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# SIDDHA-BHĀRATĪ (सिद्ध-भारती)

Or

## THE ROSARY OF INDOLOGY

Presenting 108 original Papers on Indological  
subjects in honour of the 60th Birthday

of

Dr. SIDDHESHWAR Varma, M.A., D.Litt.



Edited by

VISHVA BANDHU

PART ONE

म. भा. ग. १

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helped the V. V. R. Institute  
pursue its work-programme.





R. H. Sherwood, D.D., Salm.







## SUBSCRIPTION

*This Volume was undertaken by our Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, in 1945, to be brought out to honour Professor Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's 60th birthday on November 3, 1947, but its printing could not be completed by that date owing to our dislocation from Lahore. We deem ourselves fortunate in having succeeded now in getting it ready, and feel it a great privilege to present it, with our sincere love and regard, to Dr. Varma on behalf of the Management and the Staff of our Institute and of all other friends who have been directly or indirectly associated with this our humble homage to him for his most devoted and distinguished service to the sacred cause of Indology, in general, and the Sabda-brahman aspect of it, in particular.*



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President.



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Jt. Secy. & Director.

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,  
Hoshiarpur.  
Dipamala (Nov. 9, 1950)



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## EDITORIAL

Of the two serials, already being published, under the editorship of the present writer, by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, the first, known as the Shantakuti Vedic Series is being constituted, in the first instance, of the successive parts under issue<sup>1</sup> of 'A Vedic Word-Concordance' in 14 Parts, treated as separate volumes in the series and 'A Vedic Dictionary' in 12 volumes as in progress, and 'A Vedic Commentary' in 12 volumes and 'A Vedic Encyclopaedia' in 2 volumes as under planning. The other one known as the Sarvadanand Universal Series was started in November, 1949 when the institute press, newly installed at Hoshiarpur, began to work. It was formally inaugurated on April 18, 1950, which the Institute celebrated as its Resettlement Day ( *Punah-pratistha—Parvan* ) by the announcement being made of the publication in it of (1) *Brahma-Vidya*, (2) *Adhyatma-Dars'ana*, (3) *Atma-Patha* and (4) *Karma aur Toga*, from the pen of the great Yogic adept and philosopher, Swami Krishnanand Sarasvati<sup>2</sup>. This serial aims at supplying in current languages, Indian as well as foreign, primarily, in Hindi, standard cultural works, original, adapted or translated and, in particular, intended for the general reader. The present volume ushers in a third serial under the name, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, which the Institute has agreed to sponsor towards the publication of works, embodying research in any aspect or aspects of Indian culture, in general, including language, literature, philosophy, religion, history, art, sciences and other allied subjects. It is in the fitness of things that it starts with the publication in it of the present work which is in honour of a scholar who is an incarnation of the real spirit of research.

1. The late Dr. Sir Manohar Lai, M. A., D. Litt., Lahore, 2. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, M. A., Ph. D., Lahore, 3. Bakshi Dr. Sir Tek Chand, M. A., LL.D., Lahore, 4. The late Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, M. A., Ph. D., Lahore, 5. Dr. S. K. De, M. A., D. Litt., Dacca, 6. Dr. Suniti Kymar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt., Calcutta, 7. Dr. P.C. Bagchi, M. A., D. es L., Santinikeian, 8. Dr. Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D., Calcutta, 9. Mm. Prot. V.S. Bhattacharya, M. A., Calcutta, 10. Dr. B.K. Ghosh, M. A., Ph. D., Calcutta, 11. Dr. D.E. Hettiaratchi, M. A., Ph. D., Ceylon, 12. Dr. S. Pranavitana, M. A., Ph. D., Ceylon, 13. Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyer, M. A., B.L., Cochin, 14. Dr. C. K. Raja, M. A., D. Phil., Madras, 15. Dr. S.M. Qadri,

1. The following five parts (being Vols. I - V of the series) have been published, respectively, so far :- Vishva-Bandhu Shastri : *A Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. II (*Brahmanas*), Pt. I (1935), Pt. II (1936); Vol. I (*Samhitas*), Pt. I (1542); Vol. III (*Upanisads*), Pts. I and II (1945).

2. The following books, also, have since been issued in this series:- 1. Sant Ram : *Hamare Bacce*, 2. Gauri Shankar : *Sanskrit-siksa-Vidhi*.

M.A., Ph.D., Hyderabad, 16. Dr. S.M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D., Poona, 17. Dr. U.S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D., Bombay, 18. Mm. P.V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., Bombay, 19. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph. D., Baroda, 20. Dr. M.D. Shastri, M.A., D. Phil., Banaras, 21. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, M.A., Allahabad, 22. Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, M.A., Lucknow, 23. Dr. Babu Ram Sakse-  
na, M.A., D. Litt., Allahabad, 24. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt.,  
Lahore, 25. Dr. Surya Kanta, M.A., D. Litt., D. Phil., Lahore, 26. Dr. Banarsi  
Das Jain, M.A., Ph. D., Lahore, 27. Dr. Mohan Singh Oberai, M.A., D. Litt.,  
Lahore, 28. Prof. M.K. Sircar, M.A., Lahore, 29. Prof. Gauri Shankar, M.A.,  
B. Litt., Lahore and 30. the present writer had the privilege of subscribing to  
the following circular letter which was issued from the V. V. R. Institute  
head-quarters, Lahore on November 26, 1945 in connection with the present  
volume:—

Dear Sir,

It is proposed to bring out under the auspices of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore a Com-  
memoration Volume in honour of our esteemed friend and  
colleague, Prof, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt.,  
(London), retired Professor of Sanskrit, Prince of Wales  
College, Jammu and Kashmir State and, at present, an honorary  
member of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute  
staff.

Dr. Varma<sup>1</sup>'s life of rigid self-discipline dedicated to  
the pursuit of knowledge, his mastery of a large number of  
classical and modern languages of Europe and Asia, his ver-  
satility and erudition and his learned contributions and  
services to the study of Sanskrit language and literature, in  
general, and linguistics, in particular, are well-known both  
in India and abroad. One of the foremost linguisticians and  
phoneticians of our day, his work has stimulated very largely  
linguistic research in this country. He has instituted and  
organised a special course and examination in linguistics  
under the auspices of the Jammu and Kashmir Government. And,  
as a Pounder of the Linguistic Society of India, his place  
in the domain of linguistics is of marked pre-eminence.

We, therefore, deem it a privilege to have to request  
you kindly to contribute a paper of about eight type-written  
foolscap pages on any Indological topic of your choice.  
The paper is to be written either in English or in Sanskrit  
and made to reach the Honorary Director, V.V.R. Institute,  
Nabha House, Lahore (India) by or before the end of February,  
1946.

We should feel obliged if you could kindly comply with  
the request and, in the meanwhile, write a line in reply to-  
wards facilitating the volume being planned out in advance.

Simultaneously with the issue of the above appeal for literary cooperation, necessary steps were taken by the printing department of the Institute to equip itself properly and amply with the various kinds of types that would be needed for the purpose of the volume. As some of the varieties had to be got cast specially to meet our requirement and the supply of loose accents had to be ordered from England, it was only towards the beginning of 1947 that the department was ready to take up the work. By that time, the huge number of papers that had been received in highly encouraging response to the above appeal, had been sorted, selected and arranged and, also, in sufficient number, made ready for the press. The first eight pages were printed off on January 25, 1947. Further printing, which had been scheduled to be completed quite in time to enable the volume to be presented to Dr. Varma on November 3, 1947, being his 60th birthday, had made considerable progress by August 9, 1947, when it came to a dead stop, because that day, under the compelling situation of insecurity of life and property attendant on the fateful Partition of the Panjab, proved to be the last working day of our press at Lahore. Dislocation with utter ruination soon hunted the Institute out of Lahore till it found, in November, 1947, its present asylum, no head-quarters yet, at Hoshiarpur, with its whole printing equipment abandoned at Lahore and its financial arrangements yielding it an income of about a hundred thousand rupees a year reduced to zero. The loss to the present volume, also, was very material in that its printed formes, except the few, now included in it, were seized and destroyed by the Pakistan Police. Thus, faced with the most difficult situation, the Institute has been and, still, is carrying on its life and death struggle towards its proper rehabilitation and, therefore, it is something that it has now succeeded in setting up its new printing press and completed the printing, practically, a second time, of this volume. It is to be hoped that the delay of full three years that has been caused in its presentation will be excused by all concerned and interested in this behalf.

A few points relating to the editing of the vast and varied materials included in the volume may now be mentioned, severally, as follows :—

- (1) All the papers have been thoroughly and critically read.
- (2) In a large number of cases, some liberty has been taken in scrapping or altering certain portions towards effecting proper consolidation and necessary abridgement. The scholars concerned, it is to be hoped, will approve of what has been done in this direction.
- (3) In certain cases where the editor has felt called upon to supply a corrective statement, he has done it by appending a separate note for this purpose.

(4) Textual citations and references in the papers proper as well as in their foot-notes have been thoroughly checked and, wherever necessary, corrected with the help of the original authorities.

(5) Titles of books referred to and the abbreviations employed for them in the papers have been checked and corrected or rendered uniform, as necessary.

(6) Foot-notes, generally appended by the authors at the end, have been uniformly brought to the foot of each respective page of a paper, the huge number of these notes, over 100 in a few cases, notwithstanding. By thus increasing their referential facility, this change should add to their practical utility.

(7) A large number of foot-notes have been recast towards having a uniform method of mentioning authorities, viz., names of authors and books referred to and the relevant text-references.

(8) A variety of types has been employed to place distinct categories of materials in proper relief.

(9) Text-citations were given by some authors in the Roman script and by others in the Nagari script. They have been uniformly done here in the latter, involving the tedious process of transcription of matter covering hundreds of pages.

(10) The Direct Lineal System of Vedic accentuation as set into vogue in our Concordance<sup>1</sup> has been uniformly employed for marking accents in the Vedic text-citations.

(11) Except in the case of those new papers that had to be admitted after the Institute migrated to Hoshiarpur, the indication of the names of places wherefrom the papers were originally received at Lahore has been retained intact.

(12) Against the general practice of giving the papers in works of this type, mechanically, in the alphabetical order of the author-names, contents of this volume have been classified subject-wise and are being presented under seven section-heads. Accordingly, a glance at the Contents should show how much and what material on a particular subject could be found here. A further effort to give some internal system to the contents of each separate section, however, has not succeeded and has, therefore, been dropped from the Section II onwards in favour of the ordinary arrangement in the alphabetical order of the author-names.

(13) The supply of an exhaustive General Index at the end is an entirely new departure in this line. No apology seems to be needed for making this innovation, for, evidently, this should prove to be the most useful and, therefore, welcome instrument that could readily and distinctly

1. For a description and evaluation of the several accentuation systems see our 'A Vedic Word-Concordance', Vol. I pp. LXIII ff. and CXVIII ff. (available in reprint also under the title, Vishva Bandhu : Vaidika-svarahkanarlti-prakasa).

bring to the notice of the reader every bit of further referable or workable research material contained in the volume. It is a pity, indeed, that the considerable mass of the previously produced Commemoration Volumes has usually remained, in the absence of a referential key of this kind, a mere decoration of the shelves.

And, now that this volume is, after all, ready, it is my most pleasant duty thankfully to acknowledge the valuable help that I have received, in its preparation for and being seen through the press, from S'yts. Bhim Dev, Vijay Chandra, Sita Ram, Ramanand, B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, Durga Datt and Shri Kanth, all of them being or having been my learned colleagues at our Institute. It, also, needs a special mention that S'ri Bhim Dev, being the seniormost, has borne, in this behalf, the maximum burden for the longest period and that S'ri Shri Kanth has prepared the basic cards for the General Index. I am equally grateful to S'yts. Deva Datt and Revat Ram, the Superintendent and the Manager, respectively, of the V. V. R. Institute Press for their having taken every possible care in printing the volume neatly and in binding it well.

Fully alive as I am to the many still persisting glaring defects, not only in the editing but, also, in the printing of this volume, I can only crave indulgence of the critical reader, in this connection, in view of what has been said above in reference to the peculiarly hard conditions under which this sacred undertaking has been executed.

In the end, I beg to offer, on behalf of the Executive Board of our Institute, our grateful thanks to the distinguished signatories to the invitation, that was issued for contributions, for their valuable cooperation, and to all the learned contributors to the volume, our humble efforts in connection wherewith have been crowned with success only through their prompt and effective collaboration.

V. V. R. Institute,  
Hoshiarpur.  
August 15, 1950.

*Vishva-Bandhu*

## DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

### A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORK?

Pindi Das, for that was the original name of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, was born at Rawalpindi on November 3, 1887 of a well-to-do family, hailing from Tatral, a small village near Kataraj, a place of pilgrimage in the district of Jhelum. His father, Shri Ram Das Nanda was a Public Works contractor, well known for his characteristically loud voice and indefatigable capacity for work. Even at the advanced age of eighty, he amazed his very much younger colleagues by his active habits and youthful vigour. He would often be seen at his work under the scorching midday sun in June and July and in the benumbing cold of the early mornings of December and January. In his physical fitness, Dr. Varma is a replica of his father—in that he rises early, walks or, rather, marches steadily, speaks loudly, and works indefatigably for hours on end.

He owes his deeper qualities of head and heart to his mother who would never have her meal till she had fed a poor person and used to have discussions on religious matters with *Sadhus* and others of reflective nature. At the age of eight, he daily attended, out of curiosity, though, some talks between his mother and another lady on Vedanta which he, of course, could not follow but of which he got an indelible impression on his tender mind. It was under the spell of that maternal influence that while he learnt Urdu at school, he privately picked up knowledge of Hindi, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit so much so that at the age of ten he could read out to others the Sanskrit text and a Hindi exposition of *Gita*. He also read, in those years, *Bhagavata-Purana* and a number of other books of didactic character. His information even at that age would often astonish grown up people.

His career as a student was quite above the average. He obtained the 28th and the 14th positions in the Panjab University in his Matriculation and B. A. in 1903 and 1909, respectively. A recurring and protracted attack of malaria accounted for the two additional years in his First Year class. This illness, however, proved to be a blessing in disguise. While he was in the sick-bed, Ballantyne's English translation of *Laghu-Kaumudi* fell into his hands. As he studied this book, his amazement knew no bounds, for he was now seized of a subject that, like a factory, seemed to turn out, in a most systematic manner, finished foods in the form of Sanskrit words. Fearing his ill-health, his elders forcibly closed all his books,

1. As originally arranged, Dr. H. D. Bahri, a pupil of Dr. Varma, was to have supplied this sketch which, in the absence of our re-contact with him, has been prepared, of course, with many changes and additions, from the materials that he collected for this purpose—ED.

but he was so enamoured of this particular book that he would hide it under his pillow and read it when there was none else in his room. After studying this book, he became a regular subscriber to Basu's English translation (then, in the course of publication) of *Siddhanta-Kaumud* which he studied carefully and repeatedly. Thus, during those three years of sickness and invalidhood, Sanskrit grammar came to him as his only solace, a curious comment, indeed, on the adage, 'Grammar creates sickness (व्याकरणं व्याधिकरणम्)'. This period (1903-5), therefore, was the most important portion of his student-life in that it created in him his still insatiable passion for Sanskrit. For English, too, he had a great taste. He would go about, reading and reciting from the classics in that language, wherefore his companions often spoke of him as 'a literary maniac.'

He had an equally intense interest in self-discipline and introspection. He had set apart Sundays for going out for contemplation. He would leave his house early in the morning and return late in the evening. He studied books on ethics and, philosophy. A band of friends who liked his way of life, formed, under his 'leadership', an 'Association of Thinkers' who met not only for philosophical discussions but, also, for hard physical exercises and cold baths. His sense of punctuality and thoroughness was really wonderful, for he could dare start addressing at the appointed hour even an empty hall if his 'followers' happened to be late.

He had the good fortune of coming, in 1906, under the influence of, and, later on, in 1909, when he had become a graduate as well as a householder, of living for five months as an *antevasin* with Pandit Keshab Dev who, in later years, came to be known as Dr. K. D. Shastri. A successful Ayurvedic physician, the Pandit was a great dynamic personality of his day. Public-spirited to the core of his heart, he devoted his entire time to the uplift of mankind, specially, young people. He possessed encyclopaedic information and was a fertile correspondent, an enlightening conversationalist and, above all, a loving host. Dr. Varma has fully imbibed the spirit and genius of and received abiding impressions on his life from that master personality. His whole career has since been influenced by this highly inspiring association, and, like his Guru, he has been inviting various people to stay with him for exchange of ideas and *satsanga* and, also, been carrying on considerable correspondence towards guidance of younger people.

He passed his M. A. in History in 1911 and, immediately, went into service with the Shahpura Durbar, partly as Private Secretary to His Highness Raja Sir Nahar Singh Ji and partly as tutor of Prince Shatrunjaya Singh, now Raja Sahib of Bijwa (Oudh). After a year, he left this job to take his Shastri Examination which he passed in 1913. Soon after, he joined, as a teacher, the Hindu High School at Gujranwala, of which he became the Headmaster in 1914. But this administrative post was not to his taste as he could not get sufficient time for pursuing his study of Indian

philosophy, which was his master passion at that time. So, he resigned that post and got another appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at the State college at Jammu, which post he held till his retirement in November, 1943. It was here that he found a real opportunity for his full cultural self-expression. A special daily lecture, that he had to deliver on 'religious instruction,' *on secular lines*, was an intense impetus to him to wide reading on cultural subjects and to close contact with young people. By virtue of his aptitude for this line, he was appointed Honorary Secretary for India of the International Moral Education Congress. Being deeply impressed with the idea that the primary object of studying history should be the evolution of culture, he issued, in 1923, a questionnaire on the subject which received good response from different countries.

Having developed a keen appetite for different languages, he had acquired fair knowledge of German, French, Greek and Russian by 1924 when he was awarded the 'Language Scholarship'<sup>1</sup> by the Government of India for further study abroad. He joined the London University and, as advised by his professors there, he took up linguistics which was, practically a new subject for him. That he was a student in the real sense of the word and not a mere degree-hunter was evident from his attending 17 lectures per week instead of 3 as ordinarily required. In 1927, his work there on 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians' was duly recognised by the award to him of the Degree of Doctor of Literature. But more valuable than even this high recognition was the great impression that he made on the minds of his professors who have spoken of him as 'a true lover of knowledge', 'an astounding scholar' and 'a wonderful linguist who had learnt ten Indian and eleven European languages'.

He has since put to ample use his highly trained ears, wonderfully adaptable voice and marvellous memory in studying unfamiliar Indian languages according to modern philological methods. During his most difficult and dangerous research expeditions to the Himalayas, which he has undertaken thrice at his own expense, he has discovered 21 hitherto unknown dialects. Only some remarkable features of these have been published so far, but the main mass of detailed information still awaits systematic handling. A mention is to be made of the six lexicons, which he has already completed, of the Himalayan dialects including Bhadrawahi, the Khasali group, the Khasi group, Pahari and Bhalesi. During his third expedition, he discovered the relics of a Dravidian dialect in the heart of the Kashmir Valley. When the news was first given to the All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad, the late S'ri K. N. Dikshit spoke of him as one who hid his light under a bushel' and, soon, hearty felicitations greeted him from all over the world. Dr. G. Morgenstierne wrote to him from Norway, 'I very much admire your energy and perseverance, your flair for new and interesting material, and your circumspect and methodic way of dealing with it

and of pointing out features of general interest. Would that there were many like you in India'. In appreciation of his work, the Government of the State bestowed on him a *Khilaat*. A couple of years before his retirement from the service of the College, the Government sanctioned, at his instance, the opening of a special Linguistic Department, under his Directorship, at the college to turn out trained linguisticians. This was, however, an ill-fated department because, on his retirement, it came to a close.

As Honorary Chief Editor of the Urdu Encyclopaedia (Linguistic Section), prepared by the Hyderabad Government, he has contributed forty articles in his own Urdu, one of which has since been prescribed in the syllabus for the M. A. Examination of the Osmania University.

He has maintained a deep and sustained interest in Vedic philology ever since he went through *Vaidiki-jprakriya* of *Siddhanta-haumid* in his early teens. His dissertation for the Doctorate drew upon the Vedic grammatico-phonetical manuals known as *Prativakhyas*. A large number of his other published papers, too, deal with one aspect or another of this subject. Indeed, it is his great interest in this line that accounts for his close and active connection, in an honorary capacity, with Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. Starting early in 1930, this cultural intimacy reached its climax in his self-dedicatory letter, dated October 16, 1943, the initial portion of which reads thus : 'I am retiring from the Kashmir State Service on the 4th November next. I respectfully propose to offer my services to your Vedic Research Institute from the 4th November, 1943 to the 3rd May 1943 (Sic. 1944), both dates inclusive, and, in all likelihood, *shall continue to renew* my services from the 1st November of *every* year to the 31st April of the succeeding year. The other six months of my year will be reserved for the investigation of modren Indian languages'. And, solid and valuable is the contribution which, working 'at the rate of ten hours a day' and, in addition, devoting 'every minute' of his 'wakeful existence to the programme of the Institute', he has made towards supplying auxiliary materials for the Vedic Concordance undertaken by the Institute. In his letter, dated April 1, 1946, while referring to the work done by Pischel and Geldner, he reiterated his attachment to and confidence in the Institute, saying, 'I have been often during my day-dreams conjuring up a similar programme of —when we make our Institute another Taxila—and we shall be disgraceful failures if we do not do so—to be followed<sup>1</sup>. Heavy as the losses are that the Institute has suffered on account of its dislocation from Lahore in 1947, it considers none heavier than the one caused by its own inability to offer him a suitable shelter when he stood in need of one towards the close of 1947. He has since been staying at Nagpur and is at present completing and retouching his monograph on, 'The *Etymologies of Yaska*', undertaken by the Institute for publication. Mainly, however, he has become engaged, under the aegis of another institution at Nagpur, on the

preparation of an English-Indian dictionary. It is, however, a great thing for the Institute that he still sincerely feels that he is working at Nagpur as a 'lent' hand from it—a feeling which it fully shares with him.

This highly intellectual personality, leading an extremely simple, retired and regulated life of ideal dedication to the service of eternal *S'abda-brahman* is, essentially, a case of subordination of every thing else to the master urge of spiritual universalisation. To a suggestion from Dr. H. D. Bahri to name some of his friends so that they might be requested to send their good wishes on the occasion of the publication of the present volume in his honour, he replied in his characteristic manner, 'It is against my cherished principles to direct the good wishes of anybody, particularly, to myself : for my ideal is सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः,' and I am often thrilled by Lord Buddha's declaration that he would refuse to enter *Nirvana* unless the last devil on earth had first entered it. I believe such a wish is unjust, it is हिंसा and, in this sense, it is wicked. I beg, therefore, to be excused from this प्रायश्चित्त-दुष्कर्म. I may be wrong, but pray have concession for error'. In another context, he wrote to the present writer on September 4, 1947 : 'I can never dissociate real intellectuality from spirituality even for a moment'.

May this great devotee and matchless hero of practical "intellectuo-spiritualisation"—this coinage has his own impress on it—witness, yet, many returns of his birthday so as to be an ever fresh fountain of inspiration and an ever bright beacon-light for an ever increasing number of his fellow travellers on the path that he has travelled so long and so successfully !

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5. *Nasalisation in Hindi in Literary Works*, Jour. of Letters, Calcutta, 1929.
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12. *The Rudhari Dialect*, Indian Linguistics, 1936.
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17. *A Review on B. R. Saxena : Evolution of Awadht* N. I. A., 1939.
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25. *Hindi, Urdu, aur Hindostant*, Sab-Ras, Oct., 1942.
26. *A Review on B. i?. Saxena: सामान्य भाषाविज्ञान*, N. I. A., 1943.
27. *Urdu men ghair zabanon ka Tallaphaz kaise kiya jaye*, Sab-Ras, 1943.

29. *The Elative Case in Bhadrawah*, J.R.A.S.B., 1944.
30. *Indian Dialects in Phonetic Transcription*, II, J.R.A.S.B., 1944 (?)
31. *The Arabic Language as it strikes a Sanskritist*, J. O.C., Lahore, 1944 (?)
32. *Comparative Meanings of Adnominal Prepositions in Brahmanas*, Mukerji Comm. Vol., II, 1947.
33. *Bhalesi Dialect*, J.R.A.S.B., 1948.
34. *The Vedic Accent and the Interpreters of Pnnini*, Proc. O.C., Bombay, 1949.
25. The Presidential Address to the *Linguistic Section*, Proc. O.C., Bombay, 1949.
36. *Sanskrit as a Medium of Conveying the Concept of Abstraction*, Ind. Ling., 1949.
37. **शब्द और मानव-ज्ञान, कल्पना**, Hyderabad, Feb., 1950.
38. *The Broad Features of Vedic Accent*, J. Hist. Soc, Allahabad, (year ?)

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I had the pleasure of knowing, and working with, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma for several years when I held charge of the office of Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State and he adorned the chair of Sanskrit at the P. W. College, Jammu. He represents a reincarnation, in modern days, of those scholars of the past who found their highest self-realisation in the disinterested pursuit of truth. With the single exception of an uncle of mine, who passed away a few years ago, I have never known any one who could devote himself to the cause of learning with such singlemindedness of purpose as I discovered in Dr. Varma. All the pretty but petty baubles which ensnare the attention of lesser men—money and prestige and position and titles—left him unconcerned ; he found his highest bliss in the kingdom of the mind in which he has always been at home with an ease which comes only to those who have earned the precious right of entry into it by their work. To this work he brings a passion of effort and concentration and an almost religious deference to systematic organisation, which appears slightly exaggerated to those who have failed to achieve the same sense of fusion between their work and their life. His sincerity, his all-out sense of duty, his interest in the moral as well as intellectual welfare of his students made him an outstanding influence for good in the life of his students and brought about in his personality the rare and happy combination of a scholar and an educationist.

I am not competent to assess authoritatively the value of his work in the field of linguistics, which he has made specially his own, although I am well aware that this work has won international recognition. But I should like to bring out one point which marks out the true scholar from the counterfeit article. There are people whose scholarship and the love of truth, that is associated with it, do not go beyond their special field of study ; they do not irradiate their mind and their emotions, their outlook and their personality. Superstitions, prejudices, narrowminded fanaticism continue to dominate their life as effectively as the life of many ignorant and uneducated people. But Dr. Varma is a scholar whose objectivity of mind and unbiassed judgment have overflowed into the rest of his life and have given him a fine sense of fairness and a balanced outlook on all kind of problems. He worked with me once for several weeks on a committee appointed by the Kashmir Government for compiling a vocabulary of simple Urdu words and it was a pleasure to see what a well informed, but open mind he brought to bear on the differences of opinion that often cropped up. He always adopted the attitude of a scholar to whom truth is more important than powerful, but irrelevant, ulterior considerations. A Sanskrit and Hindi scholar of eminence, he would never insist on a word of Sanskrit or Hindi origin being included in the vocabulary of simple Urdu, if that word did not fit into the genius of that language. On the other hand, if

the word did so fit, he would plead its cause with a strength of conviction which did not suffer because it was reasonably expressed.

In addition to these great qualities of the mind, Dr. Varma has a rich fund of sympathy and friendship and humanity, a sensitiveness to other people's point of view, a generous readiness to acknowledge the merits of others and a willingness to help which make him not only a great scholar but a good man.

K. G. Saiyidain,  
Rampur, 4.2.1946.

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Solid real feeling as opposed to mere flowery talk, the poetry of facts against speculative fiction, enjoyment of work as against tedious drudgery, peace of mind and no canker of suspicion, the logic of events as against authority of departed authors, living realisation and no mere dead quotations—such were in short, the ideals and virtues which characterised you all along your period of professorship in the College.

We remember very vividly how you analysed every word with the accuracy of a philologist while teaching your students who had the enviable privilege of sitting at your feet. You have made yourself quite a prodigy of learning. Every minute of your life is so well-utilised. There is no pedantry and not the slightest shadow of affected pride or any thing unreal about you. To us you have been verily a scholar, scientist and spiritual leader of a very high order in one. Along with your intellectual culture, you had brought your spiritual development to a very high pitch. Any idea, any problem, any common thought, having been touched by you appeared in a new form, changed by the mysterious flash light of your intellect and imagination. To us the whole thing was mysterious and superhuman and the subject was preached to us in a new light.

You have been an institution by yourself. Your towering personality has always acted like a magnetic touchstone, transmuting base metal into gold. We do not propose to embarrass you on this occasion by speaking of all the qualities which distinguish you, because we feel that you always felt uncomfortable whenever your personal qualities which we have learnt to appreciate in you, were discussed. But still we venture to do that though at the expense of incurring your displeasure. Yours have been the inborn modesty which avoids limelight, the breadth of outlook which seeks to understand the other man's point of view, the mellowness of temper and the charity of heart which is so ready to overlook the foibles of people and to attribute the lapses of younger men to want of experience or understanding

rather than to wanton mischief. And the last, but by no means the least, is the rectitude of conduct which is indeed the hall-mark of true nobility and which so eminently distinguishes you.

From his pupils' Farewell Address,  
Jammu, 3.11.1943

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श्री डाक्टर सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा प्राचीन भारतीय आचार्यों की परम्परा के एक अति सुयोग्य प्रतिनिधि हैं। वैदिक चरणों की परिषदों के दीर्घकालीन मन्थन से जिस प्रतिष्ठात सूत्र-साहित्य का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ, उस में भारतीय व्याकरण, शिक्षाशास्त्र एवं बहुमुखी शब्दविद्या का उत्कृष्टतम एवं गम्भीर ज्ञान सुरक्षित है। श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी ने अपनी जीवन-पर्यन्त एकनिष्ठ साधना से उस पुरातन विषय पर अर्वाचीन वैज्ञानिक पद्धति से अनन्यसाधारण अधिकार प्राप्त किया है। शिक्षाशास्त्र पर उनका ग्रन्थ न केवल गम्भीर विवेचन का परिणाम है बल्कि एक नवीन क्षेत्र में पथ-प्रदर्शन का काम करता है। बहुविध भाषाओं से धन्य इस देश में जहाँ शब्द-विस्तार एवं उच्चारण की धनी जनपदीय भाषाएँ चारों ओर भरी हुई हैं भाषाशास्त्र का कार्यक्षेत्र अपरिमित है। उस क्षेत्र में एक सच्चा वैज्ञानिक क्या कुछ कर सकता है, श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी का कार्य उस का उदाहरण है। 'लँहदा' बोली के ध्वनिशास्त्र पर उनका विवेचन मौलिक है। भारतीय-शब्द-विद्या-भविष्य निश्चयरूप से बोलियों के हाथ में है। बोलियों के सर्वाङ्गपूर्ण अध्ययन के लिये इस विशाल देश को अनेक विज्ञ भाषाशास्त्रियों की आवश्यकता है। पण्डित-प्रवर श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी ने न केवल स्वयं बोलियों के क्षेत्र में अध्ययन का मौलिक कार्य किया है, बल्कि अपने प्रवचन से कितने ही नये कार्यकर्ताओं को जन्म दिया है। दीर्घकालीन अध्यापन-कार्य से विराम लेने पर हम उनका अभिनन्दन करते हैं। सौभाग्य से उन का विद्या-सूत्र जीवन के साथ संतत है, अत एव उनका अवसर-प्रहण भी बढ़ी हुई समय की सुविधा के द्वारा ज्ञानाग्नि को समिद्ध करने के लिये ही है।

वासुदेवशरण,  
देहली, १६-१२-४५

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सुक्षत्राभिजनोपि यः स्वगुणतः कृत्याथ वृत्त्या स्वया,  
जातो ब्राह्मणधर्मधारणचरणः शर्मण्यसारस्थितिः ।  
सन्तोषामृतपानजातसुहितः स्वात्माहुतौ दीक्षितो,  
जीव्याद् वर्षभतं सुखं स सुकृती वर्मान्तसिद्धेश्वरः ॥१॥

सूक्ष्मात् सूक्ष्मतरान् पदार्थनिवहान् सूक्ष्मेक्षिकाभिर्भुतो  
यः पश्येत् सहजं सदा नवनवान् नानाचमत्कारवान् ।  
वाग्बिज्ञानविमर्शकः स निपुणस्तत्त्वैकपर्येषणो,  
जीव्याद् ... .. ॥२॥

प्रज्ञा यस्य सती प्रभावजननी रोचिष्मती व्यापिनी,  
कालाभ्यन्तरिता कृतिश्च विमला मर्यादिता संयता ।  
उत्साहः सततं च यस्य लसति प्रत्यप्रतापूरितो,  
जीव्याद् ... .. ॥३॥

श्रौदासीन्यमिवास्ति यस्य निखिले सांसारिके स्वाढ्यके,  
सारस्यं सहजं च यस्य परमं विन्मात्रसंसेवने ।  
स्वाध्यायैकपरश्च यः सुतपसा संसिद्धविद्याधनो,  
जीव्याद् ... .. ॥४॥

आर्याचार उदारधीः सहृदयः सत्यप्रियो नम्रवाक्,  
स्वान्तध्वान्तनिवर्तने सुनिरतः सत्त्वानुसारी स्थिरः ।  
शब्दब्रह्मसमर्चनैकपरमः शान्तारिषट्कश्च यो,  
जीव्याद् ... .. ॥५॥

संवाधे विरुचिर्विक्रवसतिर् नित्यप्रसन्नान्तरः,  
सौजन्यामृतनिर्भरोऽतिसरलः पैशुन्यशून्यरच यः ।  
सौहार्देन युतः स्वभावमधुरः शान्तः कृतान्तर्जयो,  
जीव्याद् ... .. ॥६॥

विश्वबन्धुः,  
होरयारपुर, ६-७-१९५०



SECTION I

**Philological Studies**



# Aryan Languages and Peoples in Europe

By

E. J. THOMAS, *Cambridge.*

We speak of the Aryans, although it has been pointed out that only the Aryan branches of India and Iran have ever called themselves by that name. Still, we know what it means, and as no other term has been generally agreed upon, it is likely to remain. Even Giles, who usually spoke of Indo-Europeans entitled his chapter in the *Cambridge History of India*, 'The Aryans,' and the French ethnologist Georges Poisson has used the same term in his important works on the Aryan migrations<sup>1</sup>. There are many Indians as well as many Europeans who are in no sense Aryans.

A more important problem that confronts us is the fact that although we may decide quite clearly what the Aryan languages are, this knowledge tells us nothing about the peoples who spoke them. But the value of this statement is purely negative. It may help us to avoid rash assumptions, but it merely brings out more clearly the fact that we are really faced with a much more complex problem. It is only gradually that this has been realised, and Dr. Siddheswar Varma has drawn attention to the ever-increasing demands of psychology, physiology, ethnology and antiquity<sup>2</sup>. What we want to know is the whole of the culture of a once-living people or peoples and not merely the language which they may have spoken.

Pure linguistics alone tells us but a small part of the social, cultural and mental development of the people, and even the evolution of the languages cannot be explained apart from some theory about their speakers. The philologists in fact have always worked with an anthropological back-ground, and if some of the early theories now appear very unconvincing, this implies no blame to the investigators. There were at first hardly any anthropological data to go upon. These have been gradually increasing and ethnological as well as linguistic theories have been changing with the discovery of new facts that require explanation. It is with one such set of facts that the present paper aims at dealing. Why have the Aryan languages of Europe separated into certain distinct groups, with such close relations between some of them and such contrasts between others? This query suggests the fundamental fact that we have not solved the Aryan question until we can connect the Aryan languages with a definite race or races, which, we know from their remains, once existed. There is in Europe archaeological evidence of many different cultures, and we must know how this corresponds with the facts that we gather from linguistics.

For the first investigators the problem appeared simple. It was assumed

<sup>1</sup> *Les Aryans* (1934) and *Le Peuplement de l' Europe* (1939).

<sup>2</sup> *Presidential Address at the All-India Oriental Conference Baroda* (1935).

that Europe on the arrival of the Aryans was uninhabited. According to Lenormant writing in 1869 it consisted only of 'Vast solitudes'. We now know that long before the Aryans arrived there were already many cultures. There was the palaeolithic and the neolithic, but the archaeologists knew that far more than two peoples were concerned. The craniological researches of Ripley showed three racial types. The dark, long-headed peoples in the south are the Mediterranean race. In the north, are the Teutonic or Nordic, light-haired and also long-headed, and through the centre along the Carpathians and Alps, a broad-headed people, the Alpine<sup>1</sup>. But these are not races, they are only racial types, and we find that they are separated into distinct cultures. Archaeology shows the existence of quite different cultures even among peoples of the same physical type. There is the megalithic, extending through France to Britain, the beaker people, starting from Spain, the corded pottery of Germany, the painted pottery further east as well as others, besides various cultures certainly pre-Aryan. Can we say which of them were Aryan in the linguistic sense ?

We may speak of five types of Aryan speech in Europe, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic. The very different kinds of sound-changes that went on in each showed that it was not enough to assume that each group entered Europe in succession and occupied their respective places. Hence the theory was broached that the various groups developed in Europe, influencing one another and producing peculiar relationships and contrasts. It is not necessary to discuss it here, but it may be said that although the theory that Europe was the cradle of the Aryans was welcomed by the Germans, it was an Englishman (Latham in 1851) who introduced it, and it was a German (Feist in 1913) who went back to the theory of an Asiatic origin. It is enough to say that the latest archaeological discoveries support Feist's view, though it must have been in Europe that the most striking sound-changes, like the Germanic sound-shifting, took place.

These Germanic changes very clearly raise the question of the causes of any sound-changes in a language. Why did Skt. *pita* appear in Gothic as *fadar* ? There is a regularity in the changes, and the question was once hotly debated whether these changes may be called laws in the sense of laws of nature. This, however, was not the kernel of the dispute. The real question was whether we can assume the existence of spontaneous changes, changes without any assignable cause, and this was quite rightly rejected. If a sound has changed there is always a cause, and the problem is not solved until we know what the cause or causes were.

The earlier philologists never paid much attention to phonetics and to the actual processes by which vocal sounds are produced or through which they change. My own teacher used to discuss the matter, and he instanced the changes that have taken place in the pronunciation of English in the mouths of negroes. This was due, he suggested, to the different conformation of the lips. But it was not easy to see how this could throw any light on the changes in the Germanic languages. He entirely omitted the most obvious fact, namely,

<sup>1</sup>W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (1900). To these should be added the Dinaric, a dark, broad-headed people of Eastern Europe.

that languages are changing every day in the mouths of new generations of infants. So, far from sounds changing by fixed laws, every member of a family of children knows that most arbitrary changes take place as a young child learns to speak. The whole language undergoes this process in a generation, and it is only gradually that the erratic changes get smoothed out. And they are never entirely effaced, for the child imitates not the actual articulations of his mother, but only the sounds, which he may yet imitate fairly closely by a different kind of articulation. Hence a slight sound change starts, which may be increased in the next generation. Modern pedagogic methods may check large changes. The modern pedagogue is sure that they ought not to take place, and imagines that they never do.

But what happens when a person who already has a language learns a new one ? The same thing happens as in the case of a child, but on a much more extensive scale. He imitates the new sounds without knowing the vocal processes, unless his teacher happens to be a phonetician. He may produce a passable imitation in a different way, for his vocal organs are already exercised in a quite different form of utterance. Sounds that are strange to him he does not reproduce at all, but substitutes those with which he is familiar. His best efforts rarely disguise the fact that he is speaking a strange language with sounds that belong to his own.

Sound-shiftings are only one of the features that distinguish Germanic from the other Aryan languages. These changes and others to be mentioned can be best explained by supposing that an invading Aryan people subdued a pre-Aryan race, intermingled with it, and imposed its language, which became modified in the mouths of non-Aryan speakers. The Russian scholars Dirr and Mar have compared the Caucasian languages of the extreme east of Europe, and Dr. Mar definitely connects certain features of Germanic with Caucasian. One of these is the class of Germanic weak verbs forming the past tense in *ed* or *te*. It is certainly not an Aryan formation. The strong verbs with their *ablaut* show Aryan features, yet when the actual verbs are examined we find that half of them cannot be identified with any Aryan roots. Whether the Caucasians (the Georgians and others) are a survival of the pre-Aryan population is a question too wide to discuss. It is enough for our present purpose to say that Germanic shows evidence of a people who modified the Aryan element, and adopted as much of it as would fit in with their own. Besides this there is abundant evidence of a pre-Aryan population. Apart from the archaeological remains, the Greeks knew of an early race whom they called Pelsgians. The Romans had the aborigines, and the abundance of remains found in Italy affords still unsolved problems.

In the case of Celtic we find another important feature which has long been held to be non-Aryan : that is in the syntax. It was attributed to the Iberians. But this remained a vague conception until the anthropologists recognised the Iberians as a western extension of the dark-haired Mediterraneans. The chief syntactical peculiarity of Celtic is that both in Irish and Welsh the verb must come before the subject. An Irishman says, *td an gort mor glas* (is the field big green) 'the big field is green/ It is not a matter of choice, such as

may occur in any language when for rhetorical purposes the verb is brought forward. Such a change of syntax was not adopted by the Aryans from the people among whom they settled. A people may borrow words, but they fit them into their own syntax. Another striking fact is a common feature between the Celtic and Italic languages, the division in each into a q-group and a p-group according as one branch preserved an original *q*, and the other changed it to *p*. Irish and Latin are q-languages and Welsh and Oscan p-languages. It has been held that this points to a common origin in an Italo-Celtic group. It would perhaps be well to consider the possibility, that the Aryan invaders who gave rise to the Italic group mingled with Celts who had the distinction of *p* and *q* and that the same thing took place independently in the case of the group that resulted in the Celtic languages.

It has been made a charge against the prevailing method of comparative philology that the Aryan languages have been too much studied *in vacuo* without regard to non-Aryan influences, and it is worth while to repeat it. To try and trace the development of the particular languages from within does not explain the actual changes that have taken place. What we have to deal with in each case is not an Aryan language influenced from without, but an Aryan language imposed on a people and adopted by them. These people became Aryanised, but there is no reason to think that any but the dominant race were Aryan peoples. The various directions that the languages followed were determined as much or more by the idioms of the languages that amalgamated with the Aryan superstructure.

Some light is thrown on the subject by the discovery of the Hittite civilisation, which is now itself a part of the general Aryan question. We find that a conquering dynasty invaded Asia minor, subdued the old Hittite empire and imposed its language on the subject peoples. From the vast numbers of cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghazkevi we can form a very probable view of what actually took place. Moreover from the contacts with the Mesopotamian culture we can reach an approximate date. It was probably later than the irruptions of the Aryans into Europe, but before they had spread very widely. We find in the cuneiform tablets the evidence of some eight languages, chiefly those of the various peoples in the old Hittite empire. This old Hittite was non-Aryan and is now called proto-Hittite. The language of the conquering people, now usually called Hittite, was Aryan. It has a number of Aryan words and Aryan suffixes of nouns and verbs but the bulk of the vocabulary is non-Aryan. This means that the bulk of the people were non-Aryans. They crowded the languages with their non-Aryan words in the same way as we have seen in Europe, but to a greater extent.

All this is far from solving the general Aryan question. There are the people of Asia, who may in the truest sense be called Aryan, and a large store of archaeological evidence still waits to be collected and weighed. Further Aryan languages have been discovered and the problem now is not merely that of Indo-Iranian branch but has been much widened. It may still be possible to hold that the Vedic Aryans originated in India or that they came from the North Pole, but such an inquiry goes back beyond the period of the primitive Aryans inferred by linguistic methods-

# Foreigners and Indian Names :

## THE PANJAB SPEECH THROUGH THE AGES

By

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With the exception of the Sino-Tibetan tribes who came into India by way of Burma and Tibet, and the present-day European peoples (the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes) who came by the sea, and possibly also of some prehistoric Polynesians who arrived in South India from the East, all the invaders of India in the successive ages came by land from the West, from prehistoric times onwards ; and they entered India mostly along routes through the present-day Afghanistan into the Panjab, and on rare occasions through Balochistan into Sindh. Thus in succession came from the Negritos, the Proto-Australoids (who in all probability brought with them a speech which developed in India into the Primitive Austric speech as the ultimate source of the present-day Austric languages, of which the Kol or Munda dialects now current in certain parts of Central and Eastern India and the Khasi speech of Assam are living representatives within India), the various types of Mediterranean and Near-Eastern peoples (who would appear to have been speakers of primitive Dravidian dialects), and the brachycephals of the Near East and the dolichocephal Nordic Aryans (both of whom would appear to have been equally peoples of the Indo-European Aryan tongue) : all these came in prehistoric times, and these commingled to bring about the origin of the Hindu people of history by the beginning of the first millennium B. C. Then followed in their wake from the West the following peoples of whom we have recorded history : the Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians, the East Iranians (Kushans), the Hunas and other Turko-Mongol tribes, the Arabs, the Islamised Turks and their subjects, the Iranians ; and they were followed in the subsequent centuries by the Mongols (of the days of Chingü Khan), and by further bands of Afghans and Turks (the last being the so-called "Moguls") and Persians. The advent of several other Western peoples has also been postulated : some Uralic people or peoples, the Assyrians, the Achaeans and other Indo-European tribes from the Mediterranean area, and Elamites from Susa. It was the Panjab which thus naturally lay in the highway from the West into interior India : and for those peoples, both prehistoric and historical, who could not penetrate further beyond the Panjab into interior India, their knowledge of India beyond 'the Land of the Five Rivers, naturally could be obtained, if they felt interested, from the people of the Panjab area.

It was after the formation of the Hindu people of North India from elements contributed by both the pre-Aryan peoples and the Aryan-speaking groups which came last, with the establishment of the Aryan language as the

sole or main speech of the inhabitants of North India from Afghanistan to Bengal, that the ancient Persians and the subsequent invaders came into the country. Excepting in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, the Persians of c. 500-400 B. C. have no record elsewhere of their conquest of a part of India, and Persian sources for Perso-Indian relations during the Achaemenian times are totally lacking. We are on firmer ground when from the end of the 4th century B. C. the Greeks under Alexander came into India, and the Greeks maintained some centuries of contact with India through warfare and through peaceful rule. The Greeks as conquerors never got beyond the Panjab, and hence it is only to be expected that- the Indian names they became familiar with relating both to the Panjab and to interior India would be what they heard from among the people of the Panjab. Some Greek traders were in the habit of visiting the parts of the Deccan and South India. In other words, they picked up Indian (including Panjab) names as they were current in the spoken language of the people of the Panjab, and to some extent from the Deccan and South Indian speeches also. They would also modify these names, as a result of both imperfect recording in their script and conscious or unconscious approximation to Greek or Greek-sounding vocables. The ordinary Greek soldier-adventurers and their followers, and Greek traders and sailors, could not be expected to go in for learned forms in the 'high' language, Sanskrit, in preference to the forms used by the ordinary run of people. The study of Greco-Indian onomastics thus gives us valuable ancillary evidence about the kind of Indo-Aryan speech which was current in the Panjab in the centuries immediately before Christ, and about the Aryan and Dravidian dialects of the Deccan and South India.

Fortunately, on the Indian side, beginning with certain statements in some of the *BrUhmanas* going back to times before Buddha, through the 3rd. century B. C. inscriptions of As'oka at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, down to the later Kharoshthi inscriptions of the North-West in the early centuries after Christ, we have some positive evidence; and the Indian and Greek data can be compared and made to supplement each other, to give us some definite notion about the Aryan speech of the Panjab during the centuries or the half millennium just before Christ.

Thus, a passage in the *Kaustaki Brahmana* (c 600 B. C. ?) makes it quite clear that in the *Udlyca* tract the Aryan speech was purer than in the *Madhyadem*, for instance; "it was uttered with greater knowledge", as the *Bfihmana* says; "therefore people go there to learn the speech; and he who comes from there, him people would like to hear" (*tasmtid udicyam disi prajmta-tam vag udyate; udafica u eva yanti vacant Hksitum; yo va tata ngacchati, tasya va susrusanta iti: Kausltaki or Snhkhnyana Bmhmana*, vn, 6). This is a clear indication that the Aryan dialect of the North-West was closer to the Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic (or, in a general sense, to the "Sanskrit") speech than elsewhere within Aryandom, which would appear to have extended along the Ganges river as far east as Bihar by 600 B. C. The fact that PSnini (who flourished very probably in the 5th century B. C, between 500-400), an inhabitant

of *Salatura* (present-day *Lahaur* near Attock city in the North-Western Frontier Province), calls Sanskrit (which he 'describes in his grammar) the *Laukika* or "current" speech as opposed to the *Cfilndasa* or the older "poetic" diction of the Vedas, is another indication that the current speech at least of his area was very like Sanskrit or Old Indo-Aryan in his time. All this is borne out by the epigraphic evidence of the North-Western inscriptions of As'oka at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra in the 3rd century B. C. While in the other dialects employed by Astoka (the Saurashtra or South-Western dialect at Girnar, the Magadhan court-speech elsewhere, and the Northern modification of the Magadhan court-dialect at Kalsi), the language has already made considerable progress as a Middle Indo-Aryan speech, particularly in phonetics, the North-Western dialect still persists in preserving mainly Old Indo-Aryan conditions in its phonetics: e.g. in keeping intact most of the consonant-groups which were assimilated, generally, in the other dialects, particularly groups with -r- preceding or following a consonant, and retaining the three sibilants s, ś and ṣ which occur in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The Greeks who came to India with Alexander during the closing three decades of the 4th century B. C. also confirm the above finding that the Panjab speech still retained the general characteristics of the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan even when the Aryan dialects in interior India had made a great advance into the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit stage. Words and names like the following which the Greeks heard in the Panjab and wrote down in their script are instances in point: *karpasos* (= *karpasa*: "cotton," one of the first things that went out of India from the Panjab); *malabathron* (= *tamala-patram*: stress on the long second syllable brings about the loss of the first, the nexus -tr- preserved as -thr- in Greek); *nardos* (Skt. *nalada*: in North-Western pronunciation \**narada*~, \**nar'da*~); *moskhos* (= *muska* - : the group -SK- not assimilated); *Brakhmanoi* (⇒ Asfokan North-Western Prakrit *bramana* being the imperfect Kharoshthi transcription of what was undoubtedly pronounced in the proper Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit way *Brahmana*- as heard by the Greeks—the proper sequence of *h+m* is maintained in the Greek transcription, and this indicates that the modern Indian habit of juxtaposing *hm* to *m+h* did not characterise the speech of the Panjab at the time: in interior India the word appears to have already become *bamhana*, *bambhana*, and even *babbhana* in Magadha, whence we have Bihan *babhan* at the present day); *Sandrakoptos*, besides *Sandrakottos* (= *Chandragupta*:- *o* = almost like *u* in pronunciation in Greek; no assimilation of -dr-; hardening of -g- to -k- in the North-Western pronunciation, due to Dardic influence; -pi- not assimilated in some Panjab dialects, assimilated in other ones, evidently); *Prasioi*, *Palibothra*, *Eronnaboas* (= *PrUcyā*;-; \**Pnd'libutra* for *Pftaliputra*, with evident voicing of -{- to -d- and loss of interior syllable); and *Himriyavftha*: Panjab pronunciations of names of Eastern India, undoubtedly locally pronounced as \**Pacca*- or \**Paciya*, \**Pndaliputtar* or -*butta*, and \**Hilannamha*-); *Adrestai* (for \**Arestai* (= *Arista*); *Oksudrkdcd* (= *Ksaudraker*, \**Ksodraka*:- Prakrit *Khoddaka*-); *Ksathroi* (= *Ksatra* - or *Ksatriya*-); *Mousikanoi* (= *Mucukarna* - : with Prakritic change of -rw- to -nn-); *Agsinai* (= *Agrasrentkar*, Prakrit *Aggassenika* -)

the last five names being of Panjab tribes, whose speech evidently was being affected by Prakrit habits of assimilation which was still being generally resisted; and the names of the Panjab rivers—*Hudaspēs* or *Bidaspēs* for \**Bidastēs* (= *Vitastā*: initial V-, dento-labial as in Pāṇini's speech of N. W. India, represented by *Hu-* or *B-*; -*st-* not assimilated: in later times the Prakrit pronunciation *Vidatthā* asserted itself to give modern Panjabi *Wihath*); *Sandrophagos* (= *Candrabhīga*: later Prakrit \**Candahā* gave *Cinnāh* or *Cannāh* in the modern Panjabi, also *Canāb*, *Cināb*); *Akesinās*, Hellenised to mean "the Healer" from \**Asekinās* (= *Asiknti*); *Hudraotēs*, Hellenised by approximation to the Greek word *hudōr* = "water" from a possible \**Eraotēs* (= *Airāvati*, *Irāvati*); *Huphasis* (= *Vipā*; or *Vipā-ā*, Panjabi *Wyāh*); and *Hesidros* (from a pronunciation \**Hataḍru* = Skt. *Satadru*), all show forms without the assimilation of consonant groups. The last name *Hesidros* = *Satadru* may suggest the basis of a dialectal Panjab pronunciation of *s-* as *h-* as early as the 4th c. B. C. Most of the above names in their Greek forms, which evidently the Greeks obtained in the Panjab itself, thus supply strong outside evidence that the spoken language of the Panjab retained in its phonetics a good deal of the Old Indo-Aryan character, although Prakritic habits were coming in, more probably through the influence of inner Indian or Ganges valley sojourners and settlers than through normal phonetic development at this comparatively early period. On the other hand, names of certain objects of commerce, and of Deccan places and peoples, with which the Greeks came in touch a little later in the southern seaports of India, show characteristic Prakrit forms as typical of the Old Mahārāṣṭra speech of the times round about Christ: e.g. *sakkhari* (= Prakrit *sakkarā*, Skt. *śarkarā*—first mentioned in the "Periplus of the Erythrian Sea," 1st c. A. D.); *berullon* (= \**veḷulla-*, Skt. *vaidurya-*); *Baraka* (= *Dvīrakā*, with characteristic Saurāṣṭra change of *dv-* to *b-*); *Barugaza* (= Pkt. *Bharukaccha-*, *-gaccha*, Skt. *Bhṛgu-kakṣa-*); *Nammados* (= the *Narmadā* river, Pkt. *Nammadā*); *Ozenē* (= Pkt. *Ujjeni*, Skt. *Ujjayini-*); *Paithina* (*Paḍsiṭhāna*, Skt. *Pratiṣṭhāna-*); *Suppara* (= Pkt. *Soppāraka*, Skt. *Sūrparaka*); *Saraganos* (= Pkt. \**Sāḍaganṇa*, Skt. *Sātakarna-*); *Dakhinabadēs* (= Pkt. \**Dakkhināvadha-*, Skt. *Dakṣiṇāpatha-*). The Greeks wrote *Indos* as they heard the name pronounced as *Hindu*, *Hindav-* in Persian mouths, and, may be, even among Western Panjab people, whose dialect agreed (at least in later times) in showing a preference for *h* in place of *s* (= *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*); but in the Deccan, they heard the name as *Sindhu*, and consequently wrote it down as *Sinthos*. So the name of the Panjab people, the *Arōṣṭras* became *Arat(h)a-* in the South, and was written by the Greeks as *Arattioi*. Sanskrit as well as mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit forms of names were sometimes noted, as they were coming in use in the South: e. g. *Kerobothra* (= *Kēra-* or *Cēra-putra*), *Dosarenē* (= *Daśarṇa*, or *Daśarṇya* ?), *Taprobanē* (for *Tāmrapaṇṇi* or \**Tāvrapaṇṇi*) and *Palaisimoundou* (= *Pārasamudra-*, *-samudda* or *-samunda*).

After the days of the Greeks, whose direct contact with India was over with the establishment of the Kushans, we have a period of close connection between Iran and India—first through the Kushans and the Parthians, and then through the Sasanians. But although the connection between

India—particularly North-Western India—and Iran was very intimate. Unfortunately records on the Iranian side affording Indian names and words as linguistic material are quite scanty, and insufficient for dialectological studies. The Kushan coins give some figures of Indian divinities with their names written in the extended Greek alphabet as used by them. These names have not been properly identified in all cases : and in any case, these cannot be referred specifically to the Panjab dialects. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the speech of the Panjab was progressing towards Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) conditions, and a North-Western dialect was established in South-Eastern and Southern Sin-kiang (Chinese Turkistan) as a local language of the place. Documents from this language — the so-called "Niya Prakrit"—have been found, and this Niya Prakrit is just a form of the ancient Aryan speech of the Panjab strongly modified by the original local languages, Iranian and "Tokharian." Other documents giving the proper speech of North-Western India (modified by both Sanskrit and other Prakrits) we find in inscriptions in the Kharoshfchi script of the early Christian centuries, and in fragments of certain Buddhist texts translated into this dialect which have been found in Central Asia. A number of Sanskrit books were translated into Pahlavi, the Middle Iranian speech of Persia which formed the religious as well as official language of Sasanian Iran : e. g. the *Paticatantra*. But these are no longer available: but these were in a number of cases rendered into Arabic and again into Persian, either from the Pahlavi or from the Arabic. The names mostly show Sanskrit forms, but in almost all cases they are in a mutilated form which cannot be set right owing to the hopeless imperfection of the Pahlavi as well as the early Arabic writings (Kufic without *nuqtas* or dots which were current during the period 600 to 1000 A. D. : e. g. *Vidyapati* = *Bidpai* or *Bidbat* from Prakrit semi-tatsama \**Viddapai* = *Vidynpati*; and *Karataka* and *Damanaka* = *Kalalak* and *Damanak*, in later Modern Persian *KalUa* and *Dimnd*. A word like Pahlavi *vanjak* = Skt. *vams'dka* "a flute" may be ultimately from a Panjab dialect, but nothing definite can be arrived at from the Indian loan-words, not more than a couple of score in number in Pahlavi.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien, Hiuen Ts'ang, Song Yun and others cared more for the standard Sanskrit forms of names than for those obtaining in the spoken dialects ; and for this we have to dismiss them. The Chinese Sanskrit vocabularies dating from the 8th century commonly show Prakrit pronunciations as the basis of the attempted transliterations in Chinese characters, but here also no definite clues can be found for the Panjab speech : at any rate, the matter has not been studied with this idea.

From the time of the early 'Abbasids, Indians came to be in direct touch with the Arabs, both of Arabia (through trade) and of Iraq (through both trade and cultural contacts). But the great drawback with the Arabs was in their system of writing. The Kufic style of Arabic writing obtaining in those days did not employ the vowel marks and other phonetic signs, and was not yet in the habit of putting the *nuqtas* or dots to indicate the consonants properly—the later accuracy of the Arabic script in this matter had not yet

come into being. It would, therefore, be exceedingly difficult to restore names like the following back to their intended Kufic forms and their Indian originals : *Bxr, Skh, Rzh, D'hr, Rnjl, Bhlh, Knkh, Flsrhl, Sdbr, Mrmkh, Jry, Bdn, Skr, Snq, Twqstl, Rwsh, "stnkr, 'tr, Mnk, Sndysn, Dhn*, etc. Yet some have been sought to be identified : *Rzh* is probably *Raja* -, *JCnkh* = *Kahka*, *Bdn* = (?) *Vadana*, *Skr* = *Sukra* (?), *Snq* = *Caraka*, *'tr* = *Atri*, *Dhn* = *Dhana*, or *Dhanya*, etc. But a name like *Bydb'h*, a writer on "Wisdom, or Philosophy," mentioned by the early Arab scholars of Baghdad, may represent the Sanskrit *Vedavyasa* (to whom the *Vedantasutras*, among other works, are ascribed) in an early Panjab pronunciation as *\*Vedavydha*, or *\*Vedabbaha*, with *-hr* for *-s*.

A good many Indian names feature (as would be natural to expect) in the Arabic work of Al-Birani (972-1048) on India—the *Tahqiq-al-Hind*, or *Indika*, as the book would be called in Greek. But probably prior to Al-Birani, and possibly at a period shortly after the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs, i. e. some time during the first half of the 8th century A. D., a short Arabic work on the ancient pre-Islamic history of Sindh was compiled by an Arab writer, Abu Salih bin Shu'ayb, from Indian (Old Sindhi and Old Panjabi) sources ; and this work was translated into Persian by Abu-l-Hasan 'Ah bin Muhammad, keeper of the city library of Jurjan, in 1026 A. D. The Persian translator says that the original Arabic work was "translated from the Indian language," but the Indian source, from the forms of the Indian names, was certainly not Sanskrit. This portion translated from the Arabic of Abu Salih has been included in a bigger work by the Persian writer which is named *Mujmal-al-Tawlrkh*. In the Indian section, we get a brief legendary account of the connection of Sindh with the *Mahabharata* heroes : we are told how Duhs'ala, the sister of Duryodhana, was made queen of Sindh, and her husband Jayadratha was then associated with her as king—an account which is at variance with the *Mahabharata*, where we find that Jayadratha was already king of Sindh when he was married to Duryodhana's sister, Duhs'ala. There is a noteworthy statement in this account: that, after the establishment of Duhs'ala as queen of Sindh, Duryodhana sent 30,000 Brahmanas from different parts of India with their families to settle in Sindh, as there were no wise men or Brahmanas in this part of India before. After a narration of this episode in ancient Sindh history, Abu Salih, as translated by Abu-l-Hasan, proceeds to give an account of the *Mahabharata* story. The main outlines agree with the Sanskrit work : but the forms of the names, sometimes on a Sanskrit basis, and more frequently on the basis of the spoken vernacular, go to show that Abu Salih must have heard the story from some Sindhi or Panjabi Hindu of his time. The original Arabic of Abu Salih if available should be studied. The Persian version was published from Paris in 1845 by M. Reinaud, and recently Dr. R. G. Harshe of Poona has given an English translation of the French version of M. Reinaud compared with the original Persian (in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, June 1941, pp. 314-324: the following observations are made on the basis of the forms of the names as given in Dr. Harshe's paper, the Persian of Abu-l-Hasan as in M. Reinaud's work not being available to

me). It is not necessary to study in this connection this evidently popular version of the *Mahabharata* story as current in North-Western India before 1000 A. D., and compare it with the original Sanskrit. We note here only those names which are in a non-Sanskrit form, and which in some cases indicate what are definitely New Indo-Aryan (Panjabi) habits of articulation.

Thus we have in the Arabico-Persian orthography the following noteworthy forms : *Djwji* = *Dujdsan* for a probable \**Djwhn* = *Dujdhan*, from *DuryZdhana*, Pkt. *Dujjohana*; *Dhr'n* for \**Dhr't* = *Dhrtarastra*, Pkt. *Dhaaratiha*; *Dsl* = *Duhs'ala*, Apabhrams'a *Dussala* ; *Jndrt* for \**Jydrt* = *Jayadratha* (the Sanskrit form of the name seems to feature here : the Prakrit would be *Jaaddaha* or *Jayaddaha*) ; *Fwr* from the Indian *Puru*, or \**Pauru* (with / for *p*, *p* bzing unknown to Old Arabic, *f* or *b* was regularly used for it) ; *F'n* or *Fn* = *Fan* or *Fann*, *Fan* or *Fann*, for \**Pann* = \* Skt. *Pftm*(*ju*) (this name, in the Apabhrams'a of the Panjab, would be *^Pannu*, and in that of Sindh \**Ptinnu*: this form of the name, *F'n* or *Fn*, for *Pan* or *Pan*, is one of the definite proofs that the source of the story for Abu Salih was a popular Panjabi or Sindhi version, written or oral ; in the speeches of the North-West—in Panjabi and Sindhi—the Old Indo-Aryan groups *kg*, *ilj*, *n4*, *nd*, *mb* changed in the Middle and New Indo-Aryan stages to *hh*, *nil*, *rut*, *nm*, and *mm*, just as *hk*, *fw*, *n*(, *nt*, *mp* became *hg*, *nj*, *nd*, *nd* and *mb*) ; *Fndr jiti* wrong reading for what was undoubtedly <!--S& Qndy = *Kuntl* of Sanskrit, Old Panjabi *Kundi* {*Kundi*} with change of Old Indo-Aryan *nt* to *nd* ; *Mdhr J*J\* for <!--dx> *Mdry* = *Madrl* for Sanskrit *Madrl* (Old Panjabi *Madrl*, with *~dr-* unassimilated) ; *Jhtl* = *Yudhisfhira* (this form would appear to be ultimately an imposition from some Prakrit dialect of Eastern Hindustan, showing, as it does, *-l-* for the Sanskrit *-r-* into the speech of the Panjab: in Pali, as in the *Jntaka*, the name already appears as *Yudhitiihila*, and this *-l-* form of Pali, which as a literary language is based on the speech of the Midland and not of Bihar, shows that quite early this eastern form was adopted in the Midland, and it could then be passed on to the Panjab: *Yudhis^hira* > Pali *YudhiUhila* > later Prakrit and Apabhrams'a *Juhi*{*thila*}, written in Arabic script as *Jhtl*) ; "jwn اجهن = *Ajun* (or *Ajjuva* ? Skt. *Arjuna*, Pkt. *Ajjutia*) ; *Shdyb* = *Sahaddva* ; *Nyvol* = *Newal*, for Sanskrit *Nakula* (*Nevala* is the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit word, and from this we have Hindi *newal*, Bengali *neul* etc.; this Prakrit form of the name is another strong proof that the Arab writer derived his *MahnbhTirata* story from some popular Middle Indo-Aryan version); and *Qndhr* = *Gnndhnrl* or vernacularised *GanahUri*.

In the Arabic version, the hero *Karna*, son of *Kuntl* by the Sun-God, before her marriage with *Paru*ju, has been loosely described as a son of *Panrfu* himself, and *Karna* has been described in Abu Salih's work as "*Fan*, the son of *Fan*," فن بن فان which evidently is a graphic error for فن بن فان—*Qan* (or *Qann*) bin *Fan* (*Fann*), i. e. *Kanna*, the son of *Pannu* or *Pannu*, in the speech of the North-West.

The other names which occur are either very much mutilated, or are not useful for our special purpose. The assumption of the existence of a popular version or versions of the great epic of India, the *Mahnbnhrata* in the

dialects of the North-West before 1000 A. D., differing in some matters from the Sanskrit epic as we have received it, or, at least, of the practice of telling the *Mahābhārata* story in the vernacular, is thus quite well warranted from the linguistic data obtained from the phonetics of these names.

Al-Bīrūnī was a finished Sanskritist, and with the very imperfect instrument for writing foreign names that he possessed, viz., the Arabic script in its transitional Kufic (or probably early Naskh) form without a full use of the *nuqtas*, he has not been able to do justice to the Indian words in his great book. Al-Bīrūnī's acquaintance with India was confined to the Panjab only, particularly to Western Panjab; and it was but natural that, in writing Sanskrit names, local vernacular (Old Panjabi) influences which coloured his pronunciation also modified his orthography. We have thus a good many words with Panjab traits: examples are given below.

(1) Full pronunciation of the cerebral or retroflex *ṇ*, which was on the way to be dentalised in the Ganges Valley. Al-Bīrūnī indicated this in some cases by *nr* ॢ e. g. ۛۛۛۛ *P'nṛn* = *Pāṇini*; ۛۛۛۛ *bnrj* = *Banij*.

(2) Change of *s* to *h*: ۛۛۛ *krwh* = *krōha* for Skt. *krosa*; *By'h* = *Byāha* or *Wyāha* for *Vipāsā*; *Ahāri* < Skt. *Āṛḍha*, Pkt. *Asāḍhia*; *Bhnd* = *Bahand* for Skt. *Vasanta*; *Phwl* = \**Puhawala* < Skt. *Paṇṣa* (cf. Modern Panjabi *Hāl*, *Poh* for *Āsāḍha*, *Paṇṣa*, names of months); *Yāhī*, *duwāhī*, *trōhī*, *caudaht*, *pañcāht* for \**pañjāht* = *ekādasi*, *dvādasi*, *trayōdasi*, *caturdasi*, *pañcadasi*; *dah* = *dasa*; *trnj'y* = \* < *trianjāhī* < *tripañcāsikā*; etc. cf. also *Khknd* = \**Kikkindha* for Skt. *Kiṣkindhā*.

(3) -ṅḍ-, -nd- > -ṇḍ-, -m-: ۛۛۛۛ *'dnfr*, *'dnpr* = \**Uddanṇapura*, Skt. *Uddanḍapura*; *Arkan* = \**Ariyakhanna* < *Arya-khaṇḍa*.

(4) -īk-, -īkh-, -īc-, -ut- > -īg-, -īgh- or -īḡ-, -īj-, -nd- respectively: *Sāngu* = *S īkhya*; *trnj'ay* = *trianjāht* < *tripañcāsikā*; *'ndrwyd* = \**Andara-vēda*, Skt. *Antar-vedi*; *Bhnd* = *Bahanda* for Skt. *Vasanta*; *S'mud* = *Sāmānda* for *Sāmānta*.

The Prakrit forms of a few of the words from Al-Bīrūnī noted below are interesting: *M'hwrh* = *Māhura* for \**Māhura* = Skt. *Mathurā*, Pkt. *Mahurā*, Ap. *Māhura*; *Jwn* = *Jawn* for \**Jāwunā* < Skt. *Yanunā* (the present-day *Mathurā* and *Jamnā*, Anglicised *Muttra* and *Jumnah* are Sanskrit loans, in the Hindi dialects which have all but driven out the old *tadbhava* derivatives from the Prakrit); *Gng's'yr* = *Gāṅgāsāgara*, with Prakritic *sāyara* for *Sāgara*; *Kavital*, *Kaithal* = *Kapiṣṭhala*; *Ktl* = \**Khaṭṭa* < Skt. *Khaṭvā*; *Bht* = \**Bhutti* < Skt. *Bhukti*; *Srwh* = *Sarawī* for Skt. *Sarayu*; *dywsyny* = *dēva* + *sivina*, 'Gods' sleep, *sivina* < Prakrit *sivina* = \**supina*, *svapna*; *dywthwny* = *dēvotthiṇī*, 'Gods' awakening; *Kwr-tr* or *Gwr-tr* = \**Gāritrīa* < *Gaurī-trītyā*; etc.

The names of the Panjab rivers as given by Al-Bīrūnī are interesting: *Sldr* = \**Sataluddara* for \**Satarudra* in place of *Satadru* (is *Satlaj* from \**Satarudrya*, in a *semi-tatsama* form \**Satalujja* ?); *By'h* for *Wy'h* = *Vipāsā*; *'r'vyt* = *Irāvay* < *Irāvati*; *Candrāha* < *Candrabhāgā*; and *Biyatt* < *Vitastā*, known also as *Jailam* to Al-Bīrūnī from the name of the city on its bank.

It is also noteworthy that in the *semi-tatsama* words *m'ns'rtk* and *pur'rtk* for *māmsāṣṭaka* and *purāṣṭaka*, the Skt. *-ṣṭ-* becomes *-rt-* in Panjab pronunciation of the 10th-11th centuries: compare a similar present-day East-Bengal pronunciation of *-ṣc-* as *-rc-*: *karcit* for Skt. *kascit*, *arcoirdzo* for Skt. *āscarya*, even *ḍircārdz* for English *discharge*.

Thus, from the Greek times, we find that some valuable indirect evidence about the habits of the Aryan speech of the Panjab can be obtained from the transcription of Indian names by the foreigners from the West who came to India through the Panjab and the Sindh. We see how about 300 B. C. and even later, the speech of the Panjab was still very much like Old Indo-Aryan (or Sanskrit) in its phonetics; that the Prakrit assimilation of consonants was rather late in manifesting itself in the speech of the Panjab, and even now in some of the dialects the *r* after a consonant in a nexus is retained, particularly in Western Panjab. The change of the sibilants to *h* which is so characteristic of genuine Panjabi (e. g. *wih* = *viśa*, Skt. *viṣvati*; *nāh* = *snuṣṇ* *dah* = *daśa*; *Lāhaur* < *Hāḷaura* < *Solatura*; *Wyāh* < *Vipāsā*; *Hāl* < *Āśāḍha*; *Poh* < *Pauṣa*; etc.) is certainly very old; it may be as old as the 4th century B. C., at least in some spoken forms, if the Greek *Hesidros* is based on an actual pronunciation like *\*Hataḍru*; and it is certainly as old as 1500 years from now. Certain other speech-habits like the change of the nasal with unvoiced stops to the nasal with voiced stops (e. g. *danta* > *dand*, *pañca* > *pañj*, *campā*, *\*campaka* > *cambā*, etc.), and of the nasal with voiced stops to double nasals (e. g. *candana* > *cannan*, *bandhana* > *bannhana* etc.), appear to have been established already by 800 A. D., and other evidence would go to indicate that it is still several centuries earlier.

Thus foreign transcriptions and adaptations of names from a particular language become linguistic material of a unique value in studying its historical phonology, as it has been demonstrated in numbers of instances elsewhere.

# Some Malabar Mannerisms in Sanskrit

By

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1. When I studied the *Amarakos'a* by rote as a young boy, I had learned the passage occurring among the synonyms of *Brahma* : *vidhata vis'vasrd vidhah* as *vidhata vis'vasrg vidhah*. This is the Malabar reading. So far as I know, the reading is not current anywhere else in India. In the *Prakriyasarvasva*, Narayana Bhatta explains the word *vis'vasrk* as follows *vis'vasrj* ; *visvasrg iti srjeh kvinpratyayantatvat kutvam* ; *vis'vasrk* ; *kutvam neti vrtau* ; *vras'cndisah* ; *jasivacartve* ; *vis'vasrt* ; *vis'vasrgbhyam vifaasrfohyam* (under the Satra: *yujer asamase*). In a Malayalam annotation on the *Amarakos'a*, which is called the *Pancika* and which must be more than four hundred years old in so far as a manuscript of it in the Adyar Library bears the date 1541 A. D. (one cannot be sure if this is the date of the composition or of the transcription of the manuscript itself ; see Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. V, Pt. i; February, 1941), the reading found is *vis'vasrk* and not *visvasrt*. But a recent scholar in Malabar, whose name is Kaikkulannare Rama Variyar, and who lived in the second half of the last century, says when annotating this word in his *Amarakos'a* commentary, that the reading *vis'vasrk* is unacceptable, since it is opposed to grammar. In all the books printed in Malabar in recent times, the reading is with a *t* and not with a *k*. But in so far as Narayana Bhatta justifies the form and in so far as the word is so found in early manuscripts, that must be accepted as the genuine Malabar reading. If that reading were not known to Rama Variyar as the accepted form, there was no occasion for him to declare that it was not acceptable.

2. Malayalees pronounce *vivasvan* and *Vaivasvatah* as *vivatsvan* and *vaivatsvatah*. I have myself studied the *Amarakos'a* passages : *bhasvad-vivasvat-saptas'va* and *sraddhadevo vaivasvato'ntakafi* as with a *t* sound before *sva* in both the places. In the *Raghuvarns'a* (canto I) also I have studied the passage: *vaivasvato manur nama* as *vaivatsvato manur nama*. In all the manuscripts I have seen the word has, however, only a pure *sva* without the *t* sound preceding. But I have asked many people and they all say that they have known the word as having a *t* before *sva*. In Malabar, *t* is pronounced in such positions as /, and as such the pronunciation is *Isva* and not *tsva*. I must confess that many other elderly scholars have replied that they have known the word only as having a pure *sva* without the *t* (or /) sound before it. I know that my statement is a very subjective one ; I am not able to give any reliable evidence as in the case of the previous word, *vis'vasrk*. There is only one small manuscript evidence which I have seen, in support of my statement. In one manuscript I have seen the word first written as *vaivatsvatah* and then the *t* part is scored. The scribe must have

written *tsva* since it must have been in the original before him or since he was familiar with the reading as *vaivatsvatah*. And he must have scored the *t* since he knew that it shall not have a *t* sound. (For this evidence see my edition of the *Vararucaniruktasatnuccaya*, published as a supplement to the Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, Vol. II, 1937-38, Note No. 26 on P. 62, for P. 71).

3. The word *katyayanl* is always written and pronounced as *kartyayinl*, in Malabar. In a commentary on the *Durgasaptavatl*, the word is so derived also. What is peculiar is not merely the form with *r* before *tya*, but also the final *ini* instead of *ani*. The *Pancika* on the *Amarakos'a* gives the word as *kartyayinl* in *uma* [katyayani](#) *gaurl*. Rama Variyar, too, gives the two alternatives current as *kartyayanl* and *kartyayinl*, and rejects both as devoid of sanction. In Malabar the word is known only as *kartyayinl*.

4. In the beginning of the fifth canto of the *Raghuvamva*, there is the passage : *sa mrmnmaye vitahiranmayatvat*. There can be no cerebralisation in *n*, and the word ought to be *mrnmaya* and not *mrnmaya*. But even in a Nirnayasagara edition I note the word with a cerebral *n*. I have studied the text only as *mrnmaya* and all the Malabar manuscripts and printed editions read the word in that way. It is only in a recent edition, supervised by those who are very particular about fidelity to Panini, that I have seen the word as *mrnmaya*. Since this reading with the cerebral *n* is found in a Bombay edition also I do not know if I can claim it as a Malabar mannerism. Monier Williams too knew the word as *mrnmaya* and he gives it as a wrong reading for *mrnmaya*, in his dictionary. It is certain that Kalidasa himself must have used the word as *mrnmaya* to alliterate with *hiranmaya* which follows immediately.

5. The name *valmiki* and the word *valmlka* ' ant-hill ' are known to the Malayalees *only* as *vanmiki* and *vanmika*, *I* being changed into *n*. I have consulted a large number of ancient manuscripts and they all agree in writing the word with a *n* instead of a */*. Gundert in his dictionary of Malayalam gives the word as *vanmiki* and notes the word in its alphabetical order in the group *t, th, d, dh* and ;*n*, and not after *r* where */* ought to come. When I carefully noted the pronunciation of the word among the people of the East Coast in South India, I could detect the *n* sound instead of */* in their pronunciation. But they told me that they write it only with a */* and not with a *n*. Although in modern printing, they have changed over to */*, even now people who follow the traditional pronunciation, write the word with a *n* and never with a */*. I have with me now a transcript in Malayalam characters of a commentary on the *Meghasandesa* called *Sumanoramanl*, in the handwriting of Panditaraja Rama Pisharoti of Tripunithura, a scholar of all-India reputation and author of the commentaries on the *Sakuntala*, *Malavikagnimitra* and *Dhvanyaloka*. Here he writes the word as *vanmlka* in the verse : *valmikagrath prabhavati dhanuhkhandam akhaniaalasya* (1,15), and fiot *valmlka*. In modern times, the word is printed as *valmiki* and *valmlka* ; but this is a modern improvement on tradition. The Malabar pronunciation

is with a *n* and not with /. There are many other cases where an original / is pronounced as *n* by the Malayalees. Thus the word *kalmasa* is written and pronounced as *kanmasa* in Malabar. In this connection the cases of interchange of / and the sounds of the *t* class (dental class) in Malabar pronunciation must be carefully scrutinised. The change of Sanskrit / into *n* in Malabar pronunciation must have been influenced by this inter-relation of / and *t* class (dental) sounds in Malabar pronunciation of Sanskrit and in Malayalam.

Usually *t* and *d* are pronounced as / in Malabar, when Malayalees pronounce Sanskrit, either when they are final or when they are followed by a consonant of another class or by a sibilant. For example : *atman* > *abnan*, *sadma* > *salma*, *tat parya* > *talparya*, *udbahu*, > *ulbahu*, *utphulla* > *ulphulla*, *udbhuta* > *ulbhuta*, *satkara* > *salkara*, *tatsama* > *talsama* and *sadgati* > *salgati*. When palatals and cerebrals follow, then / and *d* are also changed and as such this peculiarity does not come in. As final, *tasmat* is pronounced as *tasmal*. When a word is followed by another word, then there is *sandhi*. Thus there is the word *arat* 'near'; it is pronounced *araU* but *aradaramalaksmi* will be the form when it is joined to a word that follows. In the Malayalam alphabet, *t* is the symbol for the sound / when it stands alone, not when it is followed by a vowel. The symbol *t* when alone, will be pronounced as /; when it is written as *ta*, it is pronounced just as in the other parts of India; and *la* has a separate symbol. But the consonantal part in *la* is never written alone without another sound following it; / is never written by itself. In conjunct consonants like *satkara*, the *t* is pronounced as / and when the word is written, either it can be written as *satkara* or also as *salkara*. The pronunciation is the same, namely, *salkara*. Even where there is an original /, the symbol / is used to represent that sound, as *vikalpa* written *vikatpa* (to be pronounced *vikalpa*). I have noted such writing in many manuscripts e. g. cf. my aforesaid edition of the *Vararucaniruktasamuccaya* Note No. 4 on P. 60 for P. 70, and Note No. 13 on P. 66 for P. 76). This pronunciation is found in the Veda also. The Rgvedins of Malabar pronounce *sat pate* as *salpate*. But there is a difference in the *prayatna* when the sound is an original / or when it is *t* pronounced as /.

Mirayana Bhatta knew that the actual pronunciation of the word is *palma* and not *padma*, and so he says in his *Prakriyasarvasva* that the / sound (really it is the *t* sound heard as / in Malayalam that he means) is unwarranted. He says: *padmam hi padyater uktam na pater madhavadihhi spasfo dakuras' codicatn takaroktir ato bhramah* under I, 30 in his *Un&di* portion. By *takfirokti*, what he has in mind is not the pronunciation *patma*, since there is no such pronunciation, but the pronunciation *palma* (I for O in Malayalam).

There is a similar relation between ( and 4 on one hand and / on the other hand. There are two / sounds in Malayalam. One is the Sanskrit dental and the other is the corresponding cerebral; and it is this cerebral / and not the vocalic sound that is represented here as /. Thus, *sa(pada* > *zalpada*, *vasatkara* > *vasalkara*, *viratsvarupa* > *viralsvarUpa*. As finals,

words like *vasat* and *virat* are pronounced as *va«al* and *viral*. As between / and f, there is the same relation between ( and /. When *l* sound is followed by a vowel, there is a symbol *la* in the alphabet; but when it is not so followed by a vowel, the *l* is represented by (.

When Sanskrit words are used in Malayalam, even the final *t* pronounced as / remains as / in *sandhi* with a following element. Thus, *yathuvat* is pronounced as *yathaval*; and when the Malayalam ending *e* is added, it becomes *yathavale*. Similarly, *vegal akas'amargam prati* is quite correct in Malayalam for *vegad akas'amargam prati*; though when the passage is Sanskrit itself and not a part of a Malayalam passage, it should be *vegad akcts'amargam prati*, even among the Malayalees.

6. In pronouncing the diphthong *ai*, Malayalees pronounce it as *e\* in certain positions. Thus if one observes the Malayalam pronunciation of *tathaiva*, it will be heard as *tatheiva*. Perhaps it is not a full *ei*; it is more *z\* with what is called a neutral vowel (a) in place of the *a* sound in the combination. There are many other places where Sanskrit *a* is heard as this neutral vowel. It is nearer to the <sup>e</sup> than to the *a* sound, e. g. *gaja* > *gaja jagat* > *jagat*, *daya* > *daya*, *bala* > *bala*, *yaksa* > *yaksa*, *rasa* > *rasa* and *lava* > *lava*. In poetry, there are places where an original short vowel has to be recited as long for the sake of prosodial value. When a short *a* is so lengthened, it is heard as a long *a*. Thus the passage: *hari-yuta-hari-haya-tana-yarie* must be recited as a regular iambic: *hari-yuta-hari-haya-tana-yam*. Here the short *a* lengthened in the second, fourth and fifth feet will be actually recited as a long *a* and not as 3. There are many Malayalam words also, where we find this neutral vowel very prominently. Words with an original *i* or *u* are now pronounced as having an *e* or *o*, perhaps a further development after their initial conversion into *a*, e. g., *vila* > *vela* 'price,' *ila* > *ela* 'leaf/ *ural* > *oral* 'mortar' and *kula* > *kola* 'murder.'" In a word like *pula* 'pollution' we expect the form *pola*, but we actually hear the foAn as *pela*.

7. The combination *ksa* has a very peculiar value in Malayalam. The Malayalees do not pronounce it as a conjunct consonant at all. In their pronunciation, it is only a single sound and that is like this: try to pronounce *t<sup>a</sup>* and pronounce *sa* actually. It is not regarded as a conjunct consonant in the alphabet; it is an independent unitary sound and comes at the end of the alphabet.

On account of the advent of printing and the consequent standardisation of the pronunciation in the various linguistic areas in India, Malabar too is losing much of its mannerisms in Sanskrit pronunciation. For purposes of philology, such mannerisms have a great value and they can be preserved only by being properly recorded.

# The Genesis of the Roots $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$ , $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$ , and $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$

By

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The genesis of the roots  $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$  ( $\sqrt{\text{लम्ब}}$ ) reveals how the one old root  $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$  became first softened into  $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$  and then further into  $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$ , transferring its original meaning to each successive stage, and acquiring a new one after the act of the genesis. And, secondly, it is only a critical investigation and comprehensive survey of this strange metamorphosis which gives us a true insight into the real and exact meanings of such technical terms as *अन्वारब्ध*, *समन्वारम्भण*, *आलम्भ* etc. That those three are not separate and independent roots is evident from the fact that in the earlier portion of the *R̥gveda* only  $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$  is found, while in the later *Saṃhitās* of the *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda*, and in the *Brāhmaṇas* of all the *Vedas*, we come across the softened  $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$  possessing the same signification. The still more softened form  $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$  is only to be found in the *Upaniṣads* and in the *Epics* and *Classical Sanskrit*. It is essential, therefore, to examine the exact meaning of the original root and then trace it through the successive stages through which it passed.

In the *R̥gveda*  $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$  or more frequently *आ* $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$  means to 'cling to' or 'touch' : (a) *त्रयः स्कभोत्सः स्कभितास आरमे*<sup>1</sup> where *Sāyana* explains : *आरमे आरब्धुम्, अवलम्बितुम्*. (b) *अनारम्भणे तदवोरयेथाम्*<sup>2</sup> where *अनारम्भणे* is equivalent of *अनालम्बने*; (c) *धीरा हृच्छेकुर्षरुणेत्वारम्भम्*<sup>3</sup> where *आरम्भम्* is equivalent of *आरब्धुम्*. *Yāska* while explaining the word *रम्भ* 'staff' confirms the above meaning and observes : *रम्भः : पिनाकमिति दण्डस्य । रम्भ आरम्भन्त एनम् । 'आ त्वा रम्भं न जिवयो ररम्भा'*<sup>4</sup> *इत्यपि निगमो भवति । आरभामहे त्वा जीर्णं इव दण्डम्* (*आरभामहे = आलम्भामहे*).

If we bear in mind this old meaning of the root and do not allow ourselves to be misguided by its later or classical signification which, of course, readily occurs to our mind—then, and then only, it is possible to understand the proper connotation of certain technical terms and forms derived from that root. To illustrate: *अन्वारम्भण* and *अन्वारब्ध* or *समन्वारम्भण* and *समन्वारब्ध* are equivalents of *अन्वालम्बन* and *अन्वालम्बित* etc. respectively. Compare : *तं विद्याकर्मणी समन्वारभेते पूर्वप्रज्ञा च*<sup>5</sup> 'to him *closely cling* *विद्या* and *कर्म* as also *पूर्वप्रज्ञा*'; similarly, *तस्मिन्नुपदि*

1. *R̥v.* I, 34, 2

2. *R̥v.* I, 116, 5

3. *R̥v.* IX, 73, 3.

4. *R̥v.* VIII, 45, 20.

5. *Nir.* III, 21.

6. *Br. Up.* vi, 4, 2.

द्यायां समन्वारब्धायाम्<sup>1</sup> when she (the bride) has taken her seat on it, and *closely clung to, or touched, him* (the bridegroom)". Similarly in वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयम् etc<sup>2</sup> the phrase वाचारम्भण is to be understood as before : वाचा आरम्भ्यते (आलम्ब्यते) इति that is, वाग् आलम्बनं यस्य सः. The same meaning of the root आ/रम् is discernible in the well-known phrase of the *Purva-Mīmāṃsā*, अनारम्भाधीतानि which means 'अनालम्ब्य किमपि पूर्ववृत्तं कर्मविशेषं वा पठितानि'. And, lastly, why परि √रम् means 'to embrace' even in classical Sanskrit is clear if we substitute √लम् for √रम्, (परि = परितः, रम्भणम् = लम्बनम् cf. परि/स्वल्; समन्वारम्भण = clinging by one side; परिरम्भण = clinging on all sides).

In accordance with the general tendency towards the softening of र् into ल् prevalent during the period of the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda and in the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-Sūtras, the root √रम् became √लम्. And we actually find in the Gṛhya-Sūtra of Pāraskara the verbal form आलभते used exactly in the sense of आरभते as noted and explained above : अयास्य दक्षिणांसमाधिहृदयमालभते<sup>3</sup>. This is rather an exception, for the old forms आरभते and अनारम्भ्य had already become technical words, and as such they did retain their places in the sacrificial and sacerdotal literature of the age. But though an exception, it shows the general phonetical tendency of the times, and where the sense of the old and new forms is identical, it is easy to recognize the identity of the two forms in spite of the change. But when along with a phonetical change there comes also a connotative change in a word, it becomes a fit subject for the deep speculation. Most frequently in the Yajurveda (both, White and Black) as well as in the Brāhmaṇas of all the Vedas, we find the root आ/लम् used in a totally different sense, at least apparently. Thus in the typical sentences, अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभेत । दायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत भूतिकामः । तस्या आलम्बायै वागुचक्राम etc. the root came to mean, 'to slaughter (in a sacrifice)'. This is, indeed, a very remarkable change, and, if properly examined and understood, leads to very important results. If we but comprehend the process by which the sacrificial beast was and is, even now, killed in a sacrifice, the change yields its secret. *It is by grappling and strangulation that the beast meets its death in a sacrifice, and not by an operation of the knife, as in a slaughter-house.* Compare the words of the Vidūṣaka in the *Sākuntala* : (6th Act). अहं येनेष्टिपशुमारं मारितः सोऽनेन स्वागतेनाभिनन्दते. That is the meaning of आलम्भ now, which, though materially altered, nevertheless reveals its identity with the old. If आ/रम् means to 'hold' or 'cling to' in the Rgveda, आ/लम् means to 'grapple', to 'hold fast with a merciless hand, though in a sacred cause, in the Yajurveda. It is this mode of killing that is called आलम्भ, while the other, and more usual, mode of killing an animal, viz., by a steel instrument, is called विशसन<sup>4</sup>. Further, it suggests that आलम्भ was an innovation introduced during the period of the Yajurveda when the cult of sacrifice became

1. Āśva. Gr. sū. 'vadhū-pravāsa' sec.

2. Chān-Up. VI. 4.1.

3. Pār. Gr. Sū II. 2, 6.

4. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ vii, 16) we find Śunāsēpa describing his plight in the words अमानुषमिव वे मा विशसिष्यन्ति etc. Here the verb विशसिष्यन्ति is deliberately used, for he was to be killed with a stroke of the sword.

supreme, and the sciences closely connected with it, such as anatomy, trigonometry etc. received a sort of impetus through the usual performance of the same. Then, again, why *समालम्बन* means *विलेपन* is now easy to understand, it is 'something which sticks to the body'.

By the further softening of  $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$  into  $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$  during the post-Vedic and Epic period, a gap was filled which was caused by the remarkable change of meaning undergone by the old root as above described. And, accordingly, we have now the form *आलम्बते* which has exactly the same signification as *आरभते* in the *R̥gveda* : compare *आलम्बन्तु हारं करपल्लवेन<sup>1</sup>, स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः समालम्बन्ते वृषराजकेतनः<sup>2</sup>* In course of time, the three roots  $\sqrt{\text{रम्}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{लम्}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{लब्}}$  become completely differentiated in meaning and retaining their place in the *Bhāṣṣā* or Classical Sanskrit : *आरभते* became synonymous with *प्रक्रमते*, *लभते* with *विन्दति*, while *आलम्बते* only represents the old meaning. The transitive character of all the three roots, the *Ātmanepada*, and the *mum̄ṛgama* (nasalisation of the penultimate syllable) are clear traces of their old identity. This is, perhaps, the only example of a single root splitting, or multiplying itself, into three in the Sanskrit language.

1. Vikramankadevar.atita.
2. KumaraS. V.84.

## Some Composite Roots in Sanskrit.

By

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1.

√*svad* 'to taste well, be sweet,' is held to be a simple root. But is it so in fact? Can we not think that it is a compound of the prefix *su* 'well' and the root √*ad* 'to eat'? Similarly, √*svaj*, *svañj* 'to embrace' < *su* + √*aj*, *añj* 'to drive, move,'; √*svap* 'to sleep' < *su* + √*ap* 'to move' (from which we have *ap-as-* 'work, *ap-ds-* 'active,' *ap-* 'water,' √*jāp* 'to obtain' being another form of the same root), √*svan* 'to sound' < *su* + √*an* 'to breathe,' (the meaning 'to sound' being due to the sound of one's 'long breath') and √*svar* or *svr* < *su* + √*r* 'to go.' When, however, the corresponding forms of these roots in other cognate languages are taken into consideration, it becomes doubtful whether this view can be accepted in all the cases.

2.

As Pāṇini has already hinted in his grammar (vi,1,6), √*jaks* 'to devour' is nothing but the reduplicated form of √*ghas* 'to eat.' And, √*ghas*, too, in its turn, is derived from √*gras* 'to eat.' In support of this view it may be said that the word *gh:sa* which is frequently used both in Sanskrit and Prakrit has the sense not only of 'grass,' but also of 'mouthful' (*grāsa*), as well as of 'food' in Prakrit. We read in *Sutrakṛtīṅga-sūtra* (I. 11,4): "Kaḍesu *ghāsam icchejj*:" (*Kṛtesu grāsam icchet*) 'one should beg food when it is prepared,' Śīlaṅka, the commentator, explains the word *gh:sa*, saying *grasyata iti gr:sah ṛh:rah* 'gr:sa is food as it is eaten (swallowed).' This change of √*gras* to √*ghas* which is already in the Ṛgveda is also quite in accordance with the linguistic laws. It is evident that the loss of *r* of √*gras* in √*ghas* is due to Prakritism, as from *graha* we have *gaha* in Prakrit. The only problem that presents itself here is that of *g* of √*gras* is aspirated, i. e. it has changed to *gh* in √*ghas*. This can, however, easily be solved. We have such words in Prakrit, as *tattha* 'there' and *jattha* 'where' from Sanskrit *tatra* and *yatra*, respectively. These Prakrit words clearly show that their immediately preceding forms were \**tattra* and \**jattra*, respectively. This phenomenon of aspiration is well-known in Avesta where *r* makes *k*, *t*, and *p* before it aspirates; e. g. *xratu* < *kratu* 'wisdom,' *puṛa* < *putra* 'son,' *fratṛma* < *pratama* (= *prathama*) 'first.' From this it can be gathered that the aspiration here is due to the aspirated sound of *r*. That there was in fact an aspirated sound of *r* in the Indo-European speech is quite evident also from Greek, owing to rough breathing in pronunciation, as it is well-known in that language. It is owing to this fact that in English words derived from Greek the letter *h* is generally added to represent that aspirated

sound of *r*, though it does not affect the pronunciation of the English words, as *rhapsody* 'epic poem, or part of it, of length for one recitation' from Latin *rhapsodia* from Greek *rhapsoidia*, or *rhetoric* 'the art of persuasive or impressive speaking or writing' from Greek *rhatorikā*.

3.

Many words derived from Prakrit  $\sqrt{cakkha}$  'to taste' are still in use in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, e. g. *cākhā* in Bengali, *cakhnā* in Hindi. Is this root from Sanskrit  $\sqrt{cakṣ}$  'to see, observe' from which we have *cakṣus* 'eye'? It is quite possible if the root is taken in a wider sense. I am, however, inclined to suggest that it is from  $\sqrt{jjakṣ}$ , a reduplicated form of  $\sqrt{ghas} < \sqrt{gras}$ . In this case the sonant *j* of  $\sqrt{jjakṣ}$  has changed to the surd *c* as frequently found both in Pali<sup>1</sup> and Prakrit<sup>2</sup>. For the preference of the second suggestion it may be said that in this case the sense appears to be more appropriate than that in the first.

1. Geiger: *Pali Literature and Language* Eng. Tr. University of Calcutta, 1948 p. 85.

2. Pischel: *Grammatik Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 191, 27.

# On the Cases governed by some Sanskrit Particles.

By

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## 1. इति

The best writers of classical Sanskrit use the nominative with इति and Vāmana in his *Kāvyalāhārāsūtra* defends the nominative in such cases by framing the rule क्वचिन्निपातेनाभिधानम् (V, 2, 22)<sup>1</sup>. As Patañjali does not mention अभिधान by निपात, strict followers of the Bhāṣya like Nāges'a resort to अप्याहार in such cases. Thus, जानामि सीता-मनघेति (*Raghu.* xiv, 40) is explained by them thus : सीता अनघा इति सीतां जानामि. That Nāges'a is perfectly justified in holding this view is clear from sentences like the following परयामुम्, एव चन्द्र इति (*Śaṅkara, Chāndogya* Up. viii, 12, 1).

In the *Epics* and *Purāṇs*, (1) the crude stem, (2) the vocative, (3) the nominative and (4) the accusative are all used in connexion with the particle इति.

1. *Crude stem* : स एव भगवान् विष्णुः कृष्योति परिकीर्त्यते (*Mahabharata* ii, 1, 72). रामेति ह्यश्वरं नाम मानमङ्गं पिनाकिनः (*Laghumañ.* 384). गर्भसंक्रमणोत् सोऽथ लोके संकर्षणेति वै । संज्ञामवाप्स्यते वीरः इवेताद्विभिखरोपमः (*Viṣṇu Pu.* v, 1, 76). ज्ञानीव्राजा पुराकर्षे विनीताञ्चेति कीर्तिनः (*Padma Pu. Sr̥ṅgikhaṇḍa* XXXIV, 55). प्राग्वाटेति द्रौ नाम देव्यानां सृष्टिकृद् विभुः (*ib.* XV, 107). In Sanskrit grammatical literature there is the stock example गत्वियमाह under इतिशब्दः पदाथे-स्वरूपविपर्यासकृत्. This is evidently a development from the use with इति of the vocative which in the case of the *a*-stems is without any ending and in the case of the *r*-stems looks like the crude stem because of contraction by sandhi.

2. *Vocative* : ऊर्जो नपात् सहसावज्जिति त्वोपस्तुनस्य वन्दते वृषा वाक् (*RV.* X, 115, 8). यो मा मोघं यतुधानेत्याह (*ib.* vii, 104, 15. *AV.* viii, 4, 15). काश्चित् कृष्येति कृष्येति प्रोक्तवा लज्जामुपागता (*Viṣṇu Pu.* v, 13, 19). The context shows that कृष्य is vocative here and not the crude stem. These may be contrasted with अद्रेः सुनुमायुमाहुः (*RV.* x, 20, 7), उठ कण्वं नृषदः पुत्रमाहुः (*ib.* 31, 11.). तमेव ऋषिं वसु ब्रह्माणमाहुः (*ib.* X, 107, 6).

3. *Nominative* : गार्ग्यं गोष्ठे द्विजं स्यात्कः षण्ड इत्युक्तवान् द्विजः (*Viṣṇu Pu.* V, 23, 1). गान्दिनीति नाम चकार (*ib.* IV, 13, 56). This is a doubtful instance गान्दिनी may be regarded as a crude stem also and so far as the mere form is concerned इति may have been used here with the vocative. ये स्वामार्येति

हुर्गेति वेदगर्भेऽम्बिकेति च भद्रेति भद्रकालीति क्षेम्या क्षेमङ्करीति च, प्रातश्चैवापराह्णे च स्तोत्र्यन्त्यानन्नमृत्यर्थः (*ib.* v, 1, 82. f.). It is very difficult to decide whether we have vocatives here or nominatives. If we regard वेदगर्भे as standing for वेदगर्भेति then the epithets are all nominatives and the word क्षेम्या used by itself without इति seems to point in the same direction. On the other hand it is just possible that the sandhis are irregular, आर्येति etc. standing for the vocative आर्ये etc. and इति. The more plausible view appears to be that the author has used the nominative throughout though the idea of the vocative was present in the subconscious region of his mind. तमाहुः सुप्रजा इति (RV. ix. 114. 1.) ऋषभ इति श्वेतसृष्टयोऽश्वदन् (*Taittiriya Sam.* v, 1, 5, 7). तमेतं सृग इत्याचक्षते (*Aitareya Brā.* xiii. 9). अस्मि वै शास इत्याचक्षते (*Sat. Brā.* iii, 8, 1, 4). यस्य दक्षिणतो लक्ष्म भवति तं पुण्यलक्ष्मीक इत्याचक्षते (*ib.* viii, 4, 4, 1). प्राण इत्येवाचक्षते (*Chā. Up.* V. 1. 15). तं प्रणव इत्याचक्षते (*Mahābhāṣya* viii. 2, 89)<sup>1</sup>. अन्नदत्तं ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह अलिटं लिङित्याह (*ib.* ii, 3, 69), त्वामेष मीतेत्यभिभाषमाणः (*Rāmāyaṇa* V, 36, 46). कारुरात्रीति तां विद्धि (*ib.* v, 51, 35). We have the Vedic stem रात्री here rather than the crude form रात्रि. निर्वायं इति मन्थन्ते नूनं मां त्रिदशेश्वराः (*ib.* iii, 64, 5). महामायेति यां भवान् ब्रवीति (*Du. Saptā.* i, 55). भामरीति च लोकास्तदा स्तोत्र्यन्ति सर्वतः (*ib.* xi, 50). सैरिन्ध्रीति सगर्वितं युवतिभिः साक्षपमाख्यातया, द्रौपद्या किल मत्स्यराजभक्षणे घृष्टं न किं चन्दनम् (*Pañcatantra* iii, 175). युवतीति विद्याम् (*Carudatta* iii, 2). मां चोर इति रक्षिपुत्रवै-  
र्माहयिष्यति (*ib.*).

Instances have been multiplied here for facility of comparison with the cases where the accusative is used.

4. *Accusative* : ततोऽसुरा रौहिणमित्यग्निं चिक्चिरे (*Sat. Brā.* ii. 1. 2. 18). स घृतं दधि मस्त्वामिक्षामित्यप्सु जुहवाञ्जकार (*ib.* i, 8, 1, 7). तां योगमिति मन्थन्ते स्थिरा-  
मिन्द्रियधारणम् (*Katha Up.* ii, 6, 11). यं सन्व्यासमिति प्राहुर्योगं तं विद्धि पाण्डव (*Bha. Gītā* vi, 2). अधर्मं धर्ममिति वा मन्थते तमसाश्रुता (*ib.* xviii, 32), अधर्मं धर्ममित्याहुर्गे च मोहदशं गताः (*Mahābhārata* xiii, 145, 62). मूर्खीनिति परानाह नात्मानं समवेक्षते (*ib. Strī Parva* xiv, 13). कैवर्तमिति यं प्राहुरार्यावर्तनिवासिनः (*Manu S.* v, 34). त्वन्मयाहं स्वदाशारा त्वत्सृष्टा स्वामुपाश्रिता, माधधीमिति लोकोऽयम मिधते ततो हि माम् (*Viṣṇu Pu.* i, 4, 20). कीर्तयिष्यन्ति मनुजाः शताक्षीमिति मां ततः (*Du. Saptā* xi, 43). [Cf. भामरीति च मां लोकास्तदा स्तोत्र्यन्ति सर्वतः (*ib.* xi, 50.) महामायेति यां भवान् ब्रवीति (*ib.* 55). शाकम्भरीति विख्यातिं तदा यास्याम्यहं युवि (*ib.* xi, 45)]. तामगर्भं गर्भिणीमित्याहुर्मृडाः (*Caraka Sam. Nidānasthāna* iv, 14). तस्यामु ह वा आत्मजान् कात्स्न्येनानुरूपान् आत्मानं पञ्च जनयामास भूतादिरिव भूतसूक्ष्माणि सुमतिं राष्ट्रभूतं सुदर्शनम् आवरणं धूम्रकेतुमिति (*Bhā. Pu.* v, 7, 3). सृत्मातरमित्याश्रमपद्मनयत् (*ib.* v, 8, 7). तदुपरागमिति वदति लोकः (*ib.* v, 24, 3). तस्माद् रौरवमित्याहुः... एवमेव महारौरवः (*ib.* v, 20. 11-12.) एषेसमयं स्मर । भीम...समयमिति । एष स्मराणि (*Madhyama Vyāyoga.*) In the two passages from the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* इति

1. The printed *Kaśīkā* (viii, 2. 89) and the printed *Nyāsa* (i, 2. 97) read मण्वमिति ।

is not used in its generally accepted sense in classical Sanskrit and so the accusative has been used in connexion with the finite verb. रौहिणामिति means रौहिणं नाम and at the end of the enumeration घृतं दधि मस्त्वामिहाम् *iti* has been used to express that it forms a well-known aggregate. In most of the other passages the accusative appears to be one due to contamination with इव. Compare, for instance, कस्मादेवं पुमांसं सन्तं स्त्रीमिवाचषाते (*Att. Brā.* 20. 3) and तमेतं मृग इत्याचषाते (*ib.* 13, 9). The opposite process is seen in such sentences as हरीतकीं भुङ्क्व राजन् मातेव हितकारिणीम् (see *Śabdakaustubha*, ed. Chowkhamba p. 415).

In the passages from the *Gītā* and the *Du. Sapta.* the accusative appears to be due to the exigencies of metre. Bhāskara Rāya mentions the *paribhāṣā* छन्दोव्याकरणयोर्विरोधे छन्दो गरीयः—a maxim strictly followed in the *Epics* and *Purāṇas*. There is also the dictum अपि माषं मषं कुर्याच्च छन्दोभङ्गे न्यजेद् गिरम्. In *Kumāra Sambhava* v, 28.

स्वयंविशीर्णं ह्यमपणैश्चुत्तिता, परा हि काष्ठा तपस्ततया पुनः ।  
तदप्यपाकीर्णमतः प्रियंवदां वदन्त्यपणैति च तां पुराविदः ॥

Some read the last line thus : वदन्त्यपणैमिति तां पुराविदः. Mallinātha says : अत्रापणमिष्यपपाठः, इति-शब्दाभिहिते द्वितीयानुपपत्तेः । यथाह वामनः—निपातेनाप्यभिहिते कर्मणि न कर्म-विभक्तिः, परिगणनस्य प्रायिकत्वात् । *Kāvya-lankārasūtra* v, 2, 22). Cāritravardhana says : अत्रेति-शब्देन कर्मणोऽभिहितत्वात्पणमिति चिन्त्यम् । Nātha and Nārāyaṇa read : तदप्यपाकीर्णमतः प्रियंवदा वदन्त्यपणैति च तां पुराविदः where च would be significant if प्रियंवदा be taken as a feminine singular and regarded as another name of Pārvatī, but there is no reason why she should be called Priyamvada because of her giving up all food even in the shape of leaves of trees. Nātha is silent on the point. Nārāyaṇa regards Priyamvada as a nominative plural—an epithet of पुराविदः, च is explained thus : च-शब्दः पार्वत्याद्यपेक्षः which is further amplified thus : आभिजात्यादिशलाचिबन्धुजनोदीरितपार्वत्यादिनामसमुच्चयार्थश्चशब्दः. This appears to be a little far-fetched in view of the fact that no other name has been mentioned in the immediately preceding stanzas. We are thus between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand अपणमिति is difficult to defend and on the other hand च in the reading अपणैति च is practically meaningless (पूरणैकप्रयोजन) which is not the form of Kālidāsa. The Bengali commentator Bharata Mallika offers a laboured defence of अपणमिति. He says, पुनः-शब्दो वाक्यभेदे । इति-शब्दः स्वरूपमात्रघोतने । अत एवापणो-शब्दात् कर्मणि द्वितीया । वदुक्तम्—इति-शब्दस्याप्ययत्वात् त्रिविधोऽर्थः—पदाधीविर्भावकता, वाक्याधिर्भावकता, स्वरूपमात्रघोतना च । तत्राद्य इतिशब्देन पदार्थकथनाद् विभक्तिरेव न स्यात् साधुता तु तद्विशिष्टस्यैव । यथा—रूपेणैति मङ्गलं नाम वक्ष्य वाचि प्रवर्तते । द्वितीये तु कर्म-दिशक्तिप्रकाशनात्न द्वितीयादिः, साध्वर्थं प्रथमामात्रम्; यथा, यामाहुः सर्ववीजप्रकृतिरिति ( साङ्ख्य-सूत्र १, १ ) । तृतीये तु स्वरूपमात्रघोतनार्थत्वात् कर्मदिशक्तेस्तथात्वेन यथास्वं कारकाणि भवन्त्येव “राजन् गुणाफलानां लजमिति शबरा नैव हारं विजडुः”

इति । केचित्तु इति हेतौ । एवञ्च योज्यम् इति यस्मात् तदप्यपाकीर्णम् भतोऽपर्णा वदन्तीत्याहुः ।  
The third example here is from the following stanza found quoted in the  
*Kāvya-Prakāśa* :—

भासे सीमन्तरत्ने मरकतिनि हने हेमटाटङ्कपत्रे,  
लुतायां मेखलायां झटिति मणितुकाकोटियुगे गृहीते ।  
शोणं बिम्बोष्णकान्त्या स्वदरिद्र्यादृशामिस्वरीणामरण्ये,  
राजन् गुञ्जाफलानां स्रज इति शबरा नैव हारं हरन्ति ॥

All the printed editions of the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* read स्रज इति for स्रजमिति (स्रजः being evidently regarded as the nominative and not accusative plural) and हरन्ति for विजहुः. In the *Suktimuktāvalī* (97, 70) also the reading is the same as that in the *Kāvya-Prakāśa*. It is just possible, however, that unmindful of the rules of grammar the poet wrote स्रजमिति which avoids the hiatus so jarring to the ear and which corresponds better with हारम् which is in the singular. -Śrīvidyācakra-vartin felt the difficulty in the accepted reading and remarked हारमिति जातौ, एकस्य स्रग्भिरसम्बन्धात्. The reading विजहुः is vicious, वि ✓हृ being never used in the sense of हरण्य. Durgādāsa in his commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* (rule 281 ल्यर्थे etc.) expresses a different view : कृष्णति मङ्गलं नामेत्यादाविति-शब्दस्य वर्णमात्राभिधायकत्वेन कृष्णादिशब्दस्योक्तार्थत्वेऽपि विभक्त्युत्पत्तिर्न स्यात् इतिशब्दस्यैव विभक्तिकार्यकारित्वात्, पदार्थाविर्भावकत्वे तु स्यादेव, यथा दक्षरथेत्युदाहृत इत्यादि. The Bengali commentator Rāmāgovinda Siddhāntavāgīśa reads : वदन्त्यपर्णा किल तां पुराविदः which appears to be the original reading.

This word इति is evidently connected with the pronominal stem इ and means this. In the *R̥gveda* it is prevailingly used to express the words actually used by the speaker. Thus इति always comes at the end of the sentence and as it forms a different sentence it is but natural that the nominative should be used with it in classical Sanskrit.

## 2. धिक्

The interjection धिक् made its appearance in the language in the Brāhmana period. It occurs but once in the *Kausītaki Brāhmana* (30, 5.) where it governs the accusative : धिक् त्वा जात्मास्तु 'fic on you, O rogue'. In classical Sanskrit it is very generally construed with the accusative, though sometimes the vocative and the nominative also are used along with it. In the *Epics* and *Purānas* the instrumental and genitive are also used with धिक् in a few instances.

(a) When धिक् is directly connected with the person cursed or pitied it governs the accusative; e.g., धिगस्तु खलु मानुष्यं धिगस्तु परवरथताम् (Rāmāyana iv, 25, 20). This would correspond to the use of हा with acc.

(b) When, however, धिक् is not directly connected with the person addressed, the person is put in the vocative as usual; e.g., धिक् मूर्खं. (Bengali दूर मूर्खं). हा is used in an exactly similar way, हा देवदत्तम् but हा देवदत्त पुत्रस्ते मृतः<sup>1</sup>. In *Bhatti* (V, 20) :—

1. See *Durghata-ortti* ii, 3, 2.

सारोऽसाविन्द्रियार्थानां यस्यासौ तस्य नन्धुः ।

तस्ये कान्तान्तरैः सार्धं मन्धेऽहं धिक् निमज्जथुम् ॥

commentators are unanimous in holding that the acc. in निमज्जथुम् is due to its connexion with धिक्. Jayamaṅgala says : तस्ये शयनीये यस्य कान्तान्तरैः भन्यस्त्रीभिः सार्धं निमज्जथुं शयनं...तस्य धिक् कुस्मितमहं मन्धे । उभसर्व-तसोर्हिस्यादिना धिग्योगे द्वितीया. The reading appears to be corrupt here. यस्य should be changed into तस्य and तस्य dropped altogether. The *Sarvapatihīnī* says : किञ्च कान्तान्तरैः एतस्यां सस्यां(?) ह्यन्तरैः सार्धं तस्ये शयनीये निमज्जथुं शयनं धिक् कष्टमहं मन्धे । धिग्योगे द्वितीया...Vidyāsāgara, the commentator belonging to the Kātantra school says : कान्तान्तरैः भन्यस्त्रीभिः सार्धं तस्ये शयनीये निमज्जथुं निमज्जनं शयनं धिक् । तथैव सार्धं युज्यते ह्यहं मन्धे ।...समया-निकषेऽस्यादिना कर्मप्रवचनीयाद्युपगमात्. Bharata practically copies Vidyāsāgara. In spite of this consensus of opinion and in spite of the fact that the *Bhāṭṭikāvyā* was composed to illustrate the rules of grammar, it is clear from the stanza that निमज्जथुम् is governed by the transitive verb मन्धे and धिक् is not an interjection but practically a predicative adjective here.

(c) In some cases धिक् is construed with the nominative, following the analogy of अहो. धिक् मनुष्यशतेच्छिष्टे तुष्टिरेषां नृपासने (*Viṣṇu Pu. v, 2, 56*), अहो धिगिर्यं दरिद्रता (*Pāñcatantra ii and v*). अर्थानामर्जने दुःखमर्जितानाञ्च रक्षणे । आये दुःखं ह्यये दुःखं धिगर्थाः कष्टसंश्रयाः (*ib*). In all these cases धिक् is not connected immediately with the nominative but stands apart, forming, as it were, a sentence by itself. So naturally, तुष्टिः, दरिद्रता etc. are put in the nominative.

(d) In the *Epics* धिक् is sometimes construed with the instrumental after the analogy of अक्षम्, कृतम् etc., धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण यस्त्वं जीवसि रावण (*Rāmāyana iv, 75, 120*), धिग जीवनेन जरया समाभेद्रुतेन आरोग्यं धिग् विविधम्याधि-पराहतेन धिग् जीवितेन विदुषो न चिरस्थितेन धिक् पण्डितस्य पुरुषस्य रतिप्रसङ्गे (*Lalitavistara*). With this use of धिक् may be compared कृतमाविष्कृतपौरुषैर्भुजैः (*Kirātārjunīya ii, 17*), धिग् धिक् शक्रजितं प्रबोधितवता किं कुम्भकर्णेन वा (quoted in the *Kāvya Prakāsa*). धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण is thus a blend of धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण and कृतं च मम वीर्येण, धिगिन्द्रियैः परवैभवैः in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* is most extraordinary.

(e) The genitive is also used sometimes with धिक् : धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्य (quoted by Vardhamāna). It is interesting to note that in Pali धिक् is used with the accusative and the genitive.

(f) The locative is used with धिक् in the *Lalitavistara* : धिक् पण्डित-तस्य पुरुषस्य रतिप्रसङ्गे.

The views of some of the Sanskrit grammarians on धिक् are set forth below :—

Pāṇini does not say anything about धिक् in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, probably because the word had not yet secured a firm footing in classical Sans-

krit. Kātyāyana says : समयानिकषाहायोगेषूपसंख्यानम् (ii, 3, 2, 1), leaving out चिद् altogether. Patañjali quotes from predecessor who is presumably a posterior to Kātyāyana द्वितीया-विधानेऽभितःपरितःसमयानिकषाश्चिधिग्योषूपसंख्यानम् and gives धिग् जाहम् as an illustration. He then goes on to say अपर जाह, उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुर्यादिषु त्रिषु । द्वितीयाधेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥ The *Kātantra* also makes no provision for case-ending in connexion with चिक्. The *Vṛttikāra* says : चकाराधिकारात् निकषा-समया-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेणयुक्ताद् द्वितीया. In the *Kātantra-Vistāra* Vardhamāna frames the rule : निकषा-समया-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-युक्ताद् and remarks क्लिश्यमाननिन्द्यमानयो-र्योगे द्वितीया, सामान्यप्रयोगे तु यथायथं विभक्तयः and quotes धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्य. The commentary says धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्येऽत्र तु मम वीर्यस्यास्तु इति सामान्य-मुपक्रम्य किं तदिति जिज्ञासायां धिगित्यस्यान्वयः इति योगाभावो वाच्यः. In the *Kātantra-Parisīṣṭa* Śrīpatidatta has the rule समयानिकषतेऽन्तेणहाधिग्यि-नान्तराभिः (*Kāra* 15) and says षड्यपवादत्वात् मुदोऽन्तरा वपुषीति(1), तथा हा तात, धिग् भातः इति. Candra follows the *Bhāṣyakāra* and lays down समयानिकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-युक्ताद् (ii, 1. 50). Similarly Śakāṭāyana frames the rule : हाधिकसमयानिकषोपर्युपर्यध्यध्यधोऽधोऽन्तरान्तरेण त् पर्यभिसर्वोभयैश्चाप्रधानेऽमौद् श (1, 3. 100). On this the *Amoghavṛtti* says : परार्थमप्रधानम्, प्रधानमुपकार्यम् । यदर्थमन्यदुपादीयते ततोऽन्यत्स्योपकारकम्, यदर्थं तद्विशेषणं तत्प्रधानम्, अप्रधान-मिति किम् ? प्रधानं न भवति । हा तात, धिह्मात्तरियादौ च तातादेरामन्यतया विवक्षा न हादेर्युक्तस्वेनेति ।

न भवति । हाकृतं देवदत्तस्य धिक्कृतं देवदत्तस्येत्यत्र हादेः कृते न्यग्रभूतस्य न स्वर्थं योगः । कस्य तर्हीति चेत्, तद्विशिष्टस्य । Bhoja in his *Sarvasatkāṅābharaṇa* lays down समयानिकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-येन-तेन-युक्ताद् (iii, 1, 203) and the commen- tator Daṇḍanātha says in his *Hṛdayahārīṇī* : हे नाथ धिग् जाहमेत्यादावन्त-रङ्गत्वात् संबोधनविभक्तिरेव. Hemacandra has the rule : गौणात् समयानिकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेणाति-येन-तेनैर्द्वितीया (ii, 2, 33). In his *Bṛhadvṛtti* Hemacandra says : हा तात, धिग् जाहम्, सुञ्ज हा हत्यादावामन्यतया विवक्षा न हादि-युक्तस्वेनेति न भवति । हाकृतं चैत्रस्य धिक्कृतं मैत्रस्येत्यत्र च हा-धिक्-शाब्दाभ्यां कृतशब्दे न्यग्रभूतत्वात् न चैत्रादेः साक्षाद् योगः । किं तर्ही ? तद्विशिष्टेन कृतशब्देन ।

Kramadīśvara in his *Saṅkṣiptasāra* first frames the rule : हादि-युक्ताद् 59. It is clear from the *vṛtti* that हादि includes चिक्. The *vṛtti* says : उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्नारीयसीति 'शास्त्रिभिर्हा हता भूयो ह्ययानामुदेजयैः' इति *Bhaṭṭi* (vi, 79). The commentator Goyicandra explains this thus : हा देवदत्त-मित्यत्र हा-शब्दो रोदिनृगतशोकवचनः, देवदत्तस्तु संबोध्यते लोकान्तरित इति

1. Unfortunat Durgasimha! He cannot even get hold of an अनुक्त-समुच्चयार्थवकार but has to rest content with चकाराधिकार ।

सम्बोधने प्राप्तायां प्रथमायां द्वितीयेति दीश्रितेन यदुक्तं तत् कटाक्षेण वृषितम् । तथा च न सम्बुद्धाविति सूत्रकृताप्युक्तम् । हा तातेति क्रन्दितमाकर्ष्य विवर्ण इति, हा पितः काशि हे सुधु बह्वैरं विलकाप सः (भट्टिकाव्य vi 11) इत्यादयः शिष्ट-प्रयोगाश्चात्र बहव एवास्त्यार्थेग्राहका इत्यन्ते । या पदान्तरसम्बन्धेन विभक्तिर्विधीयते सोपपदविभक्तिः, कर्मादिसंज्ञानिमित्ता विभक्तिः कारक-विभक्तिः । उपपदविभक्तेर्विषये कारकविभक्तिप्राप्तौ किं स्यादित्याशङ्क्यामाह—उपपदविभक्तेरित्यादि । हा हतेत्यत्र हा-योगेन प्राप्तां द्वितीयां बाधित्वा कर्मणि विहितेन केन कर्मण उक्तत्वात् प्रथमैव भवति ।

Kramadīśvara in a later rule distinctly says : न संबुद्धौ (Kāraka 67 संबुद्धौ हादि-योगे द्वितीया न भवति. Vopadeva in his *Mugdhabodha* gives the first place to चिक् in the rule : चिक्-समया-निकषा-हान्तरान्तरगौनातिथेन-तेभान्बुभय-परि-सर्वतो-विनर्तेऽभिपरि-प्रत्यनूप-इयुपर्यधोऽभिभिः (288). Similarly the *Supadma* has the rule समयानिकषाप्तरान्तरेणहाधिगधोषोऽध्यर्भ्युपरिभिश्च (ii, 2, 13). On this the *Supadma Vivaraṇapāñjikā* says कथं वासवदत्तायां चिगिन्द्रियैः परवैभवैरिति ? तदुक्तम् उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति न्यायाद् व्यभिचारोऽपि. Bhaṭṭoji says in his *Sabdakaustubha* (ed. Chowkhambā p. 665) ततोऽन्यत्रापीयुक्तम् । तान् परिगणयति वृत्तिकारः—अभितः परितः—समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेऽपीति । . . . षष्ठ्यपवादो द्वितीया । संबोधने स्वन्वत्स्वात्मधमेव हा तातेति यथा । एतेन चिक्नूल्लेति प्रयोगो न्याय्यातः.

Nages'abhaṭṭa says in his *Manjūśā* (ed. Chowkhamba, p. 1188). चिक् मूल्लेत्यादौ क्रियाध्याहारे प्रथमा तद्भावे द्वितीयेत्याहुः. Regarding sentences like चिग् मम वीर्यस्य Nages'a says : यासामुपपदविभक्तीनां तत्तद्विशेषसंबन्धे विधानं तत्र तेषां संबन्धानां विशेषरूपेणाविवक्षायां संबन्धत्वेन विवक्षायां षष्ठ्येव । स्पष्टं चेदं चतुर्थी तदर्धेति सूत्रभाष्ये ।

### ३ ऋते

ऋते is the locative singular of ऋत past participle of √ऋ to 'go' according to Indian grammarians and √ऋ to 'separate' according to western scholars, who consider it to be cognate with Skt. विरल, Eng. rare, etc. In the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda* it governs the ablative only. In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and the *Brahmaṇas* it begins to be construed with the accusative probably after the analogy of विना. In the *Mahābhārata* it follows the analogy of विना still further and is used with the accusative, instrumental and ablative. Pāṇini, Sarvavarman and Devanandin prescribe the perfectly logical ablative alone in connexion with ऋते. Later grammarians prescribe both the ablative and the accusative. Thus Candrar frames the rule : ऋते द्वितीया च (iv, 1, 84). The *vṛtti* says : ऋते-संबन्धेन योगे द्वितीया भवति, पञ्चमी च. Similarly Śakāṭayana has पञ्चमी चर्ते (i, 3, 191). The *vṛtti* says : ऋते-संबन्धेन युक्ते द्वितीयापञ्चमी भवतः. Hemacandra has ऋते द्वितीया च (ii, 2, 114) and says in his *Bṛhadvṛtti* द्वितीयां नेष्यन्त्येके.

(a) Accusative with ऋते :—स वै त्वष्टा पुत्रे हते सोममाहरत इन्द्रम्

(*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* ii, 4). वृषाकपिमृते कुन्तापमन्थुङ्गं ब्राह्मणान्छंसी (*Sāṅkhyana Śrauta* xii, 6, 13). ऋतेऽर्थवादं कर्मैतदिन्द्रस्येति शंसति (*Bṛhaddevatā* iii, 104). न स्याद् वनमृते व्याघ्रान् व्याघ्रा न स्युर्ऋते वनम् (*Mahābhārata Udyoga Parva* xxxiv, 46). Careful writers of classical Sanskrit like Kālidāsa and others never use the accusative in connexion with ऋते. Followers of Pāṇini defend sentences like क कर्म प्रध्वस्तं फलति पुरुवारोधनमृते (*Mahimnashstotra*) with the help of the dictum ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते already quoted. The *Durgha'avṛtti* (ii, 3, 2) prefers to resort to योगविभाग,

(b) Instrumental with ऋते :—नहि ते जातु शम्भेरन्नृते राज्येन कौरव (*Mahābhārata Udyoga* cxxxviii, 3), ऋते दधिघृतेनेह न यज्ञः संप्रवर्तते (*ibid. Anusāsana* lxxxviii-2), न च शक्योऽन्यथा जेतुमृते युद्धेन माधव (*ibid. Śalya* xxiv, 39). ततोऽबधीत् सुराञ् शक्रो न मे शक्या महासुराः । ऋतेऽस्थिभिर्दधीचस्य निहन्तुं त्रिदशद्विषः (*Śalya* l. I, 27) नष्टोत् तर्क्या शक्यं वक्रुं वर्षशतैरपि । ऋते देवप्रसादाद्वा राजन् ज्ञानागमने वा (*ibid. Śānti* ccc, xxxiv. 6). रौक्ष्यात् कषायभावाच्च तथा स्नेह-गुणैर्ऋते । न इलेष्मा मधुना सार्धं देहे पर्यवतिष्ठते (*Bhelasamhitā* p. 67). All these are *भार्षप्रयोग*s and would be considered *solecism* in classical Sanskrit.

(c) Ablative with ऋते :—यस्माच्च ऋते विजयन्ते जनासः (*RV. ii, 12, 9*). नेन्द्राहते पवते धाम किञ्चन (*ibid. ix, 69, 6*). कथं क्वं स्वहते स्वाम (*Ait. Brāh. v. 1*) etc. etc.

## कतिपयानाम् अव्ययानाम् आभिधानिकवैचित्र्याणि<sup>१</sup>

निबन्धकः—तारापाद-चतुर्विंशतिः, पटना

**अकस्मात्** [अ+कस्मात्] (१) न कस्माच्चित् कारणात्, (२) अतर्कितम्, (१) रघु. १४, ७३ : उत्खातलोकत्रयकण्टकेऽपि सत्यप्रतिज्ञेऽप्यविकल्पनेऽपि । त्वां प्रत्यकस्मात् कस्तुषप्रवृत्तावस्त्येव मन्युर्भरताप्रजे मे ॥ (२) अहि. ७, ३० : सुप्रीवान्तिकमासेदुः साधयिष्याम इत्यरिम् । करिष्यन्त इवाकस्माद् भुवनं निर्देशाननम् ॥ आकस्मिक—संसा. ४, १३२१ : प्रत्यवभासाच्च देवीं व.चमित्यादि ( उच. २, ४, ५ ) ।

**अञ्जस्** [(√अञ्ज्+अस्)+ङी. द्वि.१ क्वि. ] अञ्जसा [ अञ्जस्+तु.१; तु. पाषा. ६, ३, ३, १ : स्वरादिः गम. १५ ] (१) अनायासेन (२) आज्ञेन (३) द्रुतम् (४) तत्त्वतः, सम्यक्, यथावत् । (१) भाग. ७, ९, १८ : अञ्जस्तितर्म्यनुग्रहान् गुणविप्रसुप्तो दुर्गाणि ते पदयुगालय-हंससङ्गः ॥ (२) अवे. १८, २, ५३ : अञ्जोयुनैः पथिभिस्तत्र गच्छतम् । (३) ऋवे. १, ३२, २ : अहन्नाहिं पूर्वते शिश्रियाणे त्वृष्टारमै वृञ्ज स्वयं ततश्च । वाञ्छा इव धेनुवः स्युन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमुक्त्वा जगमुद्रापः ॥ भाग. १०, २६, १९ : एष वः श्रेय आधास्यद् गोपगोकुलनन्दनः । अनेन सर्वदुर्गाणि यूयमञ्जस्तरिष्यथ ॥ (४) भाग. ६, १८, ४५ : पुत्रस्ते भविता भद्रे इन्द्रहा देवबान्धवः । संवत्सरं मतमिदं यद्यञ्जो धारयिष्यसि ॥ विशेषणमात्रं तु सारल्यार्थे जै. उप. ब्रा. ३, ७, ४ : यद् यज्ञस्याञ्जो यत् सुविदितं तद् सैव पृच्छति । विशेष्यमात्रं पुनः सारल्यवाचि पाषा. ६, ३, ३, १ : अञ्जस उप-संख्यानं ( तृतीयाया अलुक् ) अञ्जसाकृतम् । \*यान- अवे., \*सञ्- शब्दा., ऐमा., \*पा- ऋवे. । अञ्जसा (१) वासं. ५, ५ : अञ्जसा सस्यमुष गेषश्चु स्वित्ते मा धाः । (प्रगुणेन मार्गैरेति उच्यते, ऋजुमार्गैरेति महीधरः) । भाग. ४, ३०, ३२ : पारिजातेऽञ्जसा लब्धे सारज्ञोऽन्यन्न सेवते । त्वद्वर्ष्मूलमासाद्य साक्षात् किं किं वृणीमहे ॥ (२) ऋवे. ६, ५४, १ : सं पृथन्विबुषा नय यो अञ्जसाऽनुशासति । य एषेदमिति ब्रुवन् ॥ १०, ७३, ७ : एवं चकथं मनवे स्योऽनुप्यथो देवत्राञ्ज-सेव यानान् ॥ शब्दा. १३, ५, ३, ६ : अञ्जसा यज्ञस्य संस्थासुपैति न ह्यलतीति ॥ भाग. १, १, ९ : तत्र तत्राञ्जसायुष्मन् भवता यद्विनिश्चितम् । पुंसामेकान्ततः श्रेयस्तन्नः शंसितुमर्हसि ॥ (३) क्षीर. ३, ४, २ : यज्वाञ्जसा जयति ब्रह्मलोकम् । गम. १५ : सुतनु कथय कस्य व्यञ्जयन्त्यञ्ज-सेव । (४) ऋवे. ६, १६, ३ : वेत्था हि वेधो अञ्जनः पथद्वय वेवाञ्जसा । अग्ने वञ्जेषु सुकृतो ॥ वृषा. उप. ४, ४, १५ : यदैतमनुपरयत्यात्मानं देवमञ्जसा । ईशानं भूतभव्यस्य न ततो विजु-गुप्तते ॥ कुसं. ६, २२ : साक्षाद्दृष्टोऽसि न पुनर्विद्यस्त्वां वयमञ्जसा । प्रसीद कथयात्मानं न धियां पथि वर्तसे ॥ \*अयन- (बहु.) नैसं., ऐमा. ।

१ अत्र प्रयुक्ताः संकेताः प्रायेण सुगयाः । ये तु नृ तथा प्रतीयेरन् ते तावद् इमे—अवे.—अथर्ववेदः । असं.—अनेकार्थसंग्रहः । उच.—उत्तरचरितम् । उप.—उपनिषद् । ऋवे.—ऋग्वेदः । ऐमा.—ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् । कथा.—कथासहितसारः । कल्प.—कल्पद्रुमकोषः । काशि.—काशिका । किरा.—किरातार्जुनीयम् । कुसं.—कुमारसंभवम् । क्षीर.—क्षीरस्वामिकुनामरटीका । गम.—गणरत्नमहोदधिः । ग्रासं.—Grassmann । जामा.—जातकमाला । ताम्रा.—तायक्यब्राह्मणम् । तैसं.—तैत्तिरीयसंहिता । दशा.—दशकुमारचरितम् । दुर्गां.—दुर्गादासः । निरु.—निरुक्तम् । प्रक्रिटी.—प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका । बोरो.—Böhtlingk & Roth । जञ्.—जज्ञयज्ञम् । भाग.—भागवतपुराणम् । मोनि.—Monier Monier-Williams । मुग्ध.—मुग्धबोधम् । मैक.—Macdonell । पैसं.—मन्त्रायणी संहिता । शम्भा.—शतपथब्राह्मणम् । संसां.—संक्षिप्तसारम् । शि.—Whitney । तु.—तुलनीयम् । प्र.—प्रथमा । द्वि.—द्वितीया प्रश्नः ।

अतीव [ अति+इव—इति निपातसमुदायोऽत्यन्तार्थे महि. भाष. १४, ६० ] स्वरादिः गम. १४ ।  
अतिक्रम्येव, अत्यन्तम् । अहि. १०, २५ : गरुडानिलतिग्मरमयः पततां यद्यपि सम्मता जवे ।  
अचिरेण कृतार्थेमागतं तममन्यन्त तथाप्यतीव ते ॥ ( तेभ्योऽधिकजवं मेनिरे महि. ) । भाष.  
१४, ६० : श्वेयमेकमपये स्थितधियः स्तुत्यमुत्तममर्तं तवाकूपथम् । आमनन्ति यमुपास्यमादराद् दृ-  
वर्तितमतीव योगिनः । >°तराम् भाष. ४, २५ ।

अन्तरा [ अन्तर+आ, तु. अन्तर आ ऋचे. १, १०५, १ : अन्तरमा अप्सवन्तरा सुपर्णो  
धावते दिवि । इत्यादि प्रास. <अन्तरं हि. मोवि. ] (१) मध्ये (प्रायेण द्वयोः), (२) विनाथे,  
(३) विषयनिर्देशे, (४) सन्निधानवि केचित् (असं, विश्व., मोवि.) । एतयोर्गे द्वितीया पा. २, ३, ४ ।  
वेदे (१) एव । (१) ऋचे ३.४०, ९ : यदन्तरा परावृत्तमर्वावृत्तं च ह्युपसे । इन्द्रेह तत आ गदि ॥  
१०, ८८, १५ : यदन्तरा पितॄं मातरं च । १०, १६२, ४ : यस्त ऊरू विहरत्यन्तरा इम्पती इये ।  
अन्तरा त्वां च मां च कमरदलुः काशि. २, ३, ४ । कृष्णोऽन्तरा ब्रह्मशम्भु सुरध. २४४ । जामा.  
१९, २० : अथ मारः... अन्तरा च तं भवन्तमन्तरा च द्वारदेहर्त्वा... नरकमभिनर्ममे । युक्तस्यैक-  
त्वेऽपि भाष. २०, ५४ : उपमानमलम्भि लोलपञ्चक्षणविक्षितमहाम्बुवाहमरस्यैः । गगनाश्रयमन्तरा  
क्षुमेरोः कुलजानां गरुडैरिलाधराणाम् ॥ एतयोर्गे षष्ठ्यपि क्वचित् भाग. ४, २१, ११ : गङ्गा-  
यमुनयोर्नद्योर्न्तरा क्षेत्रमावसन् । आरब्धानेव क्षुभुजे भोगान् पुरयजिहासया ॥ ३, २९, २६ : च ।  
रघु. १२, ९३ : विक्रमन्व्यतिहारेण सामान्याभूद् द्वयोरपि । जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव ॥  
(२) भाग. १२, ४, २६ : विकारः ख्यायमानोऽपि प्रत्यगात्मानमन्तरा । न निरूप्योऽस्त्यणुरपि स्याच्चे-  
च्छित्सम आत्मवत् ॥ ४, २८, ५४ । (३) अहि. ८, ९४ : ततः स्वर्गं समुद्यम्य रावणाः कूरविप्रहः ।  
वैदेहीमन्तरा क्रुद्धः क्षणमुचे विनिश्चसन् ॥ वैदेहीविषये वैदेहीं प्रति वा क्रुद्ध इत्यर्थः । भरतमङ्गिनाथ-  
जयमङ्गलानां मध्यवाचित्वेन व्याख्याप्रयत्नाः प्रत्येकमुद्रावनापाटवं सूचयन्तोऽपि न सहृदयहृदयङ्गमाः ।  
अन्तरेण-शब्दस्यापि समानार्थे प्रयोगो विस्मर्यताम् । (४) उदाहरणं श्रम्यम् । विस्मर्यं तु अन्तराभरः  
इति ऋचे. ८, ३२, १२ ॥ क्रियाविशेषणमात्रमपि : (१) रघु. १५, २० : सौमित्रेनिशितैर्बाणैरन्तरा  
शकलीकृतः । गात्रं पुष्परजः प्राप न शास्त्री नैर्ऋतेरितः ॥ नैष. २०, ६५ : सौमिन्यामेव सा तस्यां  
तदुक्तीरिव शृण्वती । वादं वादं मुहुश्चके हुं हुमित्यन्तरान्तरा ॥ बहिः प्रतिलोभ्ये भाष. १६, १९ :  
प्रकटं मृदु नाम अल्पतः पठ्यं सूचयतोऽर्थमन्तरा । शकुनादिव मार्गवर्तिभिः पुरुषादुद्विजितव्यमी-  
हशात् ॥ °असं- ( षष्ठीतत्पु. ), °भृ- ( उपपद. ), °भव- ( सहसुपा ), °वेदि- ( कर्म. ), °शृङ्गम्  
( अव्य. ) मोवि. , अजित° ( षड्. ) भाग. १०, २, २० : तद्° जामा १०३, ६ : यद्° ( तत्. ) भाग.  
१०, ८७, ४१ ; >°छ- ङ्ग.

अमुत्र [ अदस् > अमु+त्र ] = अमुष्मिन् : (२) स्थाने, (३) स्थले = पूर्वोक्ते, (४) लोके = परलोके,  
(५) अत्र (?) । (१) निरु. ४, २५ : अमुत्र चन्द्रमसो गृह् । काव्यप्र. अन्वयश्लो., इत्येष मार्गो  
विदुषां विभिन्नोऽप्यभिन्नरूपः प्रतिभासते यत् । न तद् विचित्रं यदमुत्र सभ्यं विनिर्मिता संघटनैव  
हेतुः ॥ (२) अवे. १२, १, २९ : अमुत्र सृष्टिहृ वेत्येतः संस्तानि पश्यसि । इतः पश्यन्ति रोचनं  
दिवि सूर्यं विपश्चितम् ॥ (३) शामा. ३, ९, १, ३६ : तस्मादमुत्रैवाङ्गुलीभ्यश्चेदमुत्र वाचं यच्छेत् ।  
(४) अवे. ८, १, १८ : अयं देवा इहैवास्त्वयं मामुत्र गादितः । इमं सद्ब्रह्मदीर्घेण सृष्टोऽनुपार-  
यामसि ॥ वासं. १७, २ : एता मे अग्न इष्टका घनवः सन्त्वमुत्रामुष्मिन्स्लोके । भाग. ८, १९,  
३७ : धर्माय यशसेऽर्थाय कामाय स्वजनाय च पशुधा विवजन् वितामिहामुत्र च मोदते ॥  
(५) कथा. २४, २०८ : अनेनैवात्मिकाः सर्वे नगरेऽमुत्र अक्षिताः ॥ °भूय ( ङ्. + √भू+क्यप्  
भावे ), °अर्थ- ( नित्य. ) वि. मनु. ७, १५ ।

अयि (१) कोमलसम्बोधने, (२) सानुनये, (३) प्ररनविशिष्टे । (१) उच. १, २७, २८ : अयि विप्रयोग-  
त्रस्ते, चित्रमेतत् । भाग. ८, १२, ४३ : अयि व्यपश्यस्त्वमजस्य मायां परस्य पुंसः परदेवतायाः ।  
अहं कलानामृषभोऽपि मुञ्चे ययाऽवशोऽन्ये किमुतास्ततन्त्राः ॥ (२) कुसं. ४, २८ : अयि सम्प्रति  
देहि दर्शनं स्मर पर्युत्सुक एष माधवः । दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्वने ॥  
(३) कुसं. ५, ६२ : अगृहसद्भावमितीकृतज्ञया निवेदितो नैष्टिकमुन्दरस्तया । अशीदमेवं परिहास  
इत्युमामपृच्छदव्यञ्जितहर्षलक्षणः ॥

अलला° [अनुकरणाशब्दः] (अपां) सहर्षध्वनौ । ऋवे. ४, १०, ६ : एता अर्षन्त्यललाभ्वन्ती-  
र्कतावरीरिव सङ्क्रोशमानाः । एता वि पृच्छ किमिदं भनन्ति क्रमापो आर्द्रिं परिर्धिं रुजन्ति ॥

अवश्यम् [अ°+वश्य+ङ्ङी. द्वि. १, क्वि. वि.] कर्तुर्वशं न गच्छति यथा तथाः निश्चितम् [नित्ये  
वैज., अङ्गीकारे (=बाडम्) कल्प., नित्ये असं., प्रयत्ने मौवि.] । विभक्त्यवयवत्वादेव चास्य  
मकारः, अद्यापि समासे कृत्येषु द्वित्रेषु शब्दान्तरेषु च परेषु लुप्यते । गम. १५-१६ : अवश्यं याता-  
रश्रितरमुपित्वापि विषयाः । मेघ. १, १० : तां चावश्यं दिवसगणनात्परामेकपत्नीभव्यापक्षाम-  
विहतगतिर्द्रव्यसि आतृजायाम् । संसा. १, १२५ : सम्बन्धानुभवोऽवश्यमेवशीयश्च लिङ्गिन इति  
भट्टवासिकम् । °कारिन्-, °भाविन् । (°श्य°) °कर्मन्-ऐआ, °कार्याणि (महाभा.) उभावावश्यक-  
कर्मपरौ । मौवि. °मृत्यु-जामा. १८४, ११ ; °कर्तव्य-, °कृत्य-, °अभ्युपगन्तव्य-, °प्राहुर्भाव्य-,  
°अङ्गीकरणीय-,—संसा. १, १२४-१२५ ; °पचेलिम-(दुर्गा. ३०९) । >आवश्यक-(१) ङी.  
(=अवश्यम्भाव-काशि. ३, १, १२५), (२) वि. ।

अहहहह अतीव विस्मये । जामा. २१६, ११-१३ : अहहहह । आश्चर्याणां बताश्चर्मदुभुतानां  
तथादुभुतम् । सत्यौदार्यं नृपस्येदमतिमानुषदैवतम् ॥

आत् [इदम् > अ+प. १] अस्मात् (परम्) : (१) अनन्तरम् ; प्रायेण यद्, यदा, यदि इत्यंतेः  
सापेक्षत्वेन प्रयुज्यते, क्वचिच्च अह, इद्, ईम्, उ इत्यादीनामन्यतमेन समर्थितः । (२) किञ्च, अपि  
च; अप्राये उ, च इत्यनयोरेन्यतरेणापि संबद्धः । (३) प्रश्नद्योतकशब्दानन्तरम्, तस्यैव बलाधाने ।  
(१) ऋवे. १, १०, ८ : आहध्नोति हविष्कृतिं प्राञ्जं कृणोत्यध्वरम् । होत्रा देवेषु गच्छति ॥  
१, ११६, १० : जुजुरुषो नासत्योत वार्धिं प्रामुञ्जतं द्रापिमिव च्यवानात् । प्रातिरतं जहित्स्वायु-  
र्द्रस्त्रादित् पतिमकृणुतं कनीनाम् ॥ अवे. ६, २२, १ : कृष्णं नियानं हरयः सुपर्णा अपो वसाना  
द्विवसुत्तन्ति । त् आवृत्रन्सुदनाहतस्यादिद् घृतेन पृथिवीं ज्यूदुः ॥ छा. उप. १, ५, २ :  
कौषीतकिः पुत्रमुवाच रस्मीस्त्वं पर्यावर्तयाद् बहवो वै ते भविष्यन्ति । (२) अवे. ४, ९, ८ :  
अपो दासा आजनस्य तक्मा बलात् आदृहिः । वर्षिष्ठः पूर्वतानां त्रिककुन्नाम ते पिता ॥ ऋवे.  
८, ९१, ६ : असौ च या न उर्वरादिर्मां तन्वं मम । अथो तत्स्य यच्छिरः सर्वा ता रोमशा  
कृधि ॥ ८, ८२, ३ : इषा मन्दस्वाद् तेऽरं ववाथ मन्यवे । भुवत्त इन्द्रं शं हृदे ॥ (३) ऋवे.  
४, २३, ६ : किमाद्रमत्रं सख्यं सखिभ्यः कदा नु ते भ्रात्रं प्र ब्रवाम । शिश्रे सुपूरां वपुरस्य  
सुभां स्वर्णं चित्रतममिष आ गोः ॥ १, ३३, १ : एतायामोप गध्यन्त इन्द्रमस्माकं  
स प्रमनिं वावृधाति । अनामृष्यः कुविवाद्रस्य रायो गुवां केतं प्रमावर्जते नः ॥ °आत्  
आतिः पा. ५, ३, ३४ : उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः अस्तानिरेथे ॥ आतिप्रत्ययान्ता इमे वस्तुतः  
पञ्चम्येकवचनान्ता अव्ययीभवनलक्षणेन स्वरव्यत्ययेन ( मेक. १०७, द्वि. १११४ द्वि ) सनाधीकृताः ।  
न खल्विम एव, अन्येऽपि तावद् बहवो विशेष्यविशेषणसर्वनामशब्दा एवमव्ययत्वमापन्नाः । तद्यथा-  
विशेष्याणि, आरात्, आसात्, बलात् इत्यादिषु ; विशेषणानि, दूरात्, नीचात्, पश्चात्, साक्षात्,

प्रत्यक्षगमात्, प्रत्यन्तात् इत्यादिषु ; सर्वनामानि, अकस्मात्, आत्, तात्, यात् इत्यादिषु ; स्वरव्यत्ययस्तु अपाकात्, अस्मात्, सनकात्, सनात्, इत्यादिष्वपि दृष्टः । विशेषस्त्वयमेव यदु-  
त्तरादिर्दिग्देशकालवाची ।

**आरभ्य** [आ+√रभ्+त्यप्] अवधिनिर्देशो; अवधिवाचिन पञ्चमीप्रयोजकः । उपक्रम्येत्यस्य  
वैयत्युक्तिकोऽर्थः साम्प्रतिकोऽवधिश्चास्य पुराधिकरणमासीत्, अर्थान्तरापत्तेरेव चात्र पञ्चमी  
आगता । शौगिकस्य प्रयोगस्त्वधुनापि न वार्यते । भाग. ७, १, १७: दमघोषसुतः पाप आरभ्य  
कलभाषणात् । संप्रत्यमर्षा गोविन्दे दन्तवक्रश्च दुर्मतिः ॥ माघ. १, ४४ : अवापुरारभ्य ततश्चला  
इति प्रवादमुच्चैरयश्चकरं श्रियः ॥ क्वचिदेतद्योगे द्वितीयापि भाग. ८, १६, ४८: प्रतिपदिनमारभ्य  
यावच्छुक्त्रयोदशीम् । ब्रह्मचर्यमधःस्वप्नं स्नानं त्रिपदशं चरेत् ॥ श्रीधरस्वाम्यपि भाग. ७, १, १७ :  
इत्यस्य व्याख्यायाम्, 'कलभाषणात्, बाह्ये कोमलभाषणमारभ्य सम्प्रति अधुनापि अमर्षा' इत्यादि ।  
दुर्गा. त्वाह (मुग्ध. ३०१) 'प्रातःकालं समारभ्य जपेन्मध्यदिनार्वाध' इत्यादिकन्तु उपपद-  
विभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्गरीयसीति न्यायात् कर्माणि द्वितीयेति ।

**आरात्** [\*आर (√आ) प्रेरणे क्षेपणे, यतो दूरार्थनिष्पत्तिः अरण- , अरण्य- इत्येतयोरपि दृष्टा  
प्रास.)+पं. १; तु. आरे] (१) दूरात्, लोके तु (२) सामीप्येऽपि । पञ्चम्यन्तयुक्, केवलो वा ।  
ऋवे. ५, २, ३: हिरण्यदन्तं शुचिवर्णमारात् क्षेप्रादपश्यमायुधा सिमानम् ॥ अवे. १, १९, १:  
सा ना विदन् विव्याधिनो मा अभिव्याधिनो विदन् । आराच्छरण्या अस्मद्दिपूचीरिन्द्र पातय ॥  
ऋवे. ६, ५६, ५: आरात् एषअसि श्रुतः । १०, ४२, ६: आराक्षिभ्यन् भयतामस्य शत्रुः ।  
काशि. २, ३, २९: आराद् देवदत्तात् । माघ. ३, ३१: दिदक्षमाणाः प्रतिरभ्यमीयुर्मुरारिमारादनर्घ  
जनौघाः । (२) अट्टि. ८, १०४: तं दृष्ट्वाचिन्तयत् सीता हेतोः कस्यैष रावणः । अवह्य तरो-  
रारादैति वानरविग्रहः ॥ भाग. २, ७, १४; ८, १८, २१: माघ. ८, २७ । एतद्योगे क्वचिद्  
द्वितीयापि: शाकु. ५, ३०: सा निन्दन्ती स्वानि भावयानि बाला बाहूक्षेपं कन्दितुं च प्रवृत्ता ।  
स्त्रीसंस्थानम्नाप्सरस्तीर्थमारात्कुक्षिप्याङ्गे ज्योतिरेनां तिरोऽभूत् ॥ सामीप्यार्थस्य प्राप्तिविषये विमृश्य-  
ताम् ऋवे. १, १२९, ९: सूचस्व नः पराकृ आ सूचस्वास्तमीकृ आ । पाहि नो दूरादारादभि-  
ष्टिभिः सुदा पाह्यभिष्टिभिः ॥ यत्र प्रागमानेनाप्युक्तमत्र आसाद् इति सम्भावितमासीदिति ।  
(३) अदूरादित्यर्थादेव शीघ्रमित्यपि । भाग. ३, १७, ३०: तं वीरमारादभिपद्य विस्मयः शयिष्यसे  
वीरशये श्वभिर्द्वृतः ॥ १, १४, ११: ऊर्वक्षिबाहवो मह्यं स्फुरन्त्यङ्गं पुनः पुनः । वेपथुश्चापि हृदय  
आराद् दास्यन्ति विप्रियम् ॥ >आरातीय-काशि. ४, २, १०४: °तात् ।

**आरे** [\*आर+स. १; आरात् दृश्यताम्] (१) दूरे > (२) बहिः, विना वा । एतद्युक्तात् प्रायेण  
पञ्चमीध्यते, क्वचित् षष्ठ्यपि । (१) ऋवे. १, ११४, ४: आरे अस्मद् दृष्ट्यं हेळी अस्वत् सुमति-  
मिद् वयमस्या वृणीमहे । ३, ३९, ८: ज्योतिर्यज्ञाय रोदसी अनु प्यादारे स्याम दुर्गतस्य भूरेः ।  
(२) २, २८, ६: अपो सु म्यङ् बरुण भियसं मत्सञ्जाकृतावोऽनु भा गृभाय । दामेव वत्साद्दि  
सुमुग्ध्यंही नहि त्वदारे निमिषश्चनेशे ॥ ६, ४७, ३: अयं मे पील उदियति वाचमयं मनीषा-  
मुशतीमजीगः । अयं शुक्लूर्विरमितीत धीरो न याभ्यो भुवनं कृच्छन्तारे °अघ-(बहु.), °अवय-  
(बहु.), °गनु-(बहु.) ।

**आष्** मार्जारक्षयोरतुकरणभूतो निधनविशेषः । तांजा. ८, २, २: कशवो वा एतत् सामर्ते निधनम-  
पश्यत् स न प्रत्यतिष्ठत् वृषदशस्थायिति क्षुधत उपाभृणोत्स तदेव निधनमपश्यत् ततो वै स प्रत्य-  
तिष्ठत् । \*कार-तांजा ८, १, १ प्रभृ. ।

इत्यात् [इत्थ+पं. १? तु. इत्थम्, इत्था]=इत्थम् मोषी, 'इतः' इत्यर्थस्तु प्रतिभाति ।  
 जै. उप. ब्रा. १,२,६ : तदेतदाहुरिदानीं वा अयमितोऽनासीदथेःथाद् वातीति । शम्भा. १३,४,४,५ :  
 एकविंशोतयेपाः । सर्वेऽएकविंशत्यरत्नयो राज्ञुदाख्योऽग्निहो भवति पैतुदारवावभितः षड्  
 बैलवास्त्रय इत्यास्त्रय इत्यात् षट् खादिरास्त्रय एवेत्यास्त्रय इत्यात्..... । ३, २, ३, २३ : स  
 वै पञ्च प्रायस्त्रयो देवता यजति । पञ्चोदयनीये तस्मान्पञ्चेथाद्दह्गुलयः पञ्चेत्यात् । किन्तु  
 विष्णुश शम्भा. २, ६, १, १८ : ते सर्वेऽएव यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा । इत्याद्यजमानश्च ब्रह्मा च  
 पश्चात्परोत्तः पुरस्तादग्नीत् । पञ्चम्यर्थस्तु स्पष्ट एव शम्भा. १४, १, २, १ : स यद्वाऽएनानि-  
 त्याश्चेत्याश्च सम्भरति तस्सम्भाराणां ५ संभारत्वं ५ स वै यज्ञ-यज्ञ यज्ञस्थ म्यकं ततरसतः  
 सम्भरति ।

इदा [इदम् > इ + दा पा. ५, ३, २०] अस्मिन् काले । ऋवे. ६, ६५, ४ : इदा हि वो विधत्ते  
 रत्नमस्तोदा वीराय दाशुष उपासः । इदा विप्राय जुरते यदुक्था नि षम मावते वहथा पुरा  
 चित् ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन अदन्शब्देन ह्यः इत्यनेन चायं बहुशः प्रयुज्यते । ऋवे. ४, १०, ५ : त्व  
 स्वादेष्टाऽग्नें सुदष्टिरिदा षिट्ङ्ग इदा चिदङ्गोः । श्रिये हकमो न रोचते उपाक्ते ॥ ८, ९९, १ :  
 त्वामिदा ह्यो नरोऽपीष्यन् वज्रिन् भूर्णयः । स इन्द्र स्तोमवाहसामिह भुध्युष स्वस्वरा गहि ॥  
 \*वन्मर-

उत् प्राक्रो. टी. १, ३०८ : 'अप्यर्थे'—उदरमन्तरं कुरुते । अरमल्पमप्यन्तरं कुरुत इत्यर्थः  
 विदृश्यताम् भाग. ३, २९, २६ : आत्मनश्च परस्यापि यः कुर्यादन्तरोदरम् । तस्य भिषदृशो  
 मःयुविदधे भयमुल्बणम् ॥ 'अन्तरा अन्तरं' इदम् उत अपि अरम् अल्पम् । अल्पमपि भेदं यः  
 पश्यतीत्यर्थः । यद्वा अन्तरा मये उदरं शरीरम्' श्रीधरः । तदेतस्य सर्वरथापि तु मूलं तै. उप.  
 २, ७ : यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नदृश्येऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिलयनेऽभयं प्रतिष्ठां विन्दते । अथ सोऽभयं गतो  
 भवति । यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नुदरमन्तः कुरुते । अथ तस्य भयं भवति ॥ एवमेव शङ्करः ब्रह्म.  
 १, १, १९ ।

उदयम् [अस्तः (पर्वतः) : उदयः (पर्वतः : अस्तम् (अध्ययम्) : उदयम् (अध्ययम्) इत्येवं  
 सादृश्यनिबन्धनं प्रयोगवैचित्र्यम्] उदयकाले मल्लिख. कुसं ८, ५२ : निर्मितेषु पितृषु स्वयम्भुवा  
 या तनुः सुतनु पूर्वमुज्जिह्वा । सेयमस्तमुदयं च सेव्यते तेन मानिनि ममात्र गौरवम् ॥

उदस्तात् [उद् (+अस्)+तात् : पुरस्तादधस्तादवस्तादित्येतैरुपातसादृश्यादुद्भूतः] उपरि-  
 ष्टात् । भाग. ३, १८, ८ : स गामुदस्तात् सलिलस्य गोचरे विन्यग्य तस्यामदधात् स्वसत्त्वम् ।  
 अभिष्टुतो विश्वसजा प्रसूनैरार्पूमाणा विवुधैः पश्यतोऽरेः ॥ तथा २, २, २४ ।

उपरिष्ठात् [उपरि (+स्)+तात्] (१) उपर्यर्थे, शुद्धः द्वितीयापञ्चमीषष्ठीयुक् वा (पाणिनिमते  
 त्वेतदोगे सर्वत्र षष्ठ्येव, तु. २, ३, ३०), (२) पश्चार्थे, शुद्धः षष्ठ्यन्तयुक् वा, (३) अप्रोऽर्थे प्र-  
 तिषयपरामर्शे, (४) = परस्तात्, (५) विषयीकरणे, षष्ठ्यन्तयुक् । (१) ऋवे. ९, ९१, ४ : हज्जा  
 इह्वा षिट्ङ्गसः सुदासि पुनान इन्द्र ऊर्षुहि वि वाजान् । वृश्चोपरिष्ठात् तुजता वधेन ये  
 ऋग्नि दूराटुपनायमेधाम् ॥ शम्भा. १, ६, १, २१ : उपरिष्ठाद्वाज्यस्याभिधारयति । १३, ३, ६, ४ :  
 पुरुष उपरिष्ठाद् पशूनधितिष्ठति । भाग. ४, ९, २५ : ततो गन्तामि मत्स्यानं सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् ।  
 उपरिष्ठादधिभ्यस्त्वं यतो नावर्तते यतिः ॥ एवं ५, २२, ८, ५, २६, ५ । माघ. ११, ३ : स्फुट-  
 तरमुपरिष्ठादल्पमूर्तेर्ध्रुवस्य स्फुरति सुरमुनीनां मण्डलं व्यस्तमेतत् । शकटमिव महीयः शैशवे

शार्ङ्गपायोश्चपलचरणकाब्जप्रेरणोत्तुङ्गिताप्रम् ॥ (२) तैसं २, ६, ६, ३; शब्दा. १, २, २, १६ : नैदेन-  
मुपरिष्टाद्वाप्ट्वा रक्षांस्यवपुभ्यान् । (३) निरु. ७, २० : तदुपरिष्टाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । भाग.  
५, ४, १२ : तेषां सुचरितम्.....उपरिष्टाद् वर्षाधिष्यामः । (४) छा. उप. ५, २, २ : याञ्च.  
१, १०६ । (५) तवोपरिष्टादस्मदायत्तेव रक्षा दश (बोरो.) । \*उदर्क-(बहु.), \*उपयाम-(बहु.),  
\*ज्योतिस्, \*बृहती च छन्दोनामनी, \*लक्षण-(बहु.), \*वात-(सह.) तैसं. । > औपरिष्ट-वि.  
काशि. ४, २, १०४ ।

उपांशु [उप+अंशु (अव्य.?) ] (१) रहसि, विजने, (२) अश्रुतोच्चारणे । [बोरो. (१) निःशब्दम्  
>(२) निर्जनम् ।] (१) ऋवे. १०, ८३, ७ : अभि प्रेहि दक्षिणतो भवा मेऽधा वृत्राणि जह्नुनाव  
भूरि । जुहोमि ते धरुणं मध्वो अग्रमुभा उपांशु प्रथमा पिबाव ॥ (सोमसवनसमीपे इति प्राप्त.) ।  
माघ. १३, ५४ : निलथेषु नक्तमसितारमनां चर्थादिसिनीवधूपरिभवरफुटागसः । मुहुस्त्रसद्भिरपि  
यत्र गौरवाञ्छशालाञ्छनांशव उपांशु जग्निरे ॥ रघु. ८, १८ : नृपतिः प्रकृतीरवेक्षितुं व्यवहारासन-  
माददे युवा । परिचेतुमुपांशु धारणां कुशपूतं प्रवयास्तु विष्टरम् ॥ (२) ऐत्रा. १, २७ : तस्मादुपांशु  
वाचा चरितव्यम् । २, ७ : तिर इव वा एतद् वचो यदुपांशु । शब्दा. १, ३, ५, १० : उपांशु  
देवतां यजति । भाग. १०, ३, ४९ : ताः कृष्णवाहे वसुदेव आगते स्वयं व्यवयन्त यथा तमो रवेः ।  
ववषे पर्जन्य उपांशुर्गर्जितः शेषोऽन्वगाद् वारि निवारयन् फरौः ॥ क्रिशा. १२, ८ : जपतः सदा  
जपमुपांशु वदनमभितो विसारिभिः । तस्य दशनकिरणैः शुशुभे परिवेषणीपणमिवाकर्मरडलम् ॥  
वाचो लिङ्गत्वेनापि मनु. २, ८५ : विधियज्ञाजपयज्ञो विशिष्टो दशभिर्गुणैः । उपांशुः स्याच्छतगुणः  
साहस्रो मानसः स्मृतः ॥ सोमयागीयग्रहविशेषे पुंलिङ्गः वासं. तैसं. इत्यादि । \*क्रीडितं-पुं.  
'नर्मसचिवः', \*ग्रह- 'प्रथमो ग्रहः' तैसं., \*दराड-(सह.), \*याज-, \*वध-(सह.)—मोवि. ।  
> \*ता-, \*त्व- ।

उवे. संबोधने साय., मोवि., मेक. । ऋवे. १०, ८६, ७ : उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके यथेवाङ्ग भवि-  
ष्यति । भसन्मे अम्ब सुकृधि मे शिरो मे वीव हृष्यति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥ प्राप्तमानहि-  
त्नेयाभ्यां त्विदं नातिपरिज्ञातस्य आह्वानज्ञापनाद्यर्थस्य √उ धातोः लडुत्तमैकवचने रूपमिति निश्चितम् ।  
ऋतुथा [ऋतु+था] (१) यथर्तु > (२) यथाक.लम्, (३) यथाविधि, (४) यथायथम् (१) ऋवे.  
१, १६४, ४४ : अयः केशिन ऋतुथा वि चक्षते संवत्सरे वपत एक एवाम् । विश्वमेको अग्नि  
चष्टे शुचीभिर्ध्वाजिरेकस्य ददशे न रूपम् ॥ (२) ५, ३२, १२ : एवा हि स्वामृतुथा यातयन्तं  
मघा विप्रेभ्यो ददतं ऋणोमि । १, १७०, ५ : इन्द्र स्वं मरुद्भिः संवदस्वाध प्राशान ऋतुथा  
हवींषि ॥ (३) ८, १३, १९ : स्तोता यत्ते अनुव्रत उक्तथान्वृतुथा वधे । शुचिः पावक उच्यते  
सो ऋद्भुतः ॥ (४) ६, ९, ३ : स हत्तन्तुं स वि जानास्योतं स इक्त्वान्वृतुथा वदाति । य ई  
षिकेतदमस्य गोपा अनुव्रतरन्परो अन्वेन पुभ्यन् ॥ वेदेज्वे ।

ऋधक्, [ऋधक् इत्यपि सकृत् (ऋवे. ९, ६४, ३०) प्राप्त. मते ऋध् (<\*√ऋध् विभजने)+√अञ्  
+क्विन् क्रि.वि.]= (१) पृथक् निरु. ४, २५ > (१, १) क्रमेण, (१, २) विशेषण । (१) ऋवे. ७, ५७, ४ :  
ऋधक्सा वो मस्तो विशुवस्तु । ८, १८, ११ : युयोता शुस्मस्मदौ आदित्यास उतामतिम् ।  
ऋधग् द्वेषः कृणुत विश्ववेदसः ॥ (१, १) ऋवे. ३, २५, १; अग्ने दिवः सनुरसि प्रचेतास्तना  
पृथिस्या उत् विश्ववेदाः । ऋधदेवीं इह यजा षिकित्वः ॥ (१, २) ऋवे. ८, १०१, १ :  
ऋधागोत्या स मर्यः शशमे देवतातये । यो नूनं मिश्रावृक्षावग्निष्टव आचके हस्यदातये ॥  
यास्केन यद् 'अथाप्युभात्यर्थे दृश्यते' इत्युक्त्वा वासं. ८, २०, : ऋधगाया ऋधगुताशमिद्धाः प्रजान्

यज्ञसुपयाहि विद्वान् ॥ इत्युदाहृतम् यच्चोवटमहीधराभ्यां तत्रैव सायणेन च ऋचे. ६, ४९, १० इत्यत्र 'ऋचुवन्', 'समृद्धम्' इति वार्थः स्वकृतः तदनावश्यकमेव प्रतिभाति । अत्रैव (१, २) इत्यस्योदाहरणं तुलनीयम् । मन्त्र-अवे. ५, १, १ : बहुव्रीहिः प्रतिभाति । (ऋधक् पृथग् अन्य-विलक्षणो मन्त्रो यस्य सः) । बौरो-मते तु 'वाकूशक्तिरहितः' ।

**एकपदे** [ एक+पद+स. १ । पदमित्यस्य पदक्षेपोपलब्धिते क्षणे प्रवृत्तिः अनुपदम्, प्रतिपदम्, पदेपदे इत्यादिषु दृष्टा । तुल्य सपदि ] एकस्मिन् पदन्थासे माञ्चि. (माघ. २, ९५) : अकस्मात् गम. ८ । माघ. २, ९५ : तदीशितारं चेदीनां भवांस्तमवमस्त मा । निहन्त्यरीनेकपदे य उदात्तः स्वरानिव ॥ रघु. ८, ४८ : कृतवत्यसि नावधीरणामपराद्धेऽपि यदा चिरं मयि । कथमेकपदे निरापदं जनमाभाष्यमिमं न मन्यसे ॥ विक्र. ४, १० : अयमेकपदे तथा वियोगः प्रियया चोपनतः सुदुःसहो मे । नववारिधरोदयादहोभिर्भवितव्यं च निरातपत्वरम्यैः ॥ विश्वमेदिन्यौ अनव्ययं नपुंसकमेकपद-शब्दमेवाङ्गीकुरुतः ।

**एना** [ इदम् > अ+नृ. १ ] (१) अनेन प्रकारेण, एवम्, (२) अत्र, तत्र, (३) तदा, (४) अनेन—अतः, परःशब्दयोगे । (१) ऋचे. ९, ६१, ११ : एना विश्वान्यर्थं आ शुम्नानि मानुषाणाम् । सिषासन्तो वनामहे ॥ अवे. ४, ८, ७ । (२) ऋचे. १, १६४, ५ : पाकः पृच्छामि मन्साविजानन्देवानामेना निहिता पदानि । वस्ते बन्धयेऽधि सप्त तन्तुन् वि तस्निरे कत्रय औतवा उ ॥ अवे. १२, ३, ३३ । ऋचे. १०, १४, २ : यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो धिवेद नैषा गन्वृतिरपभर्तवा उ । युत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुरेना जज्ञानाः पथ्या अनु स्वाः ॥ (३) ऋचे. १, ३०, ३ : सं यन्मदाय शुष्मिण एना हंस्योदरे । समुद्रो न ह्यचो दधे ॥ (४) ऋचे. १०, ८५, ५ : परो दिवा पर एना पृथिन्या परो देवेभिरसुरैर्यदस्ति । कं स्विद् गर्भं प्रथमं दध आपो यत्र देवाः समपभ्यन्त विश्वे ॥ अवे. ५, ११, ५ : त्वं ह्यङ्ग वरुण स्वधावन् विश्वा वेत्थ जनिमा सुप्रणीते । किं रजस एना परो अन्वयदस्तेना किं प्रेणावरमसुर ॥ अनव्ययमप्येवैष न विरलप्रयोगः ।

# Kirti : Its Connotation

By

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How epigraphy sometimes benefits lexicography is illustrated by a peculiar use of the term *kirti* as found in certain inscriptions. The word, in its primary sense of 'fame' or 'glory' is of a very common occurrence, not only in Sanskrit, but also in all those languages that are derived from or influenced by Sanskrit. As we shall presently see, some of the classical Sanskrit dictionaries ascribe a few secondary meanings to the word *kirti*, that sound as strange as they are rare in ordinary use. It is mainly in reference to one of those secondary meanings of the term, that we shall discuss it here.

The word is derived from  $\sqrt{\text{kr̥t}}$ , which means 'to praise, to speak well of, to make mention of, to take into account'<sup>1</sup>, and the like. Its verbal forms are frequently met with, such as *kirtayati*, *kirtanaya*, *kirtita*, etc. The addition of a prefix like *pra*, *sam*, *anu* or *puri* would modify the basic sense to some extent, while that of the prefix *apa* would yield the opposite sense. Thus *apakirti* means 'disgrace' or 'bad name'. The same meaning is obtained also from *akirti*, which literally means 'negation of fame'.

In *अस्य भार्यासु तिस्रसु हीश्रीकीर्त्युपमासु च*<sup>2</sup> or *कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक् च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा*<sup>3</sup> *kirti* evidently refers to Fame personified or to a goddess of that name<sup>4</sup>. We are, however, not concerned with this aspect of *kirti* here.

We proceed with the evidence of lexicons. The *Amara*, by far the most popular of them, has nothing to say on the point. Its commentator Bhānuji-Dīkṣita, however, commenting on *kirti*, cites *कीर्तिः प्रसादयज्ञसोर्विस्तारे कर्दमेऽपि च*, without quoting the source<sup>5</sup>. The *Sabdaratnasamavaya* of King Sāhajī of Tanjore (A. D. 1700), has the same in a slightly different form : *कीर्तिः प्रसादे यज्ञसि विस्तारे कर्दमेऽपि च*<sup>6</sup>. The *Medini* gives : *कीर्तिः प्रसादयज्ञसोः* and the *Vaijayanti* : *कीर्तिः पञ्चे यज्ञस्यपि*<sup>7</sup>. Hemacandra, in his *Anekārthasaṅgraha*, strikes a different note in having *prasāda* for *prasāda* : *कीर्तिर्यज्ञसि विस्तारे प्रासादे कर्दमेऽपि च*<sup>8</sup>. And it is this

1. Compare : नाकीर्तयदवज्ञानात्तद्रूपे मानुषास्तदा ।

तस्मात्स मानुषद्वयो मृत्युर्नान्योऽस्य विधत्ते ( *Ramayana* I, 15, 14.)

2. *Ramayana*, I, 15, 20.

3. *Bhagavadgita*, X, 34.

4. Iconographically *Kirti* is Kesava-Viṣṇu's *śakti*. Her images were made according to the description in the *agamas*. Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 233 and 236.

5. *Amarakoṣa*, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press 5th ed., 1929, p. 67.

6. Geakwad's Oriental Series, No. LIX, p. 125.

7. Gustav Oppert's ed., London, 1893, p. 220.

8. Jagannath Sastri Hoshing's ed., Benares, 1929, p. 15.

difference that is of vital importance to us. The modern lexicographers, who have, no doubt, drawn upon the earlier *koṣas* like the ones referred to above, possibly did not have the means of determining the exact form of the word in question. They took the easier path and accepted both *prasāda* and *prāsāda*, thinking perhaps that, either of these being as odd as *vistāra* and *kardama* to be a meaning of *kīrti*, both might be given an equal chance<sup>1</sup>, until some decisive evidence came forth. It is here that epigraphy comes in. It supplies the requisite evidence. And that evidence is in favour of *prāsāda*.

Now, it is well known that *prāsāda* has two meanings : 'palace' and 'temple'. It is in this latter sense that *kīrti* is often used in inscriptions. In fact, it is used in a wider sense of 'a memorial' or 'a monument', which, in fact, in the instances so far noticed mostly takes the form of a temple. Further, in this very sense the cognate term *kīrtana* is also employed.

It may be observed here that some classical writers have used the *kīrtana* in the sense of a temple or a monument, though seldom understood as such<sup>2</sup>. In other words, some of the classical Sanskrit dictionaries do recognise *kīrti*, but not *kīrtana*<sup>3</sup>, in the given sense, whereas the Sanskrit literature has it the other way round. That is, of course, so far as my investigation goes. In epigraphy, on the other hand, *kīrtana* is as frequently used as *kīrti*.

Before citing epigraphical instances of their use, we had better notice literary references to *kīrtana*. The most conspicuous use of the term is perhaps in *कीर्तनानि च कारयेत्* in the *Agnipurāṇa* (XXXVIII, 26) where the very theme of the chapter is *देवालयनिर्माणकलादे*. Then, Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*, describing Candrāpīḍa's *digvijaya*, says : *स्थापयन्स्वच्छिद्धानि कुर्वन्कीर्तनानि लेखयन्कासनानि*<sup>4</sup>. The commentator has obviously missed the true meaning of *कुर्वन् कीर्तनानि*, for he renders it by *हरिगुणगानानि कुर्वन्*. The meaning is further made clear by Bāṇa's son Bhūṣaya in the *Kādambarī* itself, where Candrāpīḍa says with reference to Vaiṣampāyana : *न सत्रकूपप्रपासादतटाकारामादिभिः कीर्तनैरलंकृता मेदिनी*<sup>5</sup>. Here again the commentator has gone astray by explaining *कीर्तनैः* as *नामभिः*. In Āryaśura's *Jātakamālā* we have : *श्रीमन्ति कीर्तनशतानि निवेशितानि*<sup>6</sup>. Somesvara's *Kīrti-kaumudī* has : *स्वर्गतानां जरत्पूर्वकीर्तनोद्धारणेन सु*<sup>7</sup>. Its editor, Abaji Vishnu Kathavate, while noting on the passage, has taken *kīrtana* in the sense of 'fame'<sup>8</sup>. Lastly,

1. Thus in dictionaries like those of Otto Böhlingk and Monier Monier-Williams, we find both *prasāda* and *prāsāda* among the meanings of *kīrti*.

2. As early as 1883, Professor (later Sir) R. G. Bhandarkar elucidated in detail the meaning of *kīrtana* in such instances, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 228-30. Three years earlier Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī had drawn attention to it, *ibid.* Vol. IX, p. 36, n. 13.

3. Except that the *Vaijayanī* has *mahakīrtana*, meaning 'a house'.

4. Nīrṇayasāgara Press, 7th ed., 1932, p. 225.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

6. H. Kern's ed., Harvard Oriental Series, XXXI, 66.

7. Bombay, 1883, IV, 23.

8. *Ibid.* p. 14.

Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* has तत्कीर्तनं दिदृक्षुः<sup>1</sup>.

Let us now examine the epigraphical data about the use of both *kīrti* and *kīrtana*. The earliest instance is afforded by a one-line inscription on the pedestal of a Nāga statue of the Gupta period, which possibly hailed from Mathurā and is now kept in the Lucknow Museum. It reads ॐ विष्णुस्य गोमिन्द्रपुत्रस्य हस्तवत्तपोस्यस्य किन्नरः (कीर्तिः)<sup>2</sup>. Here the statue itself is referred to as *kīrti*. The next is a copper charter of the time of the Traikūṭakas from Kanheri, near Bombay. It is dated in the year 245 (A.D. 493). It records the erection of a Buddhist *caitya* of 'dressed stone and brick' (*ghaṭita-pāśāneṣṭakabhīṣ*). The inscription ends with a verse, wishing a long existence to the *caitya*, which is spoken of there as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरये भजतु शुभकरी सन्सुतं पुण्यनाम्नः<sup>3</sup>. The Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarman records certain charities and also the construction by king Bālāditya of a Buddha temple, described as प्रासादः सुमहानयम्भगवतः शौद्धोदनेरद्भुतः कैलासाभिभवेच्छयेव धवलो मन्ये समुत्थापितः. The same is referred to as *kīrti* towards the end of the record : तावच्चन्द्रावदाता धवलयतु दिशाम्मण्डलं कीर्तिरेषा<sup>4</sup>. The Aphaṣṭ stone inscription records the building of a Viṣṇu temple by Ādityasena, a Gupta king of Magadha, as also of a *muṭha* by his mother, S'rīmatī, and of a tank by his wife, Koṇadevī. The last verse mentions the temple again as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्त्तिमिहातनोति धवलामादिश्वसेनो नृपः<sup>5</sup>. Two more inscriptions of the same king Ādityasena are known to exist on the famous hill of Mandāragiri (Bengal). Their texts are indentical. They record the construction of a tank by the queen, Koṇadevī, just referred to. The expression used is : महादेवी श्रीकोणदेवी पुष्करिणीकीर्त्तिमिमाङ्कारितवती<sup>6</sup>. The clear manner in which the *kīrti* is defined here is worthy of note, as it does not refer to a temple, but to a *puṣkariṇī*. The same mode is adopted in the Lakhāmaṇḍala *prasasti*, which records the construction of a Siva temple (*Bhavāspada*) latter referred to as *kīrti-sthāna* : तावद्विदमस्तु कीर्त्तिस्थानं श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य.<sup>7</sup> Recently a stone inscription has been discovered in the Jaipur state, which is dated in *Samvat* 741 (A. D. 684). It records the construction of a step-well (*vāpi*), which is alluded to as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्त्तिरियं शशाङ्करुचिरा राज्ञो जनैर्गीयताम्<sup>8</sup>. Among the temple ruins at

1. Forbes Gujarati Sabha Series, No. 14, Bombay, 1932, p. 105. C. H. T. who in his translation (1901) of the work has correctly rendered the term *kīrtana* here by 'temple' (p. 96 and n. 4), as by that time this sense of the word had been well established. Compare also J. F. Fleet's note in *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 289. Even V. S. Apte had adopted it in his *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, his explanation of the term being 'a temple; any work of art; a building'.

2. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1938-9, p. 163, Plates LVA and LVI b.

3. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (Arch. Survey of W. India*, No. 10), Bombay, 1881, p. 58.

4. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 44.

5. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*) Vol. III, p. 205.

6. *Ibid.* p. 212 and n. 6. In this note, Fleet quotes another inscription which has अप्चीकरत्कीर्त्तिमां स सर्वांम्, the specific nature of the work referred to being not clear.

7. *EI*, Vol. I., p. 14.

8. *Bharata-kaumudī*, (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji), Allahabad, 1945, p. 275.

Saton, Fatehpur District, U. P., was found a stone lintel with the following inscription ॐ अयादिस्यपुत्रदुर्गादिस्यस्य कीर्तिः<sup>1</sup>. Evidently the *kīrti* here refers to a temple. A fairly long *prasasti* engraved over the front door of a monolithic temple of Viṣṇu at Gwalior refers to it as *kīrti*: शिरसि शिखरराशेः स्थेयसी इलाय्यरूपा स्थगयतु भुवि कीर्ती रोदसी तावदेवा<sup>2</sup>. The stone inscription of Bhojadeva (9th century A.D.), now kept in the State Museum at Gwalior, records the erection of an *antaḥpura-pura*? in honour of Viṣṇu, is again referred to as *kīrti* in verse 26 of the *prasasti*: तावत्पुनातु जगतीमियमस्य कीर्तिः<sup>3</sup>. In the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāla *kīrti*, refers to Buddhist monastery *vihāra* built by the Śailendra king Bālaputra: तावत्सक्कीर्तिरेवा प्रभवतु जगतां सक्तिया रोपयन्ती<sup>4</sup>. The Ghosrava stone inscription of the time of Devapāla records the erection of a lofty edifice for the Buddha's *vajrāsana*, which is further on twice spoken of as *kīrti*: सोपानमार्गमिष मुक्तिपुरस्य कीर्तिमेतान्विधाय कुशलं ?यदुपात्तमस्यात् and तावत्कीर्तिजयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य शुभ्र<sup>5</sup>. Lastly, the Ratanpur stone inscription of the Kalachuri year 915 (A.D. 1163-4), referring to the charitable work of one Brahmadeva, has: तावत्कीर्तिरियञ्च क्वान्तु विज्ञादा विश्वभरा मण्डले<sup>6</sup>.

The usage of *kīrtana* started somewhat later. The earliest instance is found in a Kannaḍa inscription about A.D. 750. It records the construction of a *cediya* (i.e. *caitya* or Jaina temple) and of a *kīrtana* in front of that. The nature of the *kīrtana* here is not clear, though the editor of the inscription has taken it in the sense of 'a sculpture'<sup>7</sup>. Two dedicatory Kannaḍa inscriptions in a cavern at Badami, having identical text, speak of a *krtana*, which is believed to refer to the carvings on the rock near by: श्री वरुणरगणचनकीर्तनम्<sup>8</sup>. A clear reference to a wonderful Śiva temple by the term *kīrtana* is found in a Rāṣṭrakuṣa grant of Śaka 734 (A.D. 812): कर्तापि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी, तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन राज्ञा<sup>9</sup>. In fact, the clarification of the meaning of the term began with this instance<sup>10</sup>. Then there are five short inscriptions of Deva-labdhī of the Chandella dynasty at Dudahi in the Jhansi District, each of which speaks of a temple, termed as *kīrtana*<sup>11</sup>. A Śilāhāra copper charter likewise mentions the construction of twelve Śiva temples: शंभोर्यो द्वादशापि व्यरचयदधिरा-त्कीर्तनानि स्वनाम्ना<sup>12</sup>. Recently a stone inscription (under publication in the *Epigraphica Indica*) has been discovered at a village called Koni near Bilaspur, C.P.,

1. *ARASI*, 1908-9, p. 7.

2. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 157.

3. *ARASI*, 1903-4, p. 283.

4. *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 324.

5. *IA*, Vol., XVII, p. 310.

6. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 263 and p. 267 n. 3.

7. *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 205, text on p. 205.

8. Appendix to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1927-28* (List of Stone Inscriptions of the Bombay-Karnatak), p. 32, Nos. 219 and 221.

9. *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 159.

10. *op. cit.*, p. 228 and p. 289.

11. *op. cit.*, p. 289; A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 94-5, plate XXXII.

12. *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

which records the erection, in the Kalachuri year 900 (A.D. 1148-9), of a *S'iva pañcāyatana* at that place, This *S'iva* temple is also mentioned as *kīrtana* :  
 मूचके श्रीमदेतस्त्रिभुवनमंहितं कीर्तनं तावदास्ताम्.

From the foregoing examples it is clear that, though in a majority of cases the word *kīrti* denotes 'a temple', it also means 'a monument' in general, 'any constructional work or sculptural object intended to perpetuate the memory of its author', and that in this sense the word *kīrtana* can also be employed. Besides, these terms, when so used, convey the metaphor so as to make the object appear as the very embodiment of the donor's fame.

Instances are also found where even the verbal form *kīrtita* is employed in the sense of 'built' or to be more precise, 'built into a temple or a monument'. Recording the construction of a temple at Ranipur Jharial in the Pātṇā State of Orissa, an inscription has : तेन कृष्णोपचारेण कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता<sup>1</sup>. Another inscription there, referring to a *S'iva* temple, has : इदं स्थानं कीर्तितम्<sup>2</sup>. Through the association of the former, the *kīrtitam* here also has been taken in the sense of 'built'. Similarly, the construction of a *Viṣṇu*-temple in a cave at Udayagiri in Gwalior, is recorded in an inscription dated in *Samvat* 1093 (A.D. 1036) in the following words: चन्द्रगुप्तेन कीर्तनं कीर्तितम्<sup>3</sup>. The Saugar stone inscription of the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa, of about A.D. 750, has : राज्ञी कृष्णदेवी...क्षितिसखे कीर्तिं प्रख्यापयति<sup>4</sup>. The word प्रख्यापयति here has been taken to signify कारयति.

It may be observed that the word *kīrti* in the sense of 'a temple' or 'a monument' is found used in certain early inscriptions of Java as well. The term has been commented upon by Prof. Dr. H. Kern and Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (in the Dutch journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Vol. IV, 1905, p. 662, and Vol. V, 1906, pp. 344-8), though they did not have so much evidence at their disposal as is available now. Prof. Vogel was inclined to think that the word *kīrti* had something to do with the special significance of the term *kīrti*. But that, in my opinion, is not the case.

Against the background of this meaning of *kīrti*, the meaning of the architectural term *kīrtimukha* also becomes intelligible enough. It applies to the arch of an entrance to a temple, having a sculptural representation of a master's head. This is thus indicated by *kīrtimukha* (*kīrti* 'temple', *mukha* 'face frontage 'entrance')

(Messers N. L. Rao and M. Venkataramayya have assisted me by finding out some references for me in connection with this paper, for which I am very thankful to them.

1. *EL* Vol. XXIV, p. 244.

2. *op. cit.*, p. 243.

3. *IA*. Vol. XII, p. 185.

4. Under publication in the *EL*.

# Four Laws in Sanskrit Semantics

By

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Of the seven classes of sound-change mentioned by G. Stern, four will be dealt with here with reference to Sanskrit Language. They are (1) *Substitution*, (2) *Shortening*, (3) *Permutation* and (4) *Adequation*.

*Substitution* : It is the sense-change which is due to external non-linguistic causes. The factual change of the referent<sup>1</sup>, the change in the knowledge of the referent, and the change of attitude towards the referent may produce it. The referent is subjected to a factual change on account of progress, material, intellectual or moral. When the referent changes, we require new name for it; then we place it in some known category denoting it by the same name. *Examples* :~

- (1) *sakata-* in the word *dhuma-sakata*.
- (2) *venu-* (a) bamboo used as a musical instrument.
- (3) *danda-* (a) stick, (b) the sceptre of king, the rod as a symbol of authority and punishment.
- (4) *sabrahmacaritr* a) a fellow student—one who studies the same S'akha of the Veda<sup>2</sup>, (b) a companion<sup>3</sup>.
- (5) *chandasa-* (a) one versed in the Vedas. (b) one versed only in the Vedas and ignorant of the world, (c) a sluggish fool (coll.)

*Shortening* : If, for some reason, a word is omitted from a compound expression which still retains its meaning, the remaining word or words have to carry the total meaning, that formerly belonged to the whole expression. If the omission becomes habitual, the result may be a sense-change for the remaining word or words. One set of examples under this consists of the words denoting *vis>esana* being used to denote *vis>esya* : —

- (1) *puruhuta-* (a) one invoked by many or on many occasions.', (b) Indra.

1. It is necessary to note the difference between *meaning* and *referent*. Meaning is a psychic act through which the word (the sign) is referred to that which it denotes (the referent).

2. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतं चरतीति सन्नखचारी (*Mahabhasya* under VI, 3, 86).

3. Cf. व्यसनसन्नखचारिन् ।

4. Cf. पुरुहुतमिन्द्रम् (RV. IV, 20, 5).

- (2) *catur-bhuja-* (a) one having four arms, (b) Lord Visnu.  
 (3) *adhara-* (a) lower one<sup>1</sup>, (b) lower lip<sup>2</sup>.  
 (4) *deva-* (a) shining one<sup>3</sup>, (b) God like Agni.  
 (5) *asura-* (a) strong one or life-giver<sup>4</sup>, (b) enemy of Gods.

Another set is provided by one member of a devata-dvandva denoting both :—

- (1) *matara* (a) the dual of *matr-*, (b) parents<sup>5</sup>.  
 (2) *pitar'a* (a) the dual of *pitr-*, (b) parents<sup>6</sup>.  
 (3) *dasra* (a) the dual of *deism'*, the name of one of the two As'vins, (b) As'vins<sup>8</sup>.  
 (4) *nasatya* (a) the dual of *ncisatya-*, the name of the second As'vin, (b) As'vins<sup>9</sup>.

*Permutation* : It is an unintentional sense-change in which the subjective apprehension of a larger total changes and the changed apprehension is substituted for the previous meaning of the word. In permutation we have one referent with several characteristics. Through a change of apprehension, the subject's attention is shifted from one characteristic to another so that the latter becomes predominant and the meaning of the name is thus changed. This is possible only when the two meanings of the word are interchangeable, that is to say, either of the two meanings may be inserted into the phrase-meaning without change in the apprehension of the phrase-referent. There must be a period of preparation during which phrases with the equivocal meaning occur with sufficient frequency to allow a firm association to be established between the word (with its primary meaning) and the notion that comes to form its secondary meaning.

In many languages, the word which originally meant 'woman'<sup>1</sup>, now means 'wife', e. g. A. S. *wife* ; Mod. Eng. *wife*; Ancient Tamil *pentotti*, Mod. Tamil, *pendotti*;

- Sanskrit: (1) *suvarna-* (a) metal gold, (b) gold coin.  
 (2) *sarad-* (a) autumn, (b) year.<sup>10</sup>

1. Cf. पकविम्बाधरोष्ठीम् (*Meghadnta* 2).
2. Cf. पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरम् (*S'akuntala*, 1, 24).
3. Cf. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् (RV. 1, 1, 1)
4. Cf. हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनीथः (*ibid.* I. 35, 10), रुद्रं नमोभिर्देवमसुरं दुवस्य (*ibid.* V. 42, 11), अनायुषातो असुरा अदेवाः (*ibid.* VIII, 85, 9).
5. Cf. आ मातरा भरति (*ibid.* IV, 22, 4).
6. Cf. पुनर्यं चक्रुः पितरा युवाना (*ibid.* IV, 33,3).
7. Cf. दत्ता युवाकवः सुता नासत्या वृक्तर्वाहवः (*ibid.* 1, 3, 3).
8. Cf. दत्ता हि विश्वमानुषह मत्तुभिः परिदीयथः (*ibid.* VIII, 26, 6).
9. Cf. नासत्या कुह खित् सन्तौ (*ibid.* I, 184, 1).
10. पूर्वाभिर्दे ददाशिम शरद्विः (*ibid.* I. 86, 6).

It is interesting to note that, in English, the word *bead* originally meant 'prayer' and now means 'a ball of rosary', of. he was counting his beads.

*Adequation* : It is an unintentional sense-change consisting in a shift of attention from one characteristic of the word-referent to another. Though adequation is similar to permutation in being based on a shift of the subjective apprehension from one characteristic of the referent to another, yet they differ from each other in two ways:—(1) In *adequation* it is the 'word-referent' that is relevant, while in *permutation* it is the 'phrase-referent', (2) In *adequation* the characteristic that rises to a predominant position belongs from the beginning to the range of the word', but in *permutation* it was previously 'outside the range of the relevant word', *Adequation* is of two types—one not being preceded by another kind of sense—change and another being preceded by it. The former is constituted by a shift of the attention to, and concentration of attention on, either (1) characteristics of the referent that have not previously taken a predominant position, but which now attract attention so that the apprehension of them becomes the central element of meaning, or (2) a particular referent or some particular referents within the referential range of the word. The first is termed '*specialisation of meaning*' and the second '*particularisation of meaning*'. 'Generalisation', '*appreciative specialisation* (elevation or tendency to be raised in dignity), and '*depreciative specialisation* (tendency to deteriorate—the pejorative tendency) come under '*specialisation* :—

(a) *Generalisation* :—

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| (1) <i>tailor</i>   | (a) oil extracted from sesame seed, (b) oil extracted from any seed <sup>1</sup> .                       |
| (2) <i>gostha-</i>  | (a) stall of bulls or cows, (b) stall of animals <sup>2</sup>  |
| (3) <i>kus'ala-</i> | (a) one capable of cutting a, (b) one capable of doing anything <sup>3</sup> .                           |
| (4) <i>jbhaks</i>   | (a) to eat, as a solid <sup>4</sup> , (b) to eat, drink etc <sup>5</sup> .                               |
| (5) <i>madhura-</i> | (a) that which is sweet to the sense of taste <sup>6</sup> , (b) that which is sweet to the five senses. |

(b) *Appreciative Specialisation* :—

In the expression रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि कमलानि कमलानि the second *kamalāni* does not mean only lotuses, but means 'lotuses of superior kind'. Similarly the word *kavayah* in the sentence वाल्मीकिभ्यासकालिदासाः कवयः means 'poets of superior order'.

1. Cf. *sarṣapa-tailam*—The same is the history of the Tamil word *en.ney*.

2. Cf. *as'va-goṣṭham*.

3. Cf. *niti-kus'alah*.

4. Cf. भोज्यं मद्ये ( *Pāṇini*, vii, 3, 69 ).

5. Cf. मत्स्यमभ्यवहार्यम् ( *Katyāyana's Varttika* ).

6. Cf. मधुरमासं दर्शनम् ( *Śakuntala* ). मधुरः स्वनः ; मधुरो गन्धः—The same is the history of the meaning of the Tamil word *inimai* and the English word *sweet*.

(c) *Depreciative Specialisation* :—

- (1) *gramya* (a) one relating to a village<sup>1</sup>, (b) one living in a village<sup>2</sup>, (c) one which is domesticated<sup>3</sup>, (d) that which is low, vulgar<sup>4</sup>, (e) that which is indecent<sup>5</sup>.
- (2) *khatvarudha-* (a) lit. one on the couch, (b) one who becomes a house-holder after studying Vedas<sup>6</sup>, (c) one who becomes a house-holder without the study of the Vedas, (d) one who had illicit connection, (e) rogue.

(3) *punya-jana-* (a) a virtuous man, (b) a Raksasa.

(d) *Particuhrisation* ( Restriction ) :—

1. *vira-* (a) a man<sup>7</sup>, (b) a son<sup>8</sup>, (c) a prince<sup>9</sup>, (d) a hero<sup>10</sup>.

(e) *Adequation preceded by another kind of sense-change* :—

- (1) *venu'* I. (a) bamboo, (b) bamboo used as a musical instrument ( *Substitution* ).
- II. (a) musical instrument made of bamboo, (Adequation), (b) musical instrument of the same shape etc. not made of bamboo (*Substitution*).
- (3) *danda-* I. (a) a stick, (b) the sceptre of a king, the rod as a symbol of authority and punishment (*Substitution*).
- II. (a) punishment with a stick (*Adequation*), (b) punishment in general (*Substitution*).

1. Cf. *Manu* (VI, 3; VII, 120.)

2. Cf. ग्राम्यजनोऽल्पव्ययेन सिद्धमस्ति ।

3. Cf. ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः (*Mahabhasya*).

4. Cf. ग्राम्यभाषा (ग्राम्यस्य भाषा) ।

5. Cf. ग्राम्यभाषा (ग्राम्या च सा भाषा च) ।

6. अवीत्य रनात्वा गुरुभिरनुष्णतेन खट्वा अरोदव्या । य श्दानीम् अतोऽन्यथा करोति स उच्यते, खट्वाकूटोऽयं जाल्मः—नातिव्रतवान्—(*Mahabhasya*).

7. Cf. सु षा वीरो न विप्यति (RV. I, 18, 4) Cf. Lat. *vir* 'man'; Anglo-Saxon *wulf* 'men'.

8. Cf. यतो वीरः कर्मण्यः...जायते (*ibid*, III 4, 9).

9. एषो हि वीरो बहुशुक् (*Mahabharata*, I, 186, 7).

10. कश्च वीर्यवान् (*Ramayana*); cf. Mod. English, *virility*.

# The Persian of Jain hymns.

By

BANARSI DAS JAIN, Ludhiana.

Some Jaina hymns were composed in Persian. The interest of these hymns does not lie so much in their contents or poetry as in their language, called *Pārasī* (Persian) in the colophons but differing appreciably from the standard idiom. The language of the one<sup>1</sup> given below contains about a dozen Indian words, mostly pronouns, used perhaps on account of metrical emergency or unconscious working of the poet's mind. Some amount of deviation from the norm was unavoidable owing to the limitations placed by a foreign script and metres. Still the Mss. attempt to represent the Persian pronunciation as accurately as possible, e. g. Persian *khā(x)* and *fā* (f) are often denoted by *jihvamīṛya* and *upadhmanīṛya* added to क and फ respectively. The Arabic *sz*, pronounced like *th* in English *think*, is represented by थ though in India it is now pronounced as *s*. The initial *wāw* is transcribed by उव् to bring out its *w*-quality. In other places व stands for it.

Sometimes, however, the Mss. make errors where Devanāgarī was capable of representing the Persian sounds correctly, as in the case of Pers. *s* by स and *š* by श. The Mss. almost always denote *s* by स. This is perhaps because the copyists were accustomed to transcribe Prakṛits and Apabhraṃs'a which seldom contained a श. On the contrary *salāmat* is rendered as शलामथु. Other points worth noting are :

*be* : frequently represented by ब. The interchange of ब and व in Mss. is very common and is due to ignorance or carelessness of scribes. The medial and final *be* is often denoted by उ or ओ, e. g. *śab*=सो 'night' a dialectal variation, [cf. *sāu* night, D. L. R. Lorimer : (*Phonology of Bakhtiari, Badakhshāni and Madgalushti dialects of Modern Persian*, London, 1922, pp. 61, 141)]. The *Pārasībhāṣānusāsana* supplies more examples. e. g. *ābz*=अउबी 'watery'; *āftab*=आफताउ 'the sun', *śabz*=सउज 'green'].

*pē* : denoted by फ in *pidar*=फिदर 'father'.

*jīm* : sometimes represented by य as in *kujā*=कूया 'wheat' (cf. *kuya* 'where'; Lorimer : *ibid.*, p. 107).

*cz* : written as छ in *catr*=छतु 'parosā'.

*zā* : appears as च in *buzurg*=बुचिरुक् 'great' and as स in *darāz*=दरास 'long'.

'*ain* : not represented separately but the adjacent vowel, if short, is leng-

1. It is ascribed to Jinaprabha Suri, a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51 A. D.). It was discovered and published by Muni Jinavijaya together with an old Skt. commentary on it (Jaina Sahitya Samshodhaka, Poona, Vol. III, 1921).

thened, *sā'at* = सात 'time, hour', '*amm* = आम 'father's brother', *su'ūd* = सऊ 'auspicious'.

*kāf*: appears ख in *kāfir* = खाफूर 'camphor'.

*wāw*: appears as उ or डय as in *wilāyat* = उलातु 'country', *jānwar* = जानुवर 'animal', *wazagh* = डयजक 'lizard'.

A final consonant is seldom shown as being vowelless though the *Pārasībhāṣānuśāsana* often adds the *halanta* mark (·) to such letters. Sometimes the consonant is altogether left out as in *su'ūd* = सऊ. The final *hā* with the preceding *zabar* becomes *ā* as in *ghurbah* = गुरुबा 'cat'. A consonant group is denoted by a conjunct consonant when one of the members is *s* or *ś*, e. g. अस्तारा, चिस्म, खस्मि, दोस्ती, बिस्नवि, बुस्मार, हस्ति etc. In *भाद्र* it is wrong. Other groups are separated by a *svārabhakti*.

The grammar is simple enough except that the nouns and adjectives in the nominative and accusative cases end in *u* through the influence of *Deśī*. This influence is seen in conjugation and syntax also. The hymn uses a few words that are not recorded in Steingass: *Persian-English Dictionary*, e. g. आदतु 'help', कीबर 'servant', खडसर 'shoemaker', जाम 'watch' (= Skt. याम), सितारक 'a kind of bird'. Of the *Deśī* words जिन and रिसहनाह are clearly untranslatable into Persian.

A close study of such hymns is likely to reveal important facts about the pronunciation and grammar of Persian as known at the time when, and in the region where, they were composed. The influence of spoken dialects is evident.

### श्रीऋषभदेव स्तवन<sup>1</sup>

अल्लाह्लाहि तुरा ह कीम्बर सहियानु तुं मरा ख्वांद ।

दुनीय कस मेदानह बुस्मारह बुष चिरा नश ॥१॥

O God! I am Thy servant. O Lord of the Universe! Thou art my Master. Thou knowest the people of the word. How is it, O God, that Thou dost not remember me?

ये ? य) के दो लि जिहारि पंच्य शस हल(? हफ)य(?थ) हस्त नोय दह ।

दानिसिमंद हकीकत आकिलु ते यतु तुरा दोस्ती ॥२॥

Wise, just and learned are they who have Thy friendship. Be they one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine or ten. (*हफथ* stands evidently for *हफ्त* with in-fixed *svārabhakti*).

आनिमानि खतमथु खुदा बिस्नवि किंच बिवीनि ।

माहु रोजु सो जासु मरा थेकु य दिखु बिनिसीनि ॥३॥

Listen to my prayer, O God! and look at it a little. Take a seat in my heart for a month, a day a night or even for a watch.

तु मादर तुं फिदर बुष तुं भादर तुं आसु ।

मेसि बिहेलिय तरं भवरि बीजे मोरह कासु ॥

Thou art mother. Thou art Father, O God! Thou art Brother. Thou art Father's brother. Leaving thee I have no concern with anything else.

1. The words in this type are not Persian.

महमद् मालिम मंतरा ईब्राहिम रहमाण ।  
 इं इं तुरा कुताबीआ मेदिहि मुक्य फरमाणु ॥१॥

O Muhammad, Ibrahim, Rahman, You are my teacher. Here am I  
 your pupil. Give me orders.

फरमुद तुरा जु मेकुनइ मेचीनइ न सु थंग ।  
 खोसु बालामथ भादत तु अउर्जेदि खोडिय-यंग ॥१॥

He who performs Thy command, never gets misery. Avoiding strife he  
 finds new happiness, peace and help.

सादि न खस्मि न वा अगार तं कुय तुरा सलासु ।  
 बंदि खलात सु मे दिहइ वासइ न हर हरासु ॥१॥

If Thou art neither pleased nor angry, then, why obeissance to  
 Thee ? Therefore, bestow on me a blessing so that every (obeissance) may not  
 prove useless.

जानूउरु यो मे कुसइ मिदिहदि सो न विइस्ति ।  
 बुचिरुक् बिस्ल इ दोजली थंग बहुत तमु हस्ति ॥२॥

He who slaughters animals never reaches Heaven. Surely, enough of  
 intense hellish misery falls on him.

अस्तारां तेगीसु बडानु साले साते दीग सरानु ।  
 विश्व दीद बं तुध रु तुरा बूरी कार सऊ बस मरा ॥२॥

Since I saw Thy face with my own eyes, O God, unlucky star, date, year,  
 moment and past time became lucky and all my undertakings have turned  
 auspicious.

माही उरुग गाव गाउनर खू[ग] पलंगो ।  
 बाहू गुरवा मुक्यु सेरु गामेसि कलागो ॥  
 मगस सितारक माह बाहु गाबसु ताउसग ।  
 ऊयजकु मलसु केतानु खइख सगु बत बुज मूमग ॥  
 दुज खउसार नकासु जनि दरजी उ जरी इजामु ।  
 ते वासइ जिन मेकुनइ सिरिजिन तुरा सलासु ॥१०॥

O Jina ! those who do not pay homage to Thee become fish, camel,  
 cow, bull, pig, leopard, deer, cat, cock, lion, buffalo, crow, fly, *kabert*-  
 bird, serpent, eagle, *g-bas* ?, peacock, lizard, locust, flea, tike, dog, duck,  
 goat, rat, thief, shoe-maker, painter, woman, tailor, goldsmith or barber.

साइरु दिह उलातु छत्रु साफूर ऊदु  
 मिसिकि जह नवातु क्वांद रोजी दरास ।  
 बसव पिसि तुरा इं नो सरा मे सुहाइ  
 रिषइनाह थमु दोस्ती बंदने मे दिही ति ॥११॥

O Master ! this (person) does not desire from Thee pleasant things  
 like a city, a village, a country, parosal, camphor, aloz-wood, musk, gold,  
 sugar-candy, vast fortunes or sugar-cane. O Rjabhanatha ! bestow on me some  
 kindness and friendship.

## KERALA PANINI ON INFINITIVES.

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, *Ernakulam.*

The illustratious author of K(erala) P(aniniyam) initiated and worked out new methods of grammatical inquiry. Kerala is deeply indebted to him for biasing new trails; but there are many points in his work, requiring to be modified or overhauled in the light of later researches and methodology. One such point concerns his classification of Infinitives<sup>1</sup> (or *naiuvinayeccam* as termed by him after Gundert).

KP, following Gundert, employs the term *naduvinyayeccam*<sup>2</sup> for the Malayalam types *ceyya* and *ceyga* (or *ceyyuga*<sup>3</sup>.) and clubs these two in one category without regard to structural and functional differences. The verbal noun type of *ceyga* (*ceygafy* it is true, cannot certainly be put on the same footing with *siddhamma* derivatives like *ceydi*, since *ceyga* is something between a noun and a verb; but on this account it cannot be classed together with a category fundamentally differing from it. The apologetic suggestion of KP. that since the r<sup>v</sup>-type is something between a noun and a verb, and neither a finite verb nor an adverbial, standing like *parabrahtnan* without reference to time, tense or person, it has to be thrust in somewhere and so put together with the *ceyya-type* is an unjustified gesture of despair. Again, some sort of prehistorical structural relationship among different forms seems to have contributed to the feeling that the *ceyya-type* and that of *ceyga* belong to the same category. The relevant forms may be tabulated thus:—

1. The word 'Infinitive' used for this category for the first time by Baschi on account of certain syntactic resemblances shown by the use of the Tamil type of *ceyya* to the use of the Latin infinitive, and accepted by later European Dravidists like Gundert Caldwell, Pope, Brown and Kittel, has come to stay, although not quite adequate to convey all the usages of this category. This is the 'Infinitive' *par excellence* in as much as among non-finites it expresses neither time nor person nor number. Lazarus' indefinite participles and Vinson's 'gerondif present' are not so happy.

2 *Vinayeccam* 'verb-defect' verb-remainder or 'incomplete verb' is a term used by indigenous Tamil grammar, but the classification into *mun-vinayeccam* (*ceyd-type* ? called 'adverbial past participle' by Gundert himself and by Caldwell and Pope, 'gerund' by the earlier Baschi), *nadu-vinayeccam* (*ceyya-type*, called 'infinitive') and *-pin-vinayeccam* (*ceyyan-type*, the 'future adverbial participle of Gundert) was first made by Gundert. This scholar also put together the two types of *ceyya* and *ceyga* in the category of *nqdu-vitjayeccom*, but he included the latter type among verbal nouns also (cf. Grammar of Mai., p. 229). Baschi (cf. Tamil Grammar) and Caldwell too felt inclined (cf. Comparative Grammar) to put together *ceyya* and *ceygai* in the category of infinitives.

3, *-u-ga* in *ceyyuga*, *nadahhuga* (beside older *nadakka*) **are analogically** introduced from normal forms like, *adalcluga*.

Base.	Infinitive	Verbal noun	Optative	Late Tamil polite Imperative
<i>cey</i>	<i>ceyya</i>	T. <i>ceygai</i> . M. <i>ceyga</i>	<i>cevga</i>	T. <i>ceyya</i> and <i>ceyya-v-um-</i>
(with-kk- as extention- suffix)	<i>nadakka</i>	T. <i>nadakkai</i> M. <i>na&lt;lakka</i>	<i>nadakka</i>	<i>nadakka-v-um</i>
<i>adakk-</i> (-kk-as part of base)	<i>adakka</i>	T. <i>adakkugai</i> M. <i>arfakkuga</i>	<i>adakkuga</i>	<i>-adakka-v-um</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	T. <i>agai</i> M. <i>aga</i>	<i>aga</i>	
<i>a-g-</i> (with -g- as extention- suffix)	<i>aga</i>	T. <i>wg</i> M. <i>aga</i>  ,	<i>aguga</i>	<i>aga</i> and <i>aga-v-am.</i>

While it is possible to conceive of a past when forms like the infinitive *nadakka*, the optative *miakka* and the verbal noun *nadakkai* may have been branches of a possible nominal derivative, (the suffix -g- being employed of *cey* in the optative and the verbal noun only), the forms are well differentiated to-day, and should on no account be mixed up. In this connection, KP. echoes a suggestion of Gundert's when he says that "the *ceyga* (*ceygat'ytype* is a comparatively recent development of the *ceyya-type*" (p. 299), a suggestion directly contradicted by the occurrence of both types in the earliest extant Dravidic texts.

The functional differences are so clear and conspicuous from the Old Tamil period: (?) the *ceyya-type* denotes the 'effect' of the action of the main verb, action simultaneous with or prior to, the action of the main verb indicating some hypotactic connection, purpose, and a 'nominal' force in

collocations like *ceyyakkaqden*, none of these functions being performed by the *ceyga-type*; (ii) the *ceyga-type*, even while it governs *karakas*, can be declined like a noun, whereas the type of *ceyya* is never inflected. All indigenous grammars of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada mark off the functions of this type. Telugu grammars call it the *turnanya darthamu* and Kannada grammar terms the type *kriynrtha* or *kriyaprayojana*.

Yet another factor which may have contributed to the mixing-up of these two categories in Malayalam is that in late Old Malayalam the *ceyga-type* has made inroads into the province of the *ceyya-type* in a few contexts: *ceyga venam*, *ceyga arudu* and *ceyga am* beside *ceyya venam*, *ceyyarudu* and *ceyyan* respectively; *ceygayum venam*, *ceygayum arudu* and *ceygayum 7m* for early Old Mai, and Middle Tamil *ceyyavam venam*, *ceyyavum arudu* and *ceyyavum em*, *kenga kenga ttalamnu* beside *kina-k-kanattalnnu*. These innovations crop up in late Old Mai. only.

*Naduvinaeccam* (which term is, by the way, justified on original grounds by KP.) is further split up by this work into *tan-vinaeccam* and *paksika-vinaeccam*, the latter being constituted of *ceyyil* (and *ceygil'*, and the former of *ceyye* and *ceyyave*. The suggestion of KP. that *ceyyil*, *ceyye* and *ceyyavg* are forms of *ceyya* can hardly gain acceptance. It is difficult to see how *ceyya* (With final *a*) could yield *ceyyil*, *ceyya-v-e* is constituted of *ceyya* and the emphatic *e* with the glide between, *ceyye* is a colloquial variant of *ceyya*, the final *a* here changing to *e* and then developing a frontal tonality under the influence of emphatic forms like *ceyyg* (—*ceyye* and *e*.)

The classification (by Gundert and KP.) of *vinaeccam* into three types, and the justification by KP. of the term *naduvinaeccam* on original grounds do justice to these verbids. The clubbing together of the *ceyya* and the *ceyga* types in one and the same type-group is not quite happy. Undefined atid (in the present state of affairs, indefinable) prehistoric possibilities of structural relationships cannot obscure the distinctiveness of functional difference, necessitating the strict differentiation of the *ceyya-type* from that of *ceygz*. Although no questions of fact are involved here, method is all-important modern linguistics.

## LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO TRADITIONAL GRAMMARS OF KANNADA.

By

G. S. GAI, *Ootacammd*

Though the antiquity of the Kannatfa language dates from the 6th century A. D., the grammatical literature of this important language of the Dravidian family, however, begins from about the 11th century A. D. There are four traditional grammars of this language<sup>1</sup> of which *Sabdamarjidarpa^a* by Kes'iraja is regarded as the best and fullest systematic exposition of the language of the period. The object of this brief paper is to show how we have to utilise the materials presented by these grammars from our modern linguistic point of view and for this purpose a few *sutras* from the work *Sabdamanidarpana* have been taken into consideration<sup>2</sup>.

Kes'iraja devotes the *sutras* 18-29 to the treatment of the *phonemes* r, / and / (which we may call alveolar r, voiced lingual continuant / and lingual stop /, respectively). The two phonemes r and / are peculiar to Dravidian. They are now obsolete in the Kannada language and are represented by r and /. But they exist in Tamil language to the present day. The phoneme / is also met with today in Bacjaga and Toda languages, two uncultivated dialects of the Dravidian family spoken in the Nilgiri hills<sup>3</sup>.

Kes'ava says that the phonemes ʔ, / and / are produced by pronouncing pressingly or heavily (*ati-pidanadin*) the phonemes dental r, lingual d and dental /, respectively. He makes it clear in the gloss that r and r are *ekasthanin* i. e., their place of articulation is the same. Similarly of d and /, which points out the lingual character of the phoneme /. Kes'iraja gives three lists of words (i) containing the voiced lingual continuant /, (ii) where the lingual stop / is preferred the voiced lingual continuant / or where / is doubtful and (iii) where the lingual stop / alone is required. These lists clearly show the position of the voiced lingual continuant / at the time of the *Sabdamarjidarpa^a*. From the second list, it can be seen that the change of / to / was taking place at the period in the words given or might have just taken place as the author, on account of his love for the older forms, might have remarked that the existence of / was doubtful in those words.

1. (a) *Sabdasmriti*, a part of the work called *Kavyavalokane* by Nagavarma belonging to about 1045 A. D. (b) *Karnataka-Bhasa-Bhusana* by the same author and belongs to the same period, (c) *Sabdamanudarpana* by Kesiraja (or *Kesava*) which belongs to A. D. 1260 and (d) *Karnataka-Sabdanusasana* by Bhattakelanka which was written in 1604 A. D.

2. The *Sahitya-Parisat-Patrika* has been used in this connection.

3. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. *Tamil I. JOR. IX. 104-7.*

*Sutra* 36 deals with the nature of *bindu* or nasal in Kannada words. The author gives two lists of words (i) where the nasal is obligatory and (ii) where it is optional. Subsequent history of the Kannatfa language shows that almost all the words where the nasal is obligatory according to Kesiraja are found without the nasal, e. g. *adangu*—' to hide ', *turumbu*—" a knot of braided hair ', *tonia*—" a garden ', *dantu*—" to cross' and *becjahgu*—" beauty '—words given by Kes'ava as having *nitya* or obligatory *bindu* appear in later and modern Kannatja as *ctfagu*, *turubu*, *tota*, *datu* and *bedagu*—all these have lost their nasals. Disappearance of the pre-consonantal nasal is one of the common phenomenon in Kannada<sup>1</sup>. The second list of Kes'Iraja contains about 18 words where the use of the nasal is said to be optional. This shows that the phenomenon of the disappearance of the pre-consonantal nasal had begun to operate in the case of these words but was still in a transitory stage. But the words in the first list, where the nasal is *nitya* or obligatory, were free from this phonetic operation at the time of *Sabdamanidarapana* and were affected only later on.

In an instance like *kadu-velpu* ' extremely bright ', Kes'iraja says that *b* of *belpu* is changed to *-v*-after the vowel-*w* of *kadu*. But the early history of this speech-form in Kannacja (as well as a comparison with the other languages of the Dravidian family like Tamil and Telugu) shows that it was originally *velpu* and that *v*-> *b* later.

While discussing the nominal bases, Kes'iraja says (*sutra* 105) that masc. sg. bases ending in-*a* take the augment *n* before the vowels of the terminations and the examples given are *ava-n-am* ' him' (acc), *ava-n-am* ' his' (gen.) and *av-ol* ' in him' (loc). This need not be so. Scholars have shown that the pronominal base is *av-* and the masc. sg. gender suffix is *am* so that *ava-an* ' he' is the form to which the acc, gen., and loc. case terminations *am*, *a* and *-ol* respectively, are added and we get *avan-am*, *avan-a* and *avan-ol*. Similarly by adding the fern. sg. gender suffix *-al* to the pronominal base *av* we get *aval* 'she',

According to the author of *Sabdamanidarapanta* (*Sutra* 150) the pronouns *avam-* 'he, that man' (remote demonstrative) and *ivam-* 'this man' (proximate demonstrative) are derived from the neuter pronouns *adu-thax* 'thing' and *idu-* 'this thing' respectively by substituting *va* for the final *-du*. This is not tenable. For, as said above, the pronominal base of *avam* is *av* and *am* is the gender suffix of the masc, sg.; likewise *iv* is the pronominal base of *ivam*.

In *sutra* 117, it is said that the genitive case-termination *a* is lengthened and the illustrations given are *Tailapen-a* ' of Tailapa' from Tailapan and *Romana* ' of Rama' from Raman. But the history of Kannada language shows that originally the genitive case-termination was *-a* and *a* is later so that it is a case of the shortening of long vowel and not *vice versa*. Similarly in instances like *Kalian eridan* ' he ascended the rock ', it is not the *a* of *Kalian* which is lengthened as Kes'iraja says

1. Cf. also Sanskrit *vihanga-vihayu* ; *bhujanya-bhitjaga*; *turanga-turaya*, etc.

(*Sutra* 118) but *-an* is the earlier termination of the accusative case. A study of the language of the Kannada inscriptions of the 6th to 10th cent. A. D. supports the view that *-a* and *-an* are ancient while *a* and *an* are later developments.

From what is said above it can be seen that our Kannada grammarians have tried to give some kind of explanation to the existing speech-forms without going to the history of them, which, was of course, not their object. But we are greatly indebted to them and specially to the author of *Sabdamanidarpana* for preserving the speech-forms of these periods. These grammatical works should be properly evaluated. The materials presented by these grammars should be interpreted in terms of modern linguistics and should be compared with the evidence furnished by inscriptions and literature of the contemporary and neighbouring periods. When this is done, it will greatly help us to understand the chronology of the vocables and to build up the Diachronic side of Linguistics so far as Kannada is concerned.

# Some Indo-Arabic Philological Equations

By

LAKSHMI DHAR SHASTRI, *Delhi*,

1. *Abraham*, older form, *Ab-Ram,-Tamil \*appa-Ram*, the 'Tamil \**Ram*=\**Ar-am*. Here *am* is the suffix and *Ar* is the stem. Divested of the suffix, the name would read *appa-Ar* or *ab-Ar* (Father *AR*),

2. *Arabia*, The name *ab-Ar* by metathesis, gives us the name *Arab*, people whose father is *Ar*, the descendents of *ab-Ar*. The name *Arab* was also given to the country occupied by the people of the same name. The one pre-Arabic national name for the land of Bedouins, which united the north with the south is unknown. This work was accomplished by the clan of Abraham originally migrating from South-India. The Arabs were not autochthonous to the country known after their name as Arabia. *Ar* is the ancient name of the Dravidian tribe to which Abraham belonged, which was once ruling India from north to south. *Ars* in South-India were known as *Ar-magans*, who, as they spread themselves in Mesopotamia became known as *Aramaeans*. Thus the *Ammaens* and the Arabs belonged to the same stock of people as the Tamil *Ar-magans* of India. The brown Arab is ethnically the same type of race as the Mediterranean or the Dravidian of India. The *Abu* and the *Umma* of the Arabs are the same as the *Appa* and the *Amma* of the Tamils of India. Indeed, the Dravidian Culture was early imported to Arabia by its immigrants from South India. In the 4th millenium B. C. India had its own Arabia (Arab) in the name *Har-appa*, the aspirated form of *Ar-appa*, in the Panjab.

3. *Rob*, God of the Arab was also *Arab*, later *Rab*, by syncope of the initial vowel. Thus the people, their country and their God all bore one common name *Ar-ab*, Arab, (AJRab, deducible from the name of the patriarch Abraham, the South-Indian *Appa-Ram*. The etymology of *Rab*, cognate form of *Arab* (AR-father), indicates that the idea of the fatherhood of God, later repudiated in Islam challenging the Christian belief, is inherent to Arab culture, as the people's own personification of the whole community of Arab into *Rab*.

4. *Makka*. *Mak* and *Bak* were the branches of the India people known as *Ar*. It is said that the older name of *Makka* was *Bakka* (a camp) where Ismail, the son of Abraham, had first encamped in the land of Bedouins. I suggest that *Bakka* or *Makka* signified a camp, after the name of the same people who had encamped there. Various *Makkas* or the encampments of the *Mak* people are found as *Makkan* and also *Magan* in Mesopotamia. The Tamil termination *an* worn out in Mecca, is preserved in the Mesopotamian *Magan*, *Makkan* and in *Makran* (Baluchistan). The original home of the *Mak*-Tribe appears to be the *Magadha* in the heart of India,

known to the Vedic people as the non-Aryan *Magarula*. The territory of *Baka* or *Bakdsura* is also mentioned round about the same area, in the *Mahabharata*.

5. *Elahi Allah* In support of the Magandhan origin of the Mak people who had founded Mecca in Arabia, I suggest that '*Helaya*', '*Helaya*', the war cry of the Magandas of ancient Magadha, which they had raised against the invading Aryans in the Vedic age (vide *S'atapatha*), might be read-not as Patanjali has understood it—to signify 'Elahi (ya), Elahi (ya)', an invocation to god Elahi, for aid in battle ! This interpretation seems to bear the testimony of history as also of the modern usage of the word *Elahi (ya)*, in hour of need, *Yd Elahi?* Patanjali's supposition that the non-Aryan Magandas spoke Aryan language is groundless. My suggestion is that *Elahi* was originally a Tamil word with its component *Al Ahi* (A/=all, divine and Ahi, an aspirated form of An, name of the tribe and then their tribal deity). Thus *Ah Ahi* or *Ah Aha* would originally be Tamil words signifying the Universal Lord, arabicised as *Elahi* or *Allah* and the Arabic *Ahad* (Tamil, Ad=Father) or (v) *ahad* would mean the oneness or unity of God with man. Indeed if this interpretation be found correct, the cry of Elahiya or Allah was first raised in India in 3000 B. C. in the plains of Magadha long before it was heard in Arabia. It is the prC'Meccan Maks of India, who had first taken it to Arabia. We are already familiar with *Ahi*, who, in India, fought against Indra in the Vedic Age.

6. *Ahmad'Muharnmdd*. The name *Muhammad*, we know, is augmentation of *Ahmad*. Ahmad, I suggest may be reconstructed as *Ah-macl* that is *madd* or the lengthening of *Ah* (of. the name for God *madd*, *Umz*). Lengthening of the life of the Father-God (Alvad), would indeed be the most suitable name for His progeny *i. e.* man ! It would indicate the belief that man is not a product of matter; he is divine in origin (of. Quran-fi *min ruhi*); *Ahmad*, the 'son of God' would indeed be praiseworthy ; and *Hamd*, in abstraction, an act of praise ? All praise be to God—*Ab hamad u Allah*.

7. *Kaaba*. The temple of *Kaaba* has the famous tradition of being built by Abraham. The derivation of *Kaaba* from *Kaab*, an ankle, though suggestive, appears to be fanciful, unsupported as it is by the history of *Kaaba* itself. I would connect *Kaaba*, 'the holy shrine within a fortification', with the Sumerian word *Gepar*, 'a fortified temple', which, in its turn, is connected with the South Indian word *Gopura* 'a fortified sacred enclosure'.

Thus South-Indian Sanskritised form *Gopur*= Sumerian *Gep'ur*, Hebrew *Kaphar*, Arabic *Kaaba*, with final r slurred away, and the accent placed on the initial syllable. The Sumerian *Gep-ar* is enclosed by a thick buttressed wall like the Arabian *Kaaba* and the South-Indian *Gopura*. Note the elaborate temple *Gepar-ku*, built at *Ur*, by Bur Sun, as a shrine for Ningal. The special variety of temple-architecture is characteristically the same in *Gopura*, *Gep-ar* and *Kaaba*. the final *Ar* that has survived in Sumanan *Gep-dr* is of Tamil origin. It explains the special variety of temple-architec-

ture as a fortress—*Ar* in Tamil signifying a fortification? The temple' ceremonials that obtain in India, such as, circumambulation, homage to the idol and sacrifice still survive in Kaaba. Hebrew *Kaphar* in the sense of *Kaffara*—sacrificial atonement, tells the same tale?

Unfortunately, the original Tamil form of *Copur* is now lost. The Arabic *K* in *Kaaba* may correspond to *G* in *Gopur*, as in the case of Arabic *Halaku* corresponding to the Turkish *Halagu*. But *b* in *Kaaba* may be a relic of the original radical in Tamil which may be reconstructed a \**Gab*. Note the word *Gab* in a royal Sumerian name, *Lugahki Gab-Niddu*, which as a Tamil name, signifies. The King *Emperor-holy-Naidu*. The Tamil \**Gab~ar* would mean a holy fortification, serving as a prototype, both phonetically and semantically for the above group of words such as *Gabra*, *Gibrael*, *Kibra*, *Kabir*—augmented from Akbar all seem to belong to the same group of words related to Tamil \**Gabar* 'holy and great'?

Thus *Kaab'ar* 'the holy fortification', has for its deity *Al-Kaab*, 'the Holy One', known to the religious folklore of Hindus as *Makkeshvara* (?) 'the Lord God of Makka', *AI-Ah* (originally the deity of the holy sanctuary) *Gab-ar* is still invoked as *Allaho-Akbar*. *Kajar* who got his name as worshipper at the temple of *Kaab (ar)~Gepar*, *Gopur*, *Kaphar*, and who believed in the sacrificial cult of *Kaffarai* soon became known as an infidel for his refusal to believe in the new dispensation of Islam.

8. *Islam*. The etymology of the Islam may be studied as below :— Arabic *Islam*., Old Tamil *Shellam*, (Modern Tamil) *Cheram*, Hebrew *Uru-Shalcm* (-Jerusalem) 'the house of *Shalem*, also *Solomon* (=Tamil \**Shellaman*), *Sarah* (= wife of Abraham), Brahui, *Sheila* 'the fair one', Tamil *Shellai*, *Chera* 'woman' (= Sanskrit *Kerala*). The Arabic still preserves the memory of the Tamil name *Shellai* (the fair one) in the name *Salim* :+(t) 'a tender woman.' *Salamat* in Arabic signifies freedom from defect, *Salam* signifying peace and *Salam* a greeting? If the etymology of the word *Islam* as I propose is correct, *Islam* cognate form of the Tamil *Shellam*, should mean 'The fair religion' (which belonged to the tradition of Abraham).

9. *Madina*. The city-name *Madina* may be split up as *Mad-ina* on the analogy of *Edd'ina*, older name for Eden or Adan. Note *An*, a Tamil termination added to city-names on the Palar river in South-India, such as, *Ar'an* (a fortified place); also *Harran* in North Mesopotamia. The variants of *an* are *in* and *ni* as in South-Indian names of places, such as *Arein* or *Arni*, a fortification, which the Tamil *AR* used to live. The Tamil terminations *an*, *in*, or *ni* in the sense of city-names stand for *Ur* or *lira*—a Tamil name for city. Thus Sumerian *EridwEdiru*, The *Ad Ura*—*z*. correspond to *Ad'an*, *Ed-en*. Now, if *Mad* is the radical in the cityname *Mad-ina* it would signify the city of *Mad*. In line with the general movement of the Tamils of the clan of Abraham from South-India to Arabia, I would connect the radiant city of *Mad'* or *Madina* with the capital city of *Mod* or *Mad-ma*, the most ancient seat of civilisation in South India. There is nothing surprising in it. The ancient name of their capital city, *Madura*

was taken by the Tamil emigrants to every part of the world they had gone. There are many *Maduras*. The Tamils took the name of their capital city not only to Arabia but in their long course of expansion, they took it still farther to Egypt, which in the Achaemenian inscriptions in the 5th and the 6th centuries B. C. was known as *Mudraya* an obviously corrupt form of *Madura*. As *Ad-ura*, modern *Adyar* in South India, gave us *Ediru*, *Eridu* and finally *Adan* in Mesopotamia, *Madura*, the first great city of civilization in S. India gave us *Mad-an* or *Madina*, the city of civilization in Arabia, Tamil *ur* and *ina* being interchangeable suffixes for city-names. *Madia* was built on the older city of *Yasrab*, but the name *Madia* was favoured by the Prophet who belonged to the line of Abraham. In India, the South-Indian, *Madura* gave us the famous city of *Mathura*, older name *Madhura*, an aspirated form of *Madura*. *Mathura* of Northern India, *Mudraya* of Egypt, and *Madina* in Arabia, all point to the South-Indian *Madura*, their common mother of civilization.

10. *Quran*. *Kuran* may be studied as *Kur-an* (*Kur*-meaning a rhythm, a verse, and *An* or *An*, a Sumerian suffix, signifying Heaven. Note Semitic cognate *Anu*). *Kuran* would, therefore, mean the divine chant, the heavenly song or the sacred reading. The South-Indian cognate word for *Kuran* may be found in *Kur-al* or *Kural* (Tamil *Kur*, 'to sound loudly'=a song, and *Al* denotes *all*, *divine* as in *Al-Amma* etc.). *Kural* would mean the divine song. Thus Tamil *Kural* and Arabic *Kuran*, both words agreeing in their radical form and meaning supply us a common religious tradition of the sacred reading (*Kur.*) among men of South-India and Arabia. The terminations vary in form and not in meaning, as in the case of *Madura* and *Madina*\*

\* In his learned work, "The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran" (Baroda, G. O. S. LXXIX., 1938), Dr. A. Jeffery (of the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo) has listed hundreds of Loan words which are found used in the Quran. Only two words of S. Indian affinity namely, *Zanjibil*, traced to Tamil *inji* (— *inji-ver* (Sanskrit *Srngavra*) and *Kajur*, connected with Sanskrit *Karpura*, have been mentioned in these lists. The few new Philological equations that have been suggested and sought to be established in the foregoing article require further investigation based on fully authenticated objective data. It is feared that much in the article has to be taken with a great deal of caution and care particularly as regards the data purporting to refer to the Tamil Language which are found to be either purely fictitious or else based on farfetched ideas. The ancient Tamil literature knows of no such tribes as the *Ar-s* and *An-s*. *Appa* is a late word for 'father' in the language while *Ad-* is unknown in that sense. "An" is a personal termination, while "alla" is a negative particle incapable of signifying 'all', *Gopura* is a Sanskrit word while 'Haidu' is a caste-name of Telugu pedigree (from Skt. *Naya-ka*) which must have found currency in the Tamil country from the Vijayanagar period onwards. It would be therefore, anachronistic to claim its having been taken in such prehistoric times as the third millennium B. C. to Sumeria. Such theories have been adumbrated before, also, in works like "The Missing Links" of Mr. Duraiswami Iyengar, of Madras, and have naturally become effete. —Ed.

# Totality.<sup>1</sup>

By

C. R. SANKARAN and M. G. VANKATESIAH, Pooma.

[This paper is based on Sapir's Totality (Lan., Mono., No. 6 1930) and deals with quantity with reference to Telugu. The materials are classified and arranged in the same order as found in Sapir with special comments wherever new ideas are indicated. A table of totalizers is given at the end of the paper. We also acknowledge the help given by Mr. K. Sanjivamurthy Rao of Bellary in preparing this paper]<sup>2</sup>

## I. Whole Part relation :-

*ella* or *anni* (all)-indicates inability to proceed after count,

*ella* or *anta* (whole)-indicates unwillingness to break up into smaller objects.

Unlike in Kannada these two are differently totalised.

*mejalella* or *mejalammi*-all the tables,

*mejanta* or *mejella*-the whole table,

*mejalagumpanta*-all the tables or groups of tables (here *anni* is not used),

*mejalagumpulami*-all the groups of tables,

The use of the plural (*lu*)-*la* may be noted here.

Quantifiables are divided into Individualised and Totalizable-susceptible of various kinds of aggregation either direct or based on some previous operation of disintegration.

## II. Six Types of Totalizables :-

### 1. The whole existent-*mejella* or *mejanta*,

1. For the glossary of technical terms used in this paper the reader is referred to Sapir (p. 6). These terms are illustrated by the following four Telugu sentences :-

1. *Nalugu gorrelu vacucunnavi* (four sheep are coming). *Nalugu* -quantifier; *gorrelu* - quantifiable; *Nalugu gorrelu* - quantificate (for persons *Naluguru* is used or *nalugu mandi* and a word like *nalku jana* is not found in Telugu, as *nalugu* is not found to combine with *jana*). 2. *Oka pidikedu biyyamu* (a handful of rice), *biyyamu*-quantifiable *okapidikedu biyyamu*-quantificate (*pidikili* means handful. *pidikili* + *edu* = *pidikedu*. *edu* = *parimavarthuka-pratyaya* to indicate measure). 3. *Anni paydlu naku immu* (give me all the fruits). *paydlu* - quantifiable; *anni* - quantifier; *anni paydlu* - quantificate (*ella* as in Kannada is also used; but *anni* is more common) *vannanniṅṅini naku immu* (give me the sum total of those). *vannanniṅṅini* - quantificate. Sometimes *vatinanniṅṅini* is colloquially used).

2. Cf. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IV, No. 3, for another paper by the authors on Totality with reference to Kannada.

2. Summated existent - *mejabhagamulanni* or *mejabhagahnni*,
3. Persistently whole existent - *mejdbhagamulanni* (all the parts of the table); this is also called the *Reassertedly whole existent*
4. Simple aggregate - *mejalanni* (all the tables)
5. Whole aggregate - *mejalagumpanta* (the whole set of tables),
6. Reasserted aggregate - *mejdlagumpulanni* (all the sets of the tables),

The uses of *anta*, *anni*, *ella*, and the plural suffix - (*lu*) -*la*, may be noted here.

III. *Singularised Totalizer*:—Each<sup>1</sup> individualises more clearly than 'every.' But in Telugu we have *prati*, or *ondonu* (ordonidu in Kannada), or *okatokati* for 'each.' The first is common to Telugu and Kannada. To give the meaning of 'every' (all accumulating by increments of one) there is a tendency, as in Kannada, to repeat the word, e. g., *intintiki dipalunnavi* (every house has lights).

IV. *Definite and Indefinite Totalizers* :—*elki* cannot be ambiguous or indefinite (all); *palu*, corresponding to *halavu* in Kannada is indefinite : *konni* (some) corresponding in Kannada to *kelavu* (some) is indefinite but sometimes gives a sense of minority, e. g., *kondaru vacciywtdiri* (only some had come). In Telugu, as in Kannada, there is no corresponding term for both *innamu*, which conveys the same meaning as *ndvibbaru* (including the person to whom we are speaking in Kannada), and *memu*, which does not include the person to whom it is conveyed; these two terms are peculiar in sense to Telugu. There is no corresponding term to *manumit* in Kannada. There are terms like *miriddaru* (you two), *variddaru* (they two), *memiddaru* (we two) and *memandaru* (all of us).

There is a class of totalizers in Telugu which is in one way definite and yet indefinite, as in Kannada. This is more abstract than 'simple evaluated direct' totalizers and less abstract than 'general calculated evaluated modified' totalizers. In our opinion this forms a link between 'general' and 'specialised\*' totalizers.

*dm* (six) is definite, but in the following combinations :—  
*nalgaru* - indefinite but means a number of one digit,  
*padiyaru* • indefinite but means a number of two digits,  
*veyyaru* - indefinite but means a number of four digits,  
*kotyar* - indefinite but means a number of eight digits, etc.

The term *nurtiru* (indefinite but meaning a number of three digits) is common to both Kannada and Telugu.

Special terms indicating numbers like *nutapadiydr* (one hundred and sixteen) and *veyyinni nuta padiyaru* (one thousand one hundred and sixteen) have a honorific value, which is considered to be greater than the actual number indicated. A corresponding term to these is not found in Kannada. The semantic content attached to *veyyinninutapadiyam* (= 1116) is greater than that which the expression can ordinarily signify.

V. *Direct and calculated totalizers* :—

Direct *-ella, anta* (whole).

Calculated *-ottu mottamu* (the sum total). *ottu* is common both to Telugu and Kannada.

VI. *Universal statements* :—

*Puttinavar ella caeca thralalenu* (all that are born must die). Here *ella* is not totalizer but class-indicator.

*Pratimanusyudunu cavavalenu* (every man has to die). Note the use of *nu*. Here *prati* is a class-indicator.

VII. *Evaluated Totalizers* :—

*ninda* (full); *culinanta* (sufficient); *bharti* (centre); *taginanta* (enough); *cokka* (perfect).

VIII. *Modified Totalizers* :—

1. Distributive '*Okatokatiga*'; 2. Limitative '*Intinta, antanta*'; 3. Exclusive '*kattukatte* (the whole set or bag and not one or two pieces or parts). This is common to both Kannada and Telugu.

IX. *legated Totalizers* :—

1. *anduru (nu) kadu* (not all); 2. *emiyuleka poledu* (not without anything); *ranivarz Udu, rakunnadvre ledu* (not one that did not come); 3. *anta (yu) biyyame* (nothing but rice)'emphatic.

X. *Specialised Totalizers*:—

1. *Collective noun*:—a flock of sheep. Collective nouns of this type do not exist in Telugu. The general terms *gumpu, pindu* are used. *Pindu* is used only for cattle and not for persons generally.

2. *Direct Specialised Totalizers*:—(a) Non-evaluated simple '*jamnanda*', modified '*vamfei carina jammu mattuke*', (b) evaluated simple '*gorrela manda*', modified '*-oka pidikedu biyyamu* (a handful of rice).

3. *Calculated Specialised Totalizer*:—(a) Non-evaluated simple '*-ottu kolacina jaminanta*'; modified '*fcolora migdlina jaminanta\**' (b) Evaluated simple '*ptlrtri poyina jaminanta*' modified '*-kavalynanta jamtnu*'.

XI. *Quantificates involving totalization* :—

(i) *Totalized quantificates which determine existents or occurrents* :—

1. Totalized selection quantificates : *Tyella, iviyella, irendu,*
2. Totalized order quantificates : *podugunu, pratyokatiyandwm,*
3. Totalized space quantificates : *andandu, endendu (nu),*
4. Totalized time quantificates : *eppudumu,*
5. Totalized condition quantificates : *annisthitulandunu,*
6. Totalized purpose quantificates : *tdtparyamu, uddesamu,*
7. Totalized cause quantificates : *kfiranamu,*
8. Totalized requirements quantificates : *purtiga,*
9. Totalized manner quantificates : *anni teragula, anni vidhamula,*
10. Totalized value quantificates : *cokka, nirdosa.*

(ii) *Total quantificates which are existents or occurrcnts* :—

1. Totalized existent quantificates : *purti prapancamu* ( There is no term in Telugu corresponding to *idi* in Kannada ).
2. Totrlizcd occurrcnt quantificates : *purti kattelu*.

Sometimes quantifiers pure and simple are often really disguised as quantifiers c. g., *naku anni i\*tamu* ( I like all things).

(Hi) *Totalized calculated quantificatcs* : —

1. Selection : *ivanni, idanta, Avanni adanta,*
2. Order : *okokacota,*
3. Space : *jartiinanta,*
4. Time : *nelanta,*
5. Condition : *annisthitulu,*
6. Purpose : *sarnagramuga,*
7. Cause : *karanamulakella* ( to all causes ),
8. Requirement : *ktivalasiriagunamulakella,*
9. Quality : *kadu nalupu* ( *katju* in this sense is also used in Kannada X
10. Value : *cokka,*
11. Existent: *naramulandella* ( in *all nerves*),
12. Occurrcnt : *rltiganusaraga* ( according to the method laid down ).

Theoretically every quantificatc may become a specialised quatifier.

Positive	Negative	Partial	Negated Unitiser	Totalised Negative
	<i>jenulella -kadu</i>	<i>komiaru</i>	<i>okaclu kadu c(viri) lo okaclu "kadu (vari) (mana) (ma) (mi) yavadn kadu varilo yavadn kadu</i>	(',10 word for 'none') <i>yavaru karu (vdri) lo yavam karu</i>
<i>adanta</i>	<i>adanta kadu</i>	<i>inta sunta koncamu incuka okka^okkati</i>	<i>kynecamukadu incukayukadu</i>	<i>concamukadu</i>

Positive	Negative	Partial	Negated Unitizer	Totalised Negative
<i>mzjanta</i>	<i>rmjanta kadu</i>	<i>mejalo konta bhagamu</i>	<i>mejelokonta bhgarttn kadu</i>	<i>mejalo e bhgamu kadu</i>
<i>pratiyokadu</i>	<i>pratiyokadu kadu</i>	<i>yavadyo -kadu yavadokadu palu evarokondaru</i>	<i>okkaduni kadu okkadcvadii kadu cvOilukadu</i>	<i>cvarumikaru</i>
<i>varidda -ru</i>	<i>varidda -ru kadu</i>	<i>vdriddari Aonokadu</i>	<i>variddarilo -nokadunu kadu</i>	<i>variddarilo yavadi kadu</i>
<i>ellappu -du</i>	<i>cppadunu kadu</i>	<i>appudappudu okkokkappu -du incuka</i>	<i>cppudunii ledu cppitikini ledu</i>	<i>cppudunii ledu cppetikini ledu</i>
<i>kdvulasi -nanta</i>	<i>kavalasinanta -Udu</i>	<i>incuka</i>	<i>kavalasinanta ledu emi ledu</i>	<i>calam ledu</i>

Note :--There Is ho single word for °hohc<sup>4\*</sup>

The use of *ol'katokkati* and *appudappudu* as partial negatives^ *koHCaniil* corre&pohdighg to fcamada *kottca* \* one word for 'some of it',



# A Romanic Orthography for the Oriya Language

By

DANIEL JONES, *London*

In 1941 Prince Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo, M. A. (Cantab.) of Mayurbhanj State, Prince Consort of Bastar State, originated a movement for writing all Indian languages by means of a scientifically constructed Romanic alphabet. This "National Script for India" was evolved by using the ordinary Roman alphabet and supplementing it by various letters of the International Phonetic Alphabet, and (*in* the capitals) by one Greek, one Polish and two Russian letters. The details of the alphabet as applied to Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and Tclugu had been worked out by j. R. Firth (now Professor of General Linguistics in the University of London), and specimens collected by him were published in 1942 in a pamphlet by myself entitled "The Problem of a National Script for India". The application of this proposed National Script was also worked out for Sinhalese by me in collaboration with the late Mr. H. S. Perera, Director of Education, Colombo, and an account of it with colloquial and literary texts was published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol ix, part 3 (1937).

Now Prince Deo and I have worked out in collaboration, the form of the alphabet which would meet the needs of the Prince's own mother-tongue, Oriya. The specimen which follows and which was prepared by him, is based upon the language as ordinarily spoken at Cuttack and in the south of Orissa generally. Being intended for children and illiterates, it does not take account of words and forms belonging exclusively to the literary language. There are for instance no doubled consonants, because children and illiterates do not make any distinction between single and doubled consonants.

## Alphabet for Colloquial Oriya

### Lower Case

c a i u e o ŋ h k kh g gh c ch  
j sh t th d dh n p ph  
b bh m y r l l v s h ŋ

### Capitals

Q A I U E O ŋ H K KH G GH C CH  
J JH T TH D DH N P PH  
B BH M Y R L L V S H ŋ

### Specimen of Colloquial Oriya

Thare utara pobana o surujō aparā bhitarē ki-e odhiko jōdar, e-i bisoyare kōji-a koribaku lagile. Ōnek jhōgōrā pōre gōṭi-e odhōṅṅi-ōṭhā māṅṅōku dekhi surujō kōhile. "Tucha bibadare ki labhō? Se-i māṅṅō-jīku dekhuehō." Amā duhijō bhitaru jī-e tar odhōṅṅi-ta dehoru oḷōgō kōri paribō se e-i jhōgōrā jītibō." Utara pobana o e-i kōthā māni nele. Tankōr parikhya age hela. Si-e nijōr sara jōr khōṭa-i bohībaku lagile, kintu si-e jēṭe jōrōre bohībaku arōmbhō kōle lokōṭi bhī tēṭe kōsikōri nijōr odhōṅṅi dehor caripakhōre jōrā-i dhōribā ku lagilā. Jēṭebēṭe utara pobana parikhyaṛe hari jā-i chāṭi deḷe, surujō nijōr bōḷō dekha-ibaku baharile o nijōr usumō aṣvāsi kīrōṅ māṅṅōṭi upōre dhāṭi taku bes aramō dobaku lagile. Ōṭi oḷō khyōṅṅōre lokōṭi khōrāre gōrom hō-i aparā nijō icharē hij odhōṅṅi durōku sārā-i delā.

<sup>1</sup> A contraction of *dekhuehō*.

To write literary Oriya would need the introduction of the letter  $\Sigma$  ( $\Sigma$ ), and "open" *i* and *u* would have to be distinguished from "close" *i* and *u*. The letters *y* and *w* can be used for this purpose, as in writing Hindustani (see "The Problem of a National Script for India", pp. 12, 13).

The following is a version of the same text in literary Oriya.

### Specimen of Literary Oriya

Ekada wttara pobana o surujō parāparā madhye ky-e bōṭiyā e-y bygōyō ne-y kōḷōhō wposthytō hōlā. Ōnek tōrkō bytōrkō pōre gōṭy-e wttariyabrwtō mānwyōkw dekhy surujō kōhile. "Brwtha bybadare ky labhō? Se mānwyōḷykw dekhw oḷhō. Ambhō madhyōrw jō char wttariyōṭy ta dehorw utarō kōry paryō se ehy bybadare jōyī hōbō." Wttara pobana madhyō e kōthā māny nele. Tankōr parikhya prōthamō hela. Se nyjōr sōmōstō bōḷōr sōhytōre bōhybakw arōmbhō kōle kyntw se jēṭe begōre bōhybakw lagile lokōṭy madhyō tēṭe drwṭhō bhābōre nyjōr wttariyōṭy dehor cary-āṭe jōrā-y rōkhylā. Jēṭebēṭe wttara pobana parikhyaṛe byphōḷō hō-y chāṭy deḷe, surujō nyjōr parākramō dekha-ybakw baharile o nyjōr aramōdayi wttapō mānwyōṭyṭr upōre bōrōṣybakw lagile. Ōṭy oḷō sōmōyōre mānwyōṭy surjōnkōr kyōṅṅō-dvārā tōṭṭō hō-y wtwkōtar sōhyt nyjōr wttariyōṭy dehorw durōkw ontarō kōry delā.

## कौन

By

JULES BLOCH, *Paris.*

Depuis Beames II, 321, 323 on admet généralement qu'apadh. *kavaṇa* et ses formes modernes, mar. *kaun*, hi. *kaun* etc..., proviennent d'un groupe Skt *kaḥ punaḥ* sous la forme attestée par le Pali *ko pana*. Je l'ai répété moi-même (*Marathe* 209, *Indo-aryen* 202); il n'empêche que cette explication est mauvaise.

Phonétiquement d'abord. De *ko pana* le dérivé attendu est \**kovana*, non *kavana* : ni le timbre de la première voyelle, ni le rythme du mot ne concordent.

Morphologiquement surtout. La forme prise pour point de départ appartient au seul masculin singulier. Or apabh. *kavaṇa-* est un thème d'adjectif, par lui-même indéterminé, qui reçoit des suffixes variables suivant genre, nombre et cas :

Par exemple : *Bhavisattakaha*,

38.6 *kavaṇa kitti, jasu kavaṇu jiyantahā*

"Quelle gloire, quelle renommée pour des vivants ?

261.3 *ko tuhu, kavaṇe kajje āio*

"Qui es-tu, pourquoi es-tu venu ?"

De même chez Hemacandra (d'après Alsdorf : *Apabh-Studien*),

88) *kavanahī desi* - "en quel pays".

De façon semblable en vieil avadhī, par exemple, on trouve à côté de *ko*, masc. *kaunu* fém. *kauni* (B. Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhī*, 1937).

C'est sans doute pourqu'on Pischel, s'écartant de Beames, rapprochait Skt. *kava* - dépréciatif (*Gr. der Pkt. Sprachen* §428). Nuance de sens parfaitement explicable dans un mot de ce genre; mais la terminaison demeure inexplicable.

Cherchera-t-on dans la finale *-vaṇa* la trace de skr. *manah* qui a, des siècles plus tard, été employé en bengali à côté de *matam* ou *matih* dans *keman kemat* "de quelle espèce ?" (S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and devel. of the Bg. Lang.* §599) et peut-être en tsigane dans le type *čimoni* "quelque chose" (Sampson, (Sampson, *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales* §205) ? Ceci supposerait une création dont on ne trouve aucun indice à l'époque ancienne; surtout la forme de thème interrogatif qu'on attend est, soit *kim* ou *kaṃ*, soit une forme d'oblique, c'est-à-dire un élément trop lourd pour aboutir à *ka-*.

Faute d'explication directe, on est amené à chercher une explication indirecte, par l'analogie.

Existe-t-il un pronom susceptible de s'annexer au cas direct une terminaison *-ana*, et capable sous cette forme élargie à la fois de valeur

pronominale et de valeur d'adjectif ? Oui ; a Tepoque, moyenne, il en existe un, et un seul: c'est *appd*—*appdna*, uo Talternance resulte de Fetymologie : le theme long est originaiement Foblique de l'autre=sg. nom. skt. *dtmd*, pkt. *appn*; gen. skt. *dtmanah*, pkt. *appano*. La double valeur du theme *appan*- resulte de la fusion de deux formes. lAine est le theme oblique devenu independant des le prakrit: *appdno* n. sg. se rencontre dej'a dans la *Sattawi*; *ussuyabhutena appdhenam* "de son amc impatiente" dans *V Ayarangasutta* cf, Pischel §401. L'autre form est un adjectif derive, de type *\*dtmand'*, equivalent a skt. *dtmya*, cf. *atmanya* TBr.; cct adjectif. a ete mentionne par Hcmaandra et identifie par Alsdorf (A&>. *Studicn* 68); on le rencontre par ex. dans la *Bhavisattaha* :

36\*9 *appuni angu nahi darisivvan* "il nc faut pas reveler son propre parti"; on le retrouve en vicux rajasthani (Tcssitori, *Notes on Old Western Raj.* §92).

La valeur double de *appana*- a entraine unc valeur double de *kavana* nouvellement cree. On trouve des le XII° stedes dans le *Sanatkumdracarita* :

530- *ko jippai kayancna* "lequel sera vaincu par lequel ?"

616- *tuhu kavana* "qui es-tu ?"

Et. anterieurement deja (*Sarasvatikanthabharana*, chez, Pischel *Materialien*, p. 53, XVI), *na hu dnai donha vi candu kavanu* "nc sait pas dcs deux lequel est la lune".

De la me facon dans le texte en guzrati du XV° siecle etudie par Deva (*A study of the Guj. lang. in the 16th. cent.* V. S.). alors que *upana* est reserve au role d'adjectif. *kuna* a less deux cmploits :

Adjectif : 468-*faina uhambha sambhdvti* "quel appui serati imaging ?"  
239- *kuniim eki thdmi* "en quelque endroit"; Pronom : 129-*jai jdga mahit rdgadesd anhuta, tau kuna duhkha pamata, athavd* >. *kuna moksa napdmata* "si dans el monde n" existaient pas passion et haine, alors qui 6prouverait de la souffrance, qui manquerait le salut ?"

Le detail de Fhistoire est difficile a suivre. Cela ticnt non seulement aux lacunes ordinaires de la documentation, mais aussi au manque de parallelisme entre les sorts respectifs de Finterrogatif et du reflechi.

En avadhi, *kavana*, anciennement adjectif, devient *kaun* adjectif et pronom a Fepoque moderne, tandis que d'autre part *apuna* dont il iFy a qu'un exemple comme pronom chez, Tulasidas fournit aujourd'hui a la fois le pronom et radjectif sans que *ko* et *dpu* aient disparu (voir Saksena p. 191-199). Mais il n'en va pas de mme ailleurs. En face de *kaun*, le panjabi a *apt*, dont *apna* est radjectif; en face de *kan* le lahnda a *dp*, dont Tadjectif est *apna*; une partie des parlers tsiganes de FEurope (balkanique, allemand. gallois) a non pas *ko* comme le hongrois et bohémien, mais *kon*, alors que le reflechi n'existe que sous la forme de Foblique, sg. *p-es*, pi. *p-en*. Le guzrati n'a en regard de *kon* que *pot-*, *dp* etant pronom honorifique, et *apne* servant de l6re p. duplurriel inclusif. Le nepali, en regard de *kun* que *aphu* (adjectif *aphnu*) et *pax*. L'hindi n'a que *dp* (adjectif *apna*)

en face de *kaun*. Inversement en regard du pronom *pana* le kasmiri a l'interrogatif *kus'*, et le sindhi, en regard de *pan°*, l'interrogatif *fer*.

Par contre, il est significatif que le marathe presente *apan* et *kaun* ensemble et sans concurrence de *ap ni ko* (sauf avec l'emploi indefini qu'on retrouve ailleurs, dans la locution figee *nako* "il n'y a personne pour—il ne convient pas de" (voir J. Bloch, *Marathe* 270); et qu'en chattisgarhi aussi (Hira Lal, *A Grammar of the Ch. dialect* 65, 69) *apan* et *kon* soient egalement sans concurrents. Il est non moins significatif que dans ces deux langues, a l'inverse de celles considerees plus haut, *apan-* adjectif manque: le marathe a *apla*, le chattisgarhi se sert de l'oblique *apus*.

Ces inegalites s'expliquent sans doute par une de ces collisions lexicales dont Gillieron a illustre le mecanisme et dont Meillet a enumere quelques effets sur les anciennes langues indo-europeennes (*Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes 1690*) de deux homonymes pretant a confusion, l'un s'altere ou meme disparaît, quand ce n'est pas le cas pour les deux. On conçoit aisement comment les deux \**appan-*, l'adjectif et le pronom, ont pu mutuellement se gener et s'expulser. En tzigane de Syrie *kon* reste seul, le reflechi a ete remplace par un mot arabe, *hal* "etat, condition" (*Maclister Lang, of the Nawar* § 66). En guzrati, sans disparaître, *apanz* s'est, sans doute pres le XV° siecle, specialise dans le role de pronom de 1ere personne du pluriel inclusif, que l'avadhi. par exemple ajoute a son role normal, et pour quoi le rajasthani emploie *apn* (Dave 30, 34; Saksena §253 (a); LSI. IX, II 8,10).

Une confirmation du rapport entre *kaun* et *apan* se voit encore au fait que *kaun* ne s'applique jamais a une chose; pour le neutre, il y a une forme speciale d'interrogatif; v. *guz. siu*, *mar kay*, *braj. k'akaha hikya* etc. Et Ton vient de voir que de son cote *ap* est a ce point oriente vers l'humanite qu'il en est venu a remplacer des pronoms personnels.

Enfin, si l'on admet que l'interrogatif a pris sa forme longue a un autre pronom an ne s'etonnera pas de voir la meme analogie s'etendre a d'autres pronoms encore, mais de facon irreguliere.

En vieux rajasthani, alors qu'existent a la fois *ko* et *kavanu* *apa* et *apana jo* et *so* sont sans doublets (Tessitori §90); en braj, a cote de *ko* et *kaun* et de *ap* et *apna*, on remarquera que Dh. Varma (*La Langue braj* 843) ignore *jaun* que Kellogg inscrivait dans son tableau XI (quitté a ignorer *kaun* dans le tableau XII). Mais l'avadhi a *jaun* a cote de *jo*, et Tulasidasa en donne deja des exemples: la langue moderne a cree aussi *taun* (Saksena 180, 189, 190) De meme le chattisgarhi a *jon* et *ton* a cote de *je* et *te*, sur le modele de *kon*. Le guzrati des Parsis (LSI IX, IV 341) a cree le demonstratif masc. *tevan* fern, *tern*, alors que la langue normale en est restee a *te* pour les deux genres. On voit que le systeme du type hindi *kaun: jaun: taun*, ne s'est pas institue partout; il resulte du prolongement de l'action analogique qui est a la base de *kaun*.

# Some Bengali Etymologies

By

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, *Dacca.*

I am discussing below the etymology of some NIA. (Bengali) words which seem to have received as yet no adequate treatment.<sup>1</sup>

*akha* 'oven', This word appears to be related with the Vedic *ukha* 'fire-place at a sacrifice' which is cognate with Gothic *auhns* 'oven' (vide IGG. H. p. 25). The dialectal form of the word *aukha* (occurring in Tipperah) seems very much to support this assumption.

*upari* 'extra income by way bribe or extortion over and above the legal due.' This word seems to have been wrongly derived from Skt. *upa* (vide JD. *sub voce*). It appears very much to be a development of OIA. *udvalika* > *\*ubbalia* > *\*ubbaria* > *\*ubari*. The word *\*ubari* seems to have been falsely Sanskritized into *upari*. *udvalika* in ancient India meant payments over and above the regular land revenue, which were demanded by the king or his officers (vide JRAS. 1909, pp. 466 ff., 760 ff).

*ot* dialectal *ot*, especially in the idiomatic phrase *ot pata* which means to 'lie in wait for somebody in order to attack him.' This word seems to have been wrongly derived from the Skt. *otu* 'cat' (vide JD. *sub voce*). It appears, however, very much possible that the word has developed from OIA. *abanta* (*ap* 'water' + *anta* 'end' — *abanta*) > *\*avanta* > *\*onta* > *ot* > *ot*. It is a matter of common knowledge with hunters that animals like wild deer or buffaloes are easily to be met with in the vicinity of some stream or river where they occasionally come to drink water. It is near such places that beasts like tigers and leopards lie in wait for their prey. In OIA. killing from such a position was in all probability expressed as *zbarxte patayivei maritah* 'killed by felling him on the brink of water.' The word *ot* occurs in other NIA. languages as well and has developed some new meanings as well (see Turner, *sub voce*).

*gohari* 'petition, prayer.' According to JD, this word is of non-Aryan origin. This does not seem to be convincing. For, it may well be derived from OIA. *\*goharita*. The word *harita* from the causative of the Skt. *Vhr* in the *bhava vacya* means 'presentation.' It was a very good old custom in ancient India that while approaching their king with their petition, people had to make him some valued present which was almost equivalent to the medieval

1. The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :

IGG.=Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*. JD=J3anendra Mohan Das, *Bangalabhasar Abhidhana* (2nd ed.), Calcutta, ODBL = S, K. Chatter ji. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Turner=*Nepali Dictionary*.

*nazarana* or modern court-fee. Now at a time when there was as yet no coin in existence, cow was used in its place (of. the Skt. expression *jpancabhir gobhikrta iti pancaguh*). Hence, when people were obliged to go to their king with a petition, they probably carried a cow as a present. Hence *goharita* (cow-presentation) gradually gave rise to *gohari* (<*goharia* <\**gohnrida* <*goharita*). From the original sense of 'carrying a cow in connection with making a petition' came the meaning 'making a petition for help, cry for help, request for help' etc. (cf. Turner, *gohar* and JD. *sub voce*).

*chala* a 'gunny bagy', It has been wrongly derived from Skt. *sihali* (vide JD, *sub voce*). The word seems to have come from Skt. *chagala-laka* > \**chaa*,*aa* > *chain* which meant 'the hide of a goat sewn on all sides to make a bag of it.' Words of similar nature like Beng. *basta bora* and Anglo-Indian *gunny* can respectively be derived from Skt. *bastafai*, 'goat', *varaha* 'boar' and *goni*- 'cow,' (see *Mahabhusya*). In ancient times, when there were no cotton or jute fabrics, people used hides of animals like cow, big goat and boar for making bags.

*tona* 'sorcery, witch-craft' seems to have been wrongly derived from Skt. *tantra* (vide JD. *sub voce*). Chatterji considers this to be a word of desi origin (vide OBDI, p. 489). The word, however, seems to come from Skt. *tuna* 'quiver'. Bengali expression *tona kara* 'to apply a charm' is also equivalent to *band mara* lit to 'strike with an arrow or *bana*. The process is known to be as follows : the sorcerer makes a crude effigy of a man with powdered rice moistened with water and with the muttering of *mantras* strikes at its heart with an arrow. As a result of this, it is believed the man on whom the sorcery is practised, meets his death.

*dohai* 'appeal, cry for help' as in the expression *dohai mahardjer*. There has as yet been no satisfactory explanation of the origin of this word. Turner (*sub voce*.) has suggested that it means 'twice the cry of *hai*' and JD. (*sub voce*.) has derived the word from Skt. *devi-ahvdyā*. The word, however, seems to have retained in it a history of law and order in the primitive kingly states. The phrase *dohai maharajer* would in OIA. be equivalent to *drohdyaṭi maharajasya* 'this man commits treason against the king'. In ancient times well-organised government for the preservation of law and order was not yet in existence. Hence,, it seems, that people attacked by their enemies or aggressors threatened them as follows : 'In the name of the king I forbid you to molest me or encroach on my rights. The opponent still persisting in his hostile attitude and attacking him, the person aggrieved would cry out *ayam drohayati maharajasya*, 'this person defies the king.' Such a cry was sure to have had a great effect at a time when kings had an autocratic power. Persons who might be indifferent about personal quarrels of their neighbours would naturally go to the help of the aggrieved person lest they should be accused of sympathy for the person charged with defiance of the king. From *drohayati* one can

very easily derive *dolmi* « \**doh*(*lai* < \**dohaadi* < \**drohHyati*).

*pola* (dialectal form) for OIA, *putra* 'son.' According to Chatteru this word comes from Skt. \**pota-la* (ODBL. pp. 329 and 698). But in view of the fact that the Skt. word *pota* means 'the young one of any animal,'<sup>1</sup> this derivation is not very satisfactory. It seems to be possible to connect this word with *putla* < *putra* (through an interchange of *r* to *.* as in case of Vedic *srla* and Skt. *villa*) *Putla* gives rise to MIA *pulla* which together with a pleonastic *-n* becomes OB. *prdcī* > NB. *pohl*. JD. registers the word *pull* as a (dialectal) feminine form of *polu* (vide JD. *sub voce*).

*basta* 'a gunny bag.' see under *chala* above.

*bahi*, *bain*, *bat* 'without, apart from.'<sup>1</sup> The source of this Bengali post-position has been *vyatita* and *bahih* (vide ODBL. pp. 772 and 1075 and JD. *sub voce*). But it is possible to derive these words better from OJA, *avahya* (*sic*), 'leaving aside.' Due to strong stress on the second syllable the first syllable has dropped off and hence the word assumed the form \**vahiya* which gradually gave rise to *vahl* and *vahi* > Bengali *bahi*, *bahi* and *bat*, respectively.

*budi* 'a pet name for a female child.' This word has been derived from *buc̣lha* « \**ba4ha* < MIA. *vu44ha*) + *.* feminine suffix (vide JD. *sub voce*). It seems, however, that the word may be connected with MIA. *vo4ahl* 'a young woman or young lady.'<sup>1</sup>

*bora* 'a gunny bag.'<sup>1</sup> This word, as has been suggested above, possibly comes from *varṬxha* (*varnha* > *vara* > *barn* > *bora* cf. Skt. *parbixla* > Beng. *poara*, vide ODBL. pp. 319f.).

*bhor*, *bhora* 'morning.' JD. derives it from the Skt. *bhr* to <sup>1</sup>'fill up', Now it appears to be a puzzle how filling up of any kind might mean 'morning'<sup>1</sup> or 'the beginning of the day'<sup>1</sup> which was yet to be completed. The Pkt. expression *nisi bharammi* 'on the completion of the night'<sup>1</sup> seems to solve this puzzle. The MIA. word *bhara* in Bengali easily assumed the form *bhora* (*bhor*) cf. *pona* (*pon*) from OIA. *pana*, (vide ODBL. pp. 319f.).

# Vedicism in Pali.<sup>1</sup>

By

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1. In my address as the President of "Pali and Buddhism" Section of the the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares (1943-44), I pointed out that "it is being more and more recognised that the studies of Paji and Buddhism cannot be entirely dissociated from the studies in earlier literature o. India, like Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanisads, particularly the last, and that it is not possible to have a proper perspective of the Buddhist thought without thoroughly understanding its back-ground<sup>2</sup>", Oldenberg in his <sup>1</sup>*Buddha* ' has given in the introductory chapters the philosophical and religious back-ground of Buddhism. Coomaraswamy has taken up the same position and gives the interpretation of several words in Pali based on the interpretation of those terms *in* earlier Brahmanical literature<sup>3</sup>. He adds in fn. 1 to p. 116 "the Buddha's audience of learned Brahmanas was already familiar with almost all the technical terms in their Sanskrit forms and with the Indian rather than the specifically Buddhist content of their works; it follows that the more we can approach the texts from the same point of view, the better we shall be able to grasp them". He further ad Is "What a Brahman auditor, face to face with the Buddha, may be supposed to have understood by a given term may often represent its real value in 'original Buddhism" better than the interpretation of a later Buddhist commentator".

2. It has been already pointed out by V. Fausboll in his Introduction to the English Translation of the *Suttanipata* (SBE. vol. x, p. xi) that Pali retains in its ancient poetry several forms corresponding to Vedic Nom. plural forms ending in *sah*, for example, *samuhatase* (*Sn.* 14), *paccayase* (*Sn.* 15), *panditase* (*Sn.* 875-76); or verbal forms like *caramase* (*Sn.* 32), *sikkhisamase* (*Sn.* 814) with endings corresponding to Vedic ending *mahe*; shorter Vedic plurals like *vinicchaya yani pakappitani* (*Sn.* 838) corresponding to Vedic *bhuvanani visva* (*Sve.* 4, 4) or *janimani visva* (*Ait.* 4, 5); shorter instrumental forms in the singular like *manta, parinna, labhahamya* for *mantaya, parinnaya, labhakamyaya-*, infinitives like *vippaha tave, unnametave, sampayatave* corresponding to Vedic infinitives ending in *tave*. It is well-known that Pali retains the *bhih*-ending of instrumental

1. The references to the Pali texts are mostly to the editions published by the Pali Text Society, except in the case of *Visuddhimagg* and *Atthasalini* or Commentary on *Dhammangani* where the references are given to the Devanagari editions published by the Bhatatiya Vidya-Bhavana, Bombay, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona, respectively.

2. *Annals of the Bhardarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. xxv. p. 1.

3. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. iv. pp. 116 ff.

plural forms of several words. The Pali words like *atumanam*, *suvara*, *matiya* can be traced to the Vedic way of pronouncing the conjunct consonants in *martyah*, *s'vanah* which were pronounced as *martiah*, *s'vanah* Pali also retains the 'i' sound corresponding to the same sound in *agnim ile purohitam* (Rv. i, i, i) The Pali word *saddhim* 'with' may be derived from Vedic *sadhri-* also the Pali word *samma* may be traced back to *samyak*.

3. It is known that there are several verbs in Pali which are used in their Vedic sense, and not in their classical sense. For instance, in the famous Pali book of world-literature, *Dhammapada*, verse 6, we have *mayamettha yamamase*, where the verb *yamamase* is, I think, to be interpreted in the Vedic sense of 'yam' to submit to, to go to (destruction)' as in *mitraya panca yemire* (Rv. iii, 59, 8). *Dhatupatha* I, 1033 (*Panini's Grammatk*) gives its sense of *uparama*. In *Udana* (7, 10) we have *sassati iva khayati*, *passato natthi kihcanam* where the form *khayati* is a passive form from the Vedic root *Khya* 'to see, to perceive.' Also in *na pakkhayanti disa sabba-.-andhakaramva khayati* (*Thera.* 1034), the same root is to be understood. The commentator is right when he explains the words *yamamase* in the *Dhp.* verse given above, and *na pakkhayanti* in *Sem.* iii, 203 as, respectively, *uparamama*, *nassama* and *na pakasanti*, *na nanakaranato upathhahanti*. In *Cariyapi'aka* 3, 9, 10, we have *santi pada avancana* 'I have feet, but they cannot takt steps ', Here the verb *vanc* (cognate *vank*) is to be understood in its Vedic sense of 'moving crookedly ', This same sense we find in *jirno dandena vahcasi* in *Svet.* 4, 3. The Pali form *acchati* or *acchi* may be traced back to the Vedic a *ksi* from which we have *ak ete* 'lives, dwells ', Pali *akkosati* (generally accompanied by *paribhasati*) or *akkosana*, may be compared to *akrosa* in *s'atam ksatriyo brahmnakros'e* (*Gaut. Dharma.* 2, 3, 6) ' a Ksatriya should be fined a hundred (coins), if he abuses a Brahmana.

4. Like the verbs, there are also some substantives which are used in their Vedic or etymological interpretation. In *bhijjati pnti-sandeho* (*Dhp.* 148) 'this putrid body is broken,' or *sandeham nikkhipissami sampajano patissato* (*Thera.* 20) 'being mindful and conscious, I shall lay down this body', the word *sandeha* is used in its etymological sense (from *sam dih* 'to pile up ') of 'that which is piled up ', The same sense we also find in *sandchas te vvasaryat* in *Chand.* (5, 15, 2) 'your body would have been shattered to pieces. So also the word *viveka* is used in its root-meaning of 'separation ' (from *vic* 'to separate '), in *vivekam anubrftahaye* 'one should cultivate loneliness.' The expression *na vivekam labhante* in *Chand.* (6, 9, 2) has also the same sense. In *sussusa labhate parinam*, the word *sussusa* is also used in its etymological sense of 'desire to hear,' and not in its later sense of 'attendance or service.'

5. There are also compound words or groups of words which are used in exactly the same sense in both Pali Texts and the Upanisads. For instance, the compound word *brahmabandhu* is used exactly in the same

sense in *brahmabandhu pure esim, idani kho'mhi brnhmano* (*Thera.* 221, 290), or *brahmabandhu pure asim, ajja' mhi saccam brahmano* (*Thera.* 251) 'formerly I was only a kinsman of the Brahmans, now I am a real Brahman.' and in *Chand.* (6, 1,1): *ananucya brahmabandhur iva bhavatiti* 'if one does not study the sacred hymns, one becomes like a mere kinsman of the Brahmanas' So also *avibhava,-tirorobhava* 'manifestation and concealing' in *D.* (i, 78): *assatari ratha* 'the chariots yoked with mules' (*Vv.* 20, 3, 8) or *piynppiya* in *Dhp.* (211) may be respectively compared to *avirbhava-tirobhavau* in *Chand.* (7, 26, 1) *asvatari-ratham* in *Chand.* (4, 2, 1; 4;5, 13, 2) and *priynpriye spraatah* also in *Chand.* (8, 12, 1),

6. Having thus given an indication of the nature of a comparative study of Pali texts with the Vedtc texts, I intend to submit in the following pages the results of a comparative study of Pali texts with the *Gautama-dharma-sutra* and *Apastambha-dharma-sutra* and mainly the principal Upanisads, *Brhadnranyaka*, *Chandogya*, *Is'a*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Aitareya*, *Taittiriya*, *Kaus'itaki*, *Mundaka*, *Svetas'vatara* and *Pras'na*, and occasionally *Mandukya*, *Maitri* and *Jabala* also. Although scholars like Winternitz,<sup>1</sup> and Ranade<sup>2</sup> try to fix the chronology and the mutual chronological relation of the Upanisads, by no means it can be said for certain, that a final word is said in that connection. While Winternitz; considers the *Maitri Upantead* as post-Buddhistic, and the *Mandukya Upanisad* also to be probably belonging to the same later period, Ranade puts all the Thirteen Principal Upanisads (the last in the list given above being excluded) between 1200-600 B. C. (p. 18), although he admits that the *Maitri Upa.* consists of two different strata, the first four chapters forming an early stratum, and the remaining a very later one (p. 31). Thus it will be seen that we have often to be guided by the internal evidence of the contents of the Upanisads only.

7. Humes in his English Translation of the Thirteen Principal Upanisads (from which the *J?.brda* given in the list above is excluded) recognises, broadly speaking, the admissibility of the usually assigned date of above 600-500 B. C, though he points out several traces of Pali or Buddhist tendencies in some dialectical forms like *sarvavato* (*Brh.* 4, 3, 9) and forms like *pracchtha* (*Pr.* 1, 2), *apadyatha* (*Pr.* 2, 3), *janatha*, *vimuilcatha* (*Mund.* 2, 2, 5) after the Imperative second person plural forms in Pali, in support of the form *acaratha*. (*Mund* 1, 2, 1), already pointed out by Maller. So also it is pointed out that there is a form like *vipalyeti* or *palyayate* (*Brh.* 4, 3, 2-6) where '.' is a prakritisatton of r. There is no doubt that some of the Upanisads mentioned above do reveal a Buddhist influence. For instance, the words *jalapavitra*, *s'ikya* in *Jab.* (6) remind us of Buddhist *parissavana* or *dhammakaraka* and *sikka* in *Vin.* (i, 209, ii, 118; ii 131-132). The latter part of *Maitri Upanisad* is full of passages which are certainly post-Buddhistic. The passage in the sixth chapter on *citta* and the mention of advocates

1. *History of Indian Lit.* i. pp. 236.

2. *Constructive Survey of the Upanisads*, pp. 12 ff.

of several heretic philosophies in the seventh chapter are unmistakable evidences of their post-Buddhistic charaer. In the following study, such late passages are only casually referred to or quoted from. Mainly it is based on the Upaniaads that are pre-Buddhistic.

### Proper Names

8. The practice of giving a name to a person after his mother is found both in the Upanisads as well as in Pali Texts. Side by side with *Gargi-putra*, *Kantvi-putra*, *Gautami-putra* of the Upanisads, we have *Sari-putta*, *Mantani-putta* etc. in Pali texts. In Pali, this use of *putta* at the end of names is also found in names, which are derived from tribes or clans (cf. *Licchavi-putta*) as well as in names from certain professions such *Hatthi-sari-putta*, which, by the by, I wonder, if it could be derived from the Vedic word *tsarin*, from *tsar* 'to creep, crawl'. Below is given a list of names which are identical parallel to each other—

*Aggivessana* (M. i, 229; 239), of. *Agnivesya* (Brh. 2, 6, 2; 4, 5, 2) *Ajatasattu*(M.i,231 and several places), of. *Ajatas'atru* (Brh. 2,1, 1; 16; Kau.

4, 1, 18)

*Assalayana* (M. ii, 147-157) of. *As'valnyana* (Pr. 1, 1)

*Kaccuyana* or *Kaccana* (M. ii. 40ff.), of. *Katyayana* (Pr. 1. 1)

*Kalakanjaka*, name of an asura (D. of. *Kalakanjan* (Kau, 3, 1)

iii- 7; Ja. v. 187),

*Khandha*(Dhs. Cm. 3, 132) as a deity, of. *Skandha* (Chand. 7, 26, 2)

*Jatukanni* or *Jatakarnni* (Sn. 1007; cf. *Jatukarnya* (Brh. 2. 6, 2; 4, 5, 3) -960198; 1125),

*Janaka* (Ja. vi, 30-67),

cf. *Janaka* (Brh. 2, 1, 1; Kau. 4, 1)

*Pukkusa* (M. ii. 183 ; 184),

cf. *Paulkasah* (Brh. 4, 3, 22)

*Pokkharasati* (D. i, 103; 235),

cf. *Kanva-puskarasadi*(AP- 1,10,28,1)

*Brahmadatta* (in several Jataka stories),

cf. *Brahmadattah Caikimneyah* (Brh. 1, 3, '24)

*Bhardvaja* (D. i. 235 and Pr. 1. 1)

*Vaccha* (M. i. 481-89),

cf. *Vatsyah* (Brh. 2, 6, 3)

*Sanjiva* (M. i. 333),

cf. *Sanjivi-putrah* (Brh. 6, 5, 2)

*Sanankumara* (D. i. 99),

cf. *Sanatkumarah* (Chand. 7, 1,1; 7. 26\* 2)

*Sibi* in *Sibi-jataka*, No. 499,

cf. *Saibyah Satyakamah* (Pr. 5, 1)

Besides, there are several common names of countries found such as *Kuru*, *Pancala*, *Kasi*, *Videha*, *Gandhara* etc.

### Parallel ideas

9. A comparative study of the Upaniaads with the Pali texts reveals several passages which have a very close affinity of ideas. In D. i, 99, there is a passage which speaks of the superiority of the Kṣatriyas over the Brahmanas: *khattiya'va settha, him brahmana*. So also the same idea is expressed in a line of verse : *khattiyo'va settho jane, tasmirn ye gotta-palsiarino* (D. i, 99). In the Upanisads, too, there are several passages

which speak of the same superiority, although the Ksatriyas often reveal that this is something that is unnatural, or out of the way, or against the grain : *pratiloman caitad yad brahmanah ksatriyam upayed brahman me vaksyatl ti* (*Brh. ii, 1, 15*; also *Kau. 4, 18*). *Brh. (1, 4, 11)* says: *tasmat ksatrat paran nasti'*, *tasmad brahmanah ksatriyam adhasted upaste rajasuye*. At another place, in *Brh. (6, 2, 8)* a king says to the father of Svetaketu: *yatheyam vidyetaḥ purvam na kasminscaṇa brahmana uvaṣa, tam tvaham tubhyam vaksyami* ' this knowledge has never before stayed with the Brahmans, but I shall teach the same to you ',

10. Among the different kinds of arts, we have the mention of *vattu-vijja*, *khatta'vijja*-.*bhuta-vijja*, *bhari-vijja* (*D. i, 9*), with which may be compared *bhuta-vidya*, *kstra-vidya*, *naksatra-vidya*, *sarpadevajana-vidya* •• (*Chand. .7, 1, 2*). In Buddhist texts, *Vibhanga* 366 and *Vimuttimaggā* p. 122, we have three kinds of seeking or *pariyesana* of *kama*, *bhaya*, and of *brahmachariya*, with which may be compared *putresana*, *vittsana*, and *lokesana* (*Brh. 3, 5, 1* ; 4, 4, 22)- An ideal person, according to the Buddhists, does not care either for merit, *punya*, or demerit, *papa* : *punne ca pape ca anupal itte* (*Sn. 790*), *punna-papa'pahinassa* (*Dhp. 39*), *yo'dha punnan ca papan ca ubho sangam upaccaga* (*Sn. 636*). The same idea we have in *Mund* (3, 1, 3) : *punya-pape vidhuya*, and in *Brh. 4, 4, 22*: *ity atah papam akaravam ity atah kalyanam akaravam ity ubhe uhaivaisa tarati nainam krt, .krte taratah*. With this may also be compared *katam maya kalyanam akatam maya papam* (*Vin. iii, 72*). In the *Samannaphalasutta*, there is a passage giving *Ajita-Kesakambali's* *Mzw* that after death, the different components of the body go to the different elements in the universe: *pathavi pa(haviknyam anupeti, anupagachati 'tejo'tejokayam—vayo vayo-kayam...aknsam indriyani sankamanti* (*D i, 55*). A similar idea is found in *Brh. (3,2, 13)* with necessary variations in keeping with the Brahmanical belief in divinities, *purusasya mrtasyagnim vag apyeti--caksur Adityam--*, *manas' candram, dis'ah s'rotramakas'am atam...* The *Brahmajala-sutta* refers to early speculations about the origin of this manifold universe : *ekekassa digharattam nibbusitatta anabhir ati paritassana uppajjati ...aho vata ann" pi satta ithattam agaccheyyum* (*D. I, 17*) 'that lonely being, tired of his lonely life, had a keen desire that other beings also might come into existence.' Exactly a similar idea we have in *Brh. 1, 4, 3* : *sa vai naiva reme, tasmad ekaki na ramate, sa dvitiam aicchat*.

11. In *Sutta-nipata*, we often come across the words *dittha-suta* (*Sn. 790*, also *Ud. vi, 9*) or *ditfham*, *sutam*, *mutam vinnatam* (*Sn. 1082, 1086*), from which the ideal man keeps himself aloof. These expressions were a puzzle to me until I came across the corresponding expressions in the Upanisads (*Chand. 7, 8, 2* ; 7, 9 1; *Brh. 3, 4, 2* ; 7, 23 ; 8, 11 ; *Ai 5* ; *Pr. 4, 9* etc.), where we often have the same words *drstam*, *srutam*, *matam*, *vijantam* or *drasia*, *srota*, *manta*, *vijriata*, *boddha*, *karta* etc., spoken with regard to the soul or *atmTl*. The early Buddhist belief of keeping oneself aloof from all disputes and controversies, including speculations about soul, has been the burden of several *suttas* in the *Atthahavagga* of the

*Suttanipata* and so naturally the author constantly refers to these expressions spoken about soul. With Pali *na tuyham adittham asutamutam va aho avinnatam kincaṇam atthi loke* (Sn. 1122) may be compared *nodya kas'cancis'rutam amatam avijnaitam udaharisyati* of *Chand.* 6, 4, 5. There is often a reference to the two extremes of philosophical views of *asti* and *nasti* as in *Ka* 1, 1, 20: *astityeke nayam asti ti caike.* (Sn. 582; 778; 801), refers to these without specifying them but they are mentioned in another Buddhist text in Sanskrit, *Samadhiraja sutra* (Gilgit Mss. ii, 9, 28), as *asti ti nasti ubhepi anta.*

12. The explanation of re-birth after death as given by the early Buddhists is illustrated by the simile of a man, who with the help of a rope suspended from a tree on the bank of a canal jumps from one bank to another and settles there: *matikatikkamako viya puriman ca nissayan jahati, aparaha ca kammamuttahapitam nissayam asadayamanam va -.* (Vis. xvii, 163). An exactly similar idea is found in the Upanisads where the author gives the simile of a *trna-jalayuk'u* a leech, that jumps from one blade of grass to another: *trna-jalayuka trnasyantam gatvanyam akramam akramya*—(*Brh.* 4, 4, 3). Also the simile of the flame of one lamp lighting another is found used in *Vis.* xix, 22.

13. The state of a Buddhist follower who has attained *parinibbana* or *parinirvana* is such that it passes nomenclature, *yena nam vajju tarn tassa natthi* (Sn. 1076). This is the same as *Brh.* 2, 4, 12: *na pretya sanjna'stity are bravimi.* About that state you cannot say that there the sun or moon or stars shine, or that it is covered with darkness: *na tattha sukka jotanti*—etc. in *Ud.* i, 10. Is this not the same as *na tatra suryo bhati na candratarakam nema vidyuto bhanti kuto yamagnih* (*Ka.* 2, 2, 15 ; *Mund* 2, 2, 10 ; *Sve.* 6, 14).

14. When you come to Nirvana, all queries must cease, as it is beyond description. When a householder, Visakha puts a question to the nun, Dhammadinnrt about the likeness of Nirvana (*nibbunass ayye kiin-pa(ibh:.go)*, she immediately replies that he is passing into an unquestionable region, and reminds him that he is over-stepping the limits of questioning: *accasaravuso Visakha panham, nasakkhi pahhanam pariyantam gahetum* (*M.* i, 304). With this may be compared *ati-pras'nam prcchasi* (*Pr.* 3, 2) spoken by Pippalada- acarya in reply to a query about soul, which he considers as an *ati"prasma*. Another passage may also be stated as an instance, when Yajñvalkyā snubs Gargi by saying that she is putting a question, which is beyond questioning. If she would persist, her head will fall down: *ma te murdha vyapatat. Anatipras'nyam vai devatam atipracchasi, Gargi, ma'tiprakshi* (*Brh.* 3, 6, 1). Sometimes in the Upanisads, we also come across another way of avoiding such inconvenient questions. In *Brh.*(3, 3, 13) in reply to a query *kvayam tada puruso bhavati*, a more diplomatic or a tactical move is resorted to by Yajñvalkyā, who takes the questioner away from the gathering with a friendly warning that it is a matter which they can discuss between themselves alone, and that it is not a matter which

can be talked over in a gathering, *ahara somya hastam.avam evaitasya vedisyavah, na navetat sajane.*

15. Reference to a solitary place *sunrtagara* (*Dhp.* 374), or to the foot of a tree *rukhamula* (*D. i:* 71) in preference to shows and gatherings, *nata-samajjadini.*(*Dhs. Cm.* 3,558) has parallels in *AP-* 1, 10, 29, 1: *s'unyagaram vrksamulam va'bhyuparayet* and *AP-* 1, 1, 3, 12: *sabhssamajams'caganta.* The explanation of the number forty-eight in *athacattarisa vassani brahmacariyan carimsu te*(*Sn.* 289) is found in *Gautama Dharmasutra* 1, 2, 51-53: *dvadas'a varsanyekavede brahmacaryan caret, pratidvadas'a va sarvesu, grahanantam va,* or in *AP-* 1,1,2,6: *dvadas'a varsani traividyakam brahmacaryan caret.* The mention of the thirty-three gods so often referred to in Pali texts without specific enumeration is found in *Brh.* 3, 9, 2 as *aytau vasava ckadas'a rudra dvadas'adityas te ekatrim'sat;* *Indras'caiva Prajnpati's' ca,* although *Aitareya Brahmana* (vii, 8, Trivandrum ed. by Anantakrishna Shastri) replaces Indra by *vasatkara* and styles them *somapah* 'drinkers of Soma juice ', The same Brahmana also gives immediately after, another list of thirty-three, who are called *asomapah* and are to be satisfied by the offering of beasts (*pas'ubhajannah*). This list gives *ekadasa prayajah, ekadas'a anuyajah* and *ekadas'a upayajah*) which obviously with their association with sacrifices would not be recognised by the Buddhists.

### Similes, Metaphors

16. From what has been said above, we should not be surprised if we have a large number of similes and metaphors, also common, or closely similar to one another, in both Pali texts and Upanisads. The famous simile of (*andhaveni*) blind man in *D. i,* 239 has its counterpart in *Ka.* 1, 2, 5 : *andhenaiva niyamana. yatha'ndhah.* The simile of a mango-fruit following the stem which is cut off in *D. i,* 146 is paralleled by *amram vodumbaram va pippalam va bandhanat pramucyate* (*Brh.* 4, 3, 36). The simile of a naughty horse, *khalunko viya sarathim* in *Thera.* 976, is found also in *Sve.* 2, 9: *dustasvayuktam iva vaham enan.* The looking-glass or mirror, used by every one to see his or her face in it, is found in *M. i* 100: *ii,* 19: *yuvva mandana-jatiko adase va* as well as in *Ka* 2, 3, 5: *yathadarse,* or in *Brh.* 2, 1, 9, or 3, 9, 15: *adarse purusah.* The spokes inserted in the' hub are described in *Ja.* vi, 261: *ara'va nabhynm susamohitani,* as well as in *Pr.* 2, 6; 6. 6 ; *Mu.* 2, 2, 6; *ara iva ratha-nabhau.* The tip of the cobbler's awl *aragramatrah* in *Sve* 5, 8 is found in the famous line of *Dhp.* 401: *aragge-r-iva sasapo.* Taking out *islko* blade from *munja* grass is described in similar words, in *tam svac charirat prabrhen munjad iveslkam* *Ka.* 2, 3, 17, and in *munjamho, isikam pavaheyya* (*D. i.* 77). The simile of water fallen on the heights and running down to the low level, *unname udakam vuttham yatha ninnam pavattatt* (*Khu.* vii 8) is found in *Ka.* 2, 1, 14: *yathodakam durge vrsamparvatesu vidhavati.* The simile of a serpent casting off its worn out slough : *uragojinnam iva tacam puranam* (*Sn.* 1-17) is found in different words

in Brh. 4, 4, 7 : (?) *ahinirivayani valmike mrtid pratyasta sayita*. The sharpness of a razor-blade is admitted to be a symbol of a life of watchfulness and restraint in : *khuradharupamo bhava* (Sn. 716) and *ksurasya dhara nisita duratyaya* (Ka. 1, 3, 14). Various rivers falling into the sea and losing their individuality are described in almost similar words : *yd kaci mahanadiyo...mahasamuddan tveva sankham gacchati* (Ud. 5, 5) and in *yathema nadyah syandamanah.. samudra ity eva procyate* (Pr. 6, 5; also MU. 3, 2, 8); *nigrodhasseva khandhaja* has a parallel in *naiyyagrodha-skandhajah* (Ap. Dharmasutra 1, 1, 2, 38). The simile of a drop of water not sticking to a lotus-leaf so often found in Buddhist books : *yatha pokkhare varibindu* (Sn. 392, also cf. Sn. 71, 213, 543, 811-12) or *vari pokkharapatte'va* (Dhp. 401) is also found in *Chand. 4, 14, 3 : yatha puskara-palase apo na slisyante*. The attachment of a young one for its mother-cow : *vaccho khirapako'va matari* (Dhp. 284, Ud. vii, 4) is found widened in *Chand. 5. 24. 5*, where the author speaks of hungry children resorting to their mother : *yathcha ksudhita bald mataram paryupasate*.

### Parallel Phrases or Expressions

17. There are several closely parallel phrases or expressions, which are found in Pali texts as well as in Upanisads. For convenience, they are arranged below in the alphabetical order of Pali expressions :—
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>attam nir attam na hi tass atthi</i> (Sn. 787)<br>The com. explains the first two words as <i>gahana-muncana</i> , taking and leaving, in addition to their technical interpretation.     | cf. <i>idam sariram attam mrtiyuna.. atto vai sasarirah priyapriyabhyam</i> (Chand 8, 12, 1) ; <i>attdh sarve ca kartell</i> (ibid. 8, 12, 6). |
| <i>anavattidhammo tasma loka</i> (D. i, 156) cf. <i>apunaravattita Miln. 276</i>   | cf. <i>etasman na punaravartante</i> (Pr. 1,10. <i>imam manavam avartam na punar avartante</i> (Chand. 4, 15, 5; also cf. 8, 15, 1)            |
| <i>ahatena vdtthena</i> , 'with new cloth (D. ii, 160)   | cf. <i>ahatena vasasa</i> (Kau. 2, 10) ; <i>ahata-vasah</i> (Brh. 6, 4, 13)  |
| <i>itihasa-panacamanam</i> (D. i, 8)   | cf. <i>itihaspuranam pancamam</i> (Chand. 7, 2. 1)   |
| <i>uccdvacam gacchati sannasatto</i> (Sn. 792)   | cf. <i>uccdvacam nigacchati</i> (Brh. 2, 1, 18)  |
| <i>na uccdvacam pandita dassayanti</i> ' (Dhp.38)  | cf. <i>uccavacam lyamanah</i> (Brh. 4, 3, 13)  |
| <i>ekamsam uttarasangam karitva</i> (after Sn. 537) 'covering one shoulder with his garment' cf. <i>ekamsam civaram katva</i> (prose before Sn. 343 ) <i>ekamsam ajinam katva</i> (Sn. 1027) | cf. <i>savym amsam anvaveksate panina antardhaya, vasandntena va pra-cchadya</i> (Kau. 2, 10)  |

- ekayano maggo* (M. i, 63) cf. *ekayanam cittam* (Chand. 7, 5, 2) *sarvasam apam samudra ekdayamam* (Brh. 2, 4, 11)
- ehi'bhikkhu-pabbajja, ehibhikkhubhadva* (Sn. cm. 456) cf. *upaimy aham bhavantam* (Brh. 6, 2.'7)
- kamam kamayamanassa* (Sn. 766) cf. *kamam kamayate* (Ma. 5); *kamanyah kamayate* (Mu. 3, 2, 2)
- gdthabhighitam me abhojaneyyam* (Sn. 81) cf. *yadannam tad atmana gasih* (Brh. 1, 3, 18)
- gama gamam param* (Sn. 102) cf. *grdmad gramam prchhan* (Chand. 6,14,2)
- guhdsayam, asariram* (Dhp. 37) *satto guhayam* (Sn. 772) cf. *guhasayah* (Sve 3, 11); *guhdcaram* (Mu. 2, 2, 1)
- pubb'uttthayi pacchanipatl* (D. i. 60) cf. *purvotthayi* (Gaut. Dharm. 1,2,26), *purvotthdyi jaghanya-samvesi* (Ap. 1, 4, 8)
- ma mohayi janam* (Sn. 352-53) cf. *ma moham apadyatha* (Pr. 2, 3)
- muddhd phalissati, sattadha* (D. i, 94) cf. *murdha te vipatisyati* (Chand. 1, 8, 6-8 ; 10,9-11 ; Brh 3,7, 1; 9,26), *myirdha te vyapatat* (Brh. 3, 6, 1)
- yatthdkama-nipdti cittam* (Dhp. 35-36 ) cf. *yathakamacarah* (Chand. 7, 1, 5; 3, 2)
- yathakammam goto* (J a. 109 ) cf. *pratydjayate yathakarma yathavidyam* (Kau. 1, 2), *yathakarma yathadsrutam* (Ka. 2, 2, 1)
- abhupanisa* (Dhp. 75); *sambodhigam. inam ka upanisa* (Sn. 38) cf. *etadupamsado bhavisyanti* (Chand. 8, 8, 4), *asuranam hyesopanisad* (Chand. 8, 8, 5 )
- sdssati sama* (Ja. iii, 225-56; Vv 63, 14), *satam samam* (Dhp. 106) cf. *Sas'vatih samah* (Brh. 5, 10, 1) cf. *Sasvatibhyah samabhyah* (Is 8) *satam samah* (Is.2)

### Parallel verbs

18. Like the parallel phrases and expressions given above, there are several verbs used in a similar sense. Here follows a list of such verbs : — *atichhatha*, bhante 'pass on, sir.' cf. *rcchati* in *sa svdm yonim rcchati* said to a mendicant visiting house to (Brh. 1,4, 11)

house for begging, also *samanna-tthoti-acchati* (Thera 936)

*arabhanti, samanam Gotamam uddissa panam* (M. i, 368), cf. *pananam* cf. and contrast *anarambhi* (Gau. 13, 24)

*arambho;* *biagama-bhutagama. samarambha* (D. i, 5)

*abbuyha, tameva sallam* (Sn. 934) cf. *pravrhya* (Ka. 1, 2, 13)

*dharaye, ratham, bhantmva* (Dhp. 222) cf. *vidvan mano dharayetapramattah* (sve. 2,9)

*nibbattati*, or *nibbatti* (*Ja.* i, 199) cf. *andam niravartata* (*Chand.* 3, 19,1)  
*patibhati* 'it appears to' *mam* (follow- cf. *na samparayah pratibhati balam*  
 ing) *Sn.* 450; *patibhanti*, *dhamma* (*Ka.* 1, 2, 6)

*na. .mam* (*Thera.* 1034)

*paccassosi* (*D.* i, 236); also *patissuui* cf. *pratisusrava* (*Chdnd.* 4, 5, 1, 6, 2)  
*panujja kame* (*Sn.* 359) cf. *pranodya* (*Ka.* 1, 1, 18)

*parivisati* 'serves food' *bhagavantam* cf. *parivisyamanau* (*Chand.* 4, 3, 5) cf.  
*parivisi* (*D.* ii, 127); also *parivesana* *parivestri* (*Kau.* 2, 1)  
 (*Sn.* 4)

*mahdti* 'worships', *mahemase* (V v A. cf. *amahlyanta* (*Ke.* 3, 1). *mahiyodh-*  
 203) *mahito* (*Thera.* 868) *vam* (*Ke.* 4, 1), *mahayan* (*Chand.* 8,  
 8,4)

### Parallel Substantives

19. Now I give a rather long list of substantives which are found to be close parallels. The words are arranged according to Pali alphabetical order:—  
*akata* 'not-created', used for the highest Buddhist ideal of Nirvana  
*akatanrm* (*Dhp.* 97) cf. *dhutva sariram akrtam krtatma*  
*Brahmalokam abhisambhavami*  
 (*Chand.* 8, 13, 1); *nasty*  
*akrtah krtena* (*Mu.* 1, 2, 12)

*akkodhano* 'not angry' (*Sn.* 19) cf. *akrodhamh* (*Ap.* 1, 1, 3, 23)  
*ajjhatarato* 'delighted in self' (*Dhp.* 362) cf. *atmakridu atmaratah* (*Mu.* 3, 1 4)

*annatra* 'except' (*Sn.* 29) cf. *anyatra, anyatrassman manyasai*  
 (*Brh.* 3, 9, 25)

*addha* 'certainly' (*Sn.* 47) cf. *addha* (*Chand.* 4, 14, 4; also *Maitri.*  
 1, 1, 1)

*anavajja* 'blameless' (*Sn.* 47) cf. *anavadyani* (*Tai.* 1, 11, 2);  
*niravadya* (*Sve.* 6, 19)

*anusasana* (*A.* i, 292) cf. *anusdsana* (*Brh.* 2, 5, 9)  
 also in *Tai.* 1, 3, 3, etc.

*antevasi* 'a disciple' (*D.* i, 1) cf. *apramattas tada bhavati* (*Ka.* 2, 3,  
 11); *mano dharayetapramattah* (*Svc.*  
 2,9)

*adyakata* 'unexplained' (*M.* i, 431) cf. *avyakrta* (*Brh.* 1, 4, 7)

*abhinham* 'constantly' (*Sn.* 335) cf. *abhiksnam* (*Kc.* 4, 5)

*asapatamm* 'without enmity' (*Sn.* 150) cf. *asapatnah* (*Brh.* 1, 5, 12)

*asambddham* 'not crowded, open' (*Sn.* 150) cf. *asambddha* (*Chand.* 7, 12, 2)

*am* 'yes'<sup>1</sup> (*D.* i, 192 ff), *Miln.* 11, 19, and several places (*am bhante*). I am inclined to put this word as an equivalent of *am ity agnihotram anujd-ndti,omitibrahmanah pravaksyanndhz* (*Tai.* 1,8, I), *kin canujanaty om ity eva* (*Chand.* 1, 1, 8)

- arammana* 'an object on which the mind hangs' (*Sn.* 474, 506, 1064); cf. and contrast *anarambhana* (*Brh.* 3 1, 6; *Chand.* 2, 9, 4)
- indagopa* 'a king of worm or insect' (Thera. 13); cf. *indragopah* (*Brh.* 2, 3, 6)
- urn* 'broad, large' (*Miln.* 354); cf. *urukramah* (*Tai.* 1, 12, 1)
- usabha* 'a bull' (*Sn.* 20, 416) cf. *rsabhah* (*Chand.* 4, 5, 1)
- kata* or *kata* 'a kind of die' (*Thera.* 462) cf. *krtaya vijitaya* (*Chand.* 4, 1, 4)
- hatakata* 'done and not done' (*Dhp.* 50) cf. *krtakrta* (*Brh.* 4, 4, 22)
- kaihojja* 'wordy fight' *Sn.* 825). I am inclined to take this word as coined after the word *brahmodya* 'discussion of Brahma' *Brh.* 3, 8, 1)
- hammanta*, the same as *hamrna*, (D. i, 71) cf. *buddhanta*, and *svapnanta*. (*Brh.* 4, 3, 16-18)
- kudacana* 'ever' (*Dhp.* 5 *Sn.* 331) cf. *kadacana* (*Tai.* 2, 4, 1), *kutai cam Tai*, 2, 2, 1)
- kohmkelo* 'going from life in one *kula* to another' (A i, 233 ; *Vis.* 23, 55): cf. *na kulam-kulah syat* (*Gau.* 1, 9,52)
- khajjopanaka* 'fire-fly' (M. ii, 34) cf. *khadyotamatram* (*Chand.* 6, 7 3-5 ; Sve. 2, 11)
- khatta* 'a servant' (D. i, 112) cf. *ksatta* (*Chand.* 4, 1, 7-8)
- gitavadita* (D. i, 5) cf. *gitavaditra* (*Chand.* 8, 2, 8)
- jighaccha* 'hunger' (M. i, 13) cf. and contrast *vijighatsah* (*Chand.* 8, 1, 5)
- jani* 'loss' (*Dhp.* 138) cf. *jyani* (*Brh.* 1, 5, 15)
- duddasa* 'difficult to be seen' (*Ud.* viii, 2) cf. *durdarsam* (*Ka.* 1, 2, 13)
- Navadvaram* 'the body with nine openings' (*Sn.* A. 298) cf. also in *Sue.* (3, 18)
- nahataka* (*Sn.* 521 ; 646) cf. *snataka* (*Ja.* 4).
- naharu* "sinews" (*Sn.* 194) cf. *snavira* (*Isa.* 8; cf *snava* (*Tai* (1,7, 11)
- pannamam* D. 'i, 124 ; DA. i, 290) cf. *prajnanam, medha* (A. i, 5; 2)
- patissaka* 'neighbour' (M. i, 126) cf. *pratiyasa* (*Tai.* 2, (1, 4, 3)
- pandara* 'white' (*Dhs.* 6; *Dhs.* cm.3,274) cf. *pandara* (*Brh.* 2, 1, 15<sup>3</sup>) *Kan.* 4, 18).
- patito sumano* 'rejoicing, glad' (*Dhp.* 68) cf. *sumanah...pratitah* (*Ka.* 1, 1, 10; 11)
- payata* 'pure' (D. i, 103 ; *Sn.* 242 ; cf. *prayatah sraddhakale va* (*Ka.* 1, 3, 17)
- parayanam* D. i, 156) also *Chand.* (1, 9, 1 ; *Brh.* 3, 9, 17 ; 28)
- parovarani* (*Sn.* 353, 704, 1088) cf. *parovartya* (*Chand.* 2, 7, 12)
- paligna* 'a cross-bar' M. i, 139) cf. *parigha* (*Chand.* 2, 24, 6; 15)
- pada* 'a kind of coin' (A. 77) cf. *da'sa daia pada chaikasyah srngayor abaddha babhuvuh* (*Brh* 3, 1, 1) "
- pihita* (-*apihita*) 'closed' (M. i, 118) cf. *satyasyapihitam mukham* (*Ma.* 15)

- bhunahu* 'embryo-killer' (M. i, 503)
- ynahasala* 'Brahmana' (M. i, 82)
- yakkha, yakkhassa suddhi*, 'purity of the inner spirit' (*Sn.* 478, 875-76)
- yogga* 'a bullock' (Vv. 848)
- rajanna* (ML iu 152, D. i. 103)
- lukha* 'dried up, faded' (Mi. 77)
- lokapnl* (A. 1. 51; Dhs. cm. 3. 247)
- vadafifin* 'liberal, generous' (*Sn.* 487)
- vnsa* 'cloth' (*hemakappanavrisase*, Ja. vi. 47)
- vttasoka* (*Ud.* via. 8)
- veyyaggha* (*[-paficayna]* *Dhp.* 295)
- sdkadagarrit* returning once to life' (M. i. 34)
- sdkkhara* 'gravel' (D. i. 84)
- saccasandho* 'a uniformly true speaker' (D. i. 69)
- saddhadcyau* (*bhojanani*, D. i. 64-69);
- sanihava* 'intimacy' (*Sn.* 844)
- sarukha* 'body' (Thera. 20. *Dhp.* 148)
- sapatta* 'enemy', (Thera. 347; It. 83)
- sampasada* (M. ii. 262)
- samma*, (D. i. 49) 'a term of familiar address'; I am inclined to connect this with *somya*, occurring throughout the Upanisads (*Prd.* 4, 7, 10, 11; 6, 2; *Brh.* 2, 2, 13; *Chand.* 4. 5. 1 etc.)
- samaka* <sup>4</sup> 'a king of grain' (*Sn.* 239)
- savitti, gayatri* (*Sn.* 457, 568)
- sobbha* <sup>4</sup> 'a hole, cave, a pit' (*Sn.* 720)
- cf. *bhrnaha* (*Brh.* 4,3,22)
- cf. *mahasala mahasrotriyah* (*Chand.* 5, 11, 1; 3: 0,4, 5)
- cf. *yo haitani mahad yaksam praiha\** *majdm veda* (*Brh.* 5, 4, 1). *Sec Uni of Ceylon Review*, I. ii, 30-32
- cf. *prayogy a coram yuktah* (*Chand.* 8, 12, 3)
- cf. *rajanya-bandhuh* (*C\and.* 5, 3, 5; *Brh* 6, 2, 3)
- and contrast *a-luksah* (*Tax.* 1, 11, 4)
- cf. *esa lokapiila esa lokadhipatih* (*Kaa.* 3, 8)
- cf. *vaddnyah* (*Brh.* 6, 2, 7)
- cf. also in *Ap.* 1, 1, 39; *Gau.* 1, 3, 33
- cf. *vttasokah* *Sve.* 2, 14; 3, 20; 4, 7)
- cf. *vaiyagghra* in *vaiyagghrapadya* in *Chand.* (5, 2, 3; 14, 1; 16, 1)
- cf. and contrast *a-safcrdai;art7ni* in *Sve.* 4, 7; *Chnd.* 5, 10, 8.
- cf. *sarkara* (*Sve.* 2, 10)
- cf. *satyabhisandhah* (*Chand.* 6, 16, 2)
- cf. *sraddhadeyo bahuddyi* (*Chand.* 4, 1, 1)
- cf. perhaps related to *samstavah* (*Brh.* 4, 2, 3)
- cf. *sandehas tc vyailryat* (*Chand.* 5, 15, 2)
- cf. *sa-patnah*, (*Tax* 3, 10, 4)
- cf. *samprasadah.* (*Chand.* 8, 12, 3)
- cf. *iyamakad va* (*Chand.* 3, 14, 3)
- cf. *savitri* (*Brh.* 5, 14, 5)
- cf. cf. *svabhram* (*Chand.* 2, 9, 7)

## Style

20. Just as we have discovered similarities in ideas, similes or metaphors, phrases or expressions, and a large range of vocabulary, so we also notice similarity in style. The Pali texts are full of repetitions. We often find that a person when he reports a conversation between two other persons will, *ad nauseum*, repeat the whole conversation (with all its details) as it originally took place. So also if a certain statement or a very similar statement is to be made with regard to each of the constituents of a group like the five senses, then what is said with regard to the first constituent will be repeated, *in toto*, or with requisite variations, with regard to all the remaining constituents. This same style is found employed in the Upanisads (also in the Brahmanas). In *Chand.* 4, 4, 4 for instance, Satyakama Jabala reports to Haridrumata Gautama the whole of the conversation with his mother, word for word. In *Tax* 2, 8; A. i, 3, 3; *Chand.* 3, 6, 1-3; 9, 4; *Brh.* 1, 3, 1; 3, 7; 2, 1, 2; 13; 2, 5, 1; 15, we have repetition exactly of the type followed in Pali.

21. We find in Pali texts several passages, which apparently are riddles or paradoxes, but which give a satisfactorily good sense after understanding the implied meaning in the figurative or symbolical speech. For instance,

*channam ativassati, vivatam niltivassati  
tasma chamidm vivaretha, cvam tarn natwassati*

"It rains heavily if the house is covered (with a roof); if the house is laid bare, it will not rain heavily. Therefore, open up what is covered, so that it will not rain heavily'. Or, the following :—

*ahu pubbe tadfi ndhu, pubbe tada ahu (Ud. vi, 3)*

'Whatever existed formerly has ceased to exist then; (and) whatever did not exist before had come into existence then'. On the same lines, we are inclined to put the following :—

*nfiham manye suvedcti no na vedeti veda ca.*

or, *yasyacimatam tnatam tasya matam yasya na veda sah  
avijttatam vijanatam vijnatam avijanatdm (Ke. 2, 2-3)*

22. The questions put by six young men to Pippalada in *Prasnopanisad* may be considered to be an exact parallel to the questions put by the sixteen disciples of Bavari, in the last division of the *Suttanipata*, while to the questions put by young disciples to Brahma's teachers like Yaiiavalkya (*Brh.* chap. 3) or to Ksatriya kings like Ajatas'atru (*Brh.* 2, 1, 14), or those put by king Janaka (*Brh.*, 4th chap.) scattered all over the Upanisads, may be compared with the questions of the various disciples approaching the Buddha and putting all sorts of questions to him.

23. The Upanisads, like the Pali texts, are a curious mixture of prose and poetry, the verse being often introduced by expressions, like

*tadesa sloko bhavati* (Brh. 2, 2, 3; 4, 4, 7) *tadetc sloka bhavanti* (Brh. 4, 4, 8); or by *tadctad rcabhyuktam* (Brh. 4, 4, 23). In Pali, too, we find the prose followed by verses introduced by *gathdya ajjhabhasi* (Sn. 4th sutta); *imd-gaihayo dbhasi* (S. 1, 154); or *athdparam dad avoca satthd* (A. iii., 34, S, i, 69, 152); or by *vuttam Kctam* (Vis. 18, 26).

24. Another peculiarity that is common to this earlier literature is to indulge in etymological interpretations, often fanciful or merely popular. For instance, *Gdyatrt* is explained as *sarvam bhntam gdyati ca truyatc* (Chand. 3, 12, 1), *hrdaya* as *hrdi ayam* (Chand. 8, 3, 3), *arnava* as *arai ca*, *nyas ca* or *arafi ca nyan ca* (Brh. 8, 5, 3-4), or *purasa* as *sarvasu piirsu\*\*\* purisayah* (Brh. 2, 5, 18). The same sort of tendency is exhibited in the fanciful interpretation of *ay aha* as *arakattd* (M. 280), *aranam* or *arinam hatatta*, *ara-ha*, or *papakaranc rahdbhdvato* (*a-raha* M. cm. i. 52; Vis. vii, 5-25; Smp. i, 112'; or of *bhagavd* (Vis. vii, 53-64, Smp. i, 122-124); or of *samana* as *samacariya samano ti* (Dhp. 3880), or as *samitaid hi papanam* (Dhp. 265), or as *samitavi pahiiya punna-papam* (Sn. 520); or of *Brahmatja* as *buhitapapo ti* (Dhp. 388), or as *buhctva sabba-pdpihii* (Sn. 519), or as *bahetvd sabba-papakc dhammc* (Ud. h 5); or of *pabbajita* as *pabbdjayam attano malam*.

25. This sort of interpretation of applying an ethical sense leads to the Buddhist method of what is often described as putting new wine into old bottles. The Buddhists often accept old Brahmanical terms, like *traividya*, *sdvitrt*, *srotriya*, *sndtaka*, *ksetra*, *naga*, *madhyadcia* but interpret them in their own sense. For instance, the term *traividya* is interpreted by them as meaning one who has a divine eye, a divine ear, and who has destroyed all depravities. The Buddhist mantra of Savitrl is *Buddham saranam gacchdmi*, *Dhammam saranam gacchdmi*. *Sangham saranam gacchdmi* 'I take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha (Buddhist community)'. Their *Madhyadcsa* is not the country (Doab) between the Ganges and Jumuna, but the country which roughly speaking corresponds to the eastern part of the modern U. P. and western part of modern Behar (Vin i, 197 : Jd i, 49). The *Sabhiyd-sutta* (No. 32) of the *Suttanipdta* gives the Buddhist ethical interpretation of several terms like *snataka*, *srotriya* etc.

### Irregularities of Grammar

26. What appear to be cases of grammar-irregularities are found both in the Upanisads and in Pali texts. What is styled as *linga-viparyaya* change of grammatical gender', is found in both kinds of texts. For instance, in *Ka*, 1, 1, a: *vaisvanarah pravisaty atithir brdhamano grhan*, has a parallel instance in *anutthdna-mdld ghard* (Dhp. 241), where the word *grha* or *ghara* is put in the masculine form. Other instances of the same type are *pabbatani vandni ca* (Dhp. 188), *tarn bhrmim rdmaneyyakam* (Dhp. 98). In what may be called a later stratum of the *Maitrl Upanis'ad*, (6, 21; 7, 1) we have examples of *labhati* and *tkranti* instead of *labhate* and *ikrante*. This distinction between Parasmaipada and Atmanepada is, as is well known,

not observed in Pali, where every verb can have both the forms of Parasmaipada as well as of Atmanepada. In *Svc.* 1, 9, we have *vindatc brahman etat*, where the word *brahman* is treated as if it ends in *a*. Another example is found in *Maitri Upanisad* 7, 10 (which, by the by, may lead one to suspect the genuineness of antiquity of that portion of the Upanisad), where we have *namaskrtvocuh*. This form *namaskrtvd* is used instead of *namaskrtya*. In Pali, this sort of freedom is given, where we have the form *upagantva* as well as *upagamma*, *utthdyd* as well as *utthahitvd*. Another Vedic peculiarity is seen in *Parame vyoman*. (*Tai.* 2, 1, 1), *daksinc dksan purusah* (*Brh.* 4, 2, 2; 5, 5, 2; 4, *Kau.* 4, 16), *savyc aksan purusah* (*Kau.* 4, 17), where the forms *vyoman* or *aksan* stand for *vyomni* or *aksani*. Actually in *Brh.* 4, 2, 3, we do get *vdme aksani*. With this may be compared the Pali irregularities in *pancasu upddnakkhandhcsu sati* (*Vis.* xviii. 28), *abhijjhd-domanassd pdpakd dkusald dhammd anvssaveyyu.n, tassa samvardya patipajjati* (*M.* i. 180), *tayo upthdnc kusalatd* (*Pati*).

### Conclusion

27. On the lines followed in this paper, a comparative study of Pali texts with the Vedic Samhitas, Brdmanas, and Sutras may be carried on with fruitful results. There are several words in Pali which are used in their Vedic sense, like *tejana*, *ydgu* (*yavagu*), *bhesajja* (*bhesaja*), *kevctta kevirta*, *btrana*, (*vtrana*), *sardva* (*sardva*), *peta* (*preta*) etc. There are several proper names common to both literatures like *Tarukkha* (*Taruksya*) *Vepacitti* (*Vipracitti* or *Viprajitti*), *Potthapdda* (*Pro?thapdda*) etc. Verse like *assamedham purisamedhani sammdpdsani vdjapeyyam niraggaiam* (*Sn.* 303) can be explained only by the sacrificial literature of the Brahmanas. I shall be satisfied if this paper gives an indication to some young scholar inclined to pursue such comparative study. Attempts like this can alone explain properly several Pali words. Dr. Coomaraswamy has explained in the article referred to at the beginning of this paper how, to mention only a few instances, the interpretations of Pali words *tejana*, *thupa*, *sarruila* can be correctly given only by having in mind the background of these words in earlier literature. I am also glad to notice some papers on *Yaksa*, *Gandharva* and *Indra* by Prof. O. H. de A. Wiiesekera and his former pupil, Charles Godage, in the *University of Ceylon Review*, vol. I, No. 2 (Nov. 1943), pp. 24-33, and vol. III (April 1945) pp. 41-107, which deserve a careful perusal by all students of comparative study of Brahmanical and Buddhist literature.

# Behaviour of Consonants in Sinhalese

BY

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Prof. Wilhelm Geiger has given, in his Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, a fair account of the Consonantism in Sinhalese. There he has pointed out the various changes of consonants that have taken place at different stages during the development of Sinhalese vis. during (1) the Prakrit period, i.e. from about 200 B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D., (2) the Proto-Sinhalese period, i.e. from the 4th or 5th century to the 8th century A. D. and (3) the Sinhalese period, i.e. from about the 8th century downwards.

In the following pages I shall confine myself solely to a study of the changes that the Old and Middle Indian consonants have undergone in coming into actual Sinhalese, i. e. after the language had passed its formative period. To make a few general observations :—

1. At the beginning of a word, a single consonant is generally retained with the following exceptions:—

The palatals may undergo further changes; *y* or *v* may be reduced by *samprasnrana* ; *s* *s*, *s* or *A* may drop off.

If a word forms the second member of a compound, or if a prefix precedes it, the initial consonant of that word may behave as if it were medial.

2. The consonants *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* and *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, when they are single and intervocalic, generally drop off. But sometimes they are retained. The three sibilants *sr*, *s* and *s* first become dental *ṣ*, and that *ṣ* and also *y*, *v*, *h* may either disappear or be retained.

3. The double consonants in Old or Middle Indian become single in coming into Sinhalese, either through loss of one consonant or through *svara-bhakti*. A nasal before a voiced mute is often retained as a half-nasal.

4. All aspirates lose their aspiration quite early. Sometimes an aspirate is retained in Old Sinhalese, but that too disappears in course of time. Not infrequently an aspirated consonant is split up into the mute and the aspirate.

K The initial *k* is retained, e.g. Sk. *kanaka-* > *kana* 'gold'; Sk. P. *kavfya-* > *kavulu* 'window.'

The intervocalic *k* is sometimes retained, but more often it is dropped, e.g. Sk. P. *nkara-* > *akara* 'mine\*'; Sk. *vhlrqa-*, P. *Zlkiwa-* > *akin* 'crowded' ; P. *gandha-kutv* > *gahda-kili* 'the perfumed chamber'; P. *ffivakalika-* > *tavukali* 'temporary'; Sk. P. *sakala-* > *siyal* 'all, entire'; Sk. P. *dukala\** > *diyul*, *duhul*, *dal* 'fine garment, thin fabric'; Sk. *vakunta-*, P. *sakunta* > 5. 12

*siyot* 'bird'; **Sk. P. *divnkara-* > *divayuru*** 'sun', **Sk. *danda(ka)- karmannr*** > *danduvam* 'punishment.'

An intervocalic *k* is occasionally voiced, e.g. **Sk. P. *phalaka-* > *palaga*** 'plank, shield'; **Sk. *akanisthaka-*, P. *akaninhaka\** > *aganita*** 'lit. noc the lowest, highest, name of a Brahma world.'

To express, in short, the more important changes of double consonants in both Old and Middle Indian :—

*kk* (mostly of MI.) > *h* e. g. **P. *vikkama-*** («=Sk. *vikrama-*) > *vikū* 'prowess'; **P. *okhc.ka-*** (\*=Sk. *ikwfiku-*) > *oka* 'name of a dynasty'.

*kkh* (MI.) > *kh* in old Sinhalese, and later *k*, e. g. **P. *vikkhepa-*** (Sk. *viksepa-*) > *vikhevu*, *viktv* 'confusion, perplexity'; **P. *sikkha-*** (Sk. *s^hiksa-*) > *stkha*, *sika* 'precept.'

*kt* > *tt* > *t* : **Sk. *vyakta-*, P. *viyatta-* > *viyat*** 'learned'; **Sk. *ukta-*. P. *utta-* > *utu*, *ut*** 'stated.'

*ktr* > *tt* > *t* : **Sk. *vaktra-*, P. *vatta-* > *vata*** 'face.'

*kr* > *kk* > *k* : **Sk. *upakrama-*, P. *upahkatna-* > *uvakutn*** 'device'; **Sk. *krl(fn)* > *kidja*, *kicju*, *keli*** (?) 'sport.'

*ks* > *kkh* > *kh*, *k* as above.

*fcs* may disappear, if it becomes *kh* in Middle-Indian, e. g., **Sk. *upeksa-* > P. *upekkha*, *upekhn-* > *upeyu upg*** 'equanimity'; **Sk. *laksa*; P. *Inkha* > In** 'red lac'

*ks* > *cch* > *s* : **Sk. *dafasa-* > *das*** 'clever' ; **Sk. *k\*apanaka-* > *sapana*** 'a mendicant.'

Certain words preserve both the developments *k* and *s* of Sk. *fcs*, e. g. **Sk. *aksi-*** < *aksa-*, **P. *akkhi-*, *achhi-* > *ah*** as 'eye' ; **Sk. *ksama-***, **P. *khamar*** > *kamfi*, *saws* 'forbearance'; **Sk. *ksana-*, P. *khana-*, *chana-* > *kana*** 'moment', *stiya* 'festival', **Sk. *ksema-* > *kem,sem*** 'safe, secure'; **Sk. *pratikypa-* > *pilikev pilisev*** <sup>4</sup> rejecting, contradiction'; **Sk. *maksika*, *ha-* > *maki*, *mast*** 'fly'.

**Kh** The initial *kh*, usually of Middle-Indian, is retained in Old Sinhalese: later it loses its aspiration; sometimes it is deaspirated and voiced, e.g. **P. *khandha-*** (=Sk. *skandha-*) > *khaḍḍu* (pi.), *kaḍḍa* 'group, aggregate'; **P. *ktoya-*** (=Sk. *ksina*) > *khiiju*, *gunti* 'wasted, destroyed'; **Sk. *khatjga-*, P. *khagga-* > *kaga*** sword'; **Sk. P. *khand.a-* > *kaia*** 'portion' **Sk. *khadyota*, P. *khajjota-* > *kado*** 'fire-fly'; **P. *khepeti*** (=k. *kspayati* [?] ) > *gevayi*(?) 'passes, wastes.'

The single intervocalic *kh* usually drops off in the inherited words. But occasionally it is deaspirated, and sometimes also voiced, with or without nasalization. In a few instances *kh* loses its mute, and the aspirate remains, e. g. **Sk. P. *mekhaln-* > *mevid*** 'girdle'; **Sk- P. *parikha-* > *piii*** 'moat'; **Sk. P. *nakha-* > *ruya*** 'nail'; **Sk. *vikhin-*, P. *sikhi-* > *siki*** 'peacock'; **Sk. *akhila-* > *akila*** 'complete, whole'; **Sk. P. *mukhara-* > *mukara*** 'garrulous'; **Sk. *vaisftkha\**, P. *vesnkha-* > *vesahga*** 'name of a month'; **Sk. *sikhn-* > *singa***

'crest'; P. *tikhina-* (= Sk. *tiksna*) > *tihitni* 'sharp'; P. *sukhumnla-* (»Sk. *sukurmrā-*) > *suhumbul* 'tender, delicate.'

*khy* > *kh* (early), fe-h.'i, k : Sk- P. *vyakhydna-* > *viyakhan*, *viyak'han*, *viyakdn* 'commentary, commenting on.'

g The initial *g* is retained, e. g. Sk. *garbha-* P., *gabbha-* > *gaba* 'womb'; Sk. *gntra-*, P. *gatta-* > *gat* 'body.'

The intervocalic *g* most often disappears; but sometimes it may be retained, especially in semi-loan forms, e. g. Sk. P. *nagara-* > *nuvara* 'city'; Sk. P. *sagara-* > *sayuru* 'ocean'; Sk. P. *agantuka-* > *avutu*, *amutu* 'stranger'; Sk. P. *viyoga-* > *viyo* 'separation'; Sk. *pratigrhṇati* P. *pa'jgayntv* > *piligānl* 'accepts'; Sk. *hasti-gopaka-*, P. *hatthi-gopaka-* > *at-govu* 'mahout'.

gg (usually of MI.) > g, hg, e. g. P. *khagga-* (=Sk, *khaiga-* > *kaga* 'sword'; P. *muggara-* (=\*Sk. *mudgara-*) > *mugura* 'rod'; P. *samugga-* (—Sk. *samudga-*) > *sumuha* 'casket'; P. *magga* (⇒Sk. *marga-*) > *maga*, *manga* 'way'.

gh The initial *gh* loses its aspiration, e. g. Sk. *gharsa-* > *gasa* 'rubbing, friction'; Sk. P. *ghana-* > *gana* 'thick.'

The intervocalic *gh* is preserved in Old Sinhalese, but later it is deaspirated and retained with or without nasalisation. Most often *gh* drops off medially, e. g. Sk. *pratigha-*, P. *patigha-* > *pilighu* 'anger'; Sk. P. *Zghata-* > *agliā*, *aga* 'hatred'; Sk. P. *agha-* > *aga* 'sin'; Sk. *buddha-ghosa-* > *budu-gos* 'name of a Thera'; Sk. P. *nidagha-* > *niyanga* 'drought'; Sk. P. *jaghana-* > *duvan* 'buttock'; Sk. P. *megha-* > *me* 'cloud.'

n occurs only in combination with another consonant.

*hk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. P. *kuhkuma-* > *kokum* 'saffron'; Sk. *ahkusā-*, P. *ahkusa* > *akusu* 'hook'; Sk. *sasanka*, P. *sasahk-* > *sasak* 'moon.'

Rarely *hk* > *g*, *ng*, *m*, e. g. Sk. *paryahka-*, P. *pallahka-* > *palaga*, *valahga* 'sitting cross-legged or upon the hams'; P. *sunk-* (» Sk. *s'ulka-*), Pk. *suhga-* > *sum* 'tax.'

*nkt* > *nt* > *U* e. g., Sk. *pahkti-*, P. *panti-* > *pet* (?) 'row',

*hkh* (MI.) > *kh* (early), fe, e. g. P. *sahkhepa\** (= Sk. *samkxepa-*) > *sakhev*, *sakev* 'summary'; P. *sahkhfira-* (» Sk. *samsknra-*) > *sakhara*, *sakara* 'constituent, synergies (*sic.*)'; Sk. *s'rhkhali(kri)*, P. *sahkhalikfr* > *hakili* 'fetter.'

O The *c* of Old and Middle Indian has had a peculiar development in Sinhalese. Although *c* is come across in Prakritic Sinhalese, in Sinhalese proper, it can hardly be found, excepting in loan-words, with a few rare exceptions like: Sk. P. *cumbati*, > *simbl*, *himbu Imbl* 'kisses', *c* never drops off even medially, unlike in Prakrit and in certain modern Indo-Aryan languages.

The initial *c* changes to *s*, e. g. Sk. P. *candana-* > *sahdun* 'sandal'; Sk. P. *campaka-* > *sapu*; Sk. P. *coxa-* > *sora* 'thief.'

The intervocalic *c* has a twofold development. It either changes to *ṣ*, or becomes *j* early, and then changes to *d* later, e.g. Sk. *vicitra-* > *visit*, *visitruu* 'variegated, beautiful'; Sk. *s'ocati* > *sosl* 'mourns, grieves'; Sk.

*vicaksarjta-* > *visakuyu* 'discerning'; Sk. P. *vaccina-* > *vajan, vadan* 'utterance, word'; Sk. P. *gocara-* > *gojuru, goduru* 'pasture, prey, range'; Sk. *kavaca-* > *kavaja, kavada, kavasa* 'armour'; P. *acelaka-* > *ajelu* 'naked'; Sk. P. *suci-* > *hiji, hidi* 'needle.'

*cc* ((MI.)) > 5, e. g., P. *sacca-* (= Sk. *satya-*) > *sas* 'truth'; P. *anicca-* (= Sk. *anitya-*) > *ants* 'impermanent.'

oh Initial *ch* generally becomes 5. Sometimes it may change further to *h*, e. g. Sk. *chatra-*, P. *chatta-* > *sat* 'umbrella'; Sk. *chidra-*, P. *chidda-* > *sida* 'opening, hole'; Sk. P. *channa-* > *san* 'covered'; Sk. P. *chadana-* > *siyana, sea* 'roof'; P. *chata-* (= k. *psata*) *sa,ha hungry*.'

*ccK* occurring usually medially changes to *s* but in a few instances, *cch* seems to have given rise to *j* and laterly *d* or *nd*, e. g. Sk. P. *samuccheda-* > *sumusV* 'extermination'; Sk. *pariprccha-*, P. *paripuccha-* > *piripus* 'questioning'; Sk. P. *icchatī*, Pk. *icchai* > *isl* 'desires, wishes'; P. *pacchima-* (= k. *pas'cima-*) > *pasitn, paswn* 'western'; Sk. *ucchista-*, P. *ucchiṭṭha-* > \**ucttha* (?) > \**ujitu* > *ujuh injuL* *indul* left over (after a meal), remaining (crumbs of food); Sk. *akrechra-*, P. *akiccha-* > *akij* 'not difficult'; P. *samvacchara-* (^Sk. *samvatsara-*) > *havaraja*, (Epz; III P. 251<sup>3</sup>) *havuruju, havurudu, avurudu* 'year.'

j Initial *j* is retained in Old Sinhalese, but later it changes to *d*, e. g. Sk. *jatru-y* P. *jattu* > *jat* 'collar-bone, shoulder'; Sk. P. *jnti-* > *jaya, ddyā* 'birth', Sk. *janayitri-*, P. *janettl-* > *diniti* 'mother-', Sk. P. *jarfi-* > *dara* 'decay'; Sk. *jya.*, P. *jiya-* > *diya* 'bow-string.'

The medial *j* is retained in Old Sinhalese, and sometimes also later. But generally it changes to *d* in the inherited words, e. g. Sk. P. *bhojana-* > *bojun, bodun* 'food'; Sk. P. *faja-* > *laja, lada* 'fried grain'; P. *pctrtfjikh* > *parijU paradi* 'a grave transgression according to Vinaya'; Sk. P. *bhuja-* > *btija* 'arm'; Sk. P. *rdja-* > *raja, rada* 'king'; Sk. *vljana-*, *vyajana-* P. *vljan* > *vijini* 'fan'; Sk. *dhvaja*, P. *dhaja-* > *dada* 'flag'; Sk. P. *bhnjana-* > *badun* 'vessel'.

*jj* > *j* (early), *d, hd*, e. g. P. *p&mojja-* (= Sk. *pramodya-*) > *pamoja* 'excessive joy'; P. *bhesajjar* (= Sk. *bhaimjya*) > *behaja, beheja, beheda* 'medicine'; P. *ajja-* ("Sk. *adydy, aja, ada* 'to-day'; P. *patipajjati* (TM Sk. *pratipadyate*) > *pilipadl* 'practises'; P. *bhijjati* (^Sk. *bhidyate*) > *bindeyi* 'is broken, gets broken'.

jh The initial as well as medial *jh* is either retained, or becomes *j* in Old Sinhalese; later it becomes *d* or *d + fc*, e. g. P. *jhama-* («Sk. *hs&ma-*) > *jham, jam, dam* 'scorched, burnt'; P. *jhana-* (\*»Sk. *dhyftna-*) > *jhan, dahan* 'meditation'; P. *pndaka-jjhana\** > *pa-jhan* 'meditation, forming a basis for further introspective development'.

*jjh>jh>j*, *dy d+h*, e. g. P. *majjha-* («Sk. *madhya-*) > *mada* 'middle'; P. *pabujjhati* (- Sk. *prabudhyate*) > *pubudl* 'wakes up'; P. *majjhatta-* > *majahat*, *mddahat* 'indifferent, neutral'; P. *ajjhasaya-* > *adahasa* 'intention'.<sup>1</sup>

11 is retained in Old Sinhalese, and later it becomes *n*, e. g. P. *nana*, ( » Sk. *jfflnay* > *nana nana*, 'wisdom'.

*tic* > 5, e. g. Sk. *kWtcana-*, P. *kaficana-* > ?*kasana* 'gold'; Sk. P. *caftcala-* > *sasala* 'unsteady'; Sk. P. *laticn-* > *las* 'present, bribe'.

*nj >jy nj*, *d, nd*, e. g. Sk. P. *anjali* > *anjili*, *andili* 'hands clasped in salutation'; Sk. P. *panjara-* > *panjara*, *andura* 'cage'; P. *bhunjati* > *budi* 'eats'; Sk. *manjasw*, P. *manjusa-* > *madosa* 'box, chest'; Sk. P. *sanjanati* > *handunayu andunayi* 'recognizes'; Sk. P. *kuniara-* > *kojuru*, *konduru* 'elephant'.

*nn* > *n*, e. g. P. *patinna-* (=Sk. *prat t'>na-*) > *ptlina* 'pledge, promise'; P. *puMa-* (=Sk. *punya-*) > *pin* 'merit'; P. *panana-* (= Sk. *prajna-*) > *'>ana* 'wisdom'; P. *vinana-* (= Sk. *vijnana-*) > *vindna* 'consciousness.'

*t* Initial *£* may *ta* retained. But the words beginning with ( are very rare. Medial *t* most often becomes *l*; sometimes it may further change to *n*. Occasionally it is preserved, or is voiced, especially in semi-loan forms, e. g. Sk. P. *kavliita-* > *kavulu* 'window'; Sk. P. *fefifa-* > *bulu* 'top, summit'; P. *patipakkha-* (^Sk. *pratipaksa-*) > *pUivak* 'opposed, hostile'; Sk. P. *ahkota-* > *anguna* 'name of a plant'; P. *pa',icca* (=Sk. *pratlyta*) > *pinisa* 'on account of'; P. *sampaticchati* > *sapinisayi* 'receives, accepts'; P. *paticchnpeti* > *punusvayi* 'gives, entrusts'; P. *vyavata-* (—Sk. *vyaparta-*) > *vavala*, *viyavulu* 'busy with, intent on'; Sk. *utpafayati\** P. *uppateti* > *uputayi* 'roots out, removes'; Sk. P. *tafa-* > *latfa* 'name of a country'; Sk. *karqata\** > *kannaii* 'Kanarese'; Sk. P. *atavi-* > *aiavi* 'forest.'

*tf* > (, and rarely *J*, e. g. Sk. P. *atffila(ka-)* > *a(alu* 'upper storey, watch-tower'; Sk. P. *pafta-* > *pa[fa* 'woven silk, fine cloth'; P. *vatfa\** (— Sk. *vrta-*) > *vata* 'cycle'; P. *kevalta* (— Sk. *kaivarta-*) > *kevulu*, *hevul* 'fisherman.'

*tth* (MI.) > (A (early), (*t, t+h*, | rarely, e. g. P. *upatthana* (= Sk. *upasthana-*) > *uvathan*, *uvatan*, *vatan* 'attendance ministering to'; P. *'>ariyuKfcina-* > *piriyuthan* 'outburst'; P. *attharasa-* (-Sk. *astadasa-*) > *afara* 'eighteen'; P. *papitha* (=Sk. *papistha-*) > *pavitu* 'most sinful, worst'; P. *paluRha-* (« Sk *plusta-*) > *pulutu* 'burnt'; P. *utthaya* (- Sk. *utthaya*) > *ut'hay* 'having risen up'; P. *miccha-ditthi-* (— Sk. *mithya-drsti-*, > *misa-dit'ha* 'wrong views'; P. *vutthana* (= Sk. *vyutthana-*) > *vutuhan* 'rising out, emergence'; P. *itthaka-* (= Sk. *istaka-*) > \**itthaka* > \**ilu* > *ulu* 'bricks tiles'; P. *ucchittha-* (=Sk. *ucchisa-*) > \**ucittha* > \**ujitu* > *ujul*, *injul indul* 'remaining crumbs of a meal'; P. *kutthi-* (« Sk. *kusthin-*) > *kili* 'leper'; P. *kavitha-* (-Sk *kapittha-*) > *givulu*, *givul* 'the elephant-apple tree.'

*th* like *t*, is extremely rare in an initial position. Intervocalic *th* changes in Sinhalese to *l*, e. g. Sk. *s'atha-*, P. *satha-* > *sola* 'crafty, fraudulent;

Sk. *naksatra-pathaka-*, P. *nakkhatta-pathaka-* > *nakat-palu* 'one who reads or interpretes stars, astrologer'; P. *pathama-*(= Sk. *prathama-*) > *pllamu* 'first'.  
 d is retained at the beginning of a word, e. g. Sk. *dakini-* > *davini* 'demoness', Sk. *damaru-* > *damuru* 'a small drum.' The intervocalic d changes to I, e. g. Sk. *vadava* > *valaba* 'mare'; Sk. P. *udu-* > *ulu* 'star'; Sk. *vrida-* > *vili* 'shame, bashfulness.'

*ddh* > d, e. g. P. *vaddhi-* O Sk. *vrddhi-*) > *vada* 'growth, interest'; P. *addha-* (= Sk. *ardha-*) > *ada* 'half.'

dh when intervocalic, changes to I, e. g. Sk. *drdha-*, P. *dalha-* > *dale* 'firm'; Sk. *mula-* > *mulu* 'infatuated'; Sk. *gudha*, P. *gulha* > *gulu* 'hidden' concealed.'

n Words beginning with *n* are rare. In a medial position *n* is generally retained. Sometimes it is changed to I, e. g. Sk. P. *carana-* > *sarana* 'foot'; Sk. P. *mani-* > *mint*; Sk. P. *abharana-* > *abarana*, *barana* 'ornament'; Sk. P. *ravana-* > *ravulu* 'name of a king'; Sk. *garbhini-*; P. *gabbhini-* > *gambili* 'pregnant woman'; Sk. P. *vanija-* > *venenda*, *velehda*, *velanda* 'merchant'.<sup>1</sup>

*nt* > t, e. g. Sk. P. *kantaka-* > *katu* 'thorn'; P. *tala-vanta-*, Pk. *tala-venta* (=Sk. *tala-vrnta-*) > *tal-vata* 'fan, palm-leaf fan'.<sup>1</sup>

*nth* > *th* (early), *t+h*, *t*, e.g. P. *santhnna-* (—Sk. *samsthana-*) > *sathan*, *satahan* 'figure, shape'; Sk. P. *kantha-* > *kata* 'throat'; P. *ganthi-* (-Sk. *granthi-*) > *gata* 'knot.'

*nd* > d, *nd*, e. g. Sk. P. *dam'a-* > *da4a* 'punishment, fine'; Sk. P. *tunda-* > *tuda* 'beak'; Sk. *kauyinya-* P. *kondanna-* > *kundan* 'name of a Thera'; P. *pinda-pata*, > *piadu'va* 'alms'.<sup>1</sup>

*nn* (MI.) > n, '.', *nd.*, e. g. P. *akinna-* (=Sk. *akirna-*) > *akin* 'crowded'; P. *acinna-* (=Sk. *acirna-*) > *asm* 'practised'; P. *barlsapur.na-* (=>Sk. *karisa-parna-*) > *kirisa-vulu* 'full of filth'; P. *pannakara-* > *panduru* 'present'.<sup>1</sup>

*nh* (MI.) > n, e.g. P. *unha-* (-Sk. *usna-*) > *unu* 'warm'; Pk. *kinha-* (=Sk. *krsan-*) > *kinu* 'black.'

t is retained initially, e. g. Sk. *tapas-* > *tava* 'asceticism, penance'; Sk. P. *tarn-* > *туру* 'tree'; Sk. P. *tunga-* > *tungu* 'tall'.

The intervocalic *t* is generally elided in the inherited fonnns. But sometimes it is retained, especially in semi-loan words, e. g. Sk. *rtu-*, P. *utu-* > *uyu,yu* 'season'; Sk. P. *vitana-* > *viyan* 'canopy'; Sk. *smrti-* P. *sati-* > *sihi*, *si* 'recollection'; Sk. *stuti-*, P. *thuti-* > *xiyu*, *tuti* 'praise'; Sk. *krta-* > *kitu* 'name of a yuga', Sk. P. *mntahga-* > *matahga* 'elephant'; Sk. *hutil's'a-* > *hutds* 'fire'; Sk. P. *sahghma-* > *sahgnta* 'collection, assemblage.'

t, especially of Old-Indian, becomes ? in Middle-Indian on account of some cerebrating element, and that subsequently gives rise to l in Sinhalese, e. g. Sk. *prativedha-*, P. *pativedha-* > *pilivZ* 'penetrating into, com-

prehension'; Sk. *pratijia*; P. *palinna-*, > *pilina* 'pledge, promise'; Sk. *pratirupa-*, P. *pa'irapa-* > *piliru* 'image, picture.'

*tk* > *kk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. *satkira-* > P. *saknra-sakara* 'respect, hospitality'; Sk. *balat-hnra-* > *balakara* 'doing by force, violence.'

*tt* > *t*, *t* through *ce* revalidation, e. g. Sk. *parivrtti-* > *pirivati* 'revolution, return'; P. *viyatta-* (=Sk. *vyakta-*) > *viyat* 'learned'; P. *kittt-* (=Sk. *kirti-*) > *kit* 'fame'; Sk. *mrttika-*. Pk. *mattia-* > *mati* 'earth, clay.'

*th* > (A (early), *t*, e.g. Sk. *vistrayati*, P. *vithilreti* > *vitharayi* 'expands, explains'; Sk. *upastambha-*, P. *upatthambha-* > *uvathamba* 'basis, support'; P. *vis-vattha-* (-Sk. *vis-vasia-*) > *visa\** 'trusted'; P. *hattha-* (-Sk. *hasta*) > *hat*, *at* 'hand.'

*tp* > *pp* > *.*>, e. g. Sk. *utpadayati*, P. *uppadeti* > *upayayi* 'generates'; Sk. *utpntayati*, P. *uppnteti* > *upulayi* 'tears out, eradicates.'

*ty* > *cc* > *s*, e. g. Sk. *nrtiyati*, P. *naccati* > *nasi* 'dances'; Sk. *fe.t^a-*, P. *kicca-* > *tod* 'duty, task'; Sk. *satya-*, P. *sacca-* > *sas* 'truth.'

Sometimes *ty* is represented by *t* ort+t, particularly in words not fully developed, or borrowed later, e. g. Sk. *satyahknra*; P. *saccaknra* > *hatayaru* 'earnest mone.'; Sk. *sahitya-* > *sdhita* 'literary composition'; Sk. *anitya-* > *anit* 'impermanent'; Sk. *nitya-* > *nitta* 'permanent'; Sk. *satya-* > *sat* 'truth'; Sk. *satyaka-* > *sattka* 'name of a person.'

*th* Initial *th* usually of Middle-Indian, may be retained in Old Sinhalese, but generally, it loses its aspiration, or gets split up into the mute and aspirate, e. g. P. *thullaccaya-* (= Sk. *sthulatyaya-*) > *thulasi* 'grave offence'; P. *thusa-* («Sk. *tu'a-* > *toho*, *to* 'chaff; P.fWra-(«Sk. *sthira-*) > *lira* 'firm'; Sk. P. *sthftvara-*) > *tahavuru*, *tavuru* 'fixed, stable.'

Intervocalic *th* generally disappears; but sometimes it is deaspirated without being voiced. Occasionally the mute is dropped and the aspirate remains. If there is a cerebralizing element in the Old-Indian stage, *th* may become *th* in Middle-Indian and then give rise to *.* in Sinhalese, e. g. Sk. P. *ratha-* > *riya*, *rata* 'chariot'; Sk. *maithuna-*, P. *methuna-* > *mevun* 'copulation'; Sk. P. *gatha-* > *gaya*, *ga* 'stanza'; Sk. *pothayati*, P. *potheti* > *poyayi* 'flogs, bruises'; Sk. P. *sarathi-* > *sari* 'charioteer'; Sk. P. *raahzpatha-* > *ma-vata* 'high way'; Sk. *atharvarr* > *taravan* 'Atharva (Veda)'; Sk. *manmatha-* > *manmada* 'god of love'; Sk. P. *vlthi-* > *ve vidi* (probably through Tamil) 'street'; Sk. *prthag-jana-*, P. *puthujjam* > *puhujun*, *puhudun* 'worldling'; Sk. *sithila-*, P. *sithila-* > *ihil* 'loose'; Sk. *prthuka*; P. *puthuka-* > *puluva* 'rice with corn.'

*d* is retained at the beginning of a word, e. g. Sk. *duhkha-*, P. *dukkha-* > *duka* 'sorrow'; Sk. *dnman-*, P. *dama-* > *dam* 'chain, garland.'

The intervocalic *d* may either be retained or dropped, e. g. Sk. P. *ndara-* > *adara* 'love, affection'; Sk. P. *nidllna-* > *nidan* 'origin, cause'

Sk. P. *udaya-* > *uda* 'rise<sup>1</sup>'; Sk. P. *bheda-* > *b2* 'division'; Sk. P. *sahodara-* > *sohoyuru* 'brother'; Sk. P. *vedarift-* > *veyin* 'feeling, sensation.'

The initial as well as intervocalic *d* is sometimes changed to *j* in Old Sinhalese through analogy, e. g. Sk. *durgati-*, P. *duggati-* > *jugati* 'hell'; Sk. *durvacas-*, P. *dubbaca-* > *juvuju* 'evil speech, using bad language.'

*dg* > *gg* > *g*, *ng*, e. g. Sk. *pudgala-*, P. *puggala-* > *puguU pungul* 'person'; Sk. *mudga-*; P. *mugga-* > *mungu* 'a kind of bean.'

*dd* (MI.) > *d*, e. g. P. *sadda-* (=Sk. *s'abda-*) > *sada* 'noise'; P. *saddula-* («\*Sk. *sfrdula*) > *sadul* 'tiger.'

*ddh* > *dh* (early), *d<sub>f</sub> hd*, *d + h*, or sometimes *.*; through analogy, e. g. P. *addhna-* (^Sk. *adhvan-*) > *adhan*, *adan* 'journey, way'; Sk. *saddharmar*, P. *saddhamma-* > *sadham*, *sadam* 'excellent doctrine'; Sk. *prasiddha-* > *parasidu pasidu* 'famous'; Sk. P. *yuddha-* > *yuda* 'battle'; Sk. P. *nibaddhar* > *nibdhdha* 'fixed, constant', P. *sniddha-* (=Sk. *snigdha-*) > *sinihdu* 'soft smooth'; Sk. *siddhTlrtha*; P. *siddhattha-* > *siduhatu*, *sid'aatu* 'white mustard', Sk. P. *buddha-* > *buju* 'understood, enlightened'; Sk. P. *viruddha-* > *viruj* 'opposite'; Sk. *sraddhs*, P. *saddhn-* > *sdjdhd* 'faith'.

*dy* > *jj* > *j* (early), *d*, e. g. Sk. *pradyota-*, P. *pajjota-* > *pa jo* 'name of a king'; Sk. *khadyota-* P. *khajjota-* > *bado* 'fire-fly'.

*dy* > *yy* > *y*, e. g. Sk. *udyana-*, P. *uyyana-* > *uyana* 'park.'

*dr* > *dd* > *d*, *d+r*; or *dr* > *dl* > *ll* > *.*, e. g. Sk. *samudrar*, P. *samudda-* > *samuda* (as preserved in Old Hindi cf. Padumavati of Jaisi II, 31.) > \**sumuda* > \**humuda* > *muhuda*, *mada*, *samudura* (through *svarabhakti*), Sk. *chidra*; P. *chidda-*, Pk. *chilla-* > *sida*, *stla*, *hila*, and *sidura* 'hole, aperture'; Sk. *bhadra-* > *bada*, *baduru*, *bahaduru* 'excellent etc'

*dv* > *dd* > *d*, e. g. Sk. *stfdvala*, P. *saddala-* > *sadala* 'grassy spot'; Sk. P. *dvara-* > *dora* 'door.'

db The initial *dh* is retained in Old Sinhalese, and later it loses its aspiration or gets split up into the mute and aspirate, e. g. Sk. *dharmar*, P. *dhamma-* > *dham*, *dam*, *daham* 'doctrine'; Sk. P. *dhntu-* > *dhn*, *dn* 'element' Sk.; P. *dhanu-* > *dunu* 'bow'; Sk. P. *dhhma-* > *dum* 'smoke'; Sk. P. *dhenu-* > *dena* 'cow.'

Intervocalic *dh* is retained in Old Sinhalese. Later, it generally disappears in the inherited words; but sometimes, particularly in the borrowed words *dh* is either deaspirated, or the aspirate alone remains. Occasionally *dh* is split up into the mute and aspirate, or through analogy it changes in Old Sinhalese to *.*, e. g. Sk. P. *adhikara-* > *adhiyara* 'authority, office'; Sk. *pradhna-*, P. *padhclna-* > *pradhan*, 'chief'; Sk. P. *ndhdra-* > *avuru* 'support'-Sk. *adhishana* P. *adhi(thnna)* > *ayi',an*, *Han*, *ditam*, 'resolve'; Sk. P. *badhira-* > *biyuru*, *bihiri*, *badira* 'deaf'; Sk. P. *pidhftna-* > *piyana* 'lid'; Sk. *yas'odhara* P. *yasodharfr* > *isdra* 'name of a queen'; Sk. P. *jalanidhv* > *dalanidu* 'ocean'; Sk. P. *nidhanar* > *nidan*, *nadan*, *najan* 'deposit, treasure';

Vedic *sadhati* Sk. *sndhayati*, P. *sadheti* > *sahayi* 'accomplishes'; Sk. P. *rudhira-* > *ruhira*, *rihiri*, *rtri* 'blood'; Sk. P. *dhara-* > *dahara* 'stream, current'; Sk. *pranidhana-*, P. > *panidhana* > *pinidahan* 'prayer, longing, entreaty'; Sk. *abhidharma-*, P. *abhidhamma-*, > *bhidham*, *bidam*, *vijam* 'one of the three pitakas of the Buddhist canon.'

*dhy* > *jjh* > *jh* (early), *d+h*, e. g. Sk. *dhydna-*, P. *jhana-* > *jhan*, *dahan*, *dahan* 'meditation'; P. *ajjhasaya* > *adahasa* 'intention.'

*dhv* > *ddh* > *d*, e. g. Sk. *dhvaja-*, P. *dhaja-* > *dada* 'flag'.

*n* Initially and medially, *n* is most often retained. In a few instances it changes to *l*, e. g. Sk. *nabhas-*, P. *nabha-* > *nuba* 'sky'; Sk. P. *nagara-* > *nuvara* 'city'; Sk. *kaHcana-*, P. *karicana-* > *kasun* 'gold'; Sk. P. *vimana-* > *viman* 'palace, abode'; Sk. P. *anubaddha-* > *nuhu-bhdha-*, *luhu-banda* 'followed by, chased after'; P. *ghana-vasa-* > *gala-vas* 'thickly populated.'

*nt* > *t*, *l* (?) e. g. Sk. P. *agantukd-* > *avutu* > *amutu* 'stranger'; Sk. *sakurta-*, P. *sakunta-* > *siyot* 'bird'; Sk. *atikrantd-*, P. *atikkanta-* > *ikut* 'gone beyond'; Sk. *pratydnata-*, P. *paccanta-* > *pasdt*, *rawl*, 'bordering country.'

*nth* > *th* (early), *t*, *rid*, e. g. P. *patisanthiira-* > *pilisathara*, *pilisandard* 'friendly welcome'; P. *paripantha-* > *pirivat*, *piripat* 'abstacle, danger'; Sk. P. *mantha-* > *mata* 'churning', Sk. *grantha-*, P. *ganthd* > *got* 'book.'

*nd* > *fid*, *d*, e. g. Sk. P. *mandira-* > *madura*; Sk. P. *makdrnddd-* > *muvdrrddd* 'nectar or filaments of flowers'; Sk. P. *kundd-* > *kondd* 'jasmine'; Sk. P. *sundara* > *sonduru* 'beatiful'.

*ndr* > *nd*, *nd-hr*, e.g. Sk. *mahendra*, P. *mahinda-y* *mihindu* 'name proper'; Sk. *indra-* > *indu*, *induru* 'Indra'.

*ndh* > *d*, ; (early), *rid*, *nd+h*, e. g. Sk. P. *sugdndha-* > *suvdnda* 'sweet-smelling, fragrance'; Sk. P. *andhd-* > *afida* 'blind'; Sk. *gandharvd-*, P. *gandhabbd-* > *gandambd*, *gdjafnbd* 'celestial musician'; Sk. P. *sandhana* > *sdhdahan* 'bringing together, advertence'.

*nn* > *n*, *rid*, *l* (?), *c*. g. Sk. P. *tisannd-* > *asdn*, *asdl* 'near'; Sk. P. *apanna* > *avdn* 'gained, acquired'; Sk. P. *kinnard-* > *kinuru*, *hnduru* 'a mythical being'.

*nm* > *mm* > *m*, e. g. Sk. *unmattdka-* P. *ummattdkd-* > *umatu* 'mad'.

*p* The initial *p* is retained, e. g. Sk. *pratipadyate*, P. *patitpajjati* > *pilipadt* 'practises'; Sk. *purta-*, P. *puttnd-*, *pun* 'full'.

The intervocalic *p* is sometimes retained ; sometimes it is changed to *b* or *m*. In the inherited words the intervocalic *p* is most often softened to *i*, and that too disappears sometimes : Sk. P. *gopala-* > *gopalu* 'cow-herd'; Sk. *pratipadayati*, P. *pdtipadeti* > *pilipydyi* 'bestows, presents'; Sk. *ripu-* > *rupu* 'enemy'; Sk. *pratijpata-*, P. *panip<td->pdnipa* 'prostration'; Sk. P. *kalapa-* > *kalaba*, *kalamba* 'bundle'; Sk. P. *apo-dhatu-* > *ab-dha* 'the element of water'; Sk. *sthapayati* > *tabayi* 'places, keeps'; Sk. *trapu-*, P. *tipu-* > *tumbu* 'tin, lead'; Sk. *stupa-*, P. *thupa-* > *tumba*, *stupa* 'mound of earth'; Sk. Sk. P. *topa-* > S. 13.

*humba* 'mast'; Sk. *kapih-vastu-*, P. *kapila-vatihu-* > *hmbul-vat* 'name of a city in ancient India'; Sk. *krpana-* > *kavana* 'miserable'<sup>5</sup>; Sk. P. *apana-* > *avan* 'drinking place'; Sk. *upanah-*, P. *upahana-*, Pk. *uvahana-*, Ap. *vahana-* > *vahan* 'shoe'; Sk. *pranatipata-*, P. *panatipata-* > *pattiva* 'taking away life'; Sk. *pratiprecchati*, P. *patipucchati* > *pilivust* 'questions'; Sk. P. *rtipd-*, Pk. *rTiva-* > \**ruv* > *rti* 'beauty, form'; Sk. P. *pTtpa-*, Pk. *puva-* > \**puv* > *pu* 'cake'; Sk. *paripurna-* > *piriyunu* 'completely full'; Sk. *sariputra-*, P. *sariputta-* > *sariyut* 'name of a Thera'; Sk. P. *nupura-*, Pk. *riuura-*, *neura-* > *nuru* 'anklet'; Sk. P. *papa-*, Pk. *prwa-<sup>h</sup>pa* 'sin'.

ɛp, (MI), *pph* (MI), *pr*, *mp* > p, e.g. P. *dappa-* (=Sk. *darpa-*) > *dap* 'pride'; P. *vippatisdra-* (-Sk. *vipratisara-*) > *vipilisara* 'repentance'; P. *puppha-* (= Sk. *puspa-*) > *pup* flower'; P. *goppha-* (=Sk. *gulpha-*) > *gop* 'ankle'; Sk. *viprakaiya-*, P. *vippakara-* > *vipuvaw* 'disorder'; Sk. P. *parampara-* > *parapura* 'succession, lineage'.

*ps* > *cch* > s, e. g. Sk. *apsara-*, P. *acchara-* > *asara* 'a celestial nymph'.

*ph* Initially as well as medially, *ph* becomes *p* or *p+h*, e. g. Sk. P. *phala-* > *pala* 'fruit'; Sk. P. *phena-* > *pznd* 'foam forth'; P. *phassa-* (=Sk. *sparsd-*) > *pdhasa* 'touch, contact'.

*b* Initially, *b* is retained, e. g. Sk. *badhnati*, P. *bandhati* > *bandi*; Sk. P. *buddha-* > *budu* 'enlightened'.

Intervocalic *b* is also retained, sometimes with a half nasal, e. g. Sk. *pratibimbā-*, P. *patibimba-* > *pilibmbu* 'reflection'; Sk. *prabodhayati*, P. *pabodchti* > *pobdydyi* 'wakes up, awakens'; Sk. *dada-bala-*, P. *dasa-bala* > *dasambul* 'an epithet of the Buddha'.

*bb* (MI.) > *b*, *mb*, e. g. Sk. *nirvidyate*, P. *nibbindati*, *nibbijjati* > *nibindl* 'gets wearied of, is disgusted with'; P. *gndhabbd-* (=Sk. *gandharva-*) > *gahdaba*, *gdhdarhba* 'celestial musician'; P. *dubbdld-* (= Sk. *durbala-*) > *dumbul* 'weak'.

*bh* (MI.) > *b*, e. g. P. *gabbha-* (= Sk. *garbha-J* > *gaba* 'womb'.

*br* > *b*, *br*, *b+r*, e. g. Sk. P. *brahmana-* > *bdnutm*; Sk. P. *brahma-* > *bamba-*, *bdratn*; Sk. P\* *sabrdhmdcari-* > *sabramsaru*, *sabdramsaru* 'fellow Brahmacarin'.

*bh* The initial or intervocalic *bh* is sometimes retained in Old Sinhalese, but usually it becomes deaspirated, e. g. P. *bhante* > *bhati* 'Oh Lord'; Sk. P. *bhr\*gu-* > *bha* 'division'; Sk. P. *abhirdti-* > *abhirt* 'delighting in pleasure'; Sk. *dbhinisfadYnand-* > *bhinibnan* 'going forth, renunciation'; Sk. *bhiksa-*, P. *bhikbher* > *bika* 'aim'; Sk. P. *bhlru-* > *biru* 'timid'; Sk. P. *lobha-* > *loba-* 'greed'; Sk. *sobhiana-*, P. *sobhana-* > *sobdnq*, *hobana* 'lovely'.

The intervocalic *bh* may also become *mb*, or *b+h*, or *h*, e. g. Sk. P. *nabhi-* > *naba*, *namba* 'navel'; Sk. *nabhas-*, P. *nabha-* > *nuba*, *numba* 'sky'; Sk. *bhisana-* > *bhisunu* 'terrifying'; Sk. *bhaisajya-*, P. *bhesajja-* > *behes*

'medicine'; Sk. P. *bhasma*-> *bahasma* 'ashes'; Sk. *prabha*-, P. *pabha*- > *pahii* 'shine, lustre'; Sk. P. *rasa-bhdva*- > *rasa-hav* 'emotions and sentiments'.

*bhy* > *bbh* > *h*, or *b+y*, e. g. Sk. *abhyavakdsa*-, P. *abbhokdsa*- > *abavasa* 'open space'; Sk. *abhyds*\*, P. *abhydsa*- > *abiyasa*, *abiyesa* 'neighbourhood'.

*bhr* > *bbh* > *b*, *mb*, e. g. Sk. *bhramara*-, P. *bhamara*- > *bamara* 'bee' Sk. *kaliibhra*- > *kalaba*, *kaldmba* 'rain cloud'.

*m*. Initial *m* is retained, e. g. Sk. P. *maht*- > *mihi* 'earth'; Sk. P. *mdtra*\*, Pk. *matta*- > *mat* 'measure';

Intervocalic *m* is either retained, or changes to *mb* or rarely *b* (?), e. g. Sk. P. *samcisa*- > *samas* 'compound'; Sk. P. *bahumdna*- > *buhuman* 'great respect'; Sk. P. *timira*- > *timbiri* 'darkness'; Sk. P. *tdmarasa*- > *tamburu* 'red lotus'; Sk. P. *drdma*- > *arub* 'grove'; Sk. *visrdma*- > *viswinbu*, *isubu* (?).

*mp* > *p*, *b* (rarely), e. g. Sk. *campn* > *sapu* 'a mixed composition'; Sk. P. *anukampd* > *anukapu* 'sympathy'; P. *sampadam* > *sdbajam* 'blessing'.

*mb* (MI.) > *mb*, *p* (rarely), e. g. P. *amba*- (= Sk. *dmra*-) > *amba* 'mango'; Sk. P. *nitamba*- > *nitamba* 'buttock'; Sk. P. *cumbati*. > *simbt*, *himbt imbt* 'kisses'; Sk. *vidambayati* > *velapayi* emulates'.

*mbh* > *bh* (early), *mb*, e. g. Sk. P. *sambhvdand*- > *sabhavun* honour'; Sk. P. *gambhlra*- > *gamburu* 'deep'; Sk. *viskambhana*-, P. *vikkhambhana*- > *vikhambun* 'impeding, elimination'.

*mm* (ML.) > *m*, *mb*, *v*, e. g. P. *mkkhamma*- (~Sk. *naiskarmya*-) > *nekham* 'renunciation'; P. *vammika*- (=Sk. *valmika*-) > *vami* 'ant-hill'; P. *kamma* (=Sk. *karman*-) > *kam* 'act, deed'; P. *kammara*- (Sk. *karmara*-) > *kamburu* 'black-smith'; P. *ammanaka*- > *avunu* 'trough'.

*mh* > *m*, e. g. P. *gimhdna*- > *giman* 'summer'.

*y*. Initially as well as medially, *y* is generally retained, e. g. Sk. *yasti*-, P. *yatthi*- > *yati* 'pole'; Sk. *ypayati*, P. *ypeti* > *yavayi* 'causes to go, spends'; Sk. P. *viyoga*- > *viyo* 'separation'; Sk. *vyaydma*-, P. *vdytima*- > *vayam* 'exertion'.

Initial *y* may sometimes be reduced to *i* through *samprasdrana*, e. g. Sk. *yasodhara*-, P. *yasodhara*- > *isord* 'name of the wife of the Prince Siddhartha'; Sk. *yamala-sdla*-, P. *yamala-sald*- > *imal-hals* 'the twin Sala trees'.

*y* at the end of a word may disappear, e. g. P. *kdya*- > *kay* > *kd* 'body'; Sk. P. *ayu*- > *a* 'duration of life'; Sk. *kdya-karman*-, P. *kdya-kamma*- > *ka-kam* 'bodily act'; Sk. P. *chayd*\* > *sd* 'shade'.

*yy* > *y*, £• g. P. *uyydna*- (=Sk. *udydna*-) *uyana* 'park'.

*r* Initially as well as medially *r* is generally retained. Sometimes the intervocalic *r* changes to *J*, e. g. Sk. *rajas*-> *rada*, *radasa* 'dust';

Sk. *ripu-* > *rxpxu* 'enemy'; Sk. *rastra-*, P. *rattha\** > *rata* 'country'; Sk. *raimi-*, P. *rams-* > *r'as* 'ray'; Sk. *parisuddha-*, P. *parisudih-* > *pirisidu*, *pirisudu* 'pure'; Sk. P. *karuna-*, A M g. *kalund* > *kulun* 'sympathy'; Sk. P. *himbhakdra\** > *feumbal* 'potter'; Sk. P. *upakara-*, Pk. *uvadra-* > *uvahara*, *vahara*, *vahal* 'help'; P. *kaltra* > *kilil* 'top-sprout (especially of the bamboo)'.

*rk* > *kk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. *vitarka-*, P. *vitakka-* > *vitak* 'reasoning, opinion'; Sk. *sarkara-*, P. *sakkard-* > *sakur* 'candied sugar'.

*rg* > *gg* > *g* > *e-* *g* Sk. *varga-*. P. *vagga-* > *vaga* 'group'; Sk. *svarga-*, P. *sagga\** > *saga* 'heaven'; Sk. *mdrga-*, P. *magga-* > *maga*, *manga* 'road'.

*rgh* > *ggh* > *g,e-* 8. Sk. *argha-*, P. *aggha-* > *aga* 'price' Sk. *dlrgha-*, P. *digha-*, Pk. *diggha-* > *diga* 'long'.

*rch* > *cch* > *s*, e. g. Sk. *murcha-*, P. *muccha-*, > *musa* 'swoon'.

*rn* > *nn* > *n* (old), *n* plater), *nd*, e. g. Sk. *dclrna-*, P. *dcinna-* > *asm* 'practised'; Sk. *utpalavarna-*, P. *uppalavanna-* > *upulvan* 'name of a deity'; Sk. *\*parmdkdra<sup>m</sup>*, P. *pannakara-* > *panduru* 'present'.

*rt* > *tt* > *t*, or *rt* > *tt* > *t*, e. g. Sk. *pravartatc*, P. *pavattati* > *pavatt* 'goes on, exists'; Sk. *vartamdna-*, P. *vattamdna-* > *vatman* 'present'; Sk. *vartikd-*. Pk. *vattid-* > *vlita vdti* 'wick of a lamp'; Sk. *vartatc* > *vateyi* 'exists'.

*rth* > *tth* > *t*, or > *tth* > *t*, or > *r + t*, e. g. Sk. *artha-*, P. *attha-*, *attha-* > *at*, *a'a*, *arut* 'meaning'; Sk. *trtha-*, OI. *Hurtha-*, P. *tittha-*, Pk. *\*tu.'* *Jia-* > *tit*, *tota* 'ford'; Sk. *sdrtha-*, P. *sattha-* > *sat* 'caravan'.

*rd* > *dd* > *d*, or *rd* > *dd* > *d*', e. g. Sk. *nirdis.'a-*, P. *niddi.'ha-* > *nidutu* 'shown, described'; Sk. *dardura-* > *daduru*, *daduru* 'frog'; Sk. *gardabha-*, Pk. *gaddabha-*, *gaddaha-* > *gadtibu*, *gadubu*, *gadubu* 'ass'; Sk. *pardatc* > *\*paddai* > *padT* 'breaks wind'.

*rdh* > *ddh* > *d*, or *rdh* > *ddh* > *d*, e. g. Sk. *mtirdhaw*, P. *muddhana-* > *muduna* 'top, summit'; Sk. *ardha-*, P. *addha-* > *ada* 'half'; Sk. *vardhate*, P. *vaddhati*, Pk. *vaddhai* > *wad\**, *v^r.e^i* 'grows'.

*yj?* > *pp* > *p*, e.g. Sk. *kandarpa-*, P. *kandappa-* > *kandap* 'God of love'; Sk. *darpana-*, P. *dappana-* > *dapatja* 'mirror'; Sk. *sarpis-*, P. *sapfi-* > *sapi*, *hapi* 'ghee'.

*rm* > *mm* > *m*, *mb*, or *r+wt*, e. g. Sk. *fcarman-*, P. *kamma-* > *kam* 'action'; Sk. *varmuiv*, P. *vamma-* > *vam* 'armour'; Sk. *marman-* > *mamma* 'vital spot'; Sk. *karmdra-*, P. *kammdra-* > *kamburu* 'black-smith'.

*rv* > *vv*, *bb* > *t*, *b*, *mb*, or *r+v*, e. g. Sk. *parvata-*, Pk. *pavvaya-* > *pavu* 'mountain'; Sk. *darvi-*. Pk. *davvi-* 'spoon'; Sk. *sarva-*, Pk. *savva-* > *sav* 'all'; Sk. *gandharva-* > *gandaba*, *gadnambd* 'musician'; Sk. *urvast\** > *uruvisi* 'name of a nymph'; Sk. *purva-bhdga-* > *pn-bhd* 'fore-part'.

*rs*', *rs* > *ss* > *s*, or become *r+s*, or disappear after becoming single *s*, e. g. Sk. *arsas-* > *arisas* 'piles'; Sk. *varsa-* > *varusa* 'rain', > *varusa*

'year'; Sk. *varsa-*, P. *vassa-* > \**vasa-* > *va*, *vasa* 'year'; Sk. *nidarsana-* > *nidasum* 'illustration, example'; Sk. *gharsa-* > *gasa* 'rubbing, friction'.

*I* The initial as well intervocalic *I*, is generally retained. But occasionally *I* seems to give rise to *n*, c. g. Sk. P. *lata-* > *liya*; Sk. P. *vilepana-* > *vilevun* 'smearing, anointing'; Sk. P. *kapola-* > *kopola*, *kopul* 'cheek'; Sk. *lalayati*, *lalayati*, P. *laleti*, \**lalapeti-* > *nalavayi* 'sports, fondles'; Sk. *mula-siksa-*, P. *mula-sikkha-* > *mul-sika-*, *mun-sika* lit. 'primary precepts, name of a manual of Vinaya'.

*Ik* > *kk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. *sulka-*, P. *sufifea-*, > *sukka-* *suk* 'tax';

*lp* > *pp* > *p*, or *l+p*, e. g. Sk. *silpa-*, P. *sippa-*, > *sip* 'art.'; Sk. *halpa-*, P. *kappa-* > *kap* 'aeon'; Sk. *alpa-* > *alup* 'little'.

*Im* > *mm* > *m*, or *l+m*, e. g. Sk. *gulma-*, P. *gumba-*, Pk. *gumma-* > *gomu* 'clustre, thicket, grove'; Sk. *salmall-* > *salimali* 'name of a tree'.

*ly* > *ll* > *l*, e. g. Sk. P. *tulya-* > *tul* 'comparable, equal'; Sk. P. *kalyana-* > *kalana* 'auspicious, lovely.'

*ll* > *l*, e. g. Sk. P. *pallava-* > *palu* 'sprout'; P. *khallata-* (= Sk. *khalvata-*) > \**kalalu-* > *kalul* 'bald-headed'; Sk. P. *vallaba-* > *valba* 'beloved, favourite'.

*v* The initial as well AS the intervocalic *v* is most often retained, e. g. Sk. P. *vara-* > *vara* 'turn'; Sk. P. *vilasa-* > *vilas* 'dalliance'; Sk. P. *bhavand-* > *bhavun*, *bavun* 'meditation'; Sk. *vivikta-*, P. *vivitta-* > *vivit* 'detached, lonely'.

Sometimes the *v* changes to *b* or *m*, or gets reduced to *u*, or disappears, e. g. Sk. *pravala-*, P. *pavala-* > *pabalu* 'coral'; Sk. *vydvahdra-* > *b'avahara* 'trade, usage'; Sk. *viruda-* > *biruda* 'panegyric'; Sk. P. *vakula-* > *muhulu* 'name of a tree'; Sk. *lavanga-* *lamanga* 'clove tree'; Sk. *vaisravatur*. P. *vessavana-*, Pk. *vesamn-* > *vesamunu* 'god of wealth'; P. *paveni-* > *pemeni* 'Succession, lineage'; Sk. *visrama-* > *isubu*, *isumbu* 'rest, repose'; Sk. P. *vadana-* > *vuvan*, *uvan* 'face'; P. *sangha-navaka-* > *hanga-nu* 'newly ordained monk, novice'.

*vy* > *w* > *v*, or *v+y*, e.g. Sk. *divyapsara-* > *divasara* 'celestial nymph'; Sk. P. *vyasana-* > *vasan* 'calamity'; Sk. *kavya-*, Pk. *kawa-* > *kava* 'poem'; Sk. *parivyaya-*, P. *paribbaya-*, Pk. *parivvaa-* > *piriva* 'expense'; Sk. *vyakta-*, P. *viyatta-* > *viyat* 'learned'; Sk. P. *vyadhi-* > *viya* 'disease'.

*s, ś, ṣ* Initially as well as medially, the three sibilants *s, ś, ṣ* change to *s*, excepting in Sinhalese Prakrit where the palatal *ś* has been preserved, and the Sanskrit loan-words where all the three sibilants may occur, e. g. Sk. *sahka-* > *saka*, *sak* 'doubt'; Sk. *yasas-* > *yasa*, *yasasa*, 'glory'; Sk. *prakṣa-* > *puvasa* 'declaration'; Sk. *sat*, P. *cha* > *sa(ya)* 'six' Sk. *bhasa* > *basa* 'language'; P. *vihesa-* > *vehtsa* 'fatigue, exhaustion'; Sk. *daiana* P. *dasana-* > *dasan* 'teeth'.

A single sibilant, initial or intervocalic, may sometimes change to *h*, or disappear subsequently, e. g. Sk. *suddha-*, P. *suddha-* > *sudu*, *hudu*, *udu* 'pure'; Sk. *sasya-*, *sasya-*, P. *sassa-* > *sas*, *has*, *as* 'corn'; Sk. *sarva-*, Pk. *savva-* > *hav* 'all'; Sk. P. *sima~* > *sima*, *hima*, *ima* 'boundary'; Sk. *simha-kavata-*; P. *stha-kavata-* > *ht-kavulu* 'lion-shaped window'; Sk. *smasana-*, P. *susana-* > *sohona*, *sona*, *hona* 'cemetery'; Sk. *prasadhana-*, P. *pashdana-* > *pahayin*, *payin* 'decoration, ornament'; Sk. *vast-*, P. *vasi-* > *vaha*, *va* 'a kind of axe'; Sk. *tusa-*, P. *thusa-* > *toho*, *to* 'chaff'.

*sk*, *sk* > *k kh* > *kh* (old), fe, e. g. Sk. *samskara-*, P. *samkhara-* > *sakhara*, *sakara* 'constituent'; Sk. *namaskara-* > *namakara* 'obeisance'; Sk. *puskara-*, P. *pokkhara-* > *pokuru* 'lotus'.

*sc* > *cc*, *cch* > *s*, e. g. Sk. *niscala-*, Pk. *niccala-* > *nisala* 'not moving, silent'; Sk. *duscarita-* > *dusiri* 'bad conduct'; Sk. *pas'cima-*, P. *pacchima-* > *pcisim* 'western'; Sk. *ascarya-* > P. *acchariya-* > *asiri* 'wonderful'.

*st*, *sth* > *tih* > *t*, e. g. Sk. *stcnayati*, P. *theneti*, > *tenani* 'steals'; Sk. *vastw*, P. *vatthw* > *vat* 'thing, object'; Sk. *prasasta-*, P. *pasatthz-* > *pasat* 'praised, praise-worthy'; Sk. *sthana-* > *tan*, *tan* 'place'.

*str* > *tth* > *t*, or *t+r*, e. g. Sk. *sastra-*, P. *sattha* > *sat* 'weapon'; Sk. *sastra-*, P. *sattha-* > *sat*, *satarā* 'instruction, branch of learning'.

*sn* > *nh* > *n*, or *n+h*, *s+n*, e.g. Sk. *snati* > *navi*, *nahayi* 'bathes'; Sk. *sneha-*; P. *sineha-* > *sens* 'love, affection'.

*sm*, *sm* > *ss* > *s*, or > *mm*, *mh* > *m*, > *s+m*, e. g. Sk. *smayate* (*smayati*) > \**sedi* > \**sti* > *scyi* 'smiles'; Sk. *s'masru-*, P. *massw* > *masu*, *mas* 'beard'; Sk. *smara-* > *samara* 'remembrance'.

*ss* (M1.) > *s*, e. g. P. *assw* (=Sk. *asm-*) > *asu* 'tears'; P. *assasa-passasa-* (= Sk. *asvasa-prasvasa-*) > *asas-pasas-* 'breathing in and out'.

*ss* may sometimes disappear, e.g. P. Pk. *vassa-* (=Sk. *varsa-*) > \**vtisa* > *va* 'year'.

*St*, *sth* > *tth* > *t*, I, e. g. Sk. *nirdista-* > *nidutu-* pointed out, laid down'; Sk. *vrsti-*, P. *vutthi-* > *viti-* 'rain'; Sk. *pusta-* > *putu-* 'nourished'; Sk. *pratistha-* > *piyutupihita-* 'base, 'support'; Sk. *sarngasta-*, P. *sangattha-* > *hangulu-* name of a tree' (*d. tth* > *I*).

*Sn* > *n*, e. g. Sk. *usna-*, P. *unha-* > *unu* 'warm'; Sk. *trSna-*, P. *tanha* > *tana* 'thirst, desire'.

*h* The *h* initial as well as intervocalic, may either be retained or dropped, e. g. Sk. P. *hara-* > *hara* 'necklace'; Sk. *hrd-* > *hrdaya-* > *hada*, *hida*, *ada*, *ida* 'heart'; Sk. P. *sahakara-* > *sahayuru* 'mango'; Sk. P. *maht-* > *mihi* 'earth'; Sk. P. *ahara-* > *ahara* 'food'; Sk. *hasta-*, P. *hatta-* > *hat*, *at* 'hand'; Sk. *utsaha-*, P. *ussaha-* > *usa* 'effort, energy'; Sk. P. *vivaha-* > *viya* 'marriage';

A *h* not found in the Old or Middle Indian forms of words, is introduced in Sinhalese, either as an augment, or through analogy, e. g. Sk. *mrdanga-*; Pk. *muinga-* > *mihingu* 'a kind of drum'; Sk. P. *samagama-* > *samaham*

'union'; Sk. P. *dukula-* > *duhul* 'fine garment'; Sk, *asta-* P. *attha-* > *at*, *hat* 'setting'; Sk. P. *asana-* > *asun*, *hasun* 'seat'; Sk. *adhyatma-*, P. *ajjhatta-* > *adaat*, *hadaat* 'internal'; Sk. *uSna-*, P. *wtha-* > Ufiu, *hunu* 'warm.'

Sometimes h changes to s through analogy, e. g. Sk. P. *haritala-* > *hiriyah siriyaal* 'yellow orpiment'; Sk. P. *kadalt-* > *kehel*, *kesel* 'plantain.'

*hm* > m, e. g. Sk. P. *brahmatta-* > *bamunu* 'Brahmin'; Sk. *brahmacarya-* > *bram-sara* 'religious studentship, life of celibacy'; Sk. *brahman-* > *baram* 'Brahma.'

*hr* > h, h-hr, e. g. Sk. *hrada-* > *hada*, *daha* 'lake'; Sk. *hit-* > *hiri* 'shame.'

1 In Sinhalese *I* of Pali is generally retained. If a Pali word contains *l* which may be either dental or cerebral, Sinhalese prefers, as a rule, the cerebral *l* : P. *kalira* > *Mil* 'shoot of bamboo'; P. *kakkhala* > *kakulu* 'rough'; Sk. *yugala-*, P. *yugala-* > *yuvala* 'pair'; P. *culla-*, *Cula-* > *sulu* 'small, minor.'

# Two Sanskrit Etymologies

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## 1. *rsi-* 'seer'

In the *T<sup>^</sup>aighantukakanda*, ii, 11, occurs the well-known passage, ऋषि-

"He saw the hymns", so says Aupamanyava. Since Brahma (?), the Self-Existent flowed them (?) into them, engaged in austerities, they became *rsis*. That (is) the fsi-ness; so it is recognised'. That the >*sis* 'saw'<sup>1</sup> the Vedic hymns is a commonplace<sup>1</sup>, but the etymology of the word is not too clear.

First of all, we may dismiss, as impossible from any phonological point of view, connexion with the bases *^drs* to 'see' (suggested by Aupamanyava), *jarc* to 'shine, praise, sing'<sup>2</sup>, or with Avesta *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀*, *𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀* 'right-doing, righteous'<sup>3</sup>; connexion with *Vrs* to 'flow' in the sense of 'pour er-forth' (of Vedic hymns; cf. the use of *abhi-ci* %r\* in the passage of the *J<sup>^</sup>aighantukanda* just quoted)<sup>4</sup> or with *Vs* to 'rain' as a variant of *^vrs* (so that the *fsi-* would have been originally a rain-magician)<sup>5</sup>, while phonologically possible, is unsatisfactory semantically; and the quaint notion of *S<sup>^</sup>atapathabrahmana* (vi, 1, 1, 1) that the *rsis* were so called 'because they were worn out with toil (and) austerity' (**अमेण तपसाऽरिष-स्तस्माद्भवः**) deserves no consideration.

My own suggestion is that the *fsis* received their appellation because they were believed, in a prehistoric period, actually to have 'seen' the hymns while in a highly emotional state of religious exaltation, very

1. For a discussion of the 'sight' of the *fsis* see especially J. Muir : *Original Sanskrit Texts*, ii (London, 1874), 195-197 ; iii' (1868), 249, 262. cf. in general, Mac, doncll-Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (London, 1912), i, 115-117, and Muir, *passim*.

2. Bohtlingk-Roth : *Sanskrit-Worterbuch*. (Petrograd, 1855) i, 1063 ; J. Hertel : *Abhandlungen der sachsichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ph il.-hist. Klasse, XL, ii (1929), 27, 30, 115, note 2.

3. C. C. Uhlenbeck : *Kurzgefasstes etymogisches Worterbuch der attindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam, 1898-99), p. 35, corrected by C. Bartholomae, *Indogertnanische Forschungen*, ix (1898), 283. I have been unable to consult the discussion by I. J. S. Taraporewala : *As. Mookerjee Volume*, III, ii, no. 12.

4. H. Grassmann : *Worterbuch sum Rig-Veda* (Leipzig, 1873), 292.

5. Th. Bloch .*Worter und Sachen*, ii (1910), 4-7.

possibly in a trance. This recalls the well-known case of Muhammad and certain aspects of the wide-spread system of shamanism<sup>1</sup>.

If this hypothesis be accepted, the word *r-si-* is to be connected with the group of Sanskrit *ras* 'to roar, yell, cry' *rasana-* 'roaring, screaming', *rasitr-* 'bellow, roarer', Gothic *razda* 'language, dialect', Old Icelandic *rôdd* 'voice', Anglo-Saxon *rcord* Speech, tongue, language, voice',

This Indo-European base *\*ras-* also appears in Sanskrit as *ras* (i. e., "ees-, the reduced-full grade of *\*ra-de-se-*) 'to howl, cry', and *\*ra-(ne)-fce-*, perhaps in Latin *raccare, rancare* 'roar (of a tiger)', *rima* 'frog' from *\*rak-sna* or *\*rank-sna*. Like other Indo-European bases apparently beginning with *r-*, this also was originally preceded by a consonantal shwa (i. e., *e-ra-X* which may appear although the base here is ambiguous) in Armentan *ornai* 'howl, yell'<sup>2</sup>. To these may be added the lexicographical Sanskrit *ramb, Vrambh* 'to sound, roar' from *\*ra-(m)b(h)-* (for the infixed nasal cf. the Latin *raccare, rancare* just cited).

One further question may be briefly raised in this connexion. Does not Sanskrit *sruti-* in its sense of 'divine knowledge, Veda', as distinguished from *smrti-* 'tradition' ('Sanskrit *smr* 'to remember',- cf. *Manu ii, 10* : **श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विश्वः** : "*sruti Lis* to be understood [as] Veda [Révélation]'), imply that the *rsis* not only 'saw' the Vedic hymns, but also 'heard' them (Sanskrit *sru* 'to hear')—again in a state of shamanic exaltation ?

## 2. *nâra-* 'water'

In an etymology of the name *Nârâyana*, *Manu i, 10*, says :

**आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।  
ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥**

'the waters (are) called *nârds* ; the waters, verily, are Nara's sons ; since they aforetime (were) his path, therefore (he is) called *Narâyana*', This verse is repeated in *Mahdbharata XII, cxlii, 40= 13168*, and *Harivaniia i, 28*<sup>3</sup>.

The word seems to be, in reality, cognate, though without the prefix *s-*, with the wide-spread group (with various determinatives) represented by Sanskrit *sna* 'to bathe', *snu* 'to drip', Armenian *nay* 'humid', Greek **νηχω** 'swim', **ναω, ναυω** (Aeolic ; Hesychios), 'flow,' (perfect **νενευκα** 'swim', **ναιας** 'river-nymph, spring-nymph', Latin *nare, nature* 'swim, float', Umbrian *snata* 'umecta', Middle Irish *snâm*, Welsh *nawf* 'a swimming', etc<sup>4</sup>.

1. Cf. J. A. MacCulloch. 'Shamanism' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi (Edinburgh, 1920), 441-446.

2. Walde-Pokorny : *Etymologisches Worterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ii (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), 342.

3. Cf. also *Mahâbhârata III, clxxii, 3; cclxxii, 42* ; *Visnupurâna I, iv, 4* ; for other instances see the translation of the latter by Wilson-Hall, i (London, 1864), 57. note.

4. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 692-694. in all these languages except Sanskrit and Umbrian initial *sn* regularly becomes *w*, so that they cannot be directly compared with *tiâra-* In Brythonic, initial mutation of *sn* to *\*nm,*, *n* has been generalised.

The question also arises whether *nam-* may not be cognate with the equally wide-spread group of Sanskrit *nau-*, Greek \**au*sr, Latin *navis*, Old Icelandic *nbr* 'boat, ship'<sup>1</sup>. This etymology, already suggested by P. Persson<sup>2</sup>, seems, on the whole, preferable to other explanations which have been proposed, notably with Gothic *bnauen*, Old Icelandic (*g*)*niia* 'rub', in the sense of <sup>1</sup>hollowed-out tree-trunk<sup>3</sup>.

Beside *nara-*, evidently oxytone, is found Sanskrit *riird-* <sup>1</sup>water', both clearly zero-zero-full grades with different infixes : *nam-* from \**n.*'ro- from \**na'oe-ro*' and *nira~* from \**n<sub>e</sub>iro-* from \**na'ie-ro*" respectively.

1. Walde-tokomy, ii, 315.

2. *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelenweiterung und Wurzelvariation* (Upsala, 1891), pp. 142-143 ; summarily rejected by E. Boisacq : *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1916), p. 659.

3. R. Meringer : *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii (1905), 149-153 ; favoured by Schrader-Nehring : *Reallexikon der indogennanischen Altertuwskunde*, ii (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 295 ; cf. O. Schrader : *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena, 1907), ii. 182, 300.

# Indo-Iranica

BY

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## 1 Skt. *sphya-*

Skt. *sphya-* is used in the sense of a kind of wooden trowel used for certain sacrificial purposes and also in the sense of 'oar'. It has Indo-European cognates in words like Gk. **σφη** 'wedge', **σπείθη** 'rudder, shoulder-blade, etc. Eng. *spoon*, *spade* and so forth. The dictionary of Walde-Pokorny (II, 653), separates it from these words and connects it with other words with which it has nothing to do. The Iranian words related to Skt. *sphya-* do not appear in the Indo-European handbooks. They are ; Wakhi *pii* 'paddle, shovel'. Yidgha *fia* 'wooden spade shoulder-blade', Sanglechi *fi* 'shovel, wooden spade', Parachi *pi*, *phi* 'spade', Pers. *fih*, 'shovel, paddle, oar'. The Indo-European basis is \*(s)pho-yo and the s- is moveable as in the many examples quoted by Wackernagel (I .§230) to which it is to be added.

## 2. Skt. *sthula-*

The same kind of s- appears also in the following words ; Skt. *sthurd-* 'bulky, strong, solid, big' *sthula-* 'id.', *sihavtyan* 'bigger, thicker, stronger,' *sthdivistha-* 'biggest, thickest, strongest,' *sthaviman-* 'the thick end, broad part, breadth,' *sthavira-* 'thick, solid, strong, powerful' A v. *stura-* 'big, strong', *staoyah-* 'bigger, stronger,' *stavista-* 'strongest, grossest', *stavah-* 'thickness, strength.' Related to these words we have the following without the initial s- : Skt. *tu* (3 S Pr. *tauti*, *taviti*) 'to be strong,' *tuya-* 'strong,' *tavds-* 'powerful, strong ; strength, power,' *tavisa-* 'strong,' *tavisi-* 'strength,' *tavtyan* 'stronger'; A v. *tav-* 'to be strong,' *tavah-* 'strength,' *tavlsi-* 'strength, power', OPer. *tauman-* 'power'. The aspiration of the tenuis in Skt. *sthula-* etc., has an exact parallel in Skt. *sthaḡ* 'to cover.' Gk OTEY, lat. *tego* etc., where the initial s- is likewise unstable. Compare also Skt. *sphita-*: *pina-* 'fat'.

## 3. Skt. *trp Ho steal*<sup>1</sup>

A root *trp* 'to steal' has become nearly extinct in the earliest Sanskrit and is preserved only as the final member of certain compounds, e. g. *asu-trp-* 'stealing life' and *pasu-trp-* 'stealing cattle'. Corresponding to this, Avestan has in one passage *trefyat* 'should steal' with which Pahl. *tirft* 'theft' is compared. The root *tfrap* in Indo-European form *\*tlep-*, is to be compared with Gk. **κλέπτω**, *clepo*, Goth, *hlifan*, IE. *\*tlep-* is a dialect variation of *\*klep-*, and the variation is due to the instability of the groups *kl* and *tl* which tend in a great number of languages to be confused with each other : thus, in lat. *tl* becomes *cl* and in many

English dialects the reverse change is common. In Indo-European a \**tlep-* for \**klep-* must have established itself locally before the s<sup>^</sup>Pm-changes took place if the fe here is the normal IE. palatal (as opposed to *sru* < *klu-*): on the other hand, O Pruss. *auklipts* 'hidden' suggests that we have here the same fe- as in Skt. *kravis-* : Lat. *cruor* etc. In that case, we may have a special development of the pure velar *k* in the group W, which is peculiar to Indo-Iranian.

#### 4. Skt. *Srughna-*

Skt. *Srughna-* occurs in Sanskrit literature from Pacini onwards as the name of a town north of Hastinapura. It is identified with the modern Sugh in the Ambala District, Punjab. An alternative form is S'rughrai- with a palatal *s*. There is a tendency for *s* and *ś* to be confused in combination with *r* particularly, in the North-West. The text of the Rgveda has *Vsru* 'to flow' and *śravas-* 'stream', and the Atharvaveda offers *samhutam* for *śatnsrutam*. Even if we correct with Bloomfield (*JAOS.* 13 p. cxx) to *sru-* etc., the readings still testify to local habits of pronunciation. That a tendency to pronounce *sr* as *śr* was very old is suggested by some Avestan forms : we find, for instance, A v. *Qraotah-* 'stream', and *śraxti-*, *Qraxti-*, 'edge', and these forms seem to point to old variants \**śrautas-*, \**śrakti-* beside Skt. *śrotas-*, *śrakti-*". In this case the tendency is as old as the Indo-Iranian period and the Vedic forms mentioned above are to be regarded as genuine variants and not the mistakes of modern copyists or reciters. Later, in the North-West, we find forms like *visravatcna* in the Kharosthi. Dhammapada and Buddhist Sanskrit forms like *śrotas-* 'stream' show the same tendency. Similarly Skt. <sup>^</sup>*śrank* in the Dhatupatha meaning 'to go, move, creep' has a variant *śrank* and a comparison with other languages shows that the latter form is original : Lith. *slenku* 'slink' etc.

This being the case, it would obviously not be possible to decide whether *Srughna-* or S'rughra- was the original form without the help of etymology. Taking S'rughra-, as original, an etymology can be provided with the help of Iranian. The word is clearly a compound containing *ghnw* from the root *han* as its second element. The first element *sru-* can be compared with Av. *sru* 'horn, nail,' Pers. *śurn* 'horn', Bal. *śrunbe* hoof. The meaning, 'blow of a horn (or hoof)' would be suitable for some natural feature in the locality which might bear some such impression. Otherwise *sru*, 'horn' etc. is not preserved in Indo-Aryan. It must have become obsolete between the period of the first invasion and the composition of the ftgveda.

#### 5, Skt. *ahladayati* : Av. *ayzraoyeiti*

An Avestan *yzrai* occurs in one passage (Yt. 8, 31) which describes the surging of the turbulent waters of the sea, Vourukasa : *ho zrayo ayzratiayeiti, hozrayovtyzralayeiti, ho zrayo ayzarayeiti, ho zrayo vjyzarayeiti.* Av. *yzrab-* here is an extension of the root *yzar-* = *ksar*. With it we can compare Skt. *hlad* which means 'to refresh, revive.' The original

meaning of the Skt. word was 'to refresh or revive by pouring water on', and this is sufficiently clear from many passages in which the word is used : e. g. *hladayamasa gharmartam salilair iva ; daham adbhiih prahladayasva mc* etc. (see BR). The Sanskrit word is used with various prefixes, most commonly a, and *ahladayati* corresponds exactly to Av. *ayzratiayeiti*. The form is exactly the same, but in Avestan it is used in a frequentative, in Skt. a causative sense. The long *a* is the long vowel of the causative (cf. Skt. *patayati* etc ), and the Skt. root should strictly appear as *hlad* ( *hrad*). The short vowel appears in *hradas-* 'lake' from this root.

The form is not unexpected in Sanskrit. A tendency to simplify complicated consonant groups is already in evidence in the earliest Indo-Aryan : Skt. *tisya-* : Av. *tistrya-*; Skt. *tvasta* : Av. *Guwstar*; Skt. *bhakta-* 'food' : *bhaksita-*. In this case an Aryan *gzhr-* has been simplified by loss of the sibilant, and the resulting *\*ghr-* has developed to *hr-*, *hla-*. Sporadic cases of *h* for voiced aspirates are already familiar in the Rgvda. Also the *I* for *r* indicates that the word may be a popular form.

#### 6. Skt. *laksita-*: Av. *dexsta-*

No suitable etymology has so far been propounded for Skt. <sup>^</sup>*laks*. The Rgvda has only nominal forms : 'a,asd-, *Idksman-*, *laksml* meaning 'mark, sign, etc.' Verbal forms (*laksate*, *laksayati*) are not found until much later and are obviously denominative in origin. An etymology would appear to be provided by some Avestan words which have the same meaning: *daxsara-* 'mark, sign, token', *daxsta-* 'mark, sign, etc.', *daxstavant-* 'having a sign, (on the body)', *fradaxsta-* 'marked with a sign'. The meanings are identical, and the relation of the initial consonants is the same as that between Skt. *lipi-* 'writing' and OPers. *dipi-*. The change of *d* to *l* was a particular characteristic of Eastern Iranian, that is to say, of those Iranians who were most immediately in contact with the Indo-Aryans. In the case of these words there are two possibilities: either the Skt. words are due to early borrowing from Eastern Iranian, or possibly the isogloss *l > d* may have extended at some time into the Indo-Aryan area, in which case the words are dialect words which have been adopted into the standard language (cf. Lat. *lacrim* etc). Ultimately the words are derived from *dah* 'to burn', the original meaning being a mark branded on the horns of cattle, sheep etc. Av. *daxsa* = Skt. *laksa-* still maintains the etymological sense of 'branding'. The relation of Av. *daxsta-* 'sign' to the Skt. participle *laksita-* is exactly the same as that between Skt. *bhakta-* 'food' (< *\*bhaksta-*) and *bhaksita-* 'eaten'.

#### 7. Skt. *kesa-*.- Av. *gaesa-*

Skt. *kesara-* 'hair, mane, etc.' is usually regarded as being etymologically connected with Lat. *caesars*. The irregularity (*kesara-*, not *\*kesara-*) is explained away by assuming an intermediate form *\*kesra-*. It is not however, possible to separate *kesara-* from *kesa-* 'hair', as for instance, Walde-Pokorny do (1,328-9). The latter word has the palatal sibilant *i*

and this appears frequently in the other word. Of the two variant forms, *kesara-* and *kesara-*, the latter must be the original form. For *kesa-*, *kesara-* no very convincing IE. etymology is to be found.

In this case it is perhaps reasonable to compare Av. *gazsa-* 'curly hair.' and *gagsau-* 'curly-haired', The irregularity of the correspondence between the initial consonants is probably an indication that the word is borrowed from some non-Aryan source. We can compare with it such doublets in Sanskrit as *kulpha-* : *gulpha-* 'heel', and *karta-* : *garta-* 'hole', where also foreign origin is to be suspected.

There is always a small residue of words in each language which for a variety of reasons defy the phonetic laws. Among other examples between Indo-Aryan and Iranian we may mention Skt. *dhanvan-* 'bow' ; Av. *Qanvan*, *Qanvar-*, which in view of their identity of meaning as well as of formation cannot very well be separated from each other. In the case of Skt. *cam* 'to sip' : A v. *sum-* the regular use of the prefix *a* with the verb in both the languages shows that they belong together : in this case the irregularity is due to the words being of onomatopoeic origin. Another example that can be quoted is Skt. *yac* 'to ask' : A v. *yas-* : compare *ruc* : *rusat-*.

The equation Skt. *kesa-* : Av. *gaesa-* may be reasonably regarded as an example of this residue. In support of it we may also notice Skt. *kesava-* 'having long or handsome hair', which with a thematic extension presents the same stem as Av. *gaesav*.

### 8. Skt. *brsi-*

Skt. *brsi-* 'cushion', is shown to be a foreign word by the occurrence of the dental *s* after the vowel *r* as well as by the initial *b*, which except when dissimilated from an aspirate, is usually a sign of foreign origin. In this case the foreign source is to be found in Iranian. Corresponding to Skt. *barh* in *barhis-*, *upabarhana-* etc., Iranian has *barz-* in Av. *barzis-* 'cushion', Bal. *barzi* etc. Since Sanskrit has no *z*, another sound has to be substituted, and here *s* serves that purpose. As regards the vowel of the first syllable, it would be possible to reconstruct an Iranian *\*brz%* as the original, but it is better to base it on the attested forms and to look on *r* for *ar* as one of the type of irregular changes which take place when words are borrowed from one language to another.

# A Bundle of Pashai Etymologies<sup>1</sup>.

By

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Pashai is an IndoAryan language spoken in Afghanistan in the valleys north of the Kabul river. It is split up into a large number of widely different dialects<sup>2</sup>. Among the western dialects are those of Laurowan in the Tagan (L)<sup>3</sup>, of Gulbahar, near Charikar (G), of Ozbin (O) and Najil (Nj). Further east we find the dialects of Laghman (Lgh.) and Kachur-i Sala (KS) and, in the Kunar District, of Darra-i-Nur (DN) and Wegal (W). A north-eastern group is formed by the dialects of Aret (A) Chilas (Ch.) and Kurangal (K).

One of the distinguishing features of the various dialects is the different treatment of ancient groups of consonants+r. In G they remain more or less unchanged; in L *tr* and *dr* remain, while all groups with guttural or labial+r result in I, and in O we find *s* from *fa*, *pr*. In DN etc., all groups with voiced stop result in I, and all with unvoiced stop in unvoiced *lh*. In A not only *pr* but also *for* develops into *pl*, but *gr* into Si (*om* 'village')<sup>4</sup>.

Since the Pathan occupation of the lower Kabul Valley, Pashai has, many centuries, been cut off from the main body of Indo-Aryan languages. It has, however, preserved a number of ancient words unknown to or sparsely represented in other modern IA tongues. Some of these are probably original *tatsamas*, being adopted from Sanskrit while the Pashais still belonged to the common Hindu-Buddhist civilisation which flourished in the Kabul valley<sup>5</sup>.

1. In this article, *r* stands for ʃ and *r* represents a distinct consonantal cerebral akin to ʃ.

2. Cf. the author's *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (Oslo, 1926) pp. 84 ff, and *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India* (Oslo, 1932, pp. 21 ff.

3. Unmarked Pashai words belong to the dialect of L.

4. This 5 is very faintly articulated, cf. the description of the *s'enti* I in Varma's: "*The Dialects of the Khas><ili Group*" pp. 3, 21. We are reminded of the development of similar groups into ʃ, d (h)..'. etc., in Bhadharwahi and others of the highly interesting W Pahari dialects among which Professor Siddheshwar Varma has done such excellent and most valuable pioneer work.

5. A vocabulary of Pashai dialects with etymological notes will be published by the *Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture*, but the printing may be delayed owing to the conditions created by five years of ruthless occupation and plundering. A volume of Pashai texts and translations has been published by the Institute in 1944, as Vol, II., 2 of the Series: '*Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*' and a grammar is in preparation.

(In the meantime, I hope, Professor Siddheshwar Varma will accept this miscellany of Pashai etymologies and queries as a cordial greeting from an ancient outpost of the Indian world, and from a friend and admirer in faraway *Uttarapatha*-if it is permissible to use this literal translation of the name of Norway.)

- aboi* L, *abui* G, Awe DN. etc. 'flour', Skt. *apup(i)ya*. ;—only in Pashai, but *an* 'bread' < *apupa-* has parallels in other Dard and Kafir languages.
- angi* 'root' < cf. Skt. *ahghri-?* But *ghr* regularly > '.
- awangan* 'desolate (about a mountain)' < \**a-pantha-ka-an* ?
- ac* 'full, filled' < \**irtatya-*, cf. Skt. *a-tata-* 'spread, extended, penetrated'. \**asz* m. L *osk(a)* G, *osik* A, etc., 'ashes' < Shum. *asik*, Kati, Waigeli, Prasun. *as*, etc.; Gawar-Bati *sago*; Skt. *dsa-* (AV; S'at. Br.).
- ar* m. L, *al* KS, *as* DN. etc., *oelh* Kr, est Chi *ostr* A 'blood', - < \**asr* -, Skt. *asrh* cf. Prasun *usu* < \**asan-*. The other Kafir and Dard languages have either the *rafeta-* (East) or the *lohita-* type (West + Shina).
- engrain* Kr 'wind' < cf. Skt. *ingana-* 'shaking'.
- tr* m. L, etc. 'clear sky'.—Phalura *bidri*, Jaunsari *bidrl*, Kshm. *ved<sup>r</sup>* f. go back to Skt. *vtthr(i)ya-*, \**vtdhra*\*. But Khowar *yndur* (cf. *yuru* 'vein' < *hira-*) and, in Iranian, Ossetic *ird* are derived from \**id(h)ra-*, cf. also a Yidgha *fcVofco* < \**idraka*', It is tempting to derive also Pash. *ir* (borr. into Parachi *tra*); Kati, Waigeli *ir(a)* from this form, but the development of *dhr* would be irregular.
- onj-* L, *gz<sup>v</sup>*- Kr, etc. 'to wash'. Skt, *ava-nij*.
- opur-* L, G 'to dig up' Dameli *oparay* 'to pull out'; Parachi (from Pashai) *huper* 'to dig.' Skt. *ut-pataya-* 'to eradicate, pull out.' We should expect Pashai \**upar*.
- or\*ac* m. L, etc. 'sleep' < \**avratya*\* from \**ava-ram* (Skt. only in *ava-rati-* 'stopping, ceasing' cf. *an-ava-rata-*). Regarding the suffix, cf. s. v. *iic*. Khowar *oroi*. 'sleep' < *ava-rati-*.
- ucum<sup>l</sup>* f. (?), L, etc., *ncrm* DN, etc., 'scorpion'.—Apparently < \**vrscuma-*, Skt. *vrscana-*, *vrscika-*, Nep. *bicchi* etc.
- udr<sup>l</sup>t* f. L, *ult* W 'snare made of horse-hair'. Skt. \**ubdhrika-*, cf. *ubh-* 'to lace together'.
- utjduki* 'gums', cf. Skt. *widiika-* (Susr.) 'net, peritoneum' ?
- uchmd* 'jumping, dancing', Skt. *uecunda-* 'quick'.
- utidali*, *utjdarek*, DN *udara* KS 'cat.' \**widala-*, \**uddala-*, cf. Skt. *vi-*, *bidala-* ?
- m* G 'cold' < cf. Bashk. *os* 'ice' < *avasya-*.
- bay* 1) L, G 'to get tired'; 2) DN, W 'to become stiff; to coagulate, freeze'; Skt. *badhya-*, cf. Shina *baz-* 'to freeze', Lhd., etc. *baddha* 'tried' (Nep. Diet., s.v. *bajhnu*). But 1) perhaps contaminated with Skt. *badhya-* 'to be vexed' etc.
- bangyavft* L, *batlgen* W 'husband's brother's wife'; < *bang*—cf. Skt. *bhamaika-* 'sister's husband (*Lex.* and *Bhag. P.*) ?—V. s. v. *sang-*.

- blam'ur* A, *lamb*, *Hrak* Kf 'lightning', < \**bhramara*% \**bhram(b)al*% cf. Skt. *bhrama*- 'a whirling flame', with *-brak* cf. Guj. *bhaiku* 'blase' ? cf. also Gawar-Bati *Inme-culik* 'lightning' < \**bhrama*%
- blos'on* A 'curse, oath', < \**bhratsana*- < Skt. *bhartsana*-.
- casha* L, etc. 'hare', < \**ch3saka*-> cf. W. Pah. Jaunsari *chas'Ti*, Skt. *s'asa*-  
A variation between *s*" and *ch*- is well known, but why 5 < «- ?  
Possibly dissimilation of two palatals ?
- ^fc^afc* L, *sel'gǫ* DN, etc. 'white'; *chyl-dar'l* L, *sel-d'cir* W 'grey-bread'.  
A variation between *r*-'i- and *a*- occurs also in *c'ifr* L, *jfr* W 'milk'; *ǫ\**  
L, ?*g* W 'six'; possibly \**fejairy*a-'milky', but why *I* ?
- yjchap* 'to be worn out', Skt. *%fǫa*>, Nep. Diet, s.v. *hchapnu*.
- dram(~dm)* A '(my) friend', Skt. *dharmin*\* 'pious > friendly' ?
- #3n'as* f. L, *gdriac* DN, etc. 'snake'; Skt. *gonasa*; Kshm. *gunas* f.; cf. Psht. (LW) *gosna* 'a kind of snake'; Khas'ali group *gu'na*, *guns*, etc. (S Varma: *The Dialects of the Kh. Group*, p. 57).
- hlng* W, etc. 'he-goat', Skt. *pranaka*- 'animal'; cf. Gawar-Bati *plang* 'goats (collective)'
- ','jas* L, *Jjgs* G 'to laugh', Skt. *','j&has'*, but *s'azh* DN etc. < <*v*:'Aas.
- Vjupa* DN, etc. 'to build, make, prepare', Skt. *vy-uts*.'padi cf. Dameli *'lɔup7ly* etc.
- fearer* L, DN, *kar'fil* Lgh, *jrara* <sup>w</sup>. etc. 'wolf', cf. Phalura *karTlru*, Skt. *karMa*-(< \**4a* - ? ) 'formidable, dreadful' (e. g. *kardla-darpsjra*- 'having terrific teeth') W etc. *x*- < *kh*-.
- kasmXr* A, *kasplr* DN 'n. of a fruit-bearing tree,' Psht. *mdmZndi* 'Sageretia Oppositifolia', cf. Shumasht (dial. of Gawar-Bati) *kacur*, Skt. *hns'mlra*- 'n. of various plants.'
- kawdr* W 'small piece, fragment, bit', Skt. *kaparda*- 'small shell' (Nep. Diet 6. v. *kauri*).
- kewala* L, etc. 'alone', Skt. *kevala*-, Dameli *k'ewal*.
- ki\*elnftYt* L, *kisehmel'i* DN, etc. 'Jasmine, sweet Basil (^*naumnli*), Skt. *krma-rffillikn*-, °*maluka*-, Ashk. *kasma',lrU'*, Psht. (LW) *kaimnlu*, *-nawmll* < Skt. *navamallikZ*'.
- kdlfil* (a) L, *kulal'a* DN, W 'potter', Skt. *kulnla*-. Ved. *kaulala*-, Kshm, feral, but no other modern IA forms.
- hundale'l* 'vine', Skt. *kuntalikn*- 'n. of a plant,' *kuntala*- 'hair.'
- kufft* m. 'tree', Skt. *feufa*- 'tree' (Lex.), cf. Parachi (LW) *kdr* 'stick', &orfn 'wooden'.
- kusdl'i* W, etc. 'wooden cornbin', Skt. *kusula*-.
- lasanl* W 'beautiful', Skt. *dars'anlya*-.
- Idk* L \**3c* O 'palm of the hand', < \**prak* (cf. Ia.'ar L, *xawor* O 'wound' < *praharar*', possibly < \**prathu ka*-, cf. *p\*.'vǫ* DN. etc. < \**prrhwka*~.

*landi* 'point of a knife', Skt. \**prantika-*, cf. *pranta-* 'point, tip (of blade of grass)'.  
*las* 'to play a trick upon, deceive'; Skt. *las* 'to play, sport'.

- *lel* L, *prel* G 'to herd, tend cattle'; Skt. *pra ir* 'to set in motion, drive forwards' with different semantic development *hlel* W 'to stretch out the hand'.

*lenl* L *I'ani* Kr 'noon' (Prs. *garmi*, \**ghranisa* (with reg. loss of -§-) cf. Khow *grants* 'noon'.

*lane* 'kite' (?), Skt. (Lex.) *kraunca-* 'osprey'.

*lund* L, *krum* O (ace. to L), *kundur* G (< \**kurund* ?), *sond* Lghm, *hlon* DN etc. *hlund* Chi., *plen(d)* A 'roof. Apparently < *krum-t-* or \**krom-t-*, cf. Ashkun *kr'um*, *klom*, etc., from Skt. *karma-* 'tortoise' (cf. semantically Latin *testudo*) with a secondary .'- suffix in Pashai.

*macafi* 'corpse', cf. Skt. *martya-*.

*s.'manj* L, etc. *J banj* Ks 'to put on clothes, to dress oneself, Skt. *upas.'muc*, cf. Khow *sjanj* < *njmuc*.

-*mahgaU* only in *tra car- mahgal* etc. <sup>1</sup>'on the third, fourth, etc. day hence', originally meaning <sup>4</sup>'on the third,\*etc, day of good omen' (cf. Skt. *mahgala-*) ?

*tnastrak* A, *mahl'ak* Kr, etc. 'brain', cf. Skt. *mastaba-*, Dameli *mdstak*, etc. but, with r, Av. *mastr\** H an-, Ormuri *mastrd* 8.

*pariKar* 'exile, refugee', Skt. *parihlra-* 'giving up, resigning, shunning.'

*parar* L, *parol* W, etc., *parwal'l* Nj 'apple', Skt. *pa'ala-* 'pink, Bignonia suaveolens', cf. Kalasha *palou* (*palal-*), but Ashk. *pala*, etc. Shina *phala* < Skt. *phala-*.

*phalgiin* 'the second month of autumn (!) when half the harvest has been brought home', Skt. *phalguna-* 'February-March'. Note the change of meaning, also *bldrau* 'first winter month (!) and *pans* 'second winter month' are ancient Tatsamas.

*plleu* A, *hlfu* Kr, Chi 'fat, grease', < \**priv* < *pivra*; Skt. *pjvara-*, cf. the phonetical deploiment in Bhadarwahi *ilebu* 'husband's younger brother' < \**dreb-* < \**devr-* < Sk. *devara-*.

*plnwo*, *plabfl* A 'dream'; < \*(s)*prapa* < \**svnptra-*, cf. Kalasha *israp*, etc. *'pus* W 'to sprinkle', Skt. *'prs*.

*pu(s)thi* *ahguri* f. <sup>1</sup>'thumb', cf. Kshn *puth* 'stout' < Skt. *pusta*.

*pur* L 'bonfire (?)', W 'burning embers', *por* DN, < \**pura* .or \**pavara-*. cf. Shumashti *par*.

*randa* 'large, poisonous spider'; Skt. *vrnta(ka)* 'a small, crawling animal; caterpillar'.

reken L. *s.'ligin* Kf etc. 'to sell', \**vrikin-* < Skt. *vis kri*, cf. also *rakati* 'kidney' < \**vrakka*; Skt. *vrkhar*

*sabar*'l f. DN 'pregnant', Skt. \**sabhnrika-*

*sal'ap* DN, *sehlab* W 'with young (about animals.); \**sagrabb-* < Sk. *sagaibhn-*

*sang* 'ground, earth, floor.' \**satnaka*' Skt. *sama-* 'flat.'; while *-aha-* usually results in *-3*, we find some cases of contraction into *-g* after a nasal or liquid (e.g. *sung* 'dog' *wdr̥g* 'water.')

~*sap* L, *sap* W 'curse', Skt. *s'apva-* or as early Tatsama < *sapa-*.

*sar* L. etc. 'to go', Skt. (Dhp.) *s'at*

*sel* DN *sehl* W, *seitr* A, 'knife, dagger', Skt. *s'astri-*

*sac'a* L., etc. 'wrist (ankle)', Watgeli. *saca*, Kshm 'ho ' apparently \**s'racya-* connected with Skt. *s'lakasn-* 'smooth, thin, fine?', semantically cf. Psht. *marvoand* 'wrist' < \**mr̥dwbanda* - ?

*trin* 'grass, hay', Skt. *tr̥na*.

*wai* m. L, etc. 'house', Skt. *vasa-*. Intervocalic sibilants are frequently dropped in Pashai. Eastern Pashai has *gosih* etc.' somehow connected with Phalura *ghost*, etc. < Skt. *gostha* -

*wei* etc. 'daughter', *wiya-m* 'my daughter' etc. point to ancient final *-ʔi*. Probably with *w-* < \**dw*, from \**dwiyn* < *du(h)ita*,

*wagan* m. Lgh, etc. *wa 8 an* DN, W, etc. 'wind-', \**vahad'gandha*, cf. Skt. *gandha-vaha-*.

*wand* L, G 'to build, arrange, construct', Skt. *upa* [bandh](#).

*warvis* L 'steel', *ivtines* DN. etc. 'rasp, file'; somehow connected with Singh, *vane* 'steel' ?

*waranjk* L, etc., *warawunjik* A 'ant'. Probably < *varmi-* < *vartnicl*; Skt. *valmlka-*.

*wer* L etc. *y.'wir* A, ',.' *ir(ay)* Kr 'to weep'; \**viroai* Skt. *viroditi*.

*wesawek* W 'comb'; ancient LW from Ir. \**fsanek*, cf. Pskt. *zmanj* *wzanj* < \**fsan-ci*

*werembu* DN. etc. 'Walnut'; cf Skt. *varambarn-* 'Nux Vomica' ?

*W9st* L, etc. 'twenty'; not borr. from Iranian, but with *s% > st*, in secondary contact.

['lwiewiyi](#) 'to flay'; Skt. *vi-kr̥nta-*.

*zofctfJ* L etc. 'night'<sup>1</sup>, Skt.<sup>1</sup> *vikala-* 'evening'; cf. Lower Rudhari *bia*, 'early night.' etc.

*Ismail* L; *yambata* Kun 'plough-bullock'; *yameln* DN. 'ploughing.', Skt. *yamala-* 'paired, double'.

*zuk* 'to fit, suit (e.g. as a shoe)' denom. from \**yukna-*, Skt. *yukta-*

*zutr* f. L., etc. 'hair, mane, goat's hair'; Skt. *yoktra-* 'rope (> strnad)' ?



SECTION II

**Vedic and Avestic Studies**



# Textual Imperfections of the extant Rgveda

By

V. M. APTE, *Dharwar.*

A study of the successive ritual settings of the, *Rgveda Mantras* repeated in the later *Samhitns*, *Brahmanas* and *Srauta* and *Grhya Satras* reveals the interesting fact, well-known to Vedic scholars that the latter texts often present the *Rgveda Mantras* in a verse-and hymn-order and juxtaposition, which differ from those in the extant *Rgveda Samhitft*. What is probably not fully realised is the far-reaching significance of the further revelation that these differences do not merely reflect the needs of the ritual which are, indeed, admirably served by them but also represent in many cases, a far more natural and satisfactory compilation of the *Mantras* from the point of view of their deity or subject-matter. The cases are so many in number and so glaring, that one is almost tempted to bring out a better version of the *Rgveda Samhitn* than that offered by the extant recension of the *Sakalaka* School. It is the purpose of this paper to mention a few out of the many convincing cases of this type which almost incline one to believe that *as early as the age of the later Samhitas, there probably existed a recension of the Rgveda for ritual use, which was superseded by the only canonical text, preserved for us now, in the Sakalaka Sakha.*

1.

A hymn of three stanzas in the extant *Rgveda Samhitn*- VII, 54 is sacred to *Vnstospati*, a tutelary deity of the house. Now, in the immediately following hymn—VII, 55 consisting of eight verses, the first verse alone is devoted to the praise of this same deity. These verses are four out of the seven passages in which the name *Vnstonpdti* occurs. These four only are distinctive in their description of the deity, the remaining three being not very typical. On the face of it, it strikes us as rather odd that the verse VII, 55, 1 though sacred to *Vnstospdti* should be found separated from the three *Vnstospdti* verses of the immediately preceding hymn, VII, 54 and appear as the opening verse of a hymn which according to the *Anukramaifi* is sacred to Indra. It has numerous points of contact with the preceding three verses. It contains the invocatory word *Vnstospate* which occurs in each of the three preceding verses. For the *anamivah* 'unattended by disease' of 54, 1, it has *amlvahtt* 'destroyer of disease'; for the *te sakhye syntna* 'may we be in thy friendship' of 54, 2 and the *sagmaya samsdda te* 'in the suspicious fellowship' of 54, 3, it has *sakhz suseva edhi nah* 'be our auspicious friend'. The whole verse, in fact, is redolent of the atmosphere

of hymn 54, in thought and expression. Further, verse 55, 1, stands completely isolated in its hymn, 55, the remaining verses of which differ from it in their metre, deity and subject-matter. ! Tradition describes these latter verses (55, 2-8) as *prasvapinal*} 'inducing sleep', because, as Sayana tells us, they were employed by Vasistha on the occasion of his nocturnal visit to Varuna's house to put the inmates and the watch-dog to sleep. Although not much significance may be attached to this tradition, there is no doubt that the verses speak of an earthly house in which a lover (*not* a thief) desiring to force his entry at night seeks to *lull to sleep* the watch-dog and the inmates of the house — the father, the mother, the women of the house, the kinsmen, the master and the people round about—*who may happen to be awake*. It would be extremely fanciful to suppose that there is a connection between 55, 1 and the rest of the 55th hymn because, the lover about to insinuate himself into the house (vv. 2-8) seeks to put himself in the good books of *Vastospati*, the presiding spirit of the house, through verse 1. The whole hymn (VII, 55) again, with the exception of the first (the *Vnstospdii*) verse bears numerous marks of a later origin, as Oldenberg (Noten II, 42) has shown, such as the *sandhi, sdstv aydm* in v. 5, the words *sdrvWi* and *panyd*—in v. 8 and the treatment of the syllables 5-8 in the Anustubh hemistichs. Besides, in the Atharvaveda IV, 5. where a large portion of this hymn is repeated, the first verse does not occur.

We can understand, of course, the reasons that probably led the author of the *Samhitin-pmha* to separate the verse, 55, 1, from the very closely allied group of the three verses of the immediately preceding 54th hymn: (1) The metre of 55,1 is *Gnyatri* whereas that of 54, 1-3 is *Tristubh* ; but the same difference of metre should disqualify it for being grouped with 55, 2-8, as 2-4 are in the *Upariffidbrhati* metre and 5-8 are in the *Anustubh* metre: (2) The word *Vnstospate* stands *first* in each of the three verses, 54, 1-3, whereas it stands *second* in 55, 1. This is too trivial and superficial a difference, to justify the separation: (3) An important reason that was probably decisive with the compiler, is that the characteristic hymn refrain of the Mandala: *yuydm pata* etc., occurs at the end of v. 3 of hymn 54, which therefore could not admit of the addition of 55, 1 after its refrain verse. It may be pointed out, however, that hymn 55 also lacks the refrain and that there are, in all, nearly 26 hymns in the seventh Mandala not ending with the refrain, namely: 2,5,6,10,15-18, 31-33,38, 44, 49, 50, 52, 59, 66, 74, 82, 83, 89, 94, 96, 102 and 103. To the objection that if 55, 1 had been incorporated in hymn 54 at the end, the refrain-verse would have lost its concluding position, the answer would be that similar is the case with the refrain-verse 20th of the first hymn of the "seventh Mandala, such composite hymns being not rare in the *Samhita*. *But above all, the difficulty could have been got over by making 55, 1 the opening verse of hymn 54, which then would have cottsisted of four verses with the refrain-verse at the end,* an arrangement actually, found

in the *Mcinava Grhya-Sutra* II, 11, 19, which employs the *Vdstospdti*-verses liturgically, as will be seen hereafter.

Before we turn to an examination of the repetitions of these four *Vdstospdti* verses in the literature of the ritual, beginning with the other *Sdmhitas* and ending with the *Grhya-sutras*, for evidence of a better grouping of them, we may cite the valuable testimony of the *Brhaddevatd*, which describes the two *Rgveda* hymns VII, 54 and 65 very significantly. It says (VI, 2) : vastospatyas *catasrastu sapta prasvapinyah smrtah* and thus divides the eleven verses of the two hymns into two homogeneous groups, namely the group : VII, 54, 1-3; 55, 1 characterised appropriately as (the group of) 'four sacred to *Vdstospdti* and the group VII, 55, 2-8 titled aptly as (the group *oi*) 'seven soporific' (verses). Thus the peculiar subject-matter of verses 55, 2-8, and their magical significance was well understood by the *Brhaddcvata* and also by the *Rgvidhana*, which styles f11, 26, 5) the Sukta, VII, 55 as *prasvapanam* 'inducing sleep'.

Turning to the evidence of the ritual literature, we find that the *Maitriyant Samhita* 1, 5, 13 cites the two verses 54, 1 and 55, 1, in the *changed order* : 55, 1, and 54, 1, at an offering to *Vdstospdti* by one who is going on a journey with his whole family. Evidently 54, 1 docs duty for all the three verses : 54, 1-3. *Here, then is indicated a more sensible order of grouping for the Vastospati verses.* The *Manava-Srauta-Sutra* 1, 6, 3, 1, has the pratika : *Vnsiospate* very probably standing for the whole hymn VII, 54 and 55, 1 *together* in the same context. Among the *Grhya-sutras*, the *Sankhayana*, III, 4, 8, recommends the recitation of the four verses VII, 54, 1-3 and VII, 55, 1 *in unbroken succession*, to accompany the offering of *four* oblations to the domestic fire on the occasion of the formal occupation of the newly-built house. The manner of the reference : '*Vdstospate*' *iti tisrah, amlvaha vdstospate* etc. shows that the *Sutra* was aware of the hymn-arrangement in the extant *Samhitd*. The *Asvalayana-Grhya-Sutra* II, 9, 9, has the rule :—"The performer of the ceremony (next) cooks a *sthallpaka*, in the middle of the *new* house and sacrifices of it with the *four* verses beginning with *Rgveda* VII, 54, 1, verse by verse, as if, blissfully unaware of the fact that the hymn VII, 54 has only *three* verses. Even SayaOa who gives the *viniyoga* of the hymn by quoting from the *Kivalayana Grhya-Sutra* either does not notice the fact or deliberately ignores it, taking it for granted that the immediately following verse in the next hymn sacred as it is to *Vdstospdti* must constitute the fourth verse. In a similar context, the *Apastamba-Mantrapatha* II, 15, 18-21, has the four verses in the order 54, 1-3 and 55, 1. The *Paraskara Grhya-Sutra* actually quotes the four verses 54, 1-3, 55, 1, *inextenso* in the *Samhita* order, in the same context. The *Manava-Grhya-Sutra*, II, 11, 19, however, gives the four verses in the *most suitable* order, namely : 55, 1, 54, 1-3, *an order which (as we saw above) dots not disturb the usual position of the refrain found in 54, 3.*

## 2

It is well-known that the so-called *Khilas* (*khila*, literally means a 'supplement') were collected and added to the Samhita after the latter had assumed a completed form. Although on the whole, they represent a later stratum of Rgvedic poetry, the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the *Khilas* were as old at least as some of the late hymns of the *Rgveda*, as for example, those in portions of the later Mandalas like the tenth. The *Valakhilya*, a group of hymns found in all manuscripts at the end of the eighth Mandala seems to have been given the benefit of this doubt. The eleven *Suparna* hymns, the *Praisa* hymns and the prose *Nivids* (small collections of sacrificial litanies) are also suspected to possess the same *comparatively* high antiquity, as the *Valakhilya* hymns by some scholars like Winternitz,<sup>1</sup>.

If we examine the different groupings and juxtapositions of repeated *Rgvedic* hymns and verses, in the literature of the ritual, many other *Khilas*, which claim *this border-line position of equal antiquity with the later portions of the Rgveda can be unearthed*. I take but one example of this type, which must have sorely tried the judgment of the author of the extant Samhita, who (it seems) could not derive definite guidance from a not quite consistent tradition. The *Bṛhaddevata* VII, 44-45, which reckons the hymn beginning with *ayusyam* as a *Khila Snkta* after *Rgveda* X, 128, gives the clue. If we consult the second edition of Muller's *Rgveda Samhita* Vol. IV (1892), we find that on page 536, *arvaficam indram* etc. is printed as a *Khila consisting of a single verse*, immediately after X, 128, followed by another *Khila* hymn, the first verse of which opens with the word *ayusyam* and which is the same as the *Khila* referred to by the *Bṛhaddevata*. This means either that the *Bṛhaddevata* does not recognise the single-verse *Khila* hymn beginning with *arvancam Indram* or that it looks upon this single verse as part of the preceding hymn : X, 128 which (according to it) was not a *nine-verse* hymn but a *ten-verse* hymn, so that the *Khila, ayusyam* could be described by it as immediately following X, 128. That the latter alternative hits the mark is borne out by the repetitions of the RV. hymn X, 128 in ritual literature. The *Taittīya Samhita* knows the hymn X, 128 very well, designating it (in III, 1, 7, 3) as "*Vihavya*\* because of the word, *vihavesu* ('in conflicts') in the first verse and adding that it was revealed to Jamadagni, who thereby appropriated the power of his rival.

The same *Saihhita* in IV, 7, 14, 1-3, has all the nine verses of *Rgveda* hymn : X, 128, divided into three trcas followed by *arvancam indram* etc. Similarly the *Kathaka Samhita* 40, 10, has all the nine verses of the hymn X, 128, followed without break by *arvdTicam indram* etc. Hymn V, 3 of the *Atharvaveda* again, contains exactly these ten verses in the

1. *A History of Indian Literature*, P. 60. (Authorised English Translation, University of Calcutta, 1927).

same order but split up into eleven verses, the nine verses of *Rgvda* X, 128 being turned into *ten* by expanding the fifth verse into two. That a very early ritual tradition thus definitely accepted the verses "*arvncam iidram* as canonical and as constituting the regular tenth verse of the *Rgvda* hymn X, 128 and did not look upon it as a *Khila* as the extant *Samhita* would have it, is further confirmed by the peculiar manner of the liturgical employment of the *Rgvda* hymn X, 128, under the pratika, *mdmagnc varcah* in the *Grhya-Sutras* of *Aivalayana* (III, 9, 2) and *S'ankhnyana* (III, 4, 8), in the context of the ceremony of *samavartana*. The *Asvalayana Grhya-Siitra* (III, 9, 2) says that the *snataka* puts fuel-sticks (on the fire) with the hymn *Rgvda* X, 128, *one jucl-stick to the accompaniment of each verse*. Now *Narayana*, the commentator of the *Aivalayana Grhya-Sutra* says that *ten* pieces of wood must be offered and that as X, 128 has only nine verses, a verse from the following *Khila* hymn, beginning with *arvncam indram* must be recited after the hymn! So *Narayana* supplies us with the valuable piece of information from tradition, that *ten* pieces of wood were to be offered with the verses of the hymn X, 128 and he was puzzled, because the extant *Samhita* text assigns *nine* verses only to that hymn. But as we have seen above, the *Taittirlya*, *Kathaka* and *Atharvavcda Samhitas* clearly establish the prevalence of a tradition which assigned *ten* verses to the hymn X, 128, the tenth verse being the one which the editor of the *Sakalaka Samhita* did not accept as part of the canonical text of the *Rgvda* and which he therefore permitted to be relegated to the *Khila* group.

## 3.

The *Rgvda* hymn VI, 47, which on the face of it, looks like the appendage of an original collection, comes next under our suspicion. Several pieces can be detected in it, which look like separate hymns. As *Oldenberg Qioten*) points out, 1-10 looks like a *sastra* for the mid-day pressing of the Soma (cf. v, 6: *madhyandinc savanc*) special to Indra; 11-13 are verses suitable for a festival, somewhat of the nature of the *Sautramam rite* (cf. *sutrdmu* in verses 12 and 13 and *tratdram* in v, 11 with *sutrdma* in X, 131, 6-7); 14-21 contain the praise of Indra, calling special attention to his readiness to condescend to help even the meanest among his devotees; 22-25 is a *dana-stuti*. So far, we can understand the unity of subject-matter, namely the usual Indra-Soma association, through the mid-day pressing and through the *Sautramam* rite, with the natural shift of emphasis, finally on the greatness of Indra. What, however, is the relevance of 26-31 out of which 26-28 are in praise of a war-chariot and 29-31 praise a war-drum? *Oldenberg (Noten)* suggests that the threads of subject-unity may be traced *somehow* by assuming that the opening *sastra* suits an impending battle and anticipates the battle-charm in 26-31. This, however, is rather an *apologia* for the very apparent lack of subject-unity. If we now apply to this hymn the test of liturgi-

cal employment in ritual literature, we get the following illuminating results:-

The *Taittiriya Samhita* (=TS.) has in its chapter III, 6, 6, the general context of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, but as an offensive and defensive battle has always to be provided for in that sacrifice, for guarding the horse from the hostile attentions of any king whose territory it may happen to encroach upon, in its unfettered roamings, sections 1-5 of TS. IV, 6, 6, repeat all *the first fourteen verses of the Rgveda hymn VI, 75*, to accompany the putting on, of the armour by the king and the preparation and equipment of his war-chariot. Then *in the same context follow the Rgveda verses VI, 47, 26-31* in TS. IV, 6, 6, 6-7. Exactly in the same manner (*i. e.* in the same order and context) does the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* XXIX, 38-57 present the two groups of *Rgveda* verses : VI, 75, 1-14 and VI, 47, 26-31, in close juxtaposition. Similarly the *Maitrayant Samhita* III, 6, 13> has *Rgveda* VI, 75, 1-7 followed immediately by VI, 47, 26-31 and the *Kathaka Samhita (Asvamedha-grantha)*, has *Rgveda* VI, 75, 1-8 followed by 47, 26-31. Among the *Srauta-Sutras*, the *Manava* (IX, 2, 3) and *Apastamba* (XX, 16, 4) have the pratika *jimmasyeva* standing for the *Rgveda* hymn VI, 75, immediately followed by verses from VI, 47, 26-31.

The lesson of this *deliberate grouping together* of verses which, in the extant *Sakalaka Samhita* of the *Rgveda* are found arranged in two separate hymns : the 47th and the 75th, is clear. The two groups of verses : VI, 75, 1-14 and 47, 26-31 have an essential unity of subject-matter, namely, 'preparation for war'. Thus, the group 26-31 which as a battle-charm hangs so loose in VI, 47, gets into its proper place, when placed by the side of the 'battle-charm'—verse of VI, 75. There are other links also which confirm this more harmonious grouping. The *Brhaddevata* tells us that Payu (which is the name of a poet—a Bharadvaja) who receives gifts according to *Rgveda* VI, 47, 24 helped Abhyavartin Cayamana and Prastoka Sarnjaya by consecrating their weapons with the hymn, VI, 75. So both Payu and his patron Prastoka Sarnjaya (mentioned in VI, 47, 25) become the connecting links for the two hymns, VI, 47 and 75. Again, VI, 47, 22-25 is a *dana-stuti* to Prastoka Sarnjaya who gave gifts to Payu and Payu is the *rsi* 'scer', of VI, 75, the verses of which are more *naturally* grouped in the literature of the ritual with 47, 26-31, immediately following the *dana-stuti* (22-25), in which Payu is named as a recipient of gifts.

There is thus far more than what meets the eye, in the *different* groupings of *Rgvedic* verses which ritual literature presents to us while repeating them for liturgical employment. If we now bear in mind the relative chronological position of the extant *Sakalaka Samhita* and the other *Samhitas* and the *Brahmanas*, the significance of these groupings becomes all the more striking.

As Macdonell<sup>1</sup> observes, the definite statements as to the number of syllables in a word or a group of words that we meet with in the *Brahmattas* show discrepancies with the extant *Samhita* text, owing to the *sandhi* rules observed in the latter. So, it is a safe conclusion that the latter was completed *after* the period of (at least) the older *Brahman as*. The earlier groupings of *Rgvcdic* verses and hymns, therefore, in the other *Samhitas* and older *Brlhmanas* may not be lightly superseded by those in the extant *Sakalaka Samhitn*.

1, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 45-50 (London, 1913),

# The meaning of *nihnu* in the *Brahmanas*

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As is well known, the *Brahmanas* give frequent explanations of the reasons for the performance of various ritual acts and utterances in the course of the sacrifice. Thus, for example, some acts serve for the appeasement of the anger of a deity (*santyai*), for continuity of the sacrifice (*samtatyai*), for preventing the slipping of the sacrifice (*aprasramsaya*), for the firm establishment of the sacrificer (*pratisthityai*), and so forth. A less frequent but interesting case is to be seen in the use of the verb *ni^hnu*. This has normally been translated 'propitiate, make amends', and if this were the true sense, it would be virtually a synonym for the common verb *sam*. It seems probable, in fact, that in the later period the sense of the word did come to approximate to the sense of 'propitiate'; but an examination of the *Brahma*«a»-passages where it occurs, shows that originally the sense was quite distinct.

The root meaning of the verb *hnu* is 'to hide, conceal',<sup>5</sup> and by depending too much on the literal sense, Haug, in his translation of the *Aitareya-Brahmana* was betrayed into the error of translating '*prastare nihnuvate* by 'he fit should of course be plural conceals the two bundles of kusa grass' (*Ait*, Br. 1, 26 ; Haug, p. 58). In his valuable review of Haug's translation, Weber (*Indische Studien*, vol. ix. p. 221) pointed out that *prastare* in this passage was not ace. dual., but loc. sg., and accordingly he translated : 'placing their hands on the *prastara*, they avoid (by means of this humble obeisance, all the evil results of the fact that before this they have gone towards the south, and so expiate the same)'. Similarly, Keith in his translation (p. 128J renders the phrase, 'They make their amends on the straw'. But after Weber, no one has discussed the word, nor asked how it has undergone such a surprising change of meaning. Thus Eggeling, for example, in his translation of the *S'atapatha-Brahmana* simply renders it 'propitiate', without any further discussion. Unfortunately, Weber (*Indische Studien*, ix. p. 317) interpreted the semantic development in rather a loose fashion : 'The root *jhnu* in the *Atmanpada* means in the *Brahmanas* 'to conceal oneself from someone (dat.) with something, face), that is, 'to withdraw oneself from someone's sight (anger), so as to ask him for pardon, etc,' (*ksamapayami* commentary on *S'ankhayana-S'rauta-Sutra*) It is important to note, however, that the sense of the *Atmanpada* is not normally reflexive. It is *a priori* unlikely that *nihnutc* should mean 'he conceals himself. Rather, it should mean, 'he conceals (something) for himself, for his own advantage'. Moreover, the accusative with which the word is construed (normally the neuter, *tad*, *etad*) can hardly mean 'with something'. The normal method of shelving the difficulty has been to omit the word in translation, so that

*etat tasmai nihnute* is rendered simply 'he propitiates him'; and the reader may if he chooses understand *etad* as an adverbial accusative, 'in respect of this matter', or else, 'by so doing'. Such a use of the accusative *etad* is of course one of the commonest features of the *Brahmana* style. But it is at least possible that in the cases in question it is the direct object of the verb. In fact, Weber himself seems to have taken this view in his edition of the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (see below). However, in view of the frequency of the adverbial usage, it is in all probability the correct interpretation here.

A typical and very clear example occurs in the offerings to the Fathers which forms a part of the *Sakamedha*. The *Taittiriya-Brahmana* in its discussion of the ceremony (1, 6, 9, 5) says : *ahavantya upatisthante : ny evasmai tad dhnuvate, yat saty ahavantye, athanyatra caranti*, 'They pay worship to the Ahavaniya fire. They thus conceal this fact from it, namely, that, while there is an Ahavaniya, they act elsewhere'. The point is that here offering must be made in the Daksinagni, and it is feared, naturally, that the Ahavaniya will be jealous, since it is its natural privilege to receive oblations at most offerings. The *Brahmana* therefore, interprets the adoration of the Ahavaniya as a means, not of *propitiating* its anger, but of *jorestalling* it, and thus preventing the anger from arising. It continues : *a tamitor upaUsthande; agnim evopadrastaram kriva pitrn niravadayaritc*, 'They pay worship to it until exhaustion (i. e., until \* the fire dies down) ; having thus made the (Ahavaniya) fire a witness (of the act of adoration) ; they then gratify the Fathers (by offering in the Daksinagni)'. The point here seems to be that they must continue their adoration of the Ahavaniya for as long as it is in a position to witness their acts. It is true that the *Brahmana* seems to interpret *a tamitor* as 'until they, the performers, are exhausted', since it continues: *antam vii etc prananam gacchanti, ya a tamitor upatisthante*. 'They go to the end of (theiO breath; who worship until exhaustion'; and therefore it explains that by reciting their mantra to the Ahavaniya, *susanidrsam tva*, etc., (TS. 1,8, 5, 1), they restore breath to themselves. It could, however, be argued that this does not necessarily imply that the exhaustion in the first instance does not apply to the fire. The *Brahmana* is clearly capable of interpreting the exhaustion of the fire as symbolically producing the exhaustion of the priests. The point is not vital to the interpretation of *nihnute* ; in either case, the meaning is that the offensive act of offering in the Daksii;igni is concealed from the Ahavaniya by the prior adoration. Its attention is distracted, so to speak, by flattery.

Another clear case can be seen in the *pravara* ritual. The essence of the rite is the solemn designation of the human priest as Hotr. The point of the danger here is that Agni is known as the Hotr of the gods, and may therefore be offended by a human Hotr acting in his place. The human Hotr therefore in the first place calls on Agni as Hotr and it is only later in the rite that the Adhvaryu calls on the human priest to act as Hotr. Even here however, caution must be observed, and the Adhvaryu begins : *agnir devo daivyo hota* etc., and only after thus stressing the Hotrship of Agni does he

add, *asau manusah*, 'N.N. is the human (Hotr)'. Moreover, the actual name of the Hotr is uttered under the breath. The *S'atapatha-Brahmana* (1, 5, 1, 4) comments : *tad agnaye caivaitad devebhyas ca nihnute*, 'by so doing he conceals (his act) from Agni and from the gods'. Here again, the use of *nihnute* denotes the taking of precautions to prevent and forestall the possible anger of the gods.

In dealing with the *pravara* ceremony, the *S'atapatha-Brcihmana* also has occasion to comment on the order of the names recited. Here the normal usage is that when the Hotr in the first place calls on Agni as a divine Hotr, he addresses him by the names of the *rsi*-ancestors of the sacrificer, starting from the eldest. But in the second *pravara*, when Adhvaryu calls on the human Hotr, the same names are recited in reverse order. The *Vajasaneyins*, however, prescribed the same order in both cases, and in both places the *S'atapatha-Brahmana* explains that the reason for starting from the eldest *rsi* is that he thus 'propitiates the lord of Seniority' (so Egging). The text is *jiyiyasapataya u caivaitan nihnute*. According to our explanation, we may translate, 'He thus conceals this fact (*etad*; or, by so acting he conceals) from the lord of the Elder One'. In other words, he conceals from this rather shadowy guardian of the privileges of seniority the modernity of the sacrificer, by associating the latter with his venerable ancestors, and moreover, by giving the eldest of these ancestors the pride of place. It is of interest that in the first instance (S' Br. 1, 4, 2, 4) both Weber and the Bibliotheca Indica edition read *etam nihnute*; but in the second occurrence (S' Br. 1, 5, 1, 10) both have *etan nihnute*. There is, however, no reason at all for differentiating between the two passages, and it is preferable to read *etat* (neut.) in both places. If however the masc. *etam* is read, it would of course refer to the sacrificer as the object of concealment. Granting that Weber is right in reading *eta*;;', it would make the rendering 'propitiate' even harder to justify.

Another passage where both texts read a masc. instead of the normal neuter is S'Br. 1, 1,2, 10. Here the situation is : the priest must pass by the yoke of the cart in order to fetch grain for the sacrificial oblation. But as the *Brahmana* explains, there is fire in the yoke, and to avoid the danger of passing by it, the Adhvaryu recites : 'Thou art a yoke (*dhur*)', injure (*dhurva*) thou the injurer', etc. By so paying his respects, as it were, to Agni in the yoke, he 'conceals them (?) from him' : *tasmd evairtan (?) nihnute*. In his translation, Egging completely omits the ace. plu. masc. *etan*. If it is correct, it must refer to the priests, 'he conceals them, protects them, from the wrath of Agni', who would be offended by the Adhvaryu's impious act of walking past him. But there is every probability that *etan* is simply an old error of the manuscript tradition, and that here, as in most of the other cases, we should read the neuter, *etan nihnute*. The text of Sayana's commentary, in fact, shows the neuter in both editions.

Enough has been cited to establish the general position, and we shall mention very briefly a few additional cases. The sacrificer's wife sits to the east of the fire (S'Br. 1, 3, 1, 17). But, says the *Brahmana*, Aditi sits to the east, and the sacrificer's wife would die if she offended Aditi in this. She there-

fore sits somewhat towards the south, *tad asya evaitan nihnute*. That is, she conceals from the deity Aditi the fact that she, a human being\* is actually representing Aditi in the human sacrifice. Similarly SBr. 1, 5, 1, 25, *ma modosistam ma ma himsistam, esa vam loka ity udann cjaty antara va etad ahavaniyam ca garhapatyam caste tad u tabhyam nihnutc* : " 'Do not burn me up, do not harm me; this is your ground', so saying he moves to the north. He thus takes up his position between the Ahavaniya and the Garhapatya (but by moving slightly northward of the real midway point, and by stressing in speech that it is in fact their ground); he thus conceals from them the fact (that he is appropriating the position for himself)."

In the later development of the meaning, the sense of actual concealment recedes, and the meaning seems frequently to be little more than 'to take precautions against the possible anger of someone,—a purpose achieved normally by praise or flattery of the person or the deity in question. See for example, STk. 1, 4, 5, 1; 2; 5, 1, 12; 8, 1, 28; TBr. 1, 4, 6, 7; 3, 9, 6, 2, (in these two cases, the precaution is against the possible wrath of a dead fellow-sacrificer and the slain horse in the Asvamedha respectively); 2, 7, 5, 2; TS. 1, 5, 8, 3; 6, 1, 10, 3.

A striking case where the *nihnava* comes after the offence, so that it is in fact here virtually equivalent to 'propitiation', is in the S'unahSepa legend (AitBr. 7, 17; *Sankhayana Sr. S.* 15, 24). Here Ajigarta, in remorse for his callous treatment of his son S'unahsepa, says : *tad aham nihnavc tubhyam* (*Sankh. nihnuve*), where Keith translates, 'I would obliterate it in thy eyes'. But this is clearly a later development.

In all the cases examined so far, the verb occurs with the dative of the person or deity concerned. In a number of cases, however, most of which are concerned with the special rite of *nihnava* at the Taniinaptra ceremony, it stands by itself. The most satisfactory method of interpretation is to assume that in these cases we have an example of the very frequent feature of *Brahmana* style, where a verb is used absolutely instead of the cognate noun with a verb of doing, saying etc. Thus, for example, we have *yajati*: 'he recites the Yajya-verse', *samnyati*, 'he performs the Samnyaya-ceremony', *adadhati* 'he performs the Adhana-ceremony', *pravmtte*, 'he recites the Pravara', and so forth. The case already cited above, (AitBr. 1, 26) *prastare nihnuvate* would then mean, 'they perform the *nihnava*-rite on the straw'. As Weber following the commentaries, pointed out, the reason for the 'atonement' here is that the priests have proceeded in a southerly direction; and since the south is the quarter of the Pitrs, this is inauspicious at a sacrifice to the gods. Doubtless because of its important position at the forefront of the Soma sacrifice, this present case came to be considered the *nihnava* par excellence, and it is to this special case that the noun *nihnava* regularly refers. It is unfortunate that the commentators, because of the part played in the rite by the *namaskara* of laying the hands on the *prastara*, have occasionally interpreted the verb *nihnute* itself to mean S. 17.

*namaskaroti*. Thus in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Gohhila Grhya-Sutra*, the editor, Candrakanta Tarkalankara, interprets *atha nihnute* (4, 3, 17) by *pindan dcchddya namaskaroti*. By the word *namaskaroti*, he gives the impossible interpretation of *nihnute* already current among the commentators, while at the same time propitiating the root-meaning of the word by inserting *dcchddya*. Less excusably, Mr. P. V. Kane, in his *History of Dhaimasdstrei*, vol. 2, p. 1147, is persuaded by the commentary on *Asvaldyana Sr. S. 4, 5, 7*, that *'nihnava* is a kind of salutation to Heaven and Earth.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up: the original meaning of the verb seems to have been 'to conceal one's actions from a person, so as to avoid rousing his anger'. The *Brdhmanas* contain clear indications that this was the original sense and even in its later developments, the word never came to be quite equivalent to 'propitiate.' Weber's theory of the history of the meaning, starting from the sense 'to conceal oneself from a person', is unsatisfactory. One would not expect the *Atmancpada* to have a reflexive meaning; and though it is doubtless a natural impulse to conceal oneself from a person whom one has offended, the *Brdhmana* passages seem to give no indication of such a proceeding. The interpretation here proposed is in accord with the fact that so many of the acts of the *Srauta* ritual are explained by the texts themselves as having a purely automatic and mechanical action. There is in fact no need for the priest to conceal himself, provided he takes the precaution of concealing the particular offensive act from the deity in question. It is to be noted that in these cases the offence is not an accidental error in the ritual. For errors, there are prescribed penances or atonements (*prayascitta*) in great numbers. But in the cases reviewed here, the act is deliberate: it is a necessary part of the ritual, and however offensive to a particular deity it might be, it must be performed.

# Indra's Infancy According to Rgveda IV, 18.

By

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The fullest account of Indra's early days, as recorded in any single hymn of the *Rgveda*, appears in IV, 18. In JAOS 62,93-95 this material with certain other material found elsewhere in the *Rgveda* is utilised in an effort to reconstruct the general outline of the story of Indra's birth and infancy. In the present brief paper there is offered a translation of IV, 18 in full, to bring out certain details not mentioned in the article cited above and to offer varying interpretation of some doubtful points.

This hymn appears to open with the moment of Indra's birth. His mother, thinking for some unstated reason that Indra is a shame (*avadya*), wishes to abandon him. She urges him to go one way, while she goes another, lest he bring disaster upon her, but he refuses. She then tries to abandon him, but he follows her, arriving at Tvastri's house, where he drinks the Soma. Now he is strong enough to conquer his enemies, but his mother is unaware of that fact. Nevertheless, she no longer thinks to be rid of him, and so she conceals him, possibly by swallowing. Indra, however, emerges from the concealment, and puts on his resplendent garment, which makes him visible to his enemies. At sight of him the Waters, covered by Vrtra and desiring release, call out to him. He then slays Vrtra and releases the streams, thereby seeming to surprise his mother. The poet now (stanzas 8-9) extols Indra's deed, recalling the initial fear, obscurity, and misfortunes of the hero, the summons by the Waters, and the victory. In two more stanzas (10-11) the poet refers in other terms to Indra's abandonment by his mother, the mother's later adherence to her son when she sees him in danger and friendless, and the assistance Visnu gives to the hero at the height of the conflict. Finally in stanza 12 the poet addresses Indra himself, reminding him of his most desperate hour, and in stanza 13, Indra replies acknowledging his dire need and the welcome aid he had received at the critical moment when the eagle brought him the Soma.

As so interpreted the hymn has a unity, and is not a dialogue hymn (see Oldenberg : *Rgveda Noten*, p. 280). There are some doubtful points, but the main outlines of the hymn seem to emerge fairly clearly. Interpretations of the same hymn are to be found in R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner : *Vedische Studien*, 2 (1897), 42-54; E. Sieg : *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda* (1902), pp. 76-90; L. von Schroeder: *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (1908), pp. 326-337. These concern themselves primarily with Indra's (or Vamadeva's)

unnatural birth from his mother's side, an interpretation which seems to me unnecessary in spite of any Indian tradition. The critical phrase is in stanza 2 : *parsvan nirgamani*. There follows now a translation with certain interpretative notes.

1.

अयं पन्था अनुवित्तः पुराणो यतो देवा उद्आयन्त विश्वे ।  
अतश्चिद् मा जनिषीष्ट मृदुद्धो मा मातरममुया पत्तवे कः ॥

[ Indra's mother speaks ] This is the ancient accustomed path by which the gods were all born upward. Thence let the Mighty One be born [upward]. Let him not make his mother jail down there (in Hell).

Indra's mother wants him not to go with her (cf. stanzas 3, 10). She does not say why, perhaps she wants to avoid reproach (stanzas 5, 7). *Amuyfl* in the R V. regularly means 'there' in an evil sense: it is used of the place where the dead Vrtra lies (1, 32, 8), where demons lie (X, 89, 14); where those who practise sorcery by sexual intercourse are to go (I, 29, 5 ; X, 85, 30; probably also X, 135, 2), where Indra is to strike down the wicked (V, 34, 5); here too it means That (awful) Place of V II, 104, 17, implied in III, 53, 21.

2.

नाहमृतो निरया दुर्गहेतन् तिरश्चता पाश्चाभिर्गमाणि ।  
बहूनि मे अकृता कर्त्तानि युष्यै त्वेन सं त्वेन पृष्यै ॥

[ Indra replies ] I may not go straight jorth to dangers here. I must go forth along with you to avoid them. Many deeds not done before must I do. I have both to fight and to make inquiry.

In *nir aya durgaha...tirascda parsvdn nir gamatii* we should probably recognize an idiom *tiras i durgaha*, which is equivalent or similar to parallel idioms appearing in I, 41, 3 ; V I, 51, 10 ; V II, 60, 6 ; X, 182, 1 ; and another idiom *parsvad gam* meaning 'accompany', as in the later *parsvaga* etc. This hymn does not indicate the nature of Indra's inquiry, but in VIII, 45, 4; 5 and VIII, 77, 1; 2 it is said that as soon as born he asks his mother who the mighty are, the famed ; in one passage she answers that his enemy is Apsas ("Covering ?); in the other that his enemies are the two wicked *asuras* Aurttavabha and AhlSuva, whom he must conquer ; sometimes he slays his enemies at once (VIII, 77, 3); elsewhere incidents intervene. Indra seems to mean, however, that he must drink Soma to acquire the necessary strength for overcoming his foes, and must therefore combine caution with bravery.

3.

परायसीं मातरम्वचष्ट न नानु गान्यनु नू गमामि ।  
त्वष्टुर्गृहे अपिबत् सोममिन्द्रः शतधन्व्यं चन्द्रोः सुतस्य ॥

He saw his mother leaving him. 'No, no, I shall follow; her, I must surely go with her ! In Tvast's house Indra drank Soma, a hundred-worth of the pressed juice from the bowls.

The verb *para Vi* should probably be taken as equivalent in meaning to *para V gam* (X, 97, 21) and *para V car* (X, 17, 6) 'go off', perhaps in gracing Indra's mother is frequently, as below, described as a cow) ; it need not have the meaning 'die', since obviously his mother does not die but appears later in the hymn ; the meaning 'die', is favoured by those who see in verses 1 and 2, a reference to Indra's birth unnaturally from his mother's side ; like the Buddha's. In other passages Indra steals the Soma after overcoming Tvastri (III, 48, 4, cf. I, 61, 7) who seems to be the Mighty Father ("but not Indra's father) cf. III, 48, 2 ; or he has to slay Visvarupa to get it, either alone or with the aid of Trita Aptya (X, 8, 8-9; II, 11, 15). He drank the Soma in the cups (III, 48, 4) or on his mother's breast (III, 48, 2 ; 3) ; the parallel passages apparently making *camu* and *udhar* equivalent. Indra saw the Soma on his mother's breast (III, 48, 2) ; Soma regularly grows on the mountains ; and breasts may be compared to mountains, especially since Indra's mother seems to be the Earth (JAOS 62, 92).

## 4

किं सु ऋधक् कृणवद् सहस्रं यं मासो जभार शरदश्च पूर्वीः ।  
नही न्वस्य प्रतिमानमस्त्यन्तर्जातेषुत्थे जनिस्वाः ॥

*Could he now put away (conquer) [his enemies], he whom she bore (as embryo) a thousand months and many autumns ? TVo match has he among those already or yet to be born.*

This translation retains the *sa* of the text and rejects the suggestion *sa* (see in Oldenberg : *Rgveda Noten*, p. 281). *rdhak kr* is here construed in a sense more or less similar to that of the same phrase as it appears in other passage, where it has *dvesah* as an object (VIII, 18, \) or *dasam* (X, 49, 7, and Indra's self-praise hymn). This stanza has expressions parallel to those in V, 2, 2 and VI, 18, 12,

## 5

अवष्टमिव मून्यमाना गुहाकरिन्द्रं माता वीर्येणा न्यृष्टम् ।  
अथोदस्यात् स्वयमृक्कं वसानं आ रोदसी अथृणाज्जायमानः ॥

*As if considering him a reproach, his mother concealed Indra [through now he was] filled with heroic might. Then up he rose [from concealment] and himself put on his garment. When born he filled the two worlds.*

Indra's garment is brilliant (VI, 29, 3), and presumably makes him conspicuous, as, with his suddenly acquired strength, he can now afford to be, no longer having need of concealment ; for other interpretations of *atka*, see Pischel : *Vedische Studien* 2, 193-204 (summary of meanings on p. 203). The statement that on being born Indra filled the two worlds is paralleled in III, 6, 2 and VII, 13, 2 (incorrectly cited in Bloomfield : *Rgveda Repetitions*, p. 221 as VII, 13, 12).

## 6

एता अर्षन्त्यललाभुवन्तीर्ज्ञतावरीरिव संक्रोशमानाः ।  
एता वि पृच्छ किमिदं मनन्ति कसापो अद्रिं परिधिं रुजन्ति ॥

*These [waters] stream forth with the sound alala, like rta-serving [ kine ] lowing together. Question them I What is this they are saying ? what restraining rock are the waters bursting ?*

This stanza inevitably recalls X, 108, 7; 11. The second half of the stanza might mean, 'Ask [Indra's mother ] what it is that they are saying . . . .

## 7

किमु प्विदस्यै निविदो मनन्तेन्द्रस्यावष्टं दिधिषन्त आपः ।  
ममैतान् पुत्रो महता वधेन वृत्रं जघन्वाँ असृजद् वि सिन्धून् ॥

*Can they be speaking nivids (invocatory formulae) for him ? Are the waters taking Indra's reproach upon themselves ? 'My son with his mighty weapon has slain Vrtra and released these streams V*

The second half of his stanza, possibly the whole stanza seems to be spoken by Indra's mother (see Oldenberg : *Rgeveda Noten*, p. 281), perhaps in astonishment and pride at her son's achievement.

## 8

ममश्नन् स्वा युवतिः परास ममश्नन् स्वा कुषुवा जगार ।  
ममश्निवापः शिशवे ममृड्युर्ममश्चिन्द्रः सहसोदतिष्ठत् ॥

*What though the young woman (Indra's mother) abandoned you, what though Kusavti swallowed you, yet did the waters coax the child, yet did Indra rise up by his might.*

Possibly this stanza echoes with applause the incidents mentioned in stanza 3, when Indra's mother tried to leave him, in stanza 5, when she concealed him (could that have been by swallowing, in which case Kusava would refer to her ?) and he suddenly arose (*athod asthat, saluisod atisthat*), presumably out of concealment; it may also refer to the moment when the Waters called or coaxed him (statement of this incident omitted in stanza 5, but implied), knowing his real power, in spite of his mother's lack of confidence (stanza 4) or fear that he might commit a sin and become a reproach (stanza 5).

## 9

ममश्नन् ते मघवन् व्यसो निविविध्वौ अप हनू जघान ।  
अथा निविद् उत्तरो बभूवाञ्छिरो दासस्य सं पिण्णं वधेन ॥

*What though Vyansa struck you down, Maghavan, and broke your jaw; yet, struck down, you became the superior and smashed the Dasa's head with your weapon.*

## 10

गृष्टिः ससूव स्थिरं तवागामनाष्टव्यं वृषभं तुन्नमिन्द्रम् ।  
अरीकहं वत्सं चरथाय माता स्वयं गातुं तन्व इच्छमानम् ॥

*The heifer bore the raging bull Indra, the stout, impetuous, irresistible. The mother left the unliked calf to wander, to take by himself whatever path he might choose.*

11

उत्त माता महिषुमन्वेनदमी स्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः ।  
अथात्रवीद् वृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यन् स्वस्त्रे विष्णो वितरं वि क्रमस्व ॥

*Afterwards the mother came to his aid. 'My son, the gods here are deserting you !' Then Indra, bent upon slaying Vytra, said, 'Friend Visnu, step out your very widest !'*

The gods are also reported in VIII, 96, 7 to have deserted Indra in the battle. For the friendship between Indra and Vsnu, see Bloomfield : *Rig-Veda Repetitions*, p. 222 (cf. Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 39).

12

कस्ते मातरं विध्वामचक्रच्छुभं कस्त्वामजिघांसच्चरन्तम् ।  
कस्ते देवो अधि मार्षीकृ आसीद् यत् प्राणिनाः पितरं पादगृह्य ॥

[ Poet addressing Indra ] *'Who would have made your mother a widow ? Who tried to kill you lying or moving ? What god was a helper for you when you took the father by the foot V*

This stanza remains obscure in any possible interpretation on the basis of facts already ascertained. Because of a possible relationship with the next stanza, it might be taken to refer to Indra's period of weakness before he drank the Soma and acquired his strength. In that case it would seem that an enemy tried to kill both him and his father and so make his mother a widow. The 'Father' in the last part of the stanza would then refer not to Indra's father., but to someone else who carries that term as an epithet; for example, Tvastr fsee above under staiua 3) or even Vrtra (as apparently in X, 124, 3) as originally enclosing all, hence being the Father of All. Indra might have taken the Father by the foot, in suing for grace. But if the allusion is to the situation after Indra got the strength-giving draught, the phrase might mean that Indra took him by the foot to kill him. Similarly the phrase translated, 'What god was a helper for you', might, in the latter case, be translated, 'What god interceded with you [ to ask pity ] for the Father.....'. Another possible interpretation is that Indra, after getting the Soma, was attacked by his father, that Indra then tried to kill him, but some one of the gods interceded and saved the Father (who might be thought to the *Dyaus*) or else came to help Indra in his fight with the Father. This latter interpretation, which implies no direct association between stanzas 12 and 13, is that implied in JAOS 62, 95.

13

अवर्त्यां शुन आश्राणि पेषे न देवेषु विविदे मर्षितारम् ।  
अपश्यं जायाममहीयमानाम्भा मे श्येनो मृध्वा जभार ॥

[ Indra speaks ] *'In my adversity I cooked a dog's entrails ;*

*I found none among the gods to be my helper. I saw my wife being dishonored. Then the eagle brought me the Soma'.*

Though cooking a dog's entrails seems here a mark of humiliation, the exact significance of the allusion is not clear. Indra's wife is his strength (Saci ; his epithet S'acapatiJ. The story of the eagle bringing the Soma to Indra is the frequent Vedic myth (cf. VIII, 71, 9 ; IV, 20, 6 ; 26, 6 ; X, 144, 5 etc), but how that myth is to be reconciled to the myth that Indra found the Soma on his mother's breast (stansa 3 above ; III, 48) is not indicated.

# Hrd in the Veda

By

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The evidence of comparative philology indicates that the Indogermanic people had clearly realised the significance of the heart in human anatomy. The Vedic word, *hrd*, is merely a rhyme-word for the Indogermanic *\*ker(e)d*, which latter has its linguistic counterparts in Gk. **Χαρδία**, Lat. *cor*, Air. *eride*, Got. *hairto* etc.<sup>1</sup> It is thus clear that the notion of the heart as a physical organ in the structure of the human body is quite an ancient one. In this connection mention may be made of the fact that *hrd* is enumerated together with other physical organs in the detailed descriptions of the human body in the *Atharvaveda* (II, 33, 3; X, 2, 26). What was considered to be its main function in that aspect is, however, not clear from such references in the Veda. We only know that the place of the heart is in the middlemost part of the anatomical structure and that it was considered to be one of the innermost bodily organs. We come across references to *hrdroga* (RV. I, 50, 11), and to the piercing of the heart by weapons (RV. I, 24, 8; VIII, 68, 8; X, 87, 4) apparently because it was regarded as the most delicate and the most vital organs of the body<sup>2</sup>. Another interesting reference to *hrd* is in connection with the Soma-drinking. It seems clear that, in certain Vedic passages, the word *hrd* had possessed the sense of 'belly' or 'stomach'<sup>5</sup> as did its linguistic equivalents in certain other idg. languages such as Gk. **Χορξία**; for *hrd* is referred to by a Vedic poet as the unexhausting Soma-holding vessel, *hrddh kaldsah somadhndnah* (AV, IX, 1,6). There are also other Vedic passages wherein the Soma is spoken of as flowing into the depths of *hrd* (RV. I, 91, 3; III, 42, 8; VIII, 48, 12).

Another current of thought also is associated with the notion of *hrd*. A study of certain words in Gk., Lat., etc. possessing psychological significance such as **φρην**, **φρενες**, **χερδον**, *vecors*, *recordari* proves that the human faculties of feeling, willing etc., were connected by those people more particularly with the heart. The same feature is to be noticed in the Veda

1. The word *hrd* has to be traced back philologically to idg. *\*ghrd* which latter has been preserved only in Aryan languages. In idg. *kered*. *\*kerd* *\*kyd* *kred* are the other word\* for 'heart'. Several attempts have been made by iinguisticians to connect *\*ghrd* and *\*kfil* on the basis of analogy or phonetics.

2. It may be noted that in the RV. the word *hfdaya*, rather than *hrd*, more usually denotes a physical organ.

also. It is obviously on account of certain distinctive features of *hrd*, such as its being the innermost as well as the most vital and the most sensitive organ in the human body, that certain primary psychological functions came to be connected with it. The primitive thought was not originally capable of any abstract conceptions. Whatever is real must be, according to the primitive thought, concrete and substantial. So the psychological experiences also were associated by the primitive man with concrete physical organs. And the bodily organ most greatly affected by psychological experiences such as fear, anger, hatred, longing, love etc., was evidently the heart. In this manner the heart became the starting point of early psychological speculations. In what may be called the pre-analytical stage of Vedic psychology, side by side with *hrd*, *manas* also played a similar role and that too, in a more or less equally concrete form<sup>1</sup>. Several psychological experiences and functions were referred back to *manas*. When, however, *manas* was later conceived as the human faculty connected with certain specific psychological functions, such as *safikalpa*, the Vedic poet began to lay great stress upon the original association of *hrd* and primary psychological experiences. In such cases *hrd* may be said to have been regarded rather as a psychological faculty than as a mere physical organ. The frequent association of *hrd* and *hrdaya* with the psychological terms like *manas* (RV. VII, 98, 2 ; VIII, 89, 5), *dht* and *manis* (RV. I, 61, 2) is a strong evidence in support of this assumption. It is from this point of view that a few characteristics of *hrd* as constituting an element of the human personality will be described in this paper. For, the role of *hrd* in human life as represented in the Veda is, as is perhaps quite natural, essentially psychological. But for the sake of a clear understanding of the entire conception, the significant vicissitudes in the notion of *hrd*, indicated above, should not be lost sight of.

In the so-called analytical stage of Vedic psychology *hrd* seems to have been distinguished from *manas* in that it was regarded the basis of all spontaneous psychological experiences. All such psychological phenomena as did not require any sort of positive effort for their manifestation were normally connected with *hrd*. 'Tear', for instance, is said to enter into the heart (RV. I, 32, 14); elsewhere it is spoken of as being placed in the heart (RV. X, 84, 7; AV. IV, 31, 7). These notions must have obviously been permitted, and seem to represent rather the physical reaction of a psychological experience. Similarly one finds that 'desire'<sup>1</sup> is spoken of as having its roots in the heart (RV. X, 40, 12). A Vedic poet says that Agni knows their hearts: *asmadhrdo bhurijanma vicaste* (RV. X, 5, 1). Sayana, in his commentary, explains *hrdah* as *hrdayani*, that is to say, *abhihsitcini* ; *asmakam hrdayani abhilasitani janati*. Here we clearly observe a common peculiarity of the Veda according to which a human faculty itself is made to represent its own function. The 'longing' on the part of a person is manifested in his heart (RV. X,

123, 6). The feelings of 'pleasure' and 'satisfaction' spring from the heart (RV. I, 43, 1 ; VI11, 43, 31 ; A V. XX, 87, 2). 'Softa, in the same manner, burns the heart (RV. X, 103, 12 ; A V. VI, 18, 1 ; XIX, 28, 2), or the heart is said to be free from torment' (A V. XVI, 3, 6). The Vedic poet refers to himself, in another sense, as invoking Indra with a 'burning heart : *ydt tva hrda socatli johavlni* (A V. II, 12, 3). The words, *ktritui hrda* (RV. V, 4, 10) seem to be interpreted by Grassmann as suggesting the feeling of gratitude<sup>1</sup>. It will thus be seen that, in all these cases, the 'spontaneity' of psychological phenomena is suggested through their association with *hrd*.

Besides 'spontaneity'<sup>1</sup> the association of psychological phenomena with *hrd* also signifies their 'sincere,' 'spiritual' and 'inspired' character (RV. X, 16, 3 ; 116, 17). It should be noted in this connection that, in the Veda, *hrd* is often considered to be the proper fountain of song. The Vedic *mantra* springs directly from the heart of the poet (RV. I, 60, 3). In one Vedic passage, Indra is implored to accept such a song of prayer, which goes up to him, in all exuberance of sincere and spontaneous feelings and emotions, like a beloved to her lover : *indram matir hrda ft vacydmanti\* ccha patim stomatasfa jigati* (RV. I11, 39, 1). In another passage, the streams of poetry are described to be following out of the ocean of the heart: *eta arsanti hrdyat samudracchatavrajah* (RV. IV, 58, 5). The heart is the ocean from out of which the genuine feelings of a Soma-inspired poet flow forth. Particularly in the case of Trita, who was surrounded by difficulties on all sides, his prayers were an outburst of such genuine feelings directly flowing from the heart (RV. I, 105, 15)<sup>2</sup>. Such poetry may be distinguished from the *manisa*-ideal of poetry, in which latter case, a conscious effort is made, as by a *taksa* 'a carpenter' to put the 'best words in the best order' and thus to make the prayer a *svvrkti*. According to the Vedic poet the source of genuine poetical inspiration is the heart. In a passage from the RV. , a Vedic poet indeed succinctly, presents the whole process of the origin of a truly inspired song : *hrd& matim jydtirdnu prajdn* (III, 26, 8). First of all there flashes a light (*jyotih*) in the heart of the poet, he becomes conscious of it and follows its lead (*anu prajdn*); and then with all the spontaneity, sincerity and spirituality associated with *hrd* (*hrda*) the well thought-out song (*matih*) springs forth. It is directly from *hrd* that the poet addresses the divinity : *hrda hnyanta ufohinah* (RV. VIII, 76, 8). The 'light' referred to in the above passage (RV. I11, 26, 8) is evidently the 'inspiration' which is received by the poet and of which he later seems to become conscious.

Not only does the Vedic song originate from *hrd* but its appeal too is directed towards *hrd*. It is in this sense that the Vedic song is

1. Grassmann: *Rig- Veda*, erster Theil, § 358, p. 165

2. In this connection one may be reminded of the Wordsworthian conception of poetry as the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.

often said to be *hrdisprs* (RV. I, 16, 7 ; X. 47, 7). It ought to go directly to the heart of the divinity (RV. VII, 101, 5). It must also lie within the heart: *hrdi stoma bpsritas cid astu* (RV. VII, 86, 8). The Vedic song, indeed, forms the bridge between the heart of the poet and the heart of the divinity and thus brings about the true communion between the two. It should be noted that an interesting commingling of ideas on the part of the Vedic poet takes place in this connection. Like *stoma*, Soma also is called *hrdisprs* (RV. X, 25, 2), for it is said to enter into the depths of *hrd* (RV. III. 42, 8 ; IX, 60, 3 ; 108, 16). It is not only in this aspect that Soma is similar to *stoma*, 'the Vedic song', Just as Soma-juice is pressed and purified three times (RV. IX, 73, 8), so the Vedic song also is purified and perfected through the functioning of *hrd* and *manas*: *samyak sravanti sarito na dhena antar hrda manasa puyaman'dh* (RV. IV, 58, 6 : also cf. III, 26, 8). Soma is often referred to as pouring into the heart (RV. I, 91, 13 ; 168, 3 ; 179, 5 ; VIII. 2, 12 ; 48, 12). From out of the heart spring forth the inspired songs of the Vedic poet. These two notions seem to have merged into one another.<sup>1</sup> The Vedic poet, therefore, represents the origin of the song in terms of the stream of Soma\* (*ghrta-dhtirah*) flowing out of the ocean of the heart (RV. IV, 58, 5 ; 11 ; X, 5, 1 ; 89, 4). This conception of Vedic poetry originating from the heart of the poet and having a direct appeal to the heart of the divinity would clear up a common misunderstanding about its nature, namely, that Vedic poetry is often purely conventional in form and content.

According to early Indian thinkers, true knowledge lies not in indirectly 'knowing' a thing, but in directly feeling it. The Vedic poet seems to express this idea when he suggests that true knowledge appears in *hrd*. Through the 'light' of *hrd*, there dawned upon S'unahsepa the true knowledge of the nature and function of Varuna : *tadayam keto hrda a vi caste* (RV. I, 24, 12). In another passage (RV. V, 31, 9) Indra is said to have driven away the darkness from the heart of his devotee and thus made him a 'seer', Another striking passage (RV. VII, 33, 9) tells us that through the 'lights of the heart' (*hrdayasya praketaih*), the Vasisthas were enabled to comprehend the great secret. Elsewhere (RV. X, 129, 4) we are told that the secret of how, in the beginning of the universe, non-existent was related to the existent and of how indeed the existent arose, was first revealed to the seers in their heart : *sato bnddhum dsati niravindan hrdi pratisya kavdyo manisa*. The role of *hrd*, in the Vedic religion, is again by no means unimportant. When the Vedic seer intuitively visualises the divinity : *dhirftsali paddm kavdyo nayanti*, the divinity must be, by means of every

1. Here there seems to be an obvious confusion between the two notions regarding *hrd*,—*hrd* as a physical organ, 'perhaps 'belly' and *hrd* as a psychological faculty.

effort, held in the heart: *nana hrda raksamditi ajurydyn* (RV. I, 146, 4). This alone would facilitate an eternal direct communion with the divinity. An AV—poet expresses the same idea when he says : *yd no agnih pitaro hrtsvantar avivesa amrto martyesu<sup>1</sup> mayyaham tarn pdrighnami devdm* XII, 2, 33) 'what Agni hath entered into our hearts, an immortal among the mortals, that god do I enclose within me',

It will be seen, from the foregoing brief statement of the salient features of *hrd* and its functions, that the original notion about *hrd* was greatly influenced, in the Veda, by other psychological conceptions, particularly by the *mdnds*-conception. It would, therefore, be interesting to note in this connection the main features which characterise the relation between *hrd* and *manas* in the Veda. To begin with, one observes that the word *hrd* is connected with *manas*, in certain passages, more or less in the sense of an adjective. Thus the word *hrd* seems to qualify, to a certain extent, the functions of *manas*. The phrase *hrda manasa* occurs more than once in the RV. In one context RV. X, 177, 1, Sayana rightly explains *hrda manasa* as *antarmukhena mansd*. The ideas of spontaneity, sincerity, spirituality, introspection, true knowledge etc., which are usually associated with *hrd* are thus brought into contact with the function of *manas*. A specific type of 'thinking' is here indicated by the addition of the word *hrd*. In another context (RV. VI, 28, 5). *Sayafla* again suggestively explains the phrase *hrda manasa* as *sraddhayuktena manasa*. The distinction between the two conceptions of *hrd* and *manas* implied here is that *manas* represents the faculty of thinking of 'reason', while *hrd* represents the faculty of feeling of 'faith'. The real intellectual approach towards anything should be, according to the Vedic poet, one characterised both by reason and faith. A philological study of words meaning 'heart' in the cognate idg. language would show that, properly speaking, the Sanskrit equivalent of the original idg. word *\*kered, bred* should have been *srd*. In its place, *hrd*, which is merely a rhyme-word, has actually been preserved. It seems, however, that *srd* also has been retained in Sanskrit in another form, vis., *had*. The Sanskrit verb *s'rad* .dha which corresponds with idg. *kred* Jdte, literally means 'to put one's heart,' that is, 'to believe, have faith'. The manner, in which that verb is used in *srad asma dhata* (RV. II, 12, 5) makes it clear that *srad* must have been used as an independent word, obviously in the same sense as *hrd*.<sup>1</sup>

The Vedic poet tries to express the distinction between the human faculties of *hrd* and *manas* and their respective functions in several ways. One passage is particularly illuminating in this connection. Indra explains the reason for his sudden appearance on the earth. When he sat alone, 'upon the dear sky's summit', there entered in him a feeling of longing and anxiety.

1. The Avestan *zrazd* (Skt. *sraddlut*) is connected with *zwd* 'heart'. This connection between 'heart' and 'faith'<sup>1</sup> will be made clear by the study of the relevant words in other idg. languages such as Lat. *credo, cor* etc.

He wondered why such feeling should have originated. Thereupon an inner voice told him that his devoted singers were invoking him, and so he came down to the earth. This entire psychological process on the part of Indra has been very picturesquely described by the Vedic poet. The heart is, as we have seen so far, the human faculty, which is usually the seat of 'feelings'. *Manas*, on the other hand, is the human faculty which is responsible for positive 'thinking'. In this particular psychological experience of Indra, his *hrd* could 'feel' some thing, but it was unable to find out the real source of that feeling. As a matter of fact, the function of *hrd* ended with the feeling. Indra, therefore, brought into action his other psychological faculty, namely, *manas*. His *manas* investigated into the nature of the feeling which arose in his *hrd* and supplied, so to say, the answer to the query of *hrd* : *manas cin me hrda a prdyavocad dcikradafi chisumantah sdkhayah* (R.V. VIII, 100, 5). It is *manas* which, on account of its main function of positive thinking, completes the whole psychological process by supplementing the psychological experience of *hrd*. Thereafter follows the 'doing', namely, Indra's appearance before his devotees. This passage is remarkable also from another point of view. It throws considerable light on the Vedic thinker's conception of the three most primary phases of human action, namely, feeling, knowing and doing.

A similar functional distinction between the two human faculties, *hrd* and *manas*, seems to be suggested in a passage from A V. (VI, 73, 2), where the poet refers to *hrdaya* as the seat of 'vehement feelings' in contrast with *manas* which is supposed to be the seat of 'conscious designs' ; *yo yah susmo hrdaycsv antar aikutir yd vo rndnasi prdvista*. The two ideals of Vedic poetry, firstly as the outburst of the exuberance of feelings directly springing from *hrd*, and secondly, as a conscious artistic effort, in the manner of a *taksa*, an artisan, to put the best words in the best order, often called the *manisa* (connected with *manas*), also make the distinction between the nature and functions of *hrd* and *manas* quite clear. Such primary analysis of psychological functions is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Veda (cf. R.V. 1, 61, 2 ; X, 10, 13 ; 123, 6).

Finally, we find in the Veda the beginnings of the later conception of the Indian thinker regarding the relation between *hrd* and *manas*. In a passage from the A V. (XIX, 4, 5) *hrd* is clearly referred to as the abode of *manas* and other *indriyas*. This reference is important from two points of view. Firstly, it appears from this reference that in later Veda *manas* came to be regarded as one of the *indriyas*, though still the most essential, that is to say, merely as one of the several elements of the human personality<sup>1</sup>; and secondly, *hrd* gradually came to lose its essentially psychological significance.

1. At one stage in the development of Vedic language regarding human personality, *manas* seemed to indicate almost the entire human personality, vide Dandekar: Der Vedische Mensch, pp. 44, ff.

# Pahlavi Yans Ha viii—a Critical Study

By

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I.

(1) Pat aharafcih be dahom xarishn ut myaz;d, xardat Amurdat, ut goshand i hiidak, ut Horn ut parahom, ut esm-ic ut bo, pat frach-aparlkanih i Ohrmasd ut Ahunavar ut an-ich i rast go.'3ishn, (2) ut Dahman i vehan afrin, ut an-ich i cher [i takik] Dami apar pat menish, (3) hom-ich ut mansr-ich ut ahro.'3 Zartosht ku pat aharafcih o ema be rasat [pat fraronlh].

(1) I offer with righteousness the food and the votive offerings, waters and vegetation, clarified butter (lit. animal product of good creation), Horn and Parahom, fuel and incense, for the glorification<sup>1</sup> of Ohrmazd, Ahunavar and the truthful utterance, (2) of the benediction of the pious and the faithful, of the powerful, [the strong], Dami of excellent thought, (3) of the Bern, of the Holy Spell and of the Holy Zartosht, so that it may reach us with sanctity [i.e. with virtuosity].

II.

(1) Raspik : e xaret mart an myasd ke an arz,anik pat aharafcih [ku-sh kar ut kirpak xesh o bawet] franamishn [ku, ka-sh chesh dahend, a-sh xesh o bawet; ast ke eton go.'3et hat ka aharafcih rao pat franamishn arzanik].

(1) The RaspJ (speaks) : partake of this votive offering, ye men who are deserving<sup>2</sup> of it on account of righteousness [i.e. their duties and meritorious deeds shall verily become their own] and the profession\* [(of faith), i.e. when they give him anything, it becomes his own, there is some one who says know that they are worthy (of it) on account of holiness and profession (of faith)].

III.

(1) Zot : amahrspand-et, den i mazdyastan [pat xanishn], ke veh mart ut ke veh matak, [ku, mart-ich shmak veh het ut matak-ich shmak veh net], zohr-ich [an veh hach menok i shmak]; (2) ke hach oyshan masdyastan mazidyastih go.'Jet (e go.'Jat ku mart i veh mart horn.) pat an i aharafcih bahr slvat [ku bahr ut dasr i vehan xarat,] (3) ke pat yatukih gehan i aharafcih mranchenat [ku yatiik bawat] (4) apar shmak o o y nikizet [ku daxshak-e tashtik patish pafctak be kunet], ke ap ut or var ut zohr-ich.

(1) Zot : <sup>4</sup>ye who are Holy Immortals<sup>11</sup> O Religion of Mazda-worship [by invocation], ye who (are) good men and good women i.e.

*you men are good and you women too are good], and ye Zohr [( — libations) they (are) excellent on account of your spirit]; (2) whoso amongst those Mazda-worshippers shall proclaim the Mazdayasnian faith [i.e., he may proclaim this thus: I am a man who is a good man] may live<sup>5</sup> through the share of the righteous people [i.e., may partake of a portion of the gift of the faithful]. (3-4) Do you who are the waters, the plants and the Zohr ( — the oblations) mark him out [i.e. do you make manifest a certain sign upon him], who destroys the word of holiness by means of sorcery [i.e. he may be a sorcerer].*

## IV

Ke-ich hach oyshan maz,dyastan i purrnayan i apar-goftaran en go.'Jishn ne patgret frach-go.'3ishnih [ku amesha spenta ne go.'3at ash awikanih], e yatuklh rasat [ku-sh daxshak-e tashtik patish pastak bawat, ast ke eton go et e raset pat nifrin].

*And he who amongst those Mazda-worshippers, of full age, invoking with earnestness,<sup>6</sup> does not accept this formula and speaks forth [that he shall not recite 'Amesha Spenta' because of his inconsistency<sup>1</sup>] shall attain to sorcery<sup>6</sup> (i. e. upon him a certain sign will be manifest; there is some one who says 'know that he will attain to it through curse').<sup>12, 13</sup>*

## V

(1) Pat kamak to Ohrmasd pat nevakih patoxshayih be kun xeshan daman [ku xeshan daman pat nevakih ast patoxshayih be kun], (2) pat kamak ap, pat kamak orvar, pat kamak harvisp apatih [i Ohrmaz,d-dat J, ke hach aharaSlh patakIh [ bun ut bar ; ashan patoxshayih be kun J.

*(1-2) At will do thou, O Ohrmazd! rule over Thine own creations with happiness [i. e. do Thou rule over Thine own creations with happiness which exists], at (Thy) ivill the waters, at (Thy) will the trees, at (Thy) will all prosperity [which (is) created by Ohrmazd], whose manifestation is from righteousness [origin and fruit; do Thou rule over them].*

## VI.

(1) Patoxshayih o ahro.'3an dahey ut apatoxshaylh o druvandan. (2) Kamak xatafc hend ahro.'Jan ut a-kamak-xata hend dravandan, (3) an i mat estet hamistarih be barend hach spenak menok daman pat vartaklh ut a-kamak-xataoiih.

*(1) Do Thou give unto the righteous the supreme-power and unto the infidel misrule (or anarchy). (2-3) May the righteous be rulers-at-will (or independent) and may the wicked be without free-power; his opposition which has come<sup>9</sup> is removed from the creations of the Holy Spirit by means of imprisonment<sup>10</sup> and absence of free-power.<sup>14</sup>*

## VII.

(1) Hachani man-ich ke Zartosht horn, an i frachtom hach manan ut visan, sandan, ut dehan [Vishtaspan], (2) o en den apar-menishnih ut apar-go.'Bishnlh ut apar-varzishnlh i Ohrmaz;d ut Zastosht.

(i) *I who am Zartosht will guide the leaders of the houses, villages, provinces and lands [pertaining to Vishtasp]; (2) to think, to speak and to act in conformity with this religion, which is of Ohrmazd, revealed by Zartosht.*<sup>14</sup>

## VIII

(1) Fraxih ut xarih afrlnom o harvisp an i ahroßan stf. (2) Tangih ut dush-xarih afrlnom o harvisp an i dravandan sti.

(1) I bless *prosperity and comfort for the entire world of the righteous.* (2) *I curse adversity and discomfort for the entire world of the wicked.*

### Notes.

1. *frach-aparlkmiih*: is the Pahl. translation of Av. *frasasti*, Skt. *prasasti*-sb. fern, meaning 'glorification, praise, fame.' Variant generally found in Pahl. translation is '*frach vavarikanih*' derived from *vavarikan*, Arm. *vaverakan*, *vavei*, 'believable, reliable, authentic' (Hbm Arm. Gram. I. 100), mid. pt. *vabarlgan* from the inf. *varravistan*, MP. *giravastan*, Av. *var-* 'to believe', +lh abst. noun suffix, meaning 'belief, cf. Paz., *gvafranganl*. For the formation of the Mid. Pers. word, see Bartholomae ZSR, IV. 30. cf. Pahlavi variant *yast* where Paz., *guafrangan* is translated by '*afrin gowishnih*', vide my Pahlavi Version of *Yasts*, p. 72; see *Shayast Ne Shayast* ch. 10. 18: *aparikan* meaning 'superior' or 'authoritative', but *Tavadia* reads the word *vavarikan* and translates 'trustworthy'. In the footnotes he adds that the first word as it is, can be read *aparikan*, meaning 'upper ones' in Sv. 4. 51 (SNS.p.135). The correct reading is, according to my view, *frach aparlkanih*, meaning 'superiority'. Darmesteter translates Av. word *frasasti*- by 'glorification'; *Ervad Kanga* (Av. Diet. p. 347.) translates it by (i) 'teaching, precept' (ii) 'praise, glory, glorification'; Bartholomae (Air Wb. 1000) takes it as inf. and translates 'to glorify' and gives its Pahl. version *fraz afrlnaganih*. *Unwala* follows Bartholomae and remarks 'Mss. *afrlkanih* as often' (Skt. Version of *Horn Yasht* p. 1, fn. 3). *Hertel* 110 F 7. 56. translates the term by 'instruction, authority, authorisation'; Skt. Version renders it by *prakasana-* : 'illuminating, promulgating'.

2. *arzanik* means 'worthy'; it is the Pahl. tr. of Av. *hanghane* (var. *hanghana*) Perf. 3 sg. of the root *han-* 'to deserve, be worthy of, class I : meaning 'he has been worthy of, he has deserved' var. *hanghan-* perf. 2pl. 'you have deserved.' Pahlavi does not help us since it gives merely '*arzanlk*' without any predicate.

3. *franamishn*: verbal noun from inf. *franamitan*, causative from *franamitan*, Av. *fra-nam*, 'to go forth, to direct'. This inf. is replaced in Pahl. by its doublet *franaftan*. Sometimes we find the word written *fra sham Itan* (DKM. 417, 22). Here we have the ideogram *sham* used for the phonetic 'nam' in the middle of a word. The word *franamishn* lit. 'turning to'

is the Pahl. tr. of Av. *frereticha*, which Ervad Kanga (Av. Dict.p.357) translates '(i) piety, sanctity, religiousness', (ii) 'coming out, appearing'. Bartholomae (Air Wb 1023) translates (i) 'ambition, seal, (ii) coming, arrival' deriving it from ar- with fra- pref. meaning 'to come forward, to put in motion', (*Hi*) 'offering' from ar- 'to grant, allot' with fra- pref. cf. the phrase <sup>1</sup>para ushaongam freretoit, meaning 'at the approach of the dawn' (Hadhokht Naskor Yasht XXII, 4). The word *franfunishn* is further explained by the Pahl. gloss thus : *ku kash chish dahend a-sh khvesh o bavet* i.e. 'when they give him anything, it becomes his own'.

Av. word *fravarane* is always translated into Pahl. by 'franamom' lit. i turn to, I proclaim' and Av. *fraorenta-* 'he professed the religion' is translated into Pahl. by 'franaft' which is further explained by the gloss *rowak be kart*= 'propagated, promulgated, made current'. The same word *franaft* is also the Pahl. version of A v. *fritha* (Srosh Yasht) and *frerenaot* (Yas. 11. 4) respectively. See my Pahtavi Version of Yashts. cf. *Gatha Ushtavaiti* Ha. 46, 4) where Av. *fraretish* is translated into Pahl. by *hach franamtsn* : *ash payend gospad hach franamishn-ku-sh hach dat o kasan o patiranend*= 'they hinder the beneficent animals from advancing i.e., they prevent them from being given to others' ; vide my book: *Pahlavi Version of Gatha Ushtavaiti*, reprinted from 'A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to Sir E. Denison Ross pp. 179-191-.

4. *amahrspandet* : the termination *et* is appended to the word *amahrspand* in imitation of Persian. Here the suffix *et* seems to be an abbreviated form of *het*, pres. 2. pi. see Satemann : *Middle Persiayi Grammar* p. 105 fn. 2. The word *amahrspandet* is the Pahl. tr. of Av. *amaesha spenta*. voc. sg. 'O Holy Immortals' cf. Pahl. Vend. XVIII 16, where we find the termination *et* appended to the word *anshiita* (ideogram of Ir. *martom*).

5. *ziyat*= 'may live', from inf. *zivastan*, 'to live, survive'. It is the Pahl. tr. of Av. *jishtayamno* (Var. *Jyastyamano*). Bartholomae (Air Wb. 610) translates 'falsely passing off as, pretending as', without any etymology. Ervad Kanga (Av. Diet. p. 193) takes it as denom. pres. part, *atmane*. nom. sg. and translates 'passing one's life'. The Pahlavi translator has seen in the Av. word *ji-sivastan* 'to live' and hence translated *z,ivat*, conj. 3 sg. and it is further explained by the Pahl. gloss '*ku bahr dasr l vehan khvarat* = 'he may partake of a portion of the gift of the faithful'. *Bulsara* (Aerpatastan p. 367 fn. 6.) takes Av. *jishtayamano* as a demon, pres. part, formed from '*jishti*' which is to be traced to *jish-*, 'to win, and he refers to '*zinat*' in Yas. XI and translates 'seising' (ibid, fn, 7). I think the Av. word may be derived from *jadh-*, 'to beseech, request, pray', meaning 'requesting, praying'. If we take the Pahl. word as *zinat* it then means 'may injure by inflicting a loss' cf. Pahl. Yas XI. 17. *zinet-* Av. *zinat*, *Bulsara* further

remarks, 'The reference here seems to be to a person of pretentious looks and false motives, who joins in a worship not because he sincerely regards it his duty to do so but because that must enable him to receive a Masdayasna's share of the offerings', (ibid. fn. 9. p. 367). Nirangasfan gives 'zia i slit' which may be read saidhisht, (compare Av. jadh-) 'requested, besecched'.

6. *apar-goftanin*, variant: frach-goftaran 'reciters, invocers'; it is the Pahl. tr. of Av. aiwi-z,uz;uyanam, gen. pi. of aiwi-siisuyana, middle participle from the root zav- 'to invoke', with aiwi- prefix. Bartholomac (Air Wb. 94, 1668) explains the word as mid. part, used in the passive sense and translates : 'requested, called'. There are two meanings of zav- in the Avesta : 1) to call, invoke ; 2) to curse. The Pahlavi versionist generally translates the first meaning in Yasna by karltuntan, ideogram of khvantan cf. Yas. 43, 10; 50, 1 ; but in Pahlavi Version of Havan Gah 4 we find Av. word zaozizuye translated by bulandtar khvadishnhf. Here Av. root zav- 'to pray, to invoke, to call' is translated by khvastan instead of the usual rendering khvanan or its Semitic equivalent karltuntan. It appears that khvanishn and khvadishn are confounded by the translator. Note also the development of -y- from a reduplicated participle zuzuvana- between two vowels as in NPers. goyad from gaub-.

7. *awikanih* : the reading awikanih was suggested by Bartholomac in WZKM. 30. 35 ; see Note on Sassanian Law, part I. p. 16, translated from the German by L. Bogdanov. The word is commonly translated 'inconsistency, contradiction' by scholars ; cf. Denkart Vol. XII. p. 30 : an-awikan which Dastur Darab Sanjana translates 'harmoniously, non-conflictingly'; see fn. 4. p. 21. vol. XI. sec. cix. 2. Dastur Darab Sanjana reads anbasanih and translates 'difference" (of opinion), dispute, conflict', comparing with Pers. basan, 'like, resembling', also cf. Denkart Vol. XV. ch. 18, sec. 48 l. 11 on p. 53. We come across the word an-anbasanih', 'symmetry, orderliness'. Bulsara (Nirangastan p. 369) reads han basanih or av-basanih and compares it with Pers. basan = resembling and translates 'similitude'. He in his book: *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, p. 442, ch. 37. 21 reads the word an-basanik and translates 'inconsistent' but the Glossary p. 625 s. v. shows ch. 38, 21 instead. See Shkand Vimanik Vichar ch. 16. 42: anbasaniha. There remains no longer any doubt that this Paz., word, with the regular adverbial ending iha, means 'contrarily, contradictorily, inconsistently', and is rightly rendered here by Neryosang with ambaddhataya <sup>4</sup>'with inconsistency., incoherently' (consult Bartholomac WZKM. 30. 32-36). There is uncertainty, however, with regard to the reading of the base form in Pahlavi from which it is derived, that being written in Pahlavi letters 'aned b dan(n)' which Bthl. (*loc cit*)

proposes to read *awikan*, comparing Skt. *abhika-* (cf. Jackson : *Researches in Manichaeism* p. 198. s. v.).

8 e : adj. one ; 2) as indefinite pron., 3) demonstrative pron. 'this', Av. *aetam*, ace. sg. According to Bartholomae the word *aetam* is rather a haplological abbreviation of *aetata-* from *aeta-* meaning (1) glimmering, indicating different colours (cf. Skt. *eta-*); (2) share, portion, punishment; (3) this (Air Wb. 19). Bartholomae remarks that the meaning 'punishment' would suit the context better ; see Franang i Oim by Reichelt, passage 20. 1 ff....yo *aeta* pairi arethra frazanaiti. Reichelt translates it by 'offence and punishment'. Bulsara (Nirangastan p. 369) translates *aetam* by 'similitude', deriving from a root *i* or it 'to resemble.' It is doubtful here whether the word *e* is the Pahl. tr. of *aetam* or the word is left out untranslated in Pahlavi. I think the Pahl. translator has been in Av, word *aetam*, demonstrative pronoun and hence translated *e*.

9. an *i mat estct* : is the Pahl. tr. of Av. *gato*, derived from the root *gam* to go + *ta* past part, termination, meaning 'gone' i.e. from the world of the righteous; defeated', Bartholomae (ZSR part I p. 47 note. 1 tr, by Bogdanov) reads *mat*, referring to Air Wb. 1181 f. under Pahl. translation *mih* and basing himself for the rendering of *mih estatan* by 'to behave decliningly, to deny, to contest', upon Ancient Indian *mithyu kartum* in Roth and Bohtlingk's Worterbuch 5. 778 and Bohtlingk : Sanskrit Worterbuch 5, 79 a, b. He draws attention to the passage in Denkart which also deals with *apam* 'debt' and *hambayan* 'partners'. It runs thus : *apar patkarishn i apam i pitaran ka evak hach hambayan khvastuk ut aparik mih estand* 'on the law suit for the debts of the parents, when one of the partners recognises them and the others contest them' (DKM. 713, 20).

10. *pat vartakth*: lit. 'by turning off derived from *vartak*, past part, pass, from *vartitan*, 'to turn,' meaning 'turned, lost, destroyed' + *ih* abst. noun suffix. It is the Pahl. translation of Av. *varato* (var. *vareto*) 'hemmed in, shut out' (Mills); 'having failed (in his scheme—Kanga); 'surrounded, deprived of free movement', root *var-* 'to surround (Bartholomae)', cf. Vend. V. 37 : *varotam-* adj. meaning 'captive, captured, driven away as booty' which is translated into Pahl. *pat vartakih*. Also cf. Vend. XVIII. 42.

11. *afri nom* : Av. *afrihami*, 'I pray, I bless'. The root *a- fri-* is also used in the sense of 'to curse', here as well as in Yas Ha. XI. Bartholomae (Air Wb. 331) says that the word *afrivachah-* adi. lit. 'speaking benedictions' is used euphemistically for 'uttering curses' and this meaning is evident from the Pahl. as well as the Skt. glosses, vis. *ku nifrin kunand*, and *kila Tapani kurvanti*—'they pronounce curses'. The word *asis* is never used in the sense of 'curse' in Skt. literature. For Av. *afri* in the sense of 'curse', see Sitzungsbericht der philol. und historischen klasse der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, (1868) 2. 536.

12. For the sake of comparison I give below the Avestan text of sections 2-4 and my translation of the same.

Text: (1) Xarata naro aetem myazdam yoi dim hanghane ashacha frereticha. (1) Amesha Spenta, daene Mazdayasne, vanghavascha, vanguhi\* shcha, Zaothraoscha ! Yo aeshva mazdayasnaeshva mazdayasno aojano ashahe rathma Jishtayamno., yathwa gaethao, ashahe meregente ; avi tii dim disyata yao apascha, urvaraoscha, zaothraoscha. (4) yascha aetaesham mazdayasnam perenayunam aiwi-zuzuyanam ima vacho noit visaiti framsuite, aetama yatumanahe Jasaiti.

Translation : (2) Partake of this votive-offering ye, men, who have deserved it on account of piety and coming [to the ceremony]. (3) O Holy Immortals, O religion of Mazda\*Worship, O ye good men and good women^ and O ye votive-offerings ! Whoso amongst these Mazda'worshippers, calling himself a Mazda-worshipper and falsely passing off as (one deserving) the share of righteousness, destroys the world of righteousness through sorcery , do you who are waters\* vegetation and votive-offerings, mark him out. (4) And he who amongst these Mazda\*worshippers, of full age, invoking diligently, is not ready to recite this formula, will attain to the punishment for his evil practice.

13. Cf. Bulsara's *Aerpatastan and Nirangastan* pp. 367-369 and *SBE*. Vol. 31, p. 230 , for translation of A v. text sections 2-4.

14. For the translation of A v. text sections 5-7, see *Taraporewala's Selections from A vesta Part I, Selection IV. Tandarosti-Yasna LX., sections 10-11 pp 108-109*; also cf. *Zand i khurtak Avistab* ed. by Dhabhar, p 13. sections 5-6 for Pahlavi text.

# A Comparative Study of Udgitha's Bhasya on the Rgveda.

By

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Udgitha's *bhasya* on some portion of the tenth Mandala of the *Rgveda* (from X, 5, 4, to X, 34, 3) has been published by the D. A - V. College Research Department, Lahore. The book has no preface describing the MSS. material on which the text of the *bhasya* is based. The *bhasya* is much corrupt. It, however, bears great similarity to Sayana's *bhasya* and has therefore been used for constituting the text of the *Sayanabhasya* in the fourth volume of the Poona edition of the *Rgveda*. Pandit Bhagawaddatta of Lahore, possessed a further transcript of the *bhasya* (from X, 34, 5 to X, 83, 5) which has also been used for the same purpose. The chief advantages derived from the *Udgitha bhasya* for editing the *Sayanabhasya* as noted in the introduction to Vol. IV are (1) that certain conjectural readings in *Sayanabhasya* have been supported by the *Udgithabhasya*, and (2) that the claim of the class of MSS i.e., the Dccan tradition, to represent Sayana's archtypus to the greatest extent, has been supported by it. The study of *Udgithabhasya* was restricted there to the requirements relating to the constitution of Sayana's text. It is proposed here to make a more detailed study of the same *in* comparison with *Sayana's bhasya*

Udgitha (= U.) was a predecessor of Sayana (= S.) since he is referred to at least once in Sayana's commentary (cf. R V. X, 42, 2). There were at least three more predecessors of Sayana, namely Skandasviimin (= Sk.), Madhava son of Vcrikatarya (= M v.) and another Madhava (= M.), whom S. must have presumably consulted while writing his own commentary. It is interesting to see to what extent S. was influenced by each of his predecessors. The comparison would also throw light on the position of Kgvda interpretation in the mediaeval period, whether it formed a connected link or whether the commentaries were stray attempts at interpreting the Veda. These pre-Sayana commentaries have been partly published<sup>1</sup>, but unfortunately the X Mandala portion of them is not yet available. Had it been so, a direct comparison of all the commentaries would have been possible and the position of S. in relation to his predecessors would have at once become clear. The published portion can, however, serve the purpose to a certain extent. For finding out their influence on S. let us compare all the commentaries on R V. 1, 31, 2, as a specimen in chronological order.—

1. *Rgveda Sawhita with Skan.Jasvitntin's cotnmentary*, Astaka I, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras. *Rgarthadjpika*, a commentary on the Rgveda by Madhava, son of Vtnkatarya, Manias. I-IV edited by Dr. L. Samp. *Rgvedavyctkhy*a Madhavaktta, Astaka I, Adhy. 1-4, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras."

स्वप्ने प्रथमो अङ्गिरस्तमः कविर्देवानां पुरि भूषसि व्रतम् ।  
विभुर्विश्वस्मै भुवनाय मेधिरः द्विमाता शयुः कतिधा चिदायवे ॥

Sk--त्वं हे अग्ने प्रथमः अङ्गिरस्तमः शरीरस्थितिहेतोरशितपीतरसस्यातिशयेन कर्ता । अश्विचनेनागिरःशब्देनोत्पत्तिकारणम् । कविर्मेधावी देवानां स्वभूतं परिभूषसि । परिपूर्वो भवतिः सर्वत्र परिग्रहे । परिगृह्णासि । व्रतं यागाख्यं कर्म । किंच विभुरीश्वरः । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय । तादर्थ्यं एषा चतुर्थी । सर्वस्य भूतजातस्यार्थाय । मेधिरः यज्ञवान् । यज्ञस्य संपादयितेत्यर्थः । द्वे यावापृथिव्यौ वा अरणी वा मातरौ यस्य स द्विमाता । शयुः । शयतिरत्र स्थानार्थः । आमाशयो जलाशय इति यथा । व्यवस्थानेत्यर्थः । कतिधा चित् कतिभिरपि प्रकारैः । कस्यार्थाय । आयवो मनुष्याः । और्वेशेयः पुरूरवसः पुत्र आयुः । तस्यार्थाय । कतिधा पुनर्व्यवस्थाता ? उच्यते । अग्निहोत्रदर्श-पूर्वमासादिषु तावदाहवनीयत्वात् त्रिधा । पिरडपितृयज्ञचानुर्मास्थेषु चतुर्धा प्रणीतातिरेकात् । पशौ पञ्चधा शाभिनातिरेकात् । सोम आग्नीध्रस्य धिष्य्यातिरेकात् यावत्तावत्संख्यात्वम् ।

Mv.--त्वमग्ने प्रथमः । त्वमग्ने प्रथमोऽङ्गिरसां च वरिष्ठः कविर्यज्ञमलङ्करोषि सर्वस्मै भुवनायानेकशरीरो भवन प्राज्ञो द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता पुरूरवसः पुत्रायवे गार्हपत्यादिव्यूहेनानेकधा शयानः ॥

M.—त्वमग्ने अङ्गिरस्तम अङ्गिरसां वरिष्ठतमः परिभवसि यज्ञम् । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय । बहुधा भवन् । सर्वं (भु) वनमुद्दिश्य 'विश्वं विशे विशे' इति ॥ मेधिरः प्रज्ञावान् । द्विमाता द्वैमातु(रः) द्वयोररण्योरजनि । द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्मातेत्येके । शयुः । कतिधा चिदायवे । मनुष्याय । कतिधा बहुधेत्यर्थः । शयानः । कतिधा शयुर्भवतीति प्रश्नो वा इति ॥ (M's commentary is incorrect. The corrections suggested by the editor have been included in the passage.)

S—हे अग्ने त्वं प्रथम आयुः अङ्गिरस्तमः अतिशयेन अङ्गिरा भूत्वा कविर्मेधावी सन् देवानामन्येषां व्रतं कर्म परिभूषसि । परितः अलङ्करोषि । कीदृशस्त्वम् । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय समस्त-लोकानुग्रहार्थं विभुः बहुविधः । आहवनीयाद्यनेकरूपधारीत्यर्थः । मेधिरः मेधावान् द्विमाता द्वयोः अरण्योः उत्पन्नः । यद्वा । द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता । आयवे मनुष्यार्थं कतिधा चित् कतिभिः प्रकारैः सर्वत्र शयुः शयानः । तत्तन्मनुष्यगृहेऽवस्थितस्य तव प्रकारा इयन्त इति न केनापि ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः ॥ (The grammatical notes following this are not reproduced here, since the other commentaries have remained aloof from them.)

It becomes at once clear by this comparison that all the three predecessors of S. explain the mantra in the same order of words as in the mantra. This peculiarity is also found in U. S., on the other hand, changes the order and adopts one suitable for the explanation. Secondly, S. gives detailed grammatical notes on all the words in the mantra, while none of these three commentators has done so. The commentary of Mv. is merely a gloss. He is anterior to M. On the other hand, Sk. is a predecessor of Mv. Sk. explains the word द्विमाता as द्वे यावापृथिव्यौ वा अरणी वा मातरौ यस्य । The option of यावापृथिव्यौ वा अरणी वा मातरौ यस्य shows that there was not a definite tradition of the meaning of the word even in the time of Sk. Mv. explains the word by द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता i. e., differently from Sk. M. who is posterior to Mv.

preferred one of the options of Sk. by saying द्वैमातुरः द्वयोररूप्योरजनि । But at the same time he recorded the view of Mv. by saying द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्मातेत्येके । Curiously enough S. exactly followed M. by giving the twofold explanation द्वयोर् अरूप्योर् उत्पन्नः । यद्वा द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता ।

Now, since Udgitha's *bhasya* on this portion is not available, we have to satisfy ourselves with a specimen from the available portion. Let us compare the commentary on RV. X, 7, 2 :—

इमा अग्ने मतयस्तुभ्यं जाता गोभिरश्वैरभिगृणन्ति राघः ।

यद्वा ते मर्तोऽनु भोगमानद् वसो दधानो मतिभिः सुजात ॥

U—हे अग्ने इमा मतयः स्तुतयः तुभ्यं त्वदर्थं जाताः अस्मदादिस्तोत्रमुखादुत्पन्नाः, उच्चारिता इत्यर्थः । गोभिरश्वैश्च सहितं राघः धनं हिरण्यादिकमभिगृणन्ति अभिष्टुवन्ति । अहो शोभनमस्यदनु रूपमिति प्रशंसन्ति । कदा ? उच्यते—यदा यस्मिन् काले ते तव स्वकं भोगं भोगार्हं धनं मर्तोऽस्मदादिको मनुष्योऽन्वानद् त्वत्तो दानानन्तरं प्राप्नोति लभते तदेत्यर्थः । एतज्ज्ञात्वा हे वसो ! प्रशस्यवसुमन् वासवसुभूत वा खेन तेजसा सर्वस्याच्छादयित्वा सुजात सुजन्मन् शोभनकर्मार्यमुत्पन्न वा । दधानः अस्मभ्यं ददद्धनं मतिभिः स्तुतिभिस्त्वया दत्तं धनं स्थापयेति शेषः । अस्मत्स्तुत्यनुरूपमस्मभ्यं धनं देहीत्यभिप्रायः ॥

S—हे अग्ने इमा ईदृश्यो मतयः स्तुतयस्तुभ्यं त्वदर्थं जाता अस्मदादिस्तोत्रमुखादुत्पन्नाः । उच्चारिता इत्यर्थः । गोभिरश्वैश्च सहितं राघस्त्वया दीयमानं हिरण्यादिकं धनम् अभिगृणन्ति अभिष्टुवन्ति । अस्मत्स्तुत्यनुरूपमस्मभ्यं त्वया दत्तमिति प्रशंसन्ति । यदा मर्तोऽस्मदादिको मनुष्यस्ते त्वया दीयमानं भोगं भोगार्हं धनमन्वानद् प्राप्नोति लभते तदा हे वसो प्रशस्यवसुमन् । यद्वा । खेन तेजसा सर्वस्याच्छादयितः । हे सुजात शोभनकर्मार्यमुत्पन्नाग्ने त्वं दधानोऽस्मभ्यं धनं प्रयच्छन् मतिभिरस्मदीयाभिः स्तुत्यस इति शेषः ॥

The comparison clearly shows that S. almost literally follows U. while he does not do so in the case of others. The above specimen can conveniently be taken to represent the general agreement between U. and S. Unfortunately U. is not available on the whole of the *Rgveda*. Had it been so, it would certainly have helped the *Rgveda* interpretation in general and the study of S. in particular. Now I shall proceed to a thorough comparison of U. and S. from different aspects.

As compared to S. the construction in U/s is rather loose and rough. Words are generally explained in the same order in which they stand in the verse, which renders the explanation not quite easy. S. changes the order as required for explanation. Consequently U. often gives the subject and predicate and then reproduces the subsequent words by saying कीदृशाः, कस्य, किं, कस्मै, किमर्थम् etc. (c. g. see U. on RV. X, 11, 1 ; 28, 7-8). He does not necessarily reproduce the *pratika* which S. does. U. does not give the introduction to each hymn. When he does so, he never gives the *viniyoga* of hymn or verse, nor quotes the *Anukramani*. He simply mentions the author and deity of a hymn and gives the number of verses in a hymn. S. gives a full introduction to a hymn. He mentions the

author, metre, deity, number of verses in the hymn, then quotes the *Anukram* and also gives the ritual application of the same. Sometimes U. shows in the introduction the relation of a hymn to the preceding one, e. g. see U. on R V. X, 9. Sometimes he gives the ritual application of a verse in the commentary itself, cf. R V. X, 17, 11. He pays attention to the *Brhaddevata* while explaining the verse, e. g. R V. X, 19, 1 (*Brh.* VII, 20). He shows the relation of verses when possible, e. g. R V. X, 10, 8-9. If necessary, he explains two verses together, e. g. R V. X, 26, 2-3 ; 33, 7-8. He explains verses without borrowing words as far as possible. He counts Adhyayas and not Astakas ; see the end of 5th Adhyaya of Astaka VII. As already pointed out (vide Intro, to Vol. IV, Poona edn.), the Kashmir MS of Rgveda and the MSS of *S'cinkhayana Sakha of the Rgveda* also enumerate the Adhyayas and not the Astakas. U. pays more attention to the *Khilas* of the *Rgveda*. R V. X, 9, is a hymn of 9 verses, while U. says it has ten verses and counts and explains "as the tenth (khailika) verse. A different enumeration is also

**सस्रुधीस्तदपसो**

found in U. after R V. X, 18. Another clear proof for the significance attached to the *Khilas* by U. is contained in the commentary on R V. X, 10, 3 where he refers to a *Khila* quotation : **मम चित्तमनु चित्तं ते अस्तु** (see *Khila* III, 15, 1, Vol. IV, Poona edn). This tendency is not so keen in S. It is striking to find an old commentator like U. explaining the word **इन्द्र** by **परमेश्वर, त्रैलोक्याधिपति** at least in a few cases, cf. R V. X, 6, 6 ; 8, 7 ; 27, 6 ; 32, 8. Such metaphysical explanation is not expected of him. Another peculiarity of U. is that he always explains the upasarga «n by , e.g. R V. X, 14, 5 ; 16, 5 ; 26, 6 ; 28, 4. This is unnecessary in many places. S. is not guilty of such explanation. Sometimes U. goes into unnecessary details. In the commentary on R V. X, 12, 4 he says **स्नानपानाचमनस्य निष्पादनादिसंस्कारेण** where S. simply says **स्नानपानादिना ।** The commentary of both U. and S. on each verse is generally of the same size. In a few cases U. gives a fuller commentary than S. cf. R V. X, 7, 6 ; 8, 2 ; 3 ; 7 ; 10, 4 ; 11, 6. His commentary on X. 31, 7 too is more elaborate than S. In fact S. was expected here to develop the commentary by resorting to philosophical discussion. The similarity of construction between U. and S. is such that most of the quotations from Vedic and allied literature are common to both. Only in a few cases the quotations in U. are not found in S., cf. com. on R V. X, 8, 2 ; 6 ; 23, 1 ; 2 ; 27, 2 ; 8 ; 19 ; 29, 5. On the other hand there are a few quotations in S. which are not found in U., cf. R V. X, 5, 7 ; 11, 7 ; 17, 10 ; 11 ; 30, 11 ; 33, 1 ; 3 ; 34, 1.

One of the characteristics of S. is that he gives optional renderings not only of individual words but also of certain verses on the basis of etymology and ritual application. One is inclined to gather from this fact that the method of *Rgveda* interpretation had not come down to him in a uniform tradition. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that we find also in U. double explanations of words and also of certain verses. A comparison of U. and S. in this respect is of some interest. Double explanations of certain words in U. are not found in S. who offers a single explanation for

them, e.g. ऋत्विजः X, 6, 5; 7, 5; व्रजम् X, 26, 3; जरिमाणः X, 27, 21; नियवम् X, 30, 10, व्रतम् X, 33, 9. For three verses U. offers a twofold explanation. The explanation of X, 27, 8 is based on two different meanings of the word गो, namely a cow and the people. S. has adopted the former explanation which renders गो by cow. For the 13th verse in the same hymn U. offers two renderings with the beginnings अनया वासुकं इन्द्रं स्तौति and अथवा आदित्यात्मना इन्द्रः स्तूयते respectively. S. adopts the latter. For the 14th verse again U. offers two renderings by saying विद्युदात्मनेन्द्रः स्तूयते and अथवादित्यात्मनेन्द्रः स्तूयते. S. prefers the latter. On the other hand, there are cases where S. offers optional renderings while U. has got single ones. In the commentary on X, 5, 6, S. renders सप्त मर्वादाः in two ways, namely पानमज्ञाः शिष्यो मृगया दण्डः पारुष्यमन्यदूषणमिति and स्तेर्यं गुरुतरुपारोहणं ब्रह्महत्यां सुरापानं दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनःपुनः सेवां पातकेऽनुतोद्यम् (Nir. VI, 27). U. has only the latter. S. renders दक्षस्य in X, 5, 7, first by प्रजापतेः and again by आदित्यस्य. U. has the former. S. has two grammatical explanations for सहस्रं मितः in X, 18, 12, the latter of which is from U. Besides he gives double renderings of X, 22, 14 ; 27, 15 and 32, 9, the former of which are from U.

There are at least four cases where U. differs from the Padapāṭha of the R̥gveda ; while S. does not. In X, 6, 6, there is वाजे न which U. reads as one and renders by अक्षेन. In the same verse again there is a word इन्द्रवाततमाः which U. divides and reads इन्द्र वाततमाः In X, 27, 24 the *Saṁhitā* is मा स्मैतादक् ; the Pada text is मा स्म एतादक् while U. reads मा अस्मै तादक्. The editor of U. remarks that he had a MS of *R̥gveda padapāṭha* the colophon of whose seventh Aṣṭaka informed that the pada text was written by Rāvaṇa. In the MS the Pada text originally read मा अस्मै तादक् , just like U. but somebody turned it afterwards into the regular Pada text. In X, 33, 4, U. reads आवृणि for अवृणि. It is to be noted that S. too differs from the *Padapāṭha* in many places and we find a typical case where U. and S. seem to agree in differing from the *Padapāṭha*. In the commentary on X, 16, 11 S. reads वोचतु for वोचति and renders by प्रवृषीतु. U. does not quote the pratika itself but renders it by प्रकथयतु which clearly shows that he must have read वोचतु ।

Even though there is great similarity between U. and S. yet there are places where S. differs from U.<sup>1</sup> U. considers X, 32, 8, as addressed to Indra and S. to Agni. In X. 33. 6-9, Kavaṣa consoles Upamaśravas on the death of his father, King Mitrāṭithi. U. explains the last pāda of verse 7 quite rationally: पितुः ते तव उपमश्रवससंबन्धिनः । अस्मि भवामि । बन्दिता स्तोता पुरोहितः ऋत्विगेत्यर्थः । एवं सति त्वं चाहं च तुल्यशोकौ । एतज्ज्ञात्वा मा शोकं कार्षीः । अहं तव पितृस्थानीयो जीवामीत्यभिप्रायः ।

S. says : ते तव पितुस्तस्य मित्रातिथेरहं बन्दिता स्तोतास्मि । एतज्ज्ञात्वा शोकं मा कुरु । यदेयं द्रव्यमस्ति तत्सर्वं मह्यं देहि ।

In certain cases U. and S. differ from each other in rendering certain words<sup>2</sup>.

1. See RV. X, 5, 3, c,d ; 7, 1 ; 4d ; 8, 1d ; 10, 9 ; 12, 3 ; 17, 13 ; 18, 10 ; 22, 11 ; 27, 10 ; 24 ; 28, 2 a, b ; 33, 1 ; 6 ; 7.

2. e. g. गन्धर्वीः X, 11, 2 ; षावः X, 12, 4 ; गातु X, 14, 2 ; मातली X, 14, 3 ; क्रियाम्बु X, 16, 13 ; जनिवम् X, 18, 8 ; स्वत्परि (grammatical explanation) X, 18, 13 ; बर्हणा and नवन्त X, 22, 9 ; वसवानः X, 22, 15 ; विवाचः, मृधवाचः X, 23, 5 ; रथत् X, 25, 1 ; पुरः X, 26, 3 ; मन्दिनः X, 28, 3 ; जरितः X, 28, 4 ; जरिमा, अममन् X, 32, 8 ; मषवानः X, 32, 9 ; क्षेत्रं नरवमूजुषे X, 33, 6.

As for the *viniyoga* of the mantras, deities of the mantras and other things there is also some difference between U. and S. In the introduction to X, 17, U. says that the last four verses are addressed to the waters. In fact they are five which fact S. correctly observes. According to S. verses 7-14 in X, 18, are **पितृमेधाभिधायिन्यः । अतस्तदेवताकाः ।** while U. says **दोषाः (= ६-१४) पितृमेधकर्मणि पठिताः । तासां देवताः प्रयोगवशाज्ज्ञेयाः । तत्रतत्र यथाकथञ्चिच्छ्रौणकेनालस्येनाशकस्या वानिरूपितत्वाद्दृग्भ्रमत्र येन मन्त्रेण यद्द्रव्यमभिधीयते प्राधान्येन तद्द्रव्यं तस्य मन्त्रस्य देवता ह्यथेनेन न्यायेनान्येन वा यथाप्राप्तं देवतामभिव्यञ्जयिष्यामि ।**

The deity is, however, not directly mentioned in verses 7 and 9. In the commentary on verse 10, he says that the following four are addressed to the goddess Earth. The *viniyoga* of each verse from the seventh onwards is given at the beginning of the *bhasya*. S. docs not give *Grhya-viniyoga* of X, 18, 4-7. U. gives that of 4, 6 and 7<sup>1</sup>. In the commentary on X, 27, 23, U. calls Nirukta by *bhasya*. Curiously enough S. too calls *l',irukta* by the same term in the commentary on X, 29, 1 ; 30, 11. For X, 29, 1, U. offers two explanations, though in a corrupt state, one following the Padakara Sakalya and another following the *Hirukta*. S. admits both the explanations in a clearer way.

7. The exposition of LPs commentary given above clearly shows that there is much similarity between the commentaries of U. and S. as a result of the borrowing from U. by S. Yet S. has not followed U. blindly. He uses his discretion and accepts only that part of LPs commentary which he considers as reasonable ; otherwise he differs from him and follows his own way. Moreover, we find a clear tendency in S. to offer such explanations of verses as would suit their ritual application, e. g. LTs commentary on X, 27, 10, contains certain elements in addition to the ritual one, but S. retains only the ritual element and eliminates the rest, see also X, 27, 8. There are certain other verses which are not interpreted by U. from the ritual point of view. The general conclusion, therefore, is that S. has made abundant use of U. while writing his own commentary, that he has taken many portions from U. literally and that in the cases of different interpretations S. is definitely inclined towards the ritual aspect which is not so prominent in U. as well as the etymological aspect which is advocated by him in several places, e. g. R.V. X, 106, 11.

The present study is restricted to the published portion of U. It may, however, safely be presumed that the results obtained here can most probably be confirmed by the study of the unpublished part. As we have stated in the introduction to the Rgveda Vol. IV (Toona edition? 1946) it will be a contribution to the history of Rgveda interpretation if the whole available portion of Udgitha *bhasya* will be published with a revision of the printed text.

1. 4-त्रिभिः पादैः मध्यमं परिदधाति । शान्तिकर्मणि चतुर्थेन पादेनास्मान्मुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कृत्वा ।
- 6-अनया आनजुहे चर्मैरथमास्थान् आरोहयति शान्तिकर्मणि ।
- 7-अनयचौ सर्पिषा अद्विषी अजाना नारीः ईच्छते श्मशानकर्मनिन्तरम् ।

## Two cases of Aspirate-Dissimilation in the Veda.

By

VITTORE PISANI, *Milan.*

### *I. upa barbrhi*

In the famous contest between Yama and Yami (RV. X, 10) Yama says to his sister who contrives to induce him to what he deems an incest: **उप बभ्रुहि वृषभ्राय बाहुमन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पुतिं मुत्** (10) which evidently must be translated 'Stretch out to a husband your arm ; another man from me you must seek for, lovely one', But what is properly *upa barbrhi* ? Generally people think of *brh*; this is the case also with Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 5th ed., p. 367, no. 1011a, who notwithstanding observes that '*barbrhi* shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of *h* before the ending *hi*', Indeed, one would expect something as *barbrdhi*, cf. the passive participle *brdha-* in S'Br. On the other side, the difficulty of connecting *barbrhi* with *brh* is not only a phonetical and morphological one : *jbrh* means 'to be, to become big, or fat'; how did it come to have the meaning of 'stretching out' ? Hermann Grassmann, in his *Worterbuch zum Rigveda* (1910) felt the difficulty and tried to cast it aside by comparing *upabarhana-*; but this word means 'cushion' as something 'swollen', and is by no means fit to constitute a bridge between the values of *brh* and *upa barbrhi*.

All becomes clear, I think, both on the formal and on the semantical side, by assuming that this imperative certains the root  $>/bhr^{fc}$  'to bring', with prefixed *upa*. This root means precisely, 'to bring near, draw near', which is the value of our *upa barbrhi*. The intensive of *yibhr* sounds in Rgveda,  $>$  *bharibhr-* (classical  $>$  *bharl-bhr*) and *jar-bhr*, it can also have, or not, the intermediate *-i-* between reduplication and root; naturally in the second case the reduplication loses its aspiration, according to the usual rule.

From an intensive *bar-bhp* the second person of imperative is *bar-br-hi*, with the old dissimilation of aspirates which here, in an archaic text, is maintained as in *viddtha-*, 'feast' from *Vvidh* 'to worship' and specially in the imperatives *bodhi* and *jahi* from *bhu* and  $\wedge$ *han* ; cf. Wackernagel : *Altindische Grammatic*, vol. I, p. 128. Our *barbrhi* is, moreover, so isolated that the connection with *Vbhr* was probably no more felt so as to get it restored to *\*barbhrhi*.

It might be objected that Rgveda V, 61, 5, has a form *upabarbrhai* in the passage : **इयावाश्वस्तुताय या दीवीरायोऽप्रबहुं हन्ते** that will stretch out her arm to the man extolled by *S'yavas'va*, which cannot

be reported to *jbhr*. But the hymn V, 61, is, as Oldenberg pointed out (cf. R. N. I, P- 353 ), an 'addition to the original collection, surely from V. 5 on, but doubtless also the first four verses'. It is in consequence more recent than the dialogue of Yama and Yami, one of the oldest pieces of the tenth Mandala. Now, the imitation of X, 10, 10, is obviously evident in the younger passage : it is clear that the author of this did no more understand the grammatical value, that is, the pertinence to *bhr*, of *barbrhi*, and interpreted it, in spite of grammar and of semantics, as a form of *jbrh*, just as modern Sanskritists do ; therefore he has made his conjunctive *barbrhat*, from *brh* instead of *bhr* on the ground of a curious misunderstanding of old *barbrhi*.

## 2. *Madugha*—.

In a love-spell, A V. I, 34, 4, the loving man says :

मध्वरस्मि मधुतरो मधुधान् मधुमत्तरः ।  
मामिच्छिष्वं वनाः शाखां मधुमतीमिव ॥

'Sweeter I am than honey, sweeter than *madugha* ; may you love me as a sweet branch'.

*Madugha* must be kind of a sweet plant, probably the same which is spoken of in the last pada as a *sakha madhumatt*, liquorice or the like. Whence can the word be derived ? I think it to be a haplology of *madhu'dugha*- 'milking sweetness', an adjective that is employed in Rgveda VI, 70, 1 ; 5, of Heaven and Earth. It is interesting to note that of the two syllables subjected to haplology, *-dhu-* and *-du-*, the first one has been expelled, although the idea expressed by *madhu-* was the principal one in the compound : the choice has been made evidently to avoid the sequel of two aspirated syllables, *dhu* and *gha*.

# Conception of God in the Vedas.

By

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In the Rgveda we find many gods mentioned in the different hymns.<sup>1</sup> These gods might be classified as the gods of heaven, the atmosphere and the earth.<sup>2</sup> The Vedic sages, however, were not inclined to divide their gods into any classes; for, they accepted them as the aspects of One, ultimately.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, any classification followed will not hold good for all the gods, as some of them do not seem to belong to any of these categories.

Among the gods of the sky, Dyaus is mentioned together with Prthvi.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes, he is identified with Indra.<sup>5</sup> He is understood by the sages as heaven itself and not as a separate 'god of heaven'. Thus, the different powers of nature worshipped by the Vedic sages were not conceived as different gods but, rather, as different entities constituting the different parts of one whole.<sup>6</sup> Varuna is praised as the most powerful one and the master of all. He is the very source of all that exists, life itself depends on him. He is called *svaraji ksatra* and *mayin*. All these emphasise the great dignity and power of the god. He is most probably the guardian of morality. He is the lord of *rta* (laws of nature). He is *dhrta-vrata*, *rtasya gopa* and *rtavat* (the guardian and controller of law and order).<sup>7</sup> He is the moral aspect of the Supreme Reality or God. He is both the master and the standard of morality. He is prayed to that he might loosen the chains of worshippers. He is kind and friendly to those who are sinless. Moral laws are unchangeable and supreme. They must be followed by all. The Vedic sages accept the control and guidance of moral laws in the case of human thoughts too<sup>8</sup>; They find the objective standard of morality in God. He is a personal God loving all those who are moral and sinless, and obey his orders. Those who

\*Unspecified references are to the Rgveda.

1. I, 45; III 9; VIII, 28, 1; IX, 92; X. 52
2. I, 139; X, 158.
3. VIII, 58; YV, 32, AV. 10, 7; 8.
4. I, 54, 34; 55, 1; SV. II; VIII, 3, 14
5. Cf. the views of Griswold, Hopkins etc.
6. I, 30; 141; VIII, 51, 1.
7. I, 122, 15; 11,27; 28; V, 62; 42; VI, 51; VII. 25; 34, 10; 49; 85; 86; 87; 89; 124; VIII, 41; 42; 90; 92; X, 37; 132.
8. I, 24; 25; IV, 42; V, 85; VII, 86; 88-9; VIII, 41.

commit sins lose his friendship.<sup>1</sup> Surya,<sup>1</sup> Savitr,<sup>3</sup> Mitra,\* VISNU,<sup>5</sup> Vivasvat,<sup>6</sup> Bhaga,<sup>7</sup> and Pusan<sup>8</sup> are mentioned as the sun-gods. Surya is supposed to be the eye of the Almighty, seeing all and knowing all. He is called Atman of all that exists. Savitr signifies most probably the morning and evening twilights in the sky. Savitr is the stimulating power of the sun. He also helps and blesses human beings living on earth and they pray to him that he might stimulate their thoughts.<sup>9</sup> Mitra means a friend. He is Aditya who excites activity in human beings. Often his laws and powers resemble those of Varuṅja. He is also praised as the sustainer of all the gods. Visnu may be accepted as the different stages in the journey of the sun. Vivasvat signifies the brilliance of the sun. He is called the father of human beings.

Bhaga often comes along with Savitr. He is also praised as *vidharta*<sup>10</sup> or *vibhakta*.<sup>11</sup> He is most probably that aspect of God that gives blessing to all. Pusan is the 'bestower of prosperity'.<sup>12</sup> All these grouped together with Aryaman, Indra, Daksa and Martanda make the twelve Adityas. Usas is mentioned as the goddess of dawn. The hymns devoted to Uṣas express more of poetic appreciation than religious feelings. As'vins,<sup>13</sup> the twin gods, appear at the early dawn<sup>14</sup> and accept offerings at sunset.<sup>15</sup>

Among the gods of the atmosphere,<sup>16</sup> Indra is, most probably, the national god. He is praised as the master of all that exists. He is the god of the thunderstorm or lightning. He is a warrior-god. The Maruts are the helpers of Indra. They are called *Rudra* or *Rudriya* as they are sons of Rudra. They are praised as self-luminous and brilliant. They are associated with *vidyut* (lightning).<sup>17</sup> Vayu and Vata<sup>18</sup> are also gods of wind. Vata is less personified than Vayu. Vata is associated with parjanya.<sup>19</sup> Rudra, Parjanya, Apah, Apam Napat, Mataris'van, Ahibudhnya and Aja Ekpad are also mentioned.<sup>20</sup>

1. V. 85, 8.
2. I, 115; VII, 38; 61-63; 77; X, 7; 16; 37; 90, 13.
3. I. 35; II, 38; IV, 53; V, 82; VI, 71; X, 17, 4.
4. 111,59.
5. I, 155; VI, 69, 5; VII, 99.
6. I, 155, 4; III, 55; VII, 40; X, 14; 17; 63.
7. III, 54, 14; VII, 38, 6.
8. II, 53; 55, etc.
9. III, 62, 10.
10. VII, 41, 2.
11. V, 46, 6.
12. Hopkins *RI* p 50.
13. I, 22; III, 39; VIII, 35, 16.
14. I, 34; VIII, 5, 2; 9; 17; X, 61, 4.
15. V, 76, 3; VIII, 22, 14.
16. I, 7; 27; 32; 57; 81; 82, 6; III, 36; 45; IV, 46; 48; 53; VIII, 17; 33; 45, 55; X, 10; 112.
17. I, 64; V, 53; 54; 75; VIII, 7; 16.
18. I, 134; 142; IV, 46; 48; VII, 91; X, 85; 168.
19. V, 83; VII, 101; 102; IX, 82.
20. II, 35; VII, 9; X, 43.

Among the terrestrial gods we come across Agni,<sup>1</sup> Brahma naspati, and Prthvi.<sup>2</sup>

We also come across such terms as Tvastr (designer),<sup>3</sup> Dhatr (creator),<sup>4</sup> Vidhatr (disposer),<sup>6</sup> Dhattr (the supporter),<sup>6</sup> Tratr (protector)<sup>7</sup> and Netr (leader). Both Indra<sup>8</sup> and Surya<sup>9</sup> are called Vis'vakarman at different places ; but hymns are also sung in praise of Vis'vakarman<sup>10</sup> (the creator of the universe) at a later stage. He is the omnipotent creator of all that exists. He is also the wise disposer. He is all-knowing, the lord of speech (vacaspati). Prajapati is also an adjective signifying the control over the universe. Savitr<sup>11</sup> as well as Soma<sup>12</sup> are called Prajapati in different places. At a later stage, he is also accepted as an object of worship by himself.<sup>13</sup>

As the Rgvedic hymns are full of poetic inspiration and imagination it becomes difficult to trace any clear-cut conception of God; yet passages such as 'Amongst ye, O gods, none is small and you are all equally great,'<sup>14</sup> lead us to think that the gods praised in the Rgveda are nothing more than the powers or aspects of one allpowerful God who must be at the back of the mind of the Rgvedic sages, who found all that they saw and experienced in nature, constituting a complete whole. The Purusa Sukta<sup>15</sup> expressing that there was nothing but Purusa and Puruṣa alone in the beginning, because at that time He was all that existed, clearly shows a tendency of the Vedic sages towards the conception of an essential unity in existence and towards monotheism.

The following hymns clearly show this tendency of the Vedic sages :

Let us all, in unison like friends, invoke God Almighty, best known in his revealed law for our protection and help in all endeavours for the attainment of things even most difficult to achieve and in all our battles in life'.<sup>16</sup> In the Sama Veda, the grace of God, who is Almighty, is sought. He is praised as the one who confers benefits on his devotees from all around. He is requested to support his devotees from all directions. For them, God is Omnipotence.<sup>17</sup> He is always invoked by the good and righteous man.<sup>18</sup> He is also prayed to for saving human beings from sins.<sup>19</sup> In the Atharvaveda, Dyaus and Prthvi<sup>20</sup> are praised as the parents of the whole world. The righteous

1. I, 31; 60; 79; 97; 128; 146, III, 27; VII, 2. VIII, 23; 43; 44; 49; X, 81; 142.

2. I, 190; II, 23; 24; 40; VII, 97; X, 67; 68; 182.

3. I, 54;

4. I, 117, 22.

5-9. IX, 81, 5-6; X, 81; 82 and *passim* in Books 1-10.

10. VIII, 87, 2,

11. X, 170,4.

12. IV, 53, 2.

13. IX, 5, 9.

14. VIII, 30, 1.

15. X, 90, 2.

16. V, 1, 30.

17. S. V. P. 5, 2, 1. 3.

18. *Ibid.* P. 5, 2,4.

19. *Ibid.* P. 5, 2, 5.

20. A V. I, 32, 14.

also pray to God, for the protection of their agricultural products against rains and storms.<sup>1</sup> Once Brahmata or the God as Atman is also referred to. One who has a strong desire to know, knows the first principle which is mysterious. In Him the whole universe finds its unity and becomes one. The whole world is created out of Him. He is the ultimate source of all.<sup>2</sup> Indra, Varuna, Agni and other gods are also mentioned.<sup>3</sup> In the Yajurveda many hymns are devoted to the praise of the Almighty. They go so far as to indicate the unity of all in God. "Agni, is that, the Sun is that; Vayu and Candramas are that. The Bright is that; Brahma is that, those waters, that Prajapati."<sup>4</sup> They emphasise that Purusa is one, the resplendent one, the only source of all that exists.<sup>5</sup> He is Omnipresent.<sup>6</sup> He is all-knowing and the source of the eternal life of the gods.<sup>7</sup> There is also a tendency to identify the ultimate Reality with Atman. He is Paribhu (Omnipresent) and Svayambhu (Unborn).<sup>8</sup>

All this leads us to think that the concept of God as we find it in the Rgveda is not a very clear one. We find many gods mentioned there. All of them are objects of worship. Practically each one of them is praised as the supreme one in his turn. The Vedic sages might have conceived of all the powers of nature as the different powers or aspects of God, the Almighty or Vis'vedevah or Prajapati as mentioned in Yajurveda. Even in that case, this was not Pantheism. Agni, Varunia or Indra were never exactly identical with the material world. God, the Ultimate Reality might have been impersonal but the gods that were praised by the Vedic sages in their hymns, were personal. They were eternal, omnipresent and most probably omnipotent as well. They were believed to love their devotees. The utmost that we can say about the conception of God in the Vedic age, is that the Vedic sages believed in God, the creator, preserver and sustainer of the universe. The Vedas contain in them the germs of the conception of God as based on the highest monotheistic principles, the outcome of the logical reasoning of the Upanisadic sages.

1. *ibid.* I, 13, 1-4;

2. *ibid.* II, 1, 1-5.

3. *ibid.* Agni, I; II; VII; Indra II, IX.

4. YV, 32, 1.

5. *ibid.* 32, 2, 6, 8; 40, 1.

6. *ibid.* 32, 4.

7. *ibid.* 32, 10.

8. YV. 40, 8.

## Prepositional Element in the Word Apamarga.

By

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The St. Petersburg *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, derives अपामार्ग- (denoting a medicinal plant) from √सृज् with अप and आ.

The following is an attempt at examining the validity of this view in the light of Vedic tradition<sup>1</sup>. The word occurs in the *Mādhyandina-Saṃhitā* (XXXV, 11). The *Padapāṭha*<sup>2</sup> splits up this compound as अपामार्गैत्यपऽमार्गः. From this division, it is evident that according to ancient textual analysis, the word is to be derived from √सृज् with अप and not from √सृज् with अप and आ. This derivation is supported by the *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya*<sup>3</sup> III, 129, on which the commentator Ananta Bhaṭṭa annotates in the following way :—पिबासोममित्वादि अष्टसप्तति पदानि दीर्घाणि स्युः । Under V, 21, the same scholiast states : एतानि पदानिऽसावग्राहणि भवन्ति । अपमार्गैत्यप—मार्गः । स्वम् अस्मत् । That this derivation is based on the ancient tradition may be clear from the comment of the *Satapatha-Brahmaṇa* : अपामार्गैरपसृजते । अघमेव तदपसृजते (XIII, 8, 4, 4). The *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, which belongs to the same Vedic school reiterates this view : अपाघमित्यपमार्गैरपसृजते (XXI, 4, 22).

Finally, there is an unimpeachable evidence to show that the *Saṃhitā* literature itself supports this view. The following *Atharvaveda* passages (iv, 18, 7 ; 8 ; vii, 65, 2 ; 3) clearly point to this derivation by the very nature of predication :—

अपामार्गोऽप मासुं चेन्निर्यं शपथश्च यः ।  
अपाह यातुधानीरप सर्वा अराच्यः<sup>4</sup> ॥  
अपमुज्य यातुधानानप सर्वा अराच्यः ।  
अपामार्ग स्वया वयं सर्वं तदप सृज्महे<sup>4</sup> ॥  
यद् दुष्कृतं यच्छर्मलं यद् वा चेरिम् पापया ।  
स्वया तद् विश्वतोमुस्त्रापामार्गाप सृज्महे ॥

1. For full text-references cf. V. B. Shastri : *A Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. I, p. 281.

2. *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā-padapāṭha*, published by Tukaram Tatya, Bombay, 1893.

3. Venkatarama Sarma : *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya*, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 5, 1934.

4. For the corresponding parallel reading cf. *Paippalada-Saṃhitā*, V, 23, 7 ; 8 ; IX, 8, 22.

भ्यावृत्ता कुनखिना बण्डेन यत्सहासिम ।  
 अपामार्गं त्वया दयं सर्वं तदप सृजनेद् ॥

Thus it is evident that the derivation of **अपामार्गं** from **सृज्** with **अप** and **आ** followed by some scholars runs counter to the unanimous finding of Vedic tradition on this point. It is interesting to note in this connection that if proper attention had been paid to Pacini's general permissive rule (VI, 3, 122) pointing to the important phenomenon of the final vowel of a preposition becoming long when followed by a primary derivative formed with the suffix **ञ्**, the proper clue to the traditional finding would have been found, obviating the need for importing a second preposition **आ** into the derivation.

## स्पन्द्-स्यन्द्-पाठ-विमर्शः<sup>१</sup>

निबन्धा, अमरनाथशास्त्री, होदयारपुरम्

भारतीय वैदिका विपश्चितो मुक्तकण्ठं दशतयीषु १, १८०, ९; ५, ५२, ३; ८; ८७, ३; ६, १२, ५; १०, ४२, ५ स्पन्द्- इति पाठं सामानन्ति, पाश्चात्याश्च मैक्समुल्लरप्रभृतयो विद्वांसः स्पन्द्- इति । कतरः पाठः श्रेयान् इति विदुषां विधेयो विषयः । यद्यपि सातक्लेकरमहानुभावः पाश्चात्याभिनन्दितं पाठम् अपपाठमवैदिकं च प्रोक्तवन्तः, तथापि न ते विवेचनात्मिकां कामपि सामग्रीम् उपन्यास्थन् । अतो मीमांस्यतेऽयं विषयः ।

अन्यतरपाठावधारणार्थं पूर्वं तावत् तत्तच्छब्दस्य मृग्यं मूलम् । स्पन्द्-शब्दस्य मूलं  $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द्}}$  (पाणनीयेकिञ्चिच्च चलने इत्यर्थः) । स्यन्द्-शब्दस्य च मूलं  $\sqrt{\text{स्यन्द्}}$  (प्रस्रवणे, स्यद्गो जवे पा ६, ४, २८ इति सूत्रप्रामाण्येन जवः=शीघ्रगतिर् अन्यर्थः) इति । वैदिके संप्रदाये कतरो धातुः समाहत इत्यत्र प्रयोगबहुला सरणिः शरणम् । यद्यपि मौनियरविलियंसपण्डिनेन स्वीये संस्कृताऽऽङ्गल-कोषे ' $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द्}}$  often confounded with  $\sqrt{\text{स्यन्द्}}$ '— $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द्}}$  च  $\sqrt{\text{स्यन्द्}}$  संदिह्येते— इत्येभिरक्षरैः समन्वयार्थं प्रयत्नः कृतः, किंतु तत् समाधानमात्रम् ।  $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द्}}$  वेदे विरलप्रयोगः । अविरलप्रयोगश्च  $\sqrt{\text{स्यन्द्}}$  इति । तत्रापि कस्मिन्नर्थे कया विधया किमुपजीव्य कस्य धातोः कियन्मु स्थलेषु कति सन्ति प्रयोगा इति तु निम्ननिर्दिष्टैर्वैदिकोद्धरणैरवदानं भवेत् ।

पूर्वं तावत्  $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द्}}$  इत्यस्य वैदिकोद्धरणानि द्रष्टव्यानि :—

१. ऋ. १, ३२, २ : वाश्वा इव धेनुवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः ( वें. स्क. सा. वाशनशीलाः (सा. हम्भारवोपेताः) वत्सान् प्रति ( जवेन गच्छन्त्यः) अभिनवप्रसूता गाव इव स्यन्दमानाः (स्क. स्रवन्त्यः, सा. प्रस्रवणयुक्ताः) आपः अञ्जसा समुद्रं प्राप्ताः ) ।
२. ऋ. ५, ८३, ८ : स्यन्दन्तां कुल्या विषिताः पुरस्तात् ( सा. कुल्या नद्यः, विषिता विष्प्युताः सत्यः, स्यन्दन्तां प्रवहन्तु, पुरस्तात् पूर्वाभिमुखम् । प्रायेण नद्यः प्राच्यः स्यन्दन्ते ) ।
३. ऋ. ९, ८०, ३ : क्लीळन्धुरिरस्यः स्यन्दते वृषा ( सा. सोमः स्यन्दते रसरूपेण ) ।
४. शौ. १२, २, २७ : अइमन्धती नदी स्यन्दत इयम् ( अवदातम् । ऋ. १०, ५३, ८ 'रीयते' इति पाठे. ) ।
५. काठ. ४०, १३ : यत्र धारा मधुमतीस्सदा स्यन्दन्ते अक्षिताः । अपूपकृला नद्यस्सदा स्यन्दन्ते अक्षिताः... उपपन्नन्ति मधुनो घृतस्य कुल्याः... ( सर्वम् अवदातम् ) ।
६. वै. १२, ७, ४ : वशिनीर्वै नामैता आपो यास् स्यन्दन्ते । ( अवदातम् ) ।
७. या. ६, ५७ : मत्स्या मधा उदके स्यन्दन्ते ( मत्स्यानां मत्स्यत्वं मधौ उदके स्यन्दनात् संतरणात् ) ।

१. काठ.=काठकसंहिता-, वै.=वैष्णलदासंहिता-, या.=यारक-, वें.=वेङ्कटमाधव-, शौ.=शौनकसंहिता-, सा.=सायण-. स्क.=स्कन्दस्वामिन्- ।

८. या. ९, २५ : सिन्धुः स्पन्दनात् ( सिन्धुः=नदी स्पन्दनात् ) ।

९. या. १०, ५ : यः सिन्धुनामुपोदये ( ऋ. ८, ४१, २ ) = यः स्पन्दमानानाम् आसाम् ( अपाम् ) उपोदये ) ।

√स्पन्द इत्यनेन संबद्धानां वैदिकोदाहरणानां तद्व्याख्यानस्य चेदं दिग्दर्शनम् । एतावताऽयं रसः—√स्पन्द प्रायेण श्रप्-, नदी-, कुल्या-, धारा-, सोमरस-, सिन्धु-प्रभृतीनां प्रस्रवणशीलानां हचरितो वेदे प्रयुज्यते । यास्केन ( ९, २५ ) स्पन्दनादेव सिन्धुर्युत्पादितः । मत्स्यशब्दं निर्द्भुवता नैव ( ६, २७ ) उदके स्पन्दनात्=संतरणात् इत्यर्थं उद्भावितः । एतावताऽयं निष्कर्षः सुलभो यद्दिकं आम्नाये √स्पन्द प्रस्रवणे संतरणे चाऽवधार्यत इति ।

अथ √स्पन्द अपि मीमांसितव्यः । तदर्थावधारणायाऽपि वैदिकमेवोद्धरणं समर्थते । यथा—

१. ऋ. ४, ३, १० : अस्पन्दमानोऽचरद् वयोधाः ( सा. अग्निः अस्पन्दमानः = एकत्राऽवस्थित एव तेजसा चरति वयोधाः अचरदः ) ।

२. शौ. ८, ६, १७ : स्थालीं गौरिव स्पन्दना ( सा. स्थालीं दोहनसाधनं मृत्पात्रं, गौरिव दुष्टा गौर्यथा, स्पन्दनात्=पश्चात् पादयोश्चालनात् । सा यथा पात्रं भिनत्ति तद्वत् । ह्निन्नेप्रभृतयः पाश्चात्या अपि च तथैव—as a kicking cow a pot इति ) ।

३. ऋ. ३, ५३, १९ : ओजो धेहि स्पन्दने शिशुपायाम् ( सा. शिशुपात्रनिर्मिते चक्रे, स्पन्दने=रथस्य गमने सति, ओजो धेहि । वस्तुतः अत्र भाष्ये सायणः विप्रतिपन्न इव, खदिर-शिशुपादिसाहचर्येण स्पन्दनशब्दस्याऽप्यत्र वृत्तविशेषवाचकत्वात् । पश्यन्तु—‘पलाशादिभ्यो वा’ [ पा ४, ३, १४ ] इत्यत्र सूत्रे पलाशादिगणम् ) ।

प्रदर्शितानां वैदिकानामुद्धरणानां सुनिपुणां निरूपणेनाऽयमर्थोऽजसा निर्गच्छति—√स्पन्द त्यस्य किञ्चिच्चलनं=प्रकम्पनमर्थः ( यथा ‘अस्पन्दमानः’ ), गवाश्वादिपशुपादप्रक्षेपणं चाऽर्थः ( यथा ‘स्पन्दना’ ) । अत्र गोविशेषणतया कर्तरि युच् प्र. द्रष्टव्यः ) ।

यद्यपि शौ. उद्धरणेऽनेकेषां मूलकोशानां मध्ये ‘स्पन्दना’ इत्यन्यतमो मूलकोशो ह्निन्नेमहानु-गावैः स्वीयेऽथर्ववेदव्याख्यानं प्रदर्शितः परमर्थतो नासावभिनन्दितः, ‘स्पन्दना’ इत्यरथैवाऽर्थः कृतः । एतावता सिद्धमेतद् यद् अथर्ववेदे सर्वैरभिनन्दितः पाठः ‘स्पन्दना’ इत्येवाऽस्ति । √स्पन्द चाऽत्र दोच्चालनपूर्वके गमने विक्रमणाऽपरपर्यायेऽनुसंधीयत इति ।

संप्रति सम्यग्दिग्मवधारयितुं पार्यते यद् वैदिके समाम्नाये √स्पन्द इत्यस्य प्रस्रवणां तरणां वाऽर्थः । स्पन्द इत्यस्य च प्रकम्पनं पशुपादचालनात्मको विक्रमो वाऽर्थः ।

### स्पन्द-स्पन्द-विचारः

उक्तभूमिकायां संप्रति विभाव्यताम्—अर्थतः वेदे स्पन्द-शब्दः धेयान् आहोस्वित् । श्वात्थैरभिनन्दितः स्पन्द-शब्दः । यत्र वेदेऽयं शब्दो दृश्यते, तान् अर्थान् मन्त्रखण्डान् । विचाराय समुपहृतान् पश्यन्तु विद्वांसः यत् तेषु स्पन्द-शब्दः घटते स्पन्द-शब्दो वेति । यथा—

१. ऋ. १, १८०, ९ : प्र यद् बहुधे महिना रथस्य प्र स्पन्द्रा याथो मनुषो न होता ।

अश्विनौ प्रकृतौ स्तूयेते । रथस्य महिना महत्त्वेन माहात्म्येनेत्यर्थः । यदा युवां (यज्ञे) प्र बहुधे प्राप्नुथः, स्पन्द्रा स्पन्दनशीलौ प्र याथश्च । यज्ञारम्भे स्पन्दनशीलौ आगच्छथः, यज्ञान्ते च प्रयाथः । मनुषो न होता । नेत्युपमाथीयः । यथा मनुषो यजमानस्य यजमानविनियुक्त इत्यर्थः, होता ऋत्विग् यज्ञकर्मसंपादनाय प्रतिदिनं प्रगे आगच्छति, यज्ञान्ते प्रयाति चेति अर्धर्चाऽर्थः । (प्रायेणाऽयमर्थः वेङ्कट-माधवीयम् ऋग्भाष्यं सायणव्याख्यानं चाऽनुसरति) ।

अत्रार्धर्चे 'स्पन्द्रा' शब्दार्थावधारणाय प्र बहुधे, महिना, रथस्य, प्र...याथः इति तुर्यमपि सावधानमनुसन्धेयम् । सायणेन 'प्रबहुधे' इति क्रियापदस्य 'धारयथो यज्ञम्' इत्यर्थः कृतः । पञ्चान्तरे 'यागस्य धुरं बहुधः' इत्यर्थः कृतः । किं तु द्वयेनाप्येतेन सायणस्य व्याख्यानेन प्र...याथः इति क्रियाया न किमपि सामञ्जस्यम् । प्रयाणम् आगमनपूर्वकं सिध्यति । सायणेनाऽपि 'प्रबहुधे' इत्यस्य 'प्राप्नुथः' इत्यर्थे कृत एव तत् सिध्यति । अत एवाऽऽचार्यो वेङ्कटमाधवः प्रबहुधे प्राप्नुथः इत्येवम् अर्थापयामास । एतावताऽयं निष्कर्षः—अश्विनोर्वेज्ञे प्रापणं ततः प्रयाणं च रथस्य महिना महत्त्वेन प्रजायते, अत एव अश्विनोर्विशेषणं 'स्पन्द्रा' इति ।

अत्रेदमवधार्यम्—रथस्य महित्वं किं नाम । नाऽत्र रथनिष्पादककाष्ठभारस्य माहात्म्यं व्याख्यासितम् । तन्महत्त्वेन सद्यो याने प्रयाणे च न किमपि वैचित्र्यम् । यदि स्पन्दमानया गत्या रथस्य महित्वं, रथः स्वयम् अचेतनो न स्यन्दितुमलम् । अतोऽन्यथानुपपत्त्या प्रकृते 'रथस्य' इत्यनेन ऋक्शब्देन रथबोद्धुं अहवस्याऽर्थत उपचारः कर्तव्यो भवति । अवधीरितवायुवेगस्य रथवाहिनोऽश्वस्य महित्वेन माहात्म्येन स्पन्द्रा अश्विनौ युवां यज्ञप्रदेशं त्वरितमागच्छथः, त्वरितं प्रयाथश्चेत्यनुगतोऽर्थः । एतावता सम्यगिदमवधारयितुं पार्यते यद् अर्थसमन्वयार्थं 'स्पन्द्रा' इत्यनेन रथोपचरिताऽश्वगते-नैदीयान् संबन्धः । अश्वगत्यैव 'स्पन्द्रा' इति शब्दस्य वस्तुतो निष्पत्तिः । यदि नामाऽश्वगतिः स्पन्दनपूर्विका भवति तदा 'स्पन्द्रा' इति शब्दः साधीयान् । यदि स्पन्दनाऽपरपर्याय-विक्रमणपूर्विका भवति, तदा 'स्पन्द्रा' इति प्रयोगः साधुः ।

अश्वस्य गतिं प्रमापयन्त आचार्याः—'आस्कन्दितं धोरितकं रेचितं बह्णितं प्लुतम् । गतयोऽमूः पञ्च धाराः' (अमरकोषः) इत्युक्तदिशा पञ्चधा कथयन्ति—आस्कन्दितम्—उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गमनं कोपादेवाखिलैः पदैः, धोरितकम्—शिखिगतिवत्, रेचितम्—मध्यवेगेन या गतिः, बह्णितम्—अप्रकायसमुह्नासात् कुञ्चितास्यं नतत्रिकम्, प्लुतम्—लङ्घनम् इत्येवं गतयोऽमूः पञ्च धाराः (अश्वस्येति शेषः) । अश्व इमा एव पञ्च गतीः प्रचलति, नाऽन्याः । विभावयन्तु विद्वांसः अश्वस्य गतिः स्पन्दनं—विक्रमणमपेक्षते, उत वा स्पन्दनं—प्रलवणम् । अश्वस्य प्लुतगतिमेव केचिद् अर्थवादेन स्पन्दनं कथयन्तुः अन्येदेतत् । वस्तुतोऽश्वगतिर्न स्पन्दनम् । अतोऽस्याम् ऋचि तु भारतीववैदिकैर् अभिनन्दितः 'स्पन्दना' इत्ययमेव पाठः श्रेयान्, न पाश्चात्यैर् अनुसंहितः 'स्यम्बना' इति । पाश्चात्यविदुषां 'स्पन्दना' इति पाठं मत्वा 'शीघ्रगामिनौ' इत्यर्थो न शब्दार्थः, भावार्थकथनमेतदिति ।

२. ऋ. ५. ५२, ३ : ते स्पन्द्रासो शोचुष्योऽति स्कन्दन्ति शर्वरीः (सा. ते मस्तः स्पन्द्रासः स्पन्दनशीलाः, उच्चणो जलसेह्वारश्च । नेति चाऽर्थे । यस्मात् स्पन्द्रा अन्येषां तस्मात् शर्वरीः, शर्वर्यो रात्र्यः कालावयवानित्यर्थः, तान् अतिस्कन्दन्ति अतिक्रम्य गच्छन्ति, नित्या इत्यर्थः) ।

वस्तुतो नात्र सायणाभिमतोऽर्थः संघटते—न इति चाऽर्थ इति । अपि तु 'न' इत्युपमार्थीयः । तथा चाऽयमर्थः प्रतिभाति—ते मरुतः उच्चणो वृषभा इव स्पन्द्रासः स्पन्दनशीलाः=भूमिकम्पनशीलाः । यथा उच्चणो वृषभाः पादविज्ञेपपूर्वकेण विक्रमेण सोःखात् भूमिं कम्पयन्ति तथा मरुतोऽप्यतिद्रुतवेगया गत्या सन्तुपद्रुमां भूमिं वेपयन्तीति भावः । शर्वरीः रात्र्युपलक्षितं कालम् अतिस्कन्दन्ति अतिक्राम्यन्तीति । स्पन्दनमभिमन्यमानेन त्रिफिधमहोदयेन साकं प्रकृते यद्यपि नो भूयोऽर्थतो वैमत्यं, तच्चाऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते, तथापि अस्मदभिमत् 'न' इत्यस्य उपमार्थीयत्वं तेनाप्यभिनन्दितम् । यथा—*'like steers in rapid motion they advance and overtake the nights'* । ग्रासमन-ह्विट्ने-रोधमहानुभावास्तु शर्वरीः=मरुतां वाहनभूताः पृषतीः मृगीः इत्येवमर्थापयन्तः स्पष्टं मृगगत्युपक्षेपेणाऽत्र मरुतामपि स्पन्दनमेवाऽन्ततः स्वीकुर्वीरन् । सिध्यति तथ्यम् अत्रापि यत् स्पन्द-शब्द एव श्रेयान्, न पाश्चात्याभिमत्तः स्पन्द-शब्दः । सायणार्थस्वीकारेऽपि 'स्पन्द्रासः' इति मरुतां विशेषणम् । मरुतोऽपि न स्पन्दन्ते, अपि तु तेषां क्षिप्रगत्या दुमादीनाम् अतिमात्रस्पन्दनात् तैः साकं स्पन्दत्यर्थस्यैव संबन्धः श्रेयान् ।

३. ऋ. ५, ५२, ८ : उत स्म ते शुभे नरः \_ स्पन्द्रा युजत स्मना (सा. उत स्म अपि च, नरः वृष्टेनेतारः, ते मरुतः, शुभे उदकार्थं, प्र युजत प्रायुजत समयोजयन्, त्वना आत्मनैव जगद्रक्षाबुद्धयैव, स्पन्द्राः चलनस्वभावाः पृषतीरित्यर्थः) । सायणस्य मतेन प्रकृते 'स्पन्द्राः' इत्यनेन चलनस्वभावाः पृषत्यो मृग्यो गृह्यन्ते । मरुतां वाहाः पृषत्यो मृग्य इत्याभाणकम् । एवं च सति नरो नेतारः मरुतः शुभे कल्याणाय जगतां, स्ववाहनभूताः स्पन्द्राः चलनस्वभावा मृगीः समयोजयन् इति ऋगर्थः स्पष्टः । पाश्चात्यानां मते तु 'स्पन्द्राः' इति मरुतां विशेषणम् । क्षिप्रगामिनो मरुत इति तदर्थः । किं तु त्रिफिधमहोदयस्तेषाम् *'The heroes, hastening, by themselves have yoked their deer for victory'* = 'वीराः क्षिप्रकारिणः स्वयमेव स्ववाहनभूता मृगीर्विजयार्थं समयोजयन्' इति व्याख्यानानेन स्पष्टं 'स्पन्द्राः' शब्देन 'पृषतीः' जग्राह । एतावता सिध्यति—यत् प्रकृते प्राचामर्वाचामपि च स्पन्द्राः शब्देन पृषतीः मृगीः इत्यर्थोऽभिमत्तः । मृगाणां गतिरपि विक्रमण-पूर्वकत्वात् स्पन्दनविषयतामेव नीयते, न च  $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द}}$  लभतेऽवकाशम् । अत एव शाकुन्तले महाकविः कालिदासो दुष्यन्तशराद् भीतस्याऽऽश्रममृगस्य विक्रमणपूर्विकां स्पन्दनाम् अभिजाताक्षरैश्चित्रयामास—पश्योदग्रप्लुतित्वाद् वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्ध्वां प्रयाति इति । अत्र उदग्रप्लुतित्वाद् एतेन वर्णकेन कविः स्पन्दनमेव समर्थयति न स्पन्दनम् । अतोऽस्यामृचि 'स्पन्द्राः' एव पाठो वरीयान् न 'स्पन्द्राः' इति ।

४. ऋ. ५, ८७, ३ : न वेषामिरी सधस्थ ईष्टे न्नो अग्नयो न स्वविद्युतः । प्र स्पन्द्रासो धुनीनाम् (सा. येषां मरुतां सधस्थे निवासे तिष्ठताम् इरी ईरिता प्रेरिता न ईष्टे आ न ईष्टे च चालयितुम् । आ इति चाऽर्थे । अग्नय इव स्वयमेव विद्योतमानाः, धुनीनां नदीनां स्पन्द्रासः वर्षणेन चालयितारश्च ) । मरुताम् एष स्तवः । न हि मरुतां कश्चिदपि इरी विचालयिता शत्रुः ईष्टे । यतः ते अग्नय इव स्वविद्युतः स्वप्रकाशाः सन्ति । धुनीनां नदीनां च प्र प्रकर्षेण स्पन्द्रासः स्पन्दयितारः प्रवाहयितार इति ऋगर्थः । धुनीसंनियोगेन प्रकृते 'स्पन्द्रासः=स्पन्दयितारः' इत्येवाऽर्थः श्रेयान् । नाऽत्र  $\sqrt{\text{स्पन्द}}$  इत्यस्य कश्चिदप्यर्थः ।

प्रस्रवत्सलिलप्रवाहा धुनयः स्यन्दन्ते, स्यन्द्राः स्यन्दननिपुणा मरुन्ताः स्यन्दयन्ति, इति पाश्चात्त्यैरभिनन्दितः 'स्यन्द्रासः' इति पाठ एवाऽभिमतः प्रतीयते, न सायणाऽभिमतं नदीनां चालनमात्रम् । अत एव त्रिक्रिधमहोदयः—'who urge the roaring rivers' इति व्याख्यानेनाऽस्मदभिमतमेव समर्थयति । अथवा सायणास्याऽपि चालनेन धुनीनां स्यन्दनमेवाऽभिप्रेतम् ।

५. अ. ६, १२, ५ : सद्यो यः स्यद्रौ विषितो धवीयान् ऋणो न तायुरति धुन्वा राट् ( सा. यः अग्निः, स्यन्द्रः स्यन्दनवान्, विषितः विमुक्तः प्रतिबन्धरहितः, अत एव सद्यः शीघ्रं धवीयान् गन्तुतमो भवति । ...क इव ? , ऋणो न तायुः...यथा स्तेनः शीघ्रं गन्ता भवति, तद्वत् सोऽयम् अग्निः धन्व मरुभूमितिकन्य राट् राजते ) ।

अत्र 'स्यन्द्रः, विषितः, धवीयान्' इति त्रीण्यमेरेव विशेषणानि । तत्र अग्नेः सायणाभिमतं स्यन्दनं विरुद्धम् । कामं दीपशिखायाः स्यन्दनं प्रसिद्धम् । अग्नेस्तु ज्वलनं प्रसिद्धम् । अत एव श्रुत्या 'अति धुन्वा राट्' इत्येभिरक्षरैर् अतिराजनं=ज्वलनमेव समर्थ्यते । यदि सामान्यतः 'स्यन्द्रः' इत्यस्य पाश्चात्याभिमतः स्यन्द्रः=आशुगामित्वस्वभाव इत्यर्थो गृह्यते 'धवीयान्' इत्यनेन विरोधः । सायणस्य संगतिः—'सद्यः शीघ्रं धवीयान् गन्तुतम इति' उभयोः समानार्थकत्वेन धुतौ पौनस्त्यप्रसङ्गान् । पुनः कः समाधिः ? अत्र शब्दो वस्तुतः 'स्यन्द्रः' इत्येव । स च लुप्तोपमार्थीयः । प्रस्रवज्जलाऽऽह्व<sup>वि</sup> इवेति तदाशयः । त्रिक्रिधमहोदयोऽपि 'like a rushing flood' इति व्याख्यानेनाऽस्मदभिमतमेव द्रष्टव्यम् । एतावता एष अर्थः स्फुरितो भवति 'यथा जलाप्लावः विषितः विमुक्तः प्रतिबन्धरहितः, धवीयान् निम्नप्रदेशेषु शीघ्रं गन्ता भवति, तथाऽग्निरपि क्षुपतृणादिप्रकीर्णै वन्ये स्थले निर्बाधं प्रसरति । शुष्कतृण-पल्लवादिषु निर्बाधं प्रसरणमेवाऽग्नेः स्यन्द्रत्वम् । अत्र तायुः = तस्करः उपमानम् । तस्करोऽपि बन्धन-विमुक्तो निर्जनेषु वनेषु याथाकामी धावति, अग्निरपि तस्कर इव धन्वा धन्वदेशं धवीयान् स्यन्द्रः सन् अतिराजते । अनेनाऽयं निष्कर्षो निस्सरीत यद् अत्र 'स्यन्द्रः' इति पाश्चात्याभिमत एव श्रेयान् इति ।

६. अ. १०, ४२, ५ : धुनं न स्यन्द्रं बहुलं यो अस्मै तीव्रान्स्त्रोमौ आसुनोति प्रयस्वान् (सा. प्रयस्वान् हविष्मान्, यः यजमानः, स्यन्द्रं स्यन्दनशीलं गवाश्वदिकं, बहुलं प्रभूतं धनं, न । यथा दरिद्राय पात्रभूताय दातुं संस्करोति, तद्वत्, अस्मै इन्द्राय, तीव्रान् सोमान्, सोमान् आ सुनोति अभिषुनोति) ।

अत्र 'सोमान्' इत्युपमेयम्, 'तीव्रान्' इति तस्य विशेषणम् । एवम् 'धुनम्' इत्युपमानम्, 'स्यन्द्रम्' तस्य विशेषणम् । 'न' इति सामान्यवचनम् । यथाऽभिषुयसाणानां सोमानाम् इन्द्रप्रीतये तीव्रत्वम् अपेक्ष्यते, तथा दातुर्धनमपि स्यन्द्रं स्यन्दनशीलं प्रस्रवद्-वारिप्रवाह इव दरिद्राणां कृते दातुर्हस्तात् स्वत एव स्वस्वस्वभावम् अपेक्षितं भवति । तदानीमेव धर्मसामान्यात् सिध्यत्युपमालंकारः । सायणा-ऽभिमतान् 'स्यन्दनशीलं गवाश्वदिकम्' इत्यर्थेनाऽत्र न सिध्यत्यर्थः । अतः समानश्रुतिकेऽध्वर्वेदेऽपि (२०, ८९, ५) 'स्यन्द्रम्' इत्येव पाठोऽधिगन्तव्यः, न तु मुद्रितः 'स्यन्द्रम्' इति पकारविशिष्टः पाठः ।

अनेन विचारेण निर्गलितं भवति यत् अ. १, १८०, ९; ५, ५२, ३; ८ इति त्रिषु स्थलेषु तु भारतीयैर्वैदिकैरभिनन्दितः 'स्यन्द्र-' इति पाठः श्रेयान् । अन्यत्र अ. ५, ८७, ३ ; ६, १२, ५ ; १०, ४२, ५ एतेषु त्रिषु स्थलेषु पाश्चात्याऽभिमतः 'स्यन्द्र-' इति च पाठः श्रेयान् इति ।

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By

VIJAYACHANDRA SHASTRI, *Hoshiarpur.*

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## Some Dubious Vedic Readings

SURYAKANTA, *Jullhndhar*.

(1) RV. VII, 18, 18 reads :

शुश्वन्ता इह शुश्रवा राशुष्ट भद्रस्य चच्छ्रुधता वन्द रान्धम् ।

Sāyaṇa explains व्दि by लभस्व taking it as imp. 2nd pr. sg. of √विद् 'to find'. Other commentators follow him. But the hymn is a historical one ; it extols the heroic deeds performed by Indra, using various verbs in the perfect, imperfect and aorist throughout the hymn<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly, I take व्दि to be व्दिः i. e., augmentless imperfect 2nd pr. sg. of √विद्. If it be so, व्दि रान्धम् will be a case of irregular abbreviation<sup>2</sup>.

(2) AV. V, 21, 8 reads :

यैरिन्द्रः प्रक्रीडते पद्मेष्विच्छायया सह ।

'with what foot-noises Indra plays together with shadow'. पद्मेष्विच्छायया can be read as पद्मेष्विच्छायया which is equal to ज्याषोष- of the succeeding verse; पद्- being a synonym of ज्या- (cf. *Amarkosa*). For sandhi cf. पद्नीश- ।

(3) *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (Āndhra recension) X. 63, reads :

तिलात्तुहोमि सरसौ सपिन्धान् गन्धार मम चित्ते रमन्तु ।

So it occurs in the *Mahānirāyaṇopaniṣad* (II. 63). Sāyaṇa explains : गन्ध उत्तमद्रेहसौरभ्यम् अस्यास्तीति गन्धारः, तत्सम्बुद्धौ हे गन्धार परमात्मन् ।

This explanation is strained and there is no sense in introducing Paramātmān here. Moreover, it leaves the metre defective. This is felt by Vishva Bandhu Shastri, who suggests the emendation गन्धार मम...>गन्धार (?) अरं मम... (cf. his *A Vedic Word-Concordance* Vol. III, pp. 289 and 1009 under गन्ध and अरम् respectively). I should, however, read here \*गन्धारवो मम making \*गन्धार- (=गन्धारु) 'fragrant' गन्धारवः as adjective of तिलाः । I suspect the letter वो has been dropped out for which cf. तस्येन्द्रो (MS. III 8, 3; 95, 5). There all the mss. read तस्य इन्द्रो which Schroeder emends into तस्येन्द्रो but the original reading was तस्य वा इन्द्रो and so it is given in the *Padapāṭha*. वै seems to have been

1. cf. अकृणोत्, अतरत्, अनयत्, अविव्यक्, अरन्धयत्, अकृणोत्, निवृणक्, ददत्, तुनुदे, मिमाय, चकार जघान, अवृक्षत् and प्रायच्छत् in verses 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17, respectively.

2 But in verses 2 and 4 and in 18 itself, we have two imp. 2nd pr. sg. forms and an imper. 3rd pr. sg. indicating the poet's prayer to Indra. It seems that Indri's universal conquest is cited in VII, 18, 18 (which is a subordinate clause) to reinforce the prayer that he should curb the evil man Bheda also, who was inimical to Indra himself (AV. VII, 4, 49) and is hostile to his present devotees (RV. VII. 83, 4). If understood in this way, there would be no need at all to emend the last two words of the text so as to involve an admittedly 'irregular abbreviation'-Ed.

dropped out and the *Saṃhitā* mss. let तस्य इन्द्रो remain without effecting *guṇa-sandhi*. For confusion of र and ल cf. हिमेरवः (MS. IV. 2, 14 : 37, 17). Here हिमेरु=हिमेरु (cf. *Varttika* on Pāṇini V, 2, 122). °र वः was read as °रवः and this was corrected into, by the *Pada* ms. which reads हि । मेवः ॥

(4) *Kaṣṭhalakṣha* V, 9 : 57, 10 reads :

सा न व्यौच्छद् अरेकस्यत् पशुषु. The passage yields little sense. I should propose : अरम् क्लस्यत् पशुषु 'she did not shine well, when the cattle were suffering.' For √क्लस् (= क्लस् ?) cf. (गावः) कश्यपस्य कम्बुभ्युदस्ता इन्द्रस्याक्लस्ताः (MS. IV, 2, 9 : 32. 4). Here Schroeder corrects उद्भस्ताः into °हताः. Accent ensures(?) that it is a compound and in a compound the presence of *vibhakti* is rather unusual. I should propose कण्डूत्युद्धताः (cf. *Pada* ms. which gives कण्डूतिऽउद्धताः).

(5) MS. III, 6, 9 : 72, 11, reads :

ततोऽन्नम् मनुव्यान् उपावर्तन्त. Here °वर्तन्त may be read as °वर्तेत (cf. *Padapāṭha*).

(6) Ms. IV, 2, 5 : 27, 4 : न मे तद् उपदम्भिषः. Here read न मे (cf. *Padapāṭha* and also *Āṅg-S.* IV, 10, 4 न म इदम्...).

(7) MS. IV, 2, 10 : 33. 1 reads, सं पोषा सं बृहस्पतिः, here पोषा may be पूषा (cf. the *Brāhmaṇa* portion : सं पूषेति पुष्टिर्व पूषा).

(8) MS. IV, 2, 13 : 36, 15, reads असुरा अतुहायस्पात्रेण स्रवता भूतिं च पराभूतिं च दुहे आतृव्यायाभूतिं च पराभूतिं च यु एवं वेद । Here read स्रवताभूतिं correcting the accent into "ता" (= "ता" । अ" as is clear from the context).

(9) MS. IV, 3, 3 : 42, 14 : अवधीत् is a misprint for वधीत् ।

(10) MS. IV, 3, 8 : 47, 4 ; 6 : तद् राष्ट्रम् भोजस्वी भवति...तेजस्वी भवति may be °स्वि as is given in *Padapāṭha* (and suggested by Schroeder in his fn.—Ed.)

(11) MS. IV, 3, 10 ; 49, 14 : तस्माद् वा एतस्माद्दुरसी राजा पुण्या इति. Here the *Pada* ms. gives 'आसीत् । राजा' and this may be correct<sup>1</sup>.

(12) MS. IV, 2, 3 : 24, 13 : 'तस्माद् एषा क्षाश्वसयेति' ( P. = एषा आशा स्वशती ) । आशा cf. *Pada* text.) may be आशाः 'quarters', or the correct

1. The emendation आसीत् could not be justified in the light of the accent as we have it on सी. The repeated references to रसि in the context, favours the acceptance of रसी as now found, as the correct reading here with a slight typographical correction of the published text in regard to the preceding word आहुः in conformity with the Sandhi rules (Pān. VI, 3, 111). The retention of रसी is logically demanded by the preceding line रसमग्निम् दधति तस्माद्वा एतस्माद्दुः । The reading आसीत् is obviously a corrupt one as would appear from its relegation to a fn. in Schroeder's edn. The uniform use of the present tense in this context in अग्निपिबन्ति, संभरन्ति, दधति, and of आहुः itself, in the conclusion, rules out a form like आसीत् in the past tense, in the subordinate clause. There seems thus no justification to interfere with the reading रसी as we have it in the text. — Ed.

reading may be एषा शास्वसती'.

(13) MS. IV, 14, 4: 220, 9 reads :-

'सुषो रूपं कृणुते द्यौरुपस्ये, द्यौः here may be द्योः<sup>2</sup> and so it is read in RV. i, 115, 5.

(14) RV. IV, 40, 4 reads :-

ऋतुं दधिक्रा अनु संतवीश्वत्<sup>3</sup> पथामङ्गास्यन्वापनीकणत् । Accent on संतवी<sup>4</sup> and आपनी<sup>5</sup> assures that the two are participles. Śāyana rightly explains संत<sup>6</sup> by प्रबृद्धवलवान् सन् but paraphrases अन्वा<sup>7</sup> sic आ<sup>8</sup> by सर्वतो मृशं गच्छति which is wrong<sup>4</sup>.

The fact is pādas a, b, c, and d, all combined make one sentence and the only verb in the stanza is तुरणप्रति. Yāska : *Nirukta* II, 28 comments :- अनुसंतवीश्वत् तनोते: पूर्वया प्रकृत्या निगमः । आपनीकणदिति कणते: चर्करीतवृत्तम् ।

He derives तवीश्वत् from the simple original form of √तन् but makes पनीकणत् intensive of √कण. This is a riddle and Durga, Skanda and other commentators on *Nirukta* have failed to explain it. Now Pāṇini (VII. 3, 95) prescribes the insertion of -र- in case of √तु before a सार्वधातुक suffix; and it is exactly on this account that Yāska takes the तवीश्वत् form in सार्वधातुक in जुहोत्यादिगण with its usual reduplication(?). In आपनी<sup>5</sup> he gets from intensive reduplication (for which cf. *Kaśikā* on Pāṇini VII, 4, 65). The reading तनोते: etc. would, however, suggest that it is from √तन् 'to stretch.' But the root √तन् does not get -र- in सार्वधातुक and so there would be a contradiction between 'तनोते:' and 'पूर्वया प्रकृत्या'. Surely, Yāska had before him तवीश्वत् and not तनीश्वत्. The difficulty is at once cleared if we read तवीते: in place of तनोते:. The change of तवीते: into तनोते: is easy; but the mistake is old and uniform in all the manuscripts. It has led almost all the commentators into manifold difficulties.

1. There seems, however, to be no need for any emendation here as the text is clear enough with एषा (sg.) standing for the subj. (भूमिः) and शास्वसती fem. pres. part. freq. form of √श्वस्. The form is also attested by RV. i, 30, 16 and X, 48, 6. There are difficulties in accepting the suggested emendation as आशाः in the sense of quarters will have to be accented on the first syllable and the change of the original palatal s to dental s for स्वशाती and शास्वसती would be quite arbitrary. —Ed.

2. It may, however, have to be accorded a status in its own right and explained grade-wise as follows :-

(i) \*द्यव्- > \*द्यवस् (gen.) > \*द्या उस् > द्यौस् (MS.),

(ii) द्यव्- > द्यवस् (gen.) > द्यौस् > द्यौस् (RV.) —Ed.

3. cf. Grassmann : *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, as intensive part., while Sarup : *Woolner Commemoration Vol.* p. 234, misunderstands it as intensive subj. 3rd pr. sg. Śāyana has paraphrased अनु separately by अनुसत्य. This particle has dropped off from his text and has to be supplied even in its latest Poona edition—Ed.

4. cf. *Kaśikā* on Pāṇini VII, 4, 65 where आपनीकणत् is rightly described as a participle.

## A Remarkable Gatha Verse.

By

I. J. S. TARAFORWALA, *Bombay.*

The usual idea among Zoroastrian and Iranian scholars is that the doctrine of reincarnation is nowhere clearly mentioned in Zoroastrian Scriptures. There is clear mention of this doctrine, however, in the *DescVt'r*, a later work in queer type of Persian. This work though regarded by some sections of Zoroastrians as authentic, has been regarded by most scholars as a forged document. At any rate, we are told that none of the Zoroastrian scriptural books either in the Avesta language or in the Pahlavi makes any clear mention of this doctrine.

Of course, we may conclude, by implication, that Zoroastrianism might have taught reincarnation. The great law of *karma* 'as you sow, so shall you surely reap' is clearly enunciated in the Gathas. It is even mentioned how evil people though successful in the beginning get frustrated in the end and that then they turn to the path of right. So, by indirect inference we may say that reincarnation is not impossible in the teaching of Zarathushtra. But as there is no positive mention of it we can say at best that it is 'not proven'.

Such was my own opinion for many years until I carefully studied the text of the Gathas themselves, which are universally acknowledged to be the teaching of the prophet himself. I found in them very clear enunciation of the law of *karma*, but reincarnation as such was not to be found in the first two gathas.

The late Mr. Sohrab J. Balsara, one of the finest of our Parsi scholars, however, held that the word *zazente* in the first Gatha (Yasna 30. 10) was the intensive of *Vzan* 'to be born' and so he thought that this was the clearest indication that reincarnation was taught by Zarathushtra. But I do not agree with this view. The word is an intensive, but of *>za* (Skt. *Vha*) and means 'strive constantly'; so we cannot say it is a direct mention.

But in the third gatha (Spenta-Mainyu), we have a remarkable verse which to my mind clearly sets forth the doctrine of *rebirth*. This is Yasna 49. 11; and many years ago a friend of mine had written about it in a Parsi magazine. But as his translation had some obvious grammatical errors, I merely suspended my judgement until I reached the verse in the course of my studies.

Having studied the verse carefully now, I have come to the conclusion that my friend was correct in his premise. His erroneous

construction does not alter the conclusion that this verse does mention the return of the souls in clear words.

I give below the original verse and the translation word for word. It is in the *tristubh* metre:

at<sup>1</sup> dush<sup>2</sup>-khshathreng<sup>3</sup> dush<sup>4</sup>-shyaothneng<sup>5</sup> dush<sup>6</sup>-vacanbo<sup>7</sup>,  
 dush<sup>8</sup>-daenong<sup>9</sup> dush-mananho<sup>11</sup> dregvato<sup>12</sup>;  
 akaish<sup>13</sup> khvarethaish<sup>14</sup> paite<sup>15</sup> Urvano<sup>16</sup> (paiti)<sup>17</sup> yeinti<sup>18</sup>,  
 Drujo<sup>19</sup> Demane<sup>20</sup> haithya<sup>21</sup> anhen<sup>22</sup> astayo<sup>23</sup>.

'But<sup>1</sup> among evil<sup>2</sup>- rulers\*, evil\*- doers<sup>5</sup> (and) evil<sup>6</sup>- speakers<sup>7</sup>,  
 among evil-<sup>s</sup> Egos,<sup>9</sup> evil<sup>10</sup> thinkers<sup>11</sup> (and) followers-of-Untruth<sup>12</sup>;  
 souls<sup>1</sup>\* do come<sup>18</sup> again<sup>15</sup> on account of (their) dim<sup>1</sup>\* insight<sup>1</sup>\*,  
 in (this) Abode<sup>20</sup> of Untruth<sup>19</sup> these<sup>22</sup> in fact<sup>21</sup> the dwellers.<sup>23</sup>

The five compounds beginning with *dush* are all in the accusative and are plural. The accusative is due to the verb of motion, *paiti...* *yeinti* (Skt. *prati, yanti*).

*Dregvato* is also accusative plural. The word means 'the followers of *Druj* 'Untruth'.

The third line is metrically more than eleven syllables<sup>1</sup>, and so the second *paiti* (the repeated *upasarga*) should be omitted.

*akaish khvarethaish*: both the words are instrumental plural, the adjective *aka* means 'bad', here 'ineffective'. The word *khvarc̥tha* (nature) has been usually translated as 'food'. The word occurs in the Gatha in two other places Yasna 34. 11 and 48.5, and in Yasna 31.20 and 53.6 we get the compound *dush-khvaretha*. Bartholomae has everywhere translated this word as 'food' and in the last mentioned two passages he translates 'bad food' which seems a closer parallel to the verse we are considering. This translation of the word by 'food' can ultimately be traced back to the Pahlavi rendering. In Pahlavi there is the verb *khvartan* (Persian *khurdan*) 'to eat', whence this misunderstanding of the Avesta word. Horn has pointed out (Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologies 507) that the Persian word means also 'to drink' and so he thinks it may be connected with the word *hura* (Skt. *sura*) 'wine' which in its turn may be traced back to *jhu* (Skt. *Vsu*) 'to distil, to press out'. From this I conclude that the Avesta word *khvarc̥tha* has no connection with the Pahlavi word *khvartan* 'to eat'. This is all the more probable when we remember that we have not got in Skt. any word meaning 'to eat' or 'to drink' which

*L* In considering Avesta metre, a safe rule is to put the words in their Skt. forms and then count the *syllables*. This is due to the extra vowels so often inserted in Avesta words.

may be equated phonetically. The Gatha word can be traced back to *^ikhavar Uhvar*) which is Skt. *svar* 'to shine', ' Geldner has mentioned (Drei Yasht, p. 2, footnote 3) the Skt. *surta* from RV. X, 82, 4 and the negative *asurta* (RV.X. 82.4 and AV.X. 3.9), which mean 'light' and 'darkness' respectively. And our words *svar* (heaven), *surya* (the sun) etc. can ultimately be traced to this root. So, I would translate the Avesta *khvartha* as 'light'. Here the 'light' is the inner light of spirituality. The 'bad light', implies the dim light of the inner spirit. We might compare the 'darkness visible' in Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

*paiti ... yemte* : upon the rendering of this verb rests the whole meaning of the verse. Bartholomae has translated 'go forth to meet', which he explains further by adding that 'the souls of those liars who have died earlier and have preceded the others to hell go forth with foul food to welcome these later arrivals'. In this he has followed more or less faithfully the Pahlavi version. We must never forget that the Pahlavi version of the Gathas is separated from the original by at least twelve centuries, probably many more, and so it is as unreliable for the interpretation of the Gathas as Sayajia is for that of the Vedic verses.

Moreover, in Yasna 34.6 and 50.9 we get the same *paiti^i* again and there Bartholomae himself has translated 'come back.' In Veda too, the verb means 'to come back'.

The 'Abode of Untruth', is our word as contrasted with the Higher World where Truth dwells. We mortals guided only by the 'dim light' of our own souls have to come back to this 'Abode of Untruth' and live among all sorts of evil persons until the light of Truth is perceived.

## Five Similes in the Rgveda.

By

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The उपमा is the most frequently used figure of speech in the Rgveda as in classical Sanskrit literature. As in the latter, the उपमा employed in many passages belongs to the type known as धर्मरूपोपमा<sup>1</sup> (उपमा in which the word expressing the सामान्यधर्म is lacking), while in some passages, it is combined with श्लेष. The R.V. passages containing such similes have not always been rightly understood by the exegetists; and the interpretations proposed by them in respect of not only such passages but of others also in which the word expressing the सामान्यधर्म is not lacking, are oftentimes wide of the mark, as is shown by the following instances :—

(1) II, 2, 2 : अग्नि त्वा नक्तरीर् उपसो ववाशिरेऽग्ने वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनुवः ।

दिव इवेदरतिर् मानुषा युगा वृषो भासि पुरुवार संयतः ॥

This verse, which is addressed to Agni, was 'seen' by Gṛtsamada. It is explained by Sāyaṇa as follows :—

हे अग्ने त्वा स्वाम् अग्निं प्रति नक्तीः रात्रीः उपसः अहानि सर्वासु रात्रिषु सर्वेष्वप्यहःसु । यद्वा नक्त-  
शब्दः सायंकालं लक्षयति सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रस्य सन्नावात् । सर्वेषु कालेषु सायंप्रातःकालेषु वा ववाशिरे  
आकांक्षन्ते यजमानाः वस्तुम् । यद्वा अहानि रात्रयश्च त्वामेव कामयन्ते होतुम् । काले कर्मणश्चोदनात्  
कालानां कामनमुपचर्यते । तत्र इष्टान्तः— स्वसरेषु स्वयंसरणशीलेष्वहःसु सुखसरणाधिकरणेषु  
गोष्ठेषु वा धेनवो वत्सं न । वत्समिव । किञ्च हे पुरुवार, बहुभिर्दरणीयाग्ने संयतो नियतस्त्वं दिव इव  
ग्रहोक्तस्यैव भरतिः ध्यातो विस्तृतः । तत्रत्यानां देवानां हविःप्रदानायैव सर्वत्र ध्यात इत्यर्थः । मानुषा  
मानुषाणां यजमानानां संबन्धीनि युगा युगानि । युगशब्दः कालोपलक्षकः प्रातरादिसवनानि । सर्वेषु  
सर्वेषु अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । श्लेषः रात्रीः सर्वासु रात्रिष्वपि आभासि समन्ताद् दृश्यसे ।

Ludwig translates (I, 321 ; no. 295) the verse as : 'At night, and in the morning, they have cried loudly towards thee, O Agni, as the milch-cows, in the sheds, towards the calf. As the messenger of Heaven, thou sheddest light likewise through all nights on the generations of men, thou that possessest many excellent things', and, in his commentary (IV, 28, 7) cites with approval Sāyaṇa's explanation आकांक्षन्ते यजमानाः. Similarly, Geldner (R.V. Uber.) translates the verse as : 'Towards thee, O Agni, have they cried (all) nights and days, as milch-cows towards the calf after grazing in the early morning. Like the guide of heaven, i. e., the sun (in the day) throughout man's life, thou shinest in all the night successively, thou (that fulfillst) the wishes of many'; and in his explanatory note, he writes that the word 'they' refers to hymns of praise, as indicated by IX, 94, 2, and that, alternatively, one can, bearing II, 4, 3 in mind, regard नक्तीरुपसः as forming the subject of ववाशिरे.

1. cf. chap. उपमालङ्कार n *Kuvalayananda*.

Grassmann translates the verse as: The Nights and Mornings have cried loudly towards thee, O Agni, as cows in their sheds cry towards the calf. Thou, the servant of Heaven, shinest on races of men for continuous series of nights, thou rich in gifts'. Similarly, Oldenberg explains it as i Tor thee, Nights and Dawns have been lowing, O Agni, as milch-cows in their folds for their calf. A steward, as it were, of Heaven, thou shinest on the human tribes, O bountiful one, on continuous nights' in SBE. 46, p. 193 and observes in hi\* RV. Tsföten (I, 189) that the meaning of the sentence अग्निं स्वा नक्षीरुषसो दवाशिरे is, 'the Nights and Dawns have roared towards thee\* and not 'they have cried loudly towards thee at nights and at dawns'. This is the opinion of Bloomfield (RV. Rep., p. 162) and of Bergaigne (2, 15) also.

The explanations given above fall under two groups : (1) those in which the words नक्षीरुषसः are regarded as being in the nominative case, forming the subject of दवाशिरे and having e.g. धेनवः as उपमान and (2) those in which they are regarded as accusative forms, and some other word or words are supplied or understood as the subject of दवाशिरे in the उपमेयवाक्य. To the former group belong the explanations of Grassman and Oldenberg and the second explanation of Sāyaṇa and to the latter, those of Ludwig and Geldner and the first explanation of Sāyaṇa<sup>1</sup>. Both groups of explanations are based on the belief that the words वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनवः constitute the उपमान, i.e., that the word धेनवः forms part of the उपमान and cannot be the subject of दवाशिरे in the उपमेयवाक्य. This belief is erroneous ; the word धेनु signifies not only 'milch-cow', but, as recognised by the author of the Nighaṅṭu (1, 11) 'hymn of praise (vāc)' also ; and it has been employed by the ṛṣi in both these senses in this verse. In other words, the उपमा is combined here with श्लेष, and the construction of the first half-verse is, हे अग्ने स्वसरेषु वत्सं नक्षीरुषसः स्वामग्निं धेनवो दवाशिरे. The meaning of the verse therefore is: 'O Agni, the dhenus (hymns of praise or milch-cows) have lowed towards thee, at nights and at dawns, as towards the calf at सन्ध्या times. Being bright, thou shinest, at nights as (also) in the days, continuously on generations of men, O thou that hast many desirable things.'

Compare in connection with the first half-verse, II, 24, 2 ; धियः विन्वाणाः स्वसरे न गाव ऋतायन्शीरमि वावन्न इन्दुम्, 'Oozing, (milk ; desirable things) like cows in सन्ध्या times, the holy hymns, have lowed towards Soma'. in which verse too the hymns 'lowing' towards a deity are compared to cows lowing (towards the calf) in सन्ध्या times. While the ṛṣi of this verse (Kaṇva) has made use of two words, धियः and गावः, to express the ideas of 'hymns' and 'cows', the ṛṣi of II, 2, 2 (Gṛtsamada) has resorted to and employed but one word, धेनवः to express the two ideas. Compare also IX, 19, 4 : अवावन्नन्त चीतयो दृषभस्याधि रेतसि । सुनोर्वत्सस्य मातरः ; IX, 66, 11 : अष्ठा क्रोशं मधुश्चुतम्-सुश्रं वारे अभ्यये । अवावन्नन्त चीतयः ; IX, 86, 31 : सं चीतयो वावसाणा अनूषत सिद्धं रिद्धन्ति मत्तयः पुनिमत्तम् ; and VII, 5, 5 : स्वामग्ने हरितो वावसाणा गिरः सचन्ते पुनवो दवाशीः ,

1. The explanation given by me in *Vedic Studies I*, 92 belongs to the second group.

in which √वञ्च् 'to low' is used in connection with hymns of praise (धीतवः, गिरः) and likewise IX, 97, 35: सोमं गावो धेनवो वावशानाः सोमं विप्रा मतिभिः पृच्छमानाः ; III, 57, 3: अन्धा पुत्रं धेनवो वावशाना महश्चरन्ति विश्रतं वपुषि and I, 73, 6: श्रुतस्य हि धेनवो वावशानाः स्मदूध्नीः पीपयन्व द्युमक्ताः in which that verb is used in connection with milch-cows (धेनवः).

स्वसर denotes the time in which the cows return home from the pasture after grazing and are milked ; सन्ध्या time (see *Ved. Studies* I, 82 ff). According to the description of Indian poets, the milch-cows not only cry out loudly towards their calves at that time, but ooze milk from their udders and are eager (उत्सुक, सत्वर) to rejoin them. Compare II, 34, 8 :—

धेनुर्न शिश्वे स्वसरेषु पिन्वते जनाय रातृहविषे महीमिषम्,

'They ooze copious refreshment for the person who offers oblations to them, as the milch-cow for the calf at सन्ध्या times; VIII, 88, 1:—

अभि वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनव इन्द्रं गोभिर्नवामहे,

'We cry towards Indra with our hymns, as milch-cows towards their calf at सन्ध्या times'; *Yādavābhyudaya*, 4, 89: स नैचिकीः प्रत्यहमातपान्ते प्रत्युक्त-धोषा इव वत्सनादैः । मधूनि वंश-ध्वनिभिः प्रयच्छन् निनाय भूयोऽपि निवासभूमिम् ; *S'rīmadbhāgavata*, X, 13, 23-24 : सायं गतो यामयमेन माधवः । गावस्ततो गोष्ठमुपेत्य सत्वरम् ॥ हुंकारधोषैः परिहृतसंगतान् । स्वकान्स्वकान् वत्सतरानपाययन् । मुहुर्लिहन्त्यः स्रवदोधसं पयः ; *Yāsastilaka-campū*, 2, p. 10 : विमुच्यमानेषु सन्धयोपासनाञ्जलिमुकुलेषु... मुखरीभवत्सु मध्यमाने-ष्वर्णवार्यैःस्विवाभ्यर्णतर्णकस्वनाकर्णनोदीर्णन धेनुष्यानां दीर्घरग्मितरवेण गोपुरमुखेषु; *Kirātārjunīya*, 4, 10, and 31 : उपारताः पश्चिमरात्रिगोचराद् अपारयन्तः पतितुं जवेन गाम् । तमुत्सुकाश्चक्रुरवेक्ष गो-त्सुकं गवां गणाः प्रस्तुतपीवरोधसः ॥ विहारभूमरामिषोषमुत्सुकाः शरीरजेभ्यश्च्युतयूथपङ्क्तयः । असक्तमूधांसि पयः क्षरन्त्यमूलपायनानीव नयन्ति धेनवः ; *Raghuvamśā*, 1, 84, and 2, 22 : मुषं कोष्णेन कुण्डोध्नी मेघ्येनावभृथादपि । प्रसवेणाभिवर्षन्ती वत्सालोकप्रवर्तिना ॥ वत्सोत्सुकापि स्तिमिता सपर्या प्रत्यग्रहीत्सेति नवन्दतुस्तौ ; *Harṣacarita (Nirṇayasāgara* ed. of 1912), p. 80 : दिवसविहृतिप्रत्यागतं स्तनन्धये धयति धेनुवर्गम्, उद्गतक्षीरं क्षुधित-तर्णकव्रते. Compare also X, 75, 4 : अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशुमिन्न मातरौ वाश्ना अर्षन्ति पयसेव धेनवः

'O Sindhu, they (i. e. the rivers) run to thee, roaring and (overflowing) with water, as lowing milch-cows run to their calf (at सन्ध्या times), as mothers run to their child, with milk (oozing from their udders or breasts)'. पयस् water and also milk ; पयसा is to be construed with (प्रवतः) मातरः<sup>1</sup> and धेनवः also, and वाश्नाः with प्रवतः and धेनवः<sup>2</sup>. [ 1. According to the description of Indian poets, women too ooze milk from the breasts when they think of their children. Compare, for instance, *S'rīmadbhāgavata* X, 7, 34 : एकदाऽर्भकमादाय स्वाङ्गमारोप्य मामिनी । प्रस्तुतं पाययामास स्तनं स्नेहपरिप्लुता ; *ibid.* X, 9, 5 : तमङ्गमारुढमपाययत्स्तनं स्नेहस्तुतं सस्मित-मीक्षती मुखम् ; *ibid.* X, 11, 14 : श्रीदन्तं सा सुतैर्बालमतिवेलं सहाप्रजम् । यशोदाऽजोहवीत् कृष्णं पुत्रस्नेहस्तुतस्तनी ; *Kādambarī* (Peterson's ed. in BSS), p. 94 : [सा तु] ... .. प्रस्तुतपयोधरक्षरत्पयोविन्दुच्छलेन द्रवीभूय स्नेहाकुलेन निर्गच्छतेव हृदयेन ... .. तं सुचिर-

माशिदलेष; *ibid.* p. 342 : रयोन्मुक्तजर्जरभिर्नयनजलधाराभिः प्रस्रवेण च सिञ्चन्ती महीतलं... गाङ्गमालिङ्गयाङ्गनि ; *Harṣacarita*, p. 166 : स्मरन्ती प्रस्तुतस्तनी प्रसन्नदिवसादारभ्य सकलमङ्ग-  
शायिनः शैशवम् ।

2. Were the RV. ṛṣis, perchance acquainted with a word वाञ्छ formed from √वञ्च् 'to desire' ( कान्ठौ ) by the addition of the suffix र and with lengthening of the radical *a* as in ताम्-र ( from √वञ्च् ) and वास्-ञ-र ( from √वञ्च् 'to shine' )? If so, वाञ्छाः should be construed with मातरः also in this verse, and the expression न मातरो वाञ्छाः would be equivalent to उशतीरिव मातरः of X, 9, 2. Likewise, वाञ्छा would have to be interpreted as 'longing' in other RV. verses also. ]

The above-cited two verses (II, 2, 2 and IX, 94, 2) too belong to this category, and the idea of 'eagerness (hurry)' is implicit in the similes employed in them.

The particle of comparison इव in *pāda c* is really equivalent to च 'and', and the expression दिव इव क्षप आ भासि मानुषा युगा signifies 'thou shinest at nights and in days on generations of men'. Compare VI, 3, 6 : नक्तं य इन्म अरुषो थो दिवा नून् who shines brightly on men by night and by day' that is likewise addressed to Agni. अरति=bright, brilliant; see *Ved. Studies* 1, 104.

(2) I, 71, 1 : उप प्रजिन्वन्नुशतीरुशन्ते पतिं न नित्यं जनयः सनीळाः ।

स्वसारः इयावीमरुषीमञ्जुष्विप्रमुच्छन्तीमुषसं न गावः ॥

This verse is addressed to Agni. It is explained by Sāyaṇa as : उशती-  
रुशत्यः कामयमानाः । सनीळाः । नीळो निवासस्थानम् । समाननिवासस्थाना एकपाण्यवस्थानात् ।  
स्वसारः । स्वसार इत्यङ्गुलिनाम । एवंभूता अङ्गुलयः । उशन्तं कामयमानमग्निं जनयो जायाः । नित्यम्  
असाधारणं पतिं न भर्तारमिव । उपप्रजिन्वन् उप आगत्य हविःप्रदानादिकर्मणा प्रीणयन्ति । प्रीणयित्वा  
च चित्रं चायनीयं पूजनीयं तमग्निमञ्जुष्विप्रमुच्छन्तेनाञ्जुष्व् असेवन्त । तत्र दृष्टान्तः—इयावी इयाववर्णा रात्रि-  
सम्बन्धात् कृष्णां तत उच्छन्तीं सूर्यकिरणसम्बन्धात्तमो वजेयन्तीम् । अत एवारुषीम् आरोचमानां  
यद्वा शुभ्ररूपयुक्ताम् उषसं न । उषोदेवतां गावो रश्मयो यथा सेवन्ते तद्गत् । यथा रश्मय उषसा  
नित्यसम्बद्धाः एवं सर्वेषु यज्ञेषु अग्निपरिचरणेन अङ्गुलयो नित्यसम्बद्धा इति तात्पर्यार्थः ; by  
*Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava* as, उपाचरन् । कामयमानाः कामयमानं पतिमिव असाधारणं जायाः  
एकपतिकाः । अङ्गुलय एकस्मात्पाणरूपज्ञाः । अङ्गुलिकरणात् । इयाववर्णम् आरोचनशीलम् असे-  
र्वीहिम् । चित्रम् । अञ्जुष्व् सेवन्ते चित्रम् उच्छन्तीम् उषसम् इवरश्मयः; and by *Skandasuāmin*  
as, उपेत्युपसर्गश्रुतेयोग्यक्रियाध्याहारः । उपगम्य । प्रजिन्वन् । जिन्वतिः प्रीतिकर्मा । प्रीणयन्ति  
प्रीणितवत्सो वाग्निम् । काः । सामर्थ्यादाहुतयः । कथम् । उशतीरुशन्तं पतिं न नित्यं कौमारं जनयो  
जायाः सनीळाः समानगृहाः । यथैकगृहासिन्धो भर्त्याः परस्परस्पर्धया तैलैरुपचारविशेषैः कौमारं  
भर्तारं कामयमानं प्रीणयेयुस्तद्दित्यर्थः । स्वसारः । लुप्तोपममेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । स्वसार इव । यथा च  
मगिन्यो भ्रातरं प्रीणयेयुः तद्दित्यर्थः । अथवा सनीळाः स्वसार इत्येताभ्यामाहुतयः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यन्ते ।  
समानमग्न्यात्स्यं स्थानं यासां ताः सनीळा आहुतयः । अग्नेरैवैकस्य योग्या नान्यस्य कस्यचिदित्यर्थः ।  
ता एवैकयजमानप्रभवत्वात् स्वसारः । स्वयंसारित्वाद्वा । किञ्च अञ्जुष्व् चित्रं सेवन्ते । सेवितवत्सो  
वा विचित्रं पूजनीयं वाग्निम् । कथम् । इयावीमरुषीमुच्छन्तीमुषसम् । अरुषतिर्गत्यर्थः । यथा इयाव-  
वर्णा गमनस्वभाविका च तमांसि विवासयन्तीम् उषसं सेवेरन् तद्गत् । काः । अञ्जुष्व् । उच्यते ।

**गावः । स्तुतयोऽन्न गाव उच्यन्ते । गोभिर्यद् ईम् अन्ये अस्मत् RV. VIII, 2.6. इति यथा । यथा आहुतयोऽग्निं प्रीणयन्ति प्रीणितवत्सो वा स्तुतयोऽपि स्तुवन्ति स्तुतवत्सो वेत्यर्थः ।**

Oldenberg translates the verse as, 'The loving (women) have (amorous-ly) excited their lover, as wives of the same nest (Chouse) their own husband. The sisters have delighted in the dark and in the red (goddess), as the cows in the brightly shining dawn' in SBE. 46, p. 74, and observes on p. 75 l. c. j : 'If the text is correct, the 'sisters' may either be the ten fingers which generate Agni by attrition (cf. I 11, 29, 13 ; IV, 6, 8), or the streams of water among which Agni grows up, or streams of *ghṛta* or the like (cf. II, 5, 5 ; see below). Why these sisters are said to delight in the dark and in the bright goddess, the Night and the Dawn, is doubtful.' He therefore, puts forth the suggestion (p. 76 l. e.) that the reading *इयावीम् अरुषीम्* in c is corrupt and that the original reading was *इयावीर् अरुषीः*.

Grassmann's translation (p. 72) is similar to that of Oldenberg. 'The wives of the same nest' are, according to him, the fingers that produce Agni by attrition at the time when night is disappearing before dawn, and the 'cows', the bright-coloured morning clouds or the rays of light that are regarded as the draught-animals of Dawn. Geldner's translation too (RV. *Uber.*) is similar to that of Oldenberg ; he too believes that the reference is to the production of Agni from attrition by the ten fingers in the early morning ; but the 'cows' are, according to him, the cows that are driven to the pasture at dawn, and that are, therefore, regarded as the progeny of Dawn. Ludwig translates (I, 293) the verses as, 'The longing ones (fern.) have brought forth the longing one ("male), as the united wives the unchanging husband. The sisters have become fond of (the two sisters) the dark one and the red one as the cows, of the brightly rising Dawn'; but his explanations (in his commentary, IV, 264) do not throw much light on this translation.

Thus, according to the above-named exegetists, *स्वसारः* in *pada c* refers to the ten fingers, and the *pada* signifies, 'The ten fingers have delighted in Night and in Dawn,' a proposition whose import it is difficult to understand.

Bergaigne, on the other hand, observed long ago (II, 68) that 'the sisters, spouses of Agni, who, in the words of I, 71, 1, 'delighted in the dark one and the red one' were prayers. Apparently, the construed *जनयः* in *pāda b* with *स्वसारः* in c, a procedure which does not seem to me to be right. For the rest, however, I am disposed to agree with him that *स्वसारः* refers to hymns of praise. These hymns of praise are, in fact, explicitly mentioned in *pāda d* by the name *गावः* (compare *Nighantu* 1, 11, which mentions *गो* also among the fifty-one synonyms of *वाक्*). The construction of the verse is, *उदासीः सनीकाः जनयः उपान्तं नित्यं पतिं न उदासीः स्वसारः गावः उदान्तम् (अग्निम्) उप-म-जिन्वन् चित्रम् उच्छन्तीम् अरुषीम् उषसम् न इयावीम् अजुषन्*; and its meaning is: 'As longing wives in the same nest excite (to amorous activity) the dear longing husband, the longing hymns that are sisters excited to activity

the longing Agni; they have taken delight in the dark one as (also) in the gloriously shining brilliant Dawn'.

The hymns of praise are frequently represented by the RV. poets as the spouses of the deity to whom they are addressed, seeking union with them or uniting themselves with them. See in this connection the passages referred to by Bergaigne s. v. *Epouse* in the index at the end of his *Religion Vedique*. See also the observations on p. 8 of his article entitled *Quelques observations sur les figures de rhetoriquz dans le Rgveda*. (Memoires de Societe de Linguistique Tome IV, fascicule 2, pp. 1 ff.), and likewise the observations of Geldner on p. 134 of *Ved. Studien* 2. This is the case in the above verse, not only in the first half, but in the second also where the hymns are said to delight in Night and in Dawn, i.e., to delight, as lovers do, in the union with Night and with Dawn. The import of the verse is: the hymns have praised Agni, Night and Dawn, and have shown themselves to be acceptable to them.

उशती: in a, is an epithet not only of जनयः but of गावः also ; and similarly, उशन्तम् is an epithet of अग्निम् and of पतिम् also. Compare I, 62, 11 :—

पतिं न पत्नीरुशतीरुशन्तं स्पृशन्ति त्वा शवसाधन् मनीषाः ।

'O strong one, the longing hymns touch (i.e. unite themselves sexually with) thee that art longing, as longing wives the longing husband'. Compare also X, 43, 1 :—

अच्छा म इन्द्रं मतयः स्वर्विदः सध्रीचीर्विभवा उशतीरनुषत । परिव्यजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं मर्यं न शुन्ध्यु मध्वानमृतये, in which it is said that the longing hymns praised Indra and embraced him as longing wives their longing, youthful radiant husband. उप-प्र-जिन्वन्=excited to amorous activity ; see Geldner : *Ved. Studien* 2,134 ; सनीळाः 'having the same nest'=sharing the same bed ; see *ibid.* With respect to the epithet स्वसारः in c, compare VIII, 102, 13 :—

उप त्वा जामयो गिरो देदिशतीर्हविष्कृतः । वायोर्नीके अस्थिरन् ,

'The hymns of the sacrificer that are sisters have waited upon thee (Agni) "' in which the epithet जामयः 'sisters' is applied to गिरः 'hymns'. Regarding अनुषन् compare VIII, 35, 5: स्तोमं जुषेयां युवशेष कन्धनाम् , 'Take delight, O ye two (Aśvins) in this hymn of praise, as two youths in a girl'. Whereas, however, the subject of अनुषन् in this verse is the deity addressed, in I, 71, 1, it is the hymn.

Here too, the particle of comparison न has the force of च 'and', and इयावीम् उषसं न=इयावीम् उषसं च.

(3) I, 32, 2: अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियायुं खृष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्धं ततश्च ।

वाधा इव धेनवः स्पन्दमाना अजः समुद्रमवजग्मुरापः ॥

This verse is addressed to Indra. Sāyana explains its second half as: स्पन्दमानाः प्रक्षवणयुक्ताः भापः । समुद्रमजः सम्यगवजग्मुः प्राप्ताः । तत्र इष्टान्तः । वाधाः वत्सान् प्रति इन्द्रभारवोपेताः धेनवः इव । यथा धेनवः सहस्रा वत्सगृहे गच्छन्ति तद्वत् ; *Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava* as: क्षन्व-कारिण्योऽभिनवप्रसूता इव धेनवो वत्सान् प्रति स्पन्दमानाः । अजस्ता अन्तरिक्षं प्रत्यवगता भापः । यद्गोर्दधिं प्रति गताः ; and *Skandasavāmin* as : वाधा इव धेनवो यथा वाशानशीला अभिनवप्रसूता

वत्साद् प्रति गच्छेयुः, एवं स्यन्दमानाः स्रवन्त्यः। अञ्जः। ऋक्षुपर्यायोऽयम्। क्रियाविशेषणञ्चेदम्। तृतीयाथे वा प्रथमा। ऋक्षुना मार्गेण समुद्रम्। अन्तरिक्षनामैतत्। पञ्चम्यर्थे चात्र द्वितीया। समुद्राद् अन्तरिक्षात्। अब भूमिं प्रति जग्मुः गता आपः। अथवा समुद्रमिति पार्थिव एव समुद्रोऽभिप्रेतः। स्वार्थे एव द्वितीया। हतेऽहौ तस्याधः पार्थिवं समुद्रं प्रति जग्मुराप इति।

Ludwig translates the second half of the verse as, 'Running with haste like lowing cows, the waters glided down to the ocean', and Grassmann as, 'Lowing like cows, the waters, flowing in torrents, sped quickly down to the ocean'.

The root √स्यन्द has two meanings—(1) 'to glide, to run, to flee' and (2) 'to ooze'. It is employed with both these meanings in this verse, which signifies: 'He (Indra) killed the dragon who had his lair in the mountain. Tvastir forged the bright vajra for him. The Waters, running, overflowing in torrents and making a loud sound, went straight to the ocean as milch-cows, oosing (milk from their udders), running and lowing (go to their calves)'

The word स्यन्दमानाः is to be construed with both धेनवः and आपः; in connection with each of these words, it signifies (1) running, and (2) oozing, i.e., overflowing (with milk or water). It should be noted that the इलेष employed in this verse is independent of the उपमा; that is to say, स्यन्दमानाः would have to be given both the above meanings even if there were no उपमा and धेनवः or आपः was neither उपमेय nor उपमान. Compare in this connection the following passage on p. 87 of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* द्विजानां राजा गुरुदारग्रहणमकार्षीत्। पुरुरवा ब्राह्मणधनतृष्णया यदि तेनायुषा ध्यायुज्यत। नहुषः परकलत्राभिलाषी महाभुजङ्ग आसीत्.

Though there is no उपमा in this passage, गुरु has to be interpreted in two ways, as (1) preceptor, elder, and (2) Bṛhaspati, and similarly, आयुस् as (1) period of longevity or life, and (2) आयुस्, and महाभुजङ्ग as (1) big snake, and (2) great rake.

The waters described in *pāda* d as going to the ocean are, of course, the waters of the rivers. The rivers themselves, instead of the waters, are mentioned, under the name सिन्धवः in VIII, 44, 22 :—

अग्ने दृत्तवताय ते समुद्रायेव सिन्धवः। गिरी वाधास ईरते।

Here too वाधासः is to be construed with both सिन्धवः and गिरः and दृत्तवताय with both ते and समुद्राय. The meaning of the verse is: 'O Agni, towards thee that upholdest the Law, run the loud-sounding hymns, as loud-sounding rivers to the ocean that obeys the law'. Compare also VI, 36, 3: समुद्रं न सिन्धव उक्थञ्चुष्मा उरुम्यचसं गिर आ विहान्ति 'The loud-sounding hymns enter into (Indra) of vast expanse, as loud-sounding rivers into the ocean of vast expanse'.

1. i.e., that does not transgress the boundary or limit (मर्यादा; वेला). It is commonplace in classical Sanskrit literature to represent the ocean as such. Compare for instance *Sukhāṅgīta-ratnabhaṅḍagāra* (1911 ed.), p. 52, v. 210: प्रायास्येऽपि न तु साधु-जनः सुदृप्तं, वेलां समुद्र इव लक्षितुं

(4) VI, 9, 1 : अहश्च कृष्णमहर्षुर्लज्जं वि वर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभिः ।

वैश्वानरो जायमानो न राजाऽवातिरज्योतिषाग्निस्तुमासि ॥

This verse is addressed to अग्नि वैश्वानर and is explained by Śāyaṇa as follows  
आहरति पुरुषोऽस्मिन् कर्माणीति अहः । कृष्णे कृष्णवर्णम् । एतस्मान्नाधिकरण्याद्दहःशब्दो रात्रि-  
वचनः । तमसा कृष्णवर्णा रात्रिश्च अर्जुनश्च सौरेण तेजसा शुक्लवर्णम् अहो दिवसश्च रजसी स्व-स्व-भासा  
सर्वं जगद्भ्रजयन्तौ । वेद्याभिः वेदितव्याभिरनुकूलतया ज्ञातव्याभिः स्वप्रकृतिभिः । विवर्तेते । विविधं  
पर्यावर्तेते । यद्वा रजसी छायापृथिव्यौ । उपलक्षणमेतत् । लोकत्रयं प्रत्यावर्तेते । एतच्च वैश्वान-  
नराभेराज्ञयेति शेषः । स हि देवतात्वेनात्र प्रतिपाद्यः । स च वैश्वानरोऽग्निः जायमानो न राजा प्रादु-  
र्भवं वर्धमानो राजिव ज्योतिषा तेजसा । तमासि अवातिरत् । अवतिरतिर्वचकर्मा । अवतिरति  
विनाशयति ।

Grassmann translates the verse as, 'The dark atmosphere and the bright roll of themselves the two halves of the day, black and white. The refuge of all men, Agni, a king, expelled darkness with his light as soon as he was born', and Ludwig (no. 375; p. 395) as, 'Dark is one (half of the) day, and bright, the other; the two regions go away from each other with their knowledge. अग्नि वैश्वानर, at the time of his kingly birth, made the darkness go down by means of his light'. Hillebrandt (*Lieder des RV*, p. 24) translates as, 'The black day and the white (i. e., night and day) roll according to their judgment through the two atmospheres. Like a king at the time of his birth, अग्नि वैश्वानर overcame the darkness with his light', and explains in a footnote that *pādas* c d can also be translated as, 'At the time of being born, अग्नि वैश्वानर, like a king, overcame the darkness with his light', and that this translation postulates, even for the time of the Veda, a mystic belief similar to that referred to by Windisch (*Buddha's Geburt*, p. 136, 177) in connection with the conception and birth of the Buddha.

The above interpretations are all unsatisfactory. *Pādas* c d, it is very clear, contain a comparison of अग्नि वैश्वानर with a राजन्, the सामान्य-धर्म being the dispelling of darkness. This comparison is wholly effaced in the translation of Grassmann and Ludwig, while Śāyaṇa's interpretation, though giving the equivalents of the words of the comparison, is inept in that it does not explain how a king dispels darkness with his light. This is the case with Hillebrandt's first explanation also; and to his second, his reference to the existence of a mystical belief is very unconvincing.

As a matter of fact, there is no need to have recourse to mystic or other beliefs in order to explain the comparison. The word राजन् signifies not only 'king' but 'moon' also (compare *Amarakośa* 3, 3, 111 : राजा सृगान्ने क्षत्रिये नृपे, and *Medini* : राजा प्रभौ च नृपतौ क्षत्रिये रजनीपतौ यज्ञे शब्दे च पुंसि स्यात्, and is frequently employed by poets in that sense. Compare for instance *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā* (*Srirangam* ed.), p. 27 : राजविरुद्धता पद्मजानाम्; *ibid* p. 158 : सुराजोव सचन्द्र-  
कुम्भकः; *Kuvalayananda (Śeṣalankāra-prakarāṇa)* : जसासुदयमासुः कान्तिमान् रक्त-  
मण्डकः । राजा हरति लोकस्य इदं चतुर्धैः करैः; *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* p. 256, v. 232:

लक्ष्मीनिवास इति वारिरुदां प्रसिद्धिरन्वेधिताः कतिपया वरटास्तु सन्ति । राशि प्रसारित-करे किमहं  
 वदामि सङ्कोचितं वदनमद्गुह्यैरितीव ; *ibid.* p. 126, v. 165 : प्रौढं धत्तां कलासु प्रथयतु कुमुदं  
 सत्यथे सञ्चरद्वा, नेत्रानन्दं विधत्तामवतु च विबुधानस्तु राजा तथाऽपि । दोषान्वेषी कलङ्की सहज-  
 जडतनुः सक्षयः पक्षपाती, नक्षत्रेशः कथं वा कलयतु तुलनां रामचन्द्रेण चन्द्रः ; *Campīrāmāyana*  
 2, 61 : अमूर्दराजकं स्थानसद्-गणं गगनाङ्गणम् । आलोकन्येव तदाशान्तम् अशेषं च महीतलम् ;  
*ibid.* 4, 36 : द्वाग् वारुणीभजननिष्कृतराजतेजो निष्कान्त-तारम् उपशान्ततमोविकारम् । पूर्वाशया  
 विशति सत्यथमाजि मित्रे सत्यं निशान्तसममस्य निशान्तमासीत्<sup>1</sup>. It is also well-known  
 that the moon dispels darkness ; and hence there is no doubt that राजा, in *Pāda*  
 c, signifies 'moon'. The meaning of the verse is :

'The dark day and the white (i.e., night and day) roll alternately round  
 the two worlds (the visible world and that which is invisible to us) of their  
 own volition, like the moon, अग्नि वैश्वानर, being born, dispelled darkness with  
 his light'.

जायमानः is to be construed with अग्नि वैश्वानर and also with राजा when  
 it signifies 'rising'. Compare the following verses in the *Subhāṣitaratna-  
 bhāṇḍāgāra* (nos. 83,9,0,114, 5,6,8, 19 in the section on चन्द्रोदय-वर्णनं ; p. 313 ff.) in  
 which the moon is described as dispelling the darkness after rising : सुधारदिमः  
 सद्यस्तिमिरनिकरान्तं विरचयन्नलिन्येभ्यः स्यन्दं शशिमणिसमुत्थं च वितरन् । उदेत्यादौ रक्तमञ्जु-  
 समरुचिः कैरववने, प्रमोदं तन्वानो मधुपवनितागीतिमधुरम् । तैः सर्वशी-भवद् अभिसृतानेत्र-  
 सिद्धाअनैर्वा नीरन्ध्रैर्वा त्रिभुवनदशमन्धपट्टैस्तमोभिः । म्यासं पृथिवीवलयमखिलं क्षालयन् उच्छलद्भि-  
 ज्योःस्त्वा-जालैरयमुदयते शर्वरी-सार्वभौमः ॥ यं प्राक् प्रत्यग् अवाग् उदञ्चि ककुभां नामानि सीबभ्रतं  
 ज्योःस्त्वा-जाल-क्षलज्जलाभिरभितो लुम्पन्तम् अन्ध-तमः । प्राचीनादचलाद् इतस्त्रिजगतामालोक-  
 बीजाद् बहिर्निर्यासं हरिणाङ्गमङ्गरमिव व्रष्टुं जनो जीवति । नयनानन्ददायीन्दोर्बिम्बमेतत् प्रसीदति ।  
 अधुना विनिरुद्धाशं प्रविशीर्गमिदं तमः । नाशयन्तो घनध्वान्तं तापयन्तो वियोगिनः । पतन्ति शशिनः  
 पादा भासयन्तः क्षमातलम् ॥ इदमाभाति गगने भिन्दानं सन्ततं तमः । अमन्दनयनानन्दकरं  
 मण्डलमैन्दवम् ॥ उपोदरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् । यथा समस्तं तिमिराङ्गुलं  
 तथा पुरोऽपि रागाद् गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

(5) I, 130, 1: पुन्द्र याज्ञप नः परावृतो नायमृच्छा विद्व्यानीव सत्यतिरुस्तं राजेव स्रपतिः ।

इवामहे त्वा वचं प्रयस्वन्तः सुते सुषा ।

पुत्रासो न पितरं वाजसातये मंहिष्टं वाजसातये ॥

This verse is addressed to Indra ; *pādas a b c* are explained by *Sāyana* as :  
 हे इन्द्र, परावृतः दूरदेशात् । स्वर्गलक्षणान्तोऽस्मानुपवाहि अस्वत्समीपं प्रत्यागच्छ । तत्र इष्टान्तः—  
 अयं न पुरोवर्ती अग्निरभिषुतः सोमो वा प्रस्तुतत्वाच्चिद्विद्यते स इव । यद्यपि पुरस्तादुपचार-  
 क्षिपेधार्थीचो नकारः सर्वत्र, तथाप्यत्रौचित्येनोपमार्थीचो गृह्यते । यद्वा परावृतो न दूरदेशादिव । यद्यपि  
 यज्ञे सर्वदा सङ्घितस्तथाऽपि स्वर्गस्थाद् दूरदेशादिव अस्मिन् यज्ञे । अयमिति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः । अमुं  
 देवयजनदेशम् अच्छ अभिप्राप्तुम् आयाहीति शेषः । तत्र इष्टान्तः— स्रपतिः सतां सर्वदा वर्तमानाना-  
 न्दुस्विजां पालको यजमान इव । 'पत्यावैश्वर्ये' इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । स यथा विद्व्यानि वेदनाणि  
 अनुष्ठेयानानि यद्वा सतां विद्यमानानां फलानां पालकोऽग्निः । स यथा विद्व्यानि यद्गृह्णाथ्यागच्छति,  
 तद्वात् । स्वमपि गृह्णाथ्यागच्छ । यद्वा । सतां नक्षत्राणां पतिः राजा चन्द्रमा अस्मिन्निव । स यथा स्वधाम-

1. In all these passages, *rajan*=(1) king, and (2) moon. In the last three passages, it  
 should be noted, *śleṣa* has been employed, not only in connection with *rajan* but also  
 in connection with *sat.* (= 1. *sat-puruṣa* and 2. *nakṣatra*) and with other words.

स्थानमागच्छति, तद्वत्, and Venkaṭa-Mādhava as, इन्द्र ! उपागच्छ अस्मान् दूरात् न अर्थं सोमः अभिगच्छति । इविर भाद्रवनीयम् । गृह्णान् इव राजा । तदेवाह अस्मन् इति... ।

Grassmann translates these *pādas* as, 'O Indra, come from afar to us and to our leader, as the prince to the council, as the ruler in his dominion', and Ludwig as, 'Come to us, O Indra, from afar, likewise leading the highest leader to the sacrifice, like a king as veritable ruler to his dwelling'. Geldner translates (*RV. Über.*) as, 'Indra, come from afar to us in your own person, as a real ruler to the assembly of the wise, as a king and real ruler to his house', and proposes for विद्यानि the alternative meaning of 'sacrifice' instead of 'assembly of the wise'.

We have seen above, however, that राजन् has the sense of 'moon' in VI, 9, 1; further, Śaṅkara's third explanation of the simile in *pāda* c (in which he explains राजन् as 'moon' and सत् as नक्षत्र) fits well into the context. Hence, there can be no doubt that ṛṣi has, like the authors of three stanzas (beginning with धर्मां प्रौढिं कलासु, and cited on last p.) above, employed श्वेत् here in connection with राजन् and सत्. The meaning of the verse is, 'O Indra, come quickly to us from afar as a powerful chief to the assembly, as a powerful king to his house, as the moon, lord of the nakṣatras, to the Asta mountain. Bearing food, we invoke thee for the Soma juice, thee, the most liberal, in order to win the prize, as sons invoke their father in order to gain wealth'.

In *pādas* b c the सामान्य-धर्म is lacking in connection with the similes विद्यानीव सत्पतिः and अस्तं राजेव सत्पतिः. But the expression राजा न सत्यः समिती-रियानः which is synonymous with विद्यानीव सत्पतिः occurs as *pāda* b in IX, 92, 6: परि सश्वेव पशुमान्ति होता, राजा न सत्यः समितीरियानः । सोमः पुनानः कलुशं भयासीत्, सीदन् मृगो न महिषो वनेषु which describes the flowing of the Soma juice into the jars. The सामान्य-धर्म, it is true, is lacking in connection with the similes of this verse also; but we know from other verses that the flowing of the Soma juice into the jars, is characterised by swiftness, that it is compared by R.V. poets to the rushing of the falcon (इयेनो न तक्रः IX, 67, 15), to the running of the race-horse (भीळ्हे ससिर्न वाजयुः IX, 106, 12) and of the rivers to the ocean (बुधा समुद्रं सिन्धवो न नीधीः IX, 88, 6), etc., and that च्वात् 'to run' (IX, 17, 4) and च्वात् 'to run' (IX, 81, 2) are used in this connection. Similarly, swiftness characterises the movement of the buffalo towards the water or woods (cf. IX, 33, 1: अर्षो न च्वात्सुर्मयः । वनानि महिषा इव) and of the hotṛ priest towards his सगन् or abode (cf. IX, 92, 2: सीदन् होतेव सवने च्वात्सु ; I, 180, 9: प्र स्यन्द्रा वायो मनुषो न होता). The meaning of IX, 92, 6 is thus, 'Soma, being cleansed, moved towards the jars (swiftly), like the होता to his abode furnished with deer-skin, like a mighty king going to the assemblies, like a buffalo going to settle in the waters (or woods)'; and accordingly, the सामान्य-धर्म in connection with the similes in *pādas* b c of I, 130, 1 too is swiftness. As in

scores of other verses<sup>1</sup>, Indra is invoked in this verse too to come quickly from afar to the sacrifice and Soma juice prepared for him by the priests.

The meaning of HTO<sup>^</sup> in *pada a* is not certain; for literature connected therewith, see Oldenberg's *RV. Noten*. I have here translated it tentatively as 'quickly' because this meaning fits the context, not only in this verse, but in the other verses also in which it occurs. In *pada c* the words \*KdH,TT3n and w\$fa: have to be interpreted in two ways, as already observed above. Regarding the simile in *pada f*, compare VII, 32,3 : TOH^TOt ?\*5\*n grf^n 3\*T «T fittf fir 'Desirous of wealth, I invoke the very liberal and vajra- armed Indra, as a son does his father'.

1. Compare for instance :—

IV,21,3 : आ वास्विन्द्रो दिव आ पृथिव्या मधु समुद्रादुत वा पुरीषात् । स्वर्णरादवसे नो मरुत्वान् परावृत्तो वा सदानादतस्य ; VI, 41, 1 : अहेळमान उप याहि यत्तुं तुभ्यं पवन्त इन्दवः सुतसः । गावो न वज्रिन् स्वसोको अच्छेन्हा गहि प्रथसो यज्ञियामान् ; VIII,65,1 : यदिन्द्र प्रागपागुदक् न्यग् वा ह्यसे नृभिः । आ याहि तूयमाशुभिः ; X, 104, 1 : असाधि सोमः पुरुहूत तुभ्यं हरिभ्यां यज्ञ-मुप याहि तूयम् । तुभ्यं गिरो विप्रवीरा इयाना वधन्विर इन्द्र पिबा सुतस्य ; X, 112 2 : अस्ते रुथो मनसो ज्वीयानेन्द्र तेन सोम-पेथाय याहि । तूयमा ते हरयः प्र इवन्तु देभिर्भस्ति वृषभिर्मन्द-मानः ॥

# On the word Kratu.

By

S. VENKATESWARAN, Annamalainagar.

*kratu*, one of the most popular words in Rgveda, occurs alone as well as in compounds.<sup>1</sup> The word is used in the sense of ability, efficiency or power to carry out any work.<sup>2</sup> This fundamental idea of power has in the RV. itself radiated in various directions.

Statistically the word *kratu* is associated most with Indra, then with Agni, Soma and also with other gods like Maruts, Mitra, Varuna, Pusan, Usas and Manyu, personified.<sup>8</sup>

Having the fundamental sense of efficiency, power or strength, the word *kratu* seems to have acquired an adventitious sense according to the nature of inherent qualities of the god or object with which it is associated. Thus, when associated with Indra, the most anthropomorphic god of the Vedic pantheon, the idea of physical power appears to be predominantly expressed by the word. Indra is essentially a warrior god, the Vedic Mars. His might is irresistible<sup>4</sup> and the epithets *sactpati*\* 'lord of might' and *satdkratu*\* are mostly applied to him. With his thunderbolt, he rends the clouds and mountains<sup>7</sup> and destroys Vrtra<sup>8</sup>. He performs cosmic deeds under the influence of the Soma.<sup>9</sup>

In association with Agni, *hdtu* seems to refer to the power of the intellect. Agni is less anthropomorphic than Indra. While little is said about his physical features, his omniscience and wisdom are

1. *kratu* in compounds : *kratu-vid-* 'bestowing strength' RV. IX, 44, 6 ; 86, 48 (Soma); 'having intellectual strength\*', RV. IX, 2, 5 (Agni) ; *Su-kratu-* 'having excellent power, wisdom' epithet of Indra, Agni, Vanma, Soma, etc., also *srata-kratu-*, *kav-kratu-tuvi-kratu-* etc.

2. RV. I, 55, 8: *tanusu te kratava Indra bhurayah* ; I 143, 2; VI, 17, 6 etc.

3. Indra RV. I, 175, 5 ; IV, 21, 2; VIII, 63, 1 ; X, 105, 6 ; etc., Agni I, 19, 2 ; 141, 9 ; II, 5, 4 ; 12, I etc., Soma I, 91, 2 ; IX, 4, 5 ; 6 ; 102, 8 ; X, 25, 4 etc., Maruts I, 64, 13 ; V, 87, 2 ; Mitra I, 151, 2 ; Varupa I, 123, 8 ; VII, 89, 5 ; Mitravarupa I, 2, 8 ; Pusan I, 42, 7-9 : *Pusanniha kratum vidaty* ; Usas, I, 123, 13 : *bliadrdm bhadram kratum asntasu dliehi* ; Manyu X, 83, 5 ; 84, 5.

4. *vide* RV. I, 84, 2 ; IV, 18, 4 ; VI, 30, 4 ; VII, 32, 23 ; VIII, 51, 7.

5. *sacipiti-* (Indra) RV. I, 106, 6 ; IV, 30, 17 ; VIII, 15, 13 etc.

6. *vatakratu-* (Indra) RV. I, 4, 9 ; 30, 1 ; 51, 2 ; IV, 30, 16 etc

7. RV. I, 57, 6 ; 103, 2 ; II, 11, 2 ; ID, 26, 6 ; IV, 17, 1 ; V, 32, 1 ; 2.

8. RV. I, 32, 5 ; 61, 10 ; II, 14, 2 ; X, 89, 17 etc. . . .

9. RV. II, 15, 2.

stressed in RV. He sees and knows all creatures<sup>1</sup>, all rites<sup>2</sup>, the divine ordinance and generations of men<sup>8</sup>—in short, everything<sup>4</sup>. He is the source of wisdom<sup>6</sup> and is the inspirer and inventor of brilliant speech and prayers<sup>6</sup>. While he exclusively bears the epithet *jatdvedas* (VI, 15, 3) he is also known as *visvdivid*, *visvdivedas*, *kavi* and *kavikratu*\* all of which lay emphasis on his omniscience and wisdom. Foresight and understanding are only different aspects of the power of the intellect. Hence *krdtu* when associated with Agni should naturally mean the power of the intellect.

Distinct from the power of the body and the intellect is the power of the mind or will denoted by the word *krdtu*. The instrumental *krdtva* means 'willingly'.<sup>7</sup> Akin to this power of the mind is the sacred intention for composing prayers or conducting sacrifices, likewise is also the power of the spirit (spiritual power). Sometimes *krdtu* denotes the mind as the seat of thought and is often used along with the root *lpu* 'to purify' in RV.<sup>8</sup>

When applied to Soma, *krdtu* is the drink of strength<sup>9</sup> as well as the inspiring power—boon of tasting the Soma juice<sup>10</sup>. It inspires Indra with power to perform cosmic deeds, the poet to compose song and the priest to conduct the ritual efficiently.

While referring to gods and men, *krdtu* means a strong person or hero<sup>11</sup>.

With the increasing importance given to the rituals in post-Rgvedic period\* the sense of *krdtu* appears to have undergone a narrowing in sense. It is restricted in the sense of the sacrificial rituah especially the Soma sacrifice<sup>18</sup>, considered as the most efficient form of offering or worship.

Kalidasa describes the histrionic art as a charming and visible form of *kratu* offered to the gods<sup>18</sup>. In the *Mahabharata*, *kratu* figures as the sixth son of Brahma, as one of the twenty-one Prajapatis (secondary creators) and as one of the seven sages, *kratu*, there, is also one of the names of Lord Visnu.

1. III, 55, 10; X, 187, 4.
2. X, 122, 2.
3. X, 70, 1; 3.
4. X, 11, 1.
5. III, 11, 5; VIII, 91, 8; X, 21, 5.
6. II, 9, 4; VI, 1, 1.
7. RV. IV, 21, 10; V, 29, 5; VI, 5, 3; 16-26; IX, 16, 4.
8. III, 1, 5 : *kratum punandh kavibhih pavitrah*; also VIII, 12, 11; 13, 1; etc.
9. RV. I, 91, 5; VIII, 78, 7 : *krdtva it pnrnam udaram*.
10. RV. VII, 61, 2; X, 87, 1.
11. Aeni RV. I, 66, 5; 77, 3 : *si hi krituh*; III, 11, 6; VI, 9, 5; Indra X, 104, 10 : *vireyyah krduh indrah*; Soma IX, 86, 43; 107, 3 : *kratur indur vicaksanah*.
12. Sayapaon s'B. XI, 5, 5, 12, *kratavah somayngah*.
13. *Malavikagnimitra*, Act I, verse 4.

The word appears to go back to Vkr 'to do, to carry out any work efficiently'. The original sense of the root seems to have developed in two divergent streams, one dominated by the idea of doing or acting and the other by that of the power to act or carry out any work. The sense of 'act, rite, offering or sacrifice' must belong to the former while that of 'power or strength in its divers forms' to the latter. In RV. the sense of act or offering<sup>1</sup> is very rare while that of power attached to the word *kratu* is very common<sup>3</sup>. The reverse is the case in Rgvedic and classical literature. Thus the idea of offering or sacrifice seems to have asserted itself in post-Rgvedic literature, while that of 'power' appears to have gradually disappeared. The derivation from Vkr is suggested by the Brahmajja texts<sup>3</sup> and endorsed by the *Nirukta*\* which interprets it as strength as well as sacred work. With *krdtu* may be compared the word *krana* 'active, busy' found in RV.<sup>5</sup> and traced to Vkr by Grassmann.

V.K. Rajwade<sup>8</sup>, on the analogy of *rtu*, *gatu* and *yatu*, traces *kratu* to Vkra, a pre-Rgvedic root of which *kratu* is a remnant. According to him Vkra means (1) to give wealth or offerings (2) to do acts of bravery, to be strong. When *krdtu* is used with reference to Agni or Indra, he interprets it in the majority of cases as meaning wealth. If Agni and Indra are approved givers of wealth and the word *krdtu* should be connected with wealth, it appears sensible to take *krdtu* in such contexts to mean power or strength arising from wealth. For, the sense of power or strength of the word *krdtu* is quite patent in the RV. The root *lkra* with the two meanings which V. K. Rajwade ascribes to it will yield both the meanings of offering (sacrifice) and power (strength) which the word possesses<sup>7</sup>. \*It has probably the support of the Greek language also. Assuming *vkra* to be the root, it would go back to an original \**qse-t-* 'to be strong' (which is an expanded form of \**qre-^ qar-*). Thus, Skt. *kra-kratu-Zd. xrdtu* 'spiritual strength', Gk. *.\**, *icaPra* 'strong', KPCITEPOC, KaPrEPd\* 'strong, firm' etc., Lit. *kartus* 'bitter' (cf. *Walde-Pokorny*).

The above pre-Rgvedic Vkra might have also merged in Vfen *kar* which originally possessed both the ideas of acting and being strong or powerful. In the RV. period the idea of acting was feeble

1. IV, 41, 1; *Yd vam hrđi kratuman...* (with offerings) vide V. K. Rajwade: *Words in Rg-Veda* p. 159, also RV. VIII, 43, 6.

2. vide V, 43, 5; VIII, 92, 8; *naram avarydkratum*.

3. s'B. IV, 1, 4, 1 : *sa kamayate ... idam kurvlyeti sa eva kratuh*; Ch. Up. III, 14, 1 : *sa kratum kurvita*.

4. Nir. 2, 28 : *kratuh karma va prajfta va*, 10, 10 : *kratuna karmana*.

5. Agni RV. I, 58, 3 : *krana.....purolutah*.

6. *Words in Rg-Veda* p. 212.

7. Rut *'sthrn i« hocorl ra'*, inference only

in the case of *kratu*; but it becomes emphasised during the post-R<sup>^</sup>veJic period when *kratu* is predominantly used in the sense of a rite or sacrifice.

The different meanings of *kratu* in RV. with the sense of power or strength forming the central idea, may be compared to the different meanings of 'power' in English, viz. (1) control over one's subordinates, (2) delegated authority, (3) physical strength, (4) mechanical energy, (5) one of the mechanical (as a lever), (6) moral or intellectual force, (7) person of influence, (8) one of the nations of the world, (9) mathematical conception, (10) army or troop (cf. force, forces), (11) effective quality of style in writing, oratory etc<sup>1</sup>. The primary meaning at the root of all the above senses is the state of being able to do something, from OFr. *pouer*, Mod. Fr. *pouvoir* 'to be able'. Without leaving its original central meaning the word radiates in eleven different directions. The same is the case with *kratu*, which, while preserving the central idea of power refers also to the power relating to the body, the intellect, the mind, spirit, etc., in Rgveda. This phenomenon is known as radiation of meaning.

1. *vide* Eric Partridge : *The World of Words*, p. 641.

## वैदिकालंकार-निदर्शनम्

निबन्धकः, विद्यानिधिः, करनाल

ये तावत् साहित्ये शब्दार्थतदुभयनिष्ठा अनुप्रासादयोऽलंकाराः प्रसिद्धास्तेष्वेव केषांचिद् वेदाख्ये महाकाव्ये निदर्शनमिह प्रदर्शयते । तद्यथा—

### १—अनुप्रासः

मन्दिमिन्द्राय मन्दिने । चार्किं विश्वानि चक्रये ॥ ऋ. १, ९, २  
 अग्निमग्निं वः समिधा तुवस्यत प्रियं प्रियं वो ऋतिर्यि गृणीषुणि ॥ ऋ. ६, १५, ६  
 समिद्धमग्निं समिधा गिरा गुणे शुधिं पावकं पुरो अश्वेत् क्षुत्सुम् ॥ ऋ. ६, १५, ७  
 स्वाद्क्विक्षार्यं मधुर्मौ उतार्य तीव्रः किक्षार्यं रसवीं उतायुम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ४७, १  
 उल्कयातुं शुशुक्कयातुं अहिं ह्वयातुमुत्त क्रोकयातुम् ॥ ऋ. ७, १०४, २२  
 मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥ ऋ. ८, १०१, १५  
 स जागृवन्निर्जरमाण हृष्यते दमे द्यूना हृष्यन्निकृस्पदे ।  
 विश्वस्य होता हविषो प्ररेण्यो विशुर्विभावा सुषसा सखीयते ॥  
 स दशतश्रीरतिथिर्गृहेगृहे वनेवने शिक्षिये तक्षीरिव ।  
 जनंजनं जन्यो नाति मन्यते विशा माक्षेति विदयो विश्विषाम् ॥  
 सुदक्षो वृक्षैः क्रतुनासि सुक्रतुरभे कविः कृष्येनासि विश्ववित् ।  
 वसुर्वसूनां क्षयसि स्वमेक इद् द्यावा च यानि पृथिवी च पूष्यतः ॥ ऋ. १०, ९१, १-३  
 इत्येवमादिषु बहुलं शब्दसाम्यादनुप्रासन्यासः ।

### २—थमकम्

उप नो हरिभिः सुतं याहि महानां पते ।  
 उप नो हरिभिः सुतम् ॥ ऋ. ८, ९३, २१  
 तुरम् स मन्वी धावति धारा सुतस्यान्धसः ।  
 तुरम् स मन्वी धावति ॥ ऋ. ६, ५८, १  
 एवंवृत्तेषु वृत्तेषु शब्दावृत्तेर्यमकम् ।

### ३—उपमा

स नः पितृषु सूनवेऽक्षे सूपायनो भव ।  
 सुचस्वा नः स्वस्तये ॥ ऋ. १, १, ९  
 इन्द्रं क्रतुं न मा भर पितृ पुत्रेभ्यो वृथा ॥ ऋ. ७, ३२, २६  
 पुत्रायेव पितरा मृदां शिष्यतम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ३९, ६  
 उदीरय पितरा जातु मा भुगम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ११, ६  
 सृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः ॥ ऋ. १०, १८०, २  
 इत्यादाव् आ-इव-न-यथा-प्रभृतिभिः शब्दैरुपमाप्रपञ्चो द्रष्टव्यः ।

अरातीयतो नि दहाति वेदः ॥ ऋ. १, १९, १  
इत्यादौ क्यजन्तनामधातुनोपमा प्रमाविषयो भवति ।  
प्रियमेधवदशिवत् ॥ ऋ. १, ४५, ३  
इत्यत्र च तद्धितप्रत्ययेन वतिना ।

#### ४—अनन्वयः

नकिरिन्द्र खदुत्तरो न ज्यावीं अस्ति वृत्रहन् ।  
नकिरेवा यथा त्वम् ॥ ऋ. ४, ३०, १  
नास्य शङ्कने प्रतिमानमस्ति ॥ ऋ. ६, १८, १२  
आत्मनात्मानमभि सं विवेश ॥ मा. ३२, ११  
महिम्ना तेऽन्येन न संनशे ॥ मा. २३, १५  
न स्वावीं अन्यो दिव्यो न पार्थिवो न जातो न अनिष्यते ॥ मा. २७, ३६  
इत्यादिष्वेकस्यैवात्मनः स्वयमुपमानोपमेयत्वेन वर्णनादनन्वयः ।

#### ५—उपमेयोपमा

समानबन्धु भूते अनूची द्यावा वर्णं चरत आमिनाने ॥ ऋ. १, ११३, २  
अत्र आमिनाने—अन्योन्यस्याध्यात्मं कुर्वाणे इति विवरणाद् राज्युषसोः ।  
कतरा पूर्वा कतरापरायोः ॥ ऋ. १, १८५, १  
इत्यादौ सूक्ते च द्यावापृथिव्योरितरेतरमुपमेयत्वमुपमानत्वं चोज्ञेयम् । तस्मात् गम्य एवात्रो-  
पमेयोपमालंकारः सहृदयहृदयाहादहेतुः ।

उभा जिग्यथुर्न पुरा जयेथे, न पुरा जिग्ये कतरश्चनैनोः ।  
इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेथां त्रेधा सहस्रं वि त्वैरयेथाम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ६९, ८  
अत्रेन्द्रस्य विष्णोश्चान्योन्यमुपमानोपमेयभावः प्रकारान्तरेणोपनिबद्धः ।

#### ६—उत्प्रेक्षा

अस्येदु भिया गिर्यश्च दृष्टा, द्यावा च भूमा जनुषस्तुजेते ॥ ऋ. १, ६१, १४  
अत्रेन्द्रस्य भियेव गिरीणां दृढत्वं द्यावाभूम्योश्च कम्पनं संभाव्यते । तच्च संभावनमिवादिवाचक-  
शब्दाभावाद् गम्यमित्यतो गम्योत्प्रेक्षेयम् ।

प्रजानतीव न विशो मिनाति ॥ ऋ. १, १२४, ३  
अत्रोषसो दिशः संभ्रमाभावे प्रज्ञानमस्तीति संभावनावाचकेनैवशब्देन द्योत्यते ।  
वक्ष्यन्तीवेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ७५, ३  
अत्र कर्णं प्रत्याकृष्यमाणा ज्या किमपि वक्ष्यतीतिवशब्देनोत्प्रेक्ष्यते ।

#### ७—रूपकम्

यः कुङ्किः सोमपातमः समुद्र इव पिन्बते ॥ ऋ. १, ८, ७  
अत्र सोमपातम इन्द्रे कुङ्कित्वारोपाद् रूपकम् ।  
ता भूरिषाशावनृतस्य सेतू ॥ ऋ. ७, १५, ३  
अत्र मित्रावरुणयोः सेतुत्वारोपः ।

दिव्या अङ्गारा हरिणे न्युक्ताः ॥ ऋ. १०, ३४, ९

अत्र संक्षयाणामन्ताणां विषये दिव्याङ्गारत्वरोपः स्फुटं चमत्करोति रूपकमिति ।

तेजोऽसि तेजो मृषि भेहि ॥ मा. १६, ९

अत्र तेजोबलादीनां प्रदातरि सोमे तेज आदीनां साक्षादारोपः । आद्युर्ध्वतमितिवत् ।

बहुलं समाचरोऽस्यालंकारस्याम्नाये दृश्यते । मालारूपेणाप्ययमाप्याययति चतुरचेतसां चेतः ।

तद्यथा—

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विभ्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् ।

इयेनो गृध्राणां स्वधित्तिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमस्येति रेभन् ॥ ऋ. ६, १६, ६

अत्र सोमो देवानां मध्ये ब्रह्मा, कवीनां मध्ये पदवीः, विभ्राणां मध्ये ऋषिरित्येवमेकस्यैव सोमस्य ब्रह्मादिरूपनिरूपणाक्षिपुणो मालारूपकतायां पर्यवस्यति ।

८—श्लेषः

ये त्रिषसाः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि बिभ्रतः ।

वाचस्पतिर्ब्रह्मा तेषां तन्वो अद्य दधातु मे ॥ शौ. १, १, १

अत्र वाचस्पतिर्बृहस्पतिः परम आत्मा वैयाकरणश्च श्लेषेण बोध्यते । वैयाकरणोऽपि त्रिः सप्त स्वौजसादीनि रूपाणि बिभ्रद् वाचामाचार्यतायाः पदमनुभवितुमलंकरणीय एव ।

९—अपह्नुतिः

न वा उ एतन् न्रियसे न रिष्यसि देवो इदेषि पथिभिः सुगोभिः ॥ मा. २५, ४४

अत्र प्रकृतमश्वस्य मरणं निषिध्य 'त्वं देवान् एषि' इत्यप्रकृतमुपस्थाप्यते तस्मादपह्नुतिः ।

१०—व्याजोक्तिः

प्र सु स्तोमं भरत वाजयन्त इन्द्राय सत्यं यदि सत्यमस्ति ।

नेन्द्रो अस्तीति नेम उ ख्वाह कू ई ददर्श कूमभि ह्वाम ॥ ऋ. ८, १००, ३

अत्रेन्द्रस्य वस्तुतः सत्यत्वेऽपि नेम अषिः 'नेन्द्रोऽस्ति' इति वृथाना मनागुन्मना इव तं निगूहति । प्रस्तुतवस्तुस्तुत्यतिशयश्चात्र व्यङ्ग्यः, तस्माद् व्याजोक्तिः ।

११—व्याजस्तुतिः

एतद् वेदुत् वीर्यमिन्द्र चकथे पौंस्यम् ।

क्षिरं यद् दुर्हणायुषं वृधीर्दुहितरं दिवः ॥ ऋ. ४, ३०, ८

हे इन्द्र ! एतदेव ते पुंस्त्वसम्बन्धि वीर्यं यद् दिवो दुहितरं क्षियमवधीरिति निन्दाव्याजेन स्तुतिः क्रियते । उद्यमिन्द्रः=आदित्यः दिवो दुहितरमुषसं विहन्येवेति वस्तुस्थितिः । एवम्—

किमङ्ग त्वा ब्रह्मणः सोम गोपां किमङ्ग त्वाद्दुरभिरास्तिपां नः ।

किमङ्ग नः पश्यसि निद्यमानान् ब्रह्मद्विषे त्रपुषि हेप्तिमस्य ॥ ऋ. ६, ५२, ३

अत्र हे सोम ! यदि नोऽस्मान् निन्द्यमानान् पश्यसि तर्हि किमिति त्वं ब्रह्मगोपाः, अस्माकमाभि-  
शस्तिपाक्षोच्यसे, मुधैव तस्ते विकत्यनमित्यमन्दं निन्दामुखेन स्तुयते सोमः ॥

१२—अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा

ह्यु सुपर्णा सपुजा सुखाया समानं बृष्टं परि षवज्जाते ।

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाहृत्पुनश्नन्नन्यो ऋषि चाकरोति ॥ ऋ. १, १६४, २०

अत्राप्रकृतस्य पक्षिद्वयस्य वृक्षस्य चोपक्षेपाज्जीवब्रह्मप्रकृतीनां प्रकृतानां शंसनमस्तीत्यप्रस्तुत-  
प्रशंसा । तत्रापि द्वयोः सयुजोर्जीवब्रह्मणोरैकः स्वादु पिप्पलं कर्मफलमश्नाति, परस्त्वनश्नन्नेव केवलं  
साक्षित्वेनाशतिष्ठत इति जीवब्रह्मव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्फुटं प्रकटीक्रियते । एवं व्यतिरेकालंकारेण संसृष्टा-  
ऽप्रस्तुतप्रशंसेहाऽन्वयमतिभिः परिच्छेत्तव्या ।

चत्वारि शृङ्गा प्रयो भस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे समु हस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रेशवीति महो देवो मूर्ध्नी आ विवेश ॥ ऋ. ४, ५८, ३

अत्राऽप्रस्तुतस्य वृषभस्योपवर्णनात् प्रस्तुतं शब्दब्रह्म यज्ञकारणं वा वर्यते, तस्मादप्रस्तुत-  
प्रशंसा ।

### १३—समासोक्तिः

युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात् सु उ श्रेयान् भवति जायमानः ।

तं धीरासः कवय उच्यन्ति स्वाध्वो मनसा देवयन्तः ॥ ऋ. ३, ८, ४

अत्र प्रस्तुतो यूपाख्यवनस्पतिरूपोऽर्थः श्लिष्टविशेषणमाहात्म्याद् ब्रह्मचारिरूपमर्थान्तरमप्रस्तुतं  
गमयति, तस्मात् समासोक्तिः । यथा युवा यौवनादिगुणोपेतः सुवासाः शोभनवासाः यूपः  
कविभिरुच्यते यज्ञे तथा तादृशगुणाविशिष्टं शिष्टाः कवयो वर्णिनमुच्यन्तीति सामर्थ्यादुपमानोपमेय-  
भावश्चमत्करोति । एवम्—

तनुपात् पवमानः शुक्रे शिशानो अर्षति । अन्तरीक्षेण शरजत् ॥ ऋ. ६, ५, २

अत्र पवमानः सोमः प्रस्तुतः 'शुक्रे शिशानः' इत्यादिविशेषणैरप्रस्तुतस्य वृषभस्य रहस्य-  
मवभासयति ॥

### १४—निदर्शना

तस्मै नूतमभिषवे वाचा विरूप नित्यया । वृष्णे चोदस्व सुष्टुतिम् ॥ ऋ. ८, ७५, ६

अत्र विरूप ऋषिः 'नित्यया वाचा' इति निर्दिशणेव निदर्शयति यद् भगवता स्वयंभुवा नित्या  
वागुत्सृष्टेति, इतरथा 'वाचा' इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यात् । स्वयं नित्यया वाचा वृष्णे इन्द्राय सुष्टुतिं  
कुर्वाणेन धृतिर्भगवती नित्यया वाचाऽभिषुतास्तीति निदर्शनया प्रदर्शयते । एवम्—

यस्य ज्ञायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः ॥ मा. २५, १३

अत्र ज्ञायाऽन्या, अमृतं चान्यत् । तथापि ज्ञायाऽमृतमित्युक्ता । तत्र 'अभवन् वस्तुसंबन्ध उपमा-  
परिकल्पकः' इति निदर्शनया यस्य ज्ञायाऽमृततुल्येत्युपमायां पर्यवसानम् । एवं च ज्ञायाऽमृतयोरौपम्यं  
रम्यं सद्बृहदयगम्यं भवति ।

### १५—विभावना

आनीद्वारुं स्वध्या सुष्टेकम् ॥ ऋ. १०, १२९, २

अत्र वाताभावेऽपि प्राणधारणे सद्बृहदयगमाहादयति । प्राणधारणकारणस्य वारुणोऽपि  
प्राणरूपकार्यस्य भावना विभावनामभिव्यनक्ति ।

### १६—विशेषोक्तिः

यद् एव इन्द्र ते शतं शतं भूमीरुत् स्युः ।

न त्वा वाग्निं स्सहस्रं सूर्या अतु न जातमष्ट रोदसी ॥ ऋ. ८, ७०, ५

अत्र शतं वाचो भूमयो वा, सहस्रं सूर्या वा चेत् स्युः, तथापीन्द्रं व्याप्तुं न ते प्रभवन्तीति व्याप्तिरूपकार्यस्य कारणे सत्यपि व्याप्तेरभावप्रतिपादनाद् विशेषोक्तिः । एतावानस्य महिमा यस्य महत्त्वं नान्वरनुवन्ति दिवादय इति भगवतीन्द्रे भक्त्यतिशय आक्षेपलभ्यः ।

### १७—काव्यलिङ्गम्

अथं पिबा मधूनां सुतं वाचो विविष्टिषु । त्वं हि पूर्वपा असि ॥ ऋ. ४, ४६, १

अत्र पूर्वं वाचोः सोमपाने 'त्वं हि पूर्वपा असि' इति बलवान् हेतुशक्तः । इन्द्रात् पूर्वं वायुरेव सोमं पिबतीति निश्चयेन शक्यते प्रतिपत्तुम् ।

त्वं हि नः पिता वसो त्वं माता शतक्रतो बभूविथ ।

अथा ते सुम्नमीमहे ॥ ऋ. ८, १८, ११

अत्र हे शतक्रतो । यतस्त्वमस्माकं पिता माता चासि तस्माद्द्वयं तव सकाशात् सौख्यमीप्सामः । सत्यर्थे सुखैषणायां साधीयान् हेतुशून्यस्तः । मातुः पितुः सकाशादेव वास्तवं पुत्राणां सुखमुत्पद्यते नान्यतः, मातापितरौ चैव पुत्रेभ्यः सौख्यमिष्टं दातुमर्हत इति काव्यलिङ्गम् ।

### १८—परिवृत्तिः

वस्नेव विक्रीणावहा हृषभूर्जं शतक्रतो ॥ मा. ३, ४६

अत्र सर्पिष्पूर्णां दर्वीं मया दीयते त्वया च मह्यमिहूर्जो दातव्ये इत्थं सम्पद्द्विनिमयेनोभाभ्यामुभौ भर्तव्याविति परिवृत्तिः ।

### १९—परिकरः

इन्द्रं पृच्छा विपश्चितम् ॥ ऋ. १, ४, ४

जगृभ्मा ते दृक्षिणमिन्द्रं हृस्तं वसूयवो वसुपते वसूनाम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ४७, १

अत्रेन्द्रस्य 'विपश्चितम्' इति 'वसूनां वसुपते' इति च विशेषणौ विशिष्टमभिप्रायं पुष्पीतः । सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु विपश्चिदेव हि प्रष्टव्यो भवति । वसूयवो वसुपतेरेव दक्षिणहस्तं गृह्णन्ति, न हि भिक्षुकस्य कस्यचिदिति परिकरालंकरणित्त्वमिदं जनयति ।

वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा शतक्रतुर्वज्रेण शतपर्वणा ॥ मा. ३३, १६

अत्रेन्द्रस्य 'वृत्रहा, शतक्रतुः' इति साभिप्राये विशेषणौ अत एव शतपर्वणा वज्रेण वृत्रं हन्तीति सत्यमुच्यते, तस्मात्परिकरः ।

साभिप्राये विशेष्ये तु परिकराङ्कुरोऽलंकारः । तद्यथा—

धान्यमसि धिनुहि देवान् ॥ मा. १, २०

शर्मासि शर्म मे यच्छ ॥ मा. ४, ६

यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषः ॥ मा. ६, १

स्पष्टत्वाद् व्याख्यानं न प्रयोजयति ।

### २०—दीपकम्

अग्नं इन्द्रं वरुणं मित्रं वृषाः शर्षः यन्त मास्तोत विष्णो ।

उभा नासत्या रदो अथ ग्नाः पूषा अगः सरस्वती जुषन्त ॥ मा. ३३, ४८

अत्र प्रस्तुतानामेकेषामनेकेषां वा देवानां बलप्रदानेऽर्थे युगपदन्वयाद् दीपकम् । अग्नीन्द्रवस्था-  
दिषु कोऽपि सर्वे वा संभूय महान् शर्धः (बलं) प्रयच्छन्त्विति तात्पर्ये पर्यवसानात् । एवम्—

आ नासत्या त्रिभिरेकादशैरिह देवेभिर्यातं मधुपेयमग्निना ।

प्रायुस्तारिष्यं नीरपांसि मृषतं सेधतं द्वेषो भ्रवतं सचाभुवा ॥ मा. ३४, ४७

अत्राश्विनोः सोमपानायाह्वानं प्रस्तुता क्रिया । तत्कालमेवायुषः प्रतीर्यता, पापनिर्मृक्षणं, द्वेषः-  
सेधनं सहकारित्वं चाप्रस्तुतमपि क्रियाभूयस्त्वमुपात्तमेककर्तृकमित्यतो दीपकालंकारः । पर्वस्मिन्न-  
दाहरयो भिन्नकर्तृकैका क्रिया, अस्मिन्श्वैककर्तृका भिन्ना क्रियेति विवेकः ।

### २१—तुल्ययोगिता

अश्वी रथी सुरूप इद् गोमौ हुदिन्द्र ते सखा ।

आत्रभाजा वयसा सचते सदा चन्द्रो याति सभामुप ॥ ऋ. ८, ४, ९

अत्राश्वी रथीत्यादिपदैः प्रस्तुतस्येन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा कोपि चन्द्राननो राजा सभामुपैति, इत्य-  
प्रस्तुतस्य राज्ञोऽपि तुल्यं साम्यमुपात्तमिति तुल्ययोगिता ।

### २२—विषमः

वृष्णो वृधिः प्रतिमामं बुभूषन् ॥ ऋ. १, ३२, ७

अत्र वृधिः शक्तिहीनो वृष्णः शक्तियुक्तस्य बलिष्ठस्य प्रत्यनीकतामेतीति विषमालंकारः । क वृषा  
इन्द्रः क च वृधिवृत्रः ? भूयो वैषम्यम् ।

### २३—विरोधाभासः

अपां मध्ये तस्थिवांसं तूष्णाविदजरितारम् ॥ ऋ. ७, ८९, ४

अत्र जलमध्ये स्थितस्यापि जलतूष्णा जातेति विरोधः ।

शीताः सन्तो हृदयं निर्वहन्ति ॥ ऋ. १०, ३४, ९

अत्र शीताः सन्तोऽप्यज्ञा हृदयं दहन्ति ब्रूतकारस्येति विरोधः ।

तदेजति तस्यैजति तद् दूरे तद्वन्तिके ॥ मा. ४०, ५

अत्र तदेजदपि नैजतीति, दूरे सदप्यन्तिके तिष्ठतीति विरोधश्चमत्करोति हृदयम् ।

### २४—स्वभावोक्तिः

जिह्वाभिरह नभमदर्शिषा अज्रणाभुवन् । अग्निर्वनेषु रोषते ॥ ऋ. ८, ४३, ८

अत्र स्फुटमग्नेः स्वभाव उपनिबद्धः प्रत्यक्षदृश्यः । एवम्—

अद्याद्या श्वःश्वः इन्द्र आस्व परे च नः ॥ ऋ. ८, ९१, १७

अत्र शरणाधिनी वाशीवीशारणमुपवर्णितम् । शरणमिच्छुरेवमेव भणति—अद्यापि श्वोपि पर-  
श्वोपि भवताहं रक्षणीय इति स्वभाव एव तस्यानाश्वासात् ।

### २५—सहोक्तिः

सह वामेन न उषो प्युच्छा बुहितर्विवः ।

सह युग्मेन बृहता विभावरि राया देवि वृास्वती ॥ ऋ. १, ४८, १

अत्रोषस उदयो बृहता युग्मेन धनेन वामेन कल्याणेन च सह भवतु नान्यथेति चमत्कारजन-

नात् सहोक्तिः । एवम्—

साकं यथम प्रपत् चाषेण किकिदीक्षिना ।

साकं वातस्य ध्राज्या साकं नभ्य निहाकया ॥ मा. १२, ८७

अत्र यक्ष्मरोगविनाशाय चाषादीनां साहचर्यमुक्तम् । यथा चाषो वातो निहाका वा भगित्येवा-  
पैति तथा त्वं द्रुततरमपसर परतरमितरत पदमित इति भावं प्रयोतयितुं युक्तोऽयमलंकारः ।

### २६—विनोक्तिः

यस्मादृते न सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चितश्चन ॥ ऋ. १, १८, ७

यस्माकृ ऋते विजयन्ते जनासो ये युज्यमाना क्षवसे हुवन्ते ॥ ऋ. २, १२, ९

अत्र यमिन्द्रं विना यज्ञादीनां सिद्धिर्विपश्चितामपि न भवति तमिन्द्रमुपाध्वमित्यर्थे चमत्कार-  
संचाराद् विनोक्तिः ।

### २७—अर्थान्तरन्यासः

मा त्वा सोमस्य गृहदया सदा याचञ्छर्हं गिरा ।

भूर्णि मृगं न सुवनेषु चुकुधं क ईशानं न याचिषत् ॥ ऋ. ८, १, २०

अत्र 'क ईशानं न याचिषत्' इति सामान्येन वाक्यार्थेन विशेषस्य मेधातिधिकर्तृकस्येन्द्रकर्मक-  
याचनस्य समर्थनं क्रियत इत्यतोऽर्थान्तरन्यासः ।

### २८—व्यतिरेकः

मूरा अमूर न वयं चिकित्वो महिस्वमग्ने स्वमङ्ग विल्ले ॥ ऋ. १०, ४, ४

अत्र वयं मूराः (मूढाः) त्वं चाऽमूर इति व्यतिरेकः ।

तद्भावतोऽन्यान्त्येति तिष्ठत् ॥ मा. ४०, ४

अत्र भावतोऽन्यान् जीवानीश्वरस्तिष्ठन्नेवात्येतीति व्यतिरेकः ।

### २९—अतिशयोक्तिः

यदिन्द्र यावत्स्वमेगावदहृमीशीय ।

स्तोतारमिद्विषेय रदावसो नु पापत्वाय रासीय ॥ ऋ. ७, ३२, १८

अत्र वसिष्ठ ऋषिरसंभाव्यमपि संभावयन्नाह--हे इन्द्र ! यदि तव तुल्यं ममैश्वर्यं स्यात्ताम,  
तर्हि पुण्यकारिणः स्तोतृन् धनदानेनोपकुर्यामनार्याश्च पापीयसो न वसु रासीयेति । इन्द्रेण सममै-  
श्वर्यमसंभाव्यमपि संभावितमित्यतिशयोक्तिः ।

### ३०—भाविकम्

गर्भे नु नो जनिता दुस्पती कः ॥ ऋ. १०, १०, ५

इति शुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद् विचक्षिरे ॥ मा. ४०, १०

इत्यादौ च भूतस्थार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षवर्णनादुक्त एवालंकारः ।

जा वा ता गच्छानुचरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणुवञ्जामि ॥ ऋ. १०, १०, १०

अत्र भाविनोर्यस्य साक्षादुपवर्णनाद् भाविकम् ।

### ३१—दृष्टान्तः

यद्धरियो यवमन्ति न पुष्टं पशु मृष्यते ।

शूद्रा यत्पर्यजारा न षोषाय धनायति ॥ मा. २३, ३०

अत्र यथा हरिणः क्षेत्रिणो यवमदन्नं न पुष्ट इति मन्यते, किं तर्हि ? क्षेत्रिणः क्रोधनिमित्तं भवति तथा वैश्येन व्यवायमुपेता शूद्रा न धनं लब्धवतीति स्वाभिना मन्यते, किं तर्हि ? व्यभिचरित-  
चरितेयमिति क्षोपनिमित्तं भवतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे द्वयोरपि वाक्यार्थयोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावस्य साधीयो घटनाद् दृष्टान्तः ।

### ३२—समाधिः

सन्ति कामासो हरिषो दक्षिण्द्रुं स्तो वयं सन्ति नो धियः ॥ ऋ. ८, २१, ६

अत्र सोभरिरीत्यंभूतेन वचसेन्द्रमाह—हे हरिवः ! कामा अस्माकं सन्त्येवेति त्वं जानीषि, त्वं च तेषां कामानां ददिः प्रदाता समुपस्थित एव, वयमपीमे पुरोवर्तिनः स्मः, अस्माकं धियः कर्माणि प्रज्ञानानि वा सन्त्येव, कर्मफलं च त्वयाऽवश्यदानीयमेवेति सर्वथा साम्प्रतं त्वरितं दातव्यं त्वयेति फलप्रदानरूपे कार्ये कारणसामग्र्याः सौकर्यप्रतिपादनात् समाधिः ।

### ३३—तद्गुणः

न पापासो मनामहे शारायासो न जुह्ववः ।

दक्षिण्द्रुं वृषयां सखा सुते सखायं कृण्वामहे ॥ ऋ. ८, ६१, ११

अत्रेन्द्रस्य सख्यं कृत्वा पापीयांसोऽपि न पापा भवन्ति, दरिद्रा अपि राजानन्ति, जानन्ति च इव्यं व्ययीकर्तुमर्तुं चाप्रमत्ता इत्यर्थात् स्वगुणत्यागपूर्वकमिन्द्रगुणसंयोगात् तद्गुणः ।

### ३४—कारणमाला

वतेन दीक्षामान्नोति दीक्ष्याप्नोति दक्षिणाम् ।

दक्षिणा श्रद्धामान्नोति श्रद्धया सत्यमाप्यते ॥ मा. १६, ३०

अत्र वतेन दीक्षा, दीक्षया दक्षिणा, दक्षिणया श्रद्धा, श्रद्धया च सत्यमाप्यते इत्युक्त्या पूर्वपूर्वस्यो-  
त्तरमुत्तरं प्रति हेतुत्वेनोपवर्णनात् कारणमाला ।

### ३५—अन्योन्यम्

भूमिं पर्जन्या जिन्वन्ति दिवं जिन्वन्त्यःभुयः ॥ ऋ. १, १६४, ५१

अत्र भूम्या दिवं उपकारो दिवा च भूमेरित्यन्योन्यसम्बन्धनिबन्धनमन्योन्यमलंकारः ।

## An Atharvan Hymn to Lac (Laksa-)

By

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This paper is a text-critico-exegetical commentary on AV. V, 5 (AVP. VI, 4). According to the *Anukramanī* (iii, 2) the hymn headed by the words : रात्री माला (AV. V, 5) is लाक्षिक (addressed to *lakṣā-*, cf. ver. 7); आनुष्टुभ (composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre), and नवक (made up of nine verses). AVP. reads this hymn as its VI, 4, in the verse-order : 1, 2, 4, 5, 3, 7, 6, 8, 9 and with two additional verses at the end. The object of this hymn is evident both from its wording and its prescription in the ritual. It is to cure external lesions and fractures of bones. The practice described in *Kausika-Sūtra* XXVIII, 14 : लाक्षालिङ्गाभिर्दुग्धे फण्डान् पाययति relates to a decoction of *lakṣā-* in milk being drunk by the patient to the accompaniment of a recital of stanzas pertaining to *lakṣā-* (according to Dārila, AV. IV, 12, besides V, 5). Kes'ava prefaces this prescription by describing it as a cure for weapon-cuts : अथ शस्त्राऽभिघाते भैषज्यमुच्यते ; while Dārila notes it as a cure for wounds in general : अहयो भैषज्यम्. Kes'ava's further general remarks : शस्त्राऽभिघाते, काष्ठाऽभिघाते, पाषाणाऽभिघाते, अक्षिद्रोहे, सर्वशरीराऽभिघाते भैषज्यं समासम्, being a more comprehensive indication of the efficacy of the treatment of wounds caused by a number of things besides sharp weapons.

*Kaus.Sū.* XIII, 3-5 : लोमानि जतुना सदिद्य जातरूपेणाऽपिधाप्य । 'सिंहे व्याघ्रे यशोहविर्' इति ज्ञातकसिंहव्याघ्रबस्तकृष्णवृषभराज्ञां नाभिलोमानि । दशानां शान्तवृक्षाणां शकलानि contain prescriptions to make lustre giving amulets of (1) the hair of an elephant (2) the navel-hair of a Brahmin graduate, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a black antelope<sup>1</sup>, a bull and a king and (3) pieces (of wood) of the

1. Bloomfield wants to read *vr̥sni* in place of *kysna* basing the emendation partly on the readings *vr̥sna*, *vr̥sna* and *vj'snya* found in some of his Ms. and partly on Kes'ava's gloss which speaks of *mesanabhi^romani*. He thus ignores Dārila who reads *krsna*. Probably, Kes'ava's Ms. read *mesa* and neither *krsna* nor *vr̥sna* etc., suggestive of *vr̥sni*. On a reference, however, to the two hymns (AV. VI, 38 and 39) alluded to in *Kaus'-Sn.* Xiii, 4, particularly, to the first of these hymns, it is noticed that the ver. 1 refers to the lustre that is found, among others, in *sūphd-* 'lion', *vyaghrd-* 'tiger', *pr̥daku-* 'panther' and *brahmana-*\* the ver. 2 to that found, among others, in *liastln-* 'elephant', *duipin-* 'leopard', *hiranya-* 'gold', the ver. 3, to that found, among others, in *vr̥sabha-* 'bull' and the ver. 4, to that found, among others, in *rajanya-*, 'king', as'*va-* 'steed' and *ptirusasya mayti\** 'the shout of a man'. Obviously, our Satras have drawn upon the above specific textual allusions for prescribing for their ritualistic ends, on the one hand, gold '*hiranya-* and golden-hued '*hiranyavarna* S lac (cf. AV. V, 5, 6 ; 7) and, on the other, (mysteriously, lustrous) hair of an elephant, a Brahmin graduate '*snataka-*' (who, in terms of the above ver. 4, may be said to be over-enthusiastic to croak out his learning like the Veda-

ten quiete trees<sup>1</sup> and to besmear them with *jatu-* before they are mounted in gold and worn. Kes'ava's glossy **लाक्षां हिरण्येन वेष्टयित्वा बध्नाति** on this item identifies *laksa-* with *jatu-* which is the name of a well-known resinous exudative substance (i. e. lac). According to this thus traditionally attested identification, A V. V, 5, which is a *laksika-* hymn may have to be taken as an address to our familiar *Iciksa-* (i. c. lac) and not to any unfamiliar plant of that name as taken, in the absence of Say ana's commentary or any other traditional help on this particular text, by Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 67) and all others, namely, Grill (*Hundcrt Lieder*, pp. 10 ; 142), Griffith (1,195), Bloomfield (20,419)<sup>2</sup>, Weber (XVIII, 181) and Whitney (I, 228) who have translated it after him. As will be evident from the verse-wise translation and commentary of the hymn (A V. V, 5) that now follows, the text itself lends ample support to the above view and docs not seem to contain anything that can support the other view viz., that *laksa-* denotes a particular herbal plant.

### Verse 1.

रात्री माता नमः पिता(ता, अ)र्यमा ते पितामहः ।

सिलिची नाम वा असि सा देवानामसि स्वसा ॥

*'The night is thy mother, the day thy father, Aryamdn thy grandfather ; Silaci, surely (by) name art (thou) that art the sister of the gods.*

a. Being all red on a dark ground, *laksa-* is poetically described reciting frog-Brahmins of R V. VII, 103, 1), a lion, a tige, a bull and a king. As it is, there is no mention in these Sutras of a steed *asva*, a panther '*pidakti-* andz. leopard *uhlpn-* that have been read in the basic hymn, and the two viz., a goat '*basta-*' and an antelope *<sup>kj</sup>'sna-\** (or a ram '*mesa*' according to Keyava) seem to have been extraneous additions. It, however, seems probable that the 5/7. 4, had read, originally, \**vynghrriis'vaprakuvrsabha...* which gradually on account of a process of scriptorial lapse was first written as \**vyaghrahvavrsvabha...* > \* *vynghraba-vrvVsabha...* and, then, gradually, emended into \* *vynghraba(sta)vr(sna)vrsabha...* in some Mss. and + *vynghrabiistih''{sna)vrsabh...* in others. In this way, we might reinstate steed '*as'va-\** and panther '*pidtiku-*' in the Sutra text and explain the absence of leopard '*dvlpin-\** by its ioint-comprehension with tiger '*vyaghra-* or panther '*prdaku-*'. That the latter, in the present context, does not denote a snake as understood by Sayana and others and that it stands for some wild beast allied to lion '*simhaS* and tiger '*vyaghra,*' is further borne out by the mention of wolf '*vrka,*' another member of the same class, in a similar context in A V P. V, 29, 6 : *simhe varca uta varco vyaghre vrke varcah* and, further, by its own mention along with tiger '*srardala-* and wolf '*vrka.*' in the same particular group of As'vamedha victims : *rardalo vrkah prdakuste manyave* (VS. XXIV, 33). The use elsewhere of the word *prdaku-* in the sense being ascribed to it here is well vouched for by classical lexicons (cf. *Medinl* : *pydakur vrsike vyaghre sarpacitrakayoh puman* and P.W. for the names of other lexicons).

1. *Palas'a-* and other similar trees (cf. *Darila*), probably so described because they do not bear fruit and, in consequence, do not have much attraction for humming bees and chirping birds.

2. In the li^ht of what has been said above on the meaning of *laksa-* (i. e. lac and not any plant) as intended by *Darila* and Kcs'ava, Bloemfield's statement (p. 419) that 'the commentators agree in presenting our hymn (A V. V, 5) along with A V. IV, 12 as the stanzas characterised by the mention of the *laksa-* 'plant' is contrary to the facts of the case.

as having found her mother *in* the (dark) night (cf. A V. VII, 74, 1 : अपचितं लोहिनीनां कृष्णा मातेति शुश्रुम where, for a similar reason, the night is said to have been the mother of the (dark-)red glandular inflammatory sores *apacitas* and VI, 83, 3 where *apacitas*, arc said to be *ramuyanyas* i. e. the offspring of the black night *rama-*). The *Padapatha* reads *ndbhah* between *mata* and *pita* and, accordingly, *ndbhas-* has been uniformly taken as the father of *laksa-* and understood in the sense of the cloud. The fathers of different diseases and plants etc., have been mentioned in several other places (cf. i, 24, 3 ; iii, 9, 1 ; 23, 6 ; v, 4, 9 ; vi, 16, 1 ; vii, 7, 2 ; and xix, 39, 2 where *sdrfipa-*, *dyad-*, *uttamd-*, *vihalla-* and *jlvantd-*, have been so indicated) and all the words employed for this purpose, arc quite appropriately, masculine. It seems, therefore, that the form *nabhah* from *nabhas-*, which is neuter, will not be appropriate in our context. So, if the *Padapatha* is to be depended upon, the form *nabhah* should be taken to be from *\*nabha-* in the masculine gender. If the black night has been appropriately stated to be the mother of the dark-grounded *laksa-*, the word denoting the father should possess the sense of brightness to match with the red super-hue of *laksa-* and, moreover, should be the name of an object that, in its turn, can be described as the son of the sun (*aryamdn-*). Evidently, the cloud does not fit in within the framework of these limitations. For, the Vedic mythological imagery treats the cloud as an adversary whom the sun has to smash in the long run and never as his issue. In the parental pair which is most popular with the Vedic poets, namely, *dyau-* and *Prthiv-*, the point of emphasis *in* respect of their so-called offsprings is merely the divinity of origin ; but, in the present case, it is the colour of the offspring (*viz. laksa-*) that the poet aims at ascribing to the dark night (*ratri-*) and her bright mate i. e. *\*ynibha-*. For this reason, also, *\*nabha-* does not mean the cloud here, because brightness cannot be its apt description. Moreover, Vedic mythology has nowhere united the night and the cloud as a pair. On the other hand, the night has been frequently mentioned together with the day (to indicate only a few cases, cf. A V. ii, 15, 2 [where their eternal union is mentioned along with those of *dyau-* and *prthiv-*, *surya-* and *candra-*; *brahman-* and *ksatra-*, *satya-* and *anrta-* and *bhuta-* and *bhdvya-*]; iv, 18, 1 [*dhna-ratri samdvatt*]; xi, 4, 21 [where they are referred to as at par with *adyd* and *was*] and xv, 2, 5 [where the night figures as the hair of *vrtdya* and the day as his turban]). They are like the two matching aspects; the one that is dark (*Jkrsna-*) and the other that is bright (*drjuna-*) of the one united 'day' (RV. vi, 9, 1). And, then, it is said that the Lord of all created the sun and the moon to produce the day and the night (RV. x, 190, 2-3), thus giving rise to the imagery of the present case where the sun (*aryamdn*) is described as the grandfather of lac (*laksa-*) the latter being the offspring of his offspring *vis.*,

the day and the night (*aho-ratrd-*). It is interesting that while *dyad-* and *ndbhas-* are synonyms in the sense of the sky, their parallel basic aspects *dyau-* and our present postulate *\*nabha-* are also so in the sense of the day. In both these aspects viz. in the sense of the sky as well as the day, the primary idea seems to have been that of the sun or the light and cannot have any generic connection with the thrice repeated Paninian *nabh* (i. e. *Dhatu* i, 753 ; iv, 134 and ix, 48) in the sense of 'injure' (cf. Yaska, *ii*, 14, where mindful of this inconsistency, he proposes a number of other equally uncertain etymologies).

jb. Metrically, *pitdryamd* has to be read? as indicated in the text above as five syllables.

c. *silācī* seems to be another and probably earlier and fuller name of *lākṣā-* itself. The phonetic transformation involved might have been, on the one hand, *\*silākṣā->\*silākṣikā->\*silācī->silācī-* and, on the other, *\*silākṣā->\*slākṣā->lākṣā-*. A still another phonetic process might have been *\*s(s)ilākṣā->\*<sup>o</sup>lākṣikā->\*<sup>o</sup>lāṣī->\*<sup>o</sup>lād(>d)ī-*, (as read in AVP. 1, c). Similarly, the English word 'shellac' might be an old cognate of *\*silākṣā-* and not, as generally explained (cf. Wyld : *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language* s. v.), a compound of shell and lac. Etymologically, this series of words may be connected with OIA. *√sā*, *√sī*, *√siv*, *√śliṣ*, *śalākā-*, *sirī-*, *śulva-*, *sūtrā-*, *śācī-* and NIA. *√sīḍanā*, *√sīnā*, *silanā*, *silāī-*, *silnā-*, *chīmba-*, *suranālī-*, *surapītā-* etc., all primarily relating the sense of 'binding', 'uniting', 'joining' or 'stitching'. Or, else, brightness (i.e. redness) might have been the primary significance of the ultimate base that was connected with the bases like *√bhās*, *√brasj*, *√ruc*, *√rus* and *√suc* with kindred meaning. It is also possible that the word may be of composite nature with *lākṣā-* as the second component and *\*sitā-* (in the sense of 'bright' [i. e. 'red'] or of 'binding') as the first one<sup>1</sup>.

## Verse 2.

यस्त्वा पिबति जीवति त्रायसे पुरुषं त्वम् ।

अग्नीं हि शश्वतामसि जनानो च न्यञ्जनी ॥

'He that drinks thee, lives ; mankind thou dost preserve. For, being the binder of (their) bodies, (thou) art the healer of men with wounds'.

b. *tvām* is to be treated here as a bi-syllabic word and as such read *to-vām* and not *tuām* (as, generally done in such cases), for the NIA. *tum-* *tūm-* and *tū-* can be more directly derived from the former than from the latter (also, cf. Pers. *to-* and Eng. *thou-*).

c. The translation takes *√bhṛ* in *bhartrī-* in the sense of 'curing' (by the filling up [*bharana-*] of the cavity caused by the wound). Possibly,

1. See, also, comment on ver. 7c below.

as suggested by AVP. : *dharatrī* (ms.), *dhartrī* (ed.), the original base here is \**bhadra-dhrī-*, phonetically reduced, on the one hand, into \**bhaḍadhri-* > \**bhaltri-* > *bhartri-* and, on the other, into (\**bhadaradhri-* > \**hadharadhri-* > \**adhara°* > \**dhara°*) \**dharatrī-* and *dhartrī-* and, thus, directly giving the sense of *bheṣajī-* (cure) which itself seems to be only another cognate of it. *Sásvat-* here (as in RV. iv, 32, 13 ; viii, 20, 13 and x, 100, 11) denotes 'all' (cf. Griffith) and not 'constant' (as waveringly passed by Whitney) or 'successive' (as wanted by Bloomfield) and may be a cognate of NIA. *sarbat-* (which is probably a fuller form of OIA. *sárva-*).

d. The metre can be squared up by reading *nyáñicānī* as *ni-áñicānī*. But it does not give any appropriate sense (cf. comment on *tvám* in b above). The sense of 'hiding' (cf. Whitney), 'refuge' (cf. Bloomfield) or 'lap' (cf. Griffith) has hardly any connection with the context of a specific form for wounds taken in, in the form of a hot decoction. AVP. reads : शश्वतां व्यन्वञ्जनीम् in place of our जनानां च न्यञ्जनी which suggests that the original reading might have been \**शश्वतां \*तनूषन्धनी* (phonetically reducible to \**तनू अन्ध [ > षञ्ज > ञ्ज ] नी*) taking *sasvat-* as a separate nominal base in the sense of 'one having a wound' (i. e. √*sas* 'to kill' > \**sas-* 'wound' + the possessive suffix *vat*). This word was confused in AVP. with the pronoun *sásvatām* and replaced in AV. by *janānām*, apparently, when, in course of time, it had gone out of use. By accepting this reading the translation of the second half will be : 'For, the body-binder (as thou art) thou art the healer of all (that are) with a wound'. The phonetic process involved in reaching the extant readings *ca nyáñicānī* and *tyvañicānī* from \**tamūśandhanī* is admittedly long, but does realistically square up the metre as well as read a quite relevant sense where futile efforts had been made to manufacture one<sup>1</sup>.

### Verse 3.

वृक्षं वृक्षमारोहसि वृषण्यन्तीव कन्यला ।

जयन्ती प्रत्यातिष्ठन्ती स्पृणी नाम वा असि ॥

'Conquering and standing fast against, thou besiegest tree after tree like a girl lusting alter a mate. Sparant (bsi) name thou art, indeed.'

a. In following up the simile, it seems that the verb *a<sup>h</sup>ruh* here may be phonetically related to *alrudh* 'impede'<sup>1</sup>? 'blockade'\* 'besiege' and so, may have to be differentiated from *aruh* 'climb' (in which sense others, except Griffith, have taken it, presumably on account of their erroneous impression that *laksa-* is a tree-climbing creeper).

1. The question of the unexpectedly great and hitherto unrecognised measure in which the process of phonetic change has inevitably been at work throughout the ages in respect of the Vedic textual tradition, has been dealt with at some length in my Presidential Address to the All India Oriental Conference (Vedic Section), Bombay (Nov. 1949), to the Proceedings of which the reader might turn for further material on this most difficult but, at the same time, fascinating subject.

b. *ayjstha* means 'stand fast' and, so, with the preposition *prati* it means 'stand fast against', 'stick fast to'. The idea is that whichever tree *laksa-* appears upon, the same it thoroughly subdues and settles itself upon.

c. *spdram-* in this context may mean 'a seizer', 'one that holds fast'. It seems to be a derivative from *spas* 'seize', 'stick' (*Dhatu.* X, 147). The derivative process can be put as *spaxta-* (cf. *Pan.* VII, 2, 27) > \**sapstav* > \**spast* > th > d > l >) rani (cf. NIA. V *pliad* 'seize'). It refers to the strong grip of *laksu-* both in respect of the trees and the wounds that it clasps fast, in one case, to settle upon and, in the other, to cure. The AVP. variant *saujayiti-* is probably derived from *sam^yaj* 'unite', the original word \**samyaja-* having first changed into \**san-jaja-* and, then, under the influence of *jayant-*, in c, re-Sanskritised into *sanjaya-*, which, if the context could be ignored, would appear to support the sense of 'winner' that Whitney gives to it<sup>1</sup>.

#### Verse 4.

यद् दण्डेन यदिवा यद्वाऽरुहरसा कृतम् ।  
तस्य त्वमसि निष्कृतिः मेमं निष्कृधि पूरुषम् ॥

*"The wound that is caused by a rod, an arrow or a (cutting) weapon, of that thou art the binder. Do that (thou) bind (the wound of this) man."*

a. *isvu* is to be read as three syllables : *isu-d* Whitney's treatment of *ydd* as a particle of condition and, accordingly, his rendering of it is repugnant to the natural proximity between the two correlative pronouns *this (yad-)* and *(tad-)* in *tasya*.

b. *drus-* is derivable from /\**ar* in the sense of 'hurt' 'injure' (cf. my Vedic Word-Concordance Vol. i, s. v.). This *ar* is probably to be treated as a de-aspirate variant of \**har* being itself a variant of (\**gha*) *han* 'injure' 'hurt'. It is from this root that the instrument-noun *hdras-* here, seems to have been derived in the sense of 'that by which a cut is made' i. e., 'a weapon' etc. *hala-* 'plough', the second member \**gala* in *languid-* (\* *il am-gala*), \**khad-* in *khadgd-*, V *kr* 'injure' (along with its extended forms *vfe/t* and *yjkrp* both in the sense of 'cut' and \**ghr* [= \**ghar*] as probably in [\**gharta->*] *ghata-* 'injury') seem, etymologically, to be members of one and the same group. The employment, in the same context, of *dandd-* and *isu-*, both instruments of injury, indicates similar connotation of *haras-* and makes the rendering 'violence' as advanced by Griffith and 'fire' or 'flame' as wanted by Bloomfield and Whitney, improbable. The latter however, may plausibly be said to be supported by the inclusion of *dgnidahd-* in Kcs'ava's list of injuries that are curable by *laksa-*.

1. Bloomfield's commentary suggests connection of *spdrani-* with *sphay* 'expand' but his as well as Griffith's translation presupposes its connection with '*spf* 'save', 'rescue.'

c. The verb *nisjkr* 'bind', 'unite', 'join' in *niskritii*- here as well as in 6 c and d and, also, in the form *niskrdhi* in d here, it seems, has to be differentiated from the verb *nisjkr* 'expel', 'drive out' as found used, for instance, in R.V. X, 97, 9 in finite as well as derivative forms. The need of making this distinction is rendered evident by a comparison of the two contexts. Thus, in R.V. a prayer is addressed to 6? *adhayas* (herbs) to expel (from the body of the patient the disease) that troubles (him). The description, in the next verse, of herbs entering (the body of the patient) to drive out from there all ailment (शोषधीः प्रासुच्यवृयेत् किं च तन्वा रपः) and the indication of the disappearance of *yaksma*- in the following three verses (11-13) can further be adduced in support of this rendering and, consequently, in refutation of Say ana's interpretation : (प्रल्हो) यद् यदि आमयति व्याधिनो भवति (त्) निकृथ संसृथ under which he treats *ydd* as a conjunctive particle and not as a pronominal object, directly governed by the verb *nisi?* *rib a* and, apparently, referred to again by the aforesaid generic *ydt kin ca* in the next verse. But in Pada d of our present verse, the pra>rr addressed to *laksd*-, can evidently be to 'close up' the wound of the patient and not to 'drive out' the patient himself. Ftmologically, *nis*- in our verb may have to be derived from *ant* 'bind' (*Dhatu*. 1,61) and be connected with OIA. *dnti*-, *ayitihd*-, *antifiad*-, *nihata*-, *nikasa*-, *\*neda*- (as in *nediyas*- and *ncdistha*-); NIA. *ned*-; Pers. *nazda*-, *nazdlka*-, Lat. *Vnccterc*, *nexus*; Eng. *next*, *near*, *nigh*, *neighbour* etc., all possessing the sense of nearness based on 'joining' or 'juncor'. The corresponding half-verse in AVP. reads : तस्य त्वमभि भेषजी निकृतिर्नास वा ऋसि Probably? the original word *nistrtir* in c and dropped off *rrcVr* scriptorial illusion owing to the presence of the same word at the beginning of d and the gap was filled up by the supply of the word *bheraji*- in the sense of 'cure', 'remedy'. This should have taken place at a much later time when *niskrti*- of the present context had ceased to be understood in its above postulated relevant sense of 'binder' and i;ot mixed up with the other *nfahii*- in the sense (as in R.V.) of 'expeller' ( of disease Land, therefore, i. e. 'cure', 'remedy'J ). Or, possibly, *bhesajt*- itself of this context may be a different word in the sense of 'binder', being, ctmologically, cognative with OIA. ( *\*bhid* 'join' > ) *bheda*- (as in *sambheda*-), (<*mil* 'join\*>) *mela*-, *miks* 'mingle', *misra*-, *pinda*-; NIA. *bhed*, *bhid*, *mtl* 'join', 'close', "*bhelx* ( = *piiula*- ) ; Eng. *ylmeet*, >*Jmix*, *Vfit*, <*jix*, *jast*, *paste* etc.

### Verse 5.

भद्रान् प्रुषादिस्तिष्ठस्यश्वात् खदिराद् भवान् ।

भद्रान्वयोधात् पर्णात् सा न एषलुधति ॥

'(Thou) *stav.dest jast on Bhadra*, *Plaksa*, *Asvattha*, *Khadira*, *Dhava*, *Bhadra?* *'Nyagrodha*, (and) *Partja*. That (thou), O wound-doser, come to us'.

a. The translation implies basic sameness of the preposition *nis* in the

verb *nisyjstha* with *nis* in *nis hr* and *niskrti-* in our verses 4 and 6, *nisfotd-* 'meeting place', 'fixed place' or 'settled abode'<sup>1</sup> (e. g., R V. I, 2, 6; 123,9 etc.) and *ni* in *nistha-*, *niketa-* and *niviisa-*. This composite verb is uniformly used in the sense of 'standing fast' or 'having a strong hold'<sup>1</sup> and governs the object thus occupied in the locative case (cf. e. g., R V. I, 182, 7; HI, 31, 10; IX, 110, 9; A V. XIV, 2, 62; XIX, 32, 3; 34, 6). Out of the eight tree-names mentioned in this verse, A V P. clearly reads five in the locative case. The sixth, namely, *plaksa-* which is now met with in the instrumental case needs restoration to the locative case by correcting the present mis-reading **पुश्रेण तिष्ठसि** to **पुश्रे निश्चितसि**. Obviously, our *bhadrdt* etc., cannot fit in if they are taken as the ablative forms (as they, of course, look like), but they get on all right when construed as ending in the secondary suffix *\*ati(p)* in the locative sense (cf. *Pan. V, 3, 34*). The relationship between the two recensional sets of readings here is thus brought within the scope of phonetic rather than textual variation and may be shown as, for instance, *plaksat* (>d> dh> jh> j> y)> *\*plaksdi*> *plak?e* (= A V P.). The A V P. reading *bhadra* in *a* and *c* represents a case of arrested transformation and, as such, has been wrongly translated by others as an adjective in the sense of 'blest'<sup>1</sup> (Griffith and Whitney) or 'noble'<sup>1</sup> (Bloomfield).

c. The unwanted repetition *bhadrdt* seems to be causing a very important omission namely, that of the *bddara-* tree which is a very important resort of *laksa-* (i. c. lac). The reading *\*bddariit* in place of *bhadrdt*, a quite evident emendation as it is, will not only remove this omission but also correct the Pada metrically (for, otherwise, *nyagrdhdht* shall have to be read as *niagrodhat*).

d. (*trundhati-* seems to be an epithet (cf. A V. VIII, 7, 6) and not another name of *laksa-*. Probably, it is to be derived from *a ruh(dh)* 'close up', 'bind'<sup>1</sup> and the derivative process may be shown as *\*«roha-(w>)n- da (dht >) dhi- > \*arulwndhati- > \*arvandhati- > arundhati*. This meaning of the epithet is in consonance with the description, in the vcr. 3, of *laksa-* as 'clasping tree after tree'<sup>1</sup> and its employment in A V. IV, 12, 1 in relation to another name of *laksa-* i. e. *rohani-* which itself is connected with the same aforesaid root, namely, *ruh(dh)*. This adjectival base is to be distinguished from the substantive base *anmdhati-* which denotes a febrifugal and milk-increasing herb (cf. A V. VI, 59,1-3) and, etymologically, might be derived as *\*aroga(m>)n-da(dhi->) dhi-> \*arondadhi-> arundhati-*. The description of *Itiksa-* as tree-climbing plant or as a product derived from the *arundhatt-* plant (cf. Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic-Index* s.v. *arundhati-*) is obviously based on the confusion between the substantive *arundhati-* and the adjective *arundhati-* and on taking *a ruh* in our ver. 3 in

the sense of 'climbing'<sup>1</sup>.

### Verse 6.

हिरण्यवर्णे सुभगे सूर्यवर्णे वपुष्टमे ।  
रुतं गच्छसि निष्कृते निष्कृतिर्नाम वा असि ॥

'O gold-coloured, very lustrous, sun-coloured (one) with most brilliant form, mayst (thou), Binder, close up the wound; (for) Binder (by) name (thou) art, indeed',

a. A V P. reads *hiranyabahu* for °*varne*. It seems that its original reading (\*°*bhata*->) \*°*bhate* has (through phonetic • °*bridh*(> h)c and, then, scriptorial °*baho*) been (again, phonetically) reduced into °*bahu* (ed. °*hu*).

c. *rutd* - may be connected with \**rutd*- derivable from *Vrut* (being a fuller form of *ru* *L.Dhatu*. I, 984) 'injure<sup>1</sup>, 'strike' (i.e. *pratighata*-cf. *Dhatu*. I, 748). Whitney takes it in the sense of 'call<sup>1</sup> apparently, deriving it from *jru* 'sound<sup>1</sup> (*Dhatu*. II, 24). A V P. reads *rtam* which might originally have been \**hrtdm* (< \**hr* 'injure,' 'hurt', cf. note on *haras-* in ver. 4 above), for which our *rutdm* (< \**hrutdm*) may be only a dialectical variation (cf. the Maharaṣṭra pronunciation of *r* as *ru* against *ra* or *ri* in North India). *gacchasi*, as translated above, is to be related to OIA. roots *gad-*, *gand-*, *grath-*, *granth-*, *gras-* and *grah-*; NIA. *gath-*, *gadh*; Eng. *clasp-*, *clutch-*, *grasp-*, *grip-*, *grapple-*, all in the sense of 'binding', 'closing up" or 'joining<sup>1</sup>. The subjunctive form from *grath*, (i. e., \**gratsasi*) seems to have been phonetically reduced into (\**gracchasi*>) *gacchasi*.

### Verse 7.

हिरण्यवर्णे सुभगे सुप्ते लोमशवचणे ।  
अपामसि स्वसा लाक्षे वातो हात्सा बभूव ते ॥

'O *Laksa*, that (art) gold-holder, sewer, gluer (and possessor of) binding wax-paste; (thou) art the sister of the waters; the wind, verily, became thy solidifier.'

a. \**vdrtta-* here seems to be different from 'varna-' 'brilliance<sup>1</sup> and is a phonetic variant of \**bhdrna-* from *-jbhr* 'hold<sup>1</sup>, pointing to the employment of lac in moulds and pads used for fixing the shape of gold

1, Here just a notice may as well be taken of the epithet *dsacUii-* as applied in A V. IV, 12, 5 to *rotianl-* (i. e. *laksa-*). It seems that in this context, it is used in the sense of *Remedy\** in general (cf. the epithet *visravyabheqajl-* for it in A V P. VI, 4, 11) and does not denote, necessarily, any *Jierb* or plant. The process of phonetic convergence is responsible for a number of meanings in the case of this word (cf. lexicons) exactly as it is so in that of other innumerable words and, so, it is each separate context alone that can primarily help in determining which particular meaning is wanted there and, thereby, also direct etymological quest on the right track (cf. Ygska's dictum *arthanityah parlkseta* LII, 1).

ornaments. The AVP. variant *yuvate* (<*yuvatci-*) for our *subhage* (<\**subhaga-*) points to the common origin of both words, along different phonetic paths, from \**syuma(dha>)dha* (< *siv* 'sew'), thus separating it from *subhdgd-* 'lovely', 'fortunate' etc. (being the sense in which it has been taken by others).

jb. \**susm(d>)ii-* as understood in our translation 'gluer', has been taken as a phonetic reduction from ( V \**slus* [= *slis* cf. NLA-*surcs* 'glue'; Lat. *glus-* 'glue'; Germ, *^schlicszen* 'shut', *schluss-* 'shutting', *ayischluss-* 'joining', *stucken* 'stick', 'patch'; Eng. *solder*, *shnt*, close]) \**slusmfi-*. It is thus differentiated, as required by the context, from the adjective \**sustrui-* as understood by others (in the sense of 'odorous' [LGriffith], 'fiery' [LBloomfield] or 'vehement' [Whitney], seemingly, intended to be derived from either >*sus* 'dry' or *^svas* 'breath'), *lomasd-vaksana-* is rendered as 'hairy-bodied', 'with hairy stem' and 'hairy bellied' by Griffith, Bloomfield and Whitney, respectively, of course, consistently with their conception of *hiksa-* as a plant which, as already indicated, seems to be based on only confusion of texts. The adjective *lomasd-* is derived, in our translation, from Vrab.i "*bind*" and equated to (\**rabhmd*-\**rope*>) \**rabhmasa-* 'ropy', Eng. *rope-* itself may be ultimately connected with V \**rubh* 'bind' which, as reduced to V \**ruh*, is found used in connection with *rdhanT-* (i. e. a synonym of *lak\*a-* and to >*\*rup* in the causative >*jropi* 'bind', (i- e. 'heal' or 'cure'), *vaksana-* is taken as a substantive in the sense of 'wax-paste', being derived from *vaks* 'join', 'unite' (*Dhatu.* I, 664, i. c, *sahghuta* -). Apparently, it is a homonym, which is used elsewhere in the same of 'river' (cf. *Nighantu* I, 13), 'side' (cf. RV. I, 32, 1, etc.) and 'growth' (cf. RV. I, 114, 7; V, 55, 3; V, 8, 7 and VI, 17, 4). Our other translators seem to have drawn upon the last two of these meanings, which, of course, are not relevant to the present context. The words '*viscid*', '*viscin*', '*viscous*', '*viscurn* and '*vax*' as well as *vuk^anii-* may have to be traced, ultimately, to a common root in the sense of 'binding', 'sticking' and not 'flowing' as Walde-Pokorny suggest, including even *virus* in the same group of words [cf. I, 243 f, and 313 f.]).

c. *Inksa-* at the time of its exudation is in the form of viscous honey-like drops and is, therefore, appropriately described as 'the sister of the waters' i. c. as pertaining to the sphere of liquids. The word is not found used elsewhere in the present hymn or in AV. IV, 12, which is also said to be dedicated to *laksn-* (cf. op.cit. Darila on *Kaus.Sn* XXVIII, 14). So, in the midst of a series of synonyms and epithets, it is difficult to determine, on the basis of Vedic evidence alone, that *lcvft?<i-* itself is not an epithet. But AVP. by its concluding prayer f VI, 4, 11) : *laksa(ya sic)tva vis'vabhcsajtr (sic. jt) devebhistriciyatam saha* finally settles this matter in favour of *laksii-* being the object of description and glorification here. The word itself might have primarily

meant either 'the bright one', 'the red one' or 'the binding one', 'the sticking one' and, derived, in the one case, from *fas* (*Dhatu*. 1,913) 'glow' (> \**lasa-* L\_ i.e. abstract r.o.in J > \**lasas* L<a> jtf- > \**Jassd-* > *laksrf-*), or, in the other, from *lag* (*Dhatu*. I, 787) 'stick' (> \**lagd-* L.i.e. abstract noun J > \**laga-ss* L a > f-> \**lagsd-* > *laksn-*).

d. The exposure of 'the sister of the waters'<sup>1</sup> to air causes its encrustment. This seems to be referred to by the description of *vdtd-* as its *atmdn-* (solidifier). This rendering of *atmdn-* implies its being a phonetic reduction from (*Vbadh* 'bind' L *Dhatu*. I, 998, J >) \**badlmdn-* > \**bhudmdn-* > \**ha* (>a) *d* (>t) *man-* and, thus, being distinct from the two other phonetic convergents, the one found in A V. V, 9, 7 in the sense of 'body', 'trunk' and the other in R V. X, 16, 3 in the sense of 'breath' ("contrast, Griffith and Whitney rendering the present *atman-* by 'soul' and Bloomfield by 'breath'<sup>1</sup>, thus confusing it with its aforesaid homonymic occurrence in R V J).

### Verse 8.

सिलजि नाम कानीनोऽजबभ्रु पिता त्व ।

भ्रुश्चो यमस्य यः श्यावस्तस्य हास्नास्तुषिता ॥

'And, O brown (one), stone-born silajit, (by) name, is thy other ; Tama's horse, that (is) dark, by him, indeed, art (thou) borne in mouth'.

a, b. On account of the tawny-brown colour of lac, bitumen (*silajit-*), which is also of similar colour, is referred to here as its father. The reading *silad nama* seems, phonetically, to be equivalent to \**silajit* (>n) *nama*, and, *kantndh* to \*(*pd* [> *phd* > *ha* > *a* > *a* > X] *Sa* > ) *ka*(*ni*>) *nlnah* (i. e. \**pasatja-* *jana-* [ also, cf. Kas'miri *k<sup>a</sup>Ti-* 'stone' plu. *kani-*]). The A VP. reading *ghrtact nama* (phonetically, to be equated to \**ghrtajit* [ >n] *nama*) suggests synonymic ( which, ultimately, may be phonetic ) equation between *sild-* and \**ghrta-* (> \**girta-* > \**gitt* [*dd*] *a-* > \**gl* [*l*] >*lra-* > \**gird-*, being the substantive base of *giri-* L cf. NIA. *gir-*, *girt* kil-'stone' of fruit and *kir-* or *kira-* in *kirana-*, a hillock of that name near Sargodha in Panjab ). As further suggested by AVP. *atbabhru*, our *djababhru* consists of two words, the conjunctive particle *dtha* and the vocative form (*babhrn-* > ) *babhru*. Thus, the whole half-verse makes one simple sentence and need not be made into two sentences as others have done, *silaci* of this verse is, as shown above, different from *silaci* (i.e. AVP. *silddi* [not *ghrtact* as here; of vcr. 1. The father, alone, of lac is mentioned here and, hence, *silaci* (which as a feminine word cannot fit in) as equated to \**silajit-* accords well with the adjective *kantndh*. Finally, the disappearance of the compound word *djababhrih* as such, clears up the interpretation of the passage, leaving no room for bringing in the ideas of 'goat' (*dja*\*) as others seem to have been forced to labour at.

c, d. Lac does not grow out, like an ordinary plant, from the earth, nor, like a parasitic plant, from a tree. All the same, it is found settled upon a number of 'host plants'. Whence does it come? Our second half-verse solves this mystery by tracing it to the mouth of the dark horse of Yama. Mss. of *Padapatha* differ in reading *asnd* (in the mouth) and *asnd* (in the blood) in this verse as well as in the following one. As clear from the description in the next verse, *asnd*, alone, can be the correct reading? for, then, the fall of lac could easily take place as soon as the horse opened its mouth. There is no question of its having fallen from the blood of the horse, *juks* in *uksitd-* is to be equated with *yvah* 'carry' or 'bear', for, it is the mysterious appearance itself of lac that is in question and is intended to be explained. Therefore, it is wrong to connect *uksitd* with others have done with *uks* 'sprinkle'.

### Verse 9.

अश्वस्यासन्ः संपतित्वा सा वृक्षां अभि सिष्यदे ।  
सर्वा परत्रिषी भूत्वा सा न पुच्छन्वति ॥

'That (*laksn*) fell from the mouth of the horse (and) dropped (right) towards the trees (as if> when) fallen, (it) had become a bird. That (thou), O, Wound-binder, (do) come to us'.

2, a The translation implies the emendation of *sisyade* into (*j srans* 'fall' >) *srasyata* (past imperfect), for it is the dropping of lac from the upper region (where Yama and his horse dwell) that is being described here. *S'usyata* of AVP. may be said to be somewhat nearer to the original postulate than our reading, *abhi* is adnominal preposition in the sense of 'direction\*' and not an adverbial one as others have taken it. How is it that in falling from the high heaven, it drops straight in the direction of the trees and does not fall on the flat ground below? The poet imagines towards satisfying himself in this matter that it had, for the time being, turned into a bird and, therefore, it was but natural that it should light upon the trees (which provide abode to birds). *sard-* is reduced, phonetically, from *\*srastd-* (> *\*sratha-*)> *\*sa* (th> d [cf. AVP.] >d >)ri- and is an adjective and not a substantive (in the sense of 'brook'<sup>1</sup> [from *sr* 'move'<sup>5</sup>] as others have understood it to be). On the other hand, *patatrini-* ('bird') is a substantive and not an adjective (in the sense of 'winged' as others have taken it). The poetic (supernatural<sup>^</sup>) imagery inspired by the mysterious appearance and growth of lac on a number of trees starts in verse 8 c and is completed in verse 9 c, leaving out the prayer in 9 d as a general conclusion. It seems that AVP. had really read the past tense i.e. *\*asih* and not the present tense i. e. *asi* as found at present, thus supporting the aforesaid syntactical construction of our c with the absolutive *bhutvd* in place of the finite past form of AVP. It is hardly necessary to add that the fulfilment of the concluding prayer in 9 d had no mystery about it and was easy

of achievement because the trees playing host to lac were quite familiar and near at hand and, so, could not have impelled the poet to go in search of a special figure of speech for its purpose. The variation between *vrksdn* and *bhutvd* of our text and *parnam* (sic. *an*) and *asi* (sic. *asih*) of AVP.j respectively, is, apparently, not of phonetic origin, and stands, along with other numerous similar cases, in need of further much deeper study towards determination of the relationship between the two recensions.

### Verse 10 (AVP. only)

घृताचके वामरते विद्युत्पर्णे भरुन्वसि ।  
याऽऽतुरं गमिष्ठाऽसि स्वम् अङ्ग निष्करीयसि ॥

*V* (that art) bitumen-like, (that art) wound-healer, (that hast) brilliance of lightning (and, that art) wound-binder, as (soon as thou) shalt go to the patient, surely, shalt thou heal (him)'.  
a, b. The translation implies restoration of *ghrtacake* to (\**ghrtacit*\* [cf. note on verse 8<i>i>] > \**ghrtacit-k*[*a* >] <> >) \**ghrtaciike*, of *vamarate* to (^*ivarh* [k'injure', 'wound<sup>1</sup>] > \**varhman*\* \**vahhman*- > \**vahman*- > \**vaman*- > ) *vam*- *Uradh* ['mature', 'heal'] > \**radh*(*a*>) *a*- >) *radhe*, and of *vidyutparne* to \**vidyud-varne*. (*d. stiryvarne* in verse 6).

c. The restoration of the Pada to *yad aturam gamisyasi* assumes two scriptorial aberrations, namely, \**yadaturam* > *yaturam* and *gamisyasi* > *gamiwhasi* fas clearly observable in Nagarī \**गमिष्यसि* > [\**गमिष्टसि*] °*ष्टसि*) and, metrically, squares it up.

cf. \**niskariyasi* seems to have phonetically changed into (\*<sup>9</sup>*risjasi*>

### Verse 11 (AVP. only)

यत्ते जग्रधं पिशाचैस्तद् ताह्याप्यायतां पुनः ।  
लाक्षाय त्वा विश्वभेषजीर् देवेभिस्त्रायतां सह ॥

'0 patient), what of thee is seized by the Demons, that (same) may now become perfect again ; along with the Gods, may laksa, the pleni-cure, save thee'.

a, b. The text as received needs restoration (as implied in the translation,) of *jagradham* to ( *grdh* > ) \**jagrde* (*i. e.* past passive perfect 3d pers. sing J and of *tarhi* ("obviously, a mere slip) to *tarhi*.

c. The syllable *ya* in *lahhaya* is unwanted metrically as well as grammatically. The plu. *visvabheshajir*, being an epithet of *lahsa*- needs correction to sing. °j?.



SECTION III

**Other Literary Studies**



## A note on laksa in Rajasekhara's Kavyamimamsa

P. ACHARYA, *Mayurbhanj*.

Rajas'ekhara was well acquainted with the details of geography of India. In the *Kavyamimamsa*, one chapter XVII, called *Des'avibhaga* or the divisions of the country, describes the names of countries, mountains, rivers and products. He has divided India into five parts, namely, (1) *Purvadcsa*, (2) *Daksinapatha*, (3) *Paschdddcsa*, (4) *Uttarapatha* and (5) *Madhyadi'sa*. Within the *Purvadcsa* which is the part lying east of Benares, he has mentioned the names of 16 countries where the products called *lavali*, *granthipanjakd*, *aguru*, *drabs a* and *hasfirika* are found. Again in the description of *Uttarapatha* he has mentioned 21 countries in which *draksa* also finds mention as a product of the countries. The countries under *Purvadcsa* are identified with the modern provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Eastern Central Provinces excluding Nepal. In this part of Eastern India, nowhere *draksa* or grape is grown wild or cultivated; but in the *Uttarapatha* comprising modern Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces and Kashmir, *draksa* is grown and cultivated. So, there is no doubt that *draksa* in Eastern India is a mistake for *laksa* or *raksa*, the red-dye of which a famous cosmetic of Indian ladies is prepared. Due to the mistake of copyists, Rajas'ekhara's text of *laksa* was current as *draksa* which has been printed in the book published in the Gackwad Oriental Series, Vol. 1. I am of opinion that Ra.'as'ekhara's original text was *laksa* or *alakta* which is well known cosmetic of the ladies of India even now-a-days. The history of lac has been elaborately written by Watt in the *Dictionary of the Commercial products of India* (pp. 1053-56). Hobson and Jobson also contains quotations from Western writers under the word Lac. In the *Periplus* (80 A. D.), the lac-dye is mentioned as conveyed from India to Aduli on the African coast of the **Red** Sea (Watt p. 1054). Watt's following note fully supports Rajas'ekhara's statement on the area where lac is grown : <sup>4</sup>Lac is met with practically throughout the warm tropical areas of the whole of India, but most abundantly in Central Provinces, Bengal (which then included **the Bihar** and the Orissa Provinces), Assam and Burma'.

# Puranic Basis of the Bengal Smarta Vratas

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, *Dacca.*

Of the various topics dealt with in the Smṛti digests of Bengal, *vrata* figures very prominently and engages the attention of two of the foremost Smṛti writers of this province. Śīlāpī and his renowned successor Rāghunādana wrote separate treatises dealing with *vratas*, viz., the *Vrata-kala-vivēka*<sup>1</sup> and the *Vrata-tattva*<sup>2</sup>, respectively. The earlier writer, Jīmutāvahana in his *Kiila-viveka*\*, which concerns itself with the determination of proper time for various religious acts, incidently refers to *vratas*. Before going into the details of these Smṛti-*vratas*, we shall consider those described in the *Puranas* and shall see how the latter formed the basis of the former.

The *Puranas* contain a rich store-house of numerous *vratas* in the sense of rules of conduct to be observed by one with an object in view, fasting being the essential element of these rules. It is our object here to present, in a nutshell, the broad rites and customs connected with these *vratas* and also to make out a picture of their social background. They admit of two broad classifications, viz., (1) purificatory or expiatory, and (2) devotional. The first variety is resorted to by people in order to atone for sins committed by them, e. g., *Candrdyana*, *Prajapatya* etc. The devotional *vratas* are observed by people for attaining a definite object, e. g., the birth of a son, acquisition of wealth etc. The physical parts of *vratas* are fasting, living on things obtained without asking etc. The subjective elements are non-violence, truth, continence, etc. From the objective standpoint, *vratas* can be divided into : — (1) active, and (2) passive. In the former, one has to take particular kinds of food and worship certain deities. In the passive *vratas*, one has merely to practise abstinence by resorting to fast, etc. There can yet be a third classification of *vratas* into (1) *nitya*, (2) *naimittika*, and (3) *kāmya*. Of these the non-observance of the first variety makes a man sinful, e.g., *Eka da st-vrata*. The second is practised only on special occasions, e. g., *Candrdyana*, observed for washing off sins. The *kāmya*, is the outcome of some *kāma* or desire. In other words, *kāmya vratas* are those which are observed in particular *tithis* with a definite object in view, e. g., *Savitri-vrata*, performed for the husband's welfare.

1. Ed. S. C. Banerji, 1HQ. Dec., 1941.

2. Included in the *Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. 11, Ed. J. Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 18\*15.

3. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1905 .

On the previous day one undertaking a *vrata* has to practise abstinence and restraint both in one's food and personal habits. On the proper day he has to fast and then eat, on the following day, a very simple diet, strictly avoiding wine, meat, salt, oil, etc. Some *vratas* require a person to take sacred cowdung and cow's urine for internal purification. In observing certain *vratas* one has to live upon food obtained without asking (**अयाचिताही**). The rule of fasting is relaxed in the case of ; (1) a young maiden, (2) a pregnant woman, (3) a woman just delivered of a child and (4) a diseased woman. They can take their meals by night. Of the rules of conduct, the most important, besides fasting, is honouring and feeding the Brahmanas and liberally making gifts to them. On the *vrata* day, abstinence from sexual intercourse is binding. Silence (**मौन**) is generally recommended, talking to a heretic or non-believer (**पाषण्ड**) being particularly prohibited. Listening to the recital of *Purauas* and also to the story of the origin and efficacy of *vratas* (**व्रतकथा**) and keeping awake at night by means of vocal and instrumental music are some of the rules to be observed on that day.

No *vrata* can be regarded as complete without gifts to Brahmanas. Of those worthy of receiving gifts, the preceptor is the most competent person. The qualifications of other Brahmanas to whom gifts can be made are as follows:— (1) having a large family to maintain, (2) being versed in the Vedas and other kinds of learning, (3) being a surviving widow, (4) being devoted to S'wa or Visnu (in particular *vratas* only), (5) possessing self-restraint and (6) being full-limbed. Among the gifts gold ranks the highest, being given as images of certain deities, flowers, chariots, fish, horses, lions and trees etc. In most of the *vratas* the gift of cows or bulls forms an essential part of the ceremony. Other metals, such as silver, copper, etc., may also be given in certain cases, especially when the giver is rather poor. Besides these specific gifts, all the articles of worship in a *vrata* are to be made over to Brahmanas. Daily necessities like salt, paddy, sugar, clothes, blankets, beds, fan, umbrella, footwear, etc., are also to be given to them. That the Brahmanas made these *vratas* an instrument for earning their livelihood seems evident from such injunctions as make the comparatively richer people give away land or sometimes even a whole village to them in order to ensure the full benefit of *vratas*. The gift of a well-furnished house (**सर्वोपकरणयुक्त-गृह**) is supposed to confer great merit on the givers. In making gifts one is strongly and repeatedly warned against 'deceitful economy' (**वित्तदात्र्य**) i. e., spending less money than what one can, for it leads to hell. The gifts should be carried to the house of the recipient at the cost of donors.

Visnu, in his various incarnations, and S'iva figure as the most prominent deities to be worshipped in *vratas*. Cupid with his consort is also frequently worshipped\* mostly, for attaining physical beauty etc.

It is not infrequent to notice the dual gods Visnu and Laksmi or S'iva and Uma receiving worship simultaneously. S'iva as Rudra is also some times propitiated. In certain *vratas* the images of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and of Earth are worshipped. Among all the deities, found in the *Puranas* to be associated with *vratas*, it is only natural that the sectarian deities S'iva and Visnu should occupy the foremost position. Brahma, also, is not overlooked. His cosmic egg (*Brahmanda*) is found to be worshipped in certain *vratas*.

The majority of the *vratas* are supposed to produce tangible results. Their performer is endowed with a beautiful form, gets immense fortune, subdues the enemy, and is rendered free from all earthly maladies including various diseases. The sonless gets a son, the widow becomes happy, the poor become the masters of immense fortune, and the wife can ensure the welfare of her husband, and one separated from one's near and dear relations can be re-united with them. In short, all conceivable temporal bliss can be attained. Being free from all sins, a performer of *vratas* is saved from re-births. *Bhukti* or earthly enjoyment and *Mukti* or final emancipation are associated with the performance of various *vratas*. The names of certain *vratas* themselves are designed to indicate the results obtainable by performing them, e. g., *Asunya-sayana*. *Kalyana-saptami*, *Pati-saubhgya-wardhana*, *Visoka-saptami*, *Vibhuti-dvadast* and *S'ubha-saptaml*.

Both men and women are entitled to perform *vratas* though those for men are comparatively limited in number. In the case of women who are impure or otherwise incapable, a substitute is allowed. The vicarious performance of religious acts is indeed a noteworthy feature of the Hindu ritual. While in the Vedic sacrifices the yajamana has to play a part along with his *patnt* (so called owing to her participation in sacrifices), in the *Puranic vratas* a man or woman can independently perform them though some are to be performed by a couple. Though in the Post-Vedic period women are, as a rule, debarred from religious acts in general, yet the *vrata*\* seem to be primarily intended for them. They can perform them *in* all stages of their lives whether they are unmarried, married or widowed.

The above description presupposes a society in which the Brahmanas were in need of the means of subsistence and engaged themselves in consolidating their supremacy by appealing to the religious sentiment of the general public, mostly, of the women. The composition of most of the *Puranas* spread over a period falling between the first and the tenth centuries of the Christian era<sup>1</sup>. This is a chequered period of Indian history, which saw the rise of rival dynasties and foreign invasions. The history of the Brahmanical religion during this time is one of continual struggle for existence against rival and alien religious movements trying to stamp it out. Though suffering many reverses, it never died

1. See R. C. Hazra : *Studies in Puranic Records*, etc.

out but was considerably stifled. There was, no doubt, a Brahmanical revival in the reign of Gupta kings but it could not gain a firm footing. It got a severe blow soon after the decline of the Guptas and with the rise of the Hunas. These facts presumably led the Brahmanas to devise means for attaining supremacy, the *vrata* having been probably one of these effective means. The *vrata-ritics* served as a bulwark for the Brahmanas against the rival faiths and contributed to the social and economic uplift of the Brahmanas. The first thing that strikes us is the rule of gifts. That the gifts should be made exclusively to the Brahmanas shows that they are to be regarded as the best persons in society and, so? worthy of receiving donation. Among the Brahmanas\* again, are to be preferred those who have a large family to maintain and are devoted to Vedic studies. The articles of gift such as salt, sugar, etc. distinctly betray the worldly condition of the priestly class for whom it was difficult or almost impossible even to earn the barest means of subsistence. The gift of gold and other precious metals or of land and house means nothing but a contribution to the material welfare of the Brahmanas.

It is significant that of the persons entitled to observe *vratas*, women are given the most prominent position, their usual disabilities, viz., impurity, pregnancy, etc. notwithstanding. It is particularly noticeable that these are the special privileges enjoyed by women only in *vratas*, whereas the very fact of their being women is an obstacle to their participation in religious observances in general. The object of allowing these privileges to them seems to be manifold from the social point of view. In the first place, the Brahmanas had to guard against the conversion of women to asceticism by Buddhists and Jains, which was steadily causing a disintegration of society and creating? among the people, a sense of aversion to the second stage of life, viz., *Garhasthya*. For this reason it was necessary to devise means of attracting women to family life. It may be observed that the objects and results of many of the *vratas* are agreeable to feminine sentiment. The mind of the average woman will naturally be attracted to such religious deities as would render her husband or son free from all maladies, make them happy and long-lived and will enable her to remain ever by her husband's side. Thus, in a way, the *vratas* seem to have been a means of keeping woman within the fold of family life by holding out assurances of a happy existence here and hereafter. Hence the Brahmanas seemed to have tried to make their propaganda of Brahmanical regeneration largely through women. It deserves notice that in their zeal of popularising the *vratas* the Brahmanas withdrew their ban even on the prostitutes who had, strictly speaking, no caste and were branded as 'fallen', and who were generally regarded to have no future. In the *Puranas* we find that prostitutes are allowed to participate in *vratas* and even Veda-knowing

Brahmanas have not the slightest hesitation in accepting any kind of gifts from their hands.

The facts that women were given, for the first time in the *Puranas*, the greatest liberty in observing *vratas*, that the gifts to Brahmanas are nowhere so numerous and varied as in the *Puranas*, and that the rites and customs of *vratas* are rather peculiar, may be taken together to show that the rules of *vratas* were framed more for improving the social and economic status of the Brahmanas and for tightening their grip on the society than for any purely religious motive. Even though the rules of abstinence and continence encouraged morality and good behaviour, the system of *vrata* tended towards mendacious religiosity rather than true religion. These rules, unlike those of the earlier Vedic religion, were never the spontaneous outcome of human feelings but the artificial working of a class to consolidate its supremacy.

We shall now consider the *vratas* mentioned in the *Smrti J'*, [Ibaridhas of Bengal and see how far they have been influenced by *Purauic vratas*. The *Kcila-viveka* of Jimutavahana deals with the proper times of various religious ceremonies including *vratas*. The *Vrata-kala-viveka* and the *Vrata-tattva* of S'ulapani and Raghunandana, respectively, contain general rules, the former dealing with the time and the latter concerning itself with the actual procedure of the *vratas*. The *Prayastitta-viveka* of S'ulapani and the *Prayascitta-tattva* of Raghunandana contains means of atoning for the non-observance or irregular observance of the *vratas* undertaken and deal with the purificatory *vratas* at length.

Of the above writers, only S'ulapani attempts a precise definition of the term '*vrata*'. According to him, the vow is not the only thing about *vrata* though it constitutes the essential element, the accessories being the observance of certain attendant duties. His description *dlrgha-kalrmu-palaniva* may be interpreted in two ways, e.g. (1) for a long period at a stretch, and (2) repeatedly every year at the appointed time and thus for many years. The first interpretation does not seem to be intended sense, because in that case *vratas* of short duration, such as *Ekadasi*, would have been excluded. In support of 'vow' being the essential element of *vratas* S'ulapani quotes Manu (II. 3) according to whom besides *vratas*, *yajnas* and other religious acts arise from a particular vow undertaken by the person practising them.

Jimiitavahana, on the authority of the *Puranas*, holds the following ten to be the common obligations or duties involved in *vratas* in general :— (1) forbearance, (2) truth, (3) kindness, (4) charity, (5) purity, (6) restraint of senses, (7) worship of deities, (8) pouring oblations into fire, (9) contentment and (10) honesty. S'ulapani, quoting Gotama,

imposes the following duties on the person observing a *vrata* :— (1) kindness to all creatures, (2) forbearance, (3) absence of spite, (4) purity, (5) rest, (6) practice of beneficial acts, (7) avoidance of miserliness and (8) absence of greed.

One taking a vow but abandoning it through folly or ignorance is relegated to the position of a Candala while alive and becomes a beast when dead. The atonement prescribed for such a sinner is that besides shaving the head he is to undergo a long fast. After all this he is again to perform the *vrata* abandoned by him. The *S'ristras*, however, excuse a sinner whose abandonment of the vow is due to circumstances beyond his control, e. g., disease, order of the preceptor, etc. But repeated abandonments of the vow, even on the above grounds plunge a man into sin which requires to be duly expiated. The passages prescribing atonement for non-continuance of *vratas*, once undertaken, are taken mostly from the *Purams*.

Though impurity consequent upon the birth and death of one's relatives constitutes an obstacle to the performance of all religious rites, yet it does not become a bar if the ceremony of *vrata*, as also of *yajTia* and *viviiha*, has already been commenced. In anticipation of the enquiry as to when precisely the ceremony of *vrata* etc., may be said to begin, it is said that the rite, technically known as *satikalpa*, marks the commencement in such cases.

Though fasting is binding on one undertaking the *vrata*, yet the rule is relaxed in the case of those who cannot stand the strain. Such persons can take the following things without incurring any sin for breaking the fast :— (1) water, (2) roots, (3), fruits, (4) milk, (5) ghee or oblation (*havis*), (6) any thing at the desire or request of a Brahmana (*Brdhmana-ktimya*), (7) any thing with the permission of one's Guru (*Guru-vacanam*) and (8) medicine (*ausadham*). It is also ordained that one who is unable to fast does not commit any sin by eating at night. There is the rule of vicarious performance of *vratas* in the case of certain persons, e. g. a woman in the family way, etc. When one appoints a substitute for performing one's *vrata*, one has to do personally the physical acts of fasting, etc.

Among things and practices to be strictly avoided on the day of *vrata*, the following deserve mention :— (1) talking to the apostate, the heretic and the atheist, (2) untruth, (3) utterance of indecent things, (4) talk, touch and sight of low-born people residing outside the village, of a woman just delivered of a child, of a degraded woman, and also of a woman in her impurity, (5) rubbing oil on the body or on the head, (6) taking betel leaves, (7) using unguent, (8) cleansing the teeth, (9) day-sleep, (10) playing at dice and (11) sexual intercourse.

On the authority of Manu<sup>1</sup> it has been held that a married woman has no right to performance of sacrifices and *vratas*, and that in her case the service of the husband is the greatest meritorious act which may lead her to heaven.

The above account of *vratas*, as given in the *Smrti-Hibandhas* of Bengal, shows how the conception of *vratas* is, to a great extent, *Puranic*, and also how they are, substantially derived from the *Puranas* with slight modifications which might have been necessitated by the changing circumstances of a progressive society. Women still figure prominently in connection with *vratas*, most of the rules applying to them alone. The verse, quoted from Manu, laying down that women have no religious rites to perform — not even *vratas* — excepting the service of the husband is an injunction presumably of the pre-Puranic age when women were, as a rule, kept in the background so far as religious observances were concerned. In order to fit this rule with the *Pur ante* conception of *vratas*, S'ulapani makes this injunction imply that women can observe *vratas* only with the permission of their husbands. No such difficulty arose during the time of the *Puranas* which had to ignore totally all texts restraining the rights of women to participate in religious acts. To combat heterodox religious cults and movements successfully it was perhaps necessary to allow such freedom to women, to whom even greater freedom was allowed by the Buddhists. The *Nibandhas* as descendants and derivatives of the *Dharmasastras*, could neither shake off the above injunction of Manu nor could they do away with the *Puranic vratas*, which had taken deep root in the Indian mind. It is perhaps for these reasons that these latter works had to make a compromise between the rules of *Dharmasastras* and the *Puranas*.

As regards gifts in connection with *vratas*, the *Nibandhas* of Bengal mention them in a general way. The numerous and varied gifts of the *Puranas* are absent in the *Smrti* digests a fact which probably demonstrates that by this time Brahminical supremacy was well established and that the Brahmins were held in high esteem. The frantic cravings of the *Puranic* Brahmins for popular support are naturally not found in these late works.

1. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पूजम् यज्ञो न ब्रह्मं नाप्युपोषणम् । पतिं शुभ्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गो महीयते ॥ (V. 155)

# The Devotional Element in Raghunandana's Works

By

BHABATOSHBHATTACHARYA, *Bhatpara (Bengal)*.

No critical study of Raghunandana, the great Bengal digest-writer of the 16th century, has, as yet, been made. Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti appended in 1915 to his big paper, entitled, 'Studies in the history of *Smṛti* in Bengal and Mithila<sup>1</sup>, a comprehensive list of the works and authors, *Smṛtic* and astrological, quoted in the works of Raghunandana? along with their page-numbers in the Serampore edition of Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*. Unwarranted remarks about Raghunandana have been made by various scholars from time to time in their works. Dr. S. K. De<sup>2</sup> has described the work of Raghunandana as great but narrowly conservative and his prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny, while Dr. Enam-ul Haque<sup>3</sup> has attributed the liberalness of Raghunandana's views to the influence of Sufi-ism. Time is now ripe for making a critical study of Raghunandana's works by a process of analysis and identification, as most of the digests, composed in eastern and other parts of India in the four centuries just preceding Raghunandana and immensely incorporated by him in his works, have been published during the last five decades. Though Prof. P. V. Kane<sup>4</sup> and Dr. S. K. De<sup>5</sup> have occasionally repeated the fact of particular digest-writers having been quoted by Raghunandana from the above-mentioned list of Chakravarti, yet, far from identifying the quotations, they have nowhere even mentioned the fact of the *Bhagavad-gīta* or the *Śrīmad'bhagavata* having been quoted by Raghunandana. But the truth is that these two devotional works have profusely been quoted by Raghunandana and that the identification of these numerous quotations can alone prove that like his great contemporary, Caitanya, Raghunandana was also influenced by the sentiment of devotion but did not get greater scope for its ramification than what was absolutely necessary for establishing the fact that neither do Raghunandana's prescriptions amount to social tyranny nor is their liberalness attributable to the influence of Muhammadan Sufi-ism.

The *Bhagavad-gīta* has been quoted not less than nine times in four works of Raghunandana, viz. *Tīhutattva*, *Ahririfea-tattva*, *Malamasa-tattva* and *SWdHi-tattva*. The quotations are from the chapters 2nd., 3rd., 5th., 9th., 11th., 17th. and 18th. Those from the 2nd. and 11th chapters consist of a

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, pp. 311-406.
2. *Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (1942), p. 22.
3. *VaHge Sufi Prabhava* (in Bengali, 1944), p. 185.
4. *History of Dharmayastra*, Vol. I (1930).
5. *History of Bengal*, Vol I (1943), chap. on Sanskrit Literature.

half verse in both the cases, those from the 3rd., the 5th. and the 9th. consist of a full verse in each case, while those from the 17th. and the 18th. consist of four and three verses? respectively<sup>1</sup>.

The *S'rtmad-bhagavata* is a big work of 12 Skandhas, the Skandhas again being subdivided into many chapters, ranging from 10 to 90. It has been quoted not less than 21 times in four works of Raghunandana, viz. *Titfu-tattva*, *Mahmasa-tattva*, *Ekadast-tattva* and *S'wddhi-tattva*. The quotations are from the following Skandhas of the *S'rimad-bhagavata* only viz. 1st., 5th., 6th., 7th., 8th., 10th. and 11th. In five out of these twenty-one quotations, Raghunandana has also quoted the corresponding portions of the commentary of S'ridharasvamin, along with the original texts of the *S'rtmad-bhagavata*. Ten quotations are from the 1st., 5th., 6th., 7th., 8th. and 10th Skandhas, while the remaining eleven quotations are from the various chapters of the 11th, Skandha only\*.

1. The purport of the quotations from the 2nd. to the 11th. chapters is encouragement to perform acts without any desire and to surrender the result of actions to God and to go on fighting and killing enemies, who have already been killed by God. The purport of the four consecutive verses, quoted from the 17th. chapter, is the extolment of the efficacy of the use of the words, viz. *om*, *tat* and *sat*, in the beginning of various religious acts. The purport of the three consecutive verses, quoted from the 18th chapter, is the description of the three kinds of agents, viz., *sattvika*, *rajasa* and *tatnasa*. That person, who is free from the desire of result, devoid of pride, full of patience and energy and unmoved by the success or failure of actions, is called the *sattvika* agent. That person, who is an orator ( or 'attached to the world', according to the reading in the *Bhagavad-g'ita* ), desirous of the result of actions, avaricious, aggressive, impure and full of joy and sorrow, according to occasion, is called the *rajasa* agent. That person, who is heedless, thoughtless, haughty\* wicked, detractor of the merits of others, lazy, dejected and procrastinating, is called the *tatnasa* agent.

2. The first quotation from Skandha 1 is regarding the procedure to be adopted in the recital of the glorified stories of gods, while the second one from the same is Narada's prediction to Yudhisthira, regarding Gandharfs burning herself to death in the same funeral pyre with her husband, Dhttarashtra. The quotation from Skandha V is regarding the prohibition of sacrificing and eating even male animals. The first quotation from Skandha VI is to the effect that a learned person should not direct a fool to the performance of actions with an end in view, just as a good physician does not prescribe unwholesome diet to a patient, hankering after the same. The second quotation from Skandha VI is concerning the partaking of the food, dedicated to God, for the purification of the self and for the fulfilment of all the desires of a woman, performing the *pathsavana* vow. The first quotation from Skandha VII is to the effect that hearing, recital, remembering, service, worship and glorification of, surrender of the fruits of work to, faith in and dedication of one's own self to, Vienu by a person constitute *bhakti* (devotion) in its nine aspects. The second quotation' from the same Skandha is to the effect that neither Brahmanhood nor godliness nor saintliness, neither good conduct nor experience nor gift, neither penance nor sacrifice nor cleanliness nor vow is sufficient for the satisfaction of God who is pleased by spotless devotion and the faith that everything else is trash. The quotation from Skandha VIII is to the effect that one should worship God Kes'ava with unguents, flowers and similar other things and with the

formula of twelve syllables, and if possessed of wealth, one should offer *vati* rice, cooked with milk and along with ghee and jaggery, and perform sacrifice to fire with the original formula and then either offer the dedicated food to a votary of the God or partake of it oneself. The first quotation from Skandha X is to the effect that the cowherd girls, partaking of the *haviṣya* diet, perform the vow of the worship of K&tysyam and Raghunandana has quoted this to establish the vow - character of the worship of Goddess Durga, on the analogy of the KstySyani worship. The second quotation from the same Skandha is to the effect that they (the citizens and the villagers) bowed down to him (i. e. Ktṭpa) with their hands, folded on their heads, and Raghunandana has quoted this to establish that the touch of the head with folded hands is a form of obeisance.

The eleven quotations from Skandha XI a-e rather lengthy and of a highly devotional character. The first of these quotations is from the 3rd. chapter and purports that he, who is free from desires and practises in accordance with the prescriptions of the Vedas for delivering the result to God, attains success, not connected with actions. The allurements of results is simply to create interest in the actions. Raghunandana has quoted just after the above quotation from the 3rd. chapter, four verses from the 21st. chapter and the purport of these verses, which are allied to the above quotation, is given below :-

Such allurements of good results is not the desideratum of men but is resorted to simply to make actions agreeable to them. It has been spoken of as the desideratum to create desire for salvation, just as a medicine is made palatable to the patient by allurements of sweets. The mortals become naturally attached to objects of desire, life and kinsmen, which are the causes of their evil. How can the Vedas encourage persons, who believe in the benevolent aspect of the teaching of the former, for the entertainment of those very desires, following which and being ignorant of their own welfare, persons roam about in paths of desire and then enter into lower states of existence in future births? Some persons, with deficient intelligence and without realising the real import of the Vedas call the apparently pleasant result as the ultimate end but persons, versed in the Vedas\* do not say so.

The quotation from the 5th. chapter is to the following effect :-

\*Just hear what worship is to be offered in accordance with various formulas in the Kali age. O You, the great being and supporter of the humble, I worship Your lotus\* feet, which clear away the insults, fulfil the desires, are as holy as places of pilgrimage are praised by siva and Virinci (i. e. Brahman) and are fit to be resorted to by other also, destroy the affliction of every servant (i. e. devotee) and help one to cross over the ocean of the world. O You, the great being and pious one, I worship Your lotus-feet, which went to the forest to carry out the behest of Your superior (i. e. father Das'aratha), bidding adieu to the fortune of kingdom, not fit to be easily forsaken and longed for even by gods, and which ran after the illusory deer, hankered after by Your beloved (i. e. Sita). Thus, Your Majesty, is Lord Hari, the most powerful of the desired objects, worshipped by men in the different ages in accordance with the name and the appearance, appropriate to the particular age'. Raghunandana then quotes one half-verse and one full verse from the 27th. chapter of the same Skandha, just along with the above lengthier quotation from the 6th. chapter. The purport of the present quotation is to the following effect :-

After having worshipped in the above manner, one should bow down like a stick with the words 'May it please Your Lordship\*' and after placing one's head and two hands just against His feet in due order, say, 'O Lord! just save me, who

## Appendix A<sup>1</sup>

The identification of the *Bhagavad-gītā* quotations :—

### 1. Tithi-tattva.

1. pp. 175-6 : भगवद्गीतायाम् 'तस्माद्भूमिति.....ब्रह्मवादिनाम्' (XVII, 24).

### 2. Āhnika-tattva.

1. p. 350 : भगवद्गीतायाम् 'मुक्तसङ्गो.....उच्यते' (XVIII, 26).
2. p. 350 : अत एवोक्तम् 'मा कर्म.....ऽस्त्वकर्मणि' (II, 47).
3. p. 350 : 'वाग्मी.....उच्यते' (XVIII, 27-28, reads रागी for वाग्मी).

### 3. Malamāsa-tattva.

1. p. 820 : गीतायाम् 'मयैवैते.....सक्यसाचिन्' (XI, 33) इतिवत्.
2. p. 837 : भगवद्गीताऽपि 'युक्तः.....निबध्यते' (V, 12).
3. p. 837 : तथा.....भगवद्वाक्यम् 'मयि.....विगतस्वरः' (III, 30).
4. p. 837 : व्यक्तमाह स एव 'यत्.....मदर्पणम्' (IX, 27).

am frightened and have resorted to You, from the ocean of the fear of death'.

The quotations from the 6th., 11th., 14th. and 27th. chapters are rather smaller in length than the above ones and consist of one or two verses in each case. The purport of these quotations is reproduced here one after another :—

'Being decorated with the garland, unguent, clothes and ornaments enjoyed by You and having partaken of the remnants of Your food, we, Your servants, shall verily win through the illusion of this world'. 'One should neither dedicate to Me things, dedicated to other gods, nor perform other acts in the light consecrated to Me. One should dedicate to Me, whatever is the most desirous in the world and the most pleasing to one's own self. This dedication conduces to eternal results.'

S'rddharasvam in his commentary on the above text adds several verses, quoted from elsewhere, two of which have been quoted by Raghunandana and the purport of these two verses is to the following effect :—

% 'Unperturbable is he who has the figure of Hari in his heart, the name of Hari on his lips, the sweets and fruits, dedicated to Hari, in his stomach and the feet-washing water and the garland of Hari on his head'.

'The Fathers of that person who offers to Hari, the supreme God, the remnants of the things dedicated to the Fathers, become sufferers inasmuch as they are the progenitors of that very person<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup>How can there be devotion without horripilation, soft heart and tears of joy and how can the mind be purified without devotion ? A person, who is full of devotion to Me, whose words are faltering, whose heart has become soft, who weeps piteously and laughs occasionally and who sings and dances without feeling abashed, purifies the whole world.'

'O Uddhava ! there are no invocation and immersion in the worship of an immovable image, while they are to be performed optionally in that of a movable one and, necessarily, in that of images, made of sand and clay.'

I. The references to Raghunandana's works listed here *et sequel* are taken from *Smṛti-tattva* Vols., I and II (Jiv&nanda ed., Calcutta, 1895).

4. *Suddhi-tattva.*

1. p. 397 : भगवद्गीता 'ओम्.....पार्थ युज्यते' (XVII, 23-26).

**Appendix B.**

The identification of the *S'rīmad-bhāgavata* quotations :—

1. *Tīthi-tattva.*

1. pp. 67-8 : दुर्गापूजाया इतत्त्वं व्यक्तं श्रीभागवते 'वेद्द्...व्रतम्' (X, 22, 1).  
 2. p. 71 : 'नारायणं.....जयमुदीरयेत्', भागवते तु.....साक्षाद्विहितम् (I, 2, 4).  
 with com.  
 3. p. 90 : 'ये स्थिह.....पिबन्ति' इति श्रीभागवतपञ्चमस्कन्धगद्येन (V, 26, 31).

2. *Māmasā-tattva.*

1. pp. 837-8 : एकादशस्कन्धे 'वेदोक्तमेव...फलश्रुतिः' रुच्युत्पादनार्था (XI, 3, 46).  
 with com.  
 2. pp. 838-9 : अत्रैव 'फलश्रुतिः.....वन्दन्ति हि' तथा न वदन्तीति (XI, 21, 23-26).  
 with com.  
 3. p. 839 : षष्ठस्कन्धे 'सूर्य.....भिषक्तमः' राति ददाति (VI, 9, 50) with com.

3. *Ekādasi-tattva.*

1. p. 63 : एकादशस्कन्धेऽपि 'उद्गामा...द्वयम्' (XI, 27, 13-14).  
 2. p. 63 : तथा च भागवते 'नालं विद्वम्बनम्' (VII, 7, 51-52).  
 3. p. 64 : भक्तिश्च नवधा 'श्रवणं...नव लक्षणा' (VII, 5, 23-24).  
 4. p. 64 : तथा 'कथं विना...शुचनं पुनाति' (XI, 14, 23-24).  
 5. p. 71 : श्रीभागवते 'यद्यदिष्टतर्म...कल्प्यते' (XI, 11, 41).  
 6-7 p. 75 : श्रीभागवते 'नानातन्त्रविधानेन...मृत्युभयार्णवाद् इति भगवद्वाक्यम्'  
 (XI, 5, 31-35; 27, 45-46).  
 8. p. 76 : 'कैर्धृताञ्जलिभिर्नेत्रुः' इति भागवतीयात् (X, 86, 23).  
 9. p. 82 : 'यत्तु पितृ...भागिनः' इति भागवतोक्तम् (XI, 11, 40-41).  
 10. pp. 82-3 : भागवते 'त्वयोपभुक्तः...जयेम हि' (XI, 6, 46).  
 11. p. 83 : तथा 'हृदि...सोऽच्युत' (XI, 11, 40-41).  
 12. p. 83 : तस्मैव षष्ठस्कन्धीयपर्योवते 'उद्गास्य...समृद्धये' (VI, 19, 20).  
 13. p. 83 : अष्टमस्कन्धेऽपि 'गन्ध...स्वयम्' (VIII, 16, 39-41).  
 14. p. 83 : 'अपि वीपावलोकं...निवेदितम्' इति श्रीभागवतीयञ्ज (XI, 11, 40).

4. *Suddhi-tattva.*

1. p. 242 : श्रीभागवते तदुक्तम् 'दक्षमाने...अनुवेक्ष्यति' (I, 13, 58).

# The Art of Stealing in Bengali Folk-lore

By

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, *Hadia (Bengal)*.

The art of stealing was included in the old Indian list of sixty-four arts which cultured people had to acquire<sup>1</sup>. Princes had their training in this art as in other branches of learning<sup>2</sup>. The art is stated to be of divine origin, Kartikeya being regarded as the originator. It is, of course, not known when this general of the gods came to be associated with this art. In the *Mahabharata* and the *Sudruta-samhita* he is connected with infants and infantile diseases<sup>3</sup>. He is called *Dhurta* or deceitful in the *Parisista XX* of the *Atharvaveda* where a ritual called the *Skanda^ynga* or *Dhurta'kalpa* is described. The art came to be associated at least in later days in Bengal with the goddess Kali. Dacoits and such other miscreants are often described as worshipping this goddess before starting on their evil errands. Indra in the *DharYnamangala* story is even stated to have learnt this black art from the goddess<sup>4</sup>. A particular day in the week, Tuesday, is supposed to be specially auspicious for pactising this art<sup>5</sup>.

Works on the art of stealing were written in Sanskrit of which at least two have come down — the *Sanmukha-kalpa* and the *Caura-carya* — manuscripts of which exist in the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute\* Poona. Muladeva or Karni-suta<sup>6</sup> is stated to be the first propounder of the science and a work on the subject attributed to him is referred to in the *S'ilappadikaram* of the Tamil Sangam period<sup>7</sup>. Even as early as the time of Patanjali, special mention is made of the skill of thieves in stealing collyrium from one's eyes and the skill of cut-throats in drinking blood from running persons<sup>8</sup>.

Quite a good number of stories are current in the folk-literature of Bengal illustrating the efficacy of the art of stealing, which, according

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII. 857.
2. *Dasakumaracarita*, Kale's edition, p. 22.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII. 312.
4. D. C. Sen : *Glympses of Bengal life*, p. 14.
5. व्याख्यानरास्त्रभ्यसनानि बौर्यं कुर्वद्दिने भूमिस्तस्य सर्वम् ।
6. M. Bloomfield : *The character and adventures of Mūladeva* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. L11, 616-50).
7. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar : *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 76.
8. *Mahabhasya*, Kielhorne, II, 419.

to a popular proverb, is a great art, if and so long it is not detected. The stories carried from mouth to mouth are generally met with in works on juvenile literature. But there is evidence that they may be traced to older tradition. Prthvicandra in his *Gaurimahgdla* (composed in 1213 Bang S. = 1806 A. D.) gives a list of well-known works in Bengali in his time. This list includes a story of *Coracakravarti*. A work embodying the story which appears to have enjoyed some popularity has been published in several editions in the Mussalman style in which the leaves are arranged from right to left. Another version of the story, probably the prototype of the printed version, exists in manuscript form in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta. Though the date of the work cannot be ascertained, it seems to represent a type with some antiquity behind it. So a brief summary of its contents will be helpful in forming an idea of the nature of thief-lore current in Bengal and little known outside it<sup>1</sup>. The aim of the work appears to be to help people to be on guard against the tricks of cheats and thieves. In fact, it is definitely stated at the outset that readers of this interesting story will become smart and intelligent.

A son of a big royal officer mastered various sciences including the science of stealing and became known as Coracakravarti or Master Thief. The thieves of Campavati got panicky through the repressions of the officers of the King and approached Coracakravarti who made a resolve to teach the King a lesson by his reprisals into his city. But he would not go stealthily. So, he informed the King of his resolve. He worshipped goddess Kali, started early in the morning and reached the imperial town in the guise of a mendicant. He made friends with a *mali* (gardener) and in the guise of a merchant made cheats of one after another, a milk-maid, a barber and a weaver on successive days. He also regularly robbed the citizens of their wealth by breaking open into their houses. But all this did not satisfy him. He was eager to commit a theft in the royal palace. Assured of her help by Kali, he entered the palace and through his magic every one fell into deep sleep. Then he carried the queen off to the house of an ordinary labourer, put her on his bed and brought the latter's wife in turn to be placed on the royal bed.

Next time Coracakravarti made up his mind to do mischief to the Superintendent of Police. He entered his house in the guise of a merchant and introduced himself as the son-in-law of the Superintendent who had been long away. One day he declared that the Superintendent was put under arrest by the King and it was time for him to run

1. There is no reference to these stories in the elaborate paper of Prof. Bloomfield, on *The art of stealing in Hindu Fiction*, published in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 44, pp. 97-133, 193-229.

away with his father-in-law's family to a safe distance to avoid further troubles. And this he did.

The King became non-plussed, being unable, by any means, to catch hold of the thief. He engaged one Kaladhara for the purpose. Being chased by the latter, Coracakravarti came to a washerman who was washing clothes. The washerman was advised to dip into the pond near by as the men of the King were stated to be coming to catch hold of him. The washerman acted up to the advice and the thief took up the former's position and became busy washing clothes. Eventually, the washerman was captured and brought to the King to be identified as an innocent man. In the meantime, the thief ran away with his clothes.

In the night the thief went to the house of Kaladhara and offered to him what he declared to be some presents from the King. As Kaladhara stretched forth his hand to receive them, the thief chopped off his hand with a chopper he had brought with him. With the portion of the hand chopped off, he went to the royal palace and in an attempt to break into the royal chamber, he first pushed through the hole, he made for the purpose\* the mutilated hand to see if any one was awake in the room. The King was standing near the hole and dealt a sever blow with his dagger. The thief left off the hand and went away. Eventually, Kaladhara was arrested as a result of the identification of the hand. When Kaladhara was sentenced to death, the thief was really sorry for him\* and came up to the King and stated how he was actuated by the motive of demonstrating the inefficiency of the Superintendent. He also made over all the things he had stolen so far. The King and all the citizens were pleased. The, King gave his daughter in marriage to the thief. On returning to his own land, the thief gave presents to Brahmins as well as all the local thieves. His advice to the latter was that they might commit thefts in houses other than those of Brahmins, Vaisnavas and charitably disposed persons.

# The Santa Rasa in the Nat<sup>^</sup>sastra and the Dasa-rupoka

By

S. K. DE, *Dacca*

It is extremely doubtful if the *Santa* or *rasa* is at all accepted by Bharata, for the genuineness of the portion of the text of the *Natya-sostra*, in which the mention of *vanta* as a *rasa* occurs, is certainly not beyond question.

In all the four editions of Bharata's work (Grosset; Kavya-mali, Kashi and Gaekwad), the enumeration of only eight *rasas*, excluding the ninth *vanta*, occurs at the outset of ch. VI; and elaborate treatment of these eight *rasas*, with their corresponding *sthayins*, *xribhivas* etc., their colour and diety, follows. It is only in the Gaekwad edition that the text on *vanta* occurs at the end of ch. VI., and speaks of *santa* as the ninth *rasa*. This additional text on *santa* is commented upon by Abhinavagupta and appears to have been known to Bhatta Nayaka. Abhinava makes an elaborate attempt to meet the objections against *vanta* and establish it as a *rasa*. He gives instances of Bharata's awareness of *vanta*, but his arguments are based not upon Bharata's mention of it, but upon his silence, and are meant to explain why Bharata does not expressly speak of it as a *rasa*.

In spite of the importance of *vanta*, to which so much attention is devoted, the insertion of the *santa* text at the end of the chapter on *rasas* is in itself suspicious, even if this may not be put forward as a conclusive argument. Abhinava himself, however, admits that this is the reading, not of all, but of those who read that there are nine *rasas* (*ye punai nava rasa iti pa'hanti tanmate*), implying that the *rasas* are generally counted as eight, but some recensions add a ninth. Elsewhere, commenting upon Bharata's enumeration of eight *rasas* and their corresponding *sthayins* (p. 267), Abhinava remarks that the opponents of *vanta* read eight (*santapalapinas tvastaviti patfianti*), and that some read *vismaya-samah* (in the text of *sthayin*) for *vimayad ceti*.

On the other hand, Abhinava adduces passages, like *kvacic chamafy*, which indicate that Bharata had some knowledge of *vama* or *santa*; but it is also clear that the instances quoted only show Bharata's recognition of *vanta* as a *rasa*, *vama* is not mentioned by him as one of the forty-ninth *bhavas*. Abhinava himself draws attention to the fact that Bharata's definition of the drama emphasises that it is *kridanaka-prakhyā* and *vinoda-janana*, and should, therefore, depict worldly matters; from

this point of view *vanta* is the leading motif. Again, Bharata gives *laya*, *svara*, *guna*, *alankara*, *vrtti* etc. of the eight rasas only, in several sections of his work; but *vanta* is not mentioned in their connexion. He gives also causal *jatyangas* suggestive of several *rasas*, but here also *vanta* is not mentioned (ch. XXIX. 1-4). Abhinava notes that those who admit; *vanta* read *svaccha* as its colour, and the Buddha as its deity, But Bhanika states distinctly that Bharata did not characterise *Santa* as a *rasa* by mentioning its *vibhavas* etc. As a matter of fact, except what is stated in the interpolated text on the *vanta* at the end of ch. I, Bharata does not mention the aspects of *vanta* and its attendant conditions.

A further argument may be added. Regarding the admission of *vanta* there has been no uniformity of opinion, while its *sthayi-bhava* has been enumerated divergently. Abhinava refers to various views which show that all are not agreed that *vanta* is its *sthayin*. Among different *sthayins* proposed, we have *sarva-cittavrtti-irrasama*, *samyag-jñana*, *nirveda*, *nirvivesa-cittavrtti*, *trana-ksayasukha*, *dhrti*, *utsaha*, *jugupsa*, *rati*, any of the remaining *sthayins*, or all the eight *sthayins* together! The non-identification of *vanta* and the positing of various kinds of *sthayin* for it perhaps indicate that Bharata, whose authority is highly respected, could not have definitely promulgated *vanta rasa* or its *sthayin*; and the divergence arose from the absence of his express authority in this matter. It is noteworthy that Abhinava (*Locana*, ed. NSP. p. 176) remarks that it is Bharata's non-mention of the *sthayin* of *vanta* which leads Anandavardhana to promulgate *trana-ksaya* as its *sthayin*.

The objections against *vanta* are thus summarised, but not discussed, by the *Dasa-fupaka* : (1) Someday that there is no *vanta rasa*, because Bharata has not mentioned its *vibhava* etc. and therefore has not characterised it, as he has done in the case of other *rasas*; (2) Some entirely deny its de facto existence (*vastutas tasyabhavam vatnayantx*) because, in their opinion, men are eternally incapable of exterminating *ruga* and *dvesa* (*anadi-kala-pravahayata-raga-dveqayor uchetwm asakyatvat*); (3) Some would include *vanta rasa* in *vira* and *bibhatsa*, apparently taking *utsaha* and *jugupsa* as its *sthayin*, respectively; (4) The real nature of *vanta*, which is the total absence of all feeling and activity, involves a state of inaction (*samasta-vyapara-vilaya-rupa*), which cannot be represented on the stage; the development of *vanta*, therefore, is inadmissible in the drama (*pustir naitasya natyesu*). The *Nagananda*, which is regarded by some as a *vanta* play, is plainly not so; because (a) the end here is not *vanta*, but lordship over the Vidyadharas, and (b) the attachment to Malayavati being antagonistic to the feeling of non-attachment essential in *vanta*, both cannot inhere in the same *akqbana*, namely, *Jimutavahana*; the conclusion, therefore, is that the *vira* (i. e. *dayavtra*) and *srngara* are the *rasas* in this play.

Dhanaffjaya himself would object to *santa* only in the *Natya*, which requires the delineation of the *rasa* through its *anubhavaii* etc.; but he would permit it in the *Kavya*, because what cannot be acted can at least be described. But his compeer Dhanika would not allow *s'arjta* even in poetry. There can be, in his opinion, no such *sihsyu bhava* as *s'ama* or *nirveda*; for the development of that state (if it is possible at all to destroy all feelings of love or hatred), would tend to the absence of all feeling and action. Such a state, is the very negation (as in the *neti-vada* of the 'Upaniṣad') of the possibility of affirming anything about it; and any description of it would be an inadequate description in worldly terms of what is unworldly. Dhanika would regard Jimutavahana as an *udatta* and not as a *santa nayaka*. To the objection that Jimutavahana is depicted not as a conquering hero (*jigisu*) but as devoid of such a mental state, he replies that *audattya*, as an excelling eminence of the mind, is not lacking in Jimutavahana. *jigtsuta* or heroism need not be only of one variety of warlike attainment; one may conquer self and excel in *daya*, *dharma* or *tyaga*. Jimutavahana may not be a *yuddha-vira*, but he is, a *daya vira*. Here the main *rasa* being *vira* and not *vitnta*, he is certainly an *udatta nayaka*; and *spxgara* being not incompatible with *vira*, the episode of Malayavati is justifiable. Visvanatha also takes Jimutavahana to be a *dayu-vira*; but very ingeniously he attempts to establish that *vanta* can be a *rasa* because in that state the soul is about to be emancipated (*yukta-viyukta-dass*) and is not completely detached, so that the presence of feeling and activity would not be incompatible; while *sukha* is not entirely absent, what is absent is the worldly *sukha*. The attainment of *s'ama* does not imply cessation from all activity.

The objections to the *s'anta rasa* are, therefore, not all valid. A *vanta* play is bound to appeal to persons of devout mind, just in the same way as *yrgnara* and *vira* plays appeal to men of a different attitude. It is bound to be uncommon; but that does not disprove that it is capable of being depicted and relished, while it is not true to say that men are eternally slaves to *raga* and *dvesa*. There has been a continuous stream of literature which depicts *santa* as a *rasa*. The non-mention by Bharata is at best a technical and trifling objection. The objection that *vanta* can be easily included in *vira* and *bibhatsa* is misconceived. The *vanta* may involve *utszha* or energy, for spiritual attainment is not without effort; but the two terms are not co-extensive. There may be *daya-utsaha*, *dharma-utsaha* and so forth, but *s'anta* comprehends many kinds of *utsaha*, and is much more than mere *utssha*. The *daya-vira* and *dharma-vira* are, as Abhinava points out, really two aspects of *santa*, which covers a much wider field. The *vanta* includes *daya* and *dharma* but is not included or exhausted by them. In the same way, *jugupsa* may be an accessory of *vira*, but *vitnta* is not entirely *jugupsatmaka*.

# The Legend of Sita in the Kurma<sup>^</sup>nurana

By

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It seems that the wonderful chastity of Sita, who had lived for a long time in the palace of Ravaga, and the doubts of the subjects of Rama concerning her innocence were a matter in which the audience of the Sutas, Who recited the *Ramayana*, was particularly interested; for it is the theme of an important part of the seventh book (which is, as we know, a later addition to the *Ramayana*), and it is also the subject of a part of Kalidasa's *Raghuvatsa*, and the subject of a part of Bhavabhuti's *Uttaramacarita*.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of the second part of the *Kurma-purana* there is a passage concerning Sita and her wonderful virtue. Considered from the aesthetic point of view, this passage does not perhaps appear a very happy invention, but it is interesting because it tells us a story which is not; to be found in the *Ramayana* and gives a strange but original explanation of the perfect purity of Sita. This passage has never been translated. According to the author of the *Kurma-purana*, the Sita who lived with Ravana in his palace and sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, was not the real Sita but a false image of her. When Ravaija, disguised as an ascetic, came to the hermitage where Sita was living in the forest\* with the intention of ravishing her, she guessed his evil purpose and besought Agni, the god of fire\* for protection. The god took her away into heaven and, as a substitute for her, he created, by his magic power, an unreal Sita, who was ravished by Ravaija. Here is a translation of the passage :

'A virtuous wife, devoted to her husband, is blessed indeed: there is no doubt about that. One can never harm her in this world. Thus, the beautiful Sita, famous in the three worlds, the divine wife of Rama, Das'aratha's son, defeated the "lord of the Raksasas. Impelled by fate, Ravana, the lord of the Raksasas, coveted the large-eyed Sita, the beautiful wife of Rama. Having assumed, by his magic power, the appearance of an ascetic, he thought of ravishing her, the affectionate wife, while she was living in the lonely forest. But, knowing his intention and thinking of her husband, Das'aratha's son, she, the beautiful, woman with the bright smile, went for protection to the domestic fire. Joining her hands, the wife of the king worshipped the god who practises the great *yoga*, the god who has the power of burning the whole universe; she worshipped him as if he were her unshakable husband himself\* She said: I worship the god who practises the great

yoga, the supreme impenetrable Agni (Krsanu), who has the power of burning all beings, the lord who has the aspect of Kala (Death), I beseech the purifying god of fire, the pious god' who has the aspect of the Brahman, the *yogin* covered with the skin, the lord of creatures, the supreme abode. I beseech him whose material form is the world, him who is the source of all fiery energies\* the great lord of the *yoga*, the god of fire, (him who is) Aditya, the supreme lord. For protection I beseech (him who is) Rudra, the great devouring one, the god with the trident, the fire that is to destroy the world, the lord of the *yogins*\* the god who gives us as reward for good actions, enjoyment, or final liberation. I beseech thee, the various-eyed one, appearing in the form of 'bhur, bhuvah, svah' (earth, atmosphere and heaven), thee who art concealed in a golden house, thee the great god, of unbounded energy.. I beseech Agni Vais'vanara the god who dwells in all beings. I beseech the god who bears oblations to the gods and to the dead ancestors, the god of fire, the Lord. I beseech that supreme essence, that excellent} auspicious essence of god Savitr the heavenly Agni\* the supreme light, the fire that by itself is imperishable."

Thus having murmured those eight invocations, to the god of fire, the glorious consort of Rama stood there with wide-open eyes, thinking of Rama in her heart.

Then, out of the domestic fire, the divine Agni, the bearer of oblations, the great lord, whose soul is biasing fire, appealed, flaming up, as it were, with his fiery energy. And, having created an unreal Sita, because he wanted the death of Ravana, he, the purifying god of fire, took the real Sita, the beloved of Rama, and disappeared with her. And Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, having seen that unreal Sita\* took her away and went with her to Lanka, the land which lies in the middle of the ocean. But after Rama, accompanied by Lakshmana, had killed Ravana and he had regained Sita, his heart became agitated by doubts. Then the unreal Sita, in order to convince the creatures of her innocence, entered the biasing fire, and the biasing fire burned her. And, having burned the unreal Sita, the divine hot-rayed one showed Rama the real Sita. It was Agni, the purifier, the god dear to the gods. And, having seized with both hands the feet of her husband, the daughter of Janaka bowed to the ground before Rama. And, when he saw her, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, rejoicing in his heart, with his eyes full of surprise, bowed his head before the god of fire, and paid him homage. And, in the presence of the creatures, the god who has the power of burning the world, the bearer of oblations, told the son of Dasaratha what had happened. He said: This is thy perfectly faithful wife, yirtou\* as the goddess Parvati; this is thy beloved wife, who, having propitiated the goddess and

having obtained her favour by penance, became very dear to the goddess. This good-tempered, faithful wife, obedient to her husband was protected by the Lord (S'iva) like Parvatī. The one, who was coveted by Ravaga was an illusion. The Sita who was taken away by the lord of the Rakṣasas and kept by that mighty one, was an unreal Sita created by me, because I wished the death of Ravaga. Therefore Ravaiṣa the lord of the Raksasa, was seen by thee, and therefore that unreal image was taken away: the destroyer of the world has been killed. According to my words\* receive the daughter of Janaka : she is pure and innocent. Consider thyself as the-god Narayatta (Visnu) who, by his origin, is imperishable, Having spoken these words, the divine impetuous one, the god who is all ilames, the god whose face is turned in every direction, Agm, -honored by Rama and all the creatures, vanished.

Thus the passage of the *Kurma-purajta*. is that version of the legend of Sita based on an old tradition ? Possibly. But, I do not think so. I think that it is an invention of the author of the *Purana*. In his opinion it was inadmissible that Sita had actually sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, for Sita is an incarnation of the great goddess Lakṣmi, the wife of Visnu, as Rama is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. And, he invented the story in order to show the perfect purity of Sita i.e. Lakṣmi. Alld, on the other hand, he wanted, also, to praise the great god Agm, who, according to him, as it seems, is identical with the supreme Lord Rudra, S'iva, Mahesvara himself.

I think this new version of the legend of Sita shows, in a striking way, how an old legend was to be transformed under the influence of new religious conceptions, for we clearly see the psychological reason which induced the author of the *Purana* to transform the legend. In the *Ramnyana* of Valmiki, Rama is a perfect hero, but still a human being. In the opinion of the author of the *Purana*, he is the god Visnu. In the *Ramayana* of Valmiki, Sita is a perfect wife, but still a human being. In the opinion of the author of the *Purana*, she is the goddess Lakṣmi. It would be utterly wrong to believe that the great goddess sat actually on the lap of the demon Ravaija. The Sita who sat on the lap of Ravaga was a false Sita. The real Sita, that is, Lakṣmi, was protected by S'iva, the supreme Lord, and dwelt with him and the goddess Parvati in heaven.

# Brhaspati-Nitisara in Garuda-purana

By

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The Purvakhaṇḍa-AcarakSijda-Adhyayas 108-115 of the, *Garuda-purana* institute a work called *Nītissra* which is ascribed to Brhasoati. In Adhvaya 108, the tradition is given as follows :-

गणतन्त्रस्य सुवर्णमय इत्यन्तु च बृहस्पतिवः ।  
सर्वज्ञो येन वेन्दोऽभूद् वैत्याम् हत्वाऽऽस्तुवाद् । इत्यम् ॥ १०७ ॥ १०

With the exception of Adhyāyas 111-113, which deal with the principles of Polity (1), the whole text contains matter pertaining to *subhāṣitas* as in the *Nītisataka* ascribed to Bhartṛhari<sup>1</sup>. Adh. 111 deals with the qualifications of the King (2), and his Servants (3). Adh. 112 describes the qualities of the *Kośadhyakṣa* (4), the *Senādhyakṣa* (5), the *Pratihāra* (6), the *Lekhaka* (7), the *Dāta* (8), the *Dharmādhyakṣa* (9), the *Sūpakāra* (10), the *Vaidya* (11), the *Rājapurohita* (12), the *Paṭhaka*, *Gaṇaka* and *Pratirodhaka* (13). Adh. 113 teaches the principle that the King should appoint the meritorious only and leave out of consideration those possessed of no qualities.

1. The name of Brhaspati and his work on polity are well known to Indian literature. Kautilya refers to the opinions of the various schools and individual writers on polity that preceded him, namely, the Mānavas, the Bārhaspatyas, the Aśvatasas, the Āmbhryas, the Paṅśaras, and Bharadvāja, Viśalākṣa, Piśuna, Kaupapadanta, Vātavayādi and Bahudānṛputra. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the *Ārthasastra* of Brhaspati (cf. *Sānti*, 57, 1-3; 58, 28; 29 89-93; *Vana*, 32, 361).

In the *Pratima-nāṭaka* of Bhaṅga, Ravana is described to have said :-

‘काश्यपोगोऽस्मि सत्क्रोपाद् वैदसधीये, भवनं धर्मराज्यं, माहेश्वरं योगराज्यं, वार्यस्यस्य च धर्मराज्यं,  
मेधासिधेन्यायराज्यं, प्राचेतसं भावकल्पं च.

The *Kama-sastra* relates how in the beginning of the creation Manu and Brhaspati separated from the extensive original teachings of Prajāpati, the two portions on *Dharma* and *Artha* respectively (cf. 5 and 7). The *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghosa maintains the tradition :-

यद्राजराज्यं भृशुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वरकरादृषीतौ ।  
तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ १, ४६

In his *Yukti-kalpataru*, Bhoja Says :-

नीतिबृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवैरानसी परा ।  
उभयोरविरुद्धात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुचमा ॥ ४

The *Paśca-tantra* refers to Brhaspati in the following manner :-

सुकृत्यं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राऽऽप्तिर्भागवस्य च ।  
बृहस्पतेरविरुक्तसो नीतिसन्धिद्विधा स्थितः ॥ २, ४१

Symadeva in his *Yavas-tilaka*, remarks : बृहस्पतिनीतिश्च इव अवेदमातृकाः (cf. *Nirṇayasa-gara*, II, p. 3).

It is, however, a matter of great surprise that the text itself of the great work, namely, *Ārthasastra* of Brhaspati still remains in oblivion.

The author merely states that he is a follower of the school of Brhaspati, but hardly gives any detailed information regarding the ancient tradition of that school; The subhasitas added, as pieces of advice, indicate that he has only tried to imitate works like the Nitis'atafea towards expounding the principles of *niti* or morals. In doing so he has served a double purpose, namely, that he has laid down a firm foundation for Brhaspati as an author of a Nitisara as tradition ascribed it, and also tried to bring together the matter in regard to polity and morality. The works like Kamandaka's and S'ukra's Nitisara had already come into vogue. And, as if by way of imitation, the author, has produced this work of merit.

*This work refers to the ten avatnras of Visnu which notion came into being with the advent of the Garuddrpurana (circa 8th. cen. A. D). This consideration coupled With its style and general make-up points to its having been compiled at: a later date than the original Garuda-purana. As there are stanzas in the text similar to those of Bhartrhari<sup>1</sup>, and, as it seems to be a later redaction of the Barhaspatya-sutra<sup>2\*</sup> it might have belonged to the 12th. century A. D.*

1. Cf. *Garuda.purana*, Acaxakattcja, 113, 115 and 115, 81 which are the same as *Nitis* (AnandaVrama ed.) w. 127 and 90, respectively.

1 Cf. *Garuda.purana*, Acarakanda, III, 17 and *Barhaspatya,sutra*, 6, 8.

# Accusative singulars of *asmad* and *yusmad* in Mahabharata<sup>1</sup>

By

E. D. KULKARNI, *Bassein*.

Sanskrit grammar lays down that the forms of the accusative singular of the first personal pronoun *asmad* and the second personal pronoun *yustnad* are *mam*, *ma* and *tvam*, *tva* respectively. But a critical study of the material presented below unmistakably indicates that the forms *ma* and *tva* are favoured by the Southern recension and especially by the Malayalam version. Only two Mss., namely, M<sub>1</sub> and M<sub>2</sub> of this version were utilised for the reconstruction of the critical text of the *Vana*, while for the *Udyoga*, five Mss. were included in the critical apparatus. This version of the *Udyoga* is perhaps the only version in the *Udyoga*, where even in the individual Mss. accretions are not very conspicuous<sup>2</sup>. But the version of the *Vana* is not homogenous, M<sub>1</sub> and M<sub>2</sub> exhibiting among themselves numerous differences<sup>3</sup>. Now this 'the best Southern version', as the Editor of the Critical Edition remarks, and, also, as the traditions handed down by the Malayalam Mss. indicate, has preserved the Grantha in a text purer and more unmixed form than even some comparatively earlier Grantha Mss., for the Malayalam Mss. do not at all seem to have come in contact with the Northern recension till very recent times<sup>4</sup>. Again, this version, hailing from the province of Southernmost extremity of India, is found to have several striking agreements with the Sarada version of the opposite end of India, which is considered by the Editor of the Critical Text as the *textus simplicior*\*. With reference to the present paper also, the Sarada version exhibits clear tendencies of agreeing with the Malayalam version in - accepting the forms *ma* and *tva*. In this, the importance of the present study is made apparent, incidently.

i. The present paper is based on the Poona Critical Edition of the *Vana*>*parvan* and *Udyoga*,*parvan*, and has been prepared under the guidance of my teacher Dr. S. M. Katre.

2. Cf. Introduction to the *Udyoga*, XLVII.

3. *Sukthankar Memorial Volume* (= SMV.) I. 172.

4. SMV. I. 93, 172.

5. This version is incomplete and fragmentary. The extant portion contains the *Sabha* in its entirety but only fragments of the other two *Parvans*. The beginning of the *Adi* and last 46 *Adhyayas* of the *Vana* being lost. The Ms. was received for collation after the critical apparatus of the *Udyoga* had been completely written out. Therefore, the readings of this Ms. are given separately in appendix III to the *Udyoga*, and mentioned in the present paper under Section X below. Thus this Ms. is not a genuine representative of the old version of Kashmir as the unique birch.bark codex of the *Kit*.

Now the variants recorded under I, III and V are very conspicuous in the *apparatus critikus* with reference to the Southern Mss. and, especially, to the Malayalam Mss. It will be natural, then, to suppose that the Mss. bring in the usage current in that region and that no variants of *mam* and *tvam* occur in the Mss. hailing from that place where these forms are normally used. Moreover, this fact is confirmed, if we look to the variants under II and IV, where we clearly see the Northern version trying to use the forms current in the North. Decidedly, not all of them can be dispensed with by saying that they are cases of phonetic moments involving the presence or the absence of a nasal.

I. *ma* for *mam* :—

3.6. 12a (T, G<sub>2</sub>M<sub>2</sub>); 19.17d [K<sub>2</sub>T<sub>2</sub>G (except G,) M]; 19.20d [K, no, D<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>va, T<sub>2</sub>G (except G,) M,]; 19.21d (G, M, G, va); 19.32b [TG (except G<sub>2</sub>) va, M]; 27.17a [S (except M<sub>2</sub> sahasa) duran *mam*]; 81 x. 1 (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> samalokya > *mum* alokya); 22. 22d (S', M<sub>2</sub>); 23.10d [(T G<sub>3.4</sub> samavavrnot > *miim* samavrnot); 26.7b (K, M<sub>2</sub>); 28.1id (S', K<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 30.49d "(K<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2.4</sub>\*M<sub>2</sub>); 33.58a [T, G (except G,,)]; 53.3b (S', D<sub>4</sub> G, .2 M); 53.19a (K<sub>8</sub> D,); 58.30a (Dn<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 58.31d (S', K<sub>3</sub> Dn<sub>2</sub> D<sub>6</sub>); 61.18d (K<sub>2</sub> T, G<sub>4</sub> M,); 61.21d (D<sub>4</sub> G<sub>4</sub> M,); 61.24d (Dc, G<sub>2</sub> M); 61.99a (Dc,); 62.32b (K,); 63.6d (M,); 67.5a (S', Dc,); 70.18b (M); 74.4b (D<sub>3</sub> M,); 78.14b (S',); 81.105d (S'<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> vai); 90.16a (G, M<sub>2</sub>); 95.21d (S',); 102.14d (S', K<sub>x</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 114. 20a (S', KJ.JM); 154. 27 c [K<sub>1>2</sub> Dn, D; S (except M,)]; 163.12c (T<sub>i</sub>); 167. 1c (M); 167.18c (K! M); 167.23c (G<sub>a</sub>M); 167.24c (M); 168.7c (M<sub>2</sub>); 170.16a (K<sub>2</sub>); 170.17c (K<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 185.9b (K<sub>3.4</sub>); 185.18c (K<sub>23</sub>); 185.31a (G<sub>2.4</sub>); 190.77a (S'K T<sub>x</sub>); 191.2 (T<sub>2</sub> G); 191.5 (G,); 191.6 (T, G<sub>2.4</sub>); 197.18a (K, Dc<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 202.16f (T, G<sub>2.4</sub>M<sub>2</sub>); 203.3b (B, M); 213.10c (T<sub>2</sub> d M i); 218.15c (Dc<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub>); 218.18a (S', K<sub>2.3</sub> D<sub>M</sub>); 223.7d (S', K,, D<sub>8</sub>J; 227.11a (K,); 247.36b (M<sub>x</sub>); 250.5b (S^B,); 264.49a (K<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 266.9c (K<sub>2</sub>Dc<sub>2</sub> D<sub>2</sub>); 266.66a (KLS); 280.22d (M,); 281.12d (D<sub>4</sub>); 281.63d (K<sub>2</sub>); 286.1b (K<sub>s</sub> Dc D<sub>2.4</sub> M); 290.12a (Dn, D<sub>2.4</sub>, T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>8</sub> M<sub>2</sub>).

5.52 x (M<sub>8-8</sub>); 5.11.14d (D<sub>7</sub>M<sub>3.4</sub>); 11.18c [M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 14.13c (B, D<sub>2</sub> iti *ma* > *mam* iti); 14.14b (T<sub>2</sub>G<sub>3</sub>M); 18.24b (M<sub>8-5</sub>); 30.2d (D, » M); 30.37c (K<sub>4</sub>D, M, .2<sub>6</sub>); 30. 39c (M,); 32.5a (Dn, D, M<sub>3.4</sub>); 33.3d (G,); 33.9b (D. G<sub>4</sub>); 34.2a (M); 43.22c [M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 44.2b [M (except M,,)]; 47. 3 c (M); 47.61a [M (except M,)]; 48.30b (G<sub>8</sub>M); 50.60d (T, G<sub>8.5</sub> M<sub>1.4</sub>); 55.5c (G<sub>8.4</sub>M); 60.22d [M (except M,)]; 70.6d (M); 74.2a (D, M, .2); 74.3c (M<sub>8-5</sub>); 74.4a (D, M<sub>3.5</sub>); 74.4d (M<sub>8.5</sub>); 74.13a (D, M<sub>4</sub>); 74.14d (K, .8 G<sub>8.4</sub> M,); 80.27a [D, G<sub>8.5</sub> M (except M,)]; 88.56a (M); 88.68a (D, G,); 91.16a (G. M);

114.11c (M<sub>1,2</sub>); 133.18c (G<sub>4</sub> M̄ vā; K<sub>5</sub> vai, K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>7,8</sub> G<sub>5</sub>); 139.3 b (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub> M<sub>1,2,4</sub>); 139.3d [M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 139.16a [G<sub>3</sub> M (except M<sub>1</sub>)]; 139.21 a (Dn<sub>1</sub> D<sub>6</sub> M); 141.1c (T<sub>1</sub> M); 144.10d [D<sub>3,4</sub> vā, D<sub>5,6</sub> M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 153.19c (T G<sub>2,3,5</sub> M); 165.10a (M<sub>1,2</sub>); 165.11a (D<sub>7,8</sub>); 171.9a (M<sub>2,5</sub>); 175.30a (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub> M); 176.27d (M<sub>1,2</sub>); 179.16c (M); 180.5b (T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2,5</sub>); 180.10a (M); 180.33a (G<sub>2,3</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 181.14a (M<sub>2,5</sub>); 181.15c (D<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2,5</sub>); 181.29c [M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 186.5c (D<sub>7,8</sub>); 182.12f (K<sub>3</sub> M); 193.21c (K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1,3,4</sub> M).

II. māṃ for mā :-

3.5 19a (K<sub>2,3</sub> B D G<sub>1,2</sub>); 35.1b [K<sub>2,3</sub> B D (D<sub>1,3</sub> missing) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,2</sub>]; 35.2c (K<sub>1,2</sub> B Dn D<sub>2,4,6</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G); T<sub>1</sub> M taṃ māṃ; 35.7c [K<sub>3</sub> D (D<sub>1,3</sub> missing) G<sub>4</sub>]; 48.40 a (K<sub>3</sub> B<sub>1,3,4</sub> Dn D<sub>1,3,5</sub> T<sub>1</sub>); 49.27a (K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1,4</sub> Dc Dn<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1,2,5</sub>; K<sub>2,4</sub> B<sub>2,3</sub> Dn<sub>2</sub> n<sub>2</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> ābhāṣase; S tvāṃ manyase > mā bhāṣase]; 211 × .2 (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub>); 70.31b (K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>1</sub> Dc<sub>2</sub> Dn D<sub>4,6</sub> G<sub>1</sub>); 213.7a [N (except S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub>) T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub> M<sub>1</sub>]; 241.35d (K D<sub>2,3,6</sub> T<sub>2</sub>); 252.22c (D<sub>2</sub>); 264.55d (K Dn D<sub>1</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub>).

5.24.10a [K<sub>1,3</sub> B D (except D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>9,10</sub>) T<sub>2</sub> G]; 47.40a [D<sub>2,9</sub> T G (except G<sub>3</sub>)]; 74.14a (K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>1,2,7,8,10</sub> cd S); 88.64a [N (except D<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1</sub>; K<sub>3</sub> missing; K<sub>5</sub> om.) G<sub>4</sub>]; 181.27b [K<sub>4</sub> B D (except D<sub>7</sub>; D<sub>4</sub> om.) G<sub>1,2</sub> ca].

III. tvā for tvāṃ :-

4.6.17c [S<sub>1</sub> S (except G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub>)]; 11.14a (T G<sub>2,4</sub> M samanuprāptaḥ > tvām anuprāptaḥ); 13.45d (S<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2</sub>); 13.46d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub> M<sup>3</sup>); 14.15c (S<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 23.24d [S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub>; S sma (M<sub>2</sub> naḥ)]; 28.4a (M<sub>2</sub>); 28.5c (T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 28.10c (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 34.77d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> M); 35.9a (M<sub>2</sub>); 40.20c (S<sub>1</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,3</sub>); 174 × .9 (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub>); 40.59a [S<sub>1</sub> S (except G<sub>1</sub>)]; 43.24c (S<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 52.5c (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub> G<sub>1</sub>); 53.11b (S<sub>1</sub>); 53.20a (S<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 56.15b (S<sub>1</sub>); 57.16c (K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>2,3</sub>); 58.25d (S<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub>); 58.34a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub>); 60.10d (G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 61.25c (K<sub>2</sub>); 63.13d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>4</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> M<sub>1</sub>); 70.17c [D<sub>2</sub> (sup.lin. ca)]; 70.33a (S<sub>1</sub> Dn<sub>2</sub> D<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 75.3a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub>); 77.14a (S<sub>1</sub> M); 95.2c (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub>); 95.18a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> M); 97.9c (G<sub>2</sub> M); 100.24a (K<sub>2,4</sub>); 111.22d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> M); 115.5d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub>); 124.11a [M tvad ṛte; K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>9</sub> ṛte tvā > ṛte tvām]; 131.30a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,3</sub>); 133.22a (K<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 134.28b (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 126.16a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 136.16a (S<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M); 139.13d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> nātra); 147.9c (K<sub>2</sub>); 150.11d (K<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 158.41a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 163.6a [M mahā-prāiṣṭā > tvām bhagavān]; 164.20b (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub>); 164.23a (M<sub>2</sub>); 176.21c (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub>); 177.4d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> M); 178.40d (S<sub>1</sub>); 183.11c (K<sub>2,4</sub> M); 184.16d [S (except G<sub>1,4</sub>)]; 186.122c (G<sub>4</sub>); 190.47 (T<sub>1,2</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub>); 190.60c (K<sub>4</sub> Dc); 190.63a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4</sub>); 190.64d (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,3,4</sub> D<sub>2</sub> M); 190.65c (K<sub>1,2</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,4</sub>); 192.15d (K<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub>); 205.19c (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 206.28a (K<sub>1,2</sub> G<sub>4</sub> M); 227.20c (Dc<sub>2</sub> D<sub>2</sub> M); 249.7c (S<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 250.4a (S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> G<sub>1</sub>); 256.21c (K<sub>1,2</sub>); 262.28b (K<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub>); 263.29a

(K<sub>3</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> M); 266.64c (K<sub>3</sub> M); 267.37c (K<sub>3</sub> M); 268.10a (K<sub>1.3</sub> G<sub>1.4</sub> M); 268.15a (Dc<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3</sub> M); 275.36a (K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 280.7a (M); 280.19d (K<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub>); 282.34c (D<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub>); 284.11a (M); 284.22b (M<sub>2</sub>); 284.24a (K<sub>1.3</sub> M); 285.6c (K<sub>2</sub> Dn<sub>1</sub> M); 285.8c (K<sub>1.3</sub> M<sub>1</sub>); 287.11a (K<sub>1.3</sub> D<sub>2</sub>); 290.15c (M<sub>1</sub>); 292.13a (G<sub>2.4</sub> M); 292.15a (M) 292.15c (K<sub>1.3</sub> M); 292.16c (K<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 292.17a (M<sub>2</sub>); 292.20a (K<sub>1.3</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 296.4a (D<sub>4</sub>).

5.12.12a (D<sub>3</sub> D<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.2</sub> M); 13.5c [K (except K<sub>2</sub>)]; 15.12a (D<sub>3</sub> M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 16.8c [K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 16.28c (Dn G<sub>4</sub> M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 18.17a (M<sub>2.4</sub>); 23.7d (M); 32.9a (M); 33.2c (D<sub>1.3</sub>); 34.3b (Dn<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3.5</sub> M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 35.19c [T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.3</sub> M (M<sub>-1</sub> inf.lin. *tvam tu*; M<sub>1.4</sub> *tatvam* *tat tvā* *prcchāvahe tāta* > *prahlāda tat tvāṇi prcchāmi*]; 36.22c (G<sub>3</sub> M); 40.11a (K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1.5.6</sub>); 40.17d [K<sub>2</sub> S (except T<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>)]; 47.1a (G<sub>3</sub> M); 54.26b (D<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> M); 56.52a (M); 63.1b [T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> M (except M<sub>5</sub>)]; 64.2c (M); 65.6a (G<sub>1.3</sub>); 65.6b [S (except G<sub>4.5</sub> M<sub>5</sub>; M<sub>2</sub> om.)]; 65.7c [T<sub>1</sub> M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 70.89c (G<sub>3</sub>); 73.7c (K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>2.5</sub> = 7 T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.5</sub> M<sub>3.5</sub>); 73.15d (D<sub>1.7</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> M); 75.2d (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M); 80.19a [D<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G (except G<sub>3.4</sub> M<sub>2.1</sub>); 88.60a (D<sub>1</sub> M); 93.18a (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M); 93.40a (G<sub>5</sub> M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 93.56d [TG<sub>1.3</sub> (M) (except M<sub>1</sub> *tvat*)]; 103.17b [D<sub>3.2</sub> M (except M<sub>2</sub>)]; 105.19b (D<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3.5</sub> M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 123.4b (M); 123.13a (T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1.3</sub>); 131.39a (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M); 132.3c (M); 132.8b (Dn<sub>1</sub>); 132.9c (Dn<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1.2</sub>); 132.31c [S (except T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub>)]; 133.19a [T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M<sub>3.5</sub>; M<sub>1.3.4</sub> (inf.lin.) *vā*]; 133.32c [S (except G<sub>3.4</sub>)]; 134.5f [D<sub>3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4.5</sub> *mā tvā*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *matvā*; G<sub>3</sub> *mā vā*; M *na tvā* > *mā tvā*]; 136.14a (M<sub>3.5</sub>); 136.15b (M); 136.16c (G<sub>3</sub> M); 138.11b T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> M); 140.2a (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M *ca d*); 143.4c (K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> M<sub>4.5</sub>); 147.2b (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.4</sub> M); 158.27d (D<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3.5</sub>); 159.13a (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M); 165.3c (M<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 166.9c (M); 174.23c (M); 176.10c (M<sub>3.5</sub>); 178.20c (D<sub>7</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3.5</sub> M<sub>1.3</sub>); 178.33d (M<sub>1.3</sub> *ahaṃ*); 178.34c (M<sub>1.3</sub>); 180.16a (T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1.3</sub>); 180.17b (G<sub>3</sub>); 184.10a [K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> G<sub>3.3</sub> M (except M<sub>1</sub>)]; 186.3c [D<sub>3</sub> S (except T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.2</sub>)]; 190.23c (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M); 195.20d (D<sub>1</sub> G<sub>5</sub> M<sub>2</sub>).

#### IV. *tvāṇi* for *tvā* :-

3.9.1c (K<sub>3</sub> BD *tvāṇi*; T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *vah*); 27.9d [K<sub>3</sub> BD (except D<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1.3</sub> missing) T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4</sub>]; 28.13c [K<sub>3.3</sub> BDC<sub>1</sub> (D<sub>1.3</sub> missing) G<sub>1.4</sub>]; 28.14a (K<sub>3</sub> *tvāṇi*; B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>3</sub> G<sub>4</sub> *tvāṇi*; M *vitam*); 28.14d (K<sub>3.3</sub> BD c<sub>1</sub> Dn D<sub>4.6</sub> G<sub>1</sub> *tvāṇi*; D<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *sādyā*; M<sub>3</sub> *sāhaṃ*); 35.1c [K<sub>3.3</sub> BD (D<sub>1.3</sub> missing) T<sub>2</sub> G]; 131.1a (S<sub>1</sub> K Dc D<sub>1.2.3</sub>); 131.14b [N (except S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1.3</sub>); 133.27a [all Mss. except S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1.3</sub> M<sub>3</sub>]; 147.2d [B<sub>1.3.4</sub> D (except D<sub>3.3.5</sub>) *tvāṇi tu*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> *sādhu*]; 147.6b [N (except S<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1.3</sub>) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub>]; 147.10c [all Mss. except S<sub>1</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub>]; 159.11c (K<sub>1.3.4</sub> D<sub>1.3.5</sub> T G); 164.24c [K<sub>3.4</sub> B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>3.3.6</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.6</sub> M *varayeham*

tuāṃ; B<sub>3.4</sub> Dc Dn D<sub>1.4.5</sub> varayeyāṃ tuāṃ > varaye tuāḥaṃ]; 186.7c [BD (except D<sub>3.5</sub>)]; 186.88a [N (except S<sub>1</sub> D<sub>4</sub>) T<sub>1</sub>]; 190.65c [K<sub>3.4</sub> BD (except Dc<sub>2</sub>) T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M]; 198.12a [K<sub>3.4</sub> BD (except Dc<sub>2</sub>) G<sub>3</sub>]; 205.8d (BDc Dn D<sub>1.4.5</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M<sub>2</sub>); 206.28b BDn D<sub>1.4.5</sub> G<sub>1.3</sub>; 241.15b (K<sub>4</sub> BD T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>3</sub>); 252.4c (T G<sub>1.3.4</sub> M); 266.62a (Dc<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3</sub>); 281.11a (M<sub>2</sub>); 28.78b (BDc Dn D<sub>3.4.5</sub> G<sub>3</sub>); 282.22a (B<sub>1.3</sub> Dn D<sub>4.5</sub> G<sub>3</sub>).

5.23b (K D<sub>1.3</sub> G<sub>3</sub>); 30.1a [K<sub>1.3</sub> BD (except D<sub>1.3</sub>) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.3.4</sub> M<sub>1</sub>]; 30.3c [K (except K<sub>1</sub>) BD T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>1.3</sub> (D<sub>5.1</sub> te; D<sub>2</sub> vā)]; 32.27a [K<sub>3.4.5</sub> B (B<sub>1</sub> missing) D (except Dn<sub>1</sub>) T G<sub>1.3.5</sub> M<sub>3.5</sub> Cs]; 138.18a (D<sub>1.3.4</sub>); 138.23c (K<sub>1.3</sub> D<sub>7.9</sub>); 138.26a K<sub>3.4</sub> B<sub>1.3.4</sub> Dn Ds D<sub>1.3.4.5</sub>; 143.4c (K<sub>3</sub> Ds M<sub>4.5</sub>).

V. Readings of the Sāradā version of the *Udyoga*.

(a) mā for māṃ:—

8.29d; 13.12c; 15.19 c; 32.3a; 32.5a; 61.13b; 113.6b; 158.16d; 175.25b.

(b) tvā for tvāṃ:—

7.33b; 15.12a; 56.52a; 63.1b; 64.2c; 67.11d; 70.89c; 88.60a; 93.18a; 93.40a; 112.18d; 119.23c; 158.27d; 165.3c; 176.10c.

# Portrayal of Nature in Valmiki's Ramayana<sup>1</sup>

By

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न राज्यभ्रंशनं भद्रे न सुहृद्विनिभावः ।

मनो मे बाधते दृष्ट्वा रमणीयमिदं गिरिम् ॥ II, 94, 3

In these words of Rama addressed to Sita, Valmiki introduces us to the hills and forests of Dandakaranya. These forests and hills do not inspire us with fear. On the other hand, the poet assures us that in their company one can be as happy as among friends. They are not alien to our spirit. Provided we have the eye and the mind to see and comprehend their beauty, the pleasures they yield are not inferior to those of civilization.

Valmiki is our great poet of nature. His pictures are bright with colours and alive with movement. His conceptions are original and daring, but his delineation is simple. There is hardly any object in nature that does not yield him joy by its beauty. Whatever he describes makes an indelible impression on our mind:

इमानि सुभगम्भीनि पश्य लक्ष्मण सर्वशः ।

नलिनानि प्रकाशभ्ते जले तरुणसूर्यवत् ॥ IV, 1, 62

'Look at these fragrant lotuses, Laksmana. They are shining in the lake like the young sun.'<sup>1</sup>

विपन्नव-नालि-प्रसवानि भुक्त्वा प्रहर्षिता सारस-चारु-पङ्क्तिः ।

नभः समाकामति शीघ्रवेगा वातावधृता मथितेव माला ॥ IV, 30, 47

The pretty flight of *sarasa* birds, happy after a hearty meal of the ripe paddy corn, is flying across the sky in an unbroken waving line like a garland of flowers swinging in the wind.'

शक्यमम्बरमारुह्य मेघसोपानपङ्क्तिभिः ।

कुटजार्जुनमालाभिरलंकृतुं दिवाकरम् ॥ IV, 28, 4

'One can step on the stairs of these rain clouds, climb up to the heavens and decorate the sun with the flowers of *kutaja* and *arjuna*'

The poet does not remain content in describing, as above, merely the outward' beauty of nature—that aspect of her which pleases the eye. His art goes deeper and reveals to us the inner significance of her being. The poet realises that every object in nature has its own moods and ways of expressing them. His hills dance and his trees

1. All the stanzas quoted in this article are taken from the 4th. edition of the *Valmiki Ramayana* published by Nirjayasagara press, Bombay (1929).

sing. The restless forest breeze is like a man of many tastes and pleasures. The bee among its flowers compares well with a connoisseur enjoying his wines.

मारुतोद्धतशिखरैः प्रनृत इव पर्वतः ।  
पादपैः पुष्पपद्मणि सृजन्निरमितो नदीम् ॥ II, 15, 8

'The hill by virtue of its trees\* shedding flowers and leaves from their wind-tossed tops, appears as if it is dancing in glee in front of the river/ This hill is really like a grand-father trying to amuse a child.

पुष्पसङ्घाशिखरा मारुतोक्लपकञ्चलाः ।  
अमी मधुकरोत्सवाः प्रगीता इव पादपाः ॥ IV, 1, 10

'Their heads crowned with flowers and their limbs swayed by the wind, these trees, adorned with bees, appear as if they are singing a great symphony.'

पादपात् पादपं गच्छन्तोल्लाच्छैलं वनाद्वनम् ।  
वाति मैकरसास्वादसमोदित इवानिलः ॥ IV, 1, 86

This breeze blows, moving from tree to tree, rock to rock and wood to wood, as if the pleasure it has had in the company of any one of these is not enough to satisfy its soul/

इदं मृदुमिदं स्वादु प्रफुल्लमिदमित्यपि ।  
रागरक्तो मधुकरो कुसुमेष्वेव लीयते ॥ IV, 1, 88.

'Ah, this is to my taste, this, indeed, is sweet and this is in full bloom ; thus, the passionate bee is engrossed in flowers.- (In fact, we feel like this bee when meandering through the flower-garden of Valmiki's verses.)

The poet makes skilful use of the motions and sounds in nature to intensify human emotions as well. For example, when Sita is being carried away by Ravana, the surrounding hills, with tears in the form of their water-falls streaming down their faces and their hands in the shape of many peaks thrown up in helpless agony, appear as if they are lamenting loudly at the sight of their dear Sita being carried away (111,53.36). Their children, the trees, struck by the gale caused by the flight of Ravaija, wave their branches in a more spirited manner and through the voices of their birds appear to cry out to Sita, 'Do not be afraid, do not be afraid/(III, 53, 33).

Occasionally such fancies of the poet develop themselves into more elaborate forms resulting in concrete personifications. Below are quoted a few lines describing the river Ganges :

जलधालाट्टहासोभ्रां केननिर्मलहासिनीम् ।  
कचिद्वेणीकृतजलां कचिदावतकीभिताम् ॥  
कचिद्गम्भीरनिर्घोषां कचिद्गैरवनिस्वनाम् ॥  
प्रसदामिब वक्त्रेण भूषितां भूषणोत्तमैः ।  
फलपुष्पैः क्लिप्तकवचैर्जलां गुम्भैर्द्विजेस्तथा ॥ II, 50, 17 ; 23

The portrayal by the poet of a mountain which Hanuman climbs for his return flight from Lanka, makes a more profound impression. Only five lines are quoted to show the grandeur of the poet's conception :

बोधमानमिव ग्रीत्वा त्रिदाकरकरैः क्षुभैः ।  
 निःशसन्तमिवामर्षाद् धोरैराशीविषोत्तमैः ।  
 नीहारकृतगम्भीरैर्ध्वान्तमिव गह्वरैः ॥  
 मेघपादानिमैः पादैः प्रक्रान्तमिव सर्वतः ।  
 ज्वम्भमाणमिवाकाशे शिखरैरभमालिभिः ॥ V, 56, 27 ; 31 ; 32

What a beautiful relationship the poet has created between the sun and the mountain. The sun gently wakes him up every morning by his loving touch. This mountain is not to be trifled with. He is a person of many moods. One feels his breath of anger when the serpents hiss. In the ice-domed majestic caves, he has his meditations.

The moon also has his oblation of verses from the poet. She enters the sky like a swan into the blue waters of a lake (V, 17, 1). Seen against the racing white clouds, the moon appears like a fretful white bull which would break away from its fold in the sky (V, 5, 1). The embrace of her cool light is capable of giving one the same ineffable happiness as that of a fond parent's. (II, 44, 10). She calms an excited mind like a friend giving wise counsel in a crisis (V, 17, 2).

The above examples do by no means exhaust the ways in which the poet depicts the beauties of nature in his inimitable flowing words. He sometimes uses human figures to embellish his pictures of her :

सुपुष्पितांस्तु पश्यैतान् कर्णिकारान् समन्ततः ।  
 हाटकप्रतिलम्बच्छात्रारान् पीताम्बरानिव ॥ IV, 1, 21

'Look at these *harnikara* plants in full bloom. They appear like men wearing yellow garments worked in gold all over/

More complex in texture and richer in suggestion is the following verse describing the coldness of water in a lake in the winter season:

एते हि समुपासीना विद्मगा जलचारिणः ।  
 नावगाहन्ति सखिलमप्रगृह्णा इवाहवन् ॥ III, 16, 22

'These water-birds have stuck to the shore and enter not the lake like recruits the front line of battle.'

In some other instances, the poet flashes forth lovely images of nature to portray human beings. Here is a stanza describing a lady in Rāvaṇa's harem :

काचिद्गीर्णो परिविज्य प्रसुप्ता संप्रकाशते ।  
 महानदीप्रकीर्णेषु नखिनी पोटनमञ्जिता ॥ V, 10, 37

'This lady has fallen asleep with her arms entwined round the *वृक्ष* like a lotus, clinging to a float and spread on the surface of a great river.' Each picture is pretty in itself and each adds to the charm of the other by association.

उपरिद्वाष्करीरेण क्वावया चावगाढया ।

सागरे मासृताविद्वा भौरिवासीत्तदा कपिः ॥ V, 1, 68

'The monkey with his huge body above and his image set thick in the sea below, looked like a ship in full sail/

This describes the great Hanuman and his shadow in the sea, both of them in motion, with the blue sky and its bulging white clouds encompassing them, like wind-filled sails\*

उद्भूतेन च वस्त्रेण तस्याः पीतेन रावणः ।

अधिकं परिवभ्राज गिरिर्द्वीप इवाग्निना ॥ III, 52, 14

'With Sita's yellow garment streaming behind him, Ravatta appeared resplendent like a mountain ablaze with fire.' The simile also suggests that in abducting Sita, Ravana was courting disaster.

The poet has also utilised some moods of nature to depict the psychological states of his characters. In Kalidasa, this aspect of the art has reached its culmination ; but, as far as I know, Valmiki appears to be its progenitor. Two stanzas are quoted below to illustrate the point, one describing Sita and the other Kaikeyi :

सा रामसंकीर्तनधीतवोका रामस्य शोकेन समानशोका ।

शरन्मुखे साम्बुजोपचन्द्रा निशेव वैदेहसुता बभूव ॥ V, 36, 36

'On hearing the recitation of the name of Rama (from Hanuman who was sitting on the tree above her, still invisible to her), Sita lost her sorrow, but, at the same time, became as concerned about Rama's sufferings as Rama himself was. In fact, this daughter of Vaideha looked, then, like the night at the beginning of autumn in which the remnants of black clouds still cling to her moon.' Sita was both happy and unhappy as this night with its blended moods.

उदीर्णसंरम्भसमोद्भूतानना तदावमुक्तीत्तममास्यभूषणा ।

नरेन्द्रपत्नी विमना बभूव सा तमोद्भूता धौरिव मग्नतारका ॥ II, 10, 66

This is a portrait of queen Kaikeyi in her dark mood, about to raise a storm in the household of King Da&ratha^ and the kingdom of Ayodhya : 'Her face became dark with rising jealousy. She threw away her rare jewels and garlands. This beloved queen 'of the King, whose mind had lost its peace, appeared like the sky blackened ( by the storm-clouds ) with all its^ stars submerged.' The simile is suggestive to a degree. The word **धौः** is well chosen and it connotes the great beauty of Kaikeyi which kept the old King's passion for hef ever young.

Here I must conclude. Such vivid, colourful and moving pictures full of subtle suggestions can be found in abundance in the Rsmayaga of Valmiki. He laid the foundation of the great art of depicting nature in her various moods and drawing from her fechoes of all human emotions from the simplest to the most complex. On reading the Ramaya9a, one feels that Valmiki is among those pioneers who have civile sed nature and made her the perennial source of our aesthetic delight

# स्वोपज्ञ-स्मृति-विशेषः

निबन्धकः, विश्वेश्वरनाथ-रेडः, जोधपुरम्

अद्यत्वे पाश्चात्त्यशिक्षादीक्षसंपर्केण भारतीया अपि न खलु सर्वांसत आद्रियन्ते शास्त्रोक्तम् । किन्तु समुपस्थितेऽवसरे प्रायस्तदुपेक्षन्ते । अनुपदं च तासु तासु शास्त्रीयाज्ञासु तर्क वितर्कतत्कारण-पृच्छां चारचयन्ति ते शास्त्रविदां संनिधौ । तेषां स्वान्तसंतोषणायैवास्माभिर्निर्मितैका विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिः । यत्र खलु,

संस्कृतेः स्वच्छतायाश्च शुद्धेर्वा पैतृकासृजः ।  
समाजसुखशान्त्योश्च रक्षार्थं मनुना तु यत् ॥  
ऋषिभिश्चापरैरुक्तं स्वस्वशास्त्रेषु तन्मया ।  
विश्वेश्वरस्मृतौ सार्थं वर्ण्यते युगसंगतम् ॥

एतेषां विषयाणां निरूपणाय चास्या द्वादशस्वध्यायेषु आसन्नत्रयोदशशतानि अनुष्टुभां संजातानि । इह तावत्तन्मध्यतः कानिचित् पद्यान्युद्ध्रियन्ते—

तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन देशा नानाविधास्तथा ।  
मनुष्या यदि दृश्यन्ते ज्ञानवृद्धिकरं हि तत् ॥  
समागमश्च साधूनां मनसः शान्तिदो मतः ।  
स्वास्थ्यदौ जलवायू च देहारोग्यं प्रयच्छतः ॥  
शान्तं पूतं च तत्रत्यं वातावरणमद्भुतम् ।  
आध्यात्मिकीमुन्नतिं हि कुरुते तीर्थसेविनः ॥ १, ४२-४४ (तिलकम्)  
समाजहितसंरक्षः मनःशान्तिश्च सात्त्विकी ।  
हेतुर्यद्यपि धर्मस्य मूढैस्तदपि युष्यते ॥  
प्रसन्नमनसा नित्यं दन्तैः संचर्ष्य यत्नतः ।  
यथावकाशं तु शनैः शनैर्भोजनमाचरेत् ॥  
सूर्योपस्थानतो नित्यं जायते नीरुजं वपुः ।  
शास्त्रविज्ञानसिद्धं तत् तत् प्रातःसायमाचरेत् ॥ २, ६; ३०; ५७.  
लब्धाभीप्सितसन्तानस्ततः परिहरन्वृत्तः ।  
भार्याऽऽत्मतुष्ट्यै विहरेद् वीर्यरक्षाहिते रतः ॥  
शिष्टास्थानानि च पठेच्छृणुयाद् वा समाहितः ।  
पितृणां श्रेष्ठकर्माणि श्रावयेत्पुत्रपौत्रकान् ॥  
येनानुकुर्युः सिद्धयर्थं जगत्यां तेऽपि पूर्वजान् ।  
पितृणां स्मृतिरश्चैव अद्या आढमुष्यते ॥ ३, १८; ३५; ३६.  
लोभाभावोऽतिलोभश्च द्वावेतौ हानिदौ मतः ।  
अर्थप्रधाने काळेऽस्मिन् मितलोभो भवेत् ततः ॥

धृतपूर्वाणि चान्येन वस्त्रादीनि न धारयेत् ।  
यतः कण्डूवादिरोगाणां न स्यात्संक्रमयं तनौ ॥  
ज्ञाने प्राक् ज्ञानं मूर्खो यदुक्तं शास्त्रपारगैः ।  
मस्तिष्काक्रामिरक्तोत्थ-पक्षाघातनिरोधि तत् ॥ ४,५;२२;३२.

क्षीरदाः पशवो ये च ये कृष्या उपयोगिनः ।  
बाह्वरक्षोपयुक्ता ये तेऽवध्या इह कीर्तिताः ॥  
शावाशौचस्य जगति हेतुद्वय्यनुमीयते ।  
संक्रामकायां रोगायां निरोधः शुक्-प्रकाशनम् ॥

गृहकार्ये निपुण्या प्रसन्नाकारया तथा ।  
आयोनभ्ययया भाष्यं स्वच्छोपस्करथाऽपि च ॥ ५,१०;४२;८३.

यथासाध्यं न भिद्येत वानप्रस्थागतोऽपि सन् ।  
स्वार्जितैः पुत्रदसैर्वा धनैः प्राथान् विनिर्बहेत् ॥  
प्रायोऽर्धकोटिसंख्यैस्तु भिक्षुभिर्भारतेऽधुना ।  
गृह्युपार्जितचित्तस्य वृथा नाशो विधीयते ॥

गृहस्थाश्रमनिर्याता अपरे त्रय आश्रमाः ।  
तेनैव परिपोष्याश्च श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद् गृही मतः ॥ ६,९;१०;४२.

पशवो हिंसका ये स्युर्ये स्युः कृषिविनाशकाः ।  
अन्यहानिकरा ये च तेषामाखेटमाचरेत् ॥

ग्रामाणां सप्तलक्षेऽत्र भारतस्य निवासिनः ।  
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिजनाः संवर्ध्याः शिष्यादिभिः ॥

अयं श्रमं च त्नाभं च परिज्ञायाथवा पुनः ।  
करादिकं सुनिर्घोर्य व्यापारे कृषिकर्मणि ॥ ७,४९;८०;८८.

प्रतिग्रामं निजे राज्ये सीमां निश्चित्य तत्त्वतः ।  
स्थान्यास्तत्र शिलाखण्डा मानचित्रं च कारयेत् ॥

पशुपक्षिवपि क्षौर्यं ये निरर्थं प्रकुर्वन्ते ।  
छिन्दन्ति फलिवृक्षांश्च तेऽपि दण्डया यथोचितम् ॥

स्थितैर्वशादधाज्ञानात् कुटुम्बभरणोषितम् ।  
अन्नाद्यपहृतं येन दण्डयेत्तमबन्धनम् ॥ ८,१२६;१३९;१४९.

यद्वत् पतिव्रता शस्ता तद्वत् पत्नीव्रतः पुमान् ।  
अतः पत्न्यां तु जीवन्त्यां नोद्वहेदपरां क्षियम् ॥

स्त्रीयां पुनर्विवाहाज्ञा विरक्षैवोपज्ञभ्यते ।  
तथापि गर्भघातेभ्यो विवाहस्वरूपहानिकृत् ॥

अग्रशस्तो हि बालानां विवाहो हानिकृत् स यत् ।  
 प्रौढानामग्रशस्तोऽथ वयसा चासमानयोः ॥ ६,४७;५२;५४.  
 भूमिगर्भगतानां हि जीवानां नाशशङ्कया ।  
 निन्दन्ति कृषिमर्थ्या ये न ते तत्त्वार्थबोधिनः ॥  
 वैरतोऽकारणं वापि या हिंसा सा विनिन्दिता ।  
 नो धेतुच्छ्वासनिःश्वसक्रियापि स्यादसंभवा ॥  
 चाण्डालादीनपि नरो मनुष्या इति चिन्तयन् ।  
 तिरस्कुर्वाञ्च लोकेऽस्मिन्शूद्राणां तु कथैव का ॥ १०,२७;२८;३६.  
 सीदति स्वजने योऽर्थं परेभ्यो यशसेऽर्पयेत् ।  
 दानं न फलदं तस्य भवतीत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥  
 पोष्याणां पोषरोधेन यः करोत्यौर्ध्वदैहिकम् ।  
 निष्फलं तस्य तज्ज्ञैर्यं मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥  
 कृतसागरयात्रोऽपि विद्यायर्जनकर्मणे ।  
 स्वाचारमनतिक्रान्तो जात्या भ्रूयेञ्च कर्हिचित् ॥ ११,६;७;१५.  
 निरुध्य तु तमः सख-रजसी आश्रितः समे ।  
 बुधः कुर्याद् यथाशक्यं स्थितिं समयसंगताम् ॥  
 आत्मवत्सर्वभूतेषु पश्यन् रागविवर्जितः ।  
 समदृष्टिः सुशान्तात्मा पदं याति परं जनः ॥  
 सर्वदेवमयो यस्तु सर्वभूतमयश्च यः ।  
 हृद्यस्थोऽखिलन्यापी सोऽयं कर्मफलप्रदः ॥ १२,२६;३५;४३.

निबन्धस्यास्तोत्रार्धः पुनरस्माभिर्दायभागात्मको निर्मितः । तत्र चासन्नसपादचतुःसहस्र-  
 मनुष्टुभां संजातम् । स एष दायभागविषयस्तथास्माभिविंशदीकृतो येन स्फुटं ज्ञायेत यत् कस्मिन्  
 प्रान्ते कतमो दायभागो मन्यते । तथा मिताक्षरादिग्रन्थानां वचनैर्विभिन्नप्रान्तीया न्यायालयाः  
 कं कं नाम भावमुद्भावयन्ति । पुरतश्चोक्तादुत्तरार्धादाद्यानि पञ्चाशत् पद्यान्युद्धृष्यन्तेः—

### उपोद्घातः ।

चातुर्वर्ण्ये समुत्पन्नास्तन्मतानुगताश्च ये ।  
 प्रत्यावृत्ताश्च ये तस्मिन् तदर्थं विधिरुच्यते ॥१॥

### व्यवहारोद्भवस्थानानि ।

श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारो विधानानां प्रवर्तकाः ।  
 देशभेदैः पुनस्तत्र जायते भिन्नता ऋषिद् ॥२॥  
 वाराणस्या<sup>१</sup> महाराष्ट्रे<sup>२</sup> विदेहे<sup>३</sup> इविडे<sup>४</sup> तथा ।

१. काशीप्रदेशे ।  
२. बंबईप्रान्ते ।

३. मिथिलाप्रान्ते ।  
४. मद्रासप्रान्ते ।

मान्या मितार्चरा<sup>१</sup> नित्यं प्रान्तिकाऽऽचारदर्जिता ॥३॥  
 वाराणस्यां तु मान्यौ स्तो द्वावेतौ हि तथा समम् ।  
<sup>२</sup>वीरमित्रोदयस्वाद्योऽपरो निर्णयसिन्धुकः ॥४॥  
 महाराष्ट्रे तु पूर्वोक्ताबुभौ मान्यौ तथा सह ।  
 व्यवहारमयूखश्च<sup>३</sup> मुख्यो यो गुर्जरे मतः ॥५॥  
 विदेहे तु तथा सार्धं मान्यौ स्तो 'वि' समन्वितौ ।  
 वादचिन्तामणिः पूर्वे वादरत्नाकरोऽपरः ॥६॥  
 द्रविडेऽथ तथा सार्धं मान्या ग्रन्था इमे बुधैः ।  
 सरस्वतीविलासोऽथ वीरमित्रोदयस्तथा ॥७॥  
 पाराशरो माधवीयस्तथा च स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ।  
 एषा न्यायविधौ ज्ञेया प्रान्तीया शास्त्रमान्यता ॥८॥ (युग्मम्)  
 वङ्गे पुनर्दायभागः<sup>४</sup> सर्वैराद्रियते बुधैः ।  
 अतो विधीनां मुख्ये द्वे व्यवस्थे<sup>५</sup> भारते मते ॥९॥  
 दायप्राप्त्यै तथा पृक्तकुटुम्बार्थं विनिश्चिताः ।  
 मितार्चरीया नियमा दायभागेऽन्यथा कृताः ॥१०॥  
 दत्तक्ये<sup>६</sup> तस्य मीमांसा<sup>७</sup> चन्द्रिका<sup>८</sup> च मता बुधैः ।  
 वाराणस्यां विदेहे च मुख्या पूर्वेव मन्यते ॥११॥  
 वङ्गेष्वथाऽपरा नाष्ठा ख्याता दत्तकचन्द्रिका ।  
 सारमेतद् हि विज्ञेयं दत्तकस्य विनिर्णये ॥१२॥ (युग्मम्)  
 मितार्चरानुगाश्चैते चतुर्धा<sup>९</sup> ये विभाजिताः ।  
 दत्तादानेऽथ दायासौ तेऽपि भिन्नमताः पुनः ॥१३॥  
 मितार्चरामतो मुख्यो महाराष्ट्रे तथोत्तरे ।  
 कनारानाम्निदेशेऽथ प्राप्ते रत्नगिरेः पुनः ॥१४॥  
 गुर्जरे बंबईद्वीप उत्तरे कोङ्कणोऽपि च ।  
 व्यवहारमयूखस्तु मतो मुख्यो बुधैर्भुवम् ॥१५॥

१. मितार्चरा विज्ञानेश्वरेण विक्रमस्य द्वादशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धान्तिमभागे लिखिता याज्ञवल्क्यरमृतेष्टीकारित । याज्ञवल्क्यरमृतिश्च चतुर्धशताब्दीसमीपे रचितैत्यनुमीयते ।
२. वीरमित्रोदयः षोडशतमशताब्द्यामालिखितोऽभवत् ।
३. व्यवहारमयूखो नीलकण्ठभट्टेन सप्तदशशताब्द्यां लिखितः ।
४. दायभागरचयितुर्जीमूतवाहनस्य ईशवीयत्रयोदशपञ्चदशशताब्द्योर्मध्ये सत्ताऽनुमीयते ।
५. मितार्चरीया दायभागीया च ।
६. दत्तकादाने ।
७. दत्तकमीमांसा ।
८. दत्तकचन्द्रिका ।
९. वाराणस्यादिप्रदेशामेदेन ।

पूनापुरे खानदेशे चाह्मदे<sup>१</sup> नगरे समौ ।  
 भित्ताक्षरामयूखौ तु मुख्या पूर्वैव किन्तु सा ॥१६॥  
 आचारस्त्रिविधो श्रेयः स्थानजातिकुलागतः ।  
 चिरप्रचलितस्यास्य स्मृतिभ्यो मुख्यता मता ॥१७॥  
 देशाधारस्य मुख्यत्वाद्यस्मिन्देशे स्थितो जनः ।  
 तत्रत्या नियमा एव दायार्थे तत्कृते मताः ॥१८॥  
 देशान्तरे गते तस्मिन्नापि नो तत्र भिन्नता ।  
 तावथावञ्च तद्देशाचारास्तेनानुमोदिताः ॥१९॥  
 तद्देशीयेषु नियमेष्वप्यासन्ये तु संमताः ।  
 तस्मिन्तत्र स्थिते मान्यास्त एवास्य कृते पुनः ॥२०॥  
 ये तु देशान्तरं याति तस्मिन्संयोजिताः परम् ।  
 आचारा नियमेष्वन्ये ते प्रयोज्या न तत्कृते ॥२१॥  
 आचारे त्वत्र जातीये स्थानीये वाप्यपेक्ष्यते ।  
 प्राचीन्यं निश्चितत्वं च सातत्यं न्याय्यता तथा ॥२२॥  
 विशिष्टेन विधानेनाऽवर्जितः सुप्रमाणितः ।  
 सदाचाराऽविरुद्धश्च व्यवहारो बुधैर्मतः ॥२३॥  
 यत्र साधारणन्यायनियमैरस्य भिन्नता ।  
 वैशद्येन तु तत्रासौ व्याख्येयः स्पष्टताकृते ॥२४॥  
 आचारोऽल्पप्रमाणोऽपि नव्यत्वादिह मन्यते ।  
 परं तत्पुष्टयेऽन्यत्र लभ्यान्यपि सुनिश्चितम् ॥२५॥  
 आदेयानि प्रमाणाणि यतः सम्यक् प्रमाणितः ।  
 आचार एव विश्लेषः स्वतःसिद्धो बुधैरिह ॥२६॥ (युग्मम्)  
 वंशाधारस्तु मान्यः स्यात्स्थानीयाचारवद् ध्रुवम् ।  
 परम्परागतश्चाथ निश्चितश्च स्थिरः पुनः ॥२७॥  
 आकस्मिकोऽथ वंशेच्छाकृतस्ताराः सुसाधितः ।  
 वंशाचारस्य तल्लोपकृतेऽलं विबुधैर्मतः ॥२८॥  
 स्थानीयव्यवहारस्य स्थितिर्भिन्ना पुनर्मता ।  
 यतः स तु भवेन्मान्यः सर्वैस्तत्र स्थितैर्जनैः ॥२९॥  
 हिन्दुन्यायानुगे वंशे जातः कोऽपि प्रदर्शयेत् ।  
 तद्विरुद्धं निजाचारं साधयेत् स एव हि ॥३०॥

अनार्येषाथ वर्गेण कुटुम्बेनाथ वा पुनः ।  
 कतिचिद्वीतथो नूनं स्वीकृता आर्यसम्मताः ॥३१॥  
 तयोः कोऽपि विशिष्टाया आर्यरतिर्ग्रहो यदि ।  
 स्ववर्गे दर्शयेत्तर्हि स एवैनं प्रमाणयेत् ॥३२॥  
 आचाराः स्वीकृता यत्र त्वन्यैर्हिन्दुषु संमताः ।  
 तत्राचारं विशिष्टं यो वदेत् साधयेदसौ ॥३३॥  
 सदाचारविरुद्धो यो लोकाचारविवर्जितः ।  
 विधानेन निषिद्धश्च ह्याचारस्त्याज्य एव सः ॥३४॥

दायप्राप्तौ स्यामान्या नियमाः ।

मिताक्षरायां सामीप्यं दाये मुख्यं मतं बुधैः ।  
 पारत्रिकस्य लाभस्य दायभागेऽस्ति मुख्यता ॥३५॥  
 आर्येषु प्राप्तनी नूनं पृक्तकौटुम्बिकी प्रथा ।  
 पृक्ताः संपृक्तेभाजश्च पूजने भोजने धने ॥३६॥  
 नूनं मैताक्षरेऽथत्र संपृक्तेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।  
 संपृक्तेऽर्थे भवेत्स्वार्थः संपृक्तो न विभाजितः ॥३७॥  
 दायभागानुगेष्वत्र संश्लिष्टकुलशास्त्रिषु ।  
 संश्लिष्टेऽर्थे भवेद्देशो विभाजितसमः<sup>१</sup> पुनः ॥३८॥  
 मिताक्षरामते याति संसृष्टेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।  
 कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्भागो संसृष्टान्शेषजीविनः ॥३९॥  
 मैताक्षरेषु किन्त्वेष<sup>२</sup> संसृष्टेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।  
 कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्भागो याति तद्विधवां प्रति ॥४०॥  
 दायभागे तु संसृष्टाऽसंसृष्टेषुभयेष्वपि ।  
 कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्भागो याति तस्योत्तरान् निजान् ॥४१॥  
 आत्मनो विधवा भार्या पुत्री माता पितामही ।  
 प्रपितामहापि पुनः पुंदायार्हाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥४२॥  
 वाराणस्यां तथा वज्रे मिथिलायां सुनिश्चितम् ।  
 षडष्टाङ्गैकवर्षात्तहायासिनियमेन<sup>३</sup> हि ॥४३॥  
 आर्येषु विहिता पौत्री दौहित्री च भगिन्यपि ।  
 दायाऽनर्हा सपिण्डेषु दायार्हा त्वधुना बुधैः ॥४४॥ (युग्मम्)

१. Quasi-severally.

२. By the Act XVIII of 1937-

३. By the Hindu Law of Inheritance 1929 (Vikrama-Samvat 1986).

नूनमत्र महाराष्ट्रे<sup>१</sup> त्रिविधे<sup>२</sup> चापराः स्त्रियः ।  
 बह्व्यो भवन्ति दायार्हा देशाचारादिभिः पुनः ॥४५॥  
 अतुर्नवाङ्गचन्द्राब्दस्वीकृतव्यवहारतः<sup>३</sup> ।  
 स्नुषाऽधवाऽथ<sup>४</sup> च स्वीया सृतपुत्रस्तुषाऽधवा<sup>५</sup> ॥४६॥  
 क्रमाद्वैयक्तिकेऽर्थेऽत्र अशुरस्याथ तत्पितुः ।  
 स्यातां सर्वत्र दायार्हे इति हिन्दुषु निश्चितम् ॥४७॥ (युग्मम्)  
 स्त्रीपुंसयोरुत्तरः स्याद् नरः पूर्णाधिकारवान् ।  
 सर्वत्रते महाराष्ट्रे मित्ताधिकृतिकाः स्त्रियः ॥४८॥  
 स्वमृत्युकाले संपत्तेः पूर्णस्वामी तु यो नरः ।  
 स तदन्त्याधिकारी<sup>६</sup> स्यात्प्रभदश्वार्थभागिनाम्<sup>७</sup> ॥४९॥  
 स्त्रीणां मित्ताधिकारित्वात्तद्द्वयं नोपपद्यते ।  
 स्त्रीधनेऽथ महाराष्ट्रे क्वचित्तत्संभवो मतः ॥५०॥ (युग्मम्)

१. Bombay school.

२. Madras school.

३. By the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act of 1937 A. D. (V. S. 1994)

४. विधवा पुत्रवधुः ।

५. विधवा सृतपुत्रनुतवधुः ।

६. Last full owner.

७. Fresh stock of descent.

# Prakṛta and Vernacular Verses in Dharmadasa's Vidagdhamukhamandana

By

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Dharmadasa's *Vidagdhamukhamandana*<sup>1</sup>, an elaborate treatise on *Prahdikṛt* poetry or enigmatology, contains 24 verses written partly or fully in *Prakṛta*, *Apabhraṃs'a* or *Avahattha-V cmacular*. The work has been referred to and quoted from in Sarvfinanda's *Tikasarvasva*<sup>2</sup> (c. 1160), which indicates the lower limit of its compilation. It appears from the opening verse that Dharmadasa was a Buddhist. There is nothing but the name to connect him with the commentator of Candragomin's grammar. It is quite probable that Dharmadasa belonged to Bengal.

Dharmadasa has recognised, besides Sanskrit, these five languages—*Prakṛta*, *Apabhraṃs'a*, *Magadhika*, *Pais'acika* and *Laukika*. His *Prakṛta* is *Maharastri* *Prakṛta*. *Apabhraṃs'a* instances are not all written in *Saurasent* *Apabhraṃs'a*; some verses and fragments are clearly written in *Saurasent* *Prakṛta*. Dharmadasa's *Magadhika* has invariably  $I < r$ ; the other two characteristics,  $s < .?$ ,  $s$  and  $c < ah$ , appear sporadically. This may very well be scribal error, or it may be that Dharmadasa included, *Ardhamilgadht* in *Magadhika*. *Pais'acika* is the grammarians' *Pais'aci*. *Laukika* is apparently the literary form of the contemporary speech which was hovering between *Avahattha* (i.e. late *Apabhraṃsa*) and the Vernacular. The difference between *Avahattha* and the Vernacular does not seem to have been great, otherwise there could not have been a mixture of the two in the *Laukika* verses. It may be mentioned here that the literary Vernacular in Bengal was known as *Laukika* right up to the middle of the sixteenth century..

I append below the edited text with translation of the 24 verses, written in pure or mixed M. I. A. and N. I. A. speeches, from the last two chapters of *Vidagdhamukhamandana*. Alternative readings are given in footnotes.

1. Published in *Kavyakalapa* Hi (Wandas Hirachand, Bombay 1865) and in *Kavyasamgraha* (Jivananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta 1872). The current Calcutta edition is practically «i different book. In determining the text of the *Prakṛta* and Vernacular verses and portions, I have also consulted the following manuscripts: Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. no. Ka 151 and Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Mss. no. 79 and 80. The last Ms. contains the commentary by Kayasthacadamani Taracanda.

2. Published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (1914-1917).

A. *Prākṛta*

(i) Sanskrit and Prākṛta macaronic verses :—

1

Q. किं न स्यात् कीदृशं महतोऽपि तादृशस्य जलराशेः ।  
दिग्-मणि<sup>1</sup>-किरणफसण-पल्लिवुद्धं<sup>2</sup> होइ किं गोसे ॥ III. 54

A. कमलवणं

'What kind of thing is not there in such a vast sheet of water?' 'Saltless water (*ham a-lavaṇam*)'. 'What is it that opens up in the morning at the touch of the sun (literally, the jewel of the day)?' 'The lotus-bed (*kamala-vaṇam*)'.

2

Q. मत्स्यहितम् अशु कीदृक् पृच्छति रोगी निशासु किं भाति ।  
कोऽनङ्गो वदति मृगः से गम्मइ केरिसा रहणा ॥ III. 55

A. अविशामभमिरेण

'How is water good for fish?' 'Unfrequented by (water-) birds (*avi*)'. 'How is a sick man accosted?' 'O diseased (man)! (*sāma*)'. 'What does shine at night?' 'A star (*bham*)'. 'Who is Anuraṅga (or bodyless)?' 'iḥ'. 'How is a stag called?' 'eṇa'. 'How does the sun move in the sky?' 'By moving incessantly' (*avi - sāma - bham - ir - eṇa = avisāmabhamireṇa < avi-sāma- \*bhramireṇa*).

The active verb *pṛcchati* and *vadati* are used in the passive sense. This is no doubt Prākṛta influence, if not actual back formation or translation. See *pṛcchati* (13 ; 21).

(ii) Pure Prākṛta verses :—

3

Q. को णिवसइ स्वच्छंदं सुन्दरि<sup>3</sup> गिरि-गहण-कुञ्ज-मञ्जमि ।  
सइ अज्जुणेण जोदुं<sup>4</sup> सिहि-गमणो केरिसो होइ ॥ III. 64

A. सरहससवराहवग्गो

'O beloved, who dwell at ease in the grottos within the depths of hilly forests?' 'The host of *sarabhas*, hares, boars (*saraha-sasa-varāha-vaṅgo < sarabha-sasa-varāha-vargaḥ*). 'How does appear the rider of the peacock (i. e. *Karttikeya*) when fighting *Arjuna*? 'Leading the host of staunch *Savaras* in the battle front' (*saraha-sa-savara-ahavaṅgo < sarabhasa-savara-ahavagryaḥ*).

4

Q. का हरइ मणं पइणो गुण-गण-जोव्वण<sup>5</sup>-सलाहणिजस्स ।  
कअ<sup>6</sup>-चडचडिति<sup>7</sup>-सहा हुआसना<sup>8</sup> केरिसा होन्ति ॥ III. 65

A. सरिसवहुआ<sup>9</sup>

'Who wins the heart of a husband blessed with so many virtues and youthfulness?' 'A fitting bride (*sarisa-vahuā < sadysa-vadhukā*).

1. -अर- 2. -बुद्धं, -उद्धं, -उद्धं. 3. सुन्दर, मन्दर-. 4. जोदुं. 5. जुव्वण-.  
6. कअ-. 7. -वडेति-, -चडति-. 8. हुया-. 9. -वहुआ.

'When do fires crackle?' 'When mustard seed is thrown into them (sarisava-hutā < sarṅapa-hutāh)'.  
5

- Q. दर-दिट्ट-चूअ-मडलं पेच्छिअ<sup>1</sup> सहिआहिं विरहिणी-सहिअं ।  
णमिओ<sup>2</sup> कङ्कल्लि-तरु चूओ चरणाहओ कुओ ॥ IV. 12

'Glancing at the blossoms of the mango tree and looking at their love-lorn friend why did the girls bend the kaṅkelli plant but kick at the mango tree?'

6

- Q. पेच्छंतं<sup>3</sup> अणमिसच्छं पेच्छिअ<sup>4</sup> बहुआए<sup>5</sup> झत्ति भिक्खअरं<sup>6</sup> ।  
दंसिअ कआइ<sup>7</sup> सीसे कुओ दो जाइ-कुसुमाइ ॥ IV. 13

'Seeing the beggar looking at (her) with steady eyes why did the young married girl quickly show two jāti flowers (to the beggar) and place them on (her) head?'

7

- दाहिणं<sup>8</sup>-पवणुव्विग्गा सम्मीलइ लोअआइं पहिअ-वइ ।  
णिउण-सही उण तीण करीइं कण-विवराइं ढक्केइ ॥ IV. 21<sup>9</sup>

'Being agitated by the Southern breeze the wife of the traveller shuts her eyes; her clever friend, at the same time, covers the lady's ears with her hands.'

### B. Apabhraṃsa

- (i) Sanskrit Apabhraṃsa's-Sauraseni macaronic verses:—

8

- Q. प्रायो विभ्यति कीदृशाद् भरिगजाद् दन्तप्रहीणा गजाः  
पृथ्वी सम्प्रति कीदृशी नृपालिना राजन्वती राजते ।  
प्रायः प्राङ्मुखि कीदृशी गिरितटी धत्ते च कः कं जले  
मञ्जुषणे बलिपु<sup>10</sup> क्षणक्षअ<sup>11</sup>-दिणे जावं सरो केरिसं ॥ III. 56

- A. सरदादत्ताविदवाहिरं

'From what sort of hostile elephants do non-tuskers generally fear?' 'From the tusker (sa-radāt)'. 'How does the earth now prosper with what kind of king?' 'By one who protects (the, people avatā)'. 'How does the hill-side generally fare in the rainy season?' 'Free from forest fire (vi-davā)'. 'Who does bear whom in water?' 'The serpent (ahī) bears Viṣṇu (am)'. 'In the mid-noon how does a lake appear on an autumn day?' 'Made warm on the surface by the autumn sun (saradād-avatā-vidavā-ahī-am = saradā-tavatāvida-vāhiram < sarad-āṭapa-tāpita-bāhyam)'.  
9.

- Q. कुलं कीदृशम् अङ्गं दन्तमयं कं वदन्ति विद्वांसः ।

1. पिच्छिअ. 2. एमिउ. 3. पिच्छंतं. 4. पिच्छिअ. 5. बहुया, बहुयामि. 6. भिच्छरं.  
7. कयाइ, कआइ, कआमि. 8. दाहिण- . 9. काव्यसंग्रह (IV, 20). 10. बलिपे. 11. मञ्जुषण-

अति-लघु-वाचि पदं किं केरिसु सुभ्रणेसु<sup>1</sup> होइ जणो ॥ III. 57

A. विस्संतमणु<sup>2</sup>

'How is chopped flesh?' 'Raw-smelling ( *vissam* < *visram* ). 'What part ( i. e. term ) do the scholars call dental?' 'tam'. 'What is the word denoting very minute quantity?' 'anu'. 'How does a man behave a good man?' 'Trustful ( *vissam-tam-anu* = *visraṃṭa-maṃu* < *visrāntamanas* ).

(ii) Pure Apabhraṃṣa verses:—

10

Q. पाणिगहण-णीभंमणु सोहइ केहिं मण्डउ<sup>3</sup> ।

साहसु बहु विर-पहणो रिउ-बलं कहिं<sup>4</sup> खण्डउ<sup>5</sup> ॥ III. 66

A. समरङ्गणेहिं<sup>6</sup>

'Treated by what does a marriage garment appear resplendent?' 'By uniform colouring ( *sama-raṅgaṅchiṃ* ). 'Say, young wife, where was the enemy host of your husband destroyed?' 'In the battlefields ( *samaru-ṅgaṅchiṃ* ).

11

Q. रसिभह<sup>7</sup> केण उवाइणु<sup>8</sup> किजइ जुअइह<sup>9</sup> भाणसु केण उविजइ ।

तिसिभ-रूउ<sup>10</sup> खणु<sup>11</sup> केण सुहिजइ गहु<sup>12</sup> पणु<sup>13</sup> मह<sup>14</sup> भुभणे गिजइ ॥ III. 67

A. नीरसराण

'How is a connoisseur disgusted?' 'By harsh music ( *nīrasa-rāṇa* < *nīrasa-rāṅa* ). 'How is the mind of a young woman disturbed?' 'By the absence of love sport ( *nī-rasarāṅa* < *nī-rasarāṅa* ). 'How is a thirsty fellow satisfied in a moment?' 'By a pot of water ( *nīra-sarāṅa* < *nīra-sarāṅa* ). This my question ( i. e. riddle ) is proclaimed in the world.

### C. Māgadhika

(i) Sanskrit and Māgadhī (also Ardhamāgadhī ?) macaronic verses:—

12

Q. किं सुखम् भाहुः प्रायः केशविकारं च का हरेर् दयिता ।

कथम् आभा कस्मिन् निशि के<sup>15</sup> लुषइ वील-पुलिशाणं<sup>16</sup> ॥ III. 58

A. शमलकम्मालम्भे

'What do they generally call happiness?' 'sam'. '( What do they call ) crooked ( or stray ) hair?' 'alakam'. 'Who is Hari's beloved?' 'Lakṣmī ( mā ). 'How is brilliance?' 'alam'. 'At what the night ( begins )?', 'With the appearance of the star ( bhe ). 'What appeals to mighty men?' 'A fighting engagement ( *sam-alakam-mā-alam-bhe* = *śamala-kammā-lumbhe* < *samarā-karmārambha* ).

1. सुयथेसु. 2. Reading: विस्स- 3. मण्डउ. 4. केहिं. 5. खण्डउ.  
6. -णेहि. 7. रसिहस्त. 8. केषुच. डणु 9. जुअई. 10. -लोअ. 11. तिसिह-  
अलोअण केष. 12. एह. 13. Reading: गहु, एह, एअ. 14. मम. 15. के.  
16. वीलपुलिसाणं.

13

- Q. कः स्तम्बेरम-सुत इति विख्यातः पृच्छति स्फुटं हरिणः ।  
अहिणभ-गभली लञ्जो<sup>1</sup> असाहुणो केण उज्जडइ<sup>2</sup> ॥ III. 59

A. कलभएण

'How is a young elephant called?' 'kalabha- < karabhañ'. 'How is a stag addressed unequivocally?' 'eṇa.' 'Why is a new city of a bad king deserted?' 'For fear of the tax (kalabhaeṇa = kala-bhaeṇa < kara-bhayena)'.  
Cf. *ujjāḍai* with Bengali *ujāḍ*. For the passive use of *ṣṛcchati* see before.

(ii) Pure Māgadhī (and Ardhamāgadhī ?) verses :—

14

- Q. सुभलो<sup>3</sup> मेहं पुच्छइ पुच्छइ मेहो वि तं तथा सुभलं<sup>4</sup> ।  
केण हआ<sup>5</sup> सभल-सुभा<sup>6</sup> केण जणो विसइ पाभालं<sup>7</sup> ॥ III. 68

A. वलाहकबिलेण

'The boar asks the cloud, and the cloud too similarly asks the boar. By whom were killed the sons of Sagara,?' 'O boar, by Kapila ( *valāha* < *varāhu*, *Kabileṇa* ). 'How does a man get into nether region?' 'O cloud, through a hole ( *valāhaka* ! *bileṇa* ).

15

- Q. धवलुज्जलेहिं केहिं<sup>8</sup> सोहइ धलणी<sup>9</sup> मसानो<sup>10</sup>-वेसस्स ।  
णलमस्स<sup>11</sup> लक्खावाला<sup>12</sup> केहिं पल्लिवेदिआ<sup>13</sup> होन्ति ॥ III. 69

A. नलकलंकेहि

'By what, white and bright, is the region of a cremation ground decorated (i. e. strewn with)?' 'By the bones of men ( *nalā-kalañkehi* < *nara-karañkaiḥ* ). 'By whom are the guards of hell surrounded?' 'By the unfortunates of hell ( *nalaka-rañkehi* < *naraka-rañkaiḥ* ).

#### D. Paisācika

(i) Sanskrit and Paisācī (and Māhāraṣṭri) macaronic verses. :—

16

- Q. कोपारुणं किम् अरुणाग्रसरस्य पूर्व-काण्डाग्रधिष्ठिततनोरुपमानपात्रम् ।  
पत्तं खणेण मरणं सभरस्स<sup>14</sup> रञ्जो<sup>15</sup> पुत्तेहि किं पविसिउण्णो<sup>16</sup> तुरङ्गमर्थं ॥ III. 60

A. कपिलवणं

'What does, in anger, become ruddy like the sun (literally, follower of dawn) on the Eastern horizon?' 'The face of a monkey ( *kapi-lapaṇam* < *kapi-lapanam* ). 'Entering into what did the sons of the King Sagara meet death at once for the sake of the horse?' 'The hermitage of Kapila ( *kapila-vanaṇam* < *kapila-vanam* ).

1. रणो, सन्नो. 2. उज्जलइ, उज्जुडइ; असाहु लोके न उज्जलइ. 3. सुयलो. 4. सुयलं.  
5. हया. 6. सयलमुया. 7. पायालं. 8. केहि. 9. धरणी. 10. ससाण्ण-  
11. णिलमस्स. 12. लक्खवाडा, रक्खावाला, लक्खवाडा. 13. पल्लिवेदिआ, पल्लिवेदिआ. 14. सभलस्स.  
15. रण्यं. 16. पविसिउण्ण.

17

Q. कं प्रीगयन्ति जलदाः सैन्यं कीदृक् पलायते समरात् ।  
घत्ते शिरोधरा किं रुत्त-सिरं केरिसं होइ<sup>1</sup> ॥ III. 61

A. चातकङ्कातरङ्गं

'Whom do the clouds satisfy?' 'A cātaka bird (cātakam)'. 'What sort of army flees the battlefield?' 'Frightened (kātarām)'. 'What does the neck support?' 'The head (kam)'. 'How is the head of Rudra?' 'Containing the waves of the Ganges' (cātakam-kātarām-kam = cāta-kamkā-tarāṅkaṅ < jāta-gaṅgā-taraṅgam).

(ii) Pure Paisāci verses :—

18

Q. पेरी पुच्छति<sup>2</sup> ककणे रावति<sup>3</sup> कसणो खणो कर्हि ।  
कषाई पि<sup>4</sup> ण केहि<sup>5</sup> समप्पन्ति<sup>6</sup> सच्च-णिहितं कणाई पि ॥ III. 70

A. अहितपरकेहिं

'The antagonist asks whereby does a dark cloud show off in the sky?' 'O evildoer, by the flying ducks (ahita! parakehiṅ < ahita! balākūbhiḥ)'. 'By whom are deeds not done though promised (to be done)?' 'By hostile opponents (ahita-parakehiṅ < ahita-parakahiḥ)'.  
19

Q. पत्तन किं फटचनो<sup>7</sup> निचतेहताना<sup>8</sup> अस्थासनं फचति चंफ-निसूतनस्स<sup>9</sup> ।  
फोत्तन<sup>10</sup> खोरतरतुक्खसताई पापा<sup>11</sup> मोहन्धकारकरणं<sup>12</sup> लप<sup>13</sup> किं लफन्ति<sup>14</sup> ॥ III. 71

A. पिसमरणं

'Finding what, did a warrior receive the half seat of Indra (literally, the slayer of Jambha), at the exchange of his own body?' 'An unequal (or losing) fight (pisamaṅ < viṣamaṅ-ramaṅ)'. 'Say, why do the evildoers get what leads to the confusing darkness after suffering hundreds of terrible punishments?' 'Death by poison (pisa-maraṅgaṅ < viṣa-maraṅgaṅ)'.  
E. Laukika

(i) Sanskrit and Laukika macaronic verses :—

20

Q. को वर्णाद्यः क<sup>15</sup> जलधिसुता कं च दीर्घादिसंशुम्  
प्राहुर् बुद्धः कमजयदसौ तार्किकैः के क्रियन्ते ।  
आमन्थो विः कथय विदितं किं पदं हेतुवाचि  
जा णच्छेदं<sup>16</sup> महइ<sup>17</sup> महिला सा-वि<sup>18</sup> बोल्लेइ कीसे<sup>19</sup> ॥ III. 62

A. अप<sup>20</sup> अम्मारं वादा वेहि

1. भोदि. 2. पुच्छति, पुच्छद्. 3. रोचद्, रावति, वाचद्. 4. सखाइ.  
5. कर्हि. 6. समप्पन्ति. 7. भटअणो. 8. निधये हताशुः इल्लल. 9. Reading:—निसूदनस्स, निसुअणस्स.  
10. भोत्तण. 11. पावा. 12. —गहनं. 13. लप. 14. लहन्ति. 15. Reading : क च.  
16. राक्षीप; जा शच्छेदं. 17. इच्छद्. 18. सा-अ. 19. कीस, कास. 20. अरो.

'What is the first (letter) of the alphabet?' 'a'. 'where is Lakṣmī (literally, the daughter of the ocean)?' 'With Viṣṇu (e)'. 'What is the term whereby scholars indicate an initially long (word)?' 'e-am'. 'Whom did the Buddha vanquish?' 'The demon of temptation (māra-m)'. 'What are done by the logicians?' 'Controversies (vādāḥ)'. 'A bird is to be addressed.' 've'. 'Say what is the best known word signifying causality?' 'hi'. 'What does a girl say when she wants to dance?' 'Hello, beat the drum (a-e-cam-māraṃ-vādāḥ-ve-hi = ae cammāraṃ vādāvehi < aye carmikāram vādāya).

21

- Q. शब्दः कः स्यात् पुरुषवचनं कुण्डलो को स्मरारः  
काम् अम्भोधेर् हरिर् उदहरद् वीवधः पृच्छतीदम् ।  
हाण्डी<sup>1</sup> कुण्डी आणोसि<sup>2</sup> ण वडा<sup>3</sup> कीस अंहारं<sup>4</sup> अर्यं<sup>5</sup>  
जे<sup>6</sup> पुच्छल्ला<sup>7</sup> से<sup>8</sup> पुणु<sup>9</sup> परिहारत्तरं<sup>10</sup> कीस देह ॥ III. 63

A. नाही कुम्भार

'What is the word denoting a male?' 'nā'. 'What are the ornaments of Śiva (literally, the foe of the god of love)?' 'Two serpents (aḥī)'. 'Whom did Hari rescue from the sea?' 'The earth (kum)'. 'A carrier (of luggage) is thus addressed.' 'bhāra.' 'Fool, why did you not bring me (earthen) pots and bowls?' — 'How does one thus rebuked make a reply in excuse?' 'There is (or was) no potter (nā-aḥī-kumbhāra = nāhī kumbhāra < nāsīt kumbhakāraḥ)'.  
The answer is in good Old Bengali, haṇḍī, kuṇḍī is Bengali hāṇī-kūṇī. For vaḍā compare vaṭa in Apabhraṃsa dohās of the Siddhācārya. For the passive use of p̄cchati see under III.55 above.

(ii) Pure Laukika verses:—

22

- Q. जा णीमाणह<sup>1</sup> निंदे विभोति<sup>2</sup> सा किं<sup>3</sup> बुच्चह<sup>4</sup> बोल्ल रे संभालि<sup>5</sup> ।  
जो तिल-सरिसव पोडह घाणी<sup>6</sup> कीस भणिज्जह सो विण्णाणी ॥ III. 72

A. सुतेल्ली

'Say, friend, how is called the woman who, senseless in sleep, knows nothing?' 'Asleep (sutellī < sūpta-illa-ikā)'. 'How is called the expert fellow who presses in oil-mill sesamum and mustard seed?' 'A good oilman (su-tellī < su-tailika)'.  
.

23

- Q. नीरसउ<sup>17</sup> उण<sup>18</sup> बहु-गुणमन्तउ<sup>19</sup> भमह निरन्तर<sup>20</sup> निच्चल<sup>21</sup> होन्तउ<sup>22</sup> ।  
तरु तिज्जह णउ<sup>23</sup> फलु पपु<sup>24</sup> तसु जो परिजाणह<sup>25</sup> पावह से<sup>26</sup> जसु ॥ IV. 7

A. गुणरुक्खो

1. हण्डी. 2. अण्णसि. 3. न वेटा, नरडा, न धरे. 4. आन्हार. 5. पयं पयं.  
6. जो, सो, ये. 7. पुच्छल्ला. 8. सो. 9. उण. 10. पुरसा उत्तरं. 11. नियाण्णह;  
जा ण अवाण्णह. 12. Reading: भिभोला, मेम्भोसि, मेभालि. 13. कीस. 14. बोल्लह.  
15. Reading: संभरि, सम्भलि. 16. जाणी. 17. नीरसओ, नीरस, नीरसा. 18. णिसो.  
19. -वन्तउ, -मन्तओ. 20. निरन्तर. 21. निच्चल. 22. हुन्तउ, होन्तओ, होन्तु.  
23. थ होह. 24. फलयपु, फतपउ, फलुपव. 25. जो नर जाणह. 26. पावि सो अरि.

'Dry yet (it is) full of many virtues (or ropes); remaining fixed it is always on the move; it is called a tree but has neither fruit nor leaf. He who solves (this riddle) gets credit. 'A mast (gunavrksah)',

The word *gunarukkha* occurs in Sarvananda's *Tikasarvasva*.

24

Q. घरि घरि<sup>1</sup> बुल्लइ<sup>2</sup> सअल-पियारी<sup>3</sup> जीवन्ती वेरयरी सा हो<sup>4</sup> नारी ।  
बन्धइ<sup>5</sup> मुचइ<sup>6</sup> खणि<sup>7</sup> एकल्ली<sup>8</sup> तह जाणह<sup>9</sup> जह जाइ ण पेल्ली ॥ IV. 8

A. पासासारी

'Beloved of all she moves from house to house; while alive the woman indeed creates enmity; now she is checked, now released, now alone; know that she cannot move unless thrown.'" 'Chess pieces (pasusarl < pasaka-sarika)',

1. घर घर. 2. चल्लइ, चल्लिइ. 3. सयलपियारी. 4. जह ओ वैरि सो अ; होइ वैरिणी.  
5. खणि (खण्ये) बज्जइ 6. खणि (खण्ये) मुचइ (मुक्कइ). 7. खण्ये. 8. पनेल्ली. 9. जानसु.

# Interpretation of Passages from *Mrcchakatika*

By

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In *Mrcchakatika* we find plenty of Prakṛta passages, and because one and the same Prakṛta word, at times, can stand for more than one Sanskrit word, it is often made to be misunderstood by the other character, thus creating an occasion for light humour. More than once S'akara misunderstands others.

(क) वसन्तसेना—(सोपम) संतं पावं । अवेहि, अणजं मंतेसि ।

शकारः—(सहस्रताल विहस्य) भावे भावे, पेक्ख दाव । अंतलेण शुशिसिद्धा एसा गणिसादा-  
लिआ रां, जेण मं भणादि एहि शंते सि किलंते सि ति । हगे रा गामंतलं गडे रागलंतलं  
वा रा गडे । अज्जुके, शवामि भावश शीशं अत्तणकेलकेहिं पादेहिं । तव जेव्व  
पश्चाणुपश्चिआए आहिंइते शंते किलंते मिह शंवुत्ते ।<sup>1</sup>

When Vasantasena meant *s'ānta*, S'akara misunderstood it as *s'rānta*, and goes on to explain solemnly that he did not go to any other village or town and that he is tired and exhausted merely by running after her.

(ख) भिक्षुः—शाअदं । पशीददु उवाशके ।

शकारः—भावे, पेक्ख पेक्ख । अकोशदि मं ।

विटः—किं व्रकीति ।

शकारः—उवाशके ति मं भणादि । किं हगे राविदे ।

विटः—बुद्धोपासक इति भवन्तं स्तौति ।<sup>2</sup>

Here the Bhikṣu, as it is expected of him, uses the word *upāsaka* in the sense of a Buddhist lay-follower, but S'akara takes it in its etymological sense, a waiter, and therefore, a barber. Viṭ's rejoinder gives the necessary explanation.

Lastly, we come to one more passage which has presented some difficulty to the commentator :

(ग) शकारः—धुणु शमणका धुणु ।

भिक्षुः—तुम धरणे तुम पुण्णे ।

शकारः—भावे, धरणे पुण्णे ति मं भणादि । किं हगे शलावके कोशके वा ।<sup>3</sup>

विटः—कारोलिमातः, ननु धन्यस्त्वं पुण्यस्त्वमिति भवन्तं स्तौति ।

1. The *Mrcchakatika*, ed. by Godabole, Bombay 1896, pp. 37, 38.

2. Ibid. pp. 314-15. Now and then I have accepted alternative readings.

3. Ibid. p. 315.

What the Buddhist monk means is made explicit by the remark of Vita, but what S'akara understood and why he understood so are interesting points. On the speech of S'akara we have a number of various readings; but I have accepted that reading which Lalla-diksita has followed. The various corrupt readings show that the second part of S'akara's remark is not understood by many. Prthvidhara is silent, but Lalla-diksita has tried to explain it thus :

भाव, धन्यः पुण्य इति मां भणति । किमहं शलावकः कोष्ठकं वा । शलावकश्चार्वाकः ।  
कोष्ठकम् इष्टकादिनिर्मितं निपानं यत्र पशवः पिबन्ति पानीयं तत् । चार्वाको हि धन्यः । कोष्ठकं  
हि पुण्यमित्याशयः ।

The commentator's remarks *carvako hidhanyah, anJ kosthakaih hi punyam ity ils'ayah*, only shows that he is not on the right track.

The Bhiksu is a Magadhli speaker ; he says : *tumanj dhannc, tumam pun ne* ( = *tvam dhanyalj, tvam punyali* in Sanskrit ), i. e. 'you are fortunate, you are meritorious'. Saklira tells Vita that he is called by the Bhiksu *dhannc ;jguune* which I would render into Sanskrit as *dhanyena purnah*, i. e. 'full of corn,' and, as S'akara understood it thus, naturally he retorts 'im I a vessel or granary ( to be called 'full of corn' ) ? S'akara too is a Magadhli speaker ; so with both *pun ne* is mas. nom. sg., one taking it to stand for *pun yah* and the other for *pTrnah*. With the Bhiksu *dhannc* is mas., nom. eg., standing for *dhanyah*. S'akara, possibly with slight nasalisation, takes it as inst. sg., standing for *dhanyena*. A form *dhannc*, inst. sg., is quite justified in Apabhrams'a. It only means that S'akara understood that expression as current in popular parlance, and we know all along that the popular speech, which now and then affected the literary Prakrta, has been the forerunner of what we later know as Apabhrams'a. This interesting case shows that at the time of the composition of *JMrccchakatika* the popular speech had already developed inst. sg. in e which is now attested by the literary Apabhrams'a. The so-called Dhakki dialect, spoken by Mathura and Dyutakara, shows some traces of Apabhrams'a as well. This interpretation makes the whole context and S'akara's remark quite sensible.





