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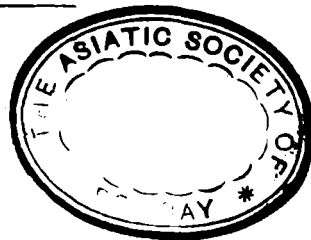
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ART. I.—Two New Valabhī Copper-plates.

By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

(Read 26th August 1897.)

The two grants which are the subject of this paper are the property of L. Procter Sims, Esq., Engineer of the Bhaunagar State, by whom they were forwarded to Sir James Campbell, K.C.I.E., who made them over to me for examination. They were found together, the smaller plate lying between the two plates of the larger grant, buried in a field in the village of Bhamodra Mohota near Bhaunagar, in the year 1895. Both grants are in excellent preservation and easily read.

The first grant* consists of a single plate of copper of slightly irregular shape, measuring from 13 to 14 inches long and from 5½ to 6½ inches wide. In the left hand top corner are two holes, each about ¼ of an inch in diameter. In the lower hole still remains the copper swivel that carried the seal, but the seal itself is lost. The letters are deeply cut, and in places show through on the back of the plate. They vary in size from about $\frac{3}{16}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters, like those of all the Valabhī inscriptions hitherto published, belong to the southern class of alphabets, but are very angular and archaic in form, and in many respects, as for instance in the form of the letter *l*, approach those used in the Mandasr inscription of Baudhuvarman of the year 473-4 A. D. In line 11 occur the numerical symbols for 100, 80, 10, 5 and 3. The first of these is a new form. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the verses quoted from the Mahābhārata in lines 9 and 10, the inscription is in prose throughout. The only notable orthographical peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of the sign *j'hwāmūliya* in line 1. *Drōṇasimhah kuśalā*, and in lines 6-7 *pradīśatah karshāpayatō*; (2) the occurrence of *upadhn.ānīya* in line 3 *Bhagavatyaḥ Pṣṇarājyaḥ* and *pitṛōḥ punya*; (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *sthittyaḍ* (line 6); (4) the confusion between *s* and *ś* in *kriśata* (line 6) *vaiśēt* (line 9) and *Sagarādīḥhi* (line 10); and (5) the insertion below the line of the *akshara ra* omitted from *dūnūr acātabhaṭa pravēśya* (line 6).

The great interest and importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is earlier than any other Valabhī grant hitherto known. It records a grant made at Valabhī by the Mahārāja Droṇasimha in the

* The facsimile will be issued with the next number of the Journal.

year 183 (A. D. 502-3)* in favour of the goddess Pâparâjyâ. The thing granted is the village of Trisangamaka (Tarsamia near Hâthab) in the Hastavapra or Hâthab district with gold and other gifts. It has long been known from the genealogies given in later grants that the founder of the Valabhî family was the Sênâpati or General Bhaṭârka, and that he was succeeded, in their order, by his four sons, Dharasêna, Drôṇasimha, Dhruvasêna, and Dharapaṭṭa, from the last of whom descended the later Valabhî kings. The oldest date previously known for any member of the family was the year 207 (A. D. 526-7) in which the third brother Dhruvasêna made a grant, which has been published in *Ind. Ant.* V. 204. The grant now before us gives us a date 24 years earlier for the second brother Drôṇasimha and enables us to date back the rise of the family to the last quarter of the 5th Century, in the troubled times that followed the break-up of the great Gupta Empire. Drôṇasimha in our grant speaks of himself as "meditating on the feet of the supreme lord:" and, in the genealogical preamble of the grants of Dhruvasêna I., he is stated to have been installed as Mahârâja by "the supreme lord, the sole lord of the circumference of the whole earth." It is therefore clear that he owed allegiance to some overlord, who must be the same as, or a successor of, the king who was served by the General Bhaṭârkarand the General Dharasêna. Who this king was cannot be determined with certainty, but a consideration of the state of Northern India during the latter half of the fifth century A. D. throws some light upon the matter. The reign of Kumârâgupta came to an end not long after the year 449-50 A. D. (See Bhagwânâlâl's *History of Gujerat* p. 69) and his son and successor Skandâgupta had in his early years to fight for his throne with an Indian tribe called the Pushyamitras, and with the Ephthalites or White Huns, who had crossed from Central Asia into Baktria and founded their capital at Badeghis north of Herat about the year 452 A. D. as we learn from Chinese authorities (see Specht in *Journal Asiatique* October and December 1883). They do not seem to have advanced far into India during Skandâgupta's lifetime, but after his death, which occurred some time after A. D. 468-69 (Bhagwânâlâl p. 71), the Gupta Empire broke up. In the East Skandâgupta was succeeded by a brother whose name is variously read as Purâgupta or as Sthirâgupta, but his power seems to have been limited to Magadha and the adjoining districts. In the West we hear of a king named Budhâgupta, under whom a

* The date is given in numerical symbols only.

certain Surāsmichandra governed the countries between the Jamnā and the Narmadā in the year 484-5 A. D. We also hear of another king named Bhānugupta under whose command a great battle was fought at Ēraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces in the year 510-11 A. D. We also know from the Chinese pilgrim Sungyun, who travelled about the year 520 A. D., that the Huns had established a family called Laelih as rulers of Gandhāra or Peshawar, and that the king ruling in his time was the third of the line. A comparison of Sungyun's account with that of the Rājatarānginī, and that of the pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang leaves little doubt that Sungyun's contemporary was the famous Mihira-kula, who is also mentioned under the name of Gollas as king of the Huns in India by Kosmas Indikopleustēs (c. A. D. 530). The three kings of the Laelih family were therefore (1) Mihira-kula's grandfather, whose name is unknown, (2) his father Tōramāṇa, and (3) Mihirakula himself. Two inscriptions of Tōramāṇa are known. The first of these is dated in the first year of his reign and was found at Ēraṇ (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 159). It was engraved later than the year 484-5 A. D., which is the date of the inscription of Budhagupta, in which a person spoken of in Tōramāṇa's inscription as dead is mentioned as being alive. The other inscription gives Tōramāṇa's family name as Jāuvla.

An inscription dated in the 15th year of Mihira-kula has been found at Gwalior (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 161) in which that king is stated to have broken the power of *Paśupati*. We learn the terror caused by the conquests of the Huns also from the inscriptions of Yaśódharman of Mālvā, who states in his Mandasor inscription (Corpus Inscr. Ind. III., 142) that "the command of the chiefs of the Hūnas" established itself "on the diadems of many kings." In the same inscription he claims that obeisance was made to him perforce by Mihirakula.

This Yaśódharman was a successor of the Bandhuvarman who ruled at Mandasor in the reign of Kumāra-gupta, in the year 437-8 A. D. (Corpus Inscr. Ind., III. 79). Of the intermediate rulers nothing is known.

For the supreme lord who invested Droṇasiṃha with the powers of a Mahārāja, we have therefore to choose between (1) one of the Guptas of Magadha, (2) Bhānugupta or a predecessor, (3) Tōramāṇa, and (4) a predecessor of Yaśódharman. The first two of these had no claim to the title of "supreme lord" (*parama-svāmi*), the power of the Guptas being confined to Magadha and that of Bhānugupta to a

portion of Central India. Again, neither Tōramāna nor Mihirakula is known to have used the imperial title or to have claimed universal sovereignty. There is also no evidence that their power reached so far to the S. W. as Kāthiāwār, although later on the tribes whom they led certainly did so. The Maitraka race to which the Valabhī kings seem to have belonged may have been connected with Mitra the sun, after whom Mihirakula also was named, but this is not enough to establish an historical connection between him and the tribe. On the whole I remain of the opinion which I expressed in a note on pp. 88-9 of Dr. Bhagwānlāl's history of Gujarāt, that Drōyasimha's overlord was probably a ruler of Mālvā, a state which was rising at this period and reached its zenith during the 6th century A. D.

Of Drōnasimha we know no more from the grants of his successors than that he was a devout Sāiva, a strict follower of the laws of Manu and a liberal master.

Text.

1. Om Svasti Valabhītaḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakapādānudhyātō Mahārāja-Drōnasimha ᳚ kuśalī svavishaya¹-sarvvān évāsmatsantak²-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka maha.

2. -ttara-drāṅgika-dhruva-sthānādihikaraṇam³-cāta-bhaṭṭādmīca⁴-samājñāpayaty astu vō viditam yathā mayā vijayāyurdharmma⁵-phalayaśō-vishaya-vridhdha.⁶

3. -yê nô varsha-sahasrāya sarvva -kalyāṇābhīprāya-sampattayê ca Hastavaprāharanyam Sri Bhagavatyā ᳚ Pāṇarājyāyāḥ mātā-pitrō ᳚ puṇyāpyāyana-ni.

4. -mittam ātmanaśca puṇyābhivridhdhayê-Ācandrārkkārṇṇavakshī-tīsthitisarit parvata sama-kālīnam bali-caru-Vaiśvadêvūdyānam kriyānam samutsarppanārthā⁷

5. Trīsaṅgamaka grāmō gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-tāilya-mālyōpayōyam⁸ dēvakulasya ca patita-viśīrṇṇa-prati-samskāraṇarttham^{9a} satrō-payōjyam⁹ sahiranya

¹ Read *svavishayakān*.

² This passage appears to be corrupt, but I am unable to correct it.

³ Read *ādihikaraṇaka*.

⁴ Read *bhaṭṭādmīca*.

⁵ Read *āyur-dādharmma*.

⁶ Read *vridhdhayō*.

⁷ Read *samutsarppanārtham*.

⁸ Read *ōpayōjyō*.

^{9a} Read *pratisamskāraṇārtham*.

⁹ Read *ōpayōjyas*.

6. -dēyāḥ sahānyāiśca dānāira cātabhaṭa-prāvesyaṃ¹⁰ Brahma-
dēya-sthityā¹¹ ōdakātisarggēṇa nisriṣhīaḥ yatō 'syōpacita¹². nyāyāṭa
bhūñjataḥ kṛiṣataḥ¹³ praśiṣata.

7. ∞ karshūpayatō¹⁴ vānakēnacis¹⁵ svalpābādhā vicāraṇā vā kāryā
yāśca chidyamānaṃ anumōdāyur¹⁶ asō¹⁷ mahāpātakāis sopapātakāiśca.

8. saṃyuktō' smadvaṃśāgāmi-rājābhir anyāiśca sāmānyāṃ bhū-
midāyam avitya-smaddāyō¹⁸ 'numantavyō 'pi cātra vyāsakṛitāḥ ślōkā
bhavanti.

9. Shashtiṃ varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidāḥ | ācēttā cānu
mantā ca | tūny eva narakē vāsēt¹⁹ svadattāṃ paradatta²⁰ vā yō harēta
vasundharāṃ.

10. Gavāṃ śata-sahasrasya hantu²¹ prāpnōti kilbishāṃ Bahubhir
vvasudhā bhuktā rūjibhi²² śagarādibhi yasya yasya yadā bhūmi²³
tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ.

11. Bhirugavaka²⁴-dēvi-karmāntikāḥ saṃ 100 80 3 Srāvāṇa
śuddha 10 5 svayam ājñā Likhitam Shasṭīdatia-putrēna Kumarila²⁵
kshatrikēna.

Translation.

1-2. Om Hail! from Valabhi. The Mahārāja Drōnasiṃha, who
meditates upon the feet of the supreme lord, commands all the
officers, deputies, headmen of villages and towns, revenue officers, local
governors, regular and irregular troops and others of his territory.

2-4. Be it known unto you, that in order that my victories, years,
reward of righteousness, fame and territory may increase, that I may
attain for a thousand years all good fortune and desires, and that the
religions merit of myself and my parents may grow great.

4-6. I have bestowed upon the Lady Goddess Pāṇarājyā with
libations of water and upon the conditions of a gift to a Brahman, the
village of Trisaṅgamaka in the Hastavapra district, not to be entered
by regular or irregular troops, together with gold and other gifts ; for

¹⁰ Read *pravōśyō*.

¹² Read *śaita-nyāyatō*.

¹⁴ Read *karshayatiō*.

¹⁶ Read *anumōdāia*.

¹⁸ Read *acētyasmad-dēyō*.

²⁰ Read *paradattōm*.

²² Read *rājābhis śagarādībhiḥ*.

²⁴ Read *Bhirugavakō*.

¹¹ Read *sthityā*.

¹³ Read *kṛiṣataḥ*.

¹⁵ Read *kēnacis svalpā*.

¹⁷ Read *asō*.

¹⁹ Read *vāsēt*.

²¹ Read *hantuḥ*.

²³ Read *bhūmīs*.

²⁵ Read *kumārila*.

the maintenance, so long as sun, moon, sea and land endure and rivers and mountains exist, of the *bali*, *caru*, *vāśvadēva* and other offerings; to be used for (supplying) perfumes, incense, lights, oil and garlands, for repairing whatever is fallen or decayed in the temple and for the sacrifices (or for feeding the poor).

6-8. So that none should raise the smallest objection or question as to the due and rightful enjoyment, assignment or direct or indirect cultivation (of the land) by him (the *pujāri*): and whosoever shall abet the interruption of this grant is guilty of the greater and the lesser sins.

8. Future kings of our race and others should confirm our grant: moreover on this point there are verses by Vyāsa.

9-10. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years. But he who resumes or approves (the resumption of a grant) lives for the same number of years in Hell. He who resumes land, whether granted by himself or by another incurs the guilt of the slayer of an hundred thousand cows. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sāgara: and to whomsoever the earth belongs for the time being, his is the fruit (the merit of the gift).

11. Bhirugavaka the servant of the goddess. The year 193 (A. D. 502-3); (the month) Srāvaṇa (July-August); (the lunar day) 15. (The king's) own command. Written by Kumārila the Kshatrika (Khatri) son of Shashṭidatta.

II.—Grant of Dhruvasēna II.

The second grant consists of two rectangular plates inscribed on the inner side only and fastened together by two rings, one of which carries a seal of the usual Valabhī type with the figure of a bull kneeling to the left and the legend *Sri Bhaṭakkah*. The second plate is slightly damaged at the right-hand top corner where a few *aksharas* belonging to the first 5 lines of writing are lost, but they can be supplied from other grants. The plates measure 13" by 9½", and their rims are slightly raised to protect the inscription. The characters resemble those used in the published inscription of Dhruvasēna II (Ind. Ant. VI., 13) and show no noticeable peculiarities, except the form of the rare initial *ś* in II. 17 *Ēkō*. The letters are not so deeply cut as those of the first grant, but, they are for the most part very clearly visible on the back of the plates, which are beaten thin. The average size of the letters is about ¼". The numerical symbols for 1,

20 and 300 occur in line 22 of the second plate. The language is Sanskrit, and, except in the verses quoted in lines 19 to 21 of the second plate, the inscription is in prose throughout. The most notable orthographical peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of *jīhvāmūliya* in I. 8, *akalaṅkaḥ kumuda nāthaḥ* and in II. 13 *Dharasēnaḥ kuśalī*; (2) the occurrence of *upadhmaniya* in II. 8-9 *prakṛitibhyaḥ paraṁ*, in II. 14 *pitrohpuṅya*, in II. 17 *dēvyāḥ pūjāhētōr* and in II. 18-19 *anumantavyaḥ pratipālayitavyaśca*; (3) the use of the guttural nasal for *anuvāra* before *ś* or *h* in I. 3. *vaṅśān*, I. 5. *saṅhatih*, I. 12. *saṅhatūrātī*, I. 22. *saṅhati* and II. 18 *vaṅśajyāir*; (4) the use of the dental nasal for *anuvāra* before *s* in II. 4. *vidhvānsita* and II. 8. *pradhvānsita*; (5) the use of *ś* for *s* in II. 2. *śamāhita*; and (6) the doubling of *d* before *r* in *āddri* I. 6. The inscription refers itself to the reign of King Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhī and records a grant made by that king in favour of the goddess Kōṭṭammahikā-dēvi established in the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka. A temple of Kōṭṭarā Dēvi appears to be still in existence at Tarsamiā. There are several words in the operative part of the grant (II. 15. *prūp̄ya* and *gulddāna*) the meaning of which is not clear, but it seems that the Mahārāja Drōṅasimha (the grantor of grant No. I.) had made certain gifts to the goddess, but that after a time the enjoyment of them was interrupted. Dhruvasēna therefore confirms them and adds an order for the daily payment out of the treasury of the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka of one piece of silver for the expenses of the temple. The inscription is dated (in numerical symbols only) in the year 320 (639-40 A. D.) and therefore confirms the popular identification of Dhruvasēna with the T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu who was king of Valabhī when Hiuen Tsiang was in Western India about A. D. 640. The other known grant of this king (Ind. Ant. VI. 13) is dated in the year 310 (A. D. 629-30), and in its phraseology throughout is very similar to that now before us, though it records a grant to a community of Buddhist mendicants settled in the *Svatala* of Valabhī.

The genealogical portion of the grant now before us which takes up the whole of the first plate and the first 12 lines of the second, differs only in a few minor details from the standard form which is represented by the Ālīna grant published by Mr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III. I therefore give only a collation of this part of the grant with the standard form, but the full text of the operative portion.

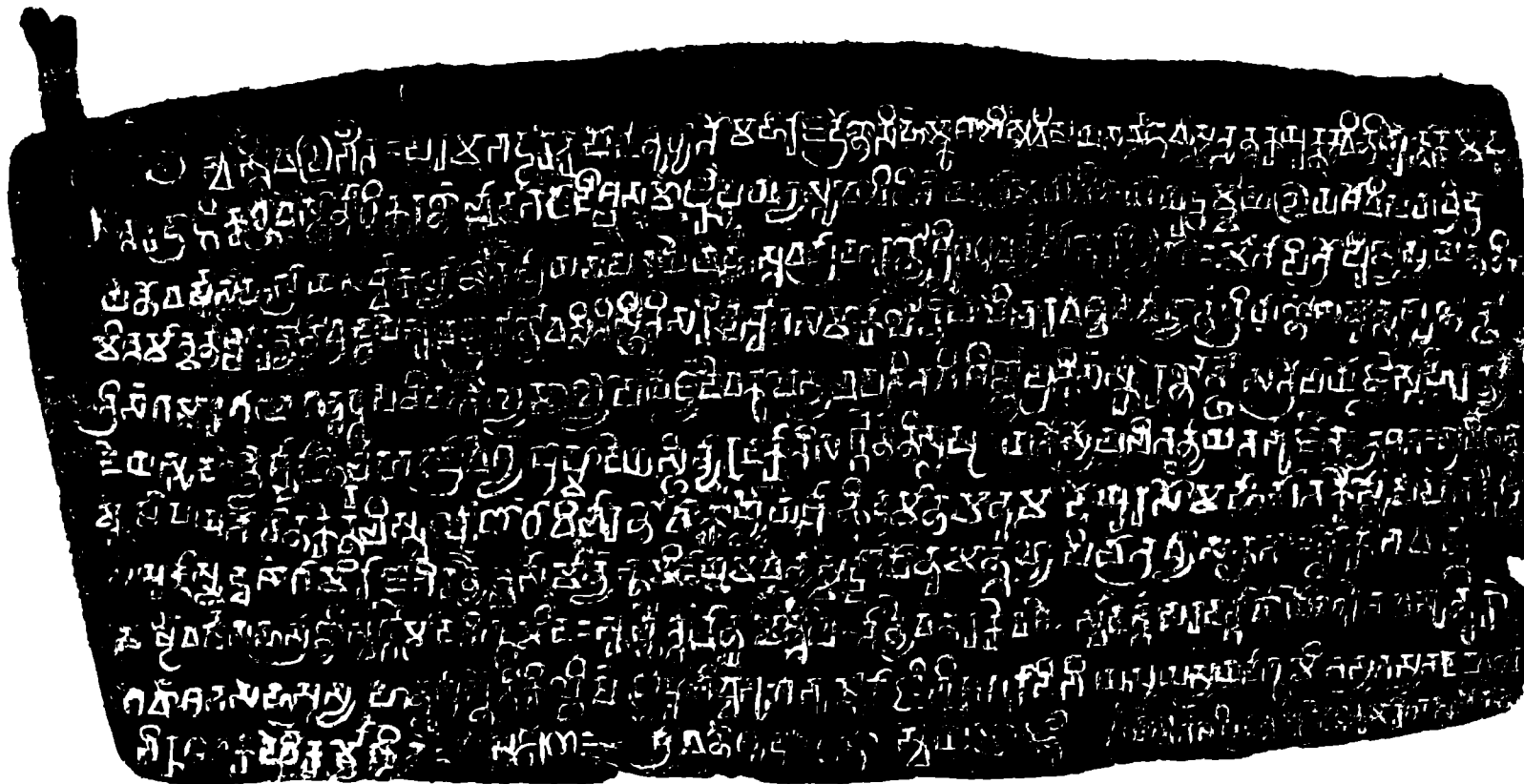
Plate I.

1. Vijaya-Valabhītaḥ for Valabhītaḥ.
2. Matrakānām for Māitrakānām.
3. Avyavacchinna-rājavanśūn for avyavacchinna-vañśān. pravi-
dhānta for pravivikta.
5. Samyak-shari for samyak kriyā.
rañjanānvarthta for rañjanād anvarthta.
10. śiksha-ṛśéśksha for śikshā-ṛśéśha. akhila-dhanurddharah
for sarvva-dhanurddharah.
12. vikramōpa for vikram-ōpama.
13. sthagata for sthagīta. Bhasuratar-ānsa for bhāsura-ānsa
14. parāvata for pāra-parava.
16. sucarita for saccarita.
- dharmmānuparodha for dharmmānurodha.
18. ātyalāra for āt yādaravatā.
19. rasatay-āiv-ōdvahan for rasatay-ōdvahan.
20. rasanālingita-for rasanālingita.
21. āpāyāḥ for ōpāyāḥ
22. nūca for nūca. ādhirōhibhir for ābhirohibhir.
23. prakhyāta-pāurusḥ-āstra for prakhyāta-pāurusah śāstra.
24. tasya tanayas for tasya sutas.

Plate II.

1. Sakala-vidyā for sarvva-vidyā.
sampadā tyagāudāryeṇa ca for sampat-tyāgāih śauryyeṇa ca.
2. sandhānā for sandhāna.
3. prasraya for prasrayō pi.
4. pratyal-ōdagra for pratyayōdagra. vidhvansita - nikhila - prat-
paksha for vidhvansita-pratipaksha.
6. dussādhūnām for dassādhanānām.
- 7-8. kāntimān-nidrātibētur akalanākaḥ kumuda-nāthaḥ for kānti-
tiraskṛita-salāñchana-kumuda-nāthaḥ.
8. satat-ōditas savitā for satat-ōdita-savitā.
10. dadad for dadatām. Saṁkāras sādhnām for saṁkāra
sādhnām. Sālāturiya for Sālāturiya.
11. prasami for prasami.
12. sthira-sāuhṛidayō for sāuhārddō. udaya-samala-samupajani
ta-janat-ānurāga for udaya-samupajanita-jan-ānurāga. paripibita for-
pari-vrimhita.

Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Droṇa Simha - (Valabhi) Year 183.



Facsimile of the Bhamodra Mohota Plate of Droṇa Simha (described in Art. I., No. 54 of the Journal).

13. dvitīya - nāmā parama - Māhēsvara - Sri-Dhruvasēnah kuśali sarvvān ēva yathāsambadhyamānakān samājñāpayaty astu vas samviditam

14. yathā mayā mātāpitrōḥ puṇyāpyānāya Trisatimaka¹ svatala-pratishṭhita-Kōṭṭammahikā-dēvi - pā-dēvyāḥ Mahārāja-Drōṇa-simhēna Trisaṅgamaka.

15. prapīya-vāpīshu tāmra-sāsana² bhilikhya gudādānam prati-pāditaum³ antarācca vicchirganitam⁴ tadasmabhir⁵ ggandha-pushpa dhūpa-dīpa-tāil-ādy-ōpayō

16. gāya dēvakulasya ca khaṇḍa-sphāṭita-prati-samkaraṇāy pāda mūla-jīvanāya ca samutsamkalitam tathā Trisaṅgamaka-svatala gañjat⁶ pratyahaṁ

17. Tanniyuktēna rūpaka ēkō dēyō 'kshaya-nivivtēna dēvyāḥ pūjāhētōr ddharmmadāyō nirīshṭah yatō na kēnacid vyāsēdhō varttitavyam āgāmi bhadra-nṛi.

18. Patibhir asmad-vañśajāir⁷ anyāir vvā anityāny⁸ āisvaryāny asthira-mānushya-sāmānyam⁹ dāna-phalam¹⁰ avagacchadvir^{10a} ayam asmad-dāyā¹¹ 'numantavyāḥ pratipālayita.

19. vyaśca tyuktañca¹² || Bahubhir vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhisagarādibhil yasya yasya yadā bhumis tasya tasya tadā phala¹³ yāni.

20. hadāridrya-bhayān¹⁴ narēndrāir dhanāni dharmmāyatanī-kṛitāni nirbhukta-mālyā-pratimānitāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar ādadīta.

21. Shashtī¹⁵ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō tishṭati bhūmidah āchattā¹⁶ cūnumanta¹⁷ ca tāny ēva narakō vasēditi || Dūtako nṛirāja putra. Sri-kharagrahaḥ.

22. Likhitam idam sandhi vighra-ādihikṛita-divirapati-catra-bhatti putra-divirapati-skandabhatēna || sam 300 20 āshāḍha śu | svahastō mama.

Translation (from Pl. II. 13).

13. Dhruvasēna, the great worshipper of Siva, being in good health commands all whom it may concern :

Be it known unto you.

¹ Read *Trisaṅgamaka*.

³ Read *pratipāditam*.

⁵ Read *asmābhir*.

⁷ Read *vañśajāir*.

⁹ Read *asthiram mānushyam*.

^{10a} Read *avagacchadvir*.

¹² Read *tyuktañca*.

¹⁴ Read *bhayān*.

¹⁶ Read *āchattā*.

² Read *Sāsana*.

⁴ Read *vicchittim nītam*.

⁶ Read *gañjat*.

⁸ Read *anityāny*.

¹⁰ Read *dāna-phalam*.

¹¹ Read *asmad dāyō*.

¹³ Read *phalam yāni*.

¹⁵ Read *shasthim*.

¹⁷ Read *anumantā*.

14-16. That the Mahārāja Drōṇasimha for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother established a *gudāddna* (?) writing it on a copper-plate in the *prāpīyas* and tanks of Trisaṅgamaka, for the goddess Koṭṭammahikā-dēvi who is established in the *Svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka ; and in process of time (the enjoyment of the gift) was interrupted. This (gift) has been confirmed by us for use (in supplying) perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, oil, &c., and for the repair of whatever part of the temple is broken or decayed and for the livelihood of his reverence (the *pujari*, or perhaps any wandering mendicants).

16-17. And from the treasury of the *svatala* of Trisaṅgamaka as from a permanent endowment, there is to be paid daily one silver piece for the worship of the goddess by the person appointed for the purpose. It is bestowed as a religious endowment so that none may act obstructively.

17-18. And this our endowment should be confirmed and protected by future good kings, whether of our own race or others, perceiving that lordships are not lasting and human fortunes unstable, and that the merit of a gift is common (to the grantor and to the confirmer).

19-20. And it has been said as follows : “ The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara, and whosoever the earth is for the time being, his for the time being is also the merit (of land-grants). The wealth, which kings in fear of poverty have in this world made to reside in (bestowed upon) righteous objects, is equivalent to an used garland, and what virtuous man would take it again ?

21. The giver of land resides in heaven for sixty thousand years. But he who resumes or approves (the resumption of a grant) lives for the same number of years in hell. The *Dūtaka* is the king's son Kharagraha.

22. This has been written by the chief secretary Skandabhaṭa, son of the Minister of peace and war and chief secretary Catrabhaṭi. The year 320 (A. D. 502-3) (the month) Āshāḍha : the light (fort-night) : (the lunar day) 1.

My own hand.

NOTE.—The last words are followed by the *Triśūla* mark.

ART.—II.—*Some Old Books (I.) in the Society's Library.* BY
 PROF. M. MACMILLAN, B.A.

[Read, 15th January 1898.]

Leaving out of consideration Oriental MSS., of which I cannot speak, there appear to be only five old MSS. in our Asiatic Library. One is the priceless MS. of Dante, Mr. Macdonell's elaborate and scholarly account of which may be found in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Society. From the fact that in the colophon of the *Paradiso* Dante is called a *novello poeta* (new poet) Mr. Macdonell was inclined to conjecture that the MS. cannot have been written long after Dante's death. As this MS. has already received the thorough examination it deserves, it is not necessary for me to make any remarks upon it to-day. Another MS. worth looking into is labelled on the outside of the binding Cavalca Speeches. But this is only one of the many instances that may be quoted of the ingenuity with which the Indian maker of catalogues perverts titles. On opening the volume we read on the fly leaf, in the handwriting probably of one of its successive possessors, the words: "In nome del Padre e del Figliolo e dello Spirito Santo Amen. Questo libro si chiama Specchio della Croce compilato da fratre Domenico Cavalca da Vico Pisano dell' ordine di Santo Domenico, uomo di Santa Vita," from which we learn that the real title of the work is *Specchio della Croce*, The Mirror of the Cross, and that it was composed by Cavalca, a Dominican Friar. The supplement of the *Biographie Universelle* informs us that Cavalca was a contemporary of Dante and that he died in 1342. The *Specchio di Croce* was printed in Milan as early as 1480. The MS. in our library appears to give no record of the date at which it was written. There are two initial letters near the beginning elaborately decorated in blue and red, colours which are used more sparingly in the rest of the volume. At the end some admirer has written in red ink in MS. handwriting '*Manus scriptoris salvetur omnibus horis.*' (May the hand of the scribe be blessed at all hours.) A book plate stamped on the parchment fly leaf informs us that the book once belonged to one Rudolfo Paganelli. Another Italian MS. in our library contains a collection of the lives of Paul the first Hermit, Anthony, Hilarion

Macharius of Alexandria and other early hermits. It is very difficult to read and appears to give no indication of the author's name, or of the date at which it was composed, nor have I any means of determining whether it is a translation, an abridgement, or an original work. It is written on paper, and there is no attempt at ornamentation except the enlargement of the initial capitals of each chapter. We have also a Greek MS. containing a collection of prayers intended for use in the Greek Church. The chief embellishment of this volume is an interlaced pattern in red ink in the beginning of the body of the book. The only other old MS. I can discover in the library is a copy of Cicero's moral treatise *De Officiis*, on which some modern hand has written by way of explanation the words "by Cockman." Thomas Cockman is mentioned in one of my own editions of Cicero as a collator of Cicero's MSS., and he is there honoured with the epithet of *clarus* (illustrious); but, for all that, his name does not appear in the Dictionary of National Biography. We must suppose that the MS. before us is one of the MSS. examined by Cockman, when he was working at the settlement of the text of Cicero. There seems no clue by which we can determine how this MS. found its way to India.

The earliest specimens of printed books known to the bibliographer date from the middle of the fifteenth century. Only two printed books belonging to that century are to be found on the shelves of the Asiatic Library. Manuscripts, at least those written before the invention of printing, had no title pages nor had the earliest printed books, which at first were naturally modelled on their MS. predecessors. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the title page was invented, but the useful innovation did not establish itself immediately. In the earliest printed books, as in MSS., we have to look for the author's name and the subject of the book on the first page or in the colophon at the end. The book before us, the oldest printed book in the Library, is interesting as exhibiting the title page in an embryonic stage. Although a whole page is devoted to the title page, it is after all only a meagre label title standing quite by itself in the middle of the page and consisting of the words 'Tulius (*sic*) de Oratore cum commento et alia opera.' We have to look elsewhere for the name of the author of the commentary and for the printer's name. At the head of this title page is written in a beautiful hand "Edoardus Lapworthus" and the pious sentiment "Mors Christi Vita Hominum." As Lapworth is not a common name, we may with some probability

assume that the owner, who has thus recorded his name on the book, was "that learned physician Doctor E. Lapworth (1574-1636)" described in the Dictionary of National Biography as being a scholarly man with a taste for poetry and in person "not tall but fat and corpulent." Some of his Latin verses signed "E. L. Oxon," will be found in our fine old edition of Sylvester's *Dr. Bartas*, which we shall refer to presently, if time allows. This edition of Cicero's work on rhetoric was printed in 1497 by Anthony Koberger, a famous printer of Nuremberg. It is preceded by a panegyric on rhetoric and accompanied by a commentary, both by a famous 15th century critic bearing the pretentious name of Omnibonus Leonicensis, that is to say, Ognibene of Leonigo, the Italian town in which he was born about 1420 A. D.

The other fifteenth century book in our library, the *Epistole Devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Sienn*, was printed at Venice in the end of the year 1500. It is a fine specimen of the then comparatively new art, having been produced at the press of Aldo Manuccio, one of the most famous of printers, the inventor of the handy octavo volume and of italics. The first octavo that issued from his press was the edition of Virgil published in 1501. The copy of the Letters of St. Catherine is not an octavo but a heavy quarto, and it is satisfactory to see that what is probably the earliest specimen of this great printer's art to be found in Bombay has not suffered much from the ravages of the bookworm. In this book the title page is in a still more embryonic stage than in Koberger's Edition of Cicero's work on oratory. Here we find only a fraction of the first page devoted to the title.

Another Aldine edition of the classics in our library is a collection of works by various Platonists printed in 1516. The first page contains an index of contents over the Aldine Symbol, a fish coiled round an anchor, which is repeated at the end of the book.

The oldest sixteenth century book in the library appears to be the Hebrew Grammar of John Reuchlin of Pforzheim printed in his native town in the year 1506. It is composed in Latin. The first page is at the end, and at the beginning comes the last page with its proud Horatian termination—:

"Æxegi monumentum ære perennius.

The frontispiece, which we should perhaps call the tail-piece, as the book has to be read backwards, represents the arms of the author and an altar with ARA CAPNIONIS (the altar of

Capnion) inscribed upon it. Reuchlin or Reuchlein means in German "little smoke," and so our learned author Græcised his name into Capnion, which bears the same meaning in Greek, just as he whose German name was Schwarzerd (black earth) chose to be called (Melanchthon), a combination of two Greek words meaning "black earth" and as our Ciceronian commentator Latinised his family name of Ognibene into Omnibonus.

We next come upon a curious little book of astronomy written in Latin by the most illustrious (clarissimus) Hyginus and printed by Melchior Sessa in Venice in the year 1512. It is the oldest book in the library with a regular title page and is an excellent specimen of the art of book illustration at an early stage. It is very astrological and ante-Copernican, and represents Ptolemy enthroned with the globe of the universe in his hand and attended upon by Geometry and Astronomy. One interesting feature of the work is the presence of MS. notes written on the blank spaces by some old reader, especially under the quaint figures of the signs of the Zodiac and other constellations. For instance under the picture of Aquila we read from the unknown writer's pen "Aquila habet in caudâ stellam maximae Virtutis ut habetur ab Astronomia." (The eagle has in its tail a star of very great power as is supposed by astronomers.) The same student comments under the description and picture of Mercury "Stella Mercurii scintillat ut a preceptore meo accepi et ego ipse vidi." (The star of Mercury sparkles as I have heard from my teacher and myself seen.) An idea of the state of Astronomical knowledge at the time may be derived from the following table of distances at the end of the book :—

	Miles.
From the Earth to the Moon 	15,836
From the Moon to Mercury... ..	7,812½
Thence to Venus 	7,812
Thence to the Sun 	2,246
From the Sun to Mars 	15,625
Thence to Jupiter 	7,812
Thence to the Firmament 	22,426

The pretention to strict accuracy in the avoidance of round numbers and in the half mile added to the interval between the Moon and Mercury is rather amusing.

We next come to an elegant little volume printed in Venice in 1520. It is a translation into modern Italian of the 'Secret of Petrarch' and is described on the fly-leaf in Italian as 'the first and rare

edition of this translation of the Secret of Petrarch.' The frontispiece represents five poets with wreaths of laurel on their brows, presumably Virgil, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso. At the end of the volume we find the device of the printer, Nicolo Zopino, a picture of St. Nicholas enthroned between the letters N and Z. The book is very finely got up, has suffered little from the book worms, and is well bound in what may have been the original binding.

A book published at Lyons in 1523 is one of the few specimens of the old black letter or Gothic type in the Library. It contains the Bucolics of Battiste, the Mantuan, illustrated by several woodcuts and elaborately annotated. The Latin poems of this Italian monk enjoyed an immense reputation at the time. Erasmus declared that posterity would give him a place not far below his townsman Virgil. Another admirer erected his statue close to that of the great Latin epic poet. Now he is forgotten and we should never have heard of him, had not this black letter edition of his youthful poems happened to come into our hands. We find MS. evidence of previous owners of the book. One written inscription tells us that it is "ex libris Bendicti Bresciani." Another owner writes an elegiac couplet partly illegible for the benefit of any one "nostrum cupiens cognoscere nomen" (desiring to know our name), and then reveals that he was called Robionus, if I read his hand correctly.

The printing of the year 1523 is also represented by a truly monumental work, the Greek Lexicon of Guarino, generally known as Phavorinus from the town of Favara in which he was born. This great work, the quarry from which many subsequent Greek lexicons have derived valuable materials, was printed at Rome by the Cretan Zacharia Caliergi. It is not very easy to use, as each word does not, as in more modern dictionaries, have a paragraph to itself. Another learned work in the library produced at about the same time is an edition of the Prior Analytics of Aristotle by John Alexander surnamed Philoponus or the laborious. This work was printed at Venice in 1536.

Of the many Italian books in our library belonging to the latter half of the sixteenth century, I can only find time to call your special attention to a splendid illustrated description of Cremona printed in that city in 1585 and dedicated to Philip II. of Spain. It contains several large full page illustrations and a plan of the town that has to be doubled up. Among the many life-like portraits on its

pages is an almost contemporary picture of Mary of England, who gains her place in the book as the wife of the Spanish monarch to which it is dedicated. Gilt is profusely employed in the ornamentation of the book and every page is embellished with an elaborate border.

I pass over other Italian books in our possession dating from the latter half of the sixteenth century in order to press on to a work of great importance in the history of science and literature. Among the scientific books in our library may be found the original edition of the *Dialogo dei due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo* (Dialogue of the two greatest systems of the Universe) in which Galileo discusses the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems. The work was finished in 1630, but some two years elapsed before the permission to print it could be obtained from the ecclesiastical authorities who suspected that it was heterodox. At last the necessary imprimaturs were obtained and the book was published at Florence in 1632 by Giovanni Batista Landini. The great work took Europe by storm and brought Galileo into great trouble. He was summoned before the inquisition, and threatened with torture although not actually tortured. Galileo recanted the Copernican doctrine, but was nevertheless condemned to be imprisoned. He did not, however, remain long in the custody of the inquisition, and does not appear to have been actually put into prison. He was only confined within certain limits and could not return to Florence for some months. In fact, it is evident that the woes of the starry Galileo have been considerably exaggerate.

The greater number of the many old Italian books in the library were probably presented by Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir James Mackintosh, the Founder of the Literary Society, who was a zealous student of Italian literature. The inscription on the MS. of Dante shows that it was presented by Elphinstone. Mackintosh is known to have presented many books to the library. He was a great book collector, and his journal shows that he was studying Italian literature when he was in Bombay.

My remarks on the old foreign books may conclude with the following brief notes in chronological order of some of the other sixteenth century books in the library:—

1. Latin Poems of Pontanus (1426—1503). Venice, 1518. An Aldine Edition.

Libro di Natura d'Amor, by Mario Equicola. Venice, 1531.

Paradossi, Venice, 1544. A small book containing a budget of paradoxes, such as that 'poverty is better than riches,' that 'it is better to be ugly than beautiful,' &c. The name Gio. Batista Vilano is written on the title page and elsewhere on the book. Was he the owner or the author of the book?

La Coltivazione, an agricultural poem, by Luigi Alamanni (1475—1556). Paris, 1546. Dedicated to Francis I. Described in Chalmers Biographical Dictionary as a "beautiful edition corrected by the author."

Gyrone il Cortese, a long heroic poem, by the same author, dedicated to Henry II. of France. Paris, 1548. It is based on the French Romance Gyron Courtois.

Tri Discorsi di Girolamo Ruscelli on the Decameron, the vernacular tongue, and the translation of Ovid. Venice, 1552.

Le Trasformationi of Lodovico Dolce. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* translated by Lodovico Dolce (1508—1569). Venice 1553. Dedicated to Charles V., printed in italics, and illustrated by many woodcuts.

Inferni of Doni (1503—1574). Venice, 1553. The book describes seven different hells or divisions of hell which are also represented in woodcuts. It appears to be a humorous parody of Lucian and Dante. The members of the *Academia Peregrina* to which he belonged are represented as being led to the various hells by Virgil, Dante and other shades. The work was so popular that the French translation ran through several editions in a few years.

Panegyrics and Lives of Famous Men by Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, and translated with his sanction presumably from the Latin by Lodovico Domenichi. A manuscript note on the fly-leaf informs us that one copy is "the first and most beautiful edition of this book." It was printed in Florence in 1554.

The original author and the translator of the above work are associated again in the

Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amoroze (Dialogue on Devices of War and Love), by Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, and S. Gabriel Symeon of Florence, with a discourse on the same subject by M. Lodovico Domenichi. Lyons, 1574. It contains various woodcuts of ingenious devices illustrating mottoes. For instance, "Furor fit laesa saepius sapientia" is illustrated by a ram running at a boy who has been teasing him.

Indian History of Maffei (1590). One of the first books in which the name of Bombay appears in its present form.

Before proceeding to the oldest English books in the library we must consider a curious and interesting work closely connected with England, namely, De Bry's *Americæ Descriptio* (Description of America), written in Latin, printed at Frankfort, and embellished with many quaint and graphic pictures of the natives of the country. Unfortunately the copy of this rare work in our library is in a mutilated state. The first part of the book is a Latin translation of Thomas Harriot's "Brief and True Report of the new found land of Virginia." Thomas Harriot is described without exaggeration by a contemporary as being "that true lover of virtue and great learned professor of all arts and knowledges who lived there (in Virginia) in the time of the first colony, spoke the Indian language, searched the country, and made many proofs of the riches of the soil, and commodities thereof." He was mathematical tutor to Sir W. Raleigh and accompanied Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the Revenge, to Virginia in 1585. The reader of this old work naturally turns over the leaves to find what it has to say of the two familiar vegetable products with which the names of Virginia and Raleigh are indissolubly connected. "There is an indigenous plant," we read "called by the natives Uppowoc. Its leaves dried and reduced to dust are placed in certain small tubes formed of clay, lighted, and the smoke is drawn through the mouth. The smoke thus inhaled draws phlegm and thick humours from the head and belly and cleanses and opens the passages of the body. Those who use it not only save their bodies from obstructions, but are quickly freed from those that they have, provided they are not of too long standing. Hence their bodies are healthy and I do not remember to have noticed among them the many severe diseases by which we are so much troubled in England." Smokers will be gratified to hear this early appreciation of their favorite poison. The following is obviously an account of the potato. "Openawke are round roots, some of which are as large as nuts, others much bigger. They grow in wet and marshy places, many clustering together as if they were strung on a rope. Cooked in water or otherwise they supply good nourishment."

There are traditions in the office of the Society that the library used to possess fragments of an English book printed by Caxton and another one on the subject of the Curfew Bell addressed to Henry VII. or Henry VIII., but these have disappeared and the earliest specimen of English printing now to be found in the library dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. Our oldest English book

is "An exposition of the kinges prerogative" by Sir William Stamford. We find ourselves here once more in the age of the undeveloped title page, as the title only occupies the upper half of the page on which it is printed. The author of the work was born in 1509 and being a zealous Roman Catholic was made Queen's Sergeant on the accession of Queen Mary. He was knighted in 1554 and died in 1558. The work before us was finished in 1548, the year after the death of Henry VIII., and dedicated to the "right worshipful and his singular frinde Nicholas Bacon," father of the great Bacon. It was not published until 1567, at which date it appeared with a prefatory letter written by Richard Tottell, the printer. It is printed in Gothic characters, except the Latin quotations, which are in Roman type, and Mr. Tottell's letter, which is printed in italics. The book is almost untouched by the book worms and is in a capital state of preservation. It is, however, a dry legal treatise of little interest to the general reader.

The second oldest English book in the library is "The Historie of the World, commonly called the Natural Historie of C. Plinius Secundus," translated into English by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physics, and printed in London by Adam Islip in the year 1601. The two handsome folio tomes of which the work consists are in an excellent state of preservation. From the title page we learn that the work is "ex libris John Forbes Royle," the eminent Anglo-Indian Surgeon and naturalist, born in Cawnpore, 1799, whose name appears on two or three of the oldest books in our library. Philemon Holland did so many translations that he was called by Fuller "the translator general in his age." As we contemplate the large folio before us and remember that he published several other folio volumes of translations, we are able better to appreciate the point of Pope's line in the Dunciad—

"And here the groaning shelves Philemon bends."

Still more must the shelves of libraries have groaned under the weight of the volume we have next to consider, the last and, I think, only complete edition of the poetical works of Joshua Sylvester, including his translation of Du Bartas. This cumbersome and quaint volume was published in London in 1641. It begins with anagrams and verses printed in the forms of columns and pyramids to suit the taste of the fantastic society for whose benefit it was produced.

The next oldest English work in the library seems to be the *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinae* or the works of that Great Monarch and

Glorious Martyr King Charles (*sic*) I. printed at the Hague by Samuel Browne in 1650.

The frontispiece is a picture of the king which does not appear to do justice to the "comely head" attributed to King Charles even by a hostile poet. The work contains the letters and speeches of the lately executed monarch and the *Eikon Basilike*. The authenticity of this "Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings" was doubted from the very beginning, as we see from Milton's prose rejoinder and from such verses as the following, by which the *Eikon Basilike* is introduced in the volume before us :—

So curious is this work. 'Tis easily known
 'Twas drawn by no man's pencil but thine own.
 None could express a king, but thou. We see
 Men cannot, gods may limn a Deity.
 The style betrays a King, the art a Man,
 The high devotion speaks a Christian.

This book was presented to our library in 1841 by the Secretary who would at this time appear from Mr. Tivarekar's Historical Sketch of the Society to have been Dr. Malcolmson. It is falling to pieces and ought to be bound, if it is not already in such a condition as to defy the binder's skill.

We have a valuable collection of the works of the famous Duchesse of Newcastle published in the end of the Commonwealth and in the first decade of the Restoration. The reign of Charles II. is also represented by a copy of the original English translation of Bernier's Travels printed in London, in four volumes, of which two were published in 1671 and two more in the following year. Our predecessors have had all the four volumes bound into one thick book, and printed the title of the first volume on the back, as if it were the title of the whole. With regard to this work I may perhaps be allowed to recount an amusing experience of my own. I sometimes visit the secondhand bookshops of Bombay to see what relics of the past may be found there. Some years ago a secondhand bookseller offered me a copy of Bernier's Travels. The pages were yellow, the date at the foot of the title page was 1671. The saloons of the secondhand booksellers in Kalbadevie are neither spacious nor well ventilated and do not encourage a long stay. So paying a rupee or two, I walked off rejoicing in my purchase. On examining the book at leisure I found on the back of the title page of what I fondly supposed to be a genuine product of the seventeenth century the

fatal words "Bombay: Reprinted at the Sammachar Press, 1830." It is a reprint, almost a facsimile, of the original and is dedicated to Sir John Malcolm. It is introduced by a long and magniloquent prospectus describing Bernier's Travels as a work "now so scarce, that even a transient and hasty sight of it is a treat hardly attainable, as a volume that requires (as it did in the present instance) years of patient and persevering search to procure." The reprint is itself something of a bibliographical curiosity and is interesting to us as a record of the literary enterprise of one of our oldest Bombay printing presses.

A few years after the appearance of Bernier's Travels was published the only other book I will now mention, an anonymous translation of Machiavelli's History of Florence, printed in London, in 1674, and dedicated to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. This book appears from what is written on the fly leaf to have been bought at an early age of its existence for 4/6, "price £00 04s. 06d." by one Charles Fairfax, who first writes his name elegantly in good English and then the name is repeated by some one else, probably a mischievous son, in bad Spanish as "Charlos Fairfax." On the back of the frontispiece we read "This book belongs to the Grange House 1783 A. K." Finally it was presented by H. A. Cannon (?) to the Asiatic Library.

In conclusion, I must express my regret that I have only had time to examine a very small selection of the oldest books in the library and that my ignorance of the Italian language and literature has prevented me from giving a satisfactory account of the old Italian books that it contains. Perhaps these few remarks of mine may stimulate some one better fitted for the work to undertake a more thorough survey of the treasures of this library. On its crowded shelves many volumes of great value repose undisturbed from year "born to blush unseen and waste their sweetness" on the devouring insect, who appreciates old books much more than the modern reader does.

ART. III.—*Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirājamārga*. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

[Read 17th February 1898.]

The *Kavirājamārga* is the oldest Kannada work that has yet been discovered. It was little known to the public before it was first introduced to Oriental Scholars by Mr. Rice in a paper contributed to the *Journal*¹ of the Royal Asiatic Society. Though the work is hardly known to the student of Kannada literature at the present day, there is ample evidence to prove that it was held in high esteem as an authority on Alaṅkāra in ancient times. Most of the verses, in which *Nṛipatuṅga* treats of *prāsa*, are quoted in the *Chhandōmbudhi*.² That these verses cannot have been composed by *Nāgavarmā* and that they must have been borrowed from an older author is pretty clear to any one who remembers the fact that the author of the *Chhandōmbudhi* addresses his verses to his wife. The *Kavirājamārga* is also alluded to in the *Kāvyaśāloka*;³ and the illustration of *nēyārtha* occurring in the last named work seems to have been directly suggested by that given by *Nṛipatuṅga* himself. *Kēśīrāja* quotes three verses⁴ from the *Kavirājamārga* while the *Śabdānuśāsana* cites one verse⁵ and appeals to *Nṛipatuṅga* as a standard authority on *Alaṅkāra*.

These facts suffice to place beyond dispute the claims of the *Kavirājamārga* to a high antiquity. This conclusion is further supported by archaisms found in the present work. According to *Nāgavarmā* and *Kēśīrāja*, "e" the termination of the instrumental singular, is restricted to neuter⁶ nouns ending in "a." Hence the

¹ For July 1863.

² Verses II., 28-43 and III., 232-233; see Mr. Kittel's edition of *Nāgavarmā*, pp. 17-21.

³ Introduction to the *Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 24; *Bhāshābhūṣaṇa*, App. I., p. 4.

⁴ Verses I., 32, 58 and II., 7; see Mr. Kittel's edition of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, pp. 71, 98 and 121.

⁵ Verse III., 232; see *Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 122. This verse which begins with the words "arasaorī eḷa" is therefore not a later interpolation in the *Chhandōmbudhi*, Intro. to *Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 8. Both *Nāgavarmā* and *Īśvarakav* quote it from *Nṛipatuṅga*.

⁶ *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. 131; *Śabdānuśāsana*, p. 155 *Bhāshābhūṣaṇa* App. I., p. 3.

form *alṭiye* which Nṛipatuṅga repeatedly uses,⁷ must have gone quite out of use when these grammarians flourished, while it is frequently met with in the literary records⁸ of the Rāshtrakūṭa era.

The next question that arises is who is Nṛipatuṅga so often mentioned in the present work? We meet with the following expressions :—

Nṛipatuṅga-dēva-matatiṃ (III. 98).

Atiśayadhavaḷa-dharādhipa-matadindaṃ (III. 11).

Akhila-dharā-vallabham Amôghavarshsha-nṛipēndraṃ (III. 1).

From these expressions it is manifest that Nṛipatuṅga composed the Kavirājamārga, that he had the titles of Amôghavarshsha and Atiśayadhavaḷa, and that he was a paramount sovereign. And since he writes in Kannaḍa, it may be further inferred that the Karṇāṭaka formed part of his dominions. Two verses,⁹ which praise Jina, reflect the religious opinions of the author. These facts enable us to identify him with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Nṛipatuṅga or Amôghavarshsha I.¹⁰

We may here point out one or two expressions occurring in the present work, which are apt to lead one into the belief that Nṛipatuṅga may not have been the real author of the work. For instance, in the colophon of each of the three parichchēdas we have the words : Nṛipatuṅga-dēvānumatam appa Kavirājamārgga. Here the word "anumatam" is obviously intended to express the author's approval of those views of his predecessors, which are summarised in the present work. But the following passage cannot be so satisfactorily explained :

sa-viśēsha-guṇam Atiśaya- |

dhavaḷōkti-kramadin aripuvem tad-bhavadol || (II., 53).

But against this solitary instance, which is calculated to give one the impression that the writer of the work was different from Nṛipatuṅga, we may set off the following passages, which establish Nṛipatuṅga's claims to authorship beyond dispute :—

bhāvisi besasidan akhila-dha- |

rā-vallabhan int Amôghavarshsha-nṛipēndraṃ || (III., 2).

endan Atiśayadhavaḷaṃ (II., 27).

Atiśayadhavalōrvvipōditālakṛiti (I., 147).

Atiśayadhavaḷōkta-kramade (I., 24).

⁷ Verses I., 84, 114; III., 5.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 223; Pampa-bhārata, I. 140.

⁹ I. 90; III. 18.

¹⁰ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, III., 2nd ed.

In verse III., 230, we read that knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dēva-mārgga or Kavirāja-mārgga is a ship which safely carries a high-souled person across the ocean of Kannaḍa poetry. And in the expression nuta-sarasvatī-tirthāvatāra-mārgga which occurs in verse III., 225, Nṛipatuṅga is compared to a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of Sarasvatī. These facts prove that Nṛipatuṅga composed the present work.

The title of the work—Kavirājamārgga—is easily explained by the expression Nṛipatuṅga-dēva-mārgga which the author so frequently employs. And we are further told that Nṛipatuṅga-deva-mārgga means the path indicated by the great Nṛipatuṅga :

Mahā-Nṛipatuṅga-dēvan ādaradoḷe pēḷda mārgga (II., 105).

Atiśayadhavaḷōpadēsa-mārgga (III., 106).

It is thus clear that Kavirājamārgga means the path indicated by the king of poets who is no other than Nṛipatuṅga himself.

Besides the titles which have been noticed above, the author occasionally calls himself Naralōkachandra, Nītinirantara, Nityamallā-Vallabha, and Kṛita-kṛitya-mallā-Vallabha.¹¹ We learn from inscriptions that Vallabha was one of the titles of Amōghavarsha I.¹² Nor should we lose sight of the fact that Kannaḍa authors sometimes transfer their own titles to the god whose aid they invoke in their works. Abhinava-Pampa may be cited as an instance in point.¹³ It is therefore not surprising to find that the god who is praised in the opening verses of the Kavirājamārgga is called Nṛipatuṅga, Nītinirantara, Kṛita-kṛitya mallā and Vīra-Nārāyaṇa. The last mentioned title is given to Nṛipatuṅga in the Navasāri grant, which speaks of him as Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, because he retrieved the fortune of the Raṭṭas who had suffered reverses at the hands of the Chalukyas, just as Viṣṇu lifted up the earth which had sunk in the ocean. This explains the verse, III., 180, in the present work, which compares the court-yard of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa to the starry heavens because it was adorned with pearl-strings dropped from the crests of hostile kings who made obeisance to him.

As I have already pointed out, Nṛipatuṅga, better known as Amōghavarsha I, belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, which for more than two centuries ruled with splendour over the Karṇāṭaka

¹¹ I., 23 ; II., 99, 11 ; I., 61.

¹² The Navasāri grant.

¹³ Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rioc.

and Mahārāsh̄tra. This dynasty was first raised to power and prosperity by Dantidurga who defeated the Chālukya King Kirtivarmā II. Dr. Fleet says¹⁴ that Dantidurga "seems to have ultimately made himself unpopular and to have been deposed" by his uncle Kṛishṇarāja I. But this view is amply refuted by an inscription¹⁵ of Amōghavarsha III, according to which Dantidurga left sons, who proved incompetent to sway the sceptre. They were consequently superseded by Kṛishṇarāja I., who was also called Subhatuṅga. Kṛishṇarāja was succeeded by his son Gōvinda II., also known as Vallabha, who reigned for a short time. After him his younger brother Nirupama Dhruva assumed the sceptre of the Rāsh̄trakūṭa empire. His son and successor was Gōvinda III. From him the sceptre passed to his son Nṛipatuṅga, who ascended the throne in Saka 737 and who wrote the Kavirājamārga.

The Rāsh̄trakūṭas were munificent patrons of learning. Hence we meet with numerous allusions to them in the literature of the Karmāṭaka. In a verse quoted in the Kāvyaśālōkana we are introduced to Dantiga, the Mēru of the Raṭṭas or Rāsh̄trakūṭas :

mundaṅ ḍ- 1

duva ripu-dantigaṅ peṅgaṅ atṭura Raṭṭara Mēru Dantigaṅ ||
Kāvyaśālōkana.

Brahmanēmidatta has preserved a tradition that Akalaṅkadēva flourished in the time of Subhatuṅga or Kṛishṇarāja I., who reigned at Mānyakhēṭa. This tradition is amply confirmed by the date which has been fixed for Akalaṅkadēva and which rests upon independent evidence.¹⁶ An objection¹⁷ raised against this tradition is based on the assumption that the town of Mānyakhēṭa was built by Nṛipatuṅga, a subject to which we shall presently recur. It is, however, necessary to mention here that the proposal¹⁸ to interpret

¹⁴ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 2nd ed., chap. III.

¹⁵ It will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

¹⁶ See my paper on Bhartṛihari and Kumārila.

¹⁷ Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 2nd ed., chap. III.

¹⁸ *id.* Dr. Fleet proposes to make Prabhāchandra live before A.D. 750 and his teacher Akalaṅka after A.D. 878, making the latter contemporary with Kṛishṇarāja II. But not content with this small interval of 128 years between the pupil and the teacher, the eminent scholar would make Akalaṅka live on even to A.D. 940, making him contemporary with Kṛishṇarāja III.; and what is still more startling, it is the pupil who, according to Dr. Fleet, preceded his own teacher Akalaṅka by one hundred and ninety years or nearly two centuries !!!

the tradition as referring to Kṛishṇarāja II. or III. can be regarded as little short of an anachronism since Kṛishṇarāja II came to the throne nearly half a century after the composition of the Ādipurāṇa, which speaks of Akalaṅkadēva and his pupil Prabhāchandra as classical authors, while Kṛishṇarāja III. lived a full century after the Jayadhavalā-ṭikā was completed, which gives the latest date for Jinasēna. Thus the objection to the view that Subhatuṅga, of whom tradition speaks as a contemporary of Akalaṅkadēva, is Kṛishṇarāja I., is easily disposed of.

Gōvinda II. or Vallabha II., the son of Kṛishṇarāja, is thus referred to by Jinasēna as reigning in Saka 705 :—

Sikēshv abda-śatēshu saptasu dīśāṅ pañchōttarēshūttarāṅ |
pāt Indrāyudha-nāmnī Kṛishṇa-nṛipajē Śrī-Vallabhē dakshinā ṅ ||
Jaina Harivamśa.

Dr. Fleet disputes¹⁹ the accuracy of my interpretation of these lines and proposes to construe the expression "son of king Kṛishṇa" with the name of Indrāyudha, who is otherwise unknown to us. But it seems to be forgotten that this proposal involves two gratuitous assumptions. In the first place we are asked to believe without a particle of evidence, that Indrāyudha's father was named Kṛishṇarāja. In the next place, Dr. Fleet would have us take for granted that Gōvinda III. was actually reigning in Saka 705 !!! On the other hand, the construction which I have put on the passage is the most natural one that it can bear. It does not depend on the mere position of the expression "son of king Kṛishṇa." It depends on two historical facts, namely, that Vallabha was the title²⁰ of Govind II. and that his father's name was Kṛishṇarāja. Moreover, there was a special reason for Jinasēna, after mentioning Vallabha, to add the qualifying expression "son of Kṛishṇarāja"; for the title Vallabha was not by itself sufficiently distinctive. It was borne by Gōvinda's immediate predecessor Kṛishṇarāja I.; nor was it peculiar to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, since they only inherited it from the early Chalukyas whom they supplanted. It is hardly necessary to add that Vallabha, king of Karnāṭa, on whom Dantidurga inflicted a crushing defeat, was the Chalukya king Kīrtivarmā II. My view is also corroborated by the Karhād plates, which have been recently published.²¹

¹⁹ id.

²⁰ id.

²¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV. Part VI.

Dhruva or Nirupama is the Nirupamadēva mentioned by Pampa²² in his account of the genealogy of his patron, the Chalukya king Arikēsari II. But the Rāshtrakūta king, who is most frequently mentioned in Indian literature, is Nṛipatuṅga or Amôghavarsha I., the author of the present work. In the praśasti²³ of the Uttara-purāṇa we are told that he became the disciple of Jinasēna, the well-known Jaina author, who also bears testimony to the fact in the Pārsāvabhyudaya.²⁴ The interesting reference to the royal author in the Jayadhavalā-īkâ has already been noticed elsewhere.²⁵ I will now introduce to the reader the Jaina mathematician Virāchārya, who flourished in the interval that elapsed between the rise of Varāhamihira and that of his illustrious commentator Bhāṭṭōtpala. The following is the opening praśasti of the Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha,²⁶ in which Virāchārya alludes to our author by his two names Nṛipatuṅga and Amôghavarsha:—

a-laṅghyaṃ tri-jagat-sāraṃ yasyānanta-chatusṭtayaṃ |
 namas tasmai Jinēndrāya Mahāvīrāya tēyine || 1
 Saṅkhyā-jñāna-pradīpeṇa Jainēndreṇa mahā-tvishā |
 prakāsitam jagat sarvaṃ yēna taṃ praṇamāmy aham || 2
 prīṇitaḥ prāṇi-sasyaughō nirītir niravagrahaḥ |
 śrī-mat Amôghavarshēna yēna svēshṭa-hitaishīṇā || 3

²² Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 26.

²³ My paper on Bhartṛihari and Kumārila.

²⁴ Intro. to my edition of the Mēghadūta.

²⁵ Bhartṛihari and Kumārila.

²⁶ Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina maṭha at Kolhapur. Nēmichandra in his Pratisbhātilaka, would identify Virāchārya with Virasēna the teacher of Jinasēna

taḍ-anvayē bhūḍ viduḥlāṃ varishṭhaḥ |
 syād-Vāda-nishṭhaḥ sukālgamajñāḥ ||
 śrī-Virasēnō jani (Ārkika śī [h] |
 pradhvasta-rāgādi-samasā-lōbahāḥ ||
 yaasya vācham prasādēna hy amēyam bhuvana-trayaṃ |
 śakti ashtāṅga-rūpeṇa gaṇitēna pramāṇitam ||
 tach-olhishyaḥ pravārō jñātō Jina-ēna-muniśvaraḥ |
 yad-vān-mayaṃ Purōr śakti purāṇam prathamam bhuvi ||

This Nēmichandra is later than Hastimalla to whom he refers. The latter completed his Kannaḍa Ādipurāṇa in Śaka 1212, the Bākshasa samvatsara, on Friday, the fifth day of the dark half of Pausa. The celebrated Nēmichandra, who has immortalised Chāmuṇḍarāya in the Trilōkasāra and Gom-maṭasāra is a different and earlier author.

pāpa-rûpāḥ parā yaśya chitta-vṛitti-havirbhoji |
 bhasma-sād-bhāvam īyus tēvandhya- kôpô bhavêt tatali || 4
 vaśi-kurvan jagat sarvaṃ svayaṃ nānuvaśaḥ paraiḥ |
 nābhibhūtaḥ prabhus tasmāi apūrva-makaradhvajāḥ || 5
 yô vikrama-kramākrānta-chakri-chakra-kṛita-kriyaḥ |
 chakrikā-bhañjanô nāmnā chakrikā-bhañjanô ñjasā || 6
 yô vidyā-nady- adbhūthānô maryādā-vajra-vêdikaḥ |
 ratna-garbhô yathā-khyāta- chāritra-jaladhir mahān || 7
 vidhvastaikānta-pakshasya syād-vā la-nyāya-vādināḥ |
 dêvasya Nṛipatuṅgasya varadhatāṃ tasya śāsanaṃ || 8

Nṛipatuṅga is also mentioned in two verses, one of which is quoted in the Śabdamanīdarpaṇe²⁷ and the other, in the Śabdānuśāsana.²⁸

Who the Rāshṭrakūṭas were is a question which has been frequently raised. The authority of the later records of the family, which represent them as descendants of Yadu in the Lunar race, is questioned on this point. The late Dr. Burnell suggested long ago that they were a caste of Reddis. But this view has not been accepted by other scholars. Dr. Fleet remarks²⁹ that no trace of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is found in Southern India, and that they seem to have been of Northern origin. The question, however, can be settled by an appeal to the history of the Chalukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. There were inter-marriages between the two families on terms of equality. Sômadêva, a contemporary of Kṛishṇarāja III, and therefore an author of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, tells³⁰ us that in his time pratilôma vivāhas or inter-marriages of girls with inferior castes were not allowed. If therefore the caste of the Chalukyas had been superior to that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Chalukya princesses would never have been given in marriage to Rāshṭrakūṭa princes. But we learn from inscriptions³¹ that many Chalukya princesses had Rāshṭrakūṭa kings for their husbands. It follows therefore that the caste of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, was equal to or identical with that of the Chalukyas. Again, the surnames Chāḷkê, Sêlâr, Kadam, Môrê, Jādhav and Rāshṭrakūṇḍa which are borne at the present day by the Marāṭhâ families of the Dekkan, can be easily identified with Chāḷkya or Chāḷukya, Silahâra, Kadamba, Maurya, Yādava and Rāshṭrakūṭa, the names of the

²⁷ p. 171.

²⁸ p. 194.

²⁹ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.*

³⁰ *Nītivākyāmṛita.* Bombay ed. p. 13.

³¹ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.*

dynasties which held sway over the Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra from the sixth to the thirteenth century. All these surnames, including Rāshtrakuṇḍa, are given in Sivānanda Yōgīśvara's Marāṭhī vaṃśāvalī.³² The object of this work, which is considered very old,³³ is to expose the attempts of those who try to pass themselves off as Marāṭhās but who have no claims to be considered as such. From these facts we can safely conclude that the Rāshtrakuṇḍas or Rāshtrakūṭas belonged to the same caste as Sivāji who founded the Marāṭhā Empire in later times. Nor is there anything surprising in the fact that they were cultivators of Kannaḍa literature, since the Chālukya king Bhūlōkamalla, in his Mānasōllāsa,³⁴ has preserved many a Kannaḍa song current in his day.

Nṛpatuṅga was not only a liberal patron of letters, but he is also known as a Sanskrit author. A few years ago I discovered a small Jaina work entitled Praśnōitararatnamālā³⁵ the concluding verse of which owns Amōghavarsha as its author:—

vivēkāt tyakta-rājyēna rājñēyaṃ ratnamālikā |
rachit āmōghavarshēṇa su-dhiyā sa l-alaukṛitiḥ ||

Several editions of this work have since been published in Bombay. It is variously attributed to Saṅkarāchārya, Saṅkarānanda, and a Srēṭāmbara writer Vimala. But the royal authorship of the Ratnamālā is confirmed by a Tibetan translation³⁶ of it discovered by Schiefner, in which the author is represented to have been a king and his Tibetan name, as re-translated into Sanskrit by the same scholar, is Amōghōdaya, which obviously stands for Amōghavarsha. This work was composed between Saka 797-799; in the former year Nṛpatuṅga abdicated in favour of his son Akālavarsha.

Mānyakhēṭa or Maḷakhēḍa was the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. Whether it was Nṛpatuṅga who built this town is a question which has exercised the ingenuity of scholars. Dr. Bhandarkar holds³⁷ that it was founded by Nṛpatuṅga. Dr. Fleet inclines to the same opinion. Let us examine critically the grounds on which this view is based. The only evidence adduced by Dr. Bhandarkar is a passage in

³² Edited by Dr. Dādā Nāthāji Śōḷkō. In this work the name Chāḷke appears as Chulakiyā and Sālōnkhō.

³³ Not older than Rāmadēva king of Dēvngiri, whom it mentions.

³⁴ Deccan College MSS.

³⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 218.

³⁶ Early History of the Dekkan, Section XI.

³⁷ Id. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Chapter III.

the Wardha grant, which also occurs in the Kurbhād grant and runs as follows :—

tat-sūnur ānata-nṛipō Nṛipatuṅga-dēvaḥ
 sōbhūt sva-sainya-bhara-bhaṅguritāhi-rājah |
 yō Mānyakhêtam amarēndrapurōpahāsi
 gīrvāṅga-garvram iva kharvvyaitum vyadhatta ||

This verse Dr. Bhandarkar thus translates: " His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord Nṛipatuṅga who founded Mānyakhêta which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order, as it were, to humble the pride of the gods." The second part of the verse, on which Dr. Bhandarkar relies, is open to another interpretation. The Sanskrit word which is rendered by " founded " is *vyadhatta* which simply means " made "; and taking the expression *amarēndra-purōpahāsi* as the completion of the predicate, *vyadhatta*,³⁸ we may translate the passage thus :—Nṛipatuṅga made Mānyakhêta superior to the capital of Indra. That this is the only correct interpretation of the above verse will appear from the fact that the town of Mānyakhêta existed before Nṛipatuṅga as it is mentioned in the *Pramāyakaṃala*³⁹ mātaṅḍa by Prabhāchandra who preceded⁴⁰ Jinasēna and his disciple Nṛipatuṅga. This affords an interesting confirmation of the tradition preserved by Brahmanēmidatta that Mānyakhêta was the capital of Kṛishṇarāja I.

I have thus placed before the reader all the information concerning Nṛipatuṅga, which recent research has made accessible to us. We shall now turn to his work the *Kavirājamārga*. Since he ascended the throne in Śaka 737 and abdicated in Śaka 797, it is clear that the work was composed between these two dates, and is therefore the earliest Kannaḍa poem that has come down to us. On this account it is replete with interest both for the student of the Kannaḍa language and the historian of Indian literature.

The work is divided into three *parichchhēdas*. The first treats of faults in poetry ; the second deals with śabdālaṅkāras, while the third and last discusses arthālaṅkāras. Nṛipatuṅga's introductory remarks are invaluable as they throw an interesting light on the early history

³⁸ Cf. *Māgha* XIX. 50 ; *Bhāravi* XV. 49.

³⁹ Dekkan College MS. No. 836 of 1875-76 p. 372a ; MS. No. 638-49, p. 306.

⁴⁰ Bhartihari and Kumārila. Dr. Fleet says that Prabhāchandra lived before A. D. 750, but that the town of Mānakhêta [mentioned by this Jaina author] was built only in the time of Gōvinda III, and Nṛipatuṅga. !!!

of the Kannaḍa language. In verse I., 29, we are introduced to Vimalōdaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita as the best writers of Kannaḍa prose who flourished before the ninth century. It is hard to say whether, in the verse referred to above, Vimalōdaya is an adjective qualifying Nāgārjuna or a name. It may also be treated as a compound of two names, Vimala and Udaya, as suggested⁴¹ by Mr. Rice who identifies Vimala with Vimalachandra mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa. We possess no information about Nāgārjuna and Jayabandhu. Durvinita was one of the early Gaṅga kings who had Pūjyapāda for his preceptor.⁴² We are told in verse I., 33 that Śrīvijaya, Kaviśvara, Paṇḍita-Chandra and Lōkapāla were some of the best Kannaḍa poets whose works were read and admired in the first half of the ninth century. Śrīvijaya⁴³ is named by Kēśirāja and Maṅgarasa,⁴⁴ and is mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa. Kaviśvara may be identified with Kaviparamēśhī who is spoken of as Kaviparamēśvara in the praśasti of the Uttarapurāṇa and in the Chāmunḍarāja-purāṇa.⁴⁵ The last named work cites a few Sanskrit verses from the Jinadharmadipakāśhīṭaka which it ascribes to Kaviparamēśvara. Paṇḍita-Chandra may be the Chandrabhaṭṭa mentioned by Kēśirāja and praised⁴⁶ by Durgasiṅha, a contemporary of the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II. As suggested⁴⁷ by Mr. Rice, Lōkapāla may be connected with Lōkāditya, the son of Bankarasa, of the Chella-kētana^{47a} family, after whom Bankāpur was named. Unfortunately the works of these authors have not escaped the ravages of time. But the fact that they were extremely popular when Nṛipatunga wrote, is of itself sufficient to prove that the Kannaḍa language was highly cultivated and possessed a considerable literature during the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

⁴¹ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 20.

⁴² Id., p. 19.

⁴³ Id., p. 21. But Śrīvijaya (I. 149; II. 153; III. 236) may also be a title of Nṛipatunga. This view is correct if Durgasiṅha means the Kavirājamārga when he speaks of Śrīvijayara Kavimārgam. Pañchatantra in Karnāṭakakāvyaṃaṅjari, Nov. 1896.

⁴⁴ Śāhāpur MS.

⁴⁵ Hosūr MS.

⁴⁶ Kannaḍa Pañchatantra in the Karnāṭakakāvyaṃaṅjari.

⁴⁷ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 23.

^{47a} Challa-kētana is chēla-kētana, chaila-kētana or vastra-kētana = cloth-banner; see my paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., pp. 104, 105.

According to verse I., 36, the region in which Kannaḍa was spoken, extended from the Kāvēri as far as the Gôdāvāri. This includes a considerable part of what is now regarded as a purely Marāṭhā country. But this ought not to incline us to dispute the accuracy of Nṛipatuṅga's statement concerning the Northern limit. It must, indeed, be admitted that at the present day Kannaḍa is spoken only in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency, Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dharwar and North Kanara. Kolhapur is considered a purely Marāṭhā District. With the exception of a few Jains and Lingāyats, the people at Kolhapur speak Marāṭhi which is also the official language of the place. In the vernacular schools Marāṭhi alone is taught, Kannaḍa being little understood. But that this was not the case in ancient times is abundantly proved by the Kannaḍa inscriptions in the temple of Mahālakṣmī which is situated in the heart of the town. Nor is this all. In the Jaina Māṭha at Kolhapur which contains the richest collection of Digambara Jaina works in Southern India, all the manuscripts are written in Kannaḍa characters, the language employed being Sanskrit, Māgadhī or Kannaḍa. The illustrious Kannaḍa author Guṇavarmā tells us that he finished one of his works entitled Udyōgasāra⁴⁹ in the Chandranāthabasti at Kolhapur. He must have been a native of this town or must have been attracted to it as the centre of Kannaḍa learning in his days. Local names in the Kolhapur territory are also Kannaḍa, as, for instance, Śiroḷ which is nothing but Siri-voḷal = Śrī-poḷal. Then again the head of the Lakṣmīsēna Māṭha at Kolhapur to this day issues his circulars in Kannaḍa to his numerous disciples in the Karahāṭaka Prānta which is identical with the Satārā District, the name Karahāṭaka or Karhāḍa being now restricted to the town of that name. The town and district of Śolāpur also contain numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions. From these facts it is evident that in the ninth century Kannaḍa was spoken over a considerable part of the Marāṭhā country, and that it has had to yield its place to the encroaching Marāṭhi idiom since the rise of the Marāṭhā empire.

We also learn from verse I., 37, that in the ninth century the Kannaḍa spoken at Kisuvoḷal, Kopaṇa, Purigere and Oṅkuṇḍa was considered the pure well of Kannaḍa undefiled. Kisuvoḷal is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur District. Kopaṇa is Koppala, a railway station between Gadag and Bellary. Purigere is the

⁴⁹ MS. belonging to Padmarāja Pandit.

modern Lakshmēśvara in the Dharwar District, which belongs to the Miraj State Senior; one of the five baṇas or parts into which Lakshmēśvara is divided, still goes by the name of Pulikar or Hulikar. Ōnkunda or Okkunda is in the Belgaum District. The opinion that natives of these districts enjoyed the reputation of being consummate masters of Kannaḍa composition is confirmed by Pampa, who in 941 A. D. professes to write in the pithy Kannaḍa of Puligere.⁴⁹

We shall next proceed to consider what light the Kavirājamārga throws on the history of Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa's two works, Harsha-charita and Kādambarī, are extolled as master-pieces of Sanskrit prose. This reference to Bāṇa is not the earliest known to us as Prabhāchandra frequently refers to the Kādambarī and its author in his Pramēyaka-malamārtaṇḍa.⁵⁰ The best Sanskrit poets whose works were most popular in the time of Nṛipatuṅga (I., 31) were Guṇasūri, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi, Kālidāsa and Māgha. We know nothing about the first author. Nārāyaṇa is mentioned by Sōmadēva in his Yaśastilaka.^{50a} As regards the other three poets we may observe that their popularity continues undiminished to the present day. The fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi dates from an earlier epoch, both being mentioned in the Aihole inscription⁵¹ of Pulikēśi II. Kālidāsa is quoted by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila;⁵² and I have told the Sanskrit student how in Nṛipatuṅga's own time the great poet's Cloud-messenger was subjected to the process known as samasyāpūraṇa so as to baffle all the attempts of subsequent scribes or commentators to tamper with the text of that charming poem.⁵³ The mention of Māgha in the Kavirājamārga is the oldest reference we have met with to the author of the Śīsupālavadhā. This poet is also mentioned in inscriptions.⁵⁴

The Kavirājamārga also affords an interesting glimpse of the religious condition of the people during the Rāshtrakūṭa era. One of the faults we are advised to avoid in poetical compositions is called samayaviruddha; and in verse I, 104 Nṛipatuṅga explains samaya to mean "Those well-known sects of Kapila, Sugata, Kaṇāda and Chār-

⁴⁹ Intro. to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur.

^{50a} Dr. Peterson's Report for 1833-34, p. 45.

⁵¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII.

⁵² Bhartrihari and Kumārila.

⁵³ Intro. to my edition of the Mēghalūta.

⁵⁴ They will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

vāka." We are further told in the same verse that an account of the Sāṅkhyas, Buddhists, Vais'ṣhikas, and Lōkāyatikas, or an allusion to them in literary productions should be in perfect accord with their opinions; any author, who should neglect this rule, would lay himself open to the fault named above. A natural inference from these remarks of Nṛipatuṅga is that in his time these sects owned numerous followers among his subjects. This is confirmed by inscriptions of his time, one of which compares an ancestor of Nṛipatuṅga to Sugata in kindness, and three others record grants to Buddhist monks.^{54a} Akalaṅkadēva, a distinguished author of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, asks

yō jagdhvā piśitaṃ samateya-kavalaṃ jīvaṃ cha śūnyaṃ vadaṇ |
kartā karma-phalaṃ na bhūṅkta iti yō vaktā sa Buddhah
katham ||

Akalaṅka-stōtra.

The fact that Buddhism continued to prevail long after the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire had passed away, is attested by three Kannaḍa inscriptions.⁵⁵ A contemporary account of these sects from the pen of Jinasēna, who was our author's preceptor, supplies an interesting commentary on the latter's verse alluded to above.

tatas tad-vachanaṃ sōḍhum a-śaktō durmadōddhataḥ |
dvitīyas sachivō vācham ity uvācha Mahāmatih || 27
bhūta-vādam athālambya sa Laukāyatikiṃ śrutim |
prastuvan jīva-tattvasya dūshapē matim ātanōt || 28
sati dharmiṇi dharmasya ghaṭate dēva chintanaṃ |
sa ēva tāvan nāsty ātmā kutō dharmo-phalaṃ bhajēt || 29
pṛithivy-ap-pavanāgnināṃ saṅghātād iha chētanā |
prādurbhavati madyāṅga-saṅgamān madasakti-vat || 30
tatō na chētanā kāya-tattvāt pṛithag ih āsti naḥ |
tasyās tad-vyatirēkēṃ ānupalabdihēḥ kha-pushpa-vat || 31
tatō na dharmoḥ pāpaṃ vā para-lōkaś cha kasya-chit |
jala-budbuda-vaj jīvā vilīyante tanu-kshayaṭ || 32
tasmat dṛishṭa-sukhaṃ tyaktvā para-lōka-sukhārthinaḥ |
vyertha-klēshā bhāvanty ētō lōka-dvaya-sukhāch chyutāḥ || 33
tad ēshāṃ para-lōkārthā samīhā krōshṭur āmiehaṃ |
tyaktvā mukhāgataṃ mōbān mīnāsōtpatanāyatē || 34

^{54a} Cave-Temple Inscriptions, p. 92: Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., pp. 134-136.

⁵⁵ Pambal inscription: the other two inscriptions will be shortly published by Mr. Rice.

piṇḍa-tyāgâl lihant imê hastam prêtya-sukhêpsayâ |
 vipralabdhâs samutsrîṣṭa-dṛiṣṭa--bhôgâ vichêtasah || 35
 eva-matê yuktim ity uktvâ viratê bhûta-vâdini |
 vijñâna-mâtram âsritya prastuvan jîva-nâstitâṃ || 36
 Sambhinnô vâda-kaṇḍûyâ-vijṛimbitam ath ôdvahan |
 smitam eva-mata-samsiddhim ity upanyasyati sma sah || 37
 jîva-vâdin na tê kas chij jîvô'sty an-upalabdhitaḥ |
 vijñapti-mâtram êv êdam kshana-bhaṅgi yatô jagat || 38
 nir-amśam tach cha vijñânam nir-anvaya-vinaśvaram |
 vâdya-vêdaka-samvitti--bhâgair bhinnam prasâsatê || 39
 santânâvasthitês tasya smṛity-âdy api ghaṭâm atêt |
 samvṛityâ sa cha santânah santânibhyô na bhidyatê || 40
 pratyabhijñâdikam bhrântam vastuni kshana-naśvarê |
 yathâ lûna-punar-jâta-nakha-kêśâdishu kva chit || 41
 tatô vijñâna-santâna-vyatiriktô na kas cha na |
 jîva-sañjñah padârthô 'sti prêtya-bhâva-phalôpabhuk || 42
 tad amutr âtmanô dukkha-jihâsârtham prayasyataḥ |
 tiṭṭibhasy êva bhîtis tê gaganâd a-patishyataḥ || 43
 ity udîrya sthitê tasmin mantri Satamatis tataḥ |
 nairâtmya-vâdam âlambya prôvâch êttham vikatthanaḥ || 44
 sūnyam êva jagad visvam idam mithy âvabhâsatê |
 bhrântêḥ svapnêndrajâlâdan hasty-âdi-pratibhâsa-vat || 45
 tataḥ kutô 'sti vê jîvah para-lôkah kutô 'sti vâ |
 asat sarvam idam yasmâd gandharva-nagar-âdi-vat || 46
 atô 'mî para-lôkârtham tapô 'nushṭhâna-tatparâl |
 vrith aiva klêśam âyânti paramârthânabhijñakâḥ || 47
 gharmârambhê mṛigâ yad-vad dṛiṣṭvâ Maru-marichikâḥ |
 jalâśay ânudhâvanti tad-vad bhêgârthinô 'py aml || 48

Âdipurâṇa, Chap. V.

The present work invites our attention to another field of inquiry. The subject of Alaṅkāra has engaged the pens of many eminent Sanskrit authors. Some of these must have certainly preceded Nṛipatunga. Bhāmaha, Dharmakīrti and Daṇḍi are the earliest writers on Alaṅkāra known to us. Bhāmaha also wrote a commentary on the Prākṛita-prakāśi of Vararuchi, an excellent edition of which we owe to Professor Cowell. Bhāmaha's views are frequently criticized by Daṇḍi.⁶⁶ Dharmakīrti is the illustrious Buddhist author quoted by Kumārila and Sāṅkarāchārya.⁶⁷ But the works of Bhāmaha

⁶⁶ Kāvya-darśa, Chap. I.

⁶⁷ My paper on Dharmakīrti and Sāṅkarāchārya.

and Dharmakīrti have not survived to our times. As regards the third authority on Alaṅkāra, namely, Daṇḍi, we find that he is assigned to the sixth century by Professors Weber⁵⁹ and Max Müller. But Dr. Buhler⁶⁰ holds that there is no evidence for claiming so high an antiquity for the author of the Kāvyaḍarśa. It is therefore very important to ascertain whether any fresh light is thrown on the age of Daṇḍi by the work before us. In the fifth verse of the third paichehḥēda, Nṛipatunga says that in explaining arthālaṅkāras he will follow ancient authorities. But he does not name them. Let us endeavour to identify at least one of them. The Kāvyaḍarśa which has escaped the fate that has befallen the works of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti will greatly facilitate the present inquiry.

We know that Nāgavarmā, a later Kannaḍa author, has also treated of Alaṅkāra in his Kāvyaḍalōkana. At the end of this work he informs us that he has laid under contribution the works of Vānana, Rudraṭa, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍi

Vāmananu ṇ Rudraṭanu ṇ |
 Bhū[maha]nu ṇ Daṇḍiyu ṇ mana ṇ-gole pēḷv an- ||
 t i mahige negaḷe pēḷḷam |
 Dāmodara-tarayau i vacchōḷankṛitiya ṇ ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana.

If Nāgavarmā had not vouchsafed to us the names of his authorities, we should still have been able to find them out by the comparative method, thus :—

a-vinaśvara-gati saṃskā |
 rav emba Sugatōkti satyam ant alladoḍ ā ||
 nava-nīla-nīrajākshīya |
 sa-vilās-ālōkam innum irkkame manadoḷ ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana, p. 80.

satyam ēv āha Sugataḥ saṃskārān a-vinaśvarān |
 tathāhi sā chakōrākshī sthit aiv ādy āpi mō hṛidi ||

Kāvyaḍarśa, Chap. III., 174.

Paḍuvaḷ kiḷiloḷ emma toḷtu paḍuvaḷ mutt-abbey ā kōṇeyo—|
 | paḍuvam śakti-vihānan adha-badhira ṇ kēḷ njan i bāgiloḷ ||
 paḍuvem bāleyen orvvaḷ illi maney āṇman pōḍan ind ūrgge niṇ |
 paḍal end ent eḍe vēḷuvai pathika matt i poḷṭinōḷ gāmpaṇē ||

Kāvyaḍalōkana.

⁵⁹ History of Indian literature.

⁶⁰ Introduction to Śabdānuśāsana, p. 52.

Ēkākiniṁ yad abalā taruṇi tath āha-
m asmin gṛihē gṛiha-patié cha gatō vidésamṁ |
kiṁ yā hase tad iha vāsam iyaṁ varāki
śvaśrūr mam āndha-badhiraṁ nanu mūḍha pāntha ||

Rudraṅga, Kāvya-lankāra, VII, 41.

No scholar who reads these verses can avoid the conclusion that the Sanskrit verses are the originals of the Kannaḍa ones. Let us now apply this test to some of the verses in the third parichchhēda of the Kāviraṁjamaṁrga, which, as we are assured by Nṛipatuṅga himself, are based on those of ancient authorities. The following verses are most striking :

viśéshōkti is thus illustrated :—

sphuriyisade daśana-vasanān—|
taram āraktaṅgaṁ | āgad enasamṁ kaṅgaṁ ||
bharita-bhrūkuṭi kalam ā—|
g irade mukhaṁ geldan intuv ari-ṛipa-balamamṁ ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III, 122.

na baddhā bhrukuṭir nāpi sphuritō daśana-echchhedaḥ |
na cha raktā bhavad-dṛishtiṁ jitaṁ cha dvishatām balamṁ ||

Daṇḍi, Kāvya-darśa, II., 326.

hētu is thus illustrated :—

aṁiv ullavaroḥ berasu(sa)vu(du)—|
daṁindam aṁiyadaroḥ appa parichayadindamṁ ||
nerēy indriyamamṁ gelladu—|
daṁindam akkuṁ jarakke pīnamṁ besanamṁ ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 165.

an-abhyāsēna vidyānām a-saṁsargēṇa dhimatāṁ |
a-nigrahēṇa chākshhāṇāṁ jāyatē vṛnasanamṁ nṛiṇāmṁ ||

Daṇḍi, Kāvya-darśa, II., 247.

amśayākshepa is thus illustrated :—

dhanamamṁ nerapade vidyā—|
dhanamamṁ māḁnde taguḁdu negaḁlade tapadoḥ ||
manujatvam a-phalam āyt en—|
t enag embudan aṁivud ati (nu) śayākshepakamamṁ ||

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 101.

arthō na sambhṛitaḥ kaśchin na vidyā kāchid arjitā |
na tapaḥ sañchitaṁ kiñchid gataṁ cha sakalamṁ vayaḥ ||

Daṇḍi, Kāvya-darśa, II., 161.

atīśayōkti is thus illustrated : —

āsā-vaḷayita-lōkā—1

kāsam id ēn ati-viśālamō ninna yaśō—11

rāsiyan indu-dyutiya ni—1

kāsamān oḷa-koḷgum aḷavi-gaḷid irddudumaṃ 11

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 94.

ahō viśālam bhūpāla bhavana-tritayōdarāṃ 1

māti mātum a-sakyō'pi yaśō-rāsir yad atra tē 11

Daṇḍi, Kāvyaḍarśa, II., 219

Two more instances will suffice :—

hariṇadhara-sarasijaṅga—1

1 dorey all ivu tēnage tāne dore ninna megaṃ 11

nirupamam embudan arivudu 1

nirutam asādhāraṇōpamōdaya-vidhiyaṃ 11

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 77

chandraravindayōḥ kāntim atikramya mukhaṃ tava 1

ātman aiv ābhavat tulyam ity asādhāraṇōpamā 11

Daṇḍi, Kāvyaḍarśa, II., 37

hariṇadharanoḷ vishaṃ mala- 1

yaruhadoḷ analārchchi ninna vadanōdaradōḷ 11

parushatara-vachanam appudu 1

duravāpam id int asambhavōpamam akkum 11

Nṛipatuṅga, III., 79.

chandra-bimbād iva vishaṃ chandanād iva pāvakaḥ 1

parushā vāg itō vaktrād ity asambhāvītōpamā 11

Daṇḍi, Kāvyaḍarśa, II., 39.

We have only to glance at these verses to be convinced that Nṛipatuṅga has here given us literal translations from the Kāvyaḍarśa. It is worth noticing that most of the verses in the third *parichchhēda* of the *Kavirājamārga* are either translations or adaptations from Daṇḍi. Nor do we fail to recognize his influence in other parts of the work. It is, moreover, easy to infer that Nṛipatuṅga was also indebted to Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti since *dhvani*, which is mentioned as a figure of speech in this work, finds no place in the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, though it is hard to estimate the extent to which Nṛipatuṅga was influenced by these authors, as their works are no longer extant. But the fact that translations from Daṇḍi are found in the *Kavirājamārga* is most important from a historical point of view. It amply proves that Daṇḍi was regarded as an ancient

authority on Alankāra in the beginning of the ninth century. And the following verse in the Kāvya-darśa also furnishes some clue to his age :—

nāsikya-madhyā paritāś chatur-varṇa-vibhūṣhitā |
asti kāchit purī yasyām aṣṭa-varṇ-āhvayā nṛipāḥ ||

Kāvya-darśa, Chap. III.

This is a puzzle the solution of which is Kāñchi ruled over by the Puṇḍraka¹ kings. It is thus clear that in Daṇḍi's time Kāñchi was the capital of the Puṇḍrakas. It must have subsequently fallen into the hands of the Pallavas, who, as we learn from inscriptions, retained possession of it from the time of Pulikēśi II. to that of Nṛipatuṅga himself. These facts enable us to assign Daṇḍi to the end of the sixth century and afford an interesting confirmation of the views held by Professors Weber and Max Müller on this point.

¹ According to the commentator Vijayananda (Dekkan College MS. No. 43 of 1872-73) the solution is Kāñchi ruled over by Chōḍarāja; but this does not affect my conclusion as to the age of Daṇḍi.

ART. IV.—*A new Chalukya Copper-plate from Sanjan.*
By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

(Read, 17th March 1898.)

The grant which is the subject of this paper was found by Hasanji Kelia, a cultivator of Sanjan in the Umbargaon petha of the Dâhânu Talukâ of the Thâna district, twelve or thirteen years ago. He discovered it at a depth of about three feet below the surface of the ground in his compound, where he was digging the foundations of a new house. On finding it he burnt off the coating of earth that covered it and cleaned it with tamarind juice. In consequence of sickness occurring in his family shortly after its discovery, Hasanji began and has continued till the present the practice of offering incense to the plate every Thursday night.

The grant consists of two plates, somewhat damaged, the first one on the upper edge and in the two lower corners, and the second one along the lower part of the left-hand edge. With this exception the plates are in good condition and very legible. They both have raised rims and are pierced with two holes for the connecting rings, of which the left-hand one, bearing a heavy copper seal with the figure of a lion walking to the left, still remains intact.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are of the regular type in use in Chalukya inscriptions of the 7th century. They are deeply cut, but the plates are so thick that they do not show through.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the usual quotations from the Mahâbhârata towards the end, it is wholly in prose.

The numeral sign for 5 occurs in plate II. line 5 and that for 30 in lines 4 and 6 (twice) of the same plate. The inscription refers itself to the time of Vikramâditya I. of the Western Chalukya family. It mentions first his father Pulakêsi II., with special reference to his victory over Harshadêva, the king of Kanauj. It next mentions Vikramâditya, for whom it gives the additional name of Kôkkulla and whom it describes in general terms as an active and successful

warrior. The next name is that of Buddhavarasārāja, who is stated to be the uncle of Vikramāditya and the younger brother of Satyāsraya (Pulakēśi). He speaks of himself as devoted to the service of gods and Brahmans, and as having won a victory over the chief of the Natyana tribe. Though he calls himself "a moon in the sky of the kings of the Chalukya house" it is clear that he was only a feudatory chief subordinate to his nephew Vikramāditya. The purpose of the inscription is to record the grant by Buddhavarasa of a landed estate consisting of a mango-orchard and two fields to Saḡula Dīkshita son of Rēva of the Hār̥ti gōtra and the Hiranyakēśi subdivision of the Taittirīya Sākhā of the black Yajurveda. The name of the village in which the land granted was situated, is not preserved, but it was included in the Aṃvaranta Vishaya, and the land was bounded on the north and west by the sea. The grantee was a resident of a place called Śrīkalvīvana, and the grant was made at the city of Pinuka on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon tithi of the month of Pāuṣa, but no year is mentioned.

The grant must, however, be subsequent to the year 655 A. D. when Vikramāditya appears to have ascended the throne, and earlier than the year 671-2 A. D., which is the date of the earliest grant of Sryāsraya Śilāditya.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant, the Aṃvaranta Vishaya may be compared with the Avaretikāvishaya named in another grant of Pulakēśi II. The correct form of the name is apparently Aparānta or Aparāntaka, which was the old name of the Western coast of India from the Mahi to Goa (see I. A., VII., 259) Śrī Kalvīvana at which the grantee resided, should apparently be identified with the village of Kelva close to Mahim in the tālukā of the same name. The city of Pinuka may be Pen, the chief town of the Tālukā of that name in the Kolaba district.

The language of the grant is somewhat confused and ungrammatical, and I am not sure that I have always succeeded in grasping its meaning. There are also certain words in the specification of boundaries in pl. II., 2-3 which do not appear to be Sanskrit at all. I have further been obliged to have untranslated the terms *prātibhē dīka*, *apavīhīna* & *atyāntarasiddhi* in pl. II., 8, which appear to denote different kinds of revenue derivable from land. The opening invocation and the genealogical portion of the grant resemble the Chalukya form rather in spirit than in wording, and, though the grant contains many words belonging to the usual formulæ, they are often used in

unusual senses or in unusual collocations. Luckily, however, there is not much room for doubt about the meaning of the historical part.

The occurrence of the word *rāshtrakūṭa* (in the form *rāshtragrāma kūṭa*) as the name of an official is the earliest known to me in any Western grant. The enumeration of the puranic kings *Nṛiga Nahusha, Dhundhumāra Daśaratha* and *Rāma* is of some interest in connection with the question as to the age of the puranic history, as is also the mention of *Arjuna* of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Natyana* tribe and the *Nēka* family were both hitherto unknown.

The seal bears the figure of a lion instead of the usual Chalukya cognisance which was the boar. But except this fact and the confused language of the grant there seems no reason to doubt its genuineness.

The *akshara* *shā* or *shaḥ* in Plate II., lines 5, 6 and 7, seems to be an abbreviation of the name of some measure of length, but I am not able to supply the full form of the word.

Plate I.

1. Om Svasti Amara samkāsa kāya bhīṣaṇa raktānalō
danata śikhāṇḍadaṁshtrō¹ nataṁ.

2. Jayatu sadū varāha-rūpain || śrīmatāṁ sakalabhu[vana] saṁs-
tūyamāna Mānavya-sagō.

3. trānām Hārīti-putrānām sapta-māṭar² ābhīsiktānām Śrī Ma-
hāsēnasya pādānudhyātā.

4. nām Kārttikēya-saṁrakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparānām
Bhagavā³ pratyakṣa Harinā tushtē.

5. na varō dattaḥ samāsādita pratyayō varāha-lāinchanāṁ ca
Calukyānām kṛita cāśvamēdha⁴-rā.

6. jasūya-paunḍarika-yāgāḥ⁵ yat kiñcit kula-duritaṁ tad vinashtē
am avabhṛitha snānāḥ śuci-pa.

7. vitri-kṛita-sīra-garira⁶-nṛiga-naghusha⁷-Dhundumāra-D a ś a -
atha-Rāmadēva-tat-pratimānam iva⁸ dhanu.

8. śmatā⁹ Uttarāpath-ādhipatiḥ Śrī Harshadēva-parā-jay-ōpa
labdh-ōgraḥ pratāpa¹⁰-paramēśvaraḥ.

9. Paramāsaty-āśrayaḥ¹⁰ Śrī Pulakēśi-prithivi-Vallabha-mahā-
rājaḥ¹¹ tasya sutāḥ statpādā.¹²

¹ Read *śnmatāṁ*.

² Read *mātr*.

³ Read *Bhagavatā*.

⁴ Read *kṛit-śivamēdha*.

⁵ Read *yāgānām*.

⁶ Read *śirah-śartra*.

⁷ Read *Nahusha*.

⁸ Read *Rāmadēva-pratimāna*.

⁹ Read *dhanushmatām*.

¹⁰ Read *ugra-pratāpaḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *Parama-saty-āśrayaḥ*.

¹¹ Read *mahārāja*.

¹² Read *sutas tat*.

10. nudhyâtâ¹³ dakshinamiva¹⁴ bāhudaṣṣapṛithivī-pālana-kshamō
vyapagata-sajala-jaladhara-pa.
11. tala-vyōma-tala-gata-sarad-indu-kirāṇa-dhavalā-vimala-yaśō-
mahipati-samara-vāraṇa-vā.
12. raṇa-niśēsha¹⁵-karkkaś-ābhōga-bhīṣhaṇātur¹⁶-opanīt-ōsha-
dhīm¹⁷ iva tushṭi karōm arjunam¹⁸ ivā.
13. śēsha-sa(m)grāma-vijayō Pṛithivī-vallabhaḥ rāj-ātirāja-para-
mēśvara-Jayaśri-Kokkulla-Vikra.
14. māditya-mahārājaḥ tasya pitṛiyō¹⁹ Saty-āśrayasy-ānujō dēva-
dvija śusrūshābhiratō
15. Natyana-gaṇa-yati-bhayam nēka-cāturdanta²⁰-gaja-gḥaṭ-āṭo-
palabdha²¹-vijayō Calukya-kula.
16. narapatinām gagana-candra-nām²² iva mahi-pālana-sita-vi-
pula-prakhyāta-yaśō mātā-pitṛi.
17. pādānudhyātō paramamāhēśvarō madanaṃg-āśrayaḥ Sri
Buddhavarasa-rāja kuśalī
18. [sa] rrvān ēva vishayapatī-rāṣṭra-grāma-kūṭa-kula-mahatarā-
dhikārī²³ samanubōdhaya. .
19. [ty astu sa] rrvā-viditam yathā ○ mayā sāgara-tatē
dvāśā²⁴ ○ grāmyā avaranta viśa[y]ām.
20. [targata gr]ā mē uttara-diśā daśa-nivarttanā.²⁵

Plate II.

1. Pramāṇena-Mahindārāmō sthāvaram Ambārāmēna vibhū-
shita²⁶-dattam Sagula-dikshita.
2. sya rāmasya²⁷ dakshinadiśā Sē ○ diva-kshētram malla-kshē
ram ca saha ○ lavanivāuṇḍēna varasigi.
3. lēna-sahitam śtmāsyāpi kramita-pramāṇam dvādaśabhōgikaiḥ
Nēkakula-pradhānāiḥ Mātṛidina-grāma.
4. Kūṭēna Kāmñcaḍi-pratihārēna sahitaṃ amkkavijaḍi Uddha-
vālikānakōcarātātāyikāpū.
5. rrvēna bānāmtarēna gatāyā tala²⁸-vṛiksham shā pūrvvēna
sandhiḥ Vyāghra-tatākam tasya ca pari.

¹³ Read nudhyātō.¹⁴ Read niśēsha.¹⁵ Read śusrūshā.¹⁶ Read pitṛivyaḥ.¹⁷ Read gḥaṭ-ōpalabdha.¹⁸ Read mahattar-ādihikārinah.¹⁹ Read na.²⁰ Read drāmasya.¹⁴ Read dakshina.¹⁶ Read bhīṣhaṇa dtur.¹⁸ Read tushṭikarō s rjuna iva.²⁰ Read pati-bhayānaka-caturdanta.²² Read candram.²⁴ Read dvādaśa (?).²⁶ Read rībhūshitam.²⁸ Read yā-at-ka.

6. vāhō 30 shā dakṣhiṇadiśā sīma-sandhiḥ pāścīma-diśā uttara diśā ca mahōdadhi-maryādā.

7. shaḥ sa sīmaparikaraḥ caturādghātana²⁹ viśuddhaḥ sēḍiva vāpakō sarvvādānaṃ dattaṃ viśiṣṭhē prā.

8. ti-bhēdikāpa-vihīnō-tyam̐tara-siddhiḥ bhūmi-ecchidra-nyāyēna acāta-bhaṭa-pravēśyaḥ ācandr-ārkka.

9. sama-kālīnaḥ putra-pōtra³⁰-prapāutrānvayaḥ³¹ kramō-pabh-ogyāḥ Srikalvīvana-vāstavya-Hār̐ti.

10. sagōtra-Tēt̐tir̐³²-sūkhā-Hiraṇyakēśiḥ manēka³³-sāstra-pāram-
gata-pradhāna-prathamōttama-nagara.

11. vilacchēna-dhāyiraḥ Rēva caturvēdasya putrāya³⁴-Sagula-
svāmi-dikshitasya Bali-caru.

12. vaiśvadēvāgnihōtrāya kriyōtsarppan-ārtham̐ mātāpitrōr̐ ātma
naśca puṇya-yaśō-bhi.

13. vṛiddhayē Pāuśha-māsasya amāvāsyām̐³⁵ āditya-grahaṇē
Pinuka-nagara sthitēna Sri Buddhavarasē.

14. na sahasṭēna³⁶ udakātisarggēna Sagula-dikshitasya tam̐
Sēḍiva-kshetraṃ || Bahubhiḥ rvasu.³⁷

15. dhābhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūm̐
stasya³⁸ tasya tadā phalām̐.

16. svadattām̐ paradattām̐ ca yō harēta vasundharāḥ³⁹ shashtīm̐
dvarsha⁴⁰-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām̐

17. jāyatē krimiḥ || Tatākānām̐ sahasrēṇa māśvamēdha⁴¹-sātēna
ca gavām̐ kōṭi pradānēna

18. Bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || pūrvvadattām̐ dvijātibhyō yatn⁴²
raksha Yudhisṭhira mahī⁴³-mahi.

19. matām̐ śrēśṭha dānūc chrēyo nupālanam̐ || Likhitaṃ Reva,
āgaṇna. ||

Translation.

1-2. Om̐ good luck Ever victorious be the boar form, which has
a body resembling a god, which red fire . . . and
which is lofty in crest and tusk.

2-4. The divine incarnate Vishnu, being pleased, granted a boon
to those, who are glorious, who belong to the Mānavya Gōtra that is

²⁹ Read *catur-udghātana*.

³¹ Read *ānvaya*.

³³ Read *Hiraṇyakēśy-andha*.

³⁵ Read *amāvāsyāyām̐*.

³⁷ Read *Bahubhir rvasu*.

³⁹ Read *vasundharām̐*.

⁴¹ Read *āśvamēdha*.

³⁰ Read *pūtra*.

³² Read *Tēt̐tir̐tya*.

³⁴ Read *putrasya*.

³⁶ Read *svahastēna*.

³⁸ Read *bhām̐is tasya*.

⁴⁰ Read *shashtīm̐ varsha*.

⁴² Read *yatnād*. ⁴³ Read *māṭim*.

praised through the whole world, who are sons of Hârîti, who have been anointed kings by the seven mothers, who meditate upon the feet of the glorious Mahâsêna, and who have obtained a succession of blessings through the favour of Kârttikêya (to wit) the confidence which they had attained, and the boar crest.

5-6. All the sin of the Calukya race, who have performed the Aśvamêdha Râjasûya and Pâuṇḍarîka sacrifices, have been blotted out.

6-7. (In the lineage) of them whose heads and bodies were made pure and clean by ritual ablutions, and who as bowmen rival Nriga Nahusha, Dhundhumâra, Daśaratha and Râma (there was).

8-9. The Mahârâja Śrî Pulakêsi, the favourite of the earth, who acquired fierce valour by defeating Śrî Harshadeva, lord of the northern region, and who was the highest abode of truth.

9-14. His son, who meditates on his feet, who is capable of protecting the earth with his right arm, as it were, whose fame is pure and white as the rays of the autumn moon in the sky from which the heavy masses of rain clouds have departed, who is terrible by reason of the utterly violent force (he displays) in driving away elephants in battle against (other) kings, who is soothing as medicine brought to the sick, and who like Arjuna is victorious in all his battles (was) Jaya Śrî Kukkulla Vikramâditya Mahârâja, the favourite of the earth, the king of kings, the supreme lord.

14-17. His uncle, Satyâśraya's brother, who is devoted in his service of the gods and Brahmans, who gained a victory in the shock of battle against) the terrible four-tusked elephants of the lord of the Natyana tribe, who is like a moon in the sky of kings of the Calukya race, whose fame in ruling the earth is pure and widespread and well-known, and who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, the king Madanaṅgâśraya Śrî Buddhavarasa, being in good health.

18. Enjoins all the lords of districts, heads of provinces and villages, chiefs of tribes, and officials.

19—II.-14. Be it known to all that I have granted to Sagula Dikshita a landed estate, measuring on the north ten *nivartanas* in the village of . . . which is included in the Aṁvaranta district, which consists of 12 villages (?):—(to wit) the mahinda garden adorned with a mango orchard, and to the south of the garden the field Sêḍiva and the field of the Wrestler, with the *lavaniḍuṇḍa* and *varasigila*. The boundary thereof: the number

of paces taken by the 12 *bhōgikas* who are the chiefs of the Nēka tribe, and by Mātridina the headman of the village with Kamcaḍi the door-keeper (village watchman) is the figure 30. Vijāḍi Vālikana-kōcarātaṭayikā. On the east (the boundary) runs for a bowshot up to the Tala tree 5 shā. The point of junction on the east is the Tiger tank, and its circumference is 30 shā. On the south is a junction with the (village) boundary. On the west and north is the seashore, 30 sha. This is the boundary line marked out by four openings (?) The Sēḍiva field and all the income therefrom has been given, in particular the *prātibhēdika*, the *apavihna* (?) and the *atyantarāsiddhi* by the rule of *Bhūmichidra*, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, for as long as the sun and moon exist, to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons and great grandsons in succession, to Sagula Svāmi Dikshita, son of Reva the student of the four Vēdas, who dwells at Śrī Kalvāna and belongs to the Hārīti *gōtra* and is a Hiranyakēśi of the Taittirīya School, who has studied many *śāstras*, who is the chief minister, and is : for the performance of the ceremonies, for the purpose of the *u* *Vāśadōva* and *Agnihōtra* sacrifices the Sēḍiva field has been granted to Sagula Dikshita by Śrī Buddhavarasa under his own hand and with outpouring of water at the city of Pinuka on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon tithi of the month of Pāuṣa for the increase of the spiritual merit and the fame of his parents and himself.

II.-14-19. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings from Sagara downwards. Whoever at any time has the land his also then is the fruit. He who resumes land granted whether by himself or by another is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. The tresumer of land is not cleansed (of his guilt) by (building) a thousand tanks and by a hundred Aśvamēdhas or by the gift of a crore of kine. O Yudhishtīra, preserve carefully the land granted aforesaid to Brahmans. O best of kings, to respect a grant is better than to make it.

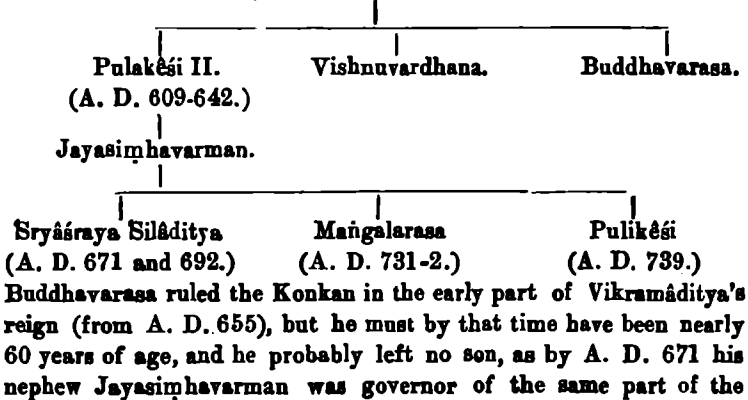
19. Written by Revagaṇa.

It will be observed that this inscription gives the name of a hitherto unknown brother of Pulakēśi II. It is well-known that Kīrtivarman I. left at least two sons, namely, Pulakēśi II. and Vishnuvardhana, and it has been very generally believed on the authority of the Nirpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana, that he also left a third son named Jayasīṃhavarman. Dr. Fleet has however

(Bo. Gaz. I. ii. 358) given good reasons for looking upon the Nirpaṅ grant with suspicion. I have elsewhere expressed the opinion that, even if the grant itself is a forgery, still the genealogical statements made in it may be correct, and I hazarded the suggestion that Nāgavardhana had preceded Vikramāditya on the imperial throne of the Chalukyas. I now however see reason to withdraw this suggestion and to question the correctness of the genealogy of the Nirpaṅ grant. It would seem that the drafter of that grant was misled by one of the standing epithets of Vikramāditya, *vis.*, "meditating on the feet of the illustrious Nāgavardhana," and supposed that this person was the predecessor of Vikramāditya instead of a religious teacher, and therefore adopted him as the nominal grantor. Whether Jayasimhavarman really existed or not must be regarded as very doubtful, and in any case he cannot well be identified with the Buddhavarasa of the Sanjān grant, for Jayasimhavarman appears to have been dead before the date of the Nirpaṅ grant which refers itself to the reign of Pulakēśi II., whereas we find Buddhavarasa alive and ruling in the reign of Pulakēśi's son and successor. The Kaira grant of Vijayarāja (I. A. VII. 241) gives the name of Vijayarāja's father as Buddhavarmarāja, but the rest of the genealogy does not agree with that of Buddhavarasa in the Sanjan grant. I however agree with Dr. Bhandarkar in believing the Kaira grant to be a forgery. If these conclusions are accepted, we must strike out of the Chalukya genealogy the so-called first and second Gujarat branches as imaginary and there will remain only—

Kirttivarman I.

(A. D. 566-7 to 597-8.)



country. The succession of the sons of Jayasinhavarman is not altogether free from chronological difficulties. The eldest (known) son Silāditya was of an age to make grants in A. D. 671, while the latest date known for the third son Pulikēśi is A. D. 739. Such a difference is not, it is true, impossible, but it is rather unusual in an Indian genealogy. This point, however, is not one for discussion on the present occasion. I merely mention it in order to show that there are still many points to be cleared up as regards the chronology, succession and relationships of the Calukyas of Gujarat.

ART. V.—*Dr. G. Thibaut on the Sankara-bhâshya.*

By T. R. AMALNEKAR, B.A.

(Communicated May 1899.)

There is an important collection of Sûtras which goes under the name of the Vedânta-sûtras. These are looked upon by the Hindus as embodying the deepest and the subtlest conceptions in philosophy. These venerable Sûtras of antiquity, of which Bâdarâyana is the reputed author, have been the subject of more than half a dozen commentaries, the most famous being the gloss of Sankara, commonly known as the Sankara-bhâshya.

It is, however, tantalising to observe that, with the devotion of so many exegetes, the precise meaning of the Vedânta-sûtras still remains a matter of doubt and uncertainty. This excellent treatise, composed by Bâdarâyana, is most eminently successful in weaving together in a system of harmony, if harmony can be said to exist in such things, the most discordant philosophical utterances of the Upanishads. That the meaning of this far-famed composition, which is a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the Hindus contained in the sacred literature of the Vedas, should be enshrouded in doubts and encompassed with difficulties, and should be the subject sometimes of mere guesses, is a matter of great regret and astonishment, and marks the fanaticism of sects and the stagnation of scholarship among the Hindus.

A systematic attempt to decipher the true meaning of the aphorisms of Bâdarâyana is therefore not only a desideratum, but a matter of absolute necessity. Dr. Thibaut, in welcoming my paper on the "Priority of the Vedânta-sûtras over the Bhagavadgita," writes as follows:—

"Please accept my best thanks for the copy of your interesting paper on the "Priority of the Vedânta-sûtras over the Bhagavadgita." I have not yet had time to examine your arguments as carefully as the importance of the subject requires, but it appears to me that you made out a very good case. You need not count me among your adversaries that consider that certain Sûtras refer to the Bhagavadgita. I have only provisionally accepted it on the authority of commentators. But I should not be surprised to see this assumption finally refuted. The whole subject of the true meaning of the Vedânta-sûtras requires a renewed methodical investigation. In my introduction to the

translation of the Sûtras I merely aimed at pointing out that such an investigation is required, and that we have absolutely no right whatever blindly to accept Shankara's interpretations."

The old Indian scholars and the orthodox community generally consider it a heresy to deviate from the interpretations of one of the recognised âchâryas. But they overlook the fact that these âchâryas widely differ among themselves, and arrive at conclusions as opposed to one another as are the poles asunder. Dr. Thibaut considers that modern scholars, not being wedded to any particular sect of philosophy, are better qualified to interpret the Vedânta-sûtras.

Both Sankara and Râmânûja frequently stretch the meaning of the Sûtras, so that their teaching may harmonise with the system of which they are the determined and thorough-going advocates. Sankara takes the greatest possible liberty in separating Sûtras into groups called the adhikaranas. Every impartial critic of the Sankara-bhâshya will be inclined to praise it in the highest terms possible. It is my opinion that the Sankara-bhâshya gives a better idea, both of the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana and much more of the Upanishads, chiefly in relation to their spirit and leading metaphysical tenets which it clothes in a grand, lofty, and vigorous style, than all the existing commentaries put together. It is perhaps the best work in the department of the Vedânta literature. It is the best commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras. Yet the Shribhâshya of Râmânûja claims a far higher value in other respects, namely, in point of scholarship and a patient and critical study of the Sûtras. So very satisfactory is the arrangement in the Shribhâshya of the topics and the interpretation of a large number of individual Sûtras which are not opposed to the sectarian views it advocates that had Râmânûja belonged to the school of Sankara or not belonged to any school at all, the Sankara-bhâshya would possibly have sunk into insignificance after the appearance of the Shribhâshya before the public.

It is plain from these broad and general outlines that the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana have been continually falling into the hands of commentators who have tried to improve upon the renderings of their predecessors. And yet the admirers of these Âchâryas would hardly tolerate any new inquirer proposing or suggesting new and rational interpretations, and would sometimes go the length of cursing him as a heretic.

Mere abstract speculations and inflated common places as to the possibility of improving upon the existing interpretations of the

Sūtras would, of course, be useless if one did not cite instances of the same. As I am desirous in this paper to examine the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Thibaut in the preface to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya, and as I mean to publish a separate treatise dealing with this question in detail, I shall point out only one instance here in support of my assertion.

The following are the four Sūtras from the fourth pāda of the third adhyāya :—

सर्वाभानुमतिश्च प्राणास्त्वचे तद्वर्णान् २४ अवाधाच्च २१ अपिच स्वर्षते ३०
चाण्ड्यालोऽक्रामकानि ३।

Here Bādarāyana introduces the question whether a प्राणापोसक, as Rāmānuja takes it, or a Vidvān generally, as Sankara understands it, is authorised to eat food of whatever sort. Both commentators, interpret the first Sūtra to mean that the food of whatever sort is to be resorted to only when a man is at the point of death. The question appears to take Sankara by surprise, and he expresses himself as follows :—

नच श्वादिमर्द्यामन्नं मानुषेण देहेनोपभोक्तुं शक्यते । शक्यते तु प्राणस्वात्मनि-
ति विशिन्तवित्तुम् । तस्मात् प्राणात्तद्विज्ञानप्रशंसार्थोऽत्रमर्द्येवासो मानुषिधिः । एतदु-
क्तं भवति प्राणास्त्वचे परस्थामापदि सर्वमन्नमदनीयत्वेनाभ्यनुज्ञायते तद्वर्णान् ।

Sankara evidently does not look upon the Sūtra as laying down an injunction or permission to the Vedantins to eat food of any sort but merely embodying a praise of the power possessed by the vital breath.

In the first place, such an interpretation is not satisfactory, and appears to be far from the general import of the four Sūtras quoted. For the result of this interpretation would be to place the knowers of Brahman on a par with men of ordinary type. The question then becomes, as Sankara takes it, one in which not only the devotees of Brahman are concerned, but ordinary men as well.

In the second place, the passages of the Chhândogya and Brihadâranyaka Upanishads, on which this question is based, contain not a trace of such a supposition, but, on the contrary, appear to exclude it. In these passages the supremacy of प्राण is established and प्राण is consequently allowed by all organs to enjoy peculiar privileges. These passages nowhere hint at the restriction that food of any sort is to be eaten only when a man is in the last extremity. This is clear from the following words of Rāmānuja :—

वाग्निनां ह्यंशोगानां च प्राणविद्यायां प्राणविद्ः सर्वाभानुमतिः
संकीर्षते । किमिदं सर्वाभानुमतिः प्राणविद्यानिष्ठस्य सर्वेश उत प्राणास्त्वचापत्ता-
विति ।

From these words of Rāmānuja himself, we find that the texts of the Upanishads above referred to do not contain any such restriction. This then appears to be an extraneous addition of the commentators not found in the passages upon which the Sūtras under discussion are based. The contents of the Upanishad passages will be at all times found to be of great use and importance in fixing the meaning of the sūtras. And we shall not be mistaken if we are able to interpret the sūtras without giving to the question a turn not warranted by the texts of the Upanishads. Sūtra 28 may be thus interpreted: 'And there is permission to eat food of every sort since that is observed in the last extremity.' Bādarāyana means to say that the prānopāsakas or vidvāns have peculiar privileges. For living as they do in forests or retired places they will die if they are not allowed to use any sort of food they can procure there.

In the third place, the last sūtra of the adhikarana makes reference not to *time* but to *men*. It does not teach that food of every sort is to be used at a *particular time* but declares that the text makes reference to *particular men*. The text, the sūtra adds, refers to men who have given up worldly desires. The sūtra is quite general and goes against the far-fetched interpretations of the commentators. In explaining the sūtra both the commentators give a turn to it and interpret it as corroborating their view. The Sankara-bhāshya runs thus:—

वाङ्मन्त्रान्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः कामकारनिवृत्तिमध्येऽत्रकः काठकानां संहितायां श्रूयते.

The commentators here either consciously or unconsciously misinterpret the word कामकार. In the fifteenth chapter of the Bhagavadgita, the latter half of the thirteenth verse runs thus:—

अशुक्तः कामकारेण फले सक्तो निबध्यते.

Here the commentators agree to take the word कामकार in the sense of desires or passions of the heart. I think in the sūtra in question the word कामकार means the same thing. The word अकामकार would then mean one without passions or worldly desires. And this interpretation is confirmed by one aphorism of the Vedānta-sūtra itself where the word कामकार occurs. It is the sūtra कामकारेण चैके (III 4, 15). The adhikarana of which this sūtra is a part is a long one. Bādarāyana in this adhikarana concludes that absolution results from Vidyā or knowledge. But Jaimini contends that it is the effect of actions or works. In the purvapaksha Jaimini asserts that the

knowers of Brahman also practise actions. The sūtra कामकारेण चैके refutes this assertion. According to commentators the sūtra means that knowers of Brahman perform actions not as a duty, but as the act of will or pleasure. In my opinion the Sūtra teaches that some vidvāns perform actions with a view to secure some worldly object. Not only actions but certain ūpāsanas yield worldly pleasures. The sūtra काम्यास्तु अयाकानं समुष्मीयेरन् in the same pāda teaches that certain ūpāsanas secure to the vidvān the fruits of the world. Thus interpreted, the sūtra furnishes a pointed answer to the objection of Jaimini while the same sūtra, as interpreted by commentators, would make no answer. Absolution results from vidyā alone. But those vidvāns that perform actions do so being smitten by the desires of the world and as a natural consequence do not secure by the performance final beatitude but merely pleasures of the world. We are then sure that the word कामकार means desires of the world. The word अकामकार would thus mean persons without worldly desires.

After this let us again look to the Sūtra शब्दश्चातोऽकामकारे and Sankara's gloss on it, namely, शब्दश्चानन्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः कामकारानिदृष्टिः प्रयोजनः काटकानां संहितायां दृश्यते.

In the first Sūtra there is the word सर्वाज्ञानुमतिः and that is the principal thing which is referred to in all the Sūtras of this adhikarana. We are to keep this word steadfastly before our eyes. In the second sūtra of this adhikarana अवाधाच्च, the commentators have kept the word सर्वाज्ञानुमति before them. The sūtra अपि च स्मर्यते which follows next only refers to Smritis for corroborating the view already propounded. So far then सर्वाज्ञानुमति is the principal thing dealt with. There only remains one sūtra, namely, शब्दश्चातोऽकामकारे. From what we have observed above, it would seem to follow as a natural consequence that it is the same word सर्वाज्ञानुमति that is referred to. But according to Sankara it is not the word सर्वाज्ञानुमति : but अनन्नस्य प्रतिषेधकः शब्द that we are to understand here. Instead of understanding the word शब्द as conveying scriptural injunction Sankara takes it in the sense of prohibition which is not even remotely hinted at in any of the sūtras. Sankara has thus converted an injunction to the Vedāntins to eat food of whatever sort into a prohibition to them of that food which is prohibited to ordinary men as well.

I propose to render the sūtras as follows: " (There is) Permission to eat food of whatever sort ; as it is seen at the time of the last extremity (28). And this does not affect (ordinary rules of diet).

And Smritis declare so (29). Hence the word सर्वानामुनति refers to persons that have left off worldly desires" (31).

After these remarks on the comments on the sūtras let us resume the subject of this paper. Dr. Thibaut has rendered a very valuable service to the study of Vedānta literature by publishing his excellent translation of the Sankara-bhāshya. His very accurate and scholar-like translation of the Sankara-bhāshya has placed him in the foremost ranks among the students of the Vedānta. He has prefixed a very critical and elaborate introduction to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya. We thank him for having brought to bear on the commentary of Sankara so much scholarship and such brilliant faculties both of criticism and of exegesis. We thank him for yet a higher service in setting forth before the world the real importance of the Shribhāshya and thus lifting to a higher level Rāmanūja, the worthy competitor of Sankara.

It is my object in this paper to endeavour to point out that some conclusions, of great importance concerning the fundamental doctrines of the Vedānta-Sūtras, drawn by Dr. Thibaut in the introduction to his translation of the Sankara-bhāshya, are not free from doubts and cannot therefore be accepted as final. The weight of the evidence, in my opinion, rather tends to support opposite conclusions. Dr. Thibaut holds that the philosophy of Sankara is nearer to the teaching of the Upanishads than the Sūtras of Bādarāyana, since in his opinion the latter lays a greater stress on the personal character of the highest being than is in agreement with the prevailing tendency of the Upanishads and that the teaching of the Sūtras, is more closely related to the system of Rāmanūja than to that of Sankara. Dr. Thibaut is consequently of opinion that Bādarāyana amalgamates the philosophy of the Upanishads with beliefs springing up in altogether different quarters. He further holds that this amalgamation finds a parallel in another work in the same department, namely, the Bhagavadgita in which there is great stress laid on the personal character of the highest being.

He doubts what Mr. Gough maintains that Sankara is the generally recognised expositor of the true Vedānta doctrine, and that there existed from the beginning one Vedānta doctrine agreeing in all essential points with the doctrines known to us from Sankara's writings. "It is, I admit," says he, "not altogether impossible that Sankara's interpretation should represent the real meaning of the sūtras; that the latter, indeed, to use the terms employed by Dr. Deussen should

for the nonce set forth an exoteric doctrine adapted to the common notions of mankind which, however, can be rightly understood by him only to whose mind the esoteric doctrine is all the while present. That is not impossible, I say; but it is a point which requires convincing proofs before it can be allowed." Similar, though not quite the same, opinions were, I am led to believe, expressed several years ago by Dr. Bhandarkar, the authority on Sanskrit in the Bombay Presidency in his lectures, both public and collegiate. Dr. Bhandarkar in those lectures preferred, it is said, the interpretations of Râmânûja generally to those of Sankara. He was strongly of opinion that there was no Mâyâvâda in the Sûtras and that Sankara consequently was not right in drawing the conclusion that Bâdarâyana looked upon the world as unreal. After the publication of Dr. Thibaut's work Dr. Bhandarkar expressed to me his general approbation of Dr. Thibaut's conclusions. The reader will thus perceive that the views advanced in this paper are equally in oppositon to those of Dr. Bhandarkar as well as to those of Dr. Thibaut.

In summing up the negative results of his inquiry, Dr. Thibaut gives it as his opinion that *the Sûtras do not set forth the distinction of a lower and higher knowledge of Brahman; that they do not acknowledge the distinction between Brahman and Ishwarain the sense Sankara attaches to these words; that they do not teach the unreality of the world, and that they do not proclaim the absolute identity of the individual and the supreme self.*

On these points I express myself as follows:—Bâdarâyana does not lay stress on the personal character of the highest being and therefore, in my opinion, there is no attempt on the part of Bâdarâyana to make a compromise with those beliefs which, in Dr. Thibaut's opinion, spring up in altogether different quarters. As for the question whether the Bhagvadgita makes such a compromise, it is sufficient for the present to observe that although the glorification of a personal god is the especial mission of the Divine song, still it is expressly and repeatedly asserted that the devotee of such a personal god, will, by the grace of the Lord, be initiated into the real mystery of the godhead which is nothing but the highest self of the Upanishads transcending all attributes, and which has been misunderstood by ignorant people as possessing a human form or personal attributes. The teaching of the sûtras bears no special affinity to the system of which Râmânûja is the classical exponent. On the contrary, the sûtras appear to be more closely related to the system represented Sankara.

As for the first two negative results of Dr. Thibaut's inquiry, I observe as follows: The sūtras do recognise a distinction between a lower and higher Brahman. But the sense the sūtrakāra attaches to these is different from that of Sankara. Hiranyagarbha is a part and consequently a lower form of the Lord. Knowledge of Hiranyagarbha is of an inferior nature since it is the knowledge of a part of the Lord. Knowledge of the higher kind is the knowledge of the Lord himself. The devotee of Hiranyagarbha may acquire further knowledge, namely, of the Lord and ultimately proceed to the highest self along with Hiranyagarbha. Devotees of the Highest self being devotees of a higher order approach the Lord directly and return no more. Whether this certainty of not returning back attaches to the devotees of Hiranyagarbha, the sūtras teach nowhere. Sankara's idea of a lower and higher Brahman is more refined than that of the sūtras. According to Sankara there stands Ishwara, the lower form of the self, midway between the lower and higher Brahman of Bādarāyana.

Dr. Thibaut truly maintains that the sūtras nowhere appear to recognise the distinction between Brahman and Ishwara. But if for the purpose of systematising the teaching of the sūtras, a choice has to be made, Sankara is right in drawing a distinction between Brahman and Ishwara inasmuch as Bādarāyana represents Brahman as transcending all attributes and yet attributes to it functions such as the creation, order, and disposition of the world—which functions regarded as attributes of Brahman are expressly declared to be created by limiting adjuncts which are unreal.

As for the remaining results of Dr. Thibaut's inquiry I declare myself decidedly to hold opposite views. Bādarāyana does look upon the world as unreal, but would not with Sankara advance further.

The sūtrakāra pronounces in favour of the identity of the soul and the highest self. And in one sense—which is the principal sense conveyed by the sūtras and the Upanishads, the Sūtrakāra asserts absolute and unqualified identity of the soul and the Lord. Bādarāyana repudiates the system of the Bhāgavatas who are looked upon by him as schismatic, and are not therefore, in his opinion, the true representatives of the Upanishad philosophy. The Sūtrakāra appears to be opposed to the Vishishtādvaita doctrine. Brahman has not the soul and the world as its body; that is to say, the same Brahman has not an admixture of the soul and non-sentient matter. There are several other points on which I beg to differ from the learned doctor.

But these I reserve for the present. As the paper would be a long one I shall only discuss in this place the question whether Bādarāyana lays any stress on the personal character of the Lord.

Dr. Thibaut's idea of a compromise is based on the assumption that the sūtras of Bādarāyana inculcate the doctrine of a personal god and not that of an impersonal one as the Upanishads teach. My opinion is that a personal god is not the teaching of the sūtras. There are three adhikaranas where the nature of the Lord can be said to be discussed. These are first the आनन्दाधिकरण, the adhikarana dealing with the पांचरात्र system, and the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण.

The first set of sūtras (III. 3, 11-15) declare that even in the Ūpāsanas, the Lord cannot really be considered as being endowed with such qualities as having joy for the head and so on. In Ūpāsanas, some qualities only, such as joy, &c., can be predicated to him, and not others which are mentioned by way of meditation. These sūtras go against the idea of a personal god.

In II, 41-44 the Sūtrakāra condemns the system of the Pāncharātras to which Rāmānuja belongs. If it can be maintained that Bādarāyana shelves this system, one may be justified to some extent, and with some show of reason, in concluding that the Sūtras favour the idea that the Lord is personal. The following are the sūtras of this adhikarana :—उत्पत्त्यसंभवात् 42 नच कर्तुः करणम् 43 विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः 44 प्रतिषेधाच्च 45.

"The last adhikarana," says Dr. Thibaut, "of this pāda refers according to the unanimous statement of commentators to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas or Pāncharātras. But Sankara and Rāmānuja totally disagree as to the drift of the Sūtrakāra's opinion regarding the system. According to the former, it is condemned like the systems previously referred to; according to the later it is approved of — sūtra 42 and 43 according to both commentators raise objections against the system; sūtra 42 being directed against the doctrine that from the highest being called Vāsudeva there originates Sankarshana, *i. e.*, the Jīva, on the ground that those scriptural passages would be contradicted which teach the soul's eternity and sūtra 43 impugning the doctrine that from Sankarshana there springs Pradyumna, *i. e.*, Manas. The sūtra, on which the difference of interpretation turns, is the 44th (विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः). Literally translated, it runs 'or on account of there being (or there being) knowledge and so on, there is non-contradiction of that.' This means, according to Sankara, 'or if in consequence of the

existence of there being knowledge and so on (on the part of Sankarshana, &c., they be taken not as soul, mind but Lords of pre-eminent knowledge, &c.) yet there is non-contradiction of that (*vis.*, of the objection raised in sūtra 42 against the Bhāgavata doctrine). According to Rāmānuja, on the other hand, the sūtra has to be explained as follows "or there is non-contradiction of that (*i. e.*, Pāncharātra doctrine) on account of there being knowledge and so on" (*i. e.*, on account of there being Brahman). Which means Sañkarshana and so on are merely forms of manifestation of Brahman, so that the Pāncharātra doctrine, according to which they spring from Brahman, is not contradicted. The form of the sūtra makes it difficult for us to decide which of the two interpretations is the right one; it, however, appears to me that the explanation of the "vā" and the "tat," implied in Rāmānuja's comment are more natural than those resulting from Sankara's interpretations. Nor would it be an unnatural proceeding to close the polemical pāda with a defence of that doctrine which—in spite of objections—has to be viewed as the true one."

I do not see why Dr. Thibaut is dissatisfied with Sañkara's explanation of the "vā." The Sūtrakāra frequently holds two views of the same matter and connects them by 'वा' as in the case of देहयोगाद्वासोऽपि गुणाद्दालोकवत्, प्रकाशाभयवद्वा &c. The same latitude he allows here to his opponents. If you say so and so we urge this objection; if you say otherwise, we have another objection to urge. This is manifest from the tone of the sūtra. As for 'तत्' we observe that 'तत्' very often carries the force of an objection. For instance, take the sūtra विकरणत्वादि चेत्तदुक्तम् (II 1, 31). Here the Sūtrakāra asserts that the objection has been disposed of. I refer the reader to जीवमुख्यप्राणलिङ्गाद्येति चेत्तदुक्तम् (I, 4, 18) अद्वैतादिवच्च तदनुपपत्तिः (II, 1, 23) विकरणत्वाद्येति चेत्तदुक्तम् (II 1, 31) &c.

The objections of Dr. Thibaut may be thus disposed of. But I have a very strong objection to urge against Rāmānuja's explanation of the word 'तत्' as denoting a system. Nowhere in the sūtras nor in the polemical pāda where the sūtra occurs is the word 'तत्' ever found to denote a system. Leaving aside this objection we find that Rāmānuja's interpretation appears to be far-fetched and unsatisfactory. The lines in the Śhrībhāshya necessary for our purpose run thus:—
विज्ञानमादि चेति परब्रह्मविज्ञानादिसंकर्षणप्रथुमानिरुद्धादीनामपि परब्रह्मभावे सति तत्प्रतिपादनपरस्य द्वात्मस्य प्रामाण्यं न प्रतिषिध्यते. Thus construed, the sūtra would run as follows:—(संकर्षणप्रथुमानिरुद्धानां) विज्ञानादिभावे

(सति) तदप्रतिषेधः which is equivalent to संकर्षणप्रयुक्तानिरुद्धानां परब्रह्म संकर्षणप्रयुक्तानिरुद्धानां सति तदप्रतिषेधः—This means that there is non-contradiction of the Bhāgavata system, if the three things प्रयुक्त, अनिरुद्ध and संकर्षण are taken in the sense of four things ब्रह्म, संकर्षण-प्रयुक्त and अनिरुद्ध. Now this makes no sense unless we have recourse to some arithmetical calculation. If no such calculation is to be resorted to then the word आदि coming after विज्ञान which Rāmānuja renders by ब्रह्म remains unexplained. It is the interest of Rāmānuja to omit the word आदि as if it did not exist, but not of modern scholars. I am therefore inclined to reject the interpretation of the Shribhāshya.

The sūtra in question, namely विप्रतिषेधाच्च according to Rāmānuja denies the derivative character (उत्पत्ति) of the soul in the Bhāgavata system. From Vāsudeo three things are produced. Two things have utpatti while the soul has not. The utpatti of the two things is then real while that of the soul is metaphorical. It is the habit of Bādarāyana to close the refutation of a system by urging against it some general objection such as सर्वयानुपपत्तेश्च, अपरिमहात्कारयन्तमनपेक्षश्च and विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमंजसम् which is a sūtra in the same pāda and which brings the refutation of the Sankhya system to a close. In the sūtra we are now dealing with, *vis.*, विप्रतिषेधाच्च only the word असमंजसम् is omitted to avoid repetition. In a copy of the Madhavabhāshya, the reading of the sūtra is full, namely विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमंजसम्. It is better to assume that the sūtrakāra uses the word विप्रतिषेध in the same pāda in one and the same sense, namely, in the sense of inconsistency than to take it in the sense of prohibition as Rāmānuja does. If this reasoning is correct, there is not the least doubt that Bādarāyana condemns the Bhāgavata system.

“Nor would it be,” observes Dr. Thibaut, “an unnatural proceeding to close the polemical pāda with a defence of that doctrine which in spite of objections has to be viewed as the true one.” The proceeding does not appear to be natural as Dr. Thibaut supposes. The four pādas of the first ādhyāya establish that the particular passages of the Upanishads refer to Brahman and not to Pradhāna nor to something else. The first pāda of the second ādhyāya appears to refute the objections brought against the Vedānta system represented by Bādarāyana. The second pāda of the second ādhyāya refutes the different systems of importance that are opposed to the doctrines of the sūtras. Now the Pāñcharātradhikarana is the last topic that is dealt with by the second pāda. This is the last of the

systems which, according to Shankara, is condemned by Bâdarâyana, but which, according to Râmânuja, is approved of by him. If we accept the opinion of Râmânuja, it is difficult to understand why the system should find its place in a pâda which is nothing but a battle-field where Bâdarâyana offers battle to his enemies. If we look to the arrangement of the topics of this polemical pâda the system of the Pancharâtras appears to be one of the least importance. The system of the Sankhyas appears to occupy the foremost rank and that of the Panchrâtras the lowest one. Dr. Thibaut contends that the system is to be defended in spite of objections. But Bâdarâyana has already devoted a pâda to the defence of his own system, and there is no longer any necessity for defence in this place. Forty-three sûtras of this pâda all level objections, it is admitted, against hostile systems. There are only two sûtras which, according to Râmânuja, are devoted to the defence of his system. Such a view cannot be held without strong grounds. And I have already adduced arguments which put it beyond doubt that the system of the Bhâgavatas is condemned by the sûtras.

Lastly in connection with the nature of the Lord, we come to the topic of the ūbhayalingatva, which is most important on the point. Here we accept in the main the interpretation of Sankara which represents Brahman as pure intelligence without form, without attributes. Dr. Thibaut considers that this adhikarana is vague, sometimes favouring the interpretation of Sankara and sometimes that of Râmânuja. But in reality this is far from being the case. When we closely look into the sûtras, they do not appear to be vague. Examined minutely, they everywhere favour the view of Sankara. The following are the sûtras of this adhikarana:—

न स्यानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गत्वं सर्वत्र हि ११ न भेदादिति चेन्न प्रत्येकमतद्वय-
नात् १२ अपि चैवमेके १३ अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् १४ प्रकाशवशावैव्युत्थान्
१५ आह च तन्मात्रम् १६ वर्णाति चायो स्मरते १७ अय तत्र चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत्
१८ अन्वयवग्रहणानु न तथात्वम् १९ वृद्धिः सात्तन्मात्रमन्तर्भावानुभवसामञ्जसत्वादेवम्
२० वर्णनाच्च २१

“ Adhikarana V (11-21) is according to Sankara taken up with the question as to the nature of the highest being Brahman in which the soul is merged in the state of deep sleep. Sûtra declares that the two-fold characteristics (viz., absence and presence of distinctive attributes, nirvisheshatva and sa-visheshatva) cannot belong to the highest Brahman even through its situations, namely, its limiting adjuncts since all passages which aim at setting forth

Brahman's nature declare it to be destitute of distinctive attributes The fact, sūtra 12 continues that in many passages Brahman is spoken of as possessing distinctive attributes, is of no relevancy since wherever there are mentioned limiting adjuncts on which all distinction depends, it is especially stated that Brahman in itself is free from all diversity; and sūtra 13 adds in some places the assumption of diversity is especially objected to That Brahman is devoid of all form (sūtra 14) is the pre-eminent meaning of all the Vedānta texts setting forth Brahman's nature That Brahman is represented as having different forms as it were, is due to its connection with its (unreal) limiting adjuncts, just as the rays of the sun appear straight or crooked according to the nature of the things they illuminate (15). The Brihadāranyaka expressly declares that Brahman is one uniform mass of intelligence (16), and the same is taught in other scriptural passages and in Smritis (17). At the unreality of the apparent manifoldness of the self caused by limiting adjuncts aim those scriptural passages in which the self is compared with the sun which remains one although his reflections on the surface of the water are many (18). Nor must the objection be raised that that comparison is unsuitable because the self is not material like the sun; for that comparison merely means to indicate that as the reflected images of the sun participate in the changes, increase, decrease, &c., which the water undergoes while the sun himself remains unaffected by the attributes of the upādhis so the self in so far as it is limited by the latter, is affected by them as it were (19-20) That the self is in the upādhis scripture declares (21)

“According to Rāmanuja the adhikarana raises the question whether the imperfections clinging to the individual soul (. . . .) affect also the highest Lord, who, according to scripture, abides within the soul as antaryāmin. Notwithstanding the abode (of the highest soul within the self) (it is) not affected by the soul's imperfections as having two-fold . . . characteristics (*viz.*, being on the one hand free from all evil . . . and on the other hand endowed with all auspicious qualities atyakāma (11). Should it be objected that just as the soul though essentially free from evil yet is liable to imperfections owing to its connection with a variety of bodies, we deny this because he is expressly called the Immortal, the ruler within, which shows him free from all short-

comings of the Jîva (12) Brahman although connected with such forms is in itself devoid of form since it is the principal element (agent *pradhâna*) in bringing out names and form (14) But does not the passage *सख्ये ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म* teach that Brahman is nothing but light (intelligence) without difference and does not the passage *नेति नेति* deny of it all its qualities? We admit that Brahman is light, so we must also admit that Brahman is *Satyasankalpa* and so on, for if not the passage in which those qualities are asserted would become purportless (15). Moreover, the *Taittiriya* passage only asserts so much, *vis.*, *prakâsarûpatva* of Brahman and does not deny all other qualities (16). Because Brahman abiding in many places is not touched by their imperfections, the similes of the reflected sun, of the ether limited by jars, &c., are applicable to it (18) should it be said that the illustration is not an appropriate one because the sun is apprehended in water erroneously only while the *antaryâmin* really abides within all things and therefore must be viewed as sharing their defects (19). We reply that what the simile means to negative is that Brahman owing to its inherence in many places should participate in the increase, decrease and so on of its abodes. On this view both similes are appropriate (20). Analogous similes, we observe to be employed in ordinary life as when we compare a man with a lion (21)."

Dr. Thibaut often remarks that *Râmânuja's* interpretation is pure and simple, while *Sânkara* sees himself reduced to the necessity of supplementing. The reverse is the case here. The chief characteristic of *Râmânuja's* interpretation of this *adhikarana* is the unusual number of additions to the text. In every *sûtra* almost he is driven to the necessity of supplementing, thus obscuring the topic and perverting the teaching of the *sûtras*. The main question discussed in these *sûtras*, according to *Râmânuja*, is whether the imperfections which cling to the soul affect the Lord as well on account of his abiding within the soul in those various states of the soul such as the waking state, deep sleep, &c. But there is nothing in the *sûtras* to warrant such a supposition.

The *Shrîbhâshya* on *sûtra* (11) न स्थानतोऽपि परस्वोभवात्किं त्वं सर्वत्र हि runs thus. *शेषदर्शनाद्वैराग्योद्यथाय जीवस्वावस्थाविद्योषा निकृतिताः—इदानीं ब्रह्मप्राप्तदृष्ट्याजननाय प्राप्त्स्व ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषत्वकल्याणगुणात्मकत्वप्रतिपादनाकारभते । तत्र आगरस्वप्रसृष्टिसुमुग्धुत्कान्तिषु स्थानेषु तत्तत्स्थानप्रवृत्तजीवस्वैते दोषाः ते तदन्तर्भावित्वात् परस्व ब्रह्मणोऽपि तत्र तत्रावस्थिताः सन्ति नेतीति विचार्यते.* From the passage of the *Shrîbhâshya*

quoted above it appears to be the opinion of Rāmānuja that different states (अवस्थाऽ) and not positions (स्थानाऽ) of the soul are discussed by the preceding sūtras. Let us, however, grant that स्थानाऽ are described above. आगरस्वप्नसुषुप्तिमुक्तदुरकाभित् are the स्थानाऽ of the soul . . . enumerated by Rāmānuja. Since the Lord, argues the Shribhāshya, resides within the soul in those various स्थानाऽ. He may be affected by the imperfections of the soul in those places. The objection and the answer run thus in the words of the Shribhāshya :— अतो यद्यपि जगदेककारणं सर्वज्ञत्वादिक्त्वा-
पगुणाकरत्वं च ब्रह्म तथापि यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन् य आत्मनि तिष्ठन् यश्चक्षुषि तिष्ठन्
यो रेतसि तिष्ठन्मित्यादिवचनात्तत्र तत्रावस्थितस्य तत्तत्संबंधरूपा पुरुषार्थाः
सन्तीति— . . . एवं प्राप्ते आचक्षभे (न स्थानतोऽपि परस्येति) न
पृथिव्याद्यात्मस्थानतोऽपि परस्य ब्रह्मणोऽपुरुषार्थगंधः संभवति कुतः (उभयालिङ्गं
सर्वत्र हि) यतः सर्वत्र श्रुतिस्मृतिषु परब्रह्मोभयलिङ्गः . . . उभय-
लक्षणमभिधीयते— . . . निरस्तनिखिलदोषत्वंक्यापगुणा-
करस्वलक्षणोपेतमित्यर्थः—

The passage, namely यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन्, &c., referred to by the Shribhāshya is found in the seventh Brahman of the fifth ādyāya of the Brihadāraṇyaka. But the words य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्, &c., twice quoted by the Shribhāshya both in the pūrvapakṣa and the siddhānta are not found in the passage of the Brihadāraṇyaka. I have looked into two copies of the Brihadāraṇyaka, one printed in Bombay and one in Calcutta, but I failed to find the words य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्, &c. If the passage contains no such word as the soul, it has consequently nothing to do with the imperfections of the soul in different positions. It is therefore difficult to understand with Rāmānuja the question whether the imperfections clinging to the individual soul affect the Lord as well.

The Shribhāshya is not able to maintain the same subject consistently all through. In the opening sūtras 11-14 the Shribhāshya institutes a parallel as it were between the soul and the Lord who is shown to be free from the shortcomings of the soul. But after this the individual soul drops out of consideration and the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व yet continues. Neither the स्थानाऽ of the soul, nor the soul itself is even remotely alluded to in the sūtras of the topic nor mentioned in the passage of the Brihadāraṇyaka relied on by the Shribhāshya.

Even if such a question were admitted the topic of the ubhaya-
liṅgata, i.e., the nature of the Lord . . . a topic, which is of the highest importance, and at discussing, which the sūtras must be

supposed, to aim principally . . . would but occupy a subordinate position. There appear to be no imperfections taught in the preceding sūtras attaching to the soul which may lend countenance to the supposition that the Lord may be affected by them. The question, moreover, whether the imperfections incidental to the individual soul affect the Lord also, has been once discussed in its right place. The sūtra अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् (II., 2, 42) asserts that the soul is a part of the Lord. An objection whether the imperfections of the individual soul affect the Lord has been raised and disposed of by the sūtra प्रकाशादिवत् नैवं परः. The objection is thus worded in the Śhrībhāshya अंशत्वे अपि जीवस्य ब्रह्मेकदेशत्वेन जीवगता दोषा ब्रह्मण एवेत्याशङ्क्याह &c. Nothing appears more natural in the sūtras under consideration than that the nature of the Lord should be discussed. The preceding sūtras have treated of the nature of everything including the individual soul except the nature of the Lord. It is, therefore, right to suppose that the nature of the supreme self is discussed here and discussed too with great elaboration. Such a question, it is proper to imagine, deserves all elaboration. Moreover, in the opening sūtras 11-13 there is no general question that is raised. The three sūtras merely discuss a particular passage as I shall point out further on, deducing from it the general proposition. Sūtras from 11 to 30 can be appropriately explained without the aid of Rāmānuja's supposition.

The unreality of such a supposition is manifest from the fact that Rāmānuja has sometimes to take up the question of अपुरुषार्थत्व of the Lord (the question whether the imperfections affect the Lord) and sometimes that of उभयलिङ्गत्व inserting any subject in any place so as to suit his convenience and not consistency of reasoning.

Rāmānuja treats of the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व of the Lord in the first four sūtras of the topic, namely, in sūtras 11-14. In the next three sūtras in 15-17 he takes up the subject of the उभयलिङ्गत्व of the Lord. In sūtras 18-20 he returns to the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व, and in 21-25 he resumes the other subject. From the presence of certain particles, and from some other indications, it appears that the first three sūtras 11-13 form one set. It would, therefore, have been proper for Rāmānuja to drop the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व at 13 and not at 14. Sūtra 15 प्रकाशावसावैट्यर्थ्यात् contains च which serves to show that the sūtra merely continues the subject of sūtra 14 and yet Rāmānuja starts another subject in sūtra 15. Let us grant for a time that another subject is treated in sūtra 15 or rather as the Rāmānuja would have

it a collateral branch of the same subject. After closing the comment on sūtra 14 Rāmānuja starts an objection against the conclusion of sūtra 14, which he disposes of by sūtra 15. If so, sūtra 14 and 15 teach the same subject. But I think sūtra 15 is not intended to answer an objection raised against the conclusion of sūtra 14, for, in sūtra 15 we find the particle च and not तु. In sūtra 18 Rāmānuja returns to the subject of अपुरुषार्थत्व but the words of the sūtra भत एव च show that the sūtra only continues the subject treated of before. All this serves to show if it shows any thing at all that one and the same subject is treated of by the sūtras of the chapter all along.

Rāmānuja does not assign a precise meaning to पुरुषार्थत्व the opposite of अपुरुषार्थत्व which is the objection of the pūrvapakshin. He sometimes uses it as a synonym of उभयलिङ्गत्व and, therefore, wherever he establishes पुरुषार्थत्व he also deduces from it उभयलिङ्गत्व and vice versa. He uses the word पुरुषार्थत्व sometimes for the निर्गुण qualities which along with the सगुण qualities go to make up उभयलिङ्गत्व and sometimes for उभयलिङ्गत्व itself. In either case it is the same subject of उभयलिङ्गत्व that is treated of.

That the उभयलिङ्गत्वं of the Lord is denied by the sūtras of the topic as Sankara understands may be seen from the following considerations. In sūtra 11 न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गत्वं सर्वत्र हि it can be seen at once that न is to be connected with उभयलिङ्गत्व which is thus denied of the Lord. Rāmānuja connects न with अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplements. Modern scholars will agree with me in discarding such supplementations. This is, moreover, the supplementation of the main topic according to Rāmānuja. It is not easy to believe that the sūtrakāra leaves the main subject to be supplemented.

No doubt उभयलिङ्ग is apparently retained by the Shribhāshya as a nominative. But on account of the addition of अपुरुषार्थत्व and consequent change of construction the Shribhāshya makes उभयलिङ्गत्व to convey the force of उभयलिङ्गत्वात् thus changing the nominative उभयलिङ्गम् into an ablative which merely supplies grounds, but cannot be supposed to be an affirmation. Dr. Thibaut observes that a new adhikarana is marked by a nominative. This is beyond doubt a new adhikarana; उभयलिङ्गम् must, therefore, be retained as a nominative. If उभयलिङ्गम् is to be retained as it is, as a nominative not conveying the force of an ablative, then certainly उभयलिङ्गत्व is denied of the Lord and not affirmed.

Sūtra 12 again contains a denial of उभयलिङ्गत्व. The sūtra runs thus भेदादिति चेन्न प्रत्येकमतद्वयानात्. It may be thus rendered. "If

from diversity you reply that there is उभयलिङ्गत्व we say the objection cannot be urged since diversity is denied everywhere (in all places (प्रत्येकम्) the Lord is said to be 'not that' (अतद्).” The denial in this sūtra, according to Rāmānuja, is not of diversity (भेद) as evidently appears, but of अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplied in sūtra 11, and which he supplies in this sūtra too. Thus, while the sūtras deny the qualities of the Lord he understands all through the denial of अपुरुषार्थत्व or the Lord maintaining उभयलिङ्गत्व all along. Rāmānuja is not able to interpret भेद as diversity pure and simple, but सत्त्वेवादिशरीरयोग-रूपावस्थाभेद a long explanation by way of supplementation thus giving up स्थानाऽ and resorting to अवस्थाऽ.

There is a third प्रतिषेध or denial of the उभयलिङ्गत्व or qualities of the Lord in sūtra 22 प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः In sūtra 11-13 Rāmānuja took the प्रतिषेध as referring to अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplied, and not as referring to उभयलिङ्गत्व or qualities of the Lord. In sūtra 22 he admits so far that the प्रतिषेध refers to qualities and not to अपुरुषार्थत्व. If the denial has here reference to qualities, this corroborates our conclusion that in sūtra 11 उभयलिङ्गत्व was denied of the Lord and weakens Rāmānuja's supposition that अपुरुषार्थत्व which he supplies was denied there and not qualities of the Lord. The Shribhāshya considers that in sūtra 22 the प्रतिषेध has reference to qualities, but in such a manner that not only are qualities not denied, but they are on the contrary emphatically asserted. The Shribhāshya runs thus:—नैतदुपपद्यते—यद्ब्रह्मणः प्रकृतिविशेषत्वं नेति नेतीति प्रतिषिध्यत इति—तथा सति भ्रान्तजल्पितायमानत्वात् नहि ब्रह्मणो विशेषणतया प्रमाणान्तरा प्रज्ञातं सर्वं तद्विशेषणत्वेनोपदिश्य पुनस्तदेवानुन्मत्तः प्रतिषेधति । यद्यपि निर्दिश्यमानेषु केषुचन परार्थाः प्रमाणान्तरप्रसिद्धास्तथापि तेषां ब्रह्मणः प्रकारस्वमज्ञातमेव । इतरेषां तु स्वरूपं ब्रह्मणः प्रकारत्वं चाज्ञातम् । अतस्तेषामनु-वादासंभवात्त्रैवोपदिश्यते । अतस्तन्निषेधो नोपपद्यते । यस्मादेवं तस्मात् प्रकृतैता-वत्त्वं ब्रह्मणः प्रतिषेधतीदं वाक्यम्—ये ब्रह्मणो विशेषाः प्रकृतास्तद्विशिष्टतया ब्रह्मणः प्रतीयमानेयत्ता नेति नेति प्रतिषिध्यते । नेति नेति नैवं नैवम् । उक्तप्रकारमात्रविशिष्टं न भवति ब्रह्म उक्तप्रकारविशिष्टतया या ब्रह्मण इयत्ता प्रकृता साऽत्रैतिशब्देन परामुद्ध्यत इत्यर्थः यतश्च निषेधानन्तरं ब्रह्मणो भूयो गुणजातं ब्रवीति वाक्यम् ।

The words नेति नेति mean even according to Rāmānuja 'Not thus, not thus' for he renders them by नैवं नैवं as given above. They mean that the Lord is not of the description given above. According to Rāmānuja the sūtra means that the Lord has not only two forms, but many more. In the opinion of the Shribhāshya then the Lord is endowed with रूप or form. But the words "not thus, not thus" primarily mean that the Lord is not of the description given above, i. e., He has not the रूपाऽ

or forms described in the foregoing lines in the passage of the Brihīdāranyaka. The Shribhāshya considers that the Lord has not only two forms, but many more. Surely, then the Lord is "Thus" and not "Not thus, not thus." The emphatic denial "Not thus, not thus" would thus be a positive reiteration. It would, moreover, involve a contradiction in terms. एतावान् primarily denotes a thing of such and such a description, and not limitedness of the description of the thing as Rāmānuja supposes, प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं then means being of the description in question. The sūtra 22 then merely teaches that the Lord is not of the description stated above. This serves to show that the interpretation of the Shribhāshya of sūtra 22 is far-fetched.

Dr. Thibaut decidedly prefers the interpretation of the Shribhāshya of sūtra 22 to that of Sankara possibly because Rāmānuja observe that it would be senseless at first to teach of the qualities and finally to deny them. But Rāmānuja forgets what the sūtra (III., 3, 14) आध्यानाय प्रयोजनाभावान् teaches that those qualities are mentioned by way of meditation, there being no other purpose.

Let us for a time suppose with Rāmānuja that the Lord is possessed of many forms or रूपाः. But the sūtra 14 अरूपवदेव declares that the Lord is absolutely destitute of form or रूप. This would only serve to show that Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 22 is in Dr. Thibaut's words "the shift of a commentator in straits." Rāmānuja would not consider that the Lord is absolutely void of form, but observes that *the Lord is as nearly as possible void of form, and hence उभयलिङ्ग i. e., having many forms.* Rāmānuja is not able to take the sūtra 14 अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् as it is but is driven to the necessity of supplementing. The sūtra simply teaches that the Lord is absolutely void of form, since his being void of form is principally asserted of him (अरूपवदेव हि ब्रह्म अरूपवत्त्वं हि ब्रह्मणः प्रधानत्वेनाभिधीयते) But Rāmānuja supplements निर्वाहकत्वेन before प्रधानत्वात् (निर्वाहुस्वमेव ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपाद्यति Brahman is the principal element in bringing out names and forms).

Sūtra 15 containing च and merely adducing the illustration of light must be supposed to cite an additional ground for the conclusion of sūtra 14, which teaches that the Lord is without form. But in Rāmānuja's opinion sūtra 15 teaches that the Lord is endowed with form. Similarly sūtra 16 likens the Lord to light to corroborate sūtra 14. Sūtra 17 merely cites passages from scripture and smritis to the same effect. In the same manner sūtras 18, 19 and 20 merely cite illustrations of the fact that the Lord is devoid of form. And

yet Rāmānuja sees in these sūtras the firm establishment of उभयलिङ्गत्व. The word अन्तर्भावात् of sūtra 19 is unanimously interpreted by both, Sankara and Rāmānuja as उपाध्यन्तर्भावात्. But while the former considers the उपाधि as unreal, Rāmānuja looks upon it as real. The words वृद्धिवासभाक्त्वम् and अन्तर्भावात् show that the उपाधि is unreal. This is moreover confirmed by the fact that the simile of the reflected sun requires an unreal adjunct. The last sūtra of the third pāda of the second adhyāya is प्रदेसादिति चेन्नान्तर्भावात्. Here in the opinion of Rāmānuja even the उपाधि is unreal. The weight of the evidence is therefore in favour of an unreal adjunct. If so, the qualities are denied of the Lord beyond doubt. The word दर्शन always denotes scripture, but here it means an illustration drawn from practical life सिंह इव माणवकः is the illustration put forward by Rāmānuja. If the illustration is accepted the उपाधि becomes real. The illustration proposed by Rāmānuja is diametrically opposed to that given by Bādarāyana, namely, the illustration of the reflected sun. In this topic in sūtras 27-29 the sūtrakāra proposes three illustrations of the Lord, out of which that of light is retained. The illustration of light shows that the उपाधि is unreal, while Rāmānuja's illustration proves it real. Could not the venerable sūtrakāra propose an illustration like that of Rāmānuja appropriate to the subject or did he propose illustrations so as to receive the stigma of disapprobation at the hands of his commentators? This seems strange enough.

Sūtra 23 terms the Lord अव्यक्त (the non-manifest) since it possesses no रूप or qualities by which it can be manifest. That this is the meaning of the sūtras Rāmānuja appears to be aware, since he quotes the following passage from scripture to explain the meaning of the sūtra :— संदृशे तिष्ठति रूपमस्य न चक्षुषा पश्यति कश्चनैतम्. But Rāmānuja gives a turn to the meaning of the sūtra by supplying the word प्रमाणान्तरेण.. The next sūtra teaches according to him that the Lord can be known by sincere devotion alone. Interpreted in this way the two sūtras appear to be irrelevant to the topic under discussion. Rāmānuja thus appears to impress upon our mind that the two sūtras incidentally as it were turn upon a different subject. But if the sūtras quite apparently discuss the topic of उभयलिङ्गत्व which subject is not yet wound up even according to Rāmānuja, none will look upon them as dealing with a different topic or a side point if they are able to connect them with the topic in question. Sūtra 24 would require according to Rāmānuja's comment एव to be supplemented. Let us construe and combine the two sūtras तत् अव्यक्तम् आह हि (23) अवि

संराधने (अव्यक्तम्) प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् Rāmānuja's comment on sūtra 24 runs thus :—

अपि च संराधने सम्यक् प्रीणनेभक्तिरूपापत्ते निदिध्यासन एवास्य साक्षात्कारो नान्यत्रेति श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यामवगम्यते । नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया वा बहुना श्रुतेन । यमेवेष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनुं स्वाम् । Construed according to Rāmānuja sūtra 24 would run thus :—अपि (च) संराधने (एव व्यक्तम्) प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् । Instead of अव्यक्तम् which, as I have shown, the natural construction of the sūtras demands, Rāmānuja puts in व्यक्तम् which is quite the reverse of the proper sense!! Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 25 is exceedingly forced.—वैशेष्य means in sūtras (II., 4, 23, II., 3, 25) attributes, peculiarities or the state of being differentiated by attributes.—अवैशेष्य as applied to the Lord in sūtra 25 would then denote the state of not being differentiated by attributes. By means of supplementations, this very word अवैशेष्य Rāmānuja is able to take in the sense of the state of being differentiated by attributes!! The Shribhāshya runs thus on sūtra 25 (प्रकाशादिवद्या-वैशेष्यं प्रकाशश्च कर्मण्यभ्यासात्) इतश्च प्रकृतेसावन्वमेव प्रतिषेधति न मूर्तामूर्तादिविशिष्टत्वं—यतः साक्षात्कृतपरब्रह्मस्वरूपाणां वामदेवादीनां दर्शने प्रकाशादिवत्—ज्ञानानन्वादिस्वरूपवत्—मूर्तामूर्तादिप्रपञ्चविशिष्टतया अपि ब्रह्मगुणत्वा वैशेष्यं प्रतीयते—तद्धेतत्पदयन् ऋषिर्वाग्देवो प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुभवंमहं सूर्यश्चेत्यादि ब्रह्मरूपभूतप्रकाशानन्वादिश्च तेषां वामदेवादीनां संराधनारम्भके कर्मण्यभ्यासादुपलभ्यते—तद्वद्याभ्यस्तसंराधनानां तेषां मूर्तामूर्तादिविशिष्टत्वमप्यविशेषेण प्रतीयते. Here Rāmānuja renders the word प्रकाश by ज्ञान attaching a metaphorical meaning to it. Outside the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण the word प्रकाश occurs several times, प्रकाशादिवत् occurs at II., 3, 45 and at III., 2, 34, and the word उद्योतिरादिवत् is found at sūtra II., 3, 47. In all these places Rāmānuja himself interprets the word प्रकाश in the sense of light and takes it as an illustration. In the उभयलिङ्गत्वाधिकरण itself the word प्रकाश occurs three times besides in the sūtra in question. In all these places Rāmānuja takes the word प्रकाश in the sense of light, and as an illustration of the Lord as being destitute of रूप or form as asserted in sūtra अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात्. The sūtra in question, namely, sūtra 25 merely illustrates the fact of the Lord being अव्यक्त which by Rāmānuja himself is taken in the sense of अरूप. We thus see that in both the places, the same fact, namely, the Lord's being without form is illustrated by means of the same word प्रकाश. It, therefore, follows that the word प्रकाश must mean light here also. Moreover, if we take into consideration the fact that the word प्रकाश is uniformly in all places interpreted by Rāmānuja, and also by Sankara as meaning light, it should be

understood as light in this place too. We may then be sure that the word प्रकाश means light in sūtra 25. But if the word प्रकाश means light, we must reject Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 25. But suppose for argument's sake that the word प्रकाश means ज्ञान as Rāmānuja understands. The Shribhāshya interprets प्रकाशादिवत् as ज्ञानानन्दादिस्वरूपवत्. There is then again another difficulty as to what word or words should be understood after प्रकाश. In sūtra 18 अत एव सौमना सूर्यकरादिवत् and in the next sūtra Rāmānuja understands ether besides light as an illustration proper to set forth the nature of the Lord. I am not able to understand why आनन्द is to be taken after प्रकाश in the sūtra in hand. It is possibly to suit the change. Since प्रकाश is taken in the sense of ज्ञान Rāmānuja thinks proper to insert आनन्द after it. Yet there is the further difficulty that प्रकाश is to be taken singly as illustrating the nature of the Lord. The words प्रकाशादिवत् cannot be understood to convey a combined idea if we follow Rāmānuja himself in his interpretations of प्रकाशादिवत् and ज्योतिरादिवत् in other places where they occur. Rāmānuja does not appear to take प्रकाश as an illustration and he interprets प्रकाशादिवत् as conveying a collective idea. But this is directly opposed to the teaching of the sūtra. The sūtra runs thus:- प्रकाशादिवच्चावैशेष्यं प्रकाशश्च कर्मण्यभ्यासात्. The latter part of the sūtra teaches that प्रकाश is often employed for such a purpose. Rāmānuja is not able to interpret the latter part of the sūtra as it is. He writes ब्रह्मरूपभूतप्रकाशानन्दादिश्च तेषां वामदेवादीनां संराधनात्मके कर्मण्यभ्यासात्पुलभ्यते. The word प्रकाश only is found in the latter part of the sūtra, but Rāmānuja talks of प्रकाशानन्दादि.

By adding आनन्द after प्रकाश and by supplementing the word स्वरूप after आनन्द Rāmānuja appears to take ज्ञान and आनन्द as constituting the ingredients which go to make up Brahman and answering to the oft-quoted phrase सच्चिदानन्द or सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म. But do the sages perceive the Lord as प्रकाशानन्दादिस्वरूपवत् at the time of संराधन? The passage quoted by Rāmānuja only teaches that वामदेव thought he was Manu, he was the sun and so forth. Is the word Manu here to be interpreted as meaning ज्ञान or the word सूर्य to be taken to denote light? This would be stretching the words to an inconceivable degree. The passage only teaches that at the time of absolution वामदेव thought himself identified with Brahman, and consequently with every thing in the world. If the Lord, as sūtra 23 teaches, is really अव्यक्त (without form) the sages will only perceive Him as such. The interpretation of the Shribhāshya, therefore, is not satisfactory.

It does not appear as Rāmānuja supposes that this topic is suggested by what is taught in the preceding sūtras. The sūtrakāra has already taught the nature of the soul and of inanimate objects. It now remains for him to treat of the nature of the Lord. The first three sūtras (11-13), moreover, of the ubhayalingatvādhikarāna appear to discuss a particular passage. The commentators suppose that Bādarāyana treats of the ubhayalingatva generally and quote passages, therefore, from various upanishads to establish the proposition. Bādarāyana on the contrary discusses in the first three sūtras a particular passage, and deduces from it the general proposition. The third sūtra अपि चैवमेके proves that this is the discussion of a particular passage. In my opinion the following is the passage of the Brihadāranyaka that is discussed in these sūtras.

साहोवाच नमस्तेऽस्तु याज्ञवल्क्य यो मे एतं व्यवचोऽपरस्मै धारयस्वेति पृच्छ गार्गीति । साहोवाच यदूर्ध्वं याज्ञवल्क्य दिवो यदवाक् पृथिव्या यदन्तरा द्याव-पृथिवी इमे च यद् भूतं च भवच्च भविष्यच्चाचक्षते कस्मिन्तदोतं च प्रोतं चोति । स-होवाच यदूर्ध्वं गार्गी दिवो यदवाक् पृथिव्या यदन्तरा द्यावापृथिवी इमे यद् भूतं च भवच्च भविष्यच्चेत्याचक्षते आकाशे तदोतं च प्रोतं चोति कस्मिन् खल्वाकाशो तश्च प्रोतश्चेति ॥ ७ ॥ सहोवाच तद्धेतवश्चरं गार्गी ब्राह्मणा अभिवदन्त्यस्थूलमनष्वहस्त्व-मंरीर्धमलोहितमस्नेहमच्छायमसमोऽवाय्वं नाकाशामसंगमरसमगंधमचक्षुष्कमत्रोज-मवागमनोऽतेजस्कमप्राणममुखममात्रमनन्तरमबाह्यं न तदस्माति किंचन न तदस्माति कश्चन ॥ ८ ॥ एतस्य वाक्षरस्य प्रयासने गार्गी सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विद्युतौ तिष्ठत एतस्य वाक्षरस्य प्रयासने गार्गी द्यावापृथिव्यौ विद्युते तिष्ठतः &c. (IV. 8).

This passage of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad teaches that every thing abides in the Lord. The Lord is thus here looked upon as the repository of all things. The pūrvapakshin urges that the Lord, since he is the repository of so many things, possesses attributes of both the sorts. The sūtra न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि thus disposes of the objection. Although, so many things abide in the Lord still the Lord cannot be looked upon as being endowed with attributes since in all places the Lord is represented as void of attributes (11). Should it be objected that there is diversity found there (भेदादिति चेत्) we deny this since in the case of each thing the Lord is said to be "Not that" (न प्रत्येकमतद्वचनात्) (12) for after having taught that every thing abides in the Lord the passage distinctly asserts that the Lord is neither large nor atomic, neither short nor long, &c., neither air nor ether, &c. (अस्थूलमनष्वहस्त्वमंरीर्ध-मलोहितमस्नेहमच्छायमसमोऽवाय्वनाकाशम् &c.

Sūtra 13 needs no explanation for our present purpose. These three sūtras form one group.

Sūtra 14 contains a nominative and introduces a new set. Sūtra 14 contains हि and must, therefore, be supposed to cite additional grounds for the conclusion arrived at in sūtra 11. Sūtras 14 — 21 also refer to a particular passage. But I have not yet been able to find out the passage answering the description although I searched for it one hundred and eight upanishads which were accessible to me at Indore. There is no doubt that sūtras 14 — 21 discuss a passage from scripture. For instance, look to sūtras 20 and 21 बुद्धिहासभाक्तवन्तर्भावादेवम् 20 इर्शनाच्च 21. The Shribhāshya combines the two sūtras into one. The reading of the shribhāshya is better for we are able to take the word एवम् with इर्शनाच्च. The sun, the sūtra teaches, appears to increase and decrease owing to उपाधि and this is seen from the passage of scripture. This is not asserting a doctrine, but merely arguing out an illustration for which the scriptural passage is referred to. It is, therefore, a particular passage which the sūtras discuss. Look again to sūtras आह च तन्नात्रम् (16) and इर्शनाच्चि चायोऽपि स्मर्यते (17). The first sūtra declares that the Lord is nothing but light as taught in the passage of scripture. The second sūtra quotes passages from scripture and smritis generally for confirmation. Had not a particular passage been discussed in this place we would have found simply sūtra 17 and not 16. The grouping together of both the sūtras shows that the adhikarana discusses one particular passage, while other passages to the same effect are merely brought forward for corroboration. If no body will be able to discover a passage answering the description we shall have merely to conclude that an Upanishad of that description is lost to us. But this is certain that the sūtras discuss a passage which represents the Lord as void of form, asserts that He is nothing but light, cites the illustration of the reflected sun, and explains the increase and decrease of the sun by the supposition of an unreal adjunct.

Sūtra 14 teaches that the Lord is void of form; for that is the gist of the Upanishad passages, which describe the nature of the Lord. Sūtras 15-21 dispose of objections raised against this conclusion and closely reason out the Lord's being void of form.

Sūtra 22 forms an adhikarana by itself. This sūtra contains हि and must be consequently looked upon as corroborating the conclusion of sūtra 11 that the Lord is void of attributes. The commentators here unanimously understand that the sūtra refers to the passage of the Brihadāraṇyaka constituting the third Brahmana of the fourth

adhyāya which begins with the words हे वाच ब्रह्मणो रूपे and ends with अथात आदेशो नेति नेति &c. This does not appear to be the passage referred to by the sūtra. For the आदेश is explained thus by the Upanishad न ह्येतस्मादिति न ह्यन्यत् परमस्ति. We are, therefore, to understand that the words नेति नेति teach that there is nothing higher than the Lord. The words of the sūtra प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः would not apply. We must, therefore, look to some other passage. I think the following is the passage alluded to by sūtra 22. यस्मिन् पंच पंचजना भक्ताश्च प्रतिष्ठितः तमेव मन्ये आत्मानं विद्वान् ब्रह्मासृतोऽसृत्म् ॥ १७ ॥ (Brih. VI. 4). When we come to the close of the Brahmana, we meet with the following words:—स एष नेति नेत्यात्माऽसृष्टो नहि शृष्टोऽशीर्षो नहि शीर्यतेऽसंगो नहि शीर्यतेऽसंगो नहि सञ्जतेऽसितो नहि व्यध्यते न रिष्यते. In this passage the Lord is declared to be the repository of every thing. Sūtra 22 may then be thus interpreted. There is no उभयलिङ्गस्त्व of the Lord which has been already taught in sūtra 11 since the passage denies that the Lord is of the description given above, and, therefore, explains the same thing further on. The words ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः refer to अगृह्यो नहि गृह्यते &c., which explain स एष नेति नेत्यात्मा.

Sūtras 23—26 refer, in my opinion, to the following passage of the Brihadāranyaka. अयमात्मा सर्वेषां भूतानामध्वस्यात्मनः सर्वाणि भूतानि मधु यश्चायमस्मिन्नात्मनि तेजोमयोऽसृत्तमयः पुरुषोऽयमेव स योयमात्मैरममृतं ब्रह्मैवं सर्वम् ॥ १४ ॥

सवायमात्मा सर्वेषां भूतानामधिपतिः सर्वेषां भूतानां राजा तथया रयनाभौ च रथनेमौ चाराः प्रतिष्ठिता एवमेवास्मिन्नात्मनि सर्वाणि भूतानि सर्वे एते आत्मनः समर्पिताः ॥ १५ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽश्विभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोच्चद्वान्नरासनयेदं स उप्रमाविष्कृतोमि तन्यनुर्न दृष्टिं दध्यङ्गहमध्वाथर्वणो वामश्वस्य शीष्णो प्रयशीमुवाचेति ॥ १६ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽश्विभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोच्चराथर्वणायाश्विना वधीचेऽश्वं शिरः प्रत्यैरयतं स वां मधु प्रावोच्चहतायन्त्वाष्टं यदस्मावपिकश्यं वामिति ॥ १७ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽश्विभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोच्चसुरश्चक्रे द्विपदः पुरश्चक्रे चतुष्पदः पुरः स पक्षी भूत्वा पुरः पुरुष आविशदिति स वायं पुरुषः सर्वास्तु पुरुषं पुरि प्रायो नैनेन किञ्चनामृतं नैनेन किञ्चनासंभृतम् ॥ १८ ॥

इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्गाथर्वणोऽश्विभ्यामुवाच तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोच्चद्रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव तदस्य रूपप्रतिचक्षणाय इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते शुक्लात्स्य हरयःशता वशोत्ययं वै हरयोऽयं वै दद्या च सहस्राणि बहूनि आनन्तानि च तदेतद्ब्रह्मा पूर्वमनपरमनन्तरमबाह्यमयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वानुभूरित्यनुज्ञासनम् ॥ १९ ॥ (III 5).

This passage declares that the soul is the repository of all existing

things. The sūtra तद्व्यक्तवाह हि refers to the last words of the passage तदेतद्ब्रह्मापूर्वमनपरमन्तरमबाह्यमयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वानुभूः Sankara also quotes these words in commenting on this sūtra to prove that the Lord is non-manifest. The next sūtra अपि संराधने प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् teaches that this is the case even at the time of आराधन. The sūtra asserts that the Lord is non-manifest even at the time of meditation. The passage quoted by us bears apparent marks that it is a passage for meditation. But Sankara thinks otherwise. This is the fifth Brahmana. The fourth Brahmana of the Brihadāranyaka contains a conversation between Yajñavalkya and Maitreyi. In connection with the fifth Brahmana Sankara writes as follows :—यत्केवलं कर्म निरपेक्षममृतत्वसाधनं तद्व्यक्तमिति मैत्रेयिब्राह्मणमारभ्यम् । तच्चात्मज्ञानं सर्वसक्यासांगविशिष्टम् । आत्मनि च विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति आत्मा च प्रियः सर्वस्मान्वात्मा ब्रह्मैव स च भोतस्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्य इति च । श्रौतप्रकारा उक्तास्तत्र च भोतव्य आचार्यागमाभ्याम् । मन्तव्यस्तर्कस्तत्र तर्कश्च उक्त आत्मैवेदं सर्वमिति । प्रतिज्ञातस्य हेतुवचनमात्मैकसामान्यत्वमात्मैकोद्भवत्वमात्मैकप्रलयं च । तत्रायं हेतुरसिद्ध इत्याशङ्कते आत्मैकसामान्योद्भवप्रलयाख्यस्तदा शंकानिवृत्त्यर्थमेतद्ब्राह्मणमारभ्यते. .

अन्यैर्व्याख्यातं आहुन्कुभिवृष्टान्ताच्छ्रौतव्यार्थमागमवचनं प्राहुर्मधुश्राह्मणान्मन्तव्यार्थमुपपत्तिप्रदर्शनेन मधुश्राह्मणेन तु निदिध्यासनविधिरुच्यते इति । सर्वथापि तु यथागमेनावधारितं तर्कतस्तथैव मन्तव्यम् । यथा तर्कतोमस्य तर्काभ्यां निश्चितस्य तथैव निदिध्यासनं क्रियते इति पृथङ्निदिध्यासनविधिरनर्थक एव । तस्मात् पृथक्प्रकरणविभागोऽनर्थक इत्यस्मदभिप्रायः । अथमनननिदिध्यासनानामिति । सर्वथाऽपि स्वध्यायद्वयस्यार्थोऽस्मिन् ब्राह्मण उपसंह्रियते ।

Thus Sankara connects the fifth Brahmana with the fourth. But if we examine the fifth Brahmana from beginning to end we find that it is an upāsana and nothing else. Commentators try to find out some connection between one chapter and another. But the Brihadāranyaka contains passages which have no connection with what precedes and what follows. The fourth Brahmana is argumentative and deals with the knowledge of the soul. The fifth Brahmana is simply devoted to meditation. It enjoins that the soul and other things are to be looked upon as honey. This is meditation pure and simple. Moreover, the fifth Brahmana may be called the द्यङ्गायर्वण-ब्राह्मण and may be ascribed to a sage of that name, while the fourth Brahmana called by Sankara the Maitreyi Brahmana may be ascribed to Yajñavalkya.

We may then fairly assume that the passage in question is a passage for meditation, and hence the words अपि संराधने fit in. The sūtra then quotes passages from scripture and smritis for a confirma-

tion of the view. The next sūtra प्रकाशाद्यथाविशेष्यं प्रकाशाच्च कर्मण्यभ्यासात् teaches that the Lord is void of attributes, and may, on that account, be likened to light, and that light is often made use of for this purpose. Hence, adds the next sūtra (अतोऽनन्तेन तथा हि लिङ्गम्) the Lord is compared to *endless rays*, and that there is sign to that effect. This sūtra refers to the following words of the passage:—

तदेतदृषिः पद्व्यञ्जवोच्यद्रूपं प्रतिरूपं बभूव तदस्य रूपं प्रतिचक्षणाय इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते शुक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता द्योत्ययं वै हरयोऽयं वै दश च सहस्राणि बहूनि चानन्तानि च.

Sankara and Rāmānuja separate the last four sūtras उभयव्यपदेशाच्चहिकुण्डलवत् 27 प्रकाशाभयवद्वा तेजस्त्वात् 28 पूर्ववद्वा 29 प्रतिषेधाच्च 30 from the ubhayalingādhikarāna calling it the ahikundaladhikarāna. Rāmānuja thus connects the last sūtra with what precedes:

मूर्तामूर्तात्मकस्याच्चित्तप्रपञ्चस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपत्वं हे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे इत्यादिनोपदिश्यते । अथात् आदेशो नेति नेतीति मूर्तामूर्ताच्चिद्वस्तुरूपतया ब्रह्मण इयच्चा प्रतिषिध्यते । न ह्येतस्मादिति नेत्यन्यत्परमार्थः । ते ब्रह्मणोन्यदुत्कृष्टं न ह्यस्तीति प्रतिपादितं तदुपादानाय अयं नामधेयं सत्यस्य सत्यमिति प्राणा वै सत्यं तेषामेष सत्यमिति प्राणघटननिर्दिष्टेभ्यश्चेतनेभ्योऽप्येष सत्यमिति कदाचिदपि ज्ञानादिसंकोचाभावाद्दुक्तम् । तथा प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिगुणेशः पति विश्वस्यात्मेश्वरं निरत्यो निरत्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानामित्यादि श्रुतेश्चायमर्थोऽवगम्यते । तस्याच्चिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मरूपत्वप्रकार इदानीं चिन्त्यते ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषसिद्धयर्थम् । किमस्याच्चिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मरूपत्वमहिकुण्डलन्यायेन While commenting upon sūtra 29 पूर्ववद्वा Rāmānuja arrives at the following conclusion अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात्-प्रकाशादिवस्तु नैवं पर इति जीववत् पृथक् सिद्धजनहविशेषणत्वेनाच्चिद्वस्तुनो ब्रह्मांशत्वं विशिष्टवस्त्वेकदेशत्वेनाभेदव्यवहारो मुख्यः विशेषणविशेष्ययोः स्वरूपस्वभावभेदेन भेदव्यवहारो मुख्यः ब्रह्मणो निर्दोषत्वं च रक्षितम् तदेवं प्रकाशाच्चातिगुणशरीराणां मणिव्यक्तिगुणात्मनः प्रत्यपृथक्सिद्धिलक्षणविशेषणतया यथांशत्वं तथैव जीवस्याच्चिद्वस्तुनश्च ब्रह्मप्रत्यक्षत्वं

Sankara understands the connection of the sūtras with what precedes as follows तस्मिन्नेव च संराध्यसंराधकभावे मतान्तरदुपन्यस्यति स्वमतविशुद्धये । क्वचिज्जीवप्राज्ञयोर्भेदो व्यपदिश्यते

क्वचिन्नु तयोरेवाभेदो व्यपदिश्यते उभयव्यपदेशवर्दानादहिकुण्डलवत्त्वत्त्वं भवितुमर्हति यथाहिरित्यभेदः कुण्डलप्रांशुत्वादीनि च भेदः एवमिहापीति

Sankara interprets sūtra 29 as follows यथावा पूर्वमुपन्यस्तं प्रकाशादिव्यपदेशैश्चैष्यमिति तथैव तद्विदुमर्हति.

Sankara here introduces the soul and Rāmānuja the non-sentient matter. There is nothing in these sūtras nor in the preceding ones

which lends countenance to such a supposition. There is no hint even thrown out about the non-sentient matter in the passages of the Upanishads which Rāmānuja quotes in the beginning of his *śhikun-dalādhikarana* and of which I have given a citation above. The last sūtra पूर्ववद्वा Rāmānuja takes as referring to अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् and प्रकाशादिस्तु नैवंपरः The sūtras are found neither in the pāda nor in the adhyāya in question, but in the third pāda of the last adhyāya. Moreover, they occur in connection with the nature of the soul and not of the non-sentient matter. The subject of the non-sentient matter has been already disposed of in the opening chapter of this adhyāya. The soul in the third pāda of the second adhyāya is declared as part of the Lord. No such thing is ever said about the non-sentient matter. Both the soul and the Lord being intelligence pure and simple, the former can well be looked upon as part of the latter. But it is difficult to suppose how the non-sentient matter can be viewed, like the soul, as part of the Lord. Moreover, the sūtra पूर्ववद्वा would, according to Rāmānuja, refer to the illustration of light. But Rāmānuja has recourse to an illustration which is not found in the sūtras and which appears not to be appropriate.

As for Sankara, although he appears to hint at another subject still he keeps substantially to the same matter discussed in the preceding sūtras, since in the sūtra पूर्ववद्वा he returns to the sūtra प्रकाशादिविशेष्यम्. This is a proof of the fact that the sūtras do not discuss a new subject. The sūtra उभयव्यपदेशान्वहिकुण्डलवत् contains "तु" which suffices to show that there is no new subject. For a new *adhikarana* does not begin with a sūtra containing तु. तु only serves to show that the sūtra disposes of an objection raised against the conclusion of the preceding sūtras. Besides the four sūtras put forward three different views about the same matter and consequently there cannot be a new point mooted in these sūtras.

The last two sūtras, as interpreted by Sankara, return to the view laid down in sūtra 25. The last sūtra प्रतिषेधाच्च is substantially the same as sūtra 22 प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः We may therefore safely assume that the four sūtras also treat of the उभयलिङ्गत्व. The preceding sūtras have established that there is no उभयलिङ्गत्व. But the *pūrvapakshin* objects that the Lord is taught in scripture both as possessing attributes and as transcending them. The sūtra उभयव्यपदेशान्वहिकुण्डलवत् meets the objection by comparing the Lord to a snake which is one only but difference into which is introduced by means of coils. But the view not being satisfactory,

the sūtrakāra puts forward another alternative. The next sūtra likens the Lord to a repository of light. This view too is rejected by the succeeding sūtra पूर्ववत् which returns to the teaching of the sūtra 25 प्रकारवशाद्विशेष्यम्.

From the eleventh sūtra downward up to sūtra 30 inclusive, one and the same subject is treated of. Sūtras 11-13 appear to form one set discussing the meaning of one particular passage and deducing from it the general proposition that the Lord is void of attributes. Sūtras 14-21 form another group which upholds the same conclusion by declaring that the Lord is void of form. For this end the sūtras, refer to another passage. These sūtras are connected, in my opinion, with the preceding set by the fact of sūtra 14 containing हि which supplies a reason for the foregoing conclusion. Sūtra 22 appears to form a section by itself which affirms the same proposition by asserting that all forms are denied of the Lord in a third passage. This sūtra is connected with sūtra 11 by the same particle हि, Sūtras 23-30 form the last section of the adhikarana by teaching that the Lord is non-manifest, not having qualities or forms. It refers to a fourth scriptural passage and is connected with the first set by means of the same preposition हि. From what I have shown above almost all the passages are taken from the Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, passages from other Upanishads being occasionally made use of. All these sūtras most elaborately establish the proposition that the Lord is without form, without attributes.

Thus, the sūtras of the so-called topic of उभयलिङ्गत्व which ought rather to be termed the topic of अनुभयलिङ्गत्व emphatically and repeatedly declare the Lord as void of attributes. The sūtras represent the Lord as intelligence pure and simple without form, without attributes. I do not, therefore, find any stress laid by the Vedānta sūtras on the personal character of the Lord as Dr. Thibaut is inclined to think and consequently the theory of Bādarāyana making a compromise with beliefs springing up in altogether different quarters does not appear to be countenanced by the teaching of the sūtras.

ART. VI.—*A Note on the Growth of Marathi Literature.* By the
Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

(Communicated July 1898.)

PART I.—INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1863, the Directors and Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland addressed a communication to the then Secretary of State for India, drawing his attention to the fact that "of late years the Hindus had shown great literary activity, partly by editing numerous texts of their ancient Sanskrit literature, partly by translating English and Sanskrit works into their vernacular dialects, and partly by producing original compositions on subjects of a political, scientific and religious character." They added that "though these books were very numerous, and in many respects important, only a small portion of them were accessible to European scholars," and they suggested that "the attention of the Indian authorities should be drawn to the matter, and instructions issued to publish catalogues of such works for the past years, and supplement them by quarterly publications of the titles of all native books and pamphlets that issue from the Indian presses." The Secretary of State thereupon addressed a despatch to the Government of India, and that Government desired the local administrations to undertake the publication of a catalogue of works published up to 1864, and to supplement that catalogue by quarterly lists of new publications. Sir Alexander Grant became the Director of Public Instruction about this time, and it was under his orders that the first catalogue was brought out containing a list of printed works in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarathi, Canarese, Sindi, Hindustani and Persian, published up to the end of 1864. The writer of these observations was officially entrusted with the preparation of a catalogue of Marathi works, and he submitted at the same time a report reviewing the principal features of the progress made in the different departments of Marathi literature during the whole period covered by the catalogue. This report traced the gradual rise of literary activity as tested by its published results almost from the very commencement. This catalogue shows that, during the first ten

years of British rule from 1818 to 1827, only three Marathi works were published, and they were all works on Mathematics, translated by Colonel Jervis for the use of the students of the school of which he was placed in charge.

Ten works appear from this catalogue to have been published during the next ten years between 1827 and 1837, two of them being medical works by Dr. McLennan on *Materia Medica* and *Nosology*, six were school books on *Geometry* and *Geography* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, one *Grammar* by Dadoba Pandurang, two reading books by Major Candy, and one on *Natural Science* by Hari Keshavaji. The most notable works of this period were the *Marathi Dictionary* prepared under English superintendence by Jagannath Shastri and others in the employment of Government, and later on, Molesworth's *Marathi-into-English Dictionary*.

The catalogue shows that thirty works were published during the third period from 1837 to 1847. Of these, a *History of India* by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, a book on *Astronomy*, and another on *Chemistry* by Hari Keshavaji, a book on *Mensuration* by Colonel Jervis, and several small books of moral lessons were, as in the preceding decade, composed for use in schools. A translation of *Æsop's Fables* and of *Bala Mitra* (*Children's Friend*), by Sadashiva Kashinath Chhatre, were also published during this decade. A more hopeful feature of the publications of this period appears to be that for the first time private publishers began to bring out editions of the old Marathi poets. *Dnyaneshvari*, as also the original *Gita* with a translation, *Hari-Vijaya* and *Rukmini Svayamvara* (the marriage of Rukmini), and a translation of *Hindu Law* books were for the first time published during this period. Besides these publications and translations, the *Native Almanac* was also first printed during this period, and translations of *Natural Theology* and *Pilgrim's Progress* were brought out by private authors unconnected with any *Missionary Society*. Finally, in 1847, Major Candy's *Dictionary*, with a smaller *Dictionary* by Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar, were published. There was thus decided progress over the two preceding decades in this third period.

The next ten years contributed 102 works in the catalogue. As might be expected, the activity of the previous decade in the publication of the works of the old Marathi poets, as also in translations from *Sanskrit* and *English*, was kept up, and considerably enlarged. School books were brought out as before, but they bore a smaller

proportion to works intended for adult readers. The three *Shatakas* of *Bhartra Hari* were published with translations, the *Hitopadesha* was similarly published, and *Vidura Niti* was translated. As regards translations from English, we have a life of Captain Cook by Ganesh Shastri Lele, a life of Columbus by Mahadeva Shastri Kolhatkar, a life of Socrates by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, a translation of Berthold by Bhavani Vishvanath Kanavinde, of Elphinstone's History of India by Rao Saheb Mandalik, a translation of Grant Duff's History, and of Captain Macdonald's life of Nana Fadnavis by unknown authors, and of Natural Philosophy by Kero Laxman Chhatre. There were also original works on Railways by Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar, on Political Economy by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, an Essay on the Immortality of the Soul by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and on Domestic Reform by Rev. Baba Padmanji, a translation of a Persian work of *Sadi* by an unknown author, and a work on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake.

The fourth period extends from 1857 to 1864, and was distinguished by a very great development of literary activity among Marathi authors and translators. The works of this period for the eight years from 1857 to 1864 which find place in the catalogue number nearly five hundred and fifty. In respect of the publication of old Marathi poetry, this 5th decade carries the palm, not only over the periods which preceded it, but possibly also over what has been done in this line during the last 30 years. All the 18 Parvas of the *Maha Bharat* adopted into Marathi Arya metre by the poet Moropant were published by Mahdava Chandroba during this period in the *Sarvasangraha*. Moropant's *Kekavali*, *Madalasa*, *Saptashati*, *Krishna-Vijaya*, and other works were also published. The same publisher brought out Mukteshvar's adaptation into Ovi metre of the *Sabha Parva* and *Adi Parva*, and of his *Ramayana*. Other publishers brought out editions of Vamana Pandit's works, *Yathartha Dipika*, *Gajendra Moksha*, *Gopi Gita*, *Sita Svayamvara* (marriage of Sita). *Dasa Bodha*, by Ramadas, was published during this period, and Shridhar's popular works, *Rama-Vijaya*, *Nalakhya*, *Pandava-Pratapa*, *Rukmini-Svayamvara*, *Shiva-Lilamrit*, as also Mahipati's lives of the Saints and Prophets, and Uddhava Chitgan's and Prabhakar's and Amritrao's smaller works, were all published about the same time. Parashurampant Godbole also rendered great service to Marathi literature by bringing out an enlarged edition of his selections from old Marathi poetry, accompanied with short biogra-

phies of the poets, in his famous collection called *Navanita*, which serves the same purpose as the Golden Treasury, as an introduction to the best specimens of old Marathi poetry.

With regard to the enrichment of Marathi literature by translations from Sanskrit and English authors, this period made considerable progress. *Aparokshanubhuti* was translated by Mahadeva Shastri. A new commentary on the *Gita* was written by Raghunatha Shastri Parvate, for the instruction of his Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. *Malati Madhava* was translated by Krishna Shastri Rajavade, and *Presanna Ragava* and *Ratnavali* were translated by other Shastris. Parashurampant Godbole adapted into Marathi the Sanskrit dramas *Shakuntala*, *Mritchha-Katika*, *Veni-sanhar*, and *Uttara Rama-charitra*; *Meghaduta* was adapted into beautiful Marathi verse by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar; Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated ancient medical works, such as *Madhava Nidan*, *Trim-baki* and *Vaidya Jivana*. The great work on Hindu law, *Mitakshura*, was also translated by Raghunath Shastri Date. As regards translation of English works,—Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar translated the *Beauties of Heaven*, and Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar the *Arabian Nights*. *Chambers' Astronomy* was translated by Krishna Shastri Godbole, and *Murray's History of India* was similarly translated by Narsinha Shastri Oka and Vishnu Shastri Pandit. Apart from the additions represented by the three classes of works named above, this period was also distinguished by the production of original works.

Under travels we have an account of the travels of Shrimant Dajisabeh Kibe, the famous banker of Indore, written by himself, describing his journey into the Deccan. In general prose, we have Mr. Vinayaka Koundadeva Oka's "First Book of Moral Lessons" for the use of children, and Govinda Narayan's *Essays on Intemperance, Truth, Cleanliness*; his description of trees, railways; and an account of Bombay. Rev. Baba Padmanji also published his *Nibandhamata* and *Yamuna Paryatan*. In this period we also find controversial publications on social and religious topics, such as a small work on widow-marriage by Vishnu Parashuram Ranade, a tract, expounding the *Parama-hansa-mata*, or theism, a similar tract on the origin of Bramhanism, and finally the *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, published by Vishnu Bawa Bramhachari. Under science we may notice Doctor Narayan Daji's work on Chemistry and Medicine, Professor Daji Nilkantha Nagarkar's *Conic Sections*, Dr. Bhikaji Amrit's work on

Anatomy, and the new Astronomical tables prepared by Professor Keropant Chhatre. Small works were also published on Electricity by Krishna Shastri Bhatavedekar, on Photography by Harichand Chintaman, on Physical Geography by Mahadeva Shastri Puranika, on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake, and a bigger work called the "Elements of many Sciences" by Krishna Shastri Chip-lunkar.

Under novels, three works deserve mention *Gaskiram Kotwal* by the late Rao Bahadur Moroba Kanhoba, *Muktamala* by Laxman Shastri Halave, and *Raja Madan* by Baba Gokhale. To these might be added the publications of the old stories of *Vikrama Battisi*, *Vetal Panchavisi*, *Shuka Bahattori*, and *Bakasura Bakhar*.

Under History we have an account of the Sepoy Mutiny, and a History of England by Khauderao Fadake, and Hari Keshavaji's English History, a small History of Kolhapur, a History of Egypt, and a History of the Reign of Catherine of Russia.

Under Biography we have the lives of Indian poets by Janardan Ramachandra, a life of Cyrus by Vishnu Moreswar Bhide, a life of Nana Fadnavis by Vishnu Shastri and of Raja Ram Mohan Rai by Bhaskar Hari Bhagvat.

A few general remarks on the state of Marathi literature for the whole of this period (1818-64) covered by the catalogue may fitly conclude this introduction to the review we propose to undertake of the further growth of this literature during the next thirty years. The total number of purely Marathi books published down to the end of 1864 was 661. Of these 431 were prose, and 230 were verse. The prose school books numbered about 98, and comprise reading books, and works on Mathematics, History, Geography and Grammar. As all these books were either translations or compilations prepared to order, they indicate nothing beyond them, and may be passed by without any remark except that Colonel Jervis, Major Candy, Sadasiva Kashinatha Chhatre, Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Dadoba Pandurang, and Bhaskar Damodar made themselves specially useful in this service of elementary school books.

Excluding school books, the prose publications were about 325. Taking the different heads of prose literature separately, although there were twenty-three books of History, large and small published in the first period, and fourteen of them related to India and six to England, the only works with any pretensions to literary merit were, as stated above, translations. There was no movement made to

publish the large collections of the Marathi Bakhars, which constitute one of the most distinguishing features of our literature, and no attempt was made to introduce the Marathi reader to the Histories of Greece or Rome, or of Modern Europe or America.

As regards Fiction, the old stock of stories was supplemented by the Arabian Nights. Of Fiction in the modern sense, only a small beginning was made in this first period. The poverty of this class of prose literature is easily accounted for by the fact that the ancient Puranas and Itihasas furnished a large stock of this kind of stories, which satisfied the cravings of the national mind, and left no room therein for modern fiction. As in the case of History and Fiction, Biographies also occupied a much smaller place in the published prose literature than might have been expected. Only a few works of any value were published during this first period. Under Travels there was if possible a still greater paucity of books. The spirit of adventure has never been characteristic of the people of this country, and this department of prose literature will always occupy a very secondary place in our publications. Under Philosophy we have a large number of works, fifty-five in all, published during this period. The prevailing philosophy is that of the Vedanta with the Bhagvata Gitâ as its foundation. Of religion proper there is no end of books, but they are chiefly devoted to superstitious observances and beliefs. The only work indicative of any healthy departure in this connection is Vishnu Bava Brambachari's *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakasha*, which attracted considerable notice at the time.

Of Politics there is an entire absence, unless we include in the number tract exposing the Inam Commission, and certain reports of the Bombay Association. As regards works on Science, the number of books under this head was about 73; but they were mostly school books on Astronomy, elementary and higher Mathematics, Geography both Political and Physical, Mensuration, and popular descriptions of animals and plants. Small works on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Railways, Electricity and Photography complete the list. Under Science proper, medicine appears to have attracted the chief attention. About the Dictionaries mention has already been made of the great service rendered by Major Candy, Captain Molesworth, and the Shastries working under them. Among native scholars, the Rev. Baba Padmanji, Shrikrishna Shastri Talekar and Raghunatha Shastri Godbole may be specially mentioned in this connection. Under Law, though the works are 41 in number, the only productions worth

noticing are the translation of *Mayukha* and *Mitakshara* under orders of Government. The others are reports of decided cases, and translations of Acts.

As regards verse literature, it is not necessary to notice it in detail. The new contributions under this head made during this period are of no special importance except the translations and adaptations of Sanskrit works. The rest of the poetical works are all publications of ancient Marathi poetry. Except in the case of Moropant, entire collections of the writings of the poets were not attempted, and no biographical notices of the poets or criticisms of their works were published in this first period. This review of the labours of the first 50 years (1818-64) is not very satisfactory in respect of actual results achieved; but it should be remembered that 50 years is but a short span in the life of a nation, which started its first literary activity in the printing of books in 1829, when the Native Education Society was first established. The most hopeful feature of the review is the fact that number of works in each decade rose from three to ten, and from ten to thirty, from thirty to one hundred, and from one hundred to five hundred and fifty, almost in geometrical progression. All the different channels by which the further growth of Marathi literature was to be effected, had been opened up. Great progress was made in the publication of old poetry, and a good beginning made in the matter of translations from Sanskrit and English works, and the first steps taken to add original works to the existing stock. The stage of advance made was more full of promise for the future, than of success accomplished, and we shall trace in the next part of this Note how far this promise was realised by the labours of the authors and translators during the next thirty years.

PART II.

ANCIENT VERSE AND PROSE LITERATURE.

In tracing the further growth of Marathi literature, we have the advantage of the detailed information supplied by the annual reports furnished to Government by the Registrar of Native Publications, which office was created about the year 1867. The last thirty years' period happens to coincide with the full development of the University system of examinations, with the encouragement they held out to the study of the ancient Classics of India by the displacement of the Vernaculars as second languages in the curriculum of studies for the examinations in Arts. This substitution of the Classics for the Ver-

vernaculars was sanctioned by the University in December, 1863, and came into force about the year 1867.

The change was advocated by Sir Alexander Grant, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and by Mr. Howard, Director of Public Instruction, on the express ground that the Indian Vernaculars of the Presidency possessed no prose literature at the time, and that their verse literature was only a reflex of the classical Sanskrit, and that the study of the latter would best promote the growth of vernacular literature in all its branches. On the other hand, the late Dr. Wilson, Dr. Murray Mitchell, Rao Saheb Mandalik, and Sir Raymond West opposed the change on diverse ground. The advocates of the vernaculars claimed that both Marathi and Guzerati had a literature and linguistic peculiarities which deserved special study, that without such study their further progress would be neglected, and the students would find little time to study the sciences and other useful subjects by reason of the burden imposed on them of mastering two classics. The experience of the past thirty years will help us to decide how far the hopes and fears to which utterance was given by the advocates of the classics and the vernaculars have been justified by subsequent events.

There are no reports available prior to the report for 1868. There is, however, a list of publications for the previous three years which has been separately printed. These reports and catalogues show the following figures of Marathi publications for the past thirty-two years (1865 to 1897). The figures are suggestive enough, though of course much stress need not be placed upon mere figures such as these :—

Years.	No. of Marathi Books published.	Average per year.
1865 to 1874.....	1,530	153
1875 to 1884.....	3,143	314
1885 to 1896.....	3,824	320
Total... ..	8,497	

This gives a total of 8,497 books published during the last thirty-two years. Adding 661 books published in the previous fifty years, we have a total of 9,158, or in round figures 9,000 works in all published in Marathi from 1818 to 1896.

The figures given above are exclusive of periodicals, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications, but they include second editions of 1,200 works, thus leaving a balance of 7,800 works. A closer study of the

works published shows the following proportions for (1) original works, (2) reproductions of old Marathi works, and (3) translations.

	Originals.	Repro.	Trans.	Total.
	4,768	2,169	921	7,798
Percentage...	62	27	11	...

Speaking roughly about 5,000 works in all, excluding pamphlets and periodicals, &c., were original works; while reproductions and translations together make up the remaining 3,000. It may be noted that the reports of recent years show that the proportion of original works is increasing year by year, and that of translations and reproductions diminishing. The activity of our writers and translators, which was represented by an average of 60 works per year between 1857 and 1864, more than doubled itself between 1865 and 1875, and has multiplied more than five times during the next twenty years.

The official reports for the past thirty-two years divide these works into fifteen heads, fourteen of them being divisions of prose literature, and one represents verse literature. The works published under this last head were about 1,500 during the past thirty-two years, while prose publications under all heads would appear to have been more than four times that number during the same period. In the first fifty years, the proportion of prose to verse publications was as 4 to 2, and this proportion rose during the last thirty years as 4 to 1. This is evidently a very satisfactory and healthy development. There is one other peculiarity about verse literature which distinguishes it from prose publications. Not only was its relative proportion to prose literature much smaller during the last thirty years than it was in the first fifty years, but the percentage of original works and translations under the head of verse literature is greatly exceeded by the publications of the works of the old Marathi poets. It appears from the figures for 22 years (1865 to 73 and 1884 to 96) for which detailed information is available, that out of 950 poetical works published, 560, that is, more than nearly 60 per cent., were reproductions, and original works and translations were 40 per cent. only. The general proportion of reproductions to the total publications is, as shown above, only one-fourth, and the great debt we owe to ancient poetry is strikingly illustrated by the fact that it constitutes nearly three-fourths of the whole stock of poetical works. This fact also shows that during the last thirty-two years great progress has been made in the publication of old Marathi poetry, and that modern

authors have not shown the same devotion to this department of literature as they have done in the matter of prose literature generally.

Looking to the work done, we notice that the entire works of Tokarama, Moropanta, Dnyaneshvara, Ramadas, Vaman, Mukteshvara, Ekanatha, Shridhara, and Mahipati have been brought out by different publishers, thus completing the work which had been commenced between 1857 and 1864. Great progress has been made in a critical republication with notes of many of the larger and smaller works of Moropanta, Vamana Pandita, Dnyaneshvara, and Ramadas, and in the publication of the works of Mukundaraja, Amritraya, Rama Joshi, Raghunatha Pandita, Ananda Tanaya, Niranjana, Krishnakavi, Narahari, Ranganatha Swami, Niloba, Shivadina Kesari, Chintamani, Madhva Muni, Soyaroba, Keshava Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, and other poets who composed the Powadas and Lavanis. In all, the list of old Marathi writers of note comes to about forty, commencing with Mukundaraja and Dnyaneshvara, and coming down to the birth of the present century. As a list of the more prominent of these names may prove of some use, we give below the names of the more reputed among them—Mukundaraja, Dnyanadeva, Namadeva, Ekanatha, Amritaraya, Ramadasa, Tukarama, Mahipati, Vamana Pandita, Moropanta, Mukteshvara, Raghunatha Pandita, Shridhara, Rama Joshi, Ananda Tanaya, Bhairava Natha, Shivadas, Ranganatha Swami, Prabhakara, Ananta Fandi, Honaji, Sagana Bhaui, Parasharama, Janabai, Mirabai, and Venubai. A more brilliant galaxy of names it would be difficult to find in the literature of any other language of India. To seek to minimise the value of this treasure by saying that it is only a reflex of Sanskrit poetry is to confess ignorance of the most characteristic feature of this department of Marathi literature. Only six poets out of the list given above busied themselves with drawing their inspiration from the ancient Puranika or Itihasa literature in Sanskrit. The writings of the other poets were in one sense a continued protest against the old spirit. Many of the poets and saints were ignorant of the Sanskrit language, and did not care to conceal their utter disregard of the old ideals. They did not write for the Pandits, but for the mass of people, and there is more true poetry in many of their compositions than will be found in some of the more reputed and scholarly Brahmin poets. We need only refer to Namadeva, Tukarama, Ekanatha, Ramadasa, Mahipati, Mukundaraja, Mirabai,

Janabai, Rama Joshi, Niloba, Prabhakara, Ranganatha Swami, and others. They were essentially modern poets, representative of the modern spirit as it was developed in the three reformation centuries, commencing with the dawn of modern India, and the rise of the Maratha power. The writers of the Powadas and of the Lavani had certainly nothing of the Sanskrit element in their compositions.

By the side of the works of these ancient poets, we can hardly name any of those who have distinguished themselves in this department of Marathi literature since the British conquest of the Deccan. Somehow, the poetic fire has become extinct with the loss of political power. The lights that have been lit are few and far between, and their lustre has been for the most part borrowed, and not spontaneous. In the first generation of our scholars, we can only name Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar; but even he seldom attempted original poetry. Both he and Parashurampant Godbole were good translators, and adapted the Sanskrit original into modern Marathi with great ease and some success. Krishna Shastri Rajavade and Ganesha Shastri Lele belong to the same class, though the *Itaghuvansha*, translated by the latter author, is a work of superior merit. In the works of the present generation of our writers, we have some very good specimens of poetry. We may cite, for instance, Dr. K. R. Kirtikar's *Indira*, an adaptation of Princess; Mr. Kunte's *Raja Shivaji*, and his sketch of "Mind;" Mr. Sangle's Christian Hymns; Bhaskar Damodar's *Ratna Mala*; *Krishna Kumari*, by Juvekar; *Kavya Madhurya*, by Vnman Daji Oka; *Daira Seni*, by Bajaba Pradhan, *Ganga Varnana*, by Chintamanipethakar; V. M. Mahajan's *Kusumanjali*; Mr. P. B. Joshi's *Padyasudha*; Vasudeva Shastri Khare's *Yashavanta Mahakavya*. The smaller pieces of Shankar Moro Ranade, V. K. Oka, G. V. Kanitakar, Rishud, Mogare, Londhe, and Nisture, Lembhe, Bhandare, Damle, and others display considerable power, but none of them have attempted any great work. This remark indeed holds good of all the other modern poets also. The fire, spontaneity, and the keen moral introspection, which is the charm of Tukarama's writings, the didactic sense and wisdom which distinguishes Ramadasa, the thrilling descriptions which move the readers of Shridhara and Mukteshvara, the quaint though very suggestive illustrations of Dnyaneshvara, the sweet flow of Amritaraya, the appeal to the tender feelings so characteristic of Vamana Pandit, the purity of diction, the command over words, and the high purpose of Moropanta, the devotion of Namadeva and Mirabai, the inspiring

thought of Ekanatha, the abrupt truthfulness of Rama Joshi, the ornate metaphorical surprises of Raghunatha Pandita, all these seem to find but faint echoes in our modern poets, some of whom have indeed taken for their models the best English specimens, both in the choice of subjects and in their treatment of the same.

This concludes our review of the poetical literature, both ancient and modern, existing in the Marathi language. Taken together, that literature is extensive and varied, and well deserves careful study. The apparent decay of poetical talent may be due to various causes, among others to the diversion of the best minds from a natural development of their powers to an enforced study of two classics, which takes up the whole of the spring-tide of their life, and leaves them innocent of all knowledge of their own national treasures. Anyhow it is clear that unless our young men study not only classical and English models, but also the works of their own ancient poets, further growth and development in this department of our literature is impossible. No mere foreign graftings can ever thrive and flourish, unless the tender plant on which the grafting is to be made first germinates and sends its roots deep in its own indigenous soil. When the living tree is thus nourished and watered, the foreign manure may add flavour and beauty to it. Poets are born, and not made to order: they are growths, and not manipulations; and there is but little hope of a brighter future in the development of modern Marathi poetry unless the poetical fire is rekindled in the highest places by early contact with the inspiring study of the best minds of their own race.

What has been observed above about ancient poetry and its superiority to most of the modern attempts, holds good for the most part in respect of the reproduction of the old prose literature represented by the Bakhars, Kaifiyats, letters and correspondence which chronicle the great events of Maratha History. During the first fifty years nothing was done to publish any portion of this rich collection. The first fruits of the growth of a healthier pride in the past history of their nation were gathered by Rao Saheb K. N. Sane and the late Mr. J. B. Modak, who started a magazine with the noble object of publishing these chronicles along with the unpublished verse literature. The magazine was called *Kavyetihasa-Sangraha* (i.e., collection of ancient Poetry and History), and it was continued with great success for a period of nearly twelve years. The Bakhars so published in parts were printed in separate volumes, and we have now some forty works giving a full and vivid account of the most stirring periods of

Maratha History. Some of these Bakhars compare very favourably with the chronicles of Modern European History published in the sixteenth century, and a few of them, such as Bhan Saheb's Bakhari, and that of the Battle of Panipat, possess very great literary merits. The example set by some of our graduates inspired the publication of separate histories of particular families, such as the lives of the great Prabhū leaders by Mr. Gūpte, and the accounts of the Vinchurkars, Dabhades, Angriās, and of the reigning houses of the Nagpurkar Bhonsles, the Gaekawars, Sindias, and Holkars. In fact, all the best modern histories and biographies, which we shall notice later on, bear witness to this good influence. Mr. Acworth and Mr. Tookaram Shaligram have distinguished themselves by the publication of the Powadas, some of which, such as the capture of Sinhgur, display real poetical talent of a very high order. At present this work of publishing old Bakhars and correspondence has been taken up by other writers, who are not graduates, among whom Vasudevā Shastir Khare of Miraj, Mr. Parasnis of Satara, and Messrs. Apte and Rajavade of Poona may be mentioned. Two magazines are exclusively devoted to this work. What has been observed above of ancient poetry applies with equal effect to this department of ancient prose literature. Unless the minds of our young men are disabused of the prejudice they imbibe in early life that the historical sense is wholly absent in India, and until they are trained to appreciate the value of these contemporary narratives and records at their true worth, it is hopeless to expect any real and permanent growth of the true historical and critical spirit which alone can ensure success in the future cultivation of this department of our literature.

PART III.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS.

Next to the publication of ancient poetry and prose Bakhars, the most interesting feature of Modern Marathi literature is represented by the translations of Sanskrit and English works, which together present a total of about 1,000 works published during the past thirty years. The full details about translated works are available for 22 years (1865-73 and 1884 to 1896), and they show that out of a total of 700 works translated during this period, there were 17 biographies, 48 dramas, 113 fiction, 26 history, 15 works under language, 120 law books, 30 works on medicine, 8 on politics, 40 on philosophy, 52 on religion, 62 on science, 2 travels, 36 poetry, and 210 miscellaneous.

The chief interest in this connection centres in the enquiry whether and how far the English or the Sanskrit element is most predominant in the additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations. Taking only those books, which have been favourably noticed in the reports, it appears that the actual number of such translations from Sanskrit was about 160, while the translations from English were about 120. As might have been anticipated, the Sanskrit translations contain no works of biography, history, or politics. In these departments all the best additions were contributed by translations of English works. On the other hand, the departments of poetry and religion received no help from English translations, and they are exclusively monopolized by Sanskrit works. The department of medicine, it might have been anticipated, would show greater activity in the shape of translation from English works, but Sanskrit and English works have contributed equally to enrich Marathi literature under this head. As a matter of fact, the English translations would themselves never have seen the light but for the establishment of the vernacular medical classes, and the translations made for the use of the students were very useful generally to all classes of readers. Unfortunately, these so-called vernacular classes ceased after a few years to employ vernaculars as the media of instruction, with the result that this important channel of developing scientific works in Marathi was closed, and there has been little encouragement since. The strength of the hold of ancient medicine upon the people is represented by the fact that the ancient Hindu works translated represent twice the number of the English works.

In the department of Law, this position is again repeated, and for the same reason we have a very few books translated into Marathi from English works. Of course, in making this statement, we do not include translations of acts and decisions, which make by far the largest number of Marathi law books. As long as the pleaders' examinations were held in the vernaculars, there was a strong incentive to the publication of works on law in Marathi. With the substitution of the English language for the vernaculars, this motive ceased to operate, and the paucity of English translations of law books is thus easily accounted for.

The most successful department under this class of works appears to be that of the Drama, to which both English and Sanskrit have contributed largely, and almost in equal numbers. Shakespeare appears to have been the most favourite author. In all 18, if not 20, of his dramas

have been translated or adapted into Marathi. In some cases two or three authors have brought out separate translations. The names of these works will interest the reader, and therefore we give them below:—

1, Hamlet. 2, Cymbeline. 3, King Lear. 4, All's well that ends well. 5, A Winter's Tale. 6, A Comedy of Errors. 7, The Taming of the Shrew. 8, Two Gentlemen of Verona. 9, The Merchant of Venice. 10, As you like it. 11, Much ado about nothing. 12, Julius Cæsar. 13, Antony and Cleopatra. 14, Othello. 15, Richard III. 16, The Tempest. 17, Romeo and Juliet. 18, Twelfth Night.

The only other English dramas translated are Goldsmith's "She stoops to conquer" and "The good-natured man." As regards the Sanskrit dramas, all the best known among them have been translated, some of them, such as the *Shakuntala* by four or five different authors. These works are *Shakuntala*, *Mritchhakatika*, *Uttara Rama Charitra*, *Vikramorvasi*, *Mudra Rakshasa*, *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, *Venisanhar*, *Malati Madhava*, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Ratnavali*, and *Prasanna Raghava*.

The same service has been done by both Sanskrit and English translations in the department of Fiction. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, and the works of Johnson, Defoe, Swift, and Bunyan, and among foreign authors, Boccaccio, Renan, and Dumas, have been largely drawn upon by translators, and as regards Sanskrit, the *Kadambari*, *Brihat-kathá-sára*, *Vishva-gunádarsha*, and many other works have contributed largely to the growth of works of fiction in Marathi literature.

Under Philosophy we have not much variety. The *Bhagavat Gítá*, with its numerous commentaries, has furnished the chief supply. A number of the Upanishadas have also been translated, the chief being छांदोग्य, नारायण, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय and the इत्याशास्त्रोपनिषद्. The prevailing philosophy belongs to the school of the Vedánta, though Patanjali's *Yoga Sutrás* with commentary have been translated, as also the *Sarva Darashana Sangraha*. Mr. Kunte's चन्द्रार्चनार्चितनिका may also be mentioned in this connection as a work of great labour. Like the वेदार्थयत्न, or translation of the Rigveda, of Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the चिंतनिका was not completed by its author, but they both represent very valuable additions to the stock of higher literature in Marathi. Among the Purans, the Ramayana, the Bhagavat, the Matsya and the Ganesh Puran have been translated. The credit of the last work belongs to Shrimant Bapu Sahob Patwardhan, Chief of Kurundwad, who is well known as a Marathi author and poet.

As regards English translations in this department of philosophy, Spencer occupies the chief place. Professor Max Müller, John Stuart Mill, and Lord Bacon come next in order, and Marcus Aurelius' meditations, and Cicero's treatise on the gods and his other works, have also been translated.

In History, over and above the translations of Elphinstone's "India," and Grant Duff's and Murray's History, which belong to the first period, we have had during the past 30 years, thanks chiefly to the munificent support of H. H. the Maharajah Sayajirao, Gaekwar of Baroda, a series of works, being epitomes of the histories of Greece, Rome, Carthage, Persia, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, the Moors in Spain, Egypt, and China, as also a history of Ceylon.

In Politics Maine's "Village Communities," Machiavelli's "Prince," and Seeley's "Expansion of England" represent some of the best additions to the stock of our literature.

We have thus briefly noticed the more important additions made to Marathi literature by means of translations during the past 30 years. On the whole, a very sensible contribution to the stock of our best works has been made, and the fact that Spencer, Max Müller, Mill, Seeley, Maine, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Bacon, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Buckle, Defoe, Swift, Bunyan, Smiles, and Lubbock, have furnished the models for these additions, justifies the hope that the national mind is showing signs of a great awakening, which, if it could only meet with encouragement from those who are entrusted with the work of higher education, cannot fail before long to enrich the language with the choicest treasures of modern European thought in all departments of learning. In the absence of this encouragement and guidance, there is a want of system and co-ordination, and an absence of variety in the choice of authors, and in the selection of their works. As none of these additions have been school-books, the industry and enterprise represented by these publications have had to depend for their reward solely upon the unaided patronage of the reading public. With proper guidance and encouragement by such a body as the University, the circle of this reading public will be enlarged, and we may soon expect to have all the departments of prose literature properly represented in their due proportions, and the work of development, now indifferently attempted by stray authors, will be pushed on and completed in a systematic manner, so as to enable the national mind to digest the best thought of Western Europe with the same intimate

appreciation that it has shown in the assimilation of the old Sanskrit learning.

Having thus noticed at some length the principal contributories to the growth of Marathi literature represented by the publication of ancient Marathi works and translations of Sanskrit and English works, we shall next proceed to the consideration of original works properly so-called. Whatever value might be attached to the publication of ancient prose and verse works, or to translations from other languages, it is quite clear that the only true test of the existence and growth of a genuine literary spirit is furnished by the abundance and variety of new and original works published in the language. These constitute, so to speak, the life and soul of every living language, and this portion of our inquiry has thus the highest claims upon our attention. In all, the number of true original works published during the last 30 years, exclusive of reproductions and translations, would appear to be about 5,000. Detailed information is available for the classification of these works under several heads for 22 years (1865-1873 and 1884-1896), and these details show that original works published in these years were 96 under the head of biography, 336 dramas, 278 fiction, 120 history, 365 language, 43 law, 71 medicine, 26 politics, 37 philosophy, 67 religion, 320 science, 12 travels, 359 poetry, and 1,100 miscellaneous, and about 800 school books. The relative proportions obtained for this term of 22 years presumably hold good for the whole period, and they show that our literary activity has been chiefly devoting itself to those departments in which Marathi was most deficient, while it has been comparatively indifferent to the departments in which our ancient collections are most prolific. Excluding miscellaneous and school publications, which number one-fourth of our total number of works, we find that Biography, Science, Drama, and Fiction occupy a very prominent position under the head of original works, while Philosophy, Religion, Politics, Law, Medicine, and Travels represent much smaller figures than might have been expected.

Taking Biographical works first. As has been shown above, we had only five biographies published in the first 50 years. During the last 30 years this department has shown a very large addition. There was no particular system in the choice of the five works published before 1864. In the collection of biographies as they now stand, we find that there is more system and variety; the attention of writers seems to have been bestowed in equal proportions upon the

worthies of their own country, as also on the great men of Europe and America. Of the better class of works under this head, there are about 30 biographies of European worthies, commencing with Her Majesty the Queen, and including Shakespeare, William Pitt, Lord Bacon, Jonathan Swift, Sir Isaac Newton, Goldsmith, Cobden, Captain Cook, Dr. Livingstone, Bradlaugh, Annie Besant, and other English celebrities; Lord Clive, and Sir Thomas Munro among Anglo-Indian officers of a past generation; George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Presidents Lincoln and Garfield among the American leaders; Alexander the Great, Socrates, and Demosthenes, among the Greeks; and Napoleon Bonaparte, Peter the Great, Catherine of Russia, and Columbus among the European celebrities. Among Indian celebrities the saints, poets, and religious leaders occupy the first place. Ramadasa, Ekanatha, Dnyanesvara, Tukarama, Vamana Pandita, Jairama Swami, Namadeva, Buddha, Shankaracharya, and Raja Ram Mohanroy, have all been honoured with separate biographies. Next come the great men of Maratha History, Shivaji and his three successors, and the first two Peshwas, as also Malharrao Holkar, Mahadaji Sinde, Nana Fadnavis, Ahilyabai, Haripanta Fadake, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, and Bapu Gokhale, appear to have found most favour with our writers. Among modern Indian celebrities we have Dadabhai Nowroji, Gowarishankara Udesankara, Bala Shastri Jambhekar, and the late Rani of Jhansi; and among the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, Akbar and Aurangzeb have each found separate biographers. The lives of some of these celebrities, such as Mahadaji Sinde, Parashurambhau Patvardhana, Nana Fadnavis, and Ekanatha have been written by two or more biographers, and some of these works have been so popular as to have gone through several editions. On the whole, a very useful addition to the literature of the language has been made by the writers of these biographies.

One remark which is suggested by a study of the names of these writers may be made here with advantage. Out of some 70 writers of these biographies, hardly seven names appear to be those of graduates of the University (Messrs. Bhana, Pavagi, Natu, Kanitkar, Madgaonkar, Laxman Krishna Chiplunkar, and Gunjekar). The remaining 63 are either pre-University or non-University men. The graduates show to better advantage in matters of translations. Out of some 76 authors who have translated English and Sanskrit works into Marathi, we find 25 names of our most distinguished graduates.

We need only allude to Mr. Pandit, the two Kunte brothers, Mr. K. T. Telang, Mr. Mahajani, Mr. Agarkar, Mr. J. S. Gadgil, the two Aptes, Mr. Agashe, Mr. Bhanu, Mr. Pavagi, Mr. Ranade, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. Kolhatkar, Mr. Bodas, Mr. Fadke, Mr. Kanitkar, Drs. Garde, Sakharam Arjun, Pandurang Gopal, Shirvalkar, Bhikaji Amrit, and Bhatavadekar. While the proportion of graduates to non-graduates in this department of translations is one-third (25 out of 75), they appear to have taken very little interest in the composition of biographies, their proportion being one to ten as shown above. These varying proportions suggest their own moral, and no further remark seems to be necessary.

From Biography to History is an easy transition, for history is the biography of nations. The only histories published in the first 50 years were Bala Shastri Jambhekar's "History of India," a translation of Murray's History, and of Elphinstone's "India," and a short account of the History of England by Hari Keshavaji. During the last 30 years most of the ancient prose Bakhars, as has been shown above, have been published, and they constitute a very rich collection. In addition to these publications, we have a History of Central India, translated from Malcolm's original work by Mr. Kirtane, late Divan at Indore; a History of the Turko-Russian War; short Histories of the French Revolution and of the Franco-German War, Histories of Greece, Rome, France, Germany, Persia, Egypt, Carthage, Assyria, Turkey, Russia, and Spain, chiefly based upon the "Story of the Nations" series. We have besides separate histories of Goa, Ceylon, Coorg, Bhopal, Bundelkhand, Kolhapore, and the States of the Southern Maratha Country, and a History of the Sepoy War, a History of the Christian Church, and detailed histories of the houses of Vinchurkar, Dabhade, Angre, and Sinde. These represent the most prominent works under this department. The others are chiefly intended for schools. Out of some 25 authors whose names can be traced as the writers of these histories, five are graduates, which again confirms the remark we have made above in respect of biographical works.

From History to Politics is the next stage. There was no work published on politics before 1861. Since then a perceptible activity has been displayed, both in translations and original compositions. Excluding mere Congress reports, about 20 works under this head may be mentioned as showing considerable merits. They include a translation of an English work called the "India and the Colonies"

by Mr. Natekar, the "Elements of Politics" by Professor Karve and Mr. Patvardhan, "Local Self-Government" by Mr. K. T. Telang, Machiavelli's "Prince," the translation of Maine's "Village Communities," De Lolme's "Constitution of England" translated by Mr. Wagle, "The Principles of Taxation," "The Land Tenure of Bengal," by Mr. Mahajani, "The Statistics of British Indian Administration," by Mr. Soman, "The Poverty of India," Pandita Rambabai's work on "America and her People," a translation of Mr. Morley's work on "Compromise," pamphlets on "Corn Law" and "Free Trade," "A History of the Native States in their relation to the Government," Mill's "Liberty," and Mr. Seeley's "Expansion of England." These constitute some of the best works which have been recently published for the promotion of the political education of the people.

As regards Law Books, we need not add much to our remarks made on the subject of translated law works. There has been no really original work on the subject, and the translations of the Law of Torts and Contracts, of Hindoo and Mahomedan Law, as also the translations of Sanskrit works, cannot claim the merit either of originality or great labour. The demand for such works is decreasing with the growing spread of the English language, and its use in our courts and offices.

Medical works show a much larger proportion of useful translations and original books than the corresponding department of law. They also display a greater activity among the graduate authors of that faculty than can be observed among the lawyers. Out of 71 works specially noticed by the Registrar of Native Publications, there were about 20 works brought out by our medical graduates, among whom we may mention the names of the late Drs. Kunte, Gopal Shivaram, Gokhale, Narayan Daji, Shirvalkar, Sakharam Arjun, and Bulel, and Drs. Bhikaji Amrit and Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar and Dr. Garde. The subjects treated of in these medical works are "Practice of Medicine," "Anatomy," "Midwifery," "Medical Jurisprudence," "Surgery," "Materia Medica," "Physiology," "Diseases of Women," and they practically cover the whole course of medical teaching. There are, besides, works on Homœopathy, Cholera, Smallpox, and "The Virtues of Indian Drugs." Drs. Kunte and Garde have done a great service, the first by publishing *Vag-bhata*, and the second by translating this most exhaustive work on old Hindoo medicine.

The remaining 50 books, included under medical works, were all

written by native Vaidyas, and their numbers, if not their contents, show what firm hold the ancient system still has on the minds of our people.

The works on Philosophy and Science are mostly translations or adaptations. Thanks to the labours of Messrs. Marathe, Gole, Sahasrabuddhe, Sardesai, Dharapa, Kane, Apte, and Kelkar, and Dr. Chhatre, we have manuals, chiefly based on the Science Primer series, on "Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Physiology, and Logic," by Mr. Marathe, on "Air" by Mr. Gole, on "Water" by Mr. Sardesai, on "Natural Philosophy and Chemistry" by Professor Modak, on the "Solar System" by Mr. Dharap, on "Light and Sound" by Professor Modak, on "Geology" by Mr. Kane, on "Agriculture and Chemistry" by Mr. B. A. Gupte, on "Physical Geography" by Mr. Sahasrabuddhe. There are also works on Electricity, Magnetism, Heat, and Coal. Of these works, those on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy by Professor Modak are more than simple primers, being standard works on the subjects. In respect of Astronomy, besides the primer texts, we have special works by Messrs. Dikshit, Kelkar, and Chitnis. Mr. Dikshit's (गणितविज्ञान) is a very readable and interesting work. He is also the author of a very elaborate treatise on the history of "Hindu Astronomy." The late Mr. J. B. Modak translated the astronomical portion of Bhaskaracharya's work, and also the *Vedanga Jotisha* तन्त्रशास्त्र (वेदांग ज्योतिष). Messrs. Dikshit and Modak spent the whole of their lives in the advocacy of a reform of the native calendar, by the adoption of the Sayana, in place of the Nirayana method in astronomical calculation. In the Mental and Moral Sciences, we have translations from Spencer's works on the Data of Ethics, and on Justice by Professor Bhanu; Mr. Sahasrabuddhe has translated Spencer's Education and Mr. Fadke has translated the "Aphorisms on Evolution" and "the Elements of Morals." Mr. Bodas' अद्वैतमीमांसा, and Mr. Kanitkar's translation of Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures deserve mention in this place. The best work on Political Economy is by Mr. G. J. Agashe. Mr. Mule and Mr. Gupte have made themselves useful by publishing works respectively on the industrial wealth and the arts of India. In this department of literature, as remarked above, the graduates of the University have shown more interest than in any others. All the best works have been written by them, and both in point of merit and numbers, they represent a very large proportion. There are some useful works on the arts, among which

we may notice a treatise on Agriculture by Messrs. Gupte and Raje, on "Instrumental and Vocal Music" by Mr. Gharpure, on "Cookery" by Parvatibai, and on the "Art of Sewing" by Rukminibai. There are also special works on Drawing, Gymnastics, Telegraphy, Locomotives, Glass Manufacturing, Fireworks, and Dyeing.

This concludes our review of the present condition of the stock of works on biography, history, politics, law, medicine, philosophy, science and art. In the next chapter we shall notice the three remaining heads—dramas, novels, and prose essays, &c.

PART.—IV.

DRAMAS, NOVELS, AND PROSE ESSAYS.

In all the departments of Marathi literature which we have noticed above, namely, Biography, History, Politics, Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Science and Arts, the inspiration to originality chiefly comes from a study of English Literature or Science; and though the works are not formal translations, many of them are still imbued with the spirit of this new culture, and, therefore, bear the traces of their foreign models or originals of which they have been the adaptations. This is to some extent unavoidable. These departments represent the points of contact between the ancient and the modern, the East and the West; and, naturally, the modern and the Western spirit dominates over the ancient and the national elements. True original work, which represents the genius of the nation, must, under these circumstances, be looked for in the branches of Drama, Fiction, and general Prose Literature. Here the national elements have more freedom to display their own characteristic features, and the translated inspiration is less predominant than in other departments.

As regards the Drama, it has been already seen that there were not any original ancient dramatic works in the language, for the simple reason that the stage, as a means of popular education and amusement, had no place in the past history of Mahârâshtra. In the first fifty years, the only progress made was in the form of some ten works translated into Marathi by Mr. Parashurampant Godbole, and a few other Shastrees, from Sanskrit. During the last thirty years the number of translated dramas has been not very numerous, being in fact less than thirty. These, however, include translations of the plays of Shakespeare and Goldsmith, and of a few select Sanskrit dramas. The original works vastly outnumber the trans-

lations, being over three hundred ; and this affords distinct proof that, in this department, the literary spirit has found a very favourable soil ; and the seed sown has multiplied in a most prolific manner. People still living well remember the sensation created about the year 1853, when the first dramatic company, formed at Sângli, visited Poona and Bombay, and presumed to cater to public amusement by stage representation. The enterprise of the promoters was handsomely rewarded by the public who found in it greater intellectual pleasure than they had experienced in witnessing the performances of the old (दशावतार) Dashâvatâr players, who used to come from the South Karnatic at great public festivals and *jatras*. The encouragement given to the company formed at Sângli, produced many imitators, and regular theatres began to be built in all large towns ; till now there is not a single large city which has not one or more theatres of its own. The promoter of the Sângli Company was one Mr. Vishnupant Bhave, and his success has induced many others to follow his example, among whom we may mention Messrs. Kirloskar, Dongre, Pâtankar, Sâthe, and others. Naturally this new-born taste encouraged the growth of dramatic literature. At first there was no division of labour between the writers of dramas and the stage-managers of theatrical companies ; but, of late, these functions are not combined in one and the same person. The subjects of the earlier dramas were chiefly suggested by the stories of the Mahâbhârat and the Râmâyan, and the Puranic myths ; and, even now, these form the chief bulk of the dramatic works in the language.

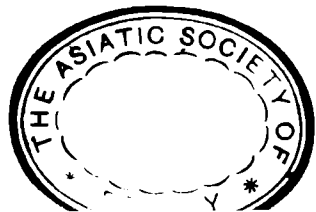
There has, however, been distinct improvement effected in three directions during the last thirty years. The addition of high class music and singing was made a speciality by some of the companies. The credit of this Sangit movement is solely due to Mr. Anna Kirloskar ; and the success which attended his efforts has encouraged a host of imitators. Out of a total number of two hundred and fifty works specially noticed by the Registrar of native publications, some fifty-three are Sangit-dramas ; and the best of them represent what may be styled as substitutes for the opera-performances on the native stage. A vast number of the so called Sangit-works are of no literary value. Mr. Kirloskar's three plays, Shakuntala, Soubhadra, and Ramrajyaviyoga, however, still retain their pre-eminence in the esteem of the theatre-going public.

The second feature is the introduction of comic farces at the end of

the old tiresome performances. These farces are called प्रहसन (Prahasans); and there are some thirty works named in the list, composed by persons who earn their living by writing such comedies. The third feature is closely allied to the last. Just as the farces superseded the interest in the old Puranic dramas which refer to social and political subjects. Out of the two hundred and fifty books specially noted in the list, nearly a hundred are devoted to non-mythic subjects. Many of them are translations from Shakespeare, some of which have been acted on the stage with success. Others represent the stirring events of Maratha History, such as the deaths of Afzulkhan, Narayen Rao Peshwa, and the self-immolation of the wife of the first Madhav Rao Peshwa, who died a *sati*. The greater part, however, refer to the present times with the struggle between the reformers and the orthodox people, on questions of infant, unequal and widow marriages and female education. As might be expected, the majority of them cry down the reforms and the reformers.

It will thus be seen from this that in this department during the past thirty years great progress has been made. The improvement of the stage has been effected by the addition of high-class singing, by the gradual introduction of social, political, and moral topics, and the addition of farces. The entire movement is one full of promise for the future. It has certainly done much to elevate and refine the public taste, and to provide room for the cultivation of the higher sentiments. The only disappointing feature in what is, on the whole, a very satisfactory growth, is the fact that out of some hundred and fifty authors, whose names can be traced from the published lists, there are only eleven names of graduates of the University. Some of them are, no doubt, distinguished names, such as those of Messrs. Kanitkar, Agarkar, Ranade, Mahajani, Kolhatkar, Rajadhyaksh, Wagle, Kelkar, Chitale, Samant, and Kale; but these have, with the exception of Mr. S. M. Ranade, mostly devoted themselves to translation. The translations of Mr. Parashurampant Godbole, of Mr. V. J. Kirtane, Deval, Khare, Kanitkar, Kelkar, and Ranade are highly appreciated by the public. Among the writers of original dramas, the first rank is deservedly given to the elder Kirtane, who was late Diwan at Indore and Naib-Diwan at Baroda. Messrs. Ranade, Deval, Kirloskar, and Kanitkar may be mentioned as also occupying a very high level. Of course, judging by English standards, our best performances must occupy a subordinate place; but it is not fair to judge by this high standard the development of

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a branch of literature which has had as many decades to grow here as it has taken centuries to grow in England. At the same time, it is quite clear that the divorce between University education and the growth of original dramatic work is a matter which must cause serious anxiety to every one interested in the promotion of our national literature.

Novels.—What has been observed above about dramatic works holds equally good of fiction, with this difference that fiction was not altogether unrepresented in our ancient literature. Fiction, of the sorts represented by fairy tales, was known in the stories of the *Vetal-panchavishi*, *Vikrambattishi*, *Shukabhattari*, and others. In the first instance, the additions made were of a kindred character. The *Arabian Nights' Tales*, *Hatim Tai*, and the Persian tales are instances of these additions. In the first fifty years, modern Marathi fiction had made just a commencement with four or five works. During the last thirty years a very large addition has been made representing over three hundred works, and of these, some hundred and eighty-two have been specially noticed in the catalogues and reports of the Registrar of native publications. In the department of fiction, translations have played a more important part than in the case of the drama. The Sanskrit as well as the Urdu and the Persian languages have contributed several interesting models, but the works of English authors, such as Sir Walter Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Reynolds, Johnson, Swift, Defoe, and even some Italian and French authors, Boccaccio, and Dumas, have inspired many of our writers; but, after all, the Marathi works of fiction have a character of their own. Like the dramatic works, they may be divided into two classes: one being pure fiction, untrammelled by time, place, or circumstances, and appealing to our common human nature through the passion of love; and the other class is of the nature of the historical novels, limited by time and circumstances, and being intended to represent the modern conditions of life in all their variety and confusion. Of the first kind the best specimens are *Praimabandhan*, *Vichitrapuri*, *Munjughosha*, *Muktamala*, *Mochangad*, *Veshdhari Panjabi*, *Anath Pandurang*, *Narayan Rao* and *Godavari*; the best specimens of the second class are furnished by the writings of *Nagesh Rao Bapat*, *Harianda Narayan Apte*. We may specially notice *Apte's पण लक्षांत कोण घेतो* and *आजकालच्या गोष्टी*, and *Bapat's Bajirao Peshwa* and *पानपतची मोहिम*. As in the case of dramatic works, the department of fiction has also not attracted much attention from our graduates.

The names of about hundred and twenty authors can be traced in the official list; and out of them, only about six or seven appear to be University graduates:—Messrs. Ranade, Kanitkar, Agashe, Bhide, Krishnarao Madhav, and Gunjekar. The best writers are those that are either non-University or pre-University men. Mr. Hari Narayan Apte and Nagesh Rao Bapat are our most popular and most distinguished novelists. Messrs. Halave, Risbud, Yogee, Kanitkar, and others rank high in their own places. There is no particular reason why, when so many complaints about the want of suitable employment for graduates are heard on all sides, there should be so few from among them who devote themselves to literary pursuits which, in their own way, provide occupation or substantial remuneration to so many of their presumably less educated fellow-countrymen. Speaking roughly, the number of those who have edited ancient works, or brought out translations, or composed original works in all branches of literature, cannot be short of seven hundred; and out of this number the graduates are about sixty or seventy in all, that is, one to ten. The fault does not lie with the individuals so much as with the system under which they are brought up. Their education is so exclusively foreign that all incentives to study, and to add to the stock of national literature is, for the most part, entirely wanting; and year after year this indifference and neglect are becoming more pronounced. This is the mournful conclusion taught by the figures which have been given above.

General Prose Literature.—Prose works shown in the reports under the head of Language make up a large number—about one hundred and fifty, exclusive of school-books. Out of these, about fifty books deserve a high place for their literary and other merits. Among these, we might mention in this place three works of travel: one by Pandita Ramabai, another by Mr. Pavagi, and Mr. Bhagwat's translations of Karsandas Mulajee's account of England and its people. These three works are, in fact, the only books which deserve notice under the head of travels in the language.

Mr. Bapat's *Sadvartana* (सहवर्तन), Mr. Oka's *Madhumakshika* (मधुमक्षिका) and *Shirastedar* (शिरस्तेदार), Mr. Nagesh Rao Bapat's *Dadoji Kondadev* (दादोजी कोंडदेव), Mr. Agarkar's *Essays* published by him in the *Kesari* and select essays in the *Sudharak* and in other papers, Mr. Gole's *Brahmins and their Learning*, Mr. C. V. Vaidya's series on *Social Reform and Early-marriage*. Mr. Nana Pavagee's *Bharatiya-Samrajya* (भारतीय साम्राज्य), the late Vishnu Shastri (Chip-

lunkar's Nibandhamala (निबंधमाला), and the lives of Sanskrit poets, Mr. Barve's Confessions of a Thug, Pandita Ramabai's Streedharmaniti (स्त्रीधर्म नीति), Mr. Wagle's Bacon's Essays, Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat's Thoughts on Maratha History and Maharashtra-dharma (महाराष्ट्र धर्म), Account of Dhoom Mahabaleswar, by Mr. Udas, Mr. Gadgil's translation of the Pleasures of Life, Mr. Balasaheb Deva's translation of Cicero, and Reverend Baba Padamji's Sahitya Shataka and Yamuna-paryatana, these and others may be mentioned as constituting a very good selection of prose-works for the general reader. The only heads that remain to be mentioned are Religion, and Travels. Besides the works on travels noticed above, there is a blank in our literature on the subject which has not been filled up during the last thirty years. The only other works which are classed under this head are accounts of pilgrimages to Benares, Rameshwar, and Gokarn Mahabaleshwar, &c., which possess no literary merits. As regards books on religion no remark seems to be necessary. Their number, no doubt, is considerable, but they are fleeting productions of no literary value and full of superstition. Miscellaneous works are one-fourth of the whole number and call for no remark. They include a large number of school books.

The periodicals and the newspapers deserve a passing notice in this place. As regards the periodicals, we have a large number, about 15 in all, at present courting public support. The most notable and the best conducted are विविधज्ञानविस्तार, प्रन्यमाला, भाषान्तर, भारतवर्ष, ऐतिहासिक लेख संग्रह, केरळ कोकिल, and . बालबोध प्रन्यमाला is edited by professor Beejapurkar, भारतवर्ष edited by Messrs. Apte and Parasnis, ऐतिहासिक लेख संग्रह by Vasudeo Shastri Khare and भाषान्तर by Mr. Rajwade. These are very useful in giving encouragement to young authors, but their circulation is very limited.

As regards newspapers at present we have a large number,—about 100 ; three of them are daily, and the rest are mostly weekly. Every zilla town, and in some districts every taluka town, has one or more newspapers. Compared with the state of things as it obtained thirty years ago, no department of literary activity has made more sensible progress than the newspapers of this country. We are here concerned only with the literary character of the native Press, and it may safely be said that the progress made is very encouraging. The best newspapers, some 16 in all, count their subscribers by thousands, whereas thirty years ago it was difficult to secure as many hundreds. On the staff of some of the best newspapers literary talent of a very

high order is engaged, and in some cases the editors are well paid for their labour. Still it must be remarked that most of these mofussil newspapers are enterprises carried on for finding work for the press hands which cannot be fully engaged otherwise in their own proper work, and the so-called editors are insufficiently educated and poorly paid.

We may conclude this review with a brief mention of a few female authors. Pandita Ramabai naturally takes the lead; Mrs. Kasibai Kanitkar, who has written a life of Anandibai Joshi, ranks next; Miss Bhor, the author of पुष्पकरंडक, Mrs. Sawaskar, Godawaribai Pandit Kashibai, Parwatibai, and Rukminibai may also be mentioned. One lady writer conducted a journal called the *Aryabhagini* for many years.

ART. VII.—*Note on three bricks* with impressions of figures and letters on these found at Tagoung, some 200 miles above Mandalay in Burma.* BY DR. B. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., &c.

(Communicated July 1893.)

Nos. I and II of these bricks contain three figures, the middle one sitting in an attitude of meditation with the right hand touching the earth, and the two at the sides standing. They are enclosed in shrines, and the vacant space is filled with representations of stûpas. The sitting figure represents Buddha and the two at the sides probably represent his chief disciples Sâriputra and Maudgalâyana speaking or lecturing. The third brick contains only one figure in a shrine which represents Buddha sitting in a meditative attitude as in the others, and the vacant space at the sides and above is filled with stûpas, the two at the sides being much larger than those above or in the other two bricks. Below the figures there are letters in relief which together with the figures were impressed on the clay by means of a matrix. They form the well-known Buddhist formula in the Âryâ metre. The following are transcripts:—

No. I.

वे धंमा हेतुपहवा तेसां हेतुं तयागतो [बो] (च)
तेसां च बो निरोधं एवंवासी महा[स](म)णो

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read respectively धं, सां, हुं, सां, धो. The letters which are indistinct are enclosed within rectangular brackets. The letters which have dropped out or are obliterated are enclosed within circular brackets.

No. II.

[वे] धंमा हेतुपहवा तेसां हेतुं तयागतो बोच
तेसां च बो [निरो] धं एवं वासां महं(स)[म]णो

Read धं, सां, हुं, सां, धो, वं, ही, हा, णो respectively for the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

No. III.

[वे] धंमा हेतुपहवा तेसां हे[तुं] त [या]
गतो [बो] च तेसां च बो निरोधं
[एवंवासी] महा [सम]णं

* Forwarded by Lieut. A. Willock.

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c., read respectively धं, हे, सां, तुं, सां धो, वं, णो.

This formula occurs in Buddhistic sculptures discovered in India, and it was often impressed on clay by means of a seal as in the numerous specimens found in one of the Keneri caves (J. B. B. R. A. S. VI. 157, Pl. VII, a, b, c, d), at Valabhi (Ind. Ant. I, 130 ; J. B. B. R. A. S. XI, 334) and other places in Northern India. It however mostly occurs in its Sanskrit form, and is as follows :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।
तेषां च वो निरोध एववादी महाभजनः॥

As impressed on the bricks under notice it is in the Pāli language. Here we have तेषां before हेतु, and वोच the Pāli form of the Sanskrit अवोचत् for हि and अवदत्. The formula gives succinctly Buddha's method of Salvation. He traced the misery of worldly existence to certain causes and pointed out the way of counteracting or destroying those causes and thus attaining to bliss. The formula may be thus translated :—

“The Tathāgata explained the cause of those matters which spring from a cause and [the mode of] its destruction. This was what the Great Ascetic taught.”

The form of the letters on the bricks resembles that which prevailed in Northern India in the eighth century of the Christian Era. The bricks therefore are not older than that century.

It deserves to be noticed that one of the clay impressions found at Keneri and given by Mr. West in his article resembles the figure and the stūpa ornaments in the bricks before us and the formula also is in Pāli, except that वा have व् for व् in the fourth word. There is also the verb वच् for वोच instead of the ह्यवदत् of the Sanskrit form. This is almost a unique instance of the occurrence of the Pāli formula in Indian monuments. That we find it mostly in Sanskrit is to be accounted for by the fact that it was composed or came into general use about or after the time when the Pāli ceased to be the sacred language of Indian Buddhism. In the bricks under notice it occurs in the Pāli form because the language of Buddhistic Literature in Burma has always been Pāli.

ART. VIII.—*A Preliminary Study of the Shivarāi, or Chhatrapati Copper Coins.* By the REV. J. E. ABBOTT, B. A.

[Read 17th November, 1698.]

My interest in these coins, known as the Shivarāi or Chhatrapati coins, began with my discovery of their neglect. I found the literature on these coins to be practically nil, and the few references made to them not in every particular correct. I could find no numismatists who had studied them, or who were even aware that these coins were dated or had names on them of the Maratha kings other than that of Shivaji. I can hardly believe that the fact of dates and names has escaped the attention of every one, but it happens that I have found no one aware of these dates and names, not even the money-changers, who have been handling these coins all their lives. Finding, therefore, what seemed an open field for original work, I have taken up their study with interest and with some degree of success.

I have given to this paper the title of a "Preliminary Study of the Shivarāi, or Chhatrapati, Coins" for the reason that though I have carefully examined at least 25,000 of these coins, I have not extracted from them all the information they are, I am convinced, capable of yielding. And, moreover, the information I have gained has suggested problems I have not yet found sufficient data to solve. And still further, every time I examine a heap of new coins, I find some new fact of date, or name, or other mark, that modify my previous theories. My purpose, therefore, in presenting the subject at this incomplete stage of my study, is to arouse the interest of numismatists in these coins, and take them out of the region of absolute neglect. To those whose interest is excited, it will, moreover, be helpful to take up the subject at a point where considerable information has been gained. Over a large part of the Deccan, and to some extent in the Konkan, these coins are still current in the bazars, and hence are easily accessible for study.

As my object is two-fold, namely, to give, *first*, the results of my study, and, *secondly*, to be helpful to those who may follow me in the investigation of these coins, I have added to this paper references of many kinds, with full quotations from books that might not be easily accessible, and other material such as chronological tables, eras, and a list of the Maratha kings.

At the very beginning of this paper I wish to emphasize the fact that further discoveries may modify what I have with more or less certainty advanced. Theories which rest on single coins, for example, and those not always perfect, need more confirmation from further discoveries.

The Literature on the Gold, Silver, and Copper Chhatrapati Coins.

The few references in scientific Journals to the coins of the Maratha kings, which I have been able to find, are as follows :—

1. Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, edition of 1823. Plate XLVII., No. 1068, gives a facsimile of one of these coins. On page 734 a description of the coin is given. After speaking of some other coins Marsden adds :—

“These were given to me by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), and at the same time a third, of copper, said to have been discovered in the ruins of the city of Kanauj, and supposed to have been struck by the Raja who founded Delhi. Its inscription, occupying both sides, expresses the name of श्रीराजाशिव *Sri Raja Siva Chhatrapati*, which I am unable to identify in any list.”

Though Marsden was thus entirely mistaken as to the author of the coin, his reference is incidentally valuable, in that the fact of its being dug up in the ruins of Kanauj before 1823 is corroborating evidence regarding the age of that particular mintage.

2. Prof. H. H. Wilson, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVI., old series, page 181, in speaking of the silver Larins of Sultan Ali Adil Shah, says :—

“The date of ‘Chardin's Travels in Persia’ corresponds nearly with that of the Ali Adil Shahi coin, of 1667-1674 ; at which period the coinage of Larins had ceased in Lar, but had been taken up by the Bijapur princes. He mentions the Larin being in use in his day in the Gulf of Cambay as money of account ; but he might have gone further, and stated that it was still the chief currency of the Malabar coast. In fact, it continued to be so for a much longer period, as Mr. Coles mentions a document amongst the records of the collectorate, in which notice is given by the Government of Satara to the authorities of a place termed Kharapatam of a grant of laud of the value of 200 Dhole Larins, which is dated A. D. 1711. The fabrication of the money, extensively adopted by the last Bijapur Kings, was therefore continued by Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta principality, and his successors.”

3. O. Codrington, M. D., in describing the coins in the Museum of this Society (see B. B. R. A. S. Journal, page 37, Vol. XVIII.), remarks in connection with the Adil Shahi silver larines:—

“I would also note that no silver coins of Sivaji are known though we are told that he did strike silver coins (see Grant Duff and *Bombay Gazetteer*), and Prof. Wilson, in his article above referred to (*Numismatic Chronicle*, XVI., page 179) shows that in all probability the Larin was adopted by him also. I have, therefore, long looked for some Larins with Nagri letters, or Sivaji's name, on them, for it seems unlikely that a ruler of his character would have been content to issue coins bearing merely a part of a Persian inscription, or one having the name of the Bijapur King, without his own name also, or, at any rate some sign of his Maratha raj. It would be interesting to have this in view in examining Larins found in the Konkan or Deccan. The Satara Chhatrapati pice is well known.”

4. *Indian Antiquary*, 1896, Vol. XXV., page 319 and Plate I., No. 14.—“Miscellaneous coins of Southern India,” by Dr. E. Hultzsch, with facsimiles. In describing this coin Dr. Hultzsch says:—

“This very common coin was already published by Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate XLVII., No. 1068. It is here figured again in order to show its connection with the fanam No. 13.¹ The title Chhairapati, ‘lord of the parasol,’ was borne by the Mahratta Kings of Satara, see Dr. Codrington's paper on the seals of the late Satara Kingdom, B. B. R. A. S., Journal, Vol. XVI., page 126 ff. Hence the coins No. 13 and No. 14 may be ascribed to the first Mahratta King Sivaji (A. D. 1674-1680).”

¹ This gold fanam in Plate I, No. 17, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV., p. 319, Dr. Hultzsch, describes as 5½ grains in weight, with the inscription.

Obv.	श्री	Sri.	Rev.	छत्रा	Chhetrá.
	राजा	Râjâ.		पति	Pati.

and adds that “this coin was first noticed in Captain Tufnell's “Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India,” p. 79, from information supplied by myself.”

In a note Dr. Hultzsch says in regard to the spelling of *pati* “another specimen reads *patt* instead of *pati*.” It appears therefore that the gold fanams shew the same peculiarity of spelling as the copper coins.

Dr. Hultzsch reads *Chhetrapati* in the text, and corrects it to *Chhatrapati* in his note, but comparison with copper coins show that what Dr. Hultzsch mistook for a *mâtrâ* over the छ is merely a symbol or conventional mark, and so should be read in the text *Chhatrapati* not *Chhetrapati*. I have specimens in which that mark is placed anywhere from well to the left of the point where the *mâtrâ* would naturally touch the छ, to a point over the च.

Historical References to the Chhatrapati Coins.

1. In Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, page 200, the following reference mentions the first attempt at coining by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Dynasty, when on a visit to his hill fort of Raigad in A. D. 1664 :—

“He spent some months revising and arranging the departments and affairs of his government, assisted by his principal officers, and on this occasion first assumed the title of Râjâ, and struck coins in his own name.”

Grant Duff in writing of the year 1674, ten years later (page 263), says : “Shivaji, who had long struck coins, and styled himself Raja, and Maharaja, was at this time consulting many learned Brahmins on the propriety of declaring his independence, assuming ensigas of royalty, and establishing an era from the day of his ascending the throne.”

Accordingly, on the 6th of June A. D. 1674, Shivaji was again in more formal manner placed on the throne, assuming the title Kshatriya Kulavatamsa Shri Râjâ Siva Chhatrapati. The latter part of this title, *Chhatrapati*, appears on all the coins without exception.

2. In Thomas McCudden's “Oriental Eras,” 1846, page xvi., some doubt is thrown on whether Shivaji did coin in 1664. He assumes some typographical error to account for Grant Duff's assertion that Shivaji assumed the title of Raja in 1664 and coined in his own name.

As, however, Grant Duff's statement is doubtless correct, one of the problems will be to determine what coins were issued by Shivaji between 1664 and 1674.

3. If the original documents of the Maratha kings and Peshwas were published much light would undoubtedly be thrown on these coins, for amongst the orders issued by them are those regulating the coinage.

Through the courtesy of the Hon. Justice Ranade I have been shown translations of several orders given by Bâjirao Peshwa, which throw light on the right of coining. There was no central mint, and the right of coining was given to copper-smiths and others in various parts of the kingdom, such as Nâsik, Nâgotna and Revadandâ, under certain rules as to weight and quality of the metal. These orders say nothing as to the inscription to be stamped on the coin, but it may be assumed that this was not left to the choice of the coiner, and orders on this point may yet be found. A careful search into extant historical material is likely to yield information most valuable in settling many questions that arise as to time and place of the coinage.

The fact that the practice of the Maratha kings in regard to coinage was not that of having a central mint, and reserving the right of coining, but that of giving a licence to those who chose to coin according to prescribed rules, explains many eccentricities to be observed in the Chhatrapati coins, as for example the great difference in workmanship, from the clear cut, neat looking inscription to the most slovenly and scrawly.

It seems to me clear from the study of the coins, that there must have been some Government order as to the inscription to be used, for notwithstanding diversity in details, there is evidence of unity of design. Old letters, *daftars*, *bakhars* and the like will, I am sure, throw much light on the subject, so as to make the chronological arrangement of these coins certain within well defined limits.

The question as to what States coined needs also to be settled by original documents. Did States tributary to Satara and Kolhapur issue coins of the Chhatrapati type. If they did, it is fairly evident that all followed a common type. Dates, names, ornamentation, form and size of the letters differ, but the type is one.

The Eras used by the Marathas.

In Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, page 55, 1st Edition, the following note occurs regarding the eras current among the Marathas:—

“There are at present four eras used in the Maratha country, besides the Christian, *viz.*, 1. The Shalivahan; 2. The Soorsun or Arabic year; 3. The Fasli year; and, 4. The Raj Abhishek, or from the date of Shivaji's ascending the throne.”

“The Soorsun and Fasli eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the year of the Hijri when they commenced, but without making allowance in future reckoning for the difference between the solar and lunar years, by which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fasli are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.”

“The Soorsun was introduced on the Mirg in Hijri 745, which corresponds with A. D. 1344-45, and hence it would appear that it must have originated with Mahommed Tugluk Shah.”

2. Cunningham's book of Indian Eras, page 82, says:—

“There is also a Fasli era in the Deccan, which was established by Shah Jehan in A. D. 1636, or H. 1046. The beginning of the year has been fixed by the Madras Government to the 12th of July.”

3. Thomas McCudden, *Oriental Eras*, page xiv, says:—

“Fasli is taken from the season of harvest. It commences from the month of June, and it is otherwise called Mrigsâl. It is supposed to date its origin from the Emperor Akbar’s accession to the throne. The era is supposed to commence from the year 1591 A. D., but nothing decided can be ascertained as to the circumstances connected with its origin, as it is enveloped in some obscurity; but Grant Duff, in his *History of the Marathas*, states that the era of the Deccan owes its origin to the Emperor Shah Jehan, who after bringing his wars to a close in 1636, made a settlement of the country, and introduced the revenue system of Tudor Mul, the able and celebrated minister of the Emperor Akbar.”

4. To the above list of four eras there should, I think, be added a fifth which I shall call the Kolhâpur era. The existence of this era is a discovery I have just made, (which I advance with some diffidence, however), through the fortunate finding of a coin on which there seem to be dates in two eras—one in Marathi numerals, the other in Arabic. The coin is not quite perfect, hence there is an element of doubt. No mention of this Kolhâpur era is to be found in any historical reference known to me, nor in any book on eras. Assuming, however, that my supposition is correct, the era dates from the independence of the Kolhâpur branch from the Satara State in A. D. 1709, and is measured in Hijri years. Coins with this era that I have thus far found all fall in the reign of Shivaji III., of Kolhapur, hence I cannot yet say whether other princes of Kolhâpur used this era.

Eras of the Chhatrapati Coins.

I have thus far found coins which seems to be dated in three eras, and in possibly a fourth.

1. The Abhishek, era, in Marathi numerals.

2. The possible Kolhâpur era in Arabic numerals, which I have conjecturally advanced as a discovery due to these coins. If my conjecture is correct it begins with 1709, and is measured in Hijri years.

3. The Sursan era. I am not yet satisfied with the independent evidence of the coins as between the Fasli and Sursan, but the weight of evidence is, I think, in favor of the Sursan.

4. I have a coin with a date 18, but it is uncertain whether the numerals consists of these two figures only. This might be Abhishek, 18, or as an alternative Samvat, 18 ** i. e., this might

indicate a date anywhere between S. 1800 and S. 1896, A. D. 1743-1839, at which latter date the Kolhāpur mints were closed.

Table of Eras.

I give below a table of the different eras that may be helpful in determining the eras of such dated coins as may be found. The Christian, Fasli, Sursan, Hijri, Shalivāhan, Samvat, Abhishek and the conjectural Kolhāpur era, from A. D. 1664, the date of Shivaji's supposed first date of coining until 1857.

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhāpur era.
1664	1074	1065	1075	1586	1721		
1665	1075	1066	1076	1587	1722		
1666	1076	1067	1077	1588	1723		
1667	1077	1068	1078	1589	1724		
1668	1078	1069	1079	1590	1725		
1669	1079	1070	1080	1591	1726		
1670	1080	1071	1081	1592	1727		
1671	1081	1072	1082	1593	1728		
1672	1082	1073	1083	1594	1729		
1673	1083	1074	1084	1595	1730		
1674	1084	1075	1085	1596	1731	1	
1675	1085	1076	1086	1597	1732	2	
1676	1086	1077	1087	1598	1733	3	
1677	1087	1078	1088	1599	1734	4	
1678	1088	1079	1089	1600	1735	5	
1679	1089	1080	1090	1601	1736	6	
1680	1090	1081	1091	1602	1737	7	
1681	1091	1082	1092	1603	1738	8	
1682	1092	1083	1093 1094	1604	1739	9	
1683	1093	1084	1095	1605	1740	10	
1684	1094	1085	1096	1606	1741	11	
1685	1095	1086	1097	1607	1742	12	
1686	1096	1087	1098	1608	1743	13	
1687	1097	1088	1099	1609	1744	14	
1688	1098	1089	1100	1610	1745	15	
1689	1099	1090	1101	1611	1746	16	
1690	1100	1091	1102	1612	1747	17	
1691	1101	1092	1103	1613	1748	18	
1692	1102	1093	1104	1614	1749	19	
1693	1103	1094	1105	1615	1750	20	
1694	1104	1095	1106	1616	1751	21	
1695	1105	1096	1107	1617	1752	22	

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Salivâ- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shi- vaji.	Conjec- tural Kolhâpur era.
1696	1106	1097	1108	1618	1753	23	
1697	1107	1098	1109	1619	1754	24	
1698	1108	1099	1110	1620	1755	25	
1699	1109	1100	1111	1621	1756	26	
1700	1110	1101	1112	1622	1757	27	
1701	1111	1102	1113	1623	1758	28	
1702	1112	1103	1114	1624	1759	29	
1703	1113	1104	1115	1625	1760	30	
1704	1114	1105	1116	1626	1761	31	
1705	1115	1106	1117	1627	1762	32	
1706	1116	1107	1118	1628	1763	33	
1707	1117	1108	1119	1629	1764	34	
1708	1118	1109	1120	1630	1765	35	
1709	1119	1110	1121	1631	1766	36	1
1710	1120	1111	1122	1632	1767	37	2
1711	1121	1112	1123	1633	1768	38	3
1712	1122	1113	1124	1634	1769	39	4
1713	1123	1114	1125	1635	1770	40	5
1714	1124	1115	¹¹²⁶ 1127	1636	1771	41	6
1715	1125	1116	1128	1637	1772	42	8
1716	1126	1117	1129	1638	1773	43	9
1717	1127	1118	1130	1639	1774	44	10
1718	1128	1119	1131	1640	1775	45	11
1719	1129	1120	1132	1641	1776	46	12
1720	1130	1121	1133	1642	1777	47	13
1721	1131	1122	1134	1643	1778	48	14
1722	1132	1123	1135	1644	1779	49	15
1723	1133	1124	1136	1645	1780	50	16
1724	1134	1125	1137	1646	1781	51	17
1725	1135	1126	1138	1647	1782	52	18
1726	1136	1127	1139	1648	1783	53	19
1727	1137	1128	1140	1649	1784	54	20
1728	1138	1129	1141	1650	1785	55	21
1729	1139	1130	1142	1651	1786	56	22
1730	1140	1131	1143	1652	1787	57	23
1731	1141	1132	1144	1653	1788	58	24
1732	1142	1133	1145	1654	1789	59	25
1733	1143	1134	1146	1655	1790	60	26
1734	1144	1135	1147	1656	1791	61	27
1735	1145	1136	1148	1657	1792	62	28
1736	1146	1137	1149	1658	1793	63	29
1737	1147	1138	1150	1659	1794	64	30
1738	1148	1139	1151	1660	1795	65	31

Christian A. D.	Fasli.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era. Shi- vaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1739	1149	1140	1152	1661	1796	66	32
1740	1150	1141	1153	1662	1797	67	33
1741	1151	1142	1154	1663	1798	68	34
1742	1152	1143	1155	1664	1799	69	35
1743	1153	1144	1156	1665	1800	70	36
1744	1154	1145	1157	1666	1801	71	37
1745	1155	1146	1158	1667	1802	72	38
1746	1156	1147	1159	1668	1803	73	39
1747	1157	1148	1160 1161	1669	1804	74	40 41
1748	1158	1149	1162	1670	1805	75	42
1749	1159	1150	1163	1671	1806	76	43
1750	1160	1151	1164	1672	1807	77	44
1751	1161	1152	1165	1673	1808	78	45
1752	1162	1153	1166	1674	1809	79	46
1753	1163	1154	1167	1675	1810	80	47
1754	1164	1155	1168	1676	1811	81	48
1755	1165	1156	1169	1677	1812	82	49
1756	1166	1157	1170	1678	1813	83	50
1757	1167	1158	1171	1679	1814	84	51
1758	1168	1159	1172	1680	1815	85	52
1759	1169	1160	1173	1681	1816	86	53
1760	1170	1161	1174	1682	1817	87	54
1761	1171	1162	1175	1683	1818	88	55
1762	1172	1163	1176	1684	1819	89	56
1763	1173	1164	1177	1685	1820	90	57
1764	1174	1165	1178	1686	1821	91	58
1765	1175	1166	1179	1687	1822	92	59
1766	1176	1167	1180	1688	1823	93	60
1767	1177	1168	1181	1689	1824	94	61
1768	1178	1169	1182	1690	1825	95	62
1769	1179	1170	1183	1691	1826	96	63
1770	1180	1171	1184	1692	1827	97	64
1771	1181	1172	1185	1693	1828	98	65
1772	1182	1173	1186	1694	1829	99	66
1773	1183	1174	1187	1695	1830	100	67
1774	1184	1175	1188	1696	1831	101	68
1775	1185	1176	1189	1697	1832	102	69
1776	1186	1177	1190	1698	1833	103	70
1777	1187	1178	1191	1699	1834	104	71
1778	1188	1179	1192	1700	1835	105	72
1779	1189	1180	1193 1194	1701	1836	106	73 74
1780	1190	1181	1195	1702	1837	107	75
1781	1191	1182	1196	1703	1838	108	76
1782	1192	1183	1197	1704	1839	109	77

Christian A. D.	Faah.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhi-ek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1783	1193	1184	1198	1705	1840	110	78
1784	1194	1185	1199	1706	1841	111	79
1785	1195	1186	1200	1707	1842	112	80
1786	1196	1187	1201	1708	1843	113	81
1787	1197	1188	1202	1709	1144	114	82
1788	1198	1189	1203	1710	1845	115	83
1789	1199	1190	1204	1711	1846	116	84
1790	1200	1191	1205	1712	1847	117	85
1791	1201	1192	1206	1713	1848	118	86
1792	1202	1193	1207	1714	1849	119	87
1793	1203	1194	1208	1715	1850	120	88
1794	1204	1195	1209	1716	1851	121	89
1795	1205	1196	1210	1717	1852	122	90
1796	1206	1197	1211	1718	1853	123	91
1797	1207	1198	1212	1719	1854	124	92
1798	1208	1199	1213	1720	1855	125	93
1799	1209	1200	1214	1721	1856	126	94
1800	1210	1201	1215	1722	1857	127	95
1801	1211	1202	1216	1723	1858	128	96
1802	1212	1203	1217	1724	1859	129	97
1803	1213	1204	1218	1725	1860	130	98
1804	1214	1205	1219	1726	1861	131	99
1805	1215	1206	1220	1727	1862	132	100
1806	1216	1207	1221	1728	1863	133	101
1807	1217	1208	1222	1729	1864	134	102
1808	1218	1209	1223	1730	1865	135	103
1809	1219	1210	1224	1731	1866	136	104
1810	1220	1211	1225	1732	1867	137	105
1811	1221	1212	1226	1733	1868	138	106
1812	1222	1213	1227 1228	1734	1869	139	107 108
1813	1223	1214	1229	1735	1870	140	109
1814	1224	1215	1230	1736	1871	141	110
1815	1225	1216	1231	1737	1872	142	111
1816	1226	1217	1232	1738	1873	143	112
1817	1227	1218	1233	1739	1874	144	113
1818	1228	1219	1234	1740	1875	145	114
1819	1229	1220	1235	1741	1876	146	115
1820	1230	1221	1236	1742	1877	147	116
1821	1231	1222	1237	1743	1878	148	117
1822	1232	1223	1238	1744	1879	149	118
1823	1233	1224	1239	1745	1880	150	119
1824	1234	1225	1240	1746	1881	151	120
1825	1235	1226	1241	1747	1882	152	121
1826	1236	1227	1242	1748	1883	153	122
1827	1237	1228	1243	1749	1884	154	123
1828	1238	1229	1244	1750	1885	155	124

Christian A. D.	Faah.	Sursan.	Hijri.	Shaliva- han.	Vikram Samvat.	Abhishek era of Shivaji.	Conjectural Kolhapur era.
1829	1239	1230	1245	1751	1886	156	125
1830	1240	1231	1246	1752	1887	157	126
1831	1241	1232	1247	1753	1888	158	127
1832	1242	1233	1248	1754	1889	159	128
1833	1243	1234	1249	1755	1890	160	129
1834	1244	1235	1250	1756	1891	161	130
1835	1245	1236	1251	1757	1892	162	131
1836	1246	1237	1252	1758	1893	163	132
1837	1247	1238	1253	1759	1894	164	133
1838	1248	1239	1254	1760	1895	165	134
1839	1249	1240	1255	1761	1896	166	135
1840	1250	1241	1256	1762	1897	167	136
1841	1251	1242	1257	1763	1898	168	137
1842	1252	1243	1258	1764	1899	169	138
1843	1253	1244	1259	1765	1900	170	139
1844	1254	1245	1260	1766	1901	171	140
1845	1255	1246	1261	1767	1902	172	141
1846	1256	1247	1262	1768	1903	173	142
1847	1257	1248	1263	1769	1904	174	143
1848	1258	1249	1264	1770	1905	175	144
1849	1259	1250	1265	1771	1906	176	145
1850	1260	1251	1266	1772	1907	177	146
1851	1261	1252	1267	1773	1908	178	147
1852	1262	1253	1268	1774	1909	179	148
1853	1263	1254	1269	1775	1910	180	149
1854	1264	1255	1270	1776	1911	181	150
1855	1265	1256	1271	1777	1912	182	151
1856	1266	1257	1272	1778	1913	183	152
1857	1267	1258	1273	1779	1914	184	153

Maratha Kings.

Shivaji began to coin A. D. 1664

Shivaji 1674—1680

Sambhaji 1680—1689

Rajaram 1689—1700

Satara branch.

Shivaji II....	... 1700—1709.....	Shivaji II. ...	1709—1712
Shahu ...	... 1708—1749	Sambhaji II.	1712—1760
Ramrāja ...	... 1749—1777	Shivaji III.	1760—1812
Shahu II. ...	... 1777—1808	Shambhu ...	1812—1821
Pra'apsimba	... 1808—1839	Shahaji ...	1821—1837
Shahaji ...	... 1839—1840	Shivaji IV.	1837—1866
		Rajaram II.	1866—1870
		Shivaji V. ...	1870—1883
		Shahu ...	1883—

The Currency of the Coin.

The coin of the Maratha kings is popularly known as the Chhatrapati or Shivarāi, and is to be met with as current coin in the large cities and towns of this Presidency, as Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Satara, Nasik, and in the Konkan.

The following interesting note occurs in the *Bombay Gazetteer* for Poona, Part II., page 107 :—

“Old copper coins called Chhatrapatis also called Shivrāis, as the coin of Raja Shivaji, worth about a quarter of an anna, are also current. The Chhatrapati contains 136 grains troy ($\frac{3}{4}$ tola) of pure copper, or 45 grains troy ($\frac{1}{4}$ tola) more than the current quarter anna piece. Still it sells for less, as one or two pieces have to be added in every rupee. The coinage of the Chhatrapati or Shivarāi was stopped immediately after the beginning of British rule. But about thirty years ago³ large quantities of a counterfeit coin with an alloy of zinc were secretly coined and circulated in the markets near Junnar and Ahmednagar. Though gradually disappearing these false Shivarāis are still in use, and are so close a copy of the real Shivarāi that only an expert can tell them from each other.”

Data for General Analysis.

The problem before the Numismatist is of course to arrange these coins in the chronological order of their issue, and according to the States that issued them. The difficulties in the way of doing so consist in the following reasons:—

1. Comparatively few are dated.
2. Comparatively few have a name stamped upon them, owing to the die having been much larger than the coin. The name was farthest from the centre of the die, hence usually failed to appear on the coin.
3. The same name was common to many of the Maratha kings; hence of the two Shivajis of Satara, and two of Kolhapur, the two Shāhus of Satara, &c., it is difficult to determine which king was intended, even though the name may be plain.
4. Considering the loose way in which coins were issued, it can hardly be assumed, without additional proof, that the dies were changed with each reign. The same die or its copies may have descended without radical change in the hands of those who bought the right to coin.

³ About 1855.

5. The system of the Marathas made counterfeiting easy, and without more knowledge it is difficult to distinguish the true from the counterfeit.

On the other hand we are helped in analysing them—

1. By the dates.—I am constantly finding new dates, and if the search is kept up, there will be no difficulty regarding the dated series.

2. By the names.—I have found three names on these coins, namely, Shivaji, Rām Rājā and Shāhu, and perhaps a fourth, सार्व. And as I have found a coin with Shāhu's name, with also the date 1234, and सार्व with the date 97 of the conjectural Kolhapur era, there is a good basis to start from in the comparing of the dateless named coins, with the nameless dated coins.

3. Although the coins present a very great variety in the minute details, they all follow a certain type. It remains to trace the development from the original coin of Shivaji, the Founder, in A. D. 1664 to the closing of the mints by the British, by means of those variations in the form of letters and symbols which clearly show a development from an older copy.

In my study of these coins, I have examined about 25,000. Every coin with any peculiarity I have preserved, so that by comparison of the number of any particular kind of coin with the number examined, I have a fairly accurate measure of the rarity of any particular coin. I have drawn up a table (page 21) which will shew at a glance the rarity of each coin.

The Die.

I am not aware of the present existence of any of the dies formerly used. It would be interesting if such could be found.

From the coins the following particulars regarding the dies may be obtained:—

1. Some were cut with great neatness, making coins with clear, sharp cut inscriptions.

2. Others were cut in a very slovenly way, indicating lack of skill and carefulness.

3. Some dies were so cut as to reverse all the letters on the coins, or in other cases one or two letters. Whether this was through carelessness, or purposely done through some superstitious idea, I have no evidence to determine. Major Codrington in his paper on the "Seals of the late Satara Kingdom" (B. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVI., page

135) describes the seal of Narayanrâo Ballal, Chief Minister to Râjâ Râm, in which the final न of the inscription is reversed, and adds:—“There is a story about this, viz. :—The seal was brought by the maker of it into the Râjâ’s presence, and an impression made of it on paper, when this error was discovered. But as the letter न represents adversity, it was allowed to remain reverted, and thus express prosperity.”

As some of these reversed coins are well made, I think it is not an unlikely presumption that the dies were purposely so made, with some superstitious idea.

Method of Coining.

The *Bombay Gazetteer* on Nasik, page 429, gives a description of how coins were made at the Chandor mint, which was closed in 1830.

“A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that the size should be uniform. For this purpose scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the piece, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee an instrument like an anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it. Piece after piece was thrown into the hole, the seal was held on it by a workman called batekari, and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike 2,000 pieces an hour, or 20,000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all the letters were seldom inscribed. Gold and copper coins were also made in the mint, but the copper coins had a different seal.”

Inscription and Symbols.

The usual inscription occupies three lines on the obverse, and two on the reverse.

For example,

Ob. श्री
राजा
शिव

Rev. छत्र
पति

The variations of these inscriptions are—

1. In the place of श्री.—

- a. श्री with a date following.
- b. श्री after the date.
- c. श्री dividing the date.
- d. The word उष्य in Modi letters, with a date.

2. In the case of Râm Râjâ's coins, his name appears after and on the same line as the word श्री. श्रीराम. Otherwise in these coins the name invariably underlies the word राजा.

3. Some coins omit the name. The place for the name being taken by the conventional mark ∴ ∥ ∴ Plate II, 22.

4. The form of the letter र is the older one. On a single coin only have I found the modern form of र.

5. The reverse is always the same, viz. छत्र पति. but with variations as to the spelling of pati.

6. The spelling of the words शिव and पति gives the following 8 variations, instance of all of which I possess—

1.	Ob. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति	Plate I. No. 1
2.	„ श्री राजा शिव	„ छत्र पती	„ 2
3.	„ श्री राजा शीव	„ छत्र पति	„ ...
4.	„ श्री राजा शीव	„ छत्र पती	„ 4
5.	„ श्री राजा सिव	„ छत्र पति	„ 5
6.	„ श्री राजा सिवा	„ छत्र पती	„ 6
7.	„ श्री राजा सीव	„ छत्र पति	„ 7
8.	„ श्री राजा सीव	„ छत्र पती	„ 8

Also—

श्री राम राजा छत्र पति Plate I No. 13.

श्री राम राजा छत्र पती

The date appears variously—

1. In Marathi numerals, in conjunction with either श्री उष्य or
2. In Arabic numerals following the word उष्य or श्री

Symbols.

There are many symbols on these coins, the meaning of many of which can be easily recognized, others are of doubtful significance.

1. ☉ the sun, ☾ the moon, indicating long duration. These are sometimes on either side of the श्री, or on the Reverse above the word छत्र. Plate II, No. 19.

2. A mark (mistaken by Dr. Hultzsch for a **शिव** see Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 319) is usually found over the **छ**, but is found on one coin over the **श**. I do not know its meaning. See my Note page III.

3. **ॐ**, a cluster of seven dots. Plate II, No. 30.

4. Following the **छ** there is usually found the representation of a leaf, or tree. Perhaps this may be the Shami leaf, offered to Ganpati, to which it bears a resemblance. Plate I, 13 and II, 28.

5. After the **राजा** there is a triple leaf, which I conjecture to be the *bel* leaf, sacred to Shiva. Its shape slightly varies in different coins. Plate II., 37.

6. Other symbols are to be occasionally noticed, such as a sword, and many conventional marks, and variously arranged dots.

7. The coins commonly have two parallel horizontal lines between the words **श्री** and **राजा**. A smaller number have a single horizontal line, and are I think the older. Plate I., 1 coins with the name **साव** have two horizontal lines between **राजा** and **साव** Plate I., 9.

All these variations therefore in the wording and spelling of the inscriptions, differences in dates and names, symbols, and variations in the form of letters, provide material for that analysis which should result in determining the approximate date of every coin.

Analysis in Detail.

In the following description of these coins, I have analyzed them according to their distinguishing characteristics. I have not attempted the task of chronological arrangement, except where it is evident from dates and names. This cannot be satisfactorily done until more facts have been discovered.

Inscriptions with name but without date—

1. Ob. श्री राजा शिव. R. छत्रपति. See Plate I. No. 1.

This particular coin I conjecture to be the coin of Shivaji, the Founder. The line of my argument is as follows:—

1. Its resemblance to the gold fanam described by Dr. Hultzsch. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 319.

2. It is the only coin I have found where the die and coin agreed in size, and it is to be presumed that when Shivaji first issued coin he would arrange to have the whole inscription appear.

3. All the dated coins I have found, which range from Sursan? 1231 to 1240, have two horizontal lines between the words **श्री** and **राजा** while No. 1 has but one line. I think the double line indicates a later fashion.

4. Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*, printed in 1823, describes an almost identical coin, and says it had been dug up in the ruins of Kanauj. This corroborates the idea of its greater age.

5. There is a little mark over the छ like a *mdtrá*, which appears as a long mark in the undoubted later coins, through a probably gradual development.

2. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	Plate I. No. 2
3. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	„ ...
4. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	„ 4
5. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	„ 5
6. श्री राजा शिवा	R. छत्र पती.	„ 6
7. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पति.	„ 7
8. श्री राजा शिव	R. छत्र पती.	„ 8

To what Shivaji these latter belong I cannot say.

2. Coins with the inscription.

श्री राजा साव छत्रपति. „ 9

I have three coins on which the name appears to be साव. This coin may perhaps belong to Sháhu I. This was the name given to Shivaji, the grandson of Shivaji the Founder, by Aurangzeb, who called the great Shivaji शिवाजी लुटारु, (robber) and his grandson शिवाजी साव (Shivaji the Honest). This name Shivaji chose to retain, and with difference of pronunciation साव, साड, or साहु he is known in the list of the kings as Shahu I.—Grant Duff, H. M. page 413.

A few more specimens of this special coin are necessary to prove the name. Should I be correct in my surmise, it would belong to Sháhu I., of Satara, A. D. 1708—1749.

There is a coin of which I have found 20 specimens, which looks as though it were intended to be read both शिव and साव. That is to say, it is exceptional in having a double headline over the name. At first reading it would be taken for साव, but for a small velanti above the upper headline. I suggest it as a possibility that his true name being Shivaji, and his assumed name साव, he so inscribed some of his coins as to make both readings possible. Of course this is a mere conjecture. Plate I. 10.

3. Coins with the name of Rám Rájá. These coins are rare. I have found only 43 out of 25,000 coins examined. They are all well worn, and it requires several specimens to become sure of the name. The letters of the reverse are more distinct than the obverse, and show that all his coins are close copies of his original one. Coins

with र् perfectlly clear are verly rare, 6 out of 25,000. With न clear 6 out of 25,000. With both र् and with न clear 1 out of 25,000.

The inscriptions are—

1. श्री राम राजा छत्रपति See Plate I, 11, 12, 13.
2. श्री राम राजा छत्र पती

This series shews the common variation in the spelling of the word पति.

In these coins the name राम is on the same line as the श्री, श्रीराम
राजा, which is exceptional. In all the other coins the name appears below the word राजा.

I have not a sufficient number of this series of such distinctness as to determine the full impression of the die. One coin shows a ring of dots along the outer edge of the obverse, and on the reverse the Samri? symbol.

I presume there can be no doubt that this series belongs to Rām Rājā A. D. 1749—1777 of the Satara branch, still it might belong to Rājā Rām (1689—1700).

4. Coins with Name and Date in Arabic Numerals.

Name Shivaji, and Arabic numerals.

श्री १७. राजा शिव छत्रपति. Plate I, Nos. 14, 15 and 16.

This coin is rare. Out of 25,000 Chhatrapati coins I have examined I have found only 28. The date looks at first sight like a three figured numeral, but the complete specimens resolve the last figure into a mere symbol, leaving 97 as the date.

Where the first line is not stamped the coin is still recognizable by the peculiar arrangement of the dots in the च्. Plate I. 16. I have 8 specimens with the date 61 in Arabic numerals with name as yet unknown.

These coins with date in Arabic numerals, proved a problem difficult for solution until the discovery already referred to, of a coin with both 123 in Marathi numerals, and what I think, is 91 in Arabic numerals, furnished a key. Plate I, 17. It occurred to me that the 123 might be in the Abhisheka era, giving the number of years from the foundation of the Marathi Kingdom, and the 91 the number of years from the independence of the Kolhapur Branch from the Satara State in 1709. The Arabic numerals suggested Hijri years, and when put to the test I found that the agreement was perfect, and that 123 Abhishek era, and 91 an assumed Kolhapur era, measured in Hijri years, gave the same result, A. D. 1796. It is possible, of course, that this is a mere coincidence, but it is so unlikely,

that it should be so, that it will not be thought unreasonable to assume the existence of such an era until further discoveries confirm or disapprove it.

If my conclusions are correct, it would seem that the kings of Kolhapur were no less ambitious than their ancestors to have an era of their own. According to Grant Duff it was at the close of A. D. 1709 that this independence was established, and the coin in having dates of two eras, would illustrate the loyalty of this branch to their great founder, as well as pride in their own independence.

The date 97, if assumed to be of this same era, would give us A. D. 1802. This coin has the name of Shiva on it. This falls in the reign of Shivaji III., A. D. 1760—1812, and helps to corroborate the above conclusions.

Other coins have a date that seems to be 61, but there are some doubtful points about these coins that need further discoveries for the understanding of them. Plate II, 35.

5. *Coins with the name Shâu and dated.*

Coins of the name Shâu are of frequent occurrence, but coins where the ८ of the Shâu has been completely impressed are exceedingly rare. Out of 25,000 I have found 2 only. Plate II, 21. With date and name both, only 3. Plate II, 18, 20.

The inscriptions are—

1. श्री १२३१ राजा शाह छत्रपति.
2. श्री १२३४ राजा शाह छत्रपति—Plate II, 18, 20.
3. श्री राजा शाह छत्रपति.

Whether the Shâu coins have other dates on them than 1231 and 1234 I am not yet able to say.

The date most commonly found is 1234. Whether Sursan (A. D. 1833), or Fasli (A. D. 1824) is assumed, both fall in the reign of Shâhaji of Kolhapur, A. D. 1821—1837.

That this Shahaji was also called Shâhu is evident from the records of agreement between the Kolhapur State and the British Government published in Graham's "Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur," page 570. The heading of the agreement is as follows:—

"Articles of Agreement concluded on the 24th January 1826 between Shahajee Chutrupatee Maharaj Kurwur, the Raja of Kolhapur and the British Government." Page 570.

"Articles of Agreement concluded on the 15th March 1829, between the Raja Shahoo Chutrupatee Kurwurkur, Raja of Kolhapoor and the British Government." Page 572.

That this Shāu of the coins is Shāhaji of the list of Kolhapur kings is thus, I think, put beyond doubt.

6. *Coins with undecipherable names, and without dates.*

I have found a large number of Chhatrapati coins where only the upper portion of the king's name was stamped upon them, and this not sufficient to make the deciphering certain.

The different names that occur in the list of the two sister States, Satara and Kolhapur, are Shivaji, Rājārām, Shahu, Shambhu, Rāmrajā, Shāhaji, and Pratapsimha.

The name Shiva can generally be easily made out from the *velanti*, i. e., the *i* vowel which is above the head line. But I have specimens where the whole of the *velanti* is below the head line, so that its absence above the head line does not necessarily imply a name other than Shiva.

Rāmrajā's name appearing after the Shri is easily recognizable, but the bare tops of the letters of the other names are not sufficient to make their deciphering certain. Whether, therefore, all the names of the above list appear on the Chhatrapati coins, or not, remains to be settled after further search. There is no doubt, however, regarding the first three, Shiva, Rāmrajā, and Shāu. To this I tentatively add साव.

A caution is needed in regard to the names on these coins, on account of differences in the spelling of the same names. Shivaji appears as शिव, शीव, सिव, सिवा and सीव and in one case सीड? The name adopted by Shivaji, the grandson of Shivaji the Founder, साव, might be साव, सावु, सावु, साव, or सावु. The fact that only a part of the name was usually impressed on the coin, renders great care necessary to prevent the misreading of names. In a worn coin साव might be read for सीव by the disappearance of the *velanti*. शिव on some coins might be misread for राम.

7. *Coins with no name and no date.*

I have found a few coins where the place of the name is taken by two perpendicular lines with three dots on either side. On these therefore the inscription simply reads:—

Ob. श्री राजा ∴||: ∴ Rev. छत्र पति. Plate II. 22.

This coin is very rare. Of the 25,000 coins examined I have found but 13. The shapes of the letters are peculiar and the coins are easily recognizable as belonging to this series, though the two upright lines may not appear stamped on the coin.

8. *Dated coins, in Marathi numerals.*

The dates that I have thus far found on the Chhatrapati coins in Marathi numerals are,

1231, Plate II. 23. 1233, Plate II. 26, 27. 1237, Plate II. 30.
1232, " " 24, 25. 1234, " " 28, 29.

Of the eras in use among the Marathas (see page 113), the only ones to which these dates could belong are the Fasli and Sursan, which differ 9 years from one another. I am not yet able to prove which of these two eras were used, though the weight of evidence is, I think, in favor of the Sursan, for the State papers of Kolhapur were dated in this era. See Graham's Report, page 570.

9. *Dates in Abheshek era.*

I have 12 marked '123. Plate II. 32. The dots on either side of the date are peculiar and prevent mistaking it for a date of four numerals. This date I conjecture to be in the Abhisheka era. If so, it would correspond with A. D. 1796 in the reign of Shahu II. of Satara, or Shivaji III. of Kolhapur. As coins with '123' have a name other than Shivaji, I conjecture they belong to Shahu II. of Satara.

One coin has the date 124 (?) Plate II. 33. Another 12. Plate II. 31.

The coin with both 123 in Marathi, and 91 in Arabic numerals I have already referred to as possibly indicating both Abhisheka and a Kolhapur era, and would belong to Shivaji III. of Kolhapur. A. D. 1760—1812. Plate I. 17.

I have 2 specimens of a coin with the mark ॥ after the श्री. I do not know its meaning. Plate II. 34.

I have two coins out of 25,000 marked श्री: १. This is perhaps the first figure of a date. Plate II. 36.

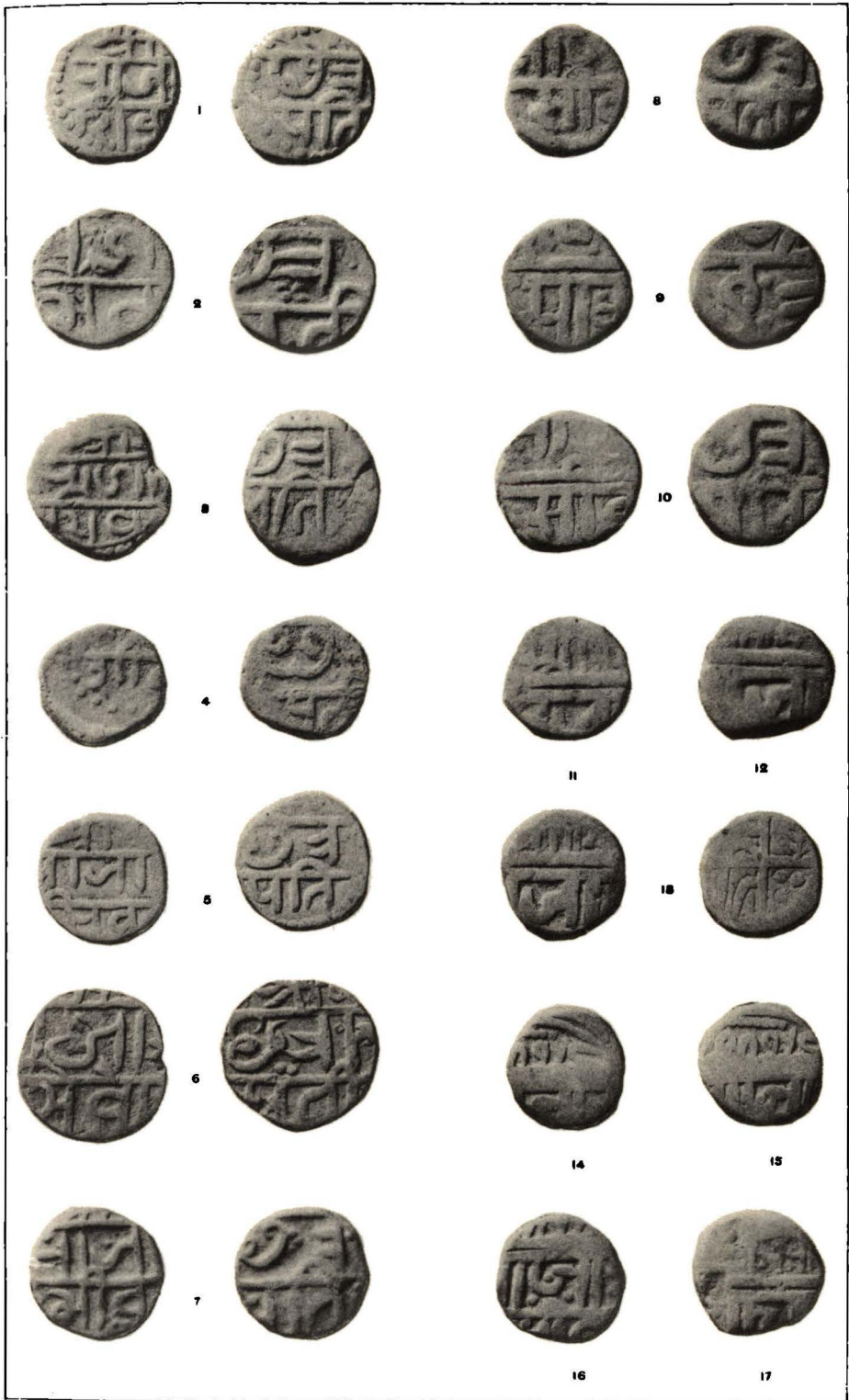
The dates are so often imperfectly stamped that a caution is needed in reading them.

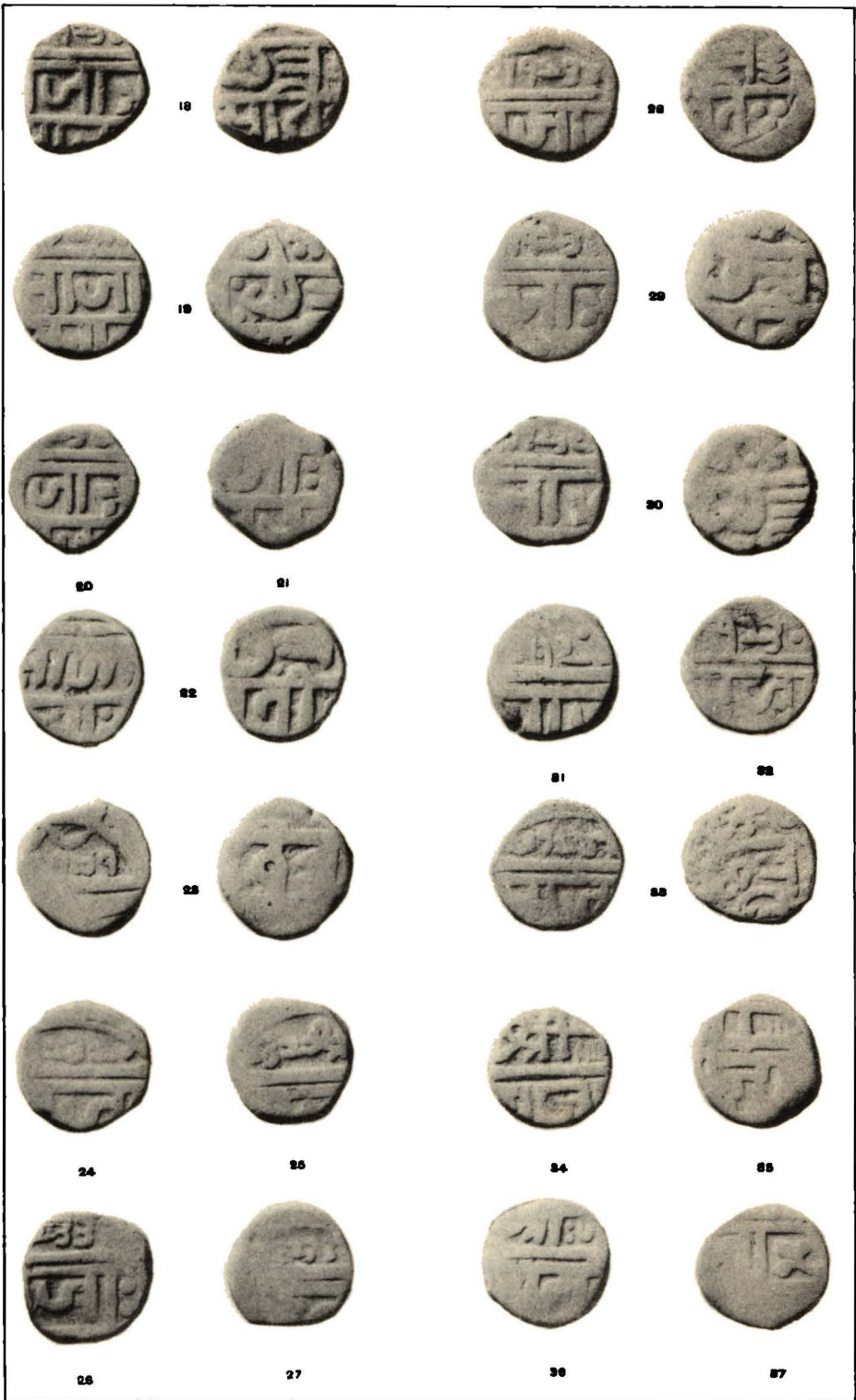
Comparative rarity of different coins.

श्री राजा शिव छत्रपति with variety of spelling ...	... Out of 25,000	Very common.
राम राजा	43
„ with distinct रा	6
„ „ म	6
! „ „ both रा and म clearly stamped	1

श्री ११ राजा शिव छत्रपति	...	...	...	...	Out of 25 000	28
श्री राजा साव	...	...	...	...	"	3
Some name other than Shivaji, partially stamped but identification certain	...	...	...	...	"	250
श्री राजा साव identification certain	...	...	...	...	"	37
" " " with the ३ complete	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " with date 1231	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " " " 1234	...	...	...	...	"	25
श्री राजा साव छत्रपति	...	...	...	...	"	13
Coins with complete date 1231...	...	...	...	...	"	35
" " " " 1232...	...	...	...	...	"	24
" " " " 1233...	...	...	...	...	"	39
" " " " 1234...	...	...	...	...	"	76
" " " " 1235...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1236...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1237...	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " " " 1238...	...	...	...	...	"	none
" " " " 1239..	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " 123	...	...	...	...	"	12
" " 123-91	...	...	...	...	"	1
" " 12** 123* (last figures missing)	...	...	...	...	"	252
" " 18** (?)	...	...	...	...	"	2
" " श्री ११	...	...	...	...	"	8
" " श्री १	...	...	...	...	"	3
" " श्री ११	...	...	...	...	"	2

[Since reading the above paper, my attention has been called to a note by O. Codrington, M. D. in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April 1898, on Dr. Hoernle's paper on Rare Hindu and Mahomedan coins in Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1897, of the Bengal Br. E. A. S. Journal. In this Note he describes some Chhatrapati coins, and one in particular that has on the obverse श्री राजा राम. If this is not a misreading due to the imperfect inscriptions on these coins, it gives the additional name of-राज (राम (1689—1700). राम राजा's coins (1749—1777) have been described on page 125. J. E. A.]





CHHATRAPATI COPPER COINS

ART. IX.—*The Nausârî Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarât Râshtrakûta Prince Karkka I., dated Saka 738.* By DEVADATTA R. BHANDARKAR, B.A., under the general supervision of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., C.I.E.

[Read 15th December 1898.]

This set of copper-plates was originally in the possession of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajî. But they were found by me in the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and were obtained for publication through the kindness of the Secretary. The plates were originally found at Nausârî.

The plates are three in number, each about 10' long by $6\frac{1}{3}$ ' broad at the ends, and somewhat more in the middle. The edges of these are slightly fashioned thicker for the protection of the writing. The inscription commences on the outside of the first plate and covers also a portion of the outside of the third plate. When the grant came under my inspection, it had no ring. But since there are holes on the left sides of the plates, they must have been held together by a ring passing through them. Small pieces have been broken off near the holes of the ring, of the first two plates and at a few places letters have been indistinctly incised. Still the inscription is on the whole well preserved and legible throughout. The engraving is clean and well-executed. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The grant commences with the symbol for "Om" without, however, the word "Svasti" following it. The first fifty-four lines, together with the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end are in verse and the rest in prose. The verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Râshtrakûta inscriptions hitherto published, but some are found only in the Kâvî plates of the Gujarât Râshtrakûta Prince Govinda. As regards orthography, we may notice (i) the use of the guttural nasal instead of Anusvâra before 's' once in "triśat," l. 68; (ii) the use of "Siṅgha" for "Siṃha"; (iii) the almost invariable change of the visarga to 'sh' when followed by 'p,' e.g., ll. 21, 35, 50, 62 &c.; (iv) the doubling of 'dh,' (with 'd' in the usual manner) in conjunction with a following 'y' or 'v,' e.g., ll. 56, 59 and 42; (v) the substitution of Jihvâmûliya, in all cases, for visarga when followed by 'k,' e.g., ll. 7, 12, 23, 64, 70, 76 and 78. The characters belong to the same type as that of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, especially

of later date. In particular, as need scarcely be said, they are identical with the characters of the Baroda grant of the same king that issued this charter, the only minute points of difference being that the top-ends of the letters 'p,' 'm' and 'sh' are in our plates joined by horizontal strokes. This is likely to lead the reader to read 'b' when it is 'p.'

The subjoined grant is one of Karkka styled "Suvarṇavarsha," son of Indra, of the Gujarât Branch of the Râshtrakûta family. And the charter was issued by him while staying at "Khetaka," which is in all likelihood identical with Kaira, the chief town of the district of the same name. It is dated, in words, in the seven hundred and thirty-eighth year expired of the Saka era on the fifteenth of the bright half of Mâgha, without, however, any specification of the cyclic year. The occasion of its issue was the lunar eclipse that occurred on the aforesaid date. And the object thereof was the performance of the five rites of 'bali,' 'charu,' 'vaiśvadeva,' 'agnihotra' and 'atithi.' The donee is a Brâhmaṇa of the name of Gobbaḍḍi, son of Bâdaḍḍi, of the Bhâradvâja Gotra and student of the "Taittiriya" school. There is almost no trace of the Taittiriya Śâkhâ in Gujarât but most of the Tailangi Brâhmaṇas are of that school. Besides, the name of the grantee sounds Telugu. He was therefore a southerner, and Bâdâvi, where he is mentioned to have originally resided, is in all likelihood the present Bâdâmi, the chief town of the tâlukâ of that name, in the Bijâpur District. For, Bâdâvi as an older form of the name occurs in some stone-inscriptions existing at or near Bâdâmi.¹ This intermediate form, which is in strict accordance with the rules of Prâkrita corruptions of Sanskrit words, renders almost certain the identification of the modern Bâdâmi with Vâtâpi, which was the capital of the early Châlukyas. Next, Gobbaḍḍi appears to be a man of deep erudition, for he is expressly stated to have received the appellation of "Paṇḍita Vallabharâja" on account of his proficiency in the fourteen lores.

The present is the second grant, in chronological order, of Karkka I., of the Gujarât Branch. The first is generally known as the Baroda grant and is dated in 734 Saka year expired, i. e., four years earlier. The Baroda grant contains verses which are not found in any one of the hitherto published Râshtrakûta inscriptions and gives much valuable information. But the verses of our plates occur in many other Râshtrakûta records and consequently we learn absolutely

¹ Ind. Ant. V, 20; X, 63.

nothing new. One point, however, of some importance may be deduced from the date and the mention in it of Amoghavarsha I. of the main Râshṭrakūṭa line. The Baroda grant which was made in 734 Saka year expired takes the genealogy of the main line as far as Govinda III., from which it is obvious that that king had not then ceased to reign. But the present grant, which is dated in 738 Saka year expired, mentions Amoghavarsha after this Govinda III., which shows that Amoghavarsha was then on the throne. The conclusion, I think, may therefore be safely drawn that Amoghavarsha must have ascended the throne some year between 734 and 738 Saka years expired. This is quite in harmony with the Sirur inscription,¹ from which it follows that 736 Saka year (expired) was the first year of Amoghavarsha's reign.

I shall now proceed to another point of greater importance. The author of a well-known Jaina work entitled *Harivamśa* tells us in a verse in the colophon that he completed the work in the Saka year 705 when Srivallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, was ruling in the south and Indrâ-yudha in the north.² The Paṭṭhaṇ as well as the Gujarât Râshṭrakūṭa grants mention Govinda II. by the name of Vallabha and Govinda II. was of course a son of Kṛishṇa. So that it is all but certain that he is the Srivallabha alluded to. One scholar³ at any rate is of opinion that Govinda II. did not reign at all, since the Wanî and Râdhannpur inscriptions speak of Dhruva Nirupama as "having leaped over his elder brother in succession" and since his name is not mentioned in some of the subsequent records. He consequently connects the expression "Kṛishṇatanaye" occurring in the verse, with Indrâ-yudha and holds that Srivallabha refers to Govinda III. Now, in the first place, the phrase "Jyeshṭhollaṅghana" (leaping over his elder brother) in the Wanî and Râdhannpur grants⁴ does not necessarily mean, as has been supposed, that there was "an act of complete supersession" in the case of Govinda II., but may simply signify the fact that Govinda II. was dethroned by Dhruva, his brother. The Deolî and Karhûḍ plates⁵ which mention the names of the princes who died without obtaining sovereignty, state that Govinda II. by his sensual courses allowed Dhruva to usurp his throne, which implies that he did reign. Again,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XII, 218.

² *Ibid* XV, 142.

³ See "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts," pp. 117, 118, 119.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* VI, 65; XI, 157.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XVIII, 246; *Ep. Ind.* IV, 282.

the Khârepâtan grant¹ of Raṭṭarāja which scrupulously gives a list of those Râshtrakūṭa princes only who came to the throne does not therein omit the name of Govinda II. As to the omission of his name in some of the later grants, it must not be forgotten that there are at least as many in which it is mentioned as those in which it is omitted; and this omission is to be accounted for by the fact that the writers of those grants wanted to give only the direct genealogy of the reigning sovereign, and in most of the cases if they pass over Govinda II., they pass over Dantidurga also. Lastly, it is worthy of note that the present grant contains a verse about Govinda II., which distinctly alludes to his white royal parasol.² That verse occurs in other grants also, the earliest of which is the Paithan charter of Govinda III., nephew of Govinda II. The reference to the regal umbrella in this last, since it was issued only a few years after the death of Govinda II., is of great value and leaves, in my opinion, not even the shadow of a doubt as to his having reigned.

The dūtaka of this charter was Bhaṭṭa Sri-Dronamma, apparently a southerner. And the grant was written by Nemāditya, minister for war and peace—probably the same personage that wrote the Baroda grant of the present royal grantor. It is worth noticing that the king's sign-manual is engraved in South Indian characters, as is obvious from the peculiarly southern fashion in which 't,' 'u' and 'r' are engraved. This is not the first instance of this kind. The Baroda grants of this prince and of his son Dhruva, both bear the sign-manuals in southern characters, showing that the Gujarāt Râshtrakūṭa princes used the mode of writing that prevailed in the native country of the race to which they belonged.

This inscription records the grant of two villages, one of which is Samipadraka and the other Sambandhl. The former is mentioned as situated in the region intervening between the Mahī and the Narmadā, and the latter in the Mañkaṇikā District. The latter, moreover, is stated by way of a footnote below the last line of the first side of the third plate, to have been caused to be given by one "Râṇahari." Now, Samipadraka must have ordinarily been first corrupted into "Sa-im-udra" and then into "Sa-un-dar." There is a village of the name of "Sondarn" which answers to the position

¹ Ep. Ind. III, 298.

² This point was first noticed by Dr. Hultzsch; see Ind. Ant. XIV., 201, note 23.

of Sampadraka as determined by the surrounding villages. Though the last 'n' in Sondarn cannot be properly accounted for, there can hardly be a doubt that it is identical with Samīpadraka. Of the surrounding villages, Chorundaka is the moderna Choranda, Bharthāṅaka has become Bharthān, and Dhāhadva is perhaps represented by the present village of Dhāwat. Of the other places mentioned in this grant, Sajjodaka is now called Sajod and the name Māṅḍwā of a modern village may be the present contracted form of Kāsthāmaṅḍapa. The first four villages are situated in the Gaikwar's territory continuous with the Broach Collectorate and the last two in the Ankleśwara tālukā of the same district.

TRANSCRIPT.

[The marks of punctuation that are superfluous are placed within circular brackets; while those that are necessary and letters, &c., that are indistinctly or unintelligibly engraved are enclosed within-rectangular brackets.]

First plate; first side.

- 1 ओं [॥] 'स बोव्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [१] हरथ वस्य कान्तेन्दुम^१ल-
(१) वा कमलकृतं ॥ [१] ^३भासीरिपत्ति-
- 2 निरमुद्यतमण्डलामो भवस्तिन्नवन्नभिमुखो रणेद्यर्ध्वरीषु [१] भूपः शुचिर्निषुपि-
वास्तदिगन्तकीत्ति-
- 3 ग्मोदिन्द्रराज इति राजसु[रा]जसिद्धः^४ ॥ [२] वृद्धा चमूनभिमुखो(१)सुभटाहहा-
सायुजाभिसं
- 4 सपदि येन रणेषु निर्यं [१] वृष्टाधरेण वधता भुकुटी^५ ललाटे (१) स्वङ्गं कुलं च
हृदयं च निजं
- 5 च सत्वं^६ ॥ [३] ^७स्वङ्गं करापान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो मनस्तः सममेव वस्य ।
महाहवे नाम निघाम्ब
- 6 [स]द्यस्त्रयं रिपूपां विगलत्वकाण्डे ॥ [४] [५] स्थ्यात्मजो जगति विभ्रुत-
रीर्घ्यकीर्त्तिरात्तोत्तिहा-
- 7 [रि] हरिधिक्रमधामधा[री] । भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृति^x कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज
इति गोत्रमपिर्ध्वभू-
- 8 व ॥ [५] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरट्टद्युतदानशन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचिरोद्धिखितांसपीठः [१]
श्मापःक्षितौ क्षपि-

^१ Metre : Anushtubh.

^२ Read कलया.

^३ Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

^४ Read सिंहः

^५ Read भुकुटी.

^६ Read सत्वं.

^७ Metre : Upajāti.

^८ Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

- 9 तद्यु^१ रभूत्तद्वजःसद्वादकूटकनकाश्रिवेन्द्रराजः॥ [6]^{१०}सत्सोपा^{११}अतमहस-
 10 स्तनवश्चतुर्दशधिवलज्जालिन्वा^{११}भोक्ता युवःसतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीहन्तिपुर्गरा-
 ओभूत् [॥] [7]
 11 ^{१२}कांशीराकेरलनराधिपधोलपाण्ड्य(१)श्रीहर्षवज्जटवि[भे]विधानरक्षं । का-
 ञ्जाटकं बलमधि-
 12 न्त्वमत्रेवमन्वेष्टुंरथै × किञ्चिदपि वः सहसा अिगाव^{१३} ॥ [8]^{१४}अभ्रविभं-
 गमगृहीतनि[सा]तघञ्जम-
 13 भ्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतवस्त्रं । ओ बह्वर्नं सपदि वण्डबलेन अिस्वा[रा]जाधिरा-
 अपरमे[न्व]-
 14 रतामवाप^{१५} ॥ [9] ^{१६}भासेतो^{१६}पुलोपलाबलिलसलोलोम्नि^{१७}मालाअलासा-
 प्रालेबकलंकिता-
 15 मलधिलाज्जालानुधाराचलासा^{१८}पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त[प्र]सिद्धा^{१९}वधे-
 ष्ठेनेवं
 16 अगती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपचीकृता^{२०} ॥ [10]^{२१}तस्मिन्दिवं प्रवाते बह्वभरा अे
 क्षतप्रजाबाधः [।]

First plate ; second side.

- 17 श्रीकर्क [रा] अतुनुर्मर्हीपतिः श्रीकृष्णरा [ओ] भूत् ॥ [11] बत्त्व स्वभुज-
 पराक्रमनिःशेषोस्साहितारिदिकचक्रं [।]
 18 [कृ] ष्वस्वेवाकृष्णं(१)चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्व ॥ [12] शुभभुज्जुनुरगमवृ-
 क्षरेपूरुंरुक्षरधिकिरणं । श्री-
 19 ज्येपि नभो निखिलं प्राष्टदालाबले स्पष्टं ॥ [13] शीनानायप्रणविषु बयेष्टभेष्टं
 (१) समीहितमज-

^{१०} Read °ज्ञनु°

^{१०} Metre ; Giti.

^{११} Read मालिन्वाः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

^{१२} Metre : Vasantatilakā ; and in the following verse.

^{१३} All these verses are with slight verbal differences found in the Rāshṭra-
 kūṭa Kāvī, Bagumrā, Sāmāngāḍ and Paṭṭhan grants.

^{१४} In the Kāvī and Sāmāngāḍ inscriptions, Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet both
 read the first letter of this verse as स. Dr. Kielhorn in his transcript of the
 Paṭṭhan grant adopts the same reading but suspects that it might be अ. In
 our plates, अ is distinctly engraved, and this reading is preferable inasmuch
 as there is no violation of uniformity and yields a better sense.

^{१५} This verse does not occur in the Bagumrā grant only.

^{१६} Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{१७} Read °र्मि°

^{१८} Read °चलात्° and °आपूर्वा &c., and understand a mark of punctuation
 between them.

^{१९} Read °प्रसिद्धा°

^{२०} This verse is not found in the Sāmāngāḍ inscription only.

^{२१} Metre : Āryā ; and in the following three verses.

- 20 सं [1] तस्मान्नमकालवर्षो वर्षसि सप्तर्षिनिष्पन्नं²² ॥ [14]²³ राहप्यमात्मनु-
अजातबलावलिपना [औ]
- 21 विञ्चिस्व निश्चितासिलताप्रहारै²⁴प्यालिभ्यजावलि (1) शुभानाधिरेण वो हि
राजाधिराअपरमेधर-
- 22 तान²⁵तान ॥ [15]²⁶कोधादुत्सातकाङ्गप्रसृतकविचवैर्भासमानं समन्तादा-
आवुहृत्तवैरिप्रक-
- 23 दगअघटाटोपसंशोभयत् । शौच्यै (1) स्वस्ता²⁷रिवर्गो भवचक्रितवपुःका
पि वृद्धेय स-
- 24 यो स्यात्प्रातारिचक्रकवकरमगमद्यस्व शोईण्डरूपं²⁸ ॥ [16]²⁹ पाता वच-
गुरमुद्राधिर-
- 25 क्षालकुमारभाओ मुष [का] प्याथापि कृतद्विजानरगुरुभाउवाउवपुजादरो³⁰शता
- 26 मानभृष्यणी [मुं] नवतां (1) जोसौ भिबो वल्लनो भोळुं³¹ स्वर्गकलानि
भूरितपसा स्थानं
- 27 अगामानरं ॥ [17]³²नेन च्छेतातपत्रप्रहतरचिकरजाततापात्सलीलं अग्ने ना-
सीरधुलीधवलितधि-
- 28 सा उवहभास्वः सदाओ । श्रीमद्रोचिन्वराओ अितअगददितक्षेनवैधप्यदस-
स्तस्वासीत्सू-
- 29 जुरेकः क्षत्रपचलितारातिमनेन [कु] न्यः ॥ [18]³³तस्वानुजः श्रीधुव-
राअनामा महानुभावो-
- 30 प्रहत्प्रतापः [1] प्रसाधिताक्षेपनेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालाकवपुर्ध्वभुव [॥
[19]³⁴जाते वच
- 31 च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सदूपचूडाननौ [गु] र्वा हृदिरयाखिलप्व³⁵अगतः सुस्वामिनि
- 32 प्रस्वई [1] सखं सख्यमिति प्रद्यासति सति इमानासमुद्रान्तिकाभासीद्धर्म-
परे गुणा-

²² This verse does not occur in the Bagumrā grant.

²³ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

²⁴ Read °प्रहारैः° and °पालि &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

²⁵ Read °न्त°

²⁶ Metre : Bragdhara.

²⁷ Read °क्त्वा°

²⁸ This verse is not found in the Bagumrā grant.

²⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³⁰ Read पूजादरः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

³¹ Read भोक्तुं.

³² Metre : Bragdhara.

³³ Read शिरसा ; the piece of the plate on which र was engraved has been broken off.

³⁴ Metre : Upajāti.

³⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³⁶ Read °स्य.

Second plate ; first side.

- 33 मृतनिधौ सत्त्वप्रवाधिष्ठिते³⁷ ॥ [20] ³⁸हृदोनहं³⁹(1)बोरिथ्य अनाव सर्व्व स-
ध्वरवमानन्दिस्तबन्धुवर्ग⁴⁰प्राशास्वरुटो हरति
- 34 स्म वेगात्यापान्बमस्वापि निवान्तवीट्त्वे⁴¹ ॥[21]⁴²रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुर-
म्भोधिसंयुतं । राऊषं धर्म्येण⁴³लो-
- 35 कानां कृत्ताहृष्टिपरा हृदि ॥ [22] ⁴⁴सत्स्वात्मजो जगति (1) सत्ययितोरुकी-
स्तिर्गोधिन्हराज इति गोबललामभूत्-⁴⁵
- 36 स्वामी पराक्रमधन⁴⁶प्रकटप्रणपसन्तापिताहिवजनो जनबलभोभूत् ॥ [23]
⁴⁷पृथ्वीवल्लभ इति च
- 37 प्रयितं बस्वापरं जगति नाम[] बन्ध चतुरुवाधिषीमामेको वल्लधां वशे चक्रे ।
[24]एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो व-
- 38 वृषो भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा । परबलजलधिमपारन्तरन्स्वरोऽर्थो रणे रिपुभिः⁴⁸
[25] एको निर्हेतिरहं गृहीत-
- 39 सखा इमे परे बहवो⁴⁹ओ नैवंविधमकरोषितं स्वमेपि किमुताओ ॥[26]⁵⁰रा-
जबाभिषेककलशैरभिषिष्य
- 40 वृत्तां राला⁵¹धिराज ररेमश्चरतां (1) स्वविद्या । अन्यैर्महानृपतिभिर्बहुभिः स-
मेत्य स्तम्भादिभि-
- 41 ऋजुं ब्रह्मा [व] बलुप्यमानां ॥ [27]⁵²एकोनेकनेरन्वृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्स-
मस्तानपि प्रोस्वातासिल-
- 42 तामहारविधुरान्बद्धा महासंयुगे । लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चकार विलसत्सन्धामरमा-
हिणी⁵³(1) संसीह-

³⁷ This verse does not occur in the Paīṭhaṅ grant.

³⁸ Metre : Indravajrā.

³⁹ Read °न्वहं

⁴⁰ Read वर्गः and प्रादान्परुटो &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

⁴¹ This verse is found only in the Kāvī grant.

⁴² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴³ Read धर्म्येण.

⁴⁴ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁴⁵ Read °भूत् and त्यागी &c., and understand a mark of punctuation between them.

⁴⁶ Read °धन :

⁴⁷ Metre : Āryā ; and in the two following verses.

⁴⁸ This and the next two verses occur in the Kāvī grant only.

⁴⁹ Read बहवः and understand a mark of punctuation thereafter.

⁵⁰ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁵¹ Read °जा°

⁵² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵³ Read °णी

- 43 इरुविप्रसङ्गानसुहृद्वन्धु⁵⁴पभोग्वां भुवि ॥ [28] ⁵⁵सत्सुभोज यते नाकमाक-
स्मितारिपुत्रजे । श्रीम-
- 44 हाराजशार्वाङ्ग्यः क्वातो राजाभषर्गुणैः॥[29]⁵⁶श्रियेषु अथार्थतां वः सम-
भीष्टफलाब्धि⁵⁷लब्धतो-
- 45 वेपु । वृद्धिं निनाय परमानमोषवपांमिधानस्व⁵⁸ ॥ [30] ⁵⁹राजाङ्गुत्तस्त्रिमृशो
रिपुभ[व]विभ-
- 46 बोद्धस्वभाषैकहेतुर्गर्भभीवानिन्द्रराजो गुणितृपनिकरान्तश्चमस्कारकारी । रागा-
द्वन्द्वान्दु-
- 47 स्वस्व प्रकटितविनया (।) वं नृपान्द्वेषमाना (।) राजश्रीरेव चक्रे (।) सक-
लकविजनो-
- 48 श्रीततश्चस्वभाष⁶⁰॥[31]निर्घोणावाधिवासासहितदितजनोपास्वमानाः सुहृत्सं
वृत्तं शिरवान्-
- 49 राज्ञां चरितमुदकवान्सर्व्यतो हिंसक्रेभ्यः [1] एकाकी वृद्धवैरिस्सालनकृतिवह-
प्रतिराज्ये-

Second plate; second side.

- 50 शशंकुर्वाटीवं मण्डलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदं ररक्ष॥[32]⁶¹यस्वाङ्ग-माच-
जविनधियजसाहसस्व श्ना-
- 51 पालयेपफलमेव बभूव सैन्यं [।] मुक्त्वा च सर्व्यमुद्यनेश्वरमादिदेवजावन्-
सान्वयमरेष्वापि
- 52 यो मनस्वी⁶² ॥[33] श्रीकर्कराज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सार× कुलस्व तनवा
नवशालिघोर्ध्वैः । तस्वामवदि-
- 53 भवनन्दितबन्धुसार्थ्यःपार्थ्यःसवैव धनुषि⁶³प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥[34] शानेन माने-
न साराज्ञवा वा
- 54 वीर्ध्वेन शौर्ध्वेन च कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति नवेति कीर्तिः सकौतुका
ध्रान्वति बस्व लोके⁶⁴[11] [35]
- 55 स च समधिगताद्येवमहाद्यब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिः सुवर्णवर्षे श्रीकर्कराजदेवः
सर्वानेव व-

⁵⁴ Read ° सुहृद्वन्धु°

⁵⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵⁶ Metre : Āryā.

⁵⁷ Read °नि°

⁵⁸ These two verses about Amoghavarsha and the two following verses are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

⁵⁹ Metre : Bragdhara; and in the following verse.

⁶⁰ This and the following verse are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

⁶¹ Metre : Vasantatilakā and in the following two verses.

⁶² This verse occurs in the Kāvī grant only.

⁶³ Read धनुषि.

⁶⁴ These verses are not found in the Kāvī inscription.

- 56 यासम्बद्धप्रधानकान्नाट्टपतिविषयवतिप्रामकूटाशुक्लनिशुक्लकाधिकारिकमह-
त्तराशीन्सम-
- 57 नुद्वर्षवन्त्यस्तु वत्संविदितं (1) अया मया खेटकावस्थितेन (1) मातापित्रोऽत्मन-
धैहिकाशुष्मिकपु-
- 58 ण्वचशोभिषुद्धये (1) बाशादीवास्तस्य (1) भारद्वाजसगोत्र (1) तैत्तिरीयसत्र-
ह्यचारि (1) बाह्वि⁶⁵
- 59 उपाद्वाचपुत्रगोव्वि⁶⁶ना[त्रे]। अतुर्हंशविद्यास्थानपरिज्ञानात्पण्डितवह्मभ-
राज इति
- 60 लोके नाम प्रथितमपरं । तस्मै (1) सकलवेदशास्त्रार्थवेदिने महीनम्मशान्तरा-
लदेशव-
- 61 सिं(1)शमीपद्मकनामा मामो यत्वापाटनानि पूर्वतो (1) गोलिकानिधानमामो
वक्षिणत-
- 62 शोहन्वक्रमामपश्चिमतो अर्थाणकं (1) उत्तरतो धाहृद्माम(1)स्तथा मकणिका
भुक्तौ (1) सं-
- 63 बन्धीनामा मामो यत्वापाटनानि (1) पूर्वतःसञ्जोडकनामा मामो वक्षिणतो
त्रा[ह्य]णपल्लिका (1) प-
- 64 श्चिमत × करंअवसाहिका (1) उत्तरत× काष्ठामण्डपं । एवमेतद्गामद्वयं (1) अ-
टाघाटनोपलाक्षितं सोम्रं स-
- 65 परिकरं सङ्घट्टशापरधं (1) सभूतपातप्रत्वार्यं सोल्यथमानविटिकं (1) सधा-
न्वाहिरण्यदेवं (1) अघाट-
- 66 भट्टप्रावेपयं सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं (1) आचन्द्राह्वाण्वक्षितिसरि-
त्पध्वंससमकालीनं

Third plate ; first side.

- 67 पुत्रपौत्रान्वबक्रमोपभोग्यं पूर्वप्रदक्षदेवब्रह्मशावरहितं (1) अन्वन्तरसिद्धया
शकनूपकाला-
- 68 तीतसंवस्तरघतेषु सद्यस्वटथिद्वयधिकेषु माघशुद्धपौर्णमास्यां (1) चन्द्रप्र-
हण्यपर्वणि स्नात्वाद्ये-
- 69 तकातिसर्गेण⁶⁶ बालिचरुवैश्वदेवामिहोन्नातियिषंअमहावज्ञक्रिचोस्सर्प्यनार्थ्ये
प्रतिपादितं व-
- 70 तोस्वोचितया ब्रह्मशाब्दस्थित्या मुञ्जतो भोजयत × कृषत × कर्षयतप्रतिदि-
घातो वा न केनचित्पारिप-
- 71 न्यना कर्त्तव्या । तथागामिनृपातिभिरस्पृह्यैरन्वैर्वा सामान्यश्रमिशनफलम-
वेत्य विद्युत्तो-

⁶⁵ The manner in which this conjunct consonant is engraved on the plate is worthy of note.

⁶⁶ Read °योदका°

- 72 लान्यनित्येष्वर्थाणि⁶⁷ नृणामलमजलविन्दुश्चलं च जीवितमकलय्य स्व-
दायनिर्विषोषोयम-
- 73 स्महाद्योनुमन्तःश्वपरिपालयितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि-
न्त्यादाच्छिद्यमान-
- 74 कं वानुमोदेत (।) स पंचभिर्भ्रहापातकैरुपपालकिश्च⁶⁸ संयुक्तः स्यादित्यु-
क्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-
- 75 सेन व्यासेन । पार्थि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव
- 76 नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्व्याटयीवतोयासु शु⁶⁹क⁶⁹क्रोडरवासिनं कृष्णाहयो हि
जायन्ते (।) भूमिः-
- 77 च हरन्ति ये ॥ अग्नेरपत्वं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवैवन्वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो [।] लो-
78 कत्रयं तेन भवेत्सि वत्तं य⁷⁰कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् । [।] बहुभिर्ब्रह्मधा
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि
- 79 र्व्यस्य यस्य ददा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह इत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्वी-
नानि धर्मात्थ-
- 80 ब्रह्मस्कराणि [।] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि (।) को नाम साधुषुनरा-
दसीत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परद-
- 81 सां वा बलाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।] महीं महीपतौ (।) अथ⁷⁰दानाच्छेद्योनुपालनं । [।]
सर्वानेतान्माविन⁷¹ × पाधि⁷¹
- 82 वेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [।] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले
पालनीयो भव-
- 83 द्विः । [।] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां भ्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।
अतिविमल-
- [राणहरिणा शपितः संबन्धीमानोय [मुप] रिलिखित⁷² ।]

Third plate ; second side.

- 84 मनोभिरात्मनीनैर्जाह पुरुषै[स्प]रकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः । [।] इत्तकोत्र महभीष्टो-
85 पम्नो । लिखितं च सान्धिविमाहिकनेमादिस्वेनति⁷³ ॥ स्वहस्तोयं मन श्रीमवि-
86 न्द्रराजमुत्तस्व श्रीकक्षराजस्य ॥

⁶⁷ Read 'नित्यै'

⁶⁸ Read 'पातकैश्च'

⁶⁹ Read शुष्क ; here 'Jihvāmūlya' is not permissible.

⁷⁰ Read महीपतिष्ठेत्.

⁷¹ Here the occurrence of Jihvāmūlya is clearly a mistake inasmuch as it is allowed only in the case of the visarga followed by any one of the hard letters of the guttural class ; so read माविनः पाधि°.

⁷² Read 'लिखित' ; this has no connection whatever with the preceding line.

⁷³ Read 'नेति'.

TRANSLATION.

1. May he (Vishṇu), the water-lily springing from whose navel was made his abode by Brahman protect you and Hara whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon.

2. There was a righteous king named Govindarāja, a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, and who raising his scimitar and facing (them) destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the shining moon whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (above the horizon), (and transmitting her rays) straightforward dispels darkness at night.¹

3. On seeing the forces (of his enemies), glorying in their brave warriors,² confronting him, instantly he always in battles, biting his lip and twisting his eyebrows raised his sword and ennobled his family, his own heart and valour.

4. On hearing his name in the great battle, instantly three things suddenly disappear from his enemies simultaneously—the sword from the hand, lustre from the face, and pride from the mind.

5. His son known as the illustrious Karkkarāja, a king whose extensive fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari³ and who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven and was grateful (for services rendered) became a jewel of his race.

6. His son king Indrarāja whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the concussion of the tusks of (hostile) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down⁴ and who destroyed (all) his enemies on earth became as it were the golden mount (Meru) of the excellent Rāshtrakūṭas.

¹ Dr. Fleet gives a satisfactory translation of this verse, see *Ind. Ant.* XI, 113; for Dr. Bühler's renderings of the same verse, see *Ibid* V, 148, and XII, 166.

² Literally, "brave warriors are whose horse-laughter."

³ The second line of this śloka is one big compound which should be split up into two parts, each one of which should be taken as an attributive of Karkkarāja. Dr. Fleet understands the whole compound to be only one attributive. Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words 'vikrama' and 'dhāma' and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

⁴ Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect 'prabhinnakaraśachyutadāna' with 'ruchira' and 'dantidantaprahāra' with 'ullikhita'; but this course is objectionable because the word 'danti' occurring after 'dāna' shows the preceding expression to be a Bahuvrīhi compound and an attribute of 'danti.'

7. The son of him (*i. e.*, of Indrarâja) who had attained to greatness, the prosperous Dantidurgga who was like Indra enjoyed the earth encircled by the four oceans.

8. With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the incalculable forces of Karuâtaka invincible to others, and which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lords of Kâñchl, the king of Kerala, the Cholas, the Pâṇḍyas, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa.

9. Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without any effort, unwearied he whose orders were never transgressed conquered Vallabha by the (mere) force of his royal sceptre (*i. e.* majesty) and attained to the state of the king of kings and supreme lord.⁵

10. By means of his prowess he brought under one regal umbrella this world, from the Setu (*i. e.*, the bridge of Râma) where the waters of the series of surging waves gleamed on the lines of huge rocks to the snowy mountain, the network of whose stainless rocks is tinted with snow and from the well-known boundaries of the sandy regions of the eastern to those of the western sea.

11. When that Vallabharâja had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇarâja, the son of the illustrious Karkkarâja, who brought to an end the sufferings of the subjects became king.

12. The career of that prosperous Kṛishṇarâja during which the whole multitude of enemies was completely exterminated by the prowess of his arms was spotless like that of Kṛishṇa (Hari.)

13. The whole sky wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of Śubhatuṅga⁶

⁵ Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt 'Sabhrûvibhaṅgam' for their Kâvi and Śârngad inscriptions respectively. Further these plates read 'daṇḍalakena' instead of 'daṇḍabalena'—the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the Paithan plates. This is a very knotty verse. In the first place it is very difficult to understand whether 'abhrûvibhaṅgam,' &c., are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives excepting 'sabhrûvibhaṅgam.' Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of the word 'daṇḍabalena' is not clear.

⁶ Dr. Fleet understands by 'Śubhatuṅga' "prominent or conspicuous in good fortune." But its correct translation would be "the righteous Tuṅga"; Ep. Ind. IV, 279.

(Kṛiṣṇarāja) looked clearly like the sky in the rainy season, though it was summer.

14. Akālavarsba (the untimely rainer) *i. e.* Kṛiṣṇarāja instantly rains, *i. e.* fulfills unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of his favourites, in any way he liked, so as to remove all (their) distress.

15. After vanquishing in a fight by the strokes of the keen blade of his sword Rāhappa who prided himself on the strength of his arm, he soon assumed the position of the king of kings and supreme lord, rendered glorious by the series of Pālidhvajas.⁷

16. Having but seen in battle the form of his staff-like arm, shining all around by the collections of rays (issuing forth) from (his) sword uplifted in anger, efficient in causing confusion in the imposing arrays of elephants of (his) turbulent enemies and dealing destruction to the multitude of (his) enemies puffed up with pride, his foes giving up (all idea of) valorous deeds, fled somewhere with their bodies trembling through fear.

17. He was the protector of the earth bearing the ornament of girdle in the form of the four oceans and also of the triad of the Vedas. He gave ghee profusely to the Brāhmanas, adored the gods and revered his preceptors. He was generous, high-minded, the first among the meritorious, the lord of the goddess of prosperity. And he went to the habitation of the gods (lit., where there is no death) to enjoy the fruits (accessible) in heaven, of (his) profound religious austerities.⁸

18. He had a son, the illustrious Govindarāja styled Vallabha who with his head made white by dust in the van (of the army) always moved sportively in battle, the heat of the rays of the sun being warded off by a white umbrella; who conquered the world⁹ (and) was clever in (causing) widowhood to the wives of (his) enemies.

⁷ For the explanation of the term pālidhvaja, *vide* Ind. Ant. XIV, 104.

⁸ The published grants in which this verse occurs read 'bhūritapasā.' I am in possession of an unpublished grant of Dāruva II., a Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince which gives the reading bhūritapasām—which is a better reading since it fully brings out the propriety of the word 'phala' in 'Svarggaphalāni.'

⁹ To take the whole expression 'Jitajagalahitastrainavāsīdhavyadaksah' as one compound and connect 'ahita' with 'jagat' does not yield any good sense, inasmuch as it is opposed to the ways of thinking of the Indian poets who would rather speak of Govinda's enemies than the world's enemies.

(and) who in a moment burst asunder in battle the temples of the intoxicated elephants of his enemies.

19. His younger brother called the prosperous Dbruvārāja, possessed of great innate power, of irresistible valour having subdued the whole multitude of kings, gradually acquired a (resplendent) form like that of the newly risen sun.

20. And truly, O truly,¹⁰ great was the joy of the whole world when he, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas, became the crest-jewel among excellent kings and when that righteous good lord, the reservoir of nectar-like excellences and devoted to the vow of truth was ruling over the earth up to the sea-coast.

21. When pleased, he delighting the host of his relatives, gave his all to mendicants; (and) when angry, valiant as he was, he instantly snatched away the life of even Yama.

22. Protecting with justice the whole kingdom together with the four oceans, he produced great joy in the hearts of the people.

23. His son was Govindarāja whose fair and extensive fame was spread throughout the world, who was the ornament of his race, who was bountiful, whose valour was (his) wealth (and) who harassed the crowd of his enemies by performing exploits and was the beloved of his people.

24. And his other appellation known in the world was Pṛithvīvalabha (lord of the earth) and he single-handed subjugated the earth bounded by the four oceans.

25. He while crossing the boundless ocean of the hostile army by means of his own arms was though one seen in battle to be multi-form by his enemies, just as the soul though (in reality) one is believed to be manifold by the advocates of the plurality (of souls).

26. "I am alone and unarmed; these foes are many and armed"—such a thought he did not entertain even in a dream, how then in battle?

27. (On finding that)¹¹ numerous other powerful kings such as Stambha, having entered into a league were by the force of their arms usurping the dignity of the king of kings and supreme lord conferred

¹⁰ For a different version of the expression 'Satyam Satyamiti,' see Ind. Ant. V, 150, and XII, 187.

¹¹ This verse by itself does not form a complete sentence. It had rather be read in conjunction with the verse that follows and some such word as 'avalokya' must be understood to connect them both.

upon him by his father, by sprinkling water over him with the coronation pitchers.

28. He alone in a great battle made captives even of them all together with the crowds of many (other) kings, by harassing them with the strokes of the blade of his uplifted sword and made the goddess of sovereignty steady, bearing a shining and valuable chauri and enjoyable on this earth by his preceptors, Brāhmaṇas, the virtuous and his friends and relatives who had become dejected.

29. When he, who made the multitude of his foes tremble had gone to heaven his son, known as the illustrious great king Śarva, became king renowned for his virtues.

30. As regards supplicants who had attained satisfaction by the fulfilment of their desires, he carried the appropriateness of his appellation Amoghavarsha to the highest degree.

31. His paternal uncle, Indrarāja, who was the cause of the extinction of the earthly glory and prosperity of his enemies, was prosperous and excited admiration in the minds of the meritorious princes became king. Royal Power herself resorting to him in humility after having set aside other princes out of love for him made his true nature be sung aloud by all poets.¹²

33. To him who single-handed gained victories and was foud of adventurous deeds his army was the mere paraphernalia of sovereignty. Being high-minded he did not make a bow even to the gods, excepting (however) the Supreme God, the lord of the whole universe.

34. He had a son named the glorious Karkkarāja who sustained the burden of sovereignty, was the pith of his race, possessed valour combined with polity (and) who delighted the numbers of his relatives by his prosperity, was an unfailing Pārtha in the wielding of the bow and was the first among the pure-hearted.

35. His fame wanders through the world with curiosity to know whether there is any king equal to him in point of generosity, self-respect, righteous rule, heroism and bravery.

¹² The following verse baffles all attempt at rendering it intelligibly. Its readings vary materially from those of the Bagumrā grant of Dhruva II. of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage, but are almost identical with those of an unpublished grant of the present grantor, which is in my possession. It being therefore next to impossible to get at the true version of the verse, to deduce the historical fact about the Mānas being the allies of Indrarāja is extremely hazardous.

Ll. 55—69. And he, the lord of the feudal chiefs, *Suvarṇavarsha* *Srī-Karkkarājadeva* who has obtained all the great sounds commands the lords of the divisions and districts, village headmen, officials, functionaries, magistrates, elders of villages and others according as they are concerned : Be it known to you that—for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, both in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—by me living at *Khetaka*—has been given with a willing mind by pouring water after having bathed to-day for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices of *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadeva*, *Agnihotra* and *Atithi*—to *Gobbaḍḍi* residing at *Bādāvi*, belonging to the *Bhāradvāja* gotra, student of the *Taittirīya* school, the son of the priest *Bādaḍḍi*, conversant with the meaning of all the *Vedas* and *Śāstras* and whose other appellation “*Paṇḍitavalabharāja*” was well known in the world from his proficiency in the fourteen branches of science—the village of the name “*Śamīpadraka*” situated in the region between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā*, the boundaries of which are to the E. the village of the name of *Golikā*, to the S. the village of *Chorundaka*, to the W. *Bhartbhāṇaka* and to the N. the village of *Dhāhadva*; and the village of the name of “*Sambandhī*” situated in the *Mañjanikā* district the boundaries of which are to the E. the village of the name of *Sajjodaka*, to the S. *Brāhmaṇapallikā*, to the W. *Karañjavasaḥikā* and to the N. *Kāshthāmaṇḍapa*—these two villages thus defined by their eight boundaries, together with appurtenances, the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate,¹³ together with the results of the workings of creatures,¹⁴ with whatever might be raised on the land with labour, with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by regular or irregular soldiery, not to be interfered with by the hand even of the king’s officers, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, the mountains endure, to be enjoyed in lineal succession by sons and sons’ sons, to the exclusion of grants previously made to Gods and *Brāhmaṇas*—when seven hundred and thirty-eight years have elapsed since the time of the *Saka* king on the full-moon day of the bright half of *Māgha* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

¹³ J. B. B. R. A. S. XVIII., 253, note 1 ; Ep. Ind. IV., 279.

¹⁴ This I think to be the proper translation of ‘*Sabhūtapātapratyāya*.’ ‘*Bhūta*’ means ‘beings’ and ‘*pāta*’ seems here to be used in the sense of ‘attack.’ For ‘*pratyāya*,’ which is the same as *pratyaya*, see *Amarakośa*.

Ll. 69—75. Wherefore no one should cause hindrance to him while enjoying it as a Brâhmaṇa gift or allowing others to enjoy it, while cultivating it or getting others to cultivate it or alienating it. Similarly future kings, whether our descendants or others, knowing that the fruit of a grant of land is common (to all kings) and perceiving that fleeting prosperity is as ephemeral as lightning and that life is as unsteady as the drop of water pendent on the tip of a blade of grass should respect and preserve our gift as they would their own. He who with his mind enveloped in the thick darkness of ignorance will confiscate it or approve of its being confiscated shall incur the five great sins together with the minor ones. To this effect it has been said by the divine Vyâsa, compiler of the Vedas:

Ll. 75—85. The grantor of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years; and the confiscator and abettor dwell for the same number of years in hell. Those who confiscate grants of land are born black serpents living in dried-up hollows (of trees) in the forests of the Vindhya destitute of water. Gold is the first child of fire, the earth belongs to Viâṇu and cows are the daughters of the sun; the three worlds will have been given by him who makes a gift of gold, a cow and land. The earth has been enjoyed by many princes such as Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth enjoys the fruits thereof. All these gifts productive of religious merit riches and fame that have been made before by kings are like the remains of an offering to a deity or food vomitted; what good person would take them back again? O prince, assiduously preserve the land granted by yourself or others; O the best of kings preservation (of a grant) is preferable to making a gift. Again and again does Râmahadra entreat the future kings in this manner: this bridge of merit common to all princes should be preserved by you from time to time. Reflecting that royal power and human life are as unsteady as the drops of water on the petal of a lotus, others' fame should not be destroyed by men of very pure minds and possessed of self-restraint.

Ll. 85—87. The Dûtaka for this (charter) is Śrî-Droṇamma. And this has been written by Śrî-Nemâditya, minister of peace and war. This is my own sign manual (*vis.* that) of Śrî-Karkkarâja, the son of the prosperous Indrarâja.

[This same village of Sambandhi written about above was caused to be given by Râṇahari].

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were written, I have had occasion to read the "History of Gujarat" composed from the materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji which forms the first part of the first volume of the Bombay Gazetteer. The Pandit seems to have therein utilised the date of these plates and the mention of Amoghavarsha in it to draw, like me, the conclusion that Amoghavarsha came to the throne some year between the expired Śaka years 734 and 738. And this conclusion must naturally suggest itself to the mind of any person who sees that while the Baroda grant is dated 734 Śaka Saṃvat and takes the main line as far as Govinda III., the Nausāri charter of the same prince is dated 738 Śaka Saṃvat and mentions Amoghavarsha, son of this Govinda III.

Again, the Nausāri copper-plate charter of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata, edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 80) records the grant of a certain field in the village of Śāmpadraka, two of the villages surrounding which are Golikā and Dhāhadva—unquestionably the villages of Golikā and Dhāhadva which our plates mention in defining the boundaries of Śāmpadraka. The Śāmpadraka of both these copper-plates must therefore be one and the same village. But the Pandit owns that he cannot identify these places except Dhāhadva which, he thinks, is the modern Dohād near Goubra in the Pañch-Mahāls. I myself should not have been able to identify Śāmpadraka, if the other two surrounding villages, *vis.*, Chorundaka and Bharthāṇaka had not been mentioned in our plates. For it is only the certainty of the identification of these villages with Choranda and Bharthān respectively, that has led me to identify Śāmpadraka with Sondara and also supplied me with a clue to the probable identification of Dhāhadva with a modern village of the name of Dhāwat. The Pandit's identification of Dhāhadva with Dohād must therefore be given up.