical study of the *Gītā*. The learned writer should have either altogether omitted this slipshod treatment or if he wanted to say anything on the topics should have devoted more space to them. There are statements in the first ten pages to which exception will be taken by many scholars such as the assertion that the whole of the *Bhagavadgītā* was actually taught on the battlefield or that the life of the Hindus is rigidly regulated on the lines taught in the *Gītā* or that only in India one can easily find a harmonious synthesis between life and philosophy and religion and philosophy. As regards the pages from 11 to

65, the learned writer has done well in relying on the Gītā alone to find out its teachings. Most readers would not raise serious objections to what he states to be the teachings of the *Gītā*. The writer himself has to admit that (p. 14) it is very difficult to state clearly the reciprocal relations among the three, viz. 'karma', 'bhakti' and 'jñāna'. Every person should read the *Gītā* for himself, decide, for himself what it teaches and endeavour to act up to what he holds is its teaching. If this small book induces the reader to do this, it would have well served its purpose.

P. V. K.

"Catalogue of the Gujarati and Rajasthani Manuscripts in the India Office Library". By the late James Fuller Blumhardt, M.A. Revised and Enlarged by Alfred Master, C.I.E., M.A. Published by The Oxford University Press. Pages 167 : Price 50/- Shillings (net). London, 1954.

No one more closely acquainted with the Gujarati language in all its aspects, old and modern, and a better person than Mr. Master could have been selected to revise and enlarge this Catalogue. He is a scholar, whose knowlegde of this subject is up-to-date. He has studied the works of S. H. Hodivala, N. B. Divatia and H. R. Kapadia and kept himself up-to-date with the research work carried on in Gujarati by the above three and in Rajasthani by Gavrishankar Ojha. Mr. Master knows his Gujarati well. The Manuscripts have been discussed in all their aspects : date, reading characters, and contexts. Whether the premier old poet, Narsinh Mehta of Junagadh whose famous devotional song (Bhajan)—He is the true Vaishanav who knows the distress of others—had become the favourite of Mahatma Gandhiji wrote the Hāramālā or not, is discussed by him. For Manuscripts relating to Jain (Religious) Literature, he has studied the articles of Mr. H. R. Kapadia, published in the Journal of this Society and relied on them ; one of such works, the Nala Davdanti Katha (No. 94) has recently been reviewed in the last issue of this Society's Journal. In short, the Catalogue is important to Research student in this field, in every way and deserves a hearty welcome, as it would furnish useful means to him in the pursuit of his task.

The Reproduction of the two Mss : Rajasthani (No. 56) and Gujarati (No. 52) is very clear and legible.

K. M. Jhaveri

Avantisundarī of Ācārya Daṇḍin : Published by Sri S. K. Pillai, Hon. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. (Trivandrum S. S. No. 172). 1954. Price Rs. 4/-.

Avantisundarī Kathā is a romantic tale, the contents of which are almost identical with those of the *Daśakumāracarita*, particularly, its Pūrvapīṭhikā. It is well known that the *Daśakumāracarita*, which is ascribed to Ācārya Daṇḍin, author of the Kāvyādarśa, has neither a regular beginning nor an end. The Pūrvapīṭhikā, which is available at present, is admittedly a later addition by an inferior artist. When, therefore, Shri M. R. Kavi published a fragment of the *Avantisundarī Kathā* ascribed to the great Ācārya Daṇḍin in 1924, great hopes were raised about the recovery of the real and complete *Daśakumāracarita*. But the difference in the style of the two works soon gave rise to a controversy and opinions still remain divided as regards the identity of the authors of the two works.

The present edition of the *Avantisundarī* is based upon a single manuscript, like that of Shri Kavi, but is a much longer fragment that the one contained in Shri Kavi's edition. The present manuscript is defective in many places and is full of many lacunæ. It covers nearly half the story of the Pūravapīṭhikā. It is certainly a great gain to have in print even this much portion of an old work, which has been almost given up as hopelessly lost.

The introduction by Shri K. S. Mahadeva Shastri, Superintndent of the Mss Library, is illuminating. Shri Shastri points out the differences in the story as narrated in the two works, namely the *Avantisundarī* and the Pūrvapīṭhikā, and concludes that the *Daśakumāracarita* proper and the *Avantisundarī* are parts of the same work of Daṇḍin, as has already been done by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane in the introduction to his edition of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (3rd ed.), p. 92. In the footnotes, the editor has compared the readings from Shri Kavi's edition in the first 37 pages —since, the latter extended thus far only—and indicated the extent of the probable loss of matter in the manuscript. He has discussed the date of Daṇḍin on the basis of internal evidence, supplied by the *Avantisundarī*; but this has already been done much more fully by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane in his above-mentioned edition of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, introduction, p. 92.

H. D. Velankar

A. Scharpe: *Kālidāsa*—Lexicon; Vol. I Basic Texts of the works—Part 1 Abhijñānaśakuntalā. Published in 1954 at "De Tempel," Tempelhof 37, Brugge (Belgie).

The work under review is only the first part of volume I of Kālidāsa—Lexicon, which is proposed to be published soon. Volume I of this Lexicon is to contain the Basic Texts of the works of Kālidāsa on which the Lexicon is to be based, while the second volume will contain the Lexicon proper.

The first Part of the first volume contains the basic text of the Abhijñāna-śakuntalā. The text is obtained by a co-ordination of the Devanāgarī and the Bengali

recensions according to the critical editions of Cappeller (Leipzig, 1909) and Pischel (2nd edition, 1922). In the metrical portions of the drama, variants are recorded (on pp. 111-134) from the other authoritative editions (mentioned on p. 109) of the different recensions, namely, Devanagarī, Dravidian, Bengali and Kāshmīrī, and also from the later quotations from the works on the Alaṁkāra Śāstra, as listed by Hari Cand in his 'Kālidāsa et l'art poetique de l'Inde'. Paris, 1917.

H. D. VELANKAR

The Dhammapada. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. Oxford University Press. Pp. 192/viii. 12*sh.* 6*d.*

The *Dhammapada* is perhaps the best known of the Buddhist scriptures. It is an anthology of 423 verses traditionally believed to be the very utterances of the Buddha himself. The work forms a part of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, a part of the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Pali *Tipiṭaka*. The verses are grouped in 26 cantoes according to their subject-matter and are obviously collected from various sources and the very grouping shows behind it the careful hand of an ancient redactor.

By its very nature the *Dhammapada* has won well-deserved renown and is often compared with the *Gītā* though the two books are far different from each other in style and import. It has been translated many times over and to this imposing list is now added another by a distinguished savant. Dr. Radhakrishnan's translation is both scholarly and timely. As the author observes in his preface : " The central thesis of the book, that human conduct, righteous behaviour, reflection and meditation are more important than vain speculations about the transcendent—has an appeal to the modern mind." The introduction begins with a brief note on the chronological position of the work and its religious importance and then describes the life of Gautma, the Buddha. This is followed by a very learned discussion on some of the central concepts of Buddhism and it is not surprising, when one remembers that the author is a firm adherent of the *Advaita Vedānta* of Śaṅkara, that he finds it difficult to accept the *anattā* theory. The author argues that the teachings of the Buddh imply " the reality of a universal spirit which is not to be confused with the changing empirical aggregate " and he further devotes a great deal of attention to the terms *dharma* and *brahma* as found in the Buddhist books. It cannot be gainsaid that no adequate understanding of the Buddha's teaching is possible without bearing in mind the whole Upaniṣadic background by which the Buddha must have been influenced. But it is difficult to agree with the author when he tries to minimize the differences between what the Buddha preached and what the *Upaniṣads* propound. The difficulty of agreeing with the author in some of his interpretations of the theories of the Buddha apart, it may easily be conceded that the introduction makes a very stimulating reading.

The translation has been done in a manner which is at once eminently readable and carries within it the sense of the text faithfully. But instances of a rather "free" translation or inadequate translation may perhaps be noted. The following are some instances :

Canto I-6-13 (*samativijjha*/breaks through?), (20 *anupādiyāno*/being free from?)

Canto II-3 (*yogakkhemam anuttaram*/the highest freedom and happiness?)

Canto III-8 (*nagara*/fortress?) 9 (*kalingaraṁ*/burnt faggot?)

Canto VI-5 (*nettika*/engineer?)

Canto VII-3 the whole translation is unsatisfactory as is also the case with Canto XI-4

Canto X-6 (*sārambha*/agitation?), 10(*bhedana*/injury?)

Canto XIV-1 (*yassa jitam nāvajīyati*/conquest is not conquered again?)

3-(*pihayanti*/emulated?)

7-in the note *Prātimokṣa* is described as the title of the oldest collection of the ethical precepts of the Buddhists which is misleading.

Canto XV-4 *ābhassarā*/shining gods which carries the sense but does not explain the technical import of the term; similarly *āsava*/taints in Canto XVI-6.

Canto XVII-10 The note explains *Brahmā* as "creator god" which does not at all convey the special position of the god in Pāli literature.

Canto XVIII-7 *manta*/seeker?

Canto XVIII-12 *samkhārā*/phenomenal world?

Canto XXIII-10 *mātaṅgaranne'va nāgo*/(roaming at will) in the forest?

11 the same translated as (roaming at will) in the elephant-forest?

Some misprints may also be pointed out :

Canto V-12 *daham tam* which is translated as "smouldering" in which case the reading should have been *dahantam* ;

6 *ekaghaṇo* which should be *ekaghano*

Canto VI *rattham* for *raṭṭham* and *nayicche* for *na icche*

Canto X-1 note *anne* for *aññe*

Canto XI-5 and 7 *Māṁsalohita* for *maṁsalohita*

etc.

Reading through the translation as a whole, one is struck by the elegance of the phrases and the facility with which the author has ably expressed the lofty ethical

spirit of the verses. The book is indeed a welcome addition to our list of translations of the *Dhammapada* and will undoubtedly be widely read and appreciated.

B. G. G.

Indological Studies, Part III. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law. Published by the Hon. Secretary, Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad. 1954. Roy. pp. viii + 255 and one map.

Historical Geography of Ancient India. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law. Published by Société Asiatique de Paris. 1954. Roy. pp. viii + 354 and three maps.

With about 50 learned works and several articles dealing with different aspects of Ancient Indian History, Geography, Archæology, Epigraphy, Art, Ethnology, Buddhism and Jainism to his credit, Dr. B. C. Law is an acknowledged international authority on Buddhism and Jainism. His productions are marked by thoroughness, accuracy, careful choice of facts, objectivity and sobriety of judgment, high standard of scholarship and exhaustive documentation. His first-hand study of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature and his geographical training have stood him in good stead in his researches. Hardly a year passes without there being a couple of valuable monographs from the pen of Dr. Law.

Indological Studies, Part III, contain sixteen of published and unpublished articles by Dr. Law dealing with the topics of Ancient Indian Geography, with the exception of the last two entitled "Contemporary Indian and Ceylonese Kings" and "Two Great Jain Teachers." Besides "Ayodhyā," "Mathurā" and "Avantī," three of the seven holy places reputed to confer *mokṣa*, there are chapters dealing with "Kapilavastu," "Aṅga and Campā," "Prāgjyotiṣapura," "Mithilā," "Vaiśālī," "Pāṭaliputra and Persopolis," and "Vidiśā." In addition to Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain sources, Dr. Law has referred to the accounts of the Chinese travellers, Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, inscriptions, coins, and several modern works dealing with history, etc. The plan generally followed is that after fixing the location of the site, account is given of its origin and importance, and its vicissitudes through the ages are delineated. Reference is made to coins, inscriptions, and archæological and sculptural remains, wherever available.

Several ancient historical sites in Bengal have been described in Chapter V. There is a good topographical description and historical account of the Himālayas in Chapter XII, while "Some Himālayan Rivers" (Chapter XIII) deals with fifteen rivers including Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Mahī and the five Panjab rivers. "A geographical study of the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon" presents a geographical picture of India and Ceylon as far as can be drawn from the Pali

Chronicles of Ceylon. "Contemporary Indian and Ceylonese Kings" considers the acceptability of Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of India and those of Ceylon in the light of some new relevant facts. The volume closes with the account of "Two Great Jain Teachers" Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha collected from Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical sources.

There is a sketch map of ancient Indian cities, rivers, etc., and an Index. The book will be helpful to scholars and students interested in Indological studies.

Historical Geography of Ancient India, with a Preface by Prof. Louis Renou, is a publication of the Société Asiatique of Paris. In the preparation of this scholarly work, Dr. Law has utilised original works in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Ceylonese, Burmese, Chinese and Tibetan, as also epigraphic and numismatic sources, archæological finds, accounts of Greek travellers, Chinese pilgrims and Muslim writers, and modern works. There is a fairly long introduction covering 60 pages which deals with (I) Sources, (II) Different Names of India, (III) Shape and Divisions of India, (IV) Physical Features: (A) Mountains, (B) Caves, (C) Rivers, (D) Lakes, (E) Forests, followed by "Sixteen Great States (Mahājanapadas)" and "Important Publications on Ancient Indian Geography." The detailed description of the sources indicates the vast range of the net spread by Dr. Law. It may be mentioned that MM. Dr. Kane has exhaustively dealt with Tīrthas (Holy Places) in Section IV (pp. 552-827) of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, which was published when Dr. Law's book was in the press. MM. Dr. Kane has given a "List of Tīrthas" (pp. 723-825) with full references.

Following the fivefold division of India by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, which is in a line with the earlier Indian works dealing with geography and which was adopted by the Chinese, whose official records of the seventh century style the five divisions as the Five Indies, Dr. Law has treated the historical geography of ancient India in these five chapters: (I) Northern India, (II) Southern India, (III) Eastern India, (IV) Western India, and (V) Central India.

Kṛṣṇagiri on p. 168 under "Southern India" is almost a repetition of the lines under *Kṛṣṇagiri* on p. 100. The same description is repeated on p. 89 under *Kaṇhagiri*. On p. 285 under *Kānherī* no reference is found to *Kṛṣṇagiri* or *Kaṇhagiri*. *Bhāgīrathī* is wrongly placed in "Southern India" on p. 144, while its right place is p. 212 f. On p. 286, no identification or particulars have been given for *Kālayāna* and *Kāllaṇa*. Under *Māhiṣmatī* on p. 174, there is no reference to the identification proposed by Dr. Munshi, though his paper is mentioned on p. 57.

The reviewer found that the index was not complete and hence not very useful. It did not include some important names in the text, and did not give cross references. An exhaustive and full index would have enhanced the reference value of the book, and would have greatly helped the scholars.

The three maps containing (1) Ancient India, (2) Some Mountains and Rivers of India, and (3) Mahājanapadas add to the usefulness of the book. One expected the map of Ancient India to show the five divisions.

The printing and get up are excellent, and we have no doubt that that this volume will greatly help students of ancient Indian history and geography.

A. D. P.

नानार्थमञ्जरी of राघव. edited by K. V. K. Sharma. (Published by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona).

The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute is doing signal service to Indology through its varied and rich publications. It has now undertaken to publish, on historical principles, a Dictionary of Sanskrit and has been bringing out, as a preliminary to it, various small works on Indian Lexicography in the series 'Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography.'

The work under review falls in that category. Sanskrit Lexicographical literature consists either of a collection of synonyms or words having many meanings. नानार्थमञ्जरी which falls in the second category is composed by राघव who appears to be a southerner living in the latter part of the 14th century. The words are arranged according to the number of syllables, those ending with क coming first. The present edition is based on 5 Mss and is similar in contents and approach to नानार्थ रत्नमाला of Irugopa Daṇḍādhināṭha. Many lines and even variant readings are common. Pandit K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma who has edited this has added critical notes and an exhaustive index which has considerably added to the utility of the work. One only feels that the introduction should have been more detailed.

S. N. G.

कविकल्पद्रुम of वोपदेव. Edited by G. B. Palsule. Published by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

कविकल्पद्रुम of वोपदेव which is another publication in the same series is of a different type. It is a metrical Dhatupāṭha which gives in 361 anuṣṭhubh stanzas verbal roots of Sanskrit Language arranged according to the alphabetical order to the final letter of the roots. It also includes meanings of the roots and indicates their grammatical peculiarities by means of Code-letters. It is obvious that the work is exhaustive, perhaps even to a fault, since the author had the opportunity to avail himself of the works of his predecessors, adding his own contribution. He has relied mainly on Kṣīrasvāmin and Hemacandra.

Dr. Palsule is to be congratulated for bringing out for the 1st time a critical edition of this work based on both the Eastern and Western versions. The book is an important contribution to the study of Indian Lexicography. The edition contains a very useful introduction giving the details of the Mss on which the edition is based, an account of the work, the date of the author and his other works. The two Appendices given at the end containing the index of roots and the meanings have increased the value of the edition.

S. N. G.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume. Edited by Dr. S. N. Sen. Published by D. K. Sathe. Poona, 1950. Royal, Pp. 16 + 383 + 177. Price Rs. 16/-.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Datto Vaman Potdar, historian, scholar and educationist, is a well-known figure in Mahārāṣṭra, and there is hardly any educational or cultural institution at Poona with which he is not associated in some form or other. He is intimately connected with the Śikṣaṇa Prasāraka Maṇḍaḷī, Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Pariṣad, Poona University, Indian History Congress, Indian Historical Records Commission, and several other bodies. Starting his selfless career of public life since 1912, Prof. Potdar completed sixty years of his useful life in 1950, and in appreciation and recognition of his manifold services, the Committee formed to celebrate his sixty-first birthday decided to present him with a Volume of Essays on Indology written by his friends, admirers, students and scholars. Dr. S. N. Sen edited the volume.

The volume contains 41 articles in English and 13 in Marāṭhī on various aspects of Indology. The reference value of the book is enhanced by the useful Indexes, both for the English and Marāṭhī sections, prepared by Prof. N. A. Gore. In works of this nature uniformly high standard can hardly be expected in all articles, and limitations of space preclude reference to all articles which the reviewer would like to mention.

Under these circumstances, if the reviewer refers to half a dozen articles it is only because they have particularly appealed to him. The articles on " A Tamil Account of Shivaji's Expedition to the South and the Mughal Siege of Gingee " by the late DB. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, " Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions " by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, " The History of Maize in India between A.D. 1500 and 1900 " by Prof. P. K. Gode, " Some Gaps in the History of Vaiśālī " by Dr. A. S. Altekar, and " Jainas and Jainism " by Dr. A. N. Upadhye among articles in the English section, and " Ancient Relics at Pavnar " by MM. Prof. V. V. Mirashi and " Corrections in the Dates of the Peshwa Daftar " by Shri G. H. Khare in the Marathi section, require more than a passing reference.

The printing and get up are quite good, and the price is moderate. The volume will be a welcome addition to the College and University Libraries as also those of learned institutions.

A. D. P.

Lectures in Linguistics. By Oscar Luis Chavarria-Aguilar. Published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute. Poona. 1954. Crown 8vo, pp. viii + 128. Price Rs. 4/-.

The book under review represents three lecturse delivered by the author under the joint auspices of the University of Poona and the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, with the addition of three sections dealing with some of the problems and techniques of Linguistic Methodology and with Transfer Grammar. The first lecture entitled "On the Nature of Language" touches on the formal characteristics of language and considers "some of the general functions and rôles of languages in different contexts of thought and communication, functions and rôles that inhere in the nature of language itself." The lecture concludes with the discussion of the relation of language and race, language and nation, and linguistic nationalism. The techniques employed in the analysis and description are generally known as "Descriptive Linguistics," which forms the subject of the second lecture. The author states that the methods and techniques of modern descriptive linguistics were evolved largely out of the application of the methodology of the Indo-Europeanist to the unrecorded languages of aboriginal America. There is an exhaustive discussion of descriptive linguistice under phonology, morphology and syntax.

The third lecture on "Language and Linguistics in India" has a special bearing particularly in the context of linguistic states and national language, especially as the views of an unbiased specialist. The author shows that analogies from language problems and their solutions in the Soviet Union, Switzerland and Japan are inapplicable to India as India's problems are unique and their only logical and adequate solution lies in their being studied strictly within the national context. He points to the fact that there is an inordinately high degree of linguistic self-consciousness in India. One of the unfortunate aspects of the language phase of the nationalist movement, according to the author, was that no language was early enough put up as the all-India medium, the language that was to serve as the symbol of Indian national identity and unity. Hindi came in the field only after regional linguistic consciousness was roused. He further shows that vocabularies of Hindi and regional languages are ill-equipped for science, technology, administration, judicial system, higher education, etc. For the solution of the languaeg problem the author strongly pleads for the analytical study of language, and for the revival of descriptive linguistic analysis in India. He advocates the "Back to Pāṇini" movement.

In the section on "Transfer Grammar" the author rightly states that an earnest desire to simplify the process in language teaching results merely in an over-simplification that leaves the learner with a respectable vocabulary but with no idea as to how to employ it. Transfer grammar may be said to be a more efficient method of teaching languages because it helps the learner to control the phonologic, morphologic and syntactic structure of the language to be learned with as great a degree of accuracy as possible, as it is essentially a structural comparison of two languages, presenting the structural relevancies of the language to be learned in terms of the language of the learner. There is a short, general bibliography at the end.

The book is stimulating and thought-provoking and should be read by those interested in linguistics. The printing and get up are quite good.

A. D. P.

Bizarre Designs in Silks, Trade and Traditions. By VILHELM SLOMANN. Pp. 270, Published for the N. Y. Carlsberg Foundation. By Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1953.

India, during the historical period, was famous for its rich cotton and silk textiles. Unfortunately, a scientific study of Indian textiles has not received as much attention as it deserves owing to the paucity of old materials and the difficulty of interpreting the literary data which, howsoever casual, are of great interest. The literary data also tells us that the Indian textile industry was receptive to foreign forms and ideas, and assimilated them thoroughly. Painted pottery, sculpture, and architecture are rich sources of patterns which in all probability were also used by texile weavers; their systematic study has also not yet begun. Recently, however, this ancient Indian art has received attention from scholars. Baker's *Calico Painting and Printing in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, London (1920), and *Les Toiles Imprimés de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*, Paris (1938), by R. Pfister and research publications of certain Swedish, Danish and English scholars have thrown valuable light on some aspects of Indian textile industry.

The book under review is an interesting study of bizarre or enigmatic designs of a group of so-called European silks. In the preface, the author says that these textile designs can hardly be considered either European, Islamic or Chinese invention, the nearest parallel existing in Indian sources, and thinks that their adoption was due to the current Indian craze. In the bizarre designs of silk pieces, the author got the impression of an exotic flora of India and that set his train of thought in motion. The subsequent chapters serve as a prelude to his voyage of discovery. In chapter I, he has thoroughly examined the European evidence garnered from

Spain, England, Holland, and other European countries. He comes to the conclusion that around A.D. 1700 the chief silk weaving centres of Europe were suffering from stagnation and depression and, therefore, the original *milieu* of the rich bizarre pattern could not be Europe. In chapter II, the field of his inquiry shifts to Asia. While examining the silk fabrics of Persia in late 16th and early 17th centuries, he finds that in one type velvets and satins were figured and embellished with inscriptions, and in the ordinary type, floral motifs in isolated groups appeared; neither of them, however, reveal the slightest connection with the bizarre designs. While examining the Chinese evidence, the author finds that 18th century silks closely followed porcelina patterns, and hence are not related to the bizarre designs. While examining India as the probable source of bizarre designs, the author is alive to the difficulties besetting such an inquiry. In search for bizarre pattern, he examines certain Kashmir shawls, but whether bizarre designs in Kashmir shawl are of seventeenth century origin remains to be proved, for literary evidences show that the patterns at that time were simple, consisting of meanders, wavy lines, flowers, etc. In the crewel-work hangings of England of the mid 17th century, which, perhaps, copy contemporary Indian patterns, he also finds traces of bizarre designs.

Chapter III is entirely devoted to the quest of bizarre design in India. In the beginning, he examines Sanskrit synonyms for silk. His inquiry suffers inasmuch as he has studied the sources only at second-hand and he has probably not come across my article on Indian costumes and textiles in JISOA, 1940 and 1944, which may have helped him to some extent. On what basis *dukūla* (p. 48) is translated as linen is not known, for the word usually denotes a kind of cloth manufactured from some kind of bark fibre. In the absence of actual specimens, Mr. Slomann has given some patterns of ancient Indian and Indonesian textiles. His analysis of the textile pattern carved on Dhamnekh Stūpa at Sārnāth is interesting. Apparently, the carving represents a costly *devadūshya* often referred to in Jain literature. Our attention is also drawn to its geometrical patterns and their strong resemblence to similar Chinese patterns. These might have been adapted by the Indian silk weavers from Chinese silk which was an important article of import in this country.

Slomann examines in some detail the rich hangings and carpets used in Islamic mosques and palaces and has come to the conclusion that certain Turkish tiles contributed to the patterns of Indian palampores. He quotes authorities to prove that rich hangings were a part of religious edifices in the East and therefore the textile pattern on the Dhamekha Stupa is no innovation. The pattern simply copied the original cover with which, perhaps, the Stupas were usually covered on festive occasions.

Slomann then examines the Tree of Life and the Rain Cloud motives in old European silks and comes to the conclusion that they are of Indian origin. In

this connection he has exhaustively examined historical and literary references. He is of the opinion that the art of starching and pleating cotton and linen was learnt by Europeans from India. The section on the history of silk-weaving in Bengal is full if interesting details.

In Chapter V, Slomann examines the date of the bizarre design in European silks. He quotes Ovington's (1689) admiration of the gold flower adorning Indian 'atlasses' and the information that they were imitated in Europe, but not to perfection. In his opinion, perhaps, a reference to bizarre design is made here. The appearance of foreign flora in European silk patterns of the post-Renaissance period is also according to him of Indian origin.

Slomman's thesis, however, is not without its critics. Unfortunately, the actual Indian silk pieces with bizarre designs of the 17th century are not available. It is, however, significant that a large number of brocade pieces of Aurangabad manufacture, datable to the 18th century, which recently came to the market, had bizarre designs. It is, however, difficult to say whether such designs are of Indian origin, as the Mughals preferred plain designs. Mr. John Irwin (*Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XCVII, April 1955), however, is of the opinion that " An ' Oriental Style ' which combines the various art features of Asia is a purely European concept. In the East such a style never existed. ' Its exoticism is neither Indo-Persian nor Persian nor Chinese, yet curiously reminiscent of both." Mr. John Irwin has quoted from East India Company's records to show that the Directors were advising Surat factories to get a considerable amount of piece-goods material as per English patterns supplied to them. He also contends that " the flowering tree of the Indian palampore bears no relation either in style or conception to the ' Tree of Life ' motive of Near Eastern antiquity, nor can it be identified with the more delicate almond and chenar trees of Persian decorative tradition." He refers to the fact that the ' Tree of Life ' motif existed in English decorative tradition of the Elizabethan period though the pattern differed from its Indian prototype. The Chinese element in the ' Tree of Life ' motive was due to the attraction which *chinoiserie* held both in India and Europe. Mr. Irwin, after examining the material evidence of European and English origin, suggests that they all originated from a European pattern-book independently copied in India and England.

Whatever may be the actual origin of bizarre designs, there is little doubt that the researches of Prof. Slomann have thrown fresh light on a little known subject.

MOTI CHANDRA

Shawls. A Study in Indo-European Influence. By JOHN IRWIN. Published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. London 1955. Price 12*sh.* 6*d.*

Historical and technical researches on Indian textiles are of very recent growth. A small number of scholars, unmindful of the difficulties which the problems of Indian textile present, are trying to solve them. Mr. John Irwin may justly claim to be one of them. In his study of shawls, under review, the main emphasis is on the origin and development of shawl manufacture in this country, the influence shawl patterns exercised on the textile design of Europe and the other way round.

While studying the origins of the industry in Kashmir he records the tradition that the shawl industry there, owes its origin to Zain-ul ' Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470), an enlightened ruler, who is said to have imported Turkistan weavers for the purpose (p. 2). This tradition, according to him, has some validity as the twill-tapestry technique employed in shawl weaving industry of Kashmir is of Central Asian and Persian origin. As I have already pointed out in an article (*Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 3, 1952-53, pp. 8-9) there are literary evidences to prove that the art of silk weaving and woollen industry received great impetus in Zain-ul 'Ābidīn's time and that artizans from long distances came to Kashmir to seek his patronage. But all the available literary evidences prove that the shawl industry of Kashmir and the Panjab is of much greater antiquity. The *pāṇḍvāvika* of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up*, I, 3, 6, might have been some kind of plain shawl. In Buddhist Pali literature the red shawl of Gandhara and the costly shawls of Uḍḍiyāna were famous. Pathānkot in Punjab also manufactured shawls decorated with the geese pattern. According to the *Arthaśāstra* the four kinds of shawls were namely *khachita*—made by weaving and embroidering, *vānachitra* —made by weaving the patterns, *khaṇḍasaṅghātya*—made by sewing separate woven strips and *tantuvichchhinna* in which the patterns were obtained in the middle by unwoven yarn or trellis pattern. All these varieties are known to the modern shawl industry of Kashmir. The *rāṅkava* or *pashmina* shawl made from *pashmina* goat's wool was also known to the ancients. Much before Zain-ul 'Ābid-in, Kshmendra (A.D. c. 990-1065) speaks about the shawls of Kashmir and his *sūchīpaṭṭikā vanam* (Narmamālā, II, 45) apparently refers to weaving the patterns on strips with *tojis* or eyeless wooden needles. It is also mentioned that in Alāuddin's time (A.D. 1296-1316) Kashmir shawls were available in Delhi.

Mr. John Irwin has, however, utilized fully published and unpublished materials for the history of Kashmir shawl from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, which reveal interesting facts about the industry. For instance he has utilized the detailed account of the shawl industry written by William Moorcroft between 1820 and 1823, preserved in manuscript at the Library of the Old India Office (now the Commonwealth Relations Office), London. The papers show that division of labour in shawl industry had far advanced and as many as twelve independent specialists were involved in the making of a single shawl. Moocroft's papers also throw light on the deplorable economic condition of the shawl weavers and their flight to Panjab to escape oppression in the State.

As pointed out by that author, the popularity of the Kashmir shawl in nineteenth century Europe was due to romantic association with the ' mysterious and unchanging East ' and the publication of innumerable articles on the subject. In the beginning rectangular shawls with plain field and large semi-naturalistic floral cones in the borders were in demand. But in 1850 the French arrived in Kashmir with a mission to ' improve ' the traditional designs. There was a certain resentment from the sides of the weavers, but they had to bow down to the taste of the buyers with the consequence that the traditional patterns completely changed. After 1870 there was a sudden eclipse of the shawl as an article of fashion and as a result the Kashmiri shawl industry, long geared up to Western demands, was doomed.

The second section of the book deals with the shawl in Europe. In England it was introduced by Eliza in 1767 and it became fashionable so quickly that by 1777 it was well known as an article of dress in England. This growth in demand naturally resulted in the manufacture of imitation shawls in England, and Norwich became an important centre of this new industry. Borrowed motives were imaginatively blended with those of English origin. But soon the pirating of Norwich designs started and Edinburgh and Paisley became important centres of shawl manufacture. At Paisley the industry became so thoroughly established that by 1818 Paisley imitations had found markets in competition with the true *kashmirs* as far afield as Persia and Turkey and soon they made enroachment on Indian markets. In this period Paisley shawls were woven either with silk or cotton warps and woollen or cotton wafts. But as the texture of these shawls was inferior to the true *kashmir*, European manufacturers were always looking for the source of its excellent wool. Mr. John Irwin recounts the interesting story of the quest for shawl goats. This never ended in success, and finding it extremely difficult to ensure the supply of goats' wool, the Paisley shawl manufacturers tried to improve the quality of their own wool.

By the closing years of the eighteenth century, Kashmir shawls became fashionable in France and the first French imitations appeared in 1804. Because of the superiority of the designs and technical efficiency of the weavers, the French shawls held their own, and though Paisley tried hard to compete with the French industry it came to end by 1870.

The usefulness of the publication is further enhanced by two appendices, one containing an account of shawl goods produced in Kashmir in 1823, compiled from Moorcroft papers, and the second describing Moorcroft's proposals for the emigration of Kashmiri weavers and pattern-drawers and their settlement in Britain. A glossary of terms used in Kashmir shawl-weaving and a bibliography greatly enhance the value of the book. The Plates, numbering 53, include two coloured reproductions. They illustrate choicest examples of shawls manufactured in Kashmir, Britain and France.

Mr. John Irwin deserves our congratulations for bringing out such an excellent monograph.

MOTI CHANDRA

The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages. By JULES BLOCH. Demi 8vo. pp. xxxiv + 127. 1954. Price Rs. 6/-. Deccan College Handbook Series No. 3. Authorised English translation from the original French by Dr. R. G. Harshe.

The present book is the English version of the late Prof. Jules Bloch's comparative study of the grammatical structure of the Dravidian group of languages. Pioneer of the scientific study of the Indo-Aryan languages, Bloch's works, though limited in number, will remain a perpetual source of inspiration to those who want to do useful work in that field ; and we can say of him exactly what he has said about Caldwell in the Introduction (p. xxviii) : " Whatever has been done after him has added to his work without changing anything from it."

The uniqueness of Jules Bloch consists in having an equal mastery over the two main groups of Indian linguistics, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Between 1920 and 1937 Bloch taught at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes the two principal languages of these groups, Hindustani and Tamil. In 1937 he succeeded Sylvain Lévi at the Collège de France as Professor of Sanskrit Languages and Literatures and, as his successor so well put it, ' Indian Linguistics, in all its scope, entered the curriculum of the Collège de France '.

In his inaugural address on 13th April 1937, Jules Bloch drew attention to the stress Sylvain Lévi laid on the research of India's maritime connection with the outer world and its contribution to Indian life and added : ".....we shall rest satisfied with applying the lesson to the research of the elements which have come into Indo-Aryan from another linguistic group which is more at our disposal. It is not that the research is easy, because the material on Dravidian languages, which I have in mind, is incomplete and we are too often deprived of the means of reconstructing pre-historic forms, too often also unable to say definitely, even when we are sure there has been borrowing, who is the borrower and to whom the loan is to be traced." He enumerated the numerous difficulties which a Dravidologist has to face, but, at the same time, pointed out that if the old literature of this group was properly explored and studied it would throw a flood of light on many obscure problems connected with the Aryan languages.

Some of his courses at the Collège de France were devoted to an examination of the affinities between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian and in 1946 came ' Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes '.

Ninety years had elapsed since Caldwell wrote his 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or the South-Indian Family of Languages', a book which had inspired Beams to undertake his 'Outlines' and which he had adopted as his model.

The task is by no means easy. Bloch exploits mainly the uncultivated languages for his work (p. xxx). But most of the books written on these languages are only practical guides and hence very sketchy. The absence of a rich vocabulary as well as a comparative vocabulary such as Caldwell asked for in the second edition of his work in 1875, is a serious lacuna. In addition to these difficulties, the influence of the modern Indo-Aryan languages on their Dravidian neighbours of the North is very great and to that extent reduces the Dravidian portion that can be used (pp. xxix-xxx).

On account of these handicaps the author was obliged to set aside the idea of giving the historical phonetics of Dravidian and consequently the possibility of reconstituting the history of Dravidian morphology was ruled out and what we get is a synchronic study which establishes morphological correspondences of modern Dravidian. Bloch has tried to extricate from the unequal and divergent development of the various members of this group the 'elements of a characteristic portrait' (p. xxx).

The reader would have greatly appreciated an outline or the descriptive phonetics of the languages studied here. But a cautious disciple of Meillet would not undertake a task to which he did not hope to do proper justice. It is clear that he was not quite satisfied with the material available for this purpose. Perhaps he was justified in his stand. Even a recent book on the newly discovered Parji language has not been able to give a good phonetic description of that language. That is why the note on the transliteration adopted in the book seems to be inadequate. In fact, the absence of even a simple enumeration of the sounds of the various languages shows in what direction work remains to be done.

The main point on which the work differs from Caldwell's comparative grammar is in shifting the centre of the perspective. Caldwell based his arguments mainly on Tamil and was justified in doing so; he adopted a method which was desirable and convenient at the time. Since this is already done, Bloch centres his attention on the less known speeches of the North and taking them as his starting-point comes to the major languages only when it is expedient to do so. Thus, while explaining the verbal system (pp. 51-96), he starts from Gondi and Kurukh. He follows the same procedure while studying the structure of the phrase (pp. 99-121).

Bloch prefers to choose his material of comparison from facts which are unquestionable and make his point clear. The very arrangement of facts is such that it requires no further argument or elucidation to drive the point home. That is why all this valuable material could be compressed within just over 120 pages.

As the author points out in his concluding remarks, his comparative study leaves no doubt as to the uniform aspect of Dravidian languages (p. 125) reflected so clearly, above all, in the pro nominal system (pp. 22-34) and distinguishes it from the general structure of its great neighbour: absence of prefixes and infixes and of a separate category of adjectives, a conception of gender (pp. 5-8) so different from that of the Indo-Aryan and so on. But the most important point is the mutual influence of the great families of languages (and the similarity between the idioms of some Dravidian languages and those of Hindi give us a glimpse of this. p. 112) a proper study of which may enable us to explain some of the peculiar problems of the Indo-Aryan linguistics.

The book is a great step forward in the history of Indian linguistics. Indo-Aryan linguistics received the proper lead and prospered since his work on Marathi; it is not too much to hope that Dravidian linguistics, which has so much to do despite the lapse of almost a century since Caldwell's grammar, will follow the lead of this great contribution which cannot be bypassed by those who would choose to devote their time to the development of this branch of research.

A Note on the Translation :—The foregoing remarks will show that the translation of Bloch's work into English was an urgent necessity in a country where a vast majority of scholars know no other Western language except English. In that sense the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute has rendered a very valuable service to the cause of Indian research. Unfortunately the translation itself is far from being satisfactory. A good translation presupposes an equally good command not only over the two languages concerned but also over the subject-matter for reasons which are quite obvious. The present translation is almost a word to word rendering of the original and is therefore clumsy and in many places unintelligible and inorrect.

Here are a few examples.

P.—' I have tried to *readjust* the perspective '. *Shift the centre of the perspective* conveys the idea more accurately.

P. 7—' groups of men and women *are* concerned '. Context as well as meaning requires *were* as in the original.

P. 7.—' Even the *deities* are classed with the inferior category'. The author is referring to the practice of putting fem. nouns in the inferior class and says even *goddesses* (*déésses*, fem. pl. of *dieu* ' god ' in French) are subject to this rule.

P. 18—' So, it is clear why even in a given language the presence of a flexional element *should not be* necessaary'. The subjunctive in French is often merely syntactical and must be translated by the present indicative in English. Thus, here it only means ' *is not necessary*, and has not the shade of meaning that *should not be necessary* carries.

P. 20—' In the previous examples cited, the termination is applied to *the nouns from things* '. A good example of a word to word translation which makes no sense at all. The meaning is *names of things*, i.e. words denoting things as opposed to persons.

P. 22.—' One could *push further* this list ' = *extend*.

P. 100—While the statement on p. 99 says that when there is coherence the terms carry only one flexional mark, in the examples on the following page the diacritical marks showing this change have remained unnoticed and all the vowels are given short.

It is earnestly hoped that the translation will be thoroughly revised in case of a second edition. In the meantime, those who can have access to the original text are strongly recommended to do so wherever the translation may appear to be obscure or doubtful.

N. G. KALELKAR

Introduction to Indian Textual criticism—By S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D. (London). with Appendix II by P. K. GODE, M.A., Poona, 1954, pp. XVIII plus 148 — Rs. 6/-.

The work under review is a reprint of the first edition which was published in 1941. Textual criticism has come to stay in India, remarks Dr. Katre quite justifiably, in view of the projects, big or small, envisaged or undertaken at present in our country for the critical editions of ancient works. Textual study and reconstruction is by no means anybody's pastime. Dr, Katre's handy little volume would go—indeed it has already gone—far in offering preliminary theoretical training to young scholars interested in this absorbing field.

G. C. J.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS :

(1) Sangitaratnākara of Sārngadeva with Kalānidhi of Kallinātha and Sudhākara of Simhabhūpala, ed. by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Vol. 4—Adhyāya 7. Pub. by the Adyar Library, 1953; pp. 599.

(2) श्री अमरनाथ–जिनस्तव, संपादक उपाध्याय विनयसागर. प्रकाशक मुनि विनयसागर साहित्याचार्य, कोटा (राजस्थान). १९५३. पृ. ८१. १०३.

(3) Edgerton, Franklin, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Language and Literature. Ten public lectures. Pub. by Banaras Hindu University 1954. 88 pp.

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(6) Silesia in Pictures: a record of remembrance—Comp. by Alfons Teuber. Verlag "Christ Unterwegs", Munich. 98 pp.

(7) Kapoor, Dr. D. K.: Mysteries unveiled. The book of divine experiences with Almighty God, Deities and Spirits in dreams and visions. Virat Theosophical publishing House, Delhi. 1955. 200 pp. Rs. 6/14.

(8) "Kashmir" magazine pub. by Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, Delhi. As. 8/-. Vol. 4, No. 11; Vol. 5. Nos. 2, 4, 5.

CORRIGENDA

page	*line*		*ERRATTA*		*CORRECT*
4	last			(*Add*)	(But " abhimarduna*m* " is also possible !)
6	3	(*from below*)	N. "hi'l	*read*	N. " hi "
6	4	,, ,,	Viṣṇu wil '	,,	Viṣṇu will
7	10	(*from top*)	context because of 23 d'	,,	Context, because of 23 d. !,
9	6			*add*	(Cfr. p. 30 ff., further down).
9	10	(*from below*)	misread an	*read*	misread and
15	8	,, ,,	" thathā "	,,	" tathā "
15	last			*add*	(Or is it : " tatās tathā = tatas *ca* " ?)
16	22	(*from top*)	therefore, 291*, 3	,,	therefore, 293*, 3
19	5			*add*	(Cfr. pp. 4 and 7, above !)
22	16	(*from below*)	surprised.	,,	(Or by reading " vismitām " ? !)
27	9	(*from top*)	edition).	*read*	edition.
30	10	,, ,,		*add*	(Augmentlessness suffices *here* !)
31	13	(*from below*)		*add*	And this " prasannā " confirms p. 19 ff. !
34	2	,, ,,	369*, 3-	*read*	367*, 3—
41	13	,, ,,	19, 16 ft.	,,	19, 16 ff.)
42	19	,, ,,	*bo.h*	,,	*both*

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