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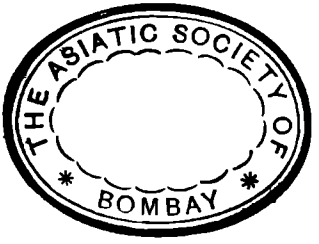

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ART. I.—*Arabic Poetry.*

BY PROFESSOR S. M. ISFAHANI.

Read before the Persian Section on 17th January 1905, in connection with the Centenary Celebration of the Society.

In the absence of any authentic history or any other reliable sources of information, it is not possible to speak with certainty as to when the Arabic language was first put into writing. European scholars, with all their latest researches, have not come to any definite conclusion in this matter. Arab historians who flourished after the rise of Islam have given different views on the subject. Most of them believe that Ismail, the son of Abraham, first invented the Arabian characters and wrote the language, while others say that the Arabs knew the art of writing in the time of Job the Prophet, whose sermons, which were originally in Arabic and are now lost, were translated into Hebrew by the Prophet Moses. This view has been supported by many orientalists.

A tradition ascribes the authorship not of the Arabic characters alone but of all other languages to the father of mankind. To teach his posterity their languages, 300 years before his death he wrote down the characters of the different tongues, which his children were to speak, on bricks which he had especially made for the purpose, and deposited them in a safe place. During the deluge the one on which the Arabic characters were inscribed was lost; but after the building of the Kaba by Abraham, his son Ismail discovered the hidden treasure through a dream, and with the aid of the Angel Gabriel he read the characters, and taught them to his community. The majority of historians considering the story too fabulous give a more recent origin for the Arabic characters. Muramer, the son of Murrah, who belonged to the tribe of Tai and was a native of Anbar, was the first to introduce the art into Arabia, himself possibly learning it from the Phœnicians.

The tribe of Himyar had a kind of script in which the letters were written separately, called the Musnad or Makeli writing. It was jealously guarded against the touch of the vulgar, and the teaching of it required a license from the authorities. It gradually travelled to Hira, a town on the borders of the Persian Empire, where it was

zealously studied under the patronage of the Munzer family, the vassals of the Persian Kings. A short time before Islam it was introduced amongst the tribe of Koraish, to which the Prophet Mohamed belonged. It then passed through the hands of many reformers and travelled through many cities and towns till, about the end of the 3rd century, in Bagdad, the city of the Khalifs, it was moulded into a definite shape, which it retains to the present time. In the 4th century it was reduced to a regular art, comprising several kinds of penmanship on which a large number of books are written. The history of these reformers and the famous caligraphists of the third and fourth centuries belong to the second period of Arabic literature, and will be given later on. However, the art of writing, before Islam, was known to a select few ; and therefore we see the prophet of Arabia, though he was illiterate and was never "schooled," advancing his claim to prophetic rank by the production of his Koran. Thus the Arabic language spread not over the land of its birth but all over the world, and gave birth to a literature which has been the wonder of the civilized world. Arab conquests carried the language to the remotest corners of the East and West and made it the permanent tongue of the places conquered, and mixing with the local tongues it branched off into many dialects. With the exception possibly of Sanskrit, no other language in the world seems to have become the parent of so many daughters. Thus it was not by the children of the soil of Arabia that this vast literature was produced, but authors from the hearts of Africa and Europe, Egypt and Abyssinia, Constantinople and Cordova, Persia and even India, have contributed their quota to the general stock and helped in raising this huge monument of Arab intellect. It may be remembered that the contribution of Persia to this fund was very large indeed. A reference to the writers and authors of the first five centuries of Islam will show that the Persians stood as the first masters in every department of learning then known. I am inclined to say that if we were to compare the parts played by the pure Arabs and the Persians in the production of this literature, and to strike the balance, it will go in favour of the latter, at least in point of quality and originality. Hence, in treating of Arabic literature one has to take into account the parts played by other nations ; for it did not come into existence by the fostering care of the pagan Arabs and the votaries of Islam alone, but Christians and Jews also lent a helping hand to its expansion. It is, therefore, a literature produced not by the Arabs, but by the Arabic-speaking people.

Arabic literature has been divided into three periods : (1) the pre-Islamic period, which comprises about two centuries ; (2) the period

after the rise of Islam down to the fall of Bagdad in A. D. 1258 or A. H. 656 comprising about six centuries; (3) from the fall of Bagdad down to the present time; which three periods, properly speaking, represent its birth, growth and decline.

It has been said that the literature of every nation commences with poetry. This is perfectly true of the Arabic literature. To the ancient Arabs poetry was everything: it was the record of their war and peace, the book of their philosophy and learning,—in fact, the sum total of their wisdom and intellect. The poet was not only revered but worshipped. His word was law. At his command they undertook war, and at his suggestion made peace.

It is impossible, since poetry existed before writing, to trace the origin of Arabic poetry or to point out the person who first composed it. "The long caravan marches across the monotonous deserts when the camel's steady swing bends the rider's body almost double, turning the unaccustomed traveller sick and giddy, soon taught the Arab to sing rhymes. He even noted very soon that as he hurried the pace of his recitation, the long string of camels would raise their heads and step out with quickened pace. This creature, stupid and vindictive though it be, is sensitive to some extent to music, or, at all events, to rhythm. Its four heavy steps gave the metre, and the alternation of long and short syllables in the spoken language, the successive pulsation of the said metre."

I have quoted the above passage for what it is worth, but I cannot believe that the "long caravan marches" taught the Arab to sing rhymes, nor that the camels' "four heavy steps" gave the metre. In this connection we may just turn to the poetry of other nations in the East and West. Was it the "long caravan marches" that taught the Chinese to sing rhymes, or "the four heavy steps of the camel" that gave the Romans and the Grecians their metre? The most barbarous people in the world, be they the Zulus in the veldts of Africa or the Red Indians in the prairies of America, in their rudest state of life have sung rhymes and given expression to their emotions and feelings in rhythmical language, not through the instrumentality of any outside influence as has been suggested above, but through the inspiration of nature and nature alone.

It is interesting to see the Arab authors vying with one another to fasten the fathership of Arabic poetry on different individuals. Âd, Samud, and Himyar have by turns been mentioned as the first poet, and some have even gone further and ascribed it to *Ayyub* the Prophet, who lived sixteen centuries before Christ and who is given the *palm* of superiority or at least priority to Homer, the best poet of ancient times.

It is stated that he composed some sermons in Arabic verse, now lost, which were rendered into Hebrew by the Prophet Moses. We even find some Arab authors quoting fragments of poetry supposed to have been composed by both the male and female members of the tribe of Amalek, the fifth ancestor of Ayyub.

It may naturally be asked, how is it that poetry precedes prose? The reason is not far to seek. Poetry is the expression of strong emotions and passions excited in the heart, clothed in every-day language; but prose is an art which requires training and study. The poet's language is not fettered by the artificial rules which the prose writer is bound to follow; he has many licenses with which the prose writer is not blessed. In short, poetry is the language of the heart, and therefore natural, while prose is the language of the *educated* man.

During the Days of Ignorance, as the pre-Islamic era and the primitive state of the Arabs is called, the whole Arab learning amounted to a rude knowledge of the firmament and its luminaries, whose movements they had been witnessing for generations past, and to whose agency they ascribed all their happiness and misery, and an empiric acquaintance with medicine, founded either upon imperfect observations and experiments, or learnt from the Persians and Indians. But on the other hand nature had compensated them by endowing them with quickness of comprehension, subtlety of thought, and a high degree of eloquence. Therefore most of them were able to compose poetry. It is said that every Arab is a poet by nature. We give below a proverb the origin of which is traced to an Arab named Kunfuz-el-Kalabi, whose son Jowshan suddenly developed as a poet to the utter surprise of his father, who did not wish his son to meddle with poetry and therefore prevented him from giving vent in verse to the emotions, that made his heart restless. But the storm that raged in his heart was too strong for him and he succumbed to it. The father, becoming aware at the last moment of the mischief that he had done, gave him permission to compose his verses: but it was too late, and the son before he died could only exclaim "Hal-ul-Jariz-Dun-al-Kariz"—"Death intervenes between me and poetry now." Although this gift of nature was common to the whole Arab nation high and low alike, still the Nobility were adverse to it and looked askance at those of their own class who were possessed of it and desired to utilise it. We find proof of this in the case of Amra-ul-kais, the poet-king as he is called, who stands at the head of the ancient Arab poets. He was banished by his father for indulging in the composition of poetry.

Simple desert life with few wants to provide for and fewer civic duties to attend to, gave the primitive Arab ample time to improve his tongue,

and bring it to a high degree of perfection. It was the labours of these silent workers of the desert that in later times bore fruit in the form of huge and numberless works on Lexicography and Philology compiled by Muhammadan travellers and scholars after the spread of Islam. Every part of the body of the camel, the most precious property of the Arab, was minutely observed, studied and a name given to it; the creature itself bears a thousand different names, and its various gaits even have been noted and named. The lion, the greatest enemy of the dweller in the desert, has received five hundred names and titles; wine, perhaps the only luxury the Arab could enjoy in his own tent, being provided mostly with it by the early Christian merchants, was called by a hundred names. Along with the above mentioned develcpment of the language, poetical composition, which afterwards played such a prominent part in the Arabic literature, was being evolved. The specimens that have been handed down to us of those compositions, though very meagre and fragmentary, yet are sufficient for a comparison with the forms that poetry took in later times.

The earliest remnants of Arabic poetry are some pieces relating to satire; and it is therefore believed that poetry with the Arabs first assumed that form. The Arab, so jealous of his honor, would fall an easy prey to excitement at a word of ridicule. Satire, it seems, was a secondary kind of warfare, to which the Arabs resorted in early times. The honour of the whole tribe depended upon the magic word that issued from the mouth of the poet. The adversary whose honour was assailed could not rest till he had retaliated, and so the *Hejâ* or satire passed from lip to lip and spread over the whole desert. But this was not the only use that the poet made of the inspiration with which he was supposed to have been gifted. Often did he record in verse the events of his times; the exploits of heroes and warriors, the generosity of chiefs and lords were put into verse and sung by the members of his tribe. In fact, in the absence of any other means, this was the only way in which they could preserve the memory of those events. The description of the English ballad exactly represents the state of the primitive Arabic poetry. "Most of these ballads were never written down, never printed, but were carried about in the memories of the Englishmen for hundreds of years. But though the ballads were altered to suit the circumstances, national feeling or personal preference, yet they have kept their purity except in a few cases when passing from the mouth of the reciter to the ear of the hearer. These ballads were recited, chanted or sung to the harp by the itinerant minstrels, strollers from the hall to the hamlet, from the town to the cottage, from the fair to the market, with songs old or new or newly revised." This is a true picture of the state of Arabic

poetry in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. It was to recite or chant these poems that in those times poets were invited to the courts of Princes and great Amirs. These poets travelled to distant places and everywhere were received with great honour. They carried the fame and ill-fame of the tribes in their hands. A slight indifference or discourtesy shown to them would jeopardise the reputation of the whole tribe. It may be noted here that the satires composed during this period were far above the type to which they were reduced in later times. The words were poignant, sharp and biting, but within proper limits. But the successors of these satirists passed all bounds of modesty and decency, even degenerating into abuses and obscenities.

Towards the beginning of the sixth century we notice a change for the better which comes gradually over the Arabic language. Its vocabulary is enriched and the meanings of words became fixed. The poet feels conscious of his power and duty. The *kasideh* takes its definite form; the tone of the language appears to be chaste and at times philosophic. The verses of the poet are interspersed with words of sound advice to the community, and the poet tries to quench the fire which his predecessors used to fan. It is also at this time that we find poets attached to the courts of Princes and Nobles, and, being called court poets in contradistinction to the desert poets, laying, so to speak, the foundation of the future post of Poet Laureate.

The gift of poetic inspiration was not monopolised by the males only; the fair sex had also a full share in it. At this period Arabia produced some poetesses who could well compete with the best of the poets. The custom of mourning and lamentation by women following a funeral procession is of ancient origin. Like Indian women, Arab women continued to mourn for many days, and at times other women were hired to mourn with them. They followed the bier barefooted and bareheaded, sometimes even with shaven heads, moaning and uttering plaintive words with a cadence which gradually resulted in the composition of elegies, for the production of which the fair sex is no less renowned than is the sterner one for the production of eulogy. An Indian writer has given a very fine picture of Arabic poetry of this time, which I quote here, though with some reservation: "They (the Arabs) had at that time no rules of grammar or versification to guide them; and yet their verses were scrupulously accurate, and hardly ever went wrong. They had neither any fixed criterion of rhetoric nor any canons of criticism; yet their idioms, expressions, images, similes and metaphors were as accurate, as clear, as lucid, and as perspicuous as any of the subsequent established schools of the post-Islamic times. One of the distinctive features of the primitive

literature of the Arabs was that it possessed the real and rare beauty of being a faithful representation of nature, inasmuch as their images were derived directly from nature, and their composition was merely a real expression of their real feelings and a true reflexion of their mental workings. False fame, vain glory, flattery and empty praise were motives not known to those early Arabs who led a simple innocent life, in the lap of nature, invested with all its concomitant virtues—bravery, courage, gallantry, truthfulness, innocent and sincere love, fidelity, generosity, liberality, charity, hospitality, and a hatred of cruelty and oppression. With the Arabs of those times poetry was a gift of nature, commonly bestowed on all alike, whether old or young, man or woman, rich or poor, high or low, noble or mean, townsman or peasant, who used it as a tangible expression of their emotions and a ready vehicle of what they thought and felt, and a lasting record of their views, made more impressive and more perspicuous by illustrative similes, apt images, and suitable metaphors, such as were readily supplied by natural objects and views of daily sight." I would certainly use my vocabulary of praise with some degree of parsimony, and would not exhaust it so lavishly on the beauties of early Arabic poetry and the excellences of Arab traits. But this is perfectly true, that the language of the early poets was absolutely pure and the similes and metaphors used by them were directly taken from nature. This characteristic was much more noticeable among the desert than amongst the town poets. Ajjaj, who was a well-known desert poet, was once asked his opinion about the difference in his poetry and that of Kumaid and Terammah, who were accustomed to have their difficulties solved by him. He said, as he derived his similes and metaphors first hand from his own observation of nature, there was no possibility of his missing or misplacing them, but that as the latter two lived in the town and wrote about things which they did not see but of which they heard only from others, they often went wrong. Another peculiarity of primitive Arab poetry is the isplay of martial valour, and the warlike spirit and love of independence which prevail throughout the verses. It was on this account that when, in the second century of Islam, the portals of Greek learning were opened to Arab authors, no poetical work of the Grecians was rendered into Arabic, as they found Greek poetry wanting in that heroic and martial spirit which the Arab values above all. The same may be said for the absence of the translation of historic works.

After the rise of Islam, when poetry together with other subjects was treated scientifically and reduced to an art, the poets were divided into four divisions. First, Al-Jaheliyyun or those who lived before Islam and died pagan, or even those who lived down to that time but died non-

Muslims. Second, Al-Mukhzaremun or those pagan poets who accepted Islam and died Muslims. Third, Al-Muwalledun or those who were born in the first two centuries of Islam. Fourth, Al-Muhaddesun, or the modern poets. The first three are considered to represent the ancient type of Arab poet; for their composition was not affected by the artificiality of the schools which sprang up during the third century of Hejra. Seven collections, each consisting of seven poems belonging to different poets, have been made, and named after some peculiarity in the poems common to the seven grouped together. First is the famous collection known as the Moallekat or the seven suspended poems grouped together by Hammade Raviyah, to whom the preservation of a great part of the pre-Islamic poetry is due, and who himself was a poet with a wonderful and prodigious memory. Once, when the Khalif Walid, the Son of Yazid, asked him the reason of his surname—Raviyah (a quoter)—he boasted that he could recite, besides thousands of fragmentary pieces, one hundred long Kasidehs, belonging to the pagan times, and an equal number from the post-Islamic times, rhyming on every letter of the alphabet. To test the truth of this statement, Walid ordered him to recite poems in his presence, and when he was tired, he appointed one of his trustworthy servants to keep watch over him: and when the latter also was tired, they had already counted two thousand and nine hundred Kasidehs recited by the poet. This collection, which has served as an anvil for the genius of hundreds of Arabic scholars, contains seven masterpieces of pre-Islamic poetry composed by seven different poets. Their names were as follows: Imra-ul-kais bin Hujr of the tribe of Kinda, the errant poet-king who was driven from home by his father for the sin of composing poetry and indulging in amorous passions. He died at Ancyra through wearing a poisoned robe of honor, given to him by the Roman Emperor, which covered his body with ulcers; whence he was called Zat-ul-Kuruh or the man of ulcers; Torafa, whose name was Amr-ebn-el-abd and who attended the court of the king of Hyra Amr-ebne Hind, by whom he was sentenced to death for venturing to satirise his brother Kabus or the king himself; Zuhair-bin Abusulma, whose father Rabia, uncle Bashama, two sons Kaab and Bujair, and two sisters, Sulmah and Khansâ, were celebrated poets, and who with Amra-ul-kais and Nabeghe-e-Zubyani constitutes the triumvirate of the Arab poets; Antare bin Shaddad the son of an Abyssinian slave who is also counted as a famous hero amongst the Arabs. He took part in the war known as the Dahes war between his tribe Abs and Fazarah. He was killed while fighting against the tribe of Tai; Amr-ibne-kulsum, who is said to have lived for one hundred and fifty years and often satirized Noman, the son of Munzar; Labid, the son of Rabia who belongs to the second division of poets and who was known for his piety. He, too, lived a long life of about 145

years and died in 14 A.H.; and lastly Alhars, the son of Hillaz, of whose life nothing is known. It is said that the Arabs hung these poems in front of the Kaaba and prostrated themselves before them and worshipped them for nearly 150 years, till they had to be removed from their honored place in favour of the Holy Book, the first of its kind, the inspired word of God, the Koran. The sister of Amra-ul-Kais, it is said, was at Mekka on the day the poems were taken down, and she objected to the removal of her brother's poem. But when she saw the passage of the Koran—Sura II, verse 44—she with her own hands took it down and burnt it.

These poems have for hundreds of years been allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of their title to antiquity, but they are now assailed by some scholars, who in these days of close investigation and criticism throw their search light into every nook and corner and point out defects and flaws which have escaped detection by the purblind authors of bygone ages. Hammad's honesty in respect of his collection has been doubted, and certain arguments have been advanced to disprove the antiquity of the Moallekat. But before these arguments can be accepted as sound, they must pass through the same ordeal of criticism and investigation as the poems themselves. There is, no doubt, much force in the arguments advanced, but they are not sufficient to dispel the fascinating belief which has swayed the hearts of scholars for the last thirteen centuries. Hammad's honesty is rightly impeached; for, when hard pressed by the Khalif, Al-Mehdy, he admitted the charge that had been brought against him by Mufazzal, of interpolating his own lines amongst those of the ancient poets. But to charge him with wholesale forgery on insufficient grounds is unjust and difficult to prove. The other six collections are :—

(1) Al-Mujamharat.
(2) Al-Muntakayat.
(3) Al-Muzahhabat.
(4) Al-Marasee.
(5) Al-Mashubat.
(6) Al-Mulhamat.

The list is arranged in order of merit and marks the different downward grades of Arabic poetry from its commencement to the end of the second century of the Hejra.

There are also about a dozen more books containing the poetry of pre-Islamic times which, together with those mentioned above, make up our knowledge of the poets and the poetry of the first centuries of Arabic literature. But for a student who wishes to study ancient

Arab poetry in all its aspects and phases, and minutely observe the features of Arab life, the Hamasa of Abu Tammam would furnish the best and most instructive guide, as well as prove a most capacious and entertaining storehouse to draw upon, and would be found much more useful and interesting than Moallekhat.

With the Koran the first period of Arabic literature closes and the second period dawns. What would have been the course of Arabic literature if the Koran had not been produced, or if Mohammad as a Prophet had not been the author of it, is a matter of pure speculation, and I think cannot be entered upon here. As to how from the Koran radiated the study of the different kinds of sciences, as to how it created in certain cases the very existence of certain branches of knowledge, and as to how it accelerated the study of others,—in short, as to how it became the very source of all that knowledge which has rendered Islam and its followers famous, I will hereafter make an attempt to show.

ART. II.—*On the Age of the Sanskrit Poet Kavirâja.*

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A., PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

(*Read before the Sanskrit Section on 18th January 1905 in connection with the Centenary Celebration of the Society.*)

MANY Sanskrit scholars have written on the age of Kavirâja, but they do not appear to be successful in their attempts to fix his date. Professor Macdonell[1] says that Kavirâja perhaps flourished about A.D. 800, while Dr. Bhandarkar maintains[2] that Kavirâja and Dhanañjaya must have lived between A.D. 996 and 1141, and that Dhanañjaya borrowed the idea of a Râghavapâṇḍvîya from the Brahmanic poem of that name by Kavirâja. The opinions of other eminent scholars need not be considered here as they wrote before the contents of old Kanarese inscriptions were made accessible to the student of Sanskrit by the writings of Messrs. Rice and Fleet.

With great deference to all scholars, who have written on this subject and to whom we owe so much, I beg to point out that this difference of opinion is due to the fact that the verses in which the poet gives an account of king Kâmadêva do not appear to have received that amount of consideration, to which they are entitled at the hands of scholars. Kavirâja, unlike other Indian authors, gives ample information, which ought to enable us to identify his royal patron and to fix the date of the poet himself. There are only three introductory verses in which Kavirâja supplies historical information. The first of these verses is very easy, but the other two present exceptional difficulties. An edition of Kavirâja's work with a commentary has lately appeared in the Kâvyamâlâ. The commentator calls himself Śaśadhara or Moon and his commentary is entitled Prakâśa or Light. But unfortunately for Sanskrit Scholars this Moon throws no light on the difficult verses.

From the way in which the Jaina Râghavapâṇḍavîya is mentioned in the Pamparâmâyaṇa[3] and in the Śravaṇ Belgoḷ inscription[4], it may be easily inferred that there was only one Râghavapâṇḍavîya known to Pampa's contemporaries. This view is confirmed by the Brahmin author Durgasiṃha, who alludes to Dhanañjaya's Râghavapâṇḍavîya only. Durgasiṃha says that he was a native of Kisukâḍa and a minister for peace and war under the Châlukya Emperor Jagadêkamalla

[1] History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 331.
[2] Report on Sanskrit Mss. for 1884-87.
[3] Pamparâmâyana, p. 6, 2nd ed.
[4] Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola.

This king can be identified with Jagadêkamalla II, who reigned between Śáka 1061 and 1072, as Durgasiṃha mentions the Kanarese poet, Kannamayya, who refers to Abhinava-Pampa as "*adyatara*" or contemporary[1]. In his interesting introduction to his Kanarese Panchatantra[2] Durgasiṃha tells us that he proposes to give to the world a Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Panchatantra of Vasubhâga Bhaṭṭa, who extracted five stories resembling five jewels from Guṇâḍhya's Brihatkathâ, which was in Paiśâchi, translated them into Sanskrit and called his work Panchatantra. Durgasiṃha mentions Guṇâḍhya, Vararuchi, Kâlidâsa, Bâṇa, Mayûra, Vâmana, Udbhaṭabhîma, Bhavabhûti, Bhâravi, Bhaṭṭi, Mâgha, Râjaśêkhara, Kâmandaka and Daṇḍi. As regards Dhanañjaya Durgasiṃha says :—

Anupama-kavi-vrajaṃ Jî—
Yene Râghava-pâṇḍavîyamam pêldu Yaśô—!
Vanit-âdhîśvaran âdam
Dhanañjayam vâg-vadhû-priyaṃ Kêvalanê !!

"Dhanañjaya, the sole favourite of the goddess of speech, became the lord of fame resembling a lady, by composing the Râghavapâṇḍavîya to the humiliation of matchless poets."

We must remember that Durgasiṃha was an eminent Brahman, who held the high post of minister for peace and war in the days of Châlukya supremacy. He was intimately acquainted with Brahmanical literature. All the Sanskrit poets, whom he praises, were Brahmans with the single exception of Dhanañjaya on whom he lavishes extravagant praises for his Râghavapâṇḍavîya. If the Brahmanical Râghavapâṇḍavîya had been in existence before the time of Jagadêkamalla II, Durgasiṃha would certainly have accepted Kavirâjâ's estimate of his own genius :—

सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः ।
वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥—I. 41.

and would have excluded Dhanañjaya from the list of Sanskrit authors, reserving all his praises for Kavirâja's Râghavapâṇḍavîya. These considerations naturally lead us to the conclusion that Kavirâja did not compose his work till after Śaka 1072, the year in which the reign of Jagadêkamalla II terminated. We shall appeal to Kavirâja himself on this point.

We are told that king Kâmadêva belonged to the Kâdamba family.

अस्ति कादम्बसन्तानसन्तानकनवाङ्कुरः ।
कामदेवः क्षमादेवकामधेनुर्जनेश्वरः ॥—I. 13.

By the use of the form Kâdamba, Kavirâja evidently wishes us to understand that his royal patron belonged to one of the later Kâdamba

[1] Karnâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana, Intr. p. 33.
[2] Canarese Panchatantra published in the Karnâtaka Kâvyamañjari, pp. 6 and 7.
Canarese Panchatantra, p. 13.

families. This is confirmed by the statement that Kâmadêva lived after Muñja, king of Dhârâ, who died[1] about A.D. 996.

श्रीविद्याशोभिनो यस्य श्रीमुञ्जादियती भिदा ।

धारापति रसावासीदयं तावद्धरापतिः ॥—I. 18.

We know that there were two families of the later Kâdambas. Here a question naturally arises, to which of these families did king Kâmadêva belong? This question is satisfactorily answered by Kavirâja in the following two verses which are difficult to understand and as to the real purport of which, the commentator "Moon" with his "light" seems to be totally in the dark.

आदित्यस्यान्ववायो जयति रघुपतेर्जन्मनोज्जृम्भितश्री-

स्तत्साम्यं सोमवंशः श्रयति सुरभितः पाण्डवानां यशोभिः ।

धत्ते तत्साम्यमद्य स्मरहरधरणी संभवस्यान्ववायो

यस्यालंकारभावं भजति कृतधियां कामदः कामदेवः ॥—.I 23.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the line of the sun, the glory of which was increased by the birth of the lord of the Raghus. The line of the moon, which is illuminated by the fame of the Pândavas, bears resemblance to it. To both is comparable to-day the line of the son of the god Śiva and the earth, of which Kâmadêva who gratifies the wishes of the learned, is an ornament.

The commentator Moon, who is unable to explain by his "light" the expression **स्मरहरधरणीसंभवस्य**, which is in the genitive case, deliberately changes the text into **स्मरहरधरणीसंभवोपि**. But a careful study of the verse will convince Sanskrit Scholars that the genitive is here purposely employed by Kavirâja, who wishes to compare the founder of the Kâdamba line, who was the son of the god Śiva and the earth, to the Sun and the Moon, the supposed founders of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties. Who the founder of the Kâdamba line was, we learn from Kavirâja himself who says :—

आनेता मध्यदेशात्प्रवचनविदुषां सोमपां ब्राह्मणाना- ।

मारोढा मर्त्यमूर्त्या सुरपतिसदसो मण्डनं मानवत्याः ।

जेता भूमेर्जयन्तीपुरपुरमथनश्रीपदाम्भोजभृङ्गः ।

सोपि क्ष्मापस्त्रिनेत्रः स्वकुलकुलगिरिं योनुलेभे तपोभिः ॥—I. 25.

TRANSLATION.

That king was Trinêtra who imported from Central India Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and drinkers of Soma juice, who ascended to the assembly of Indra in human form, who was an ornament of a proud

[1] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214.

lady (his wife), the conqueror of the earth and a bee on the glorious feet of the god Śiva of Jayantîpura and who obtained, in later times by austerities, a very mountain (*i.e.*, supporter) of his family (in king Kâmdêva).

The commentator "Moon" has failed to throw any light on this verse. He takes the expression स्वकुलकुलगिरि to mean that his (Trinêtra's) family resembled a principal mountain. According to this interpretation, King Trinêtra obtained his own family by means of austerities. This is absurd, because Trinêtra was the supposed founder of the Kâdamba line. Before his time his family must have been of course obscure. To be born in an obscure family is no reward for performance of austerities. Besides, each of the 23 verses from Nos. 13 to 33 in the first canto is devoted to praising Kâmadêva. If one of these verses, namely, No. 25, were to mention Trinêtra without reference to Kâmadêva, it would be out of place. Therefore, the real meaning of this verse is that King Trinêtra obtained in later times, as a reward for his austerities, a *kulagiri* or supporter of his family in Kâmadêva. In the Kâvyamâlâ edition of Kavirâja's work we often read हलधरणीप्रसूत कादम्बवंश which is a mistake for हरधरणीप्रसूतकादम्बवंश.[1]

From the two verses which I have explained above, we learn the following facts. King Kâmadêva belonged to a later Kâdamba family.

The founder of this line was King Trinêtra, who was the son of the god Śiva and the earth, who imported learned Brahmins from Central India and who was a worshipper of the god Śiva of Jayantîpura. The town of Banavâsi in North Canara District is famous for its temple of Madhukêśvara. In ancient times Banavâsi was called Jayantî or Jayantîpura. This is proved by the fact that the Brahmins of Banavâsi at the present day speak of their town as Jayantî-kshêtra during the performance of religious rites. The chief god known even at the present day as Madhukêśvara is referred to as जयन्तीपुरमधुकेश्वर in a stone-tablet inscription in front of the god Mailârling at Hângal and as जयन्तीमधुकेश्वर in another inscription in the temple of Târakêśvara at the same place. It is evident from these expressions that जयन्ती or जयन्तीपुर is only another name of Banavâsi. I may also mention that in the temple of Madhukêśvara at Banavâsi itself there is a stone cot which bears the following inscription on it in comparatively modern Kanarese characters.

श्रीवर्षे विभवे ऋतौच शिशिरे माघाख्यमासे सिते
पक्षे सछि(च्छि)वरात्रिसौम्यदिवसे सोदारघुक्ष्माभृता ।
पर्यंकोऽममयो वसंतकुतुकायास्थानिके मंटपे
दत्त [:] श्रीमधुकेश्वराय रुचिरः श्रीमज्जयन्ती पुरे ॥

1 Epi Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Sorab Inscrip. No. 179, lines 17—20.

In a local purâṇa called जयन्तीमाहात्म्य we are told—

अस्ति लोके महापुण्या पुरी शक्रपुरोपमा ।
जयन्ती नाम नाम्नासा सर्वदा सर्वदायिनी ॥
तत्र देवो महादेवप्रवरो योगिनां शिवः ।
मधुकेश्वरनाम्ना तु नगरे तत्र वर्तते ॥—Chap. 27.

In another local purâṇa we read

एवं महोत्सवे काले प्रादुरासीत्सदाशिवः ।
लिंगमध्यान्महातेजा भासमानो दिशो दश ॥
शंकरेः पृष्ठमारुह्य पार्वत्या सह शंकरः ।
उवाच विष्णुप्रमुखान् देवान्संबोध्य शंकरः ॥
सर्वे शृण्वंतु मद्वाक्यं लिंगेस्मिन्मधुकेश्वरे ।
सदा वसामि भो देवा भवंतोत्र वसंतु च ॥
इयं पुण्या वानवासी[1] वरदाधौवहारिणी ।
अत्र स्नात्वा च मां पूज्य[2] कृतकृत्या भवंतु वै ॥
इत्युक्त्वांतर्दधे तत्र लिंगेच मधुकाभिधे ।
वानवासी क्षेत्र महिमा.—Chap. 25.

न वैशाख समो मासो वानवासीसदृङ् न पूः ।
मधुकेश्वरसमं लिंगं नास्ति नास्ति जगत्त्रये ॥
वानवासी क्षेत्र महिमा.—Chap. 26.

We have thus seen that Jayantî is another name of the town of Banavâsi. The last three passages cited above also tell us that the god Madhukêśvara is a linga. Kaviràja's expression जयन्तीपुरपुरमथन is, therefore, equivalent to जयन्तीपुरमधुकेश्वर. Dr. Fleet's statement[3] "that the family god of the Kàdambas of Banavâsi was Vishṇu under the name of Madhukêśvara" must be rejected as it is opposed to facts.

Kaviràja's account of the Kâdamba family of Banavâsi, to which his patron Kâmadêva belonged, agrees with the account of the family which is found in the Kanarese inscriptions. The founder of this line Trinêtra is called Trilôchana in the Siddâpur inscription[4] and is spoken of as Mukkaṇṇa in an inscription[5] at Tâlagund, the word Mukkaṇṇa being a Kanarese rendering of the Sanskrit त्रिनेत्र or त्रिलोचन. This king Trilôchana or Mukkaṇṇa is represented in the inscriptions[6] as the son

[1] The temple of Madhukêsara stands on the river Varadâ.

[2] A Vedic form for पूजयित्वा.

[3] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., p. 560. Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 250.
[4] Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 273.
[5] Epi. Carnatica, Vol. VII., p. 208. Shikârpur Inscription, No. 186, line 5.
[6] See notes 8 and 11 above. Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 250. Mysore Inscriptions, Intr., p. 39.

of the god Śiva and the earth, who brought learned Brahmins from Ahichchhatra and established them in the Kanarese country. The Havik Brahmins in North Canara claim to be the descendants of the Brahmins brought from Northern India by a Kâdamba King Mayûravarma who is sometimes confounded in the inscriptions with the fabled Trinêtra.

According to Dr. Fleet,[1] King Kâmadêva was a Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara and ruled over the provinces of Hângal, Banavâsi and Puligere or Lakshmêśvara. He was a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV, and began to rule in Śaka 1104. In Śaka 1119, the town of Hângal was besieged by the Hoysaḷ King Vîra Ballâḷa II. He was defeated and repulsed for the time by Kâmadêva's forces under his general Sohoṇi, who, however, was killed in the battle. But the Hoysaḷ king seems to have soon afterwards completely subjugated the Kâdambas and annexed their territory. In Śaka 1126 Kâmadêva was still fighting against the Hoysaḷ forces; but what became of him after that date, is not known. From these facts we can easily conclude that Kavirâja composed his Râghavapâṇḍavîya between Śaka 1104 and 1119.

A Kâdamba copper-plate inscription has been lately published by Mr. Rice in the Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, pp. 214—217. The grant purports to be issued by King Sôma, a grandson of Kâmadêva. This Kâmadêva must be identical with the Kâmadêva, mentioned above, since the names[2] of his son, father and grandfather are the same. One of the grantees in this inscription is named Kavirâja Mâdhavabhaṭṭa. This is the real name of the author of the Brahminical Râghavapâṇḍavîya, Kavirâja being his title only.

It may, however, be noticed here that this grant is not dated in the Śaka era, but mentions only the cyclic year Vilambi and Monday, the new moon-day of Âshâḍha, on which an eclipse of the sun occurred. Mr. Rice assigns this grant to A.D. 1118. This cannot be accepted, because, according to Dr. Fleet, who bases his opinion on stone-inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Hângal and Banavâsi, the Banavâsi province was governed between A.D. 1099 and 1129 by the Kâdamba king Tailapa II and not by king Sôma. The date of the grant must, therefore, be considerably later than Śaka 1104, the year in which Kâmadêva began to rule.

[1] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., Part II., p. 563.

[2] Idem, p. 559. Epigr. Carnatic, Vol. III., p. 27 (Translations). In the copper-plate grant, Kâmadêva's grandfather's name is given as Vikrama-Taila. The Vikrama is a title, and corresponds to the expression Udyat-pratâpam applied to him in the Kargudari Inscription, line 22, Ind. Ant. Vol. X., p. 252. It is thus clear that Kâmadêva's grandfather's name is Taila, his father's name is Tailama and his son's name is Malla.

[3] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I., Part II, p. 562.

ART. III.—*A History of Bijapur by Raffiuddin Shiraji.*

BY V. R. NATU, B.A., LL.B.

(*Read before the History Section on 19th January 1905, in connection with the Centenary of the Society.*)

OUR present knowledge of the history of the kingdom of Bijapur is mainly derived from the famous work of Ferishta, supplemented by the works of writers like Kafikhan and others who chronicled the movements and conquests of the Moghul armies in the Deccan. Ferishta was really attached to the court of Ahmadnagar though he lived at Bijapur for a few years. We have no work yet published by a writer at the court of Bijapur. The author of this work, of which I intend to give a summary, was a Bijapur nobleman who spent many years in the service of Bijapur kings. His history covers the same period as that of Ferishta, who was his contemporary. In the preparation of his monumental history of the Marathas, Grant Duff secured some Persian historical accounts of Bijapur, but in the list given by him in a footnote in Chapter II of his work, we do not find the name of Raffiuddin Shiraji. Sir H. M. Elliot collected some MSS. containing the histories of the independent Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan, but unfortunately those MSS. have not been translated. We do not even possess a list of them. In a paper published in Vol. I of the B. Br. R A. Society's journal by Captain Bird, we find the name of a work called 'Busate-Salatin,' but Shiraji's work is not mentioned. As far as I am aware Shiraji's work has never been published ; and it is only noticed in a Marathi work on Bijapur History by Professor Modak of Kolhapur. The importance of securing for publication the original works on the history of the Deccan Muhammadan kingdoms cannot be exaggerated. A good deal of attention has lately been paid by Maratha scholars to the task of bringing to light valuable materials for the history of the Marathas ; but the work of collecting old chronicles of that long period of time extending over nearly four centuries from the fall of Deogad to the overthrow of Bijapur, and Golkonda by Alamgir, yet remains neglected. In this respect the latest work of Gribble is also disappointing as it scarcely adds anything more to our knowledge than what is found in Brigg's edition of

'Ferishta.' The publication of old Persian MSS. on this subject would be of much use in adding to our limited fund of knowledge of this eventful period, and also would help us in gauging the account of Ferishta which is often marred by exaggeration. Raffiuddin Shiraji's work, though not as extensive nor as scholarly as that of 'Ferishta,' is, however, very interesting, as the author writes of events that were enacted before his eyes. Besides, being himself an adventurer from Persia, he is very fond of giving short biographical sketches of similar other adventurers from foreign lands who came to India during this period. His work is full of such sketches, among which may be mentioned those of Hussen Gango, Khaja Gawan, Eusuf Adilshah, Jengirkhan, Shah Tahir, Mustafakhan and others who are famous in the history of the Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan.

Following the plan of Elliot and Dowson, I do not intend to give here a full translation of Shiraji's work, but only an account of the author as gathered from the work itself, its contents, and a few extracts taken from it. It is also thought desirable to state how I came by the MS., which, as the sequel will show, now exists only in a Marathi translation.

Fifteen years ago I formed the acquaintance of Mr. Sayad Soffi Bukhari of Lakshmeshvar, who is now serving as Chief Constable at Murgod in the Belgaum District. This gentleman traces his descent from a noble family at the court of Bijapur which still enjoys a *Jagir* originally granted to it by the Kings of Bijapur. Mr. Soffi showed me a Persian MS., a carefully written and neatly bound volume, containing the History of the Kings of Bijapur. The work appeared to be a rare one, and so far as my inquiries went it was neither published nor translated. The work was written by "Raffiuddin Ibrahim bin Nuruddin Tawafic of Shiraj," who was in the service of the Bijapur Kings and a friend of Ankushkhan, the ancestor of Mr. Soffi.

As I took some interest in collecting materials for the history of Vijayanagar, I thought that this work would be of much use: but as I did not know the Persian language I requested my elder brother, the late Mr. R. R. Natu, B.A., to translate the work for me into Marathi. He had learnt Persian and he undertook the translation with the assistance of Mr. Sayyad Mohmad Munshi of Belgaum. The translation was begun in 1891 and finished in 1893. The translated MS. has lain with me since then, though it was my intention to publish it in book form. The original Persian MS. was returned to Mr. Soffi, and I now learn with regret from him that it has been destroyed by white ants. I enquired at Hyderabad and Bijapur whether this work could be obtained there, but I met with no success. Unfortunately the

Persian title of the work has not been retained in the Marathi version made by my brother; but Mr. Soffi says that it was, "Taskerah-i-Ahivali-Salatin-i-Bijapur." The author, however, gives much information about himself in the work, and it would be easy to identify it if some Persian scholar succeeds in securing the MS. The whole work is very interesting, and the author gives a detailed and graphic account of the reigns of Sultan Ali Adilshah (1551 to 1580) and Ibrahim Adilshah II (1580 to 1626) under whom he served as a palace chamberlain. In several places he describes scenes of which he was an eye-witness. The work closes with a lengthy history of the Emperor Akbar and his invasion of the Deccan. This work was written in H. 1017 (1608 A.D.) when the author was about 90 years old. He says it was written 35 years after he entered the service of the Bijapur Kings, which was 50 days after the capture of Bankapur by Ali Adilshah on 16th of Ramjan 982.

An Account of the Author.

Throughout the work the writer refers to himself sometimes as "the author of this work" in the third person and more often in the first person. At the beginning of Chapter II of the work the author says, "The writer of this work, Raffiuddin Ibrahim bin Nuruddin Tawafic, a native of Shiraj, had gone to Sagar in 968 to make some purchases. Sagar is a well-known town in the Deccan; within a few fursangs from it is the village of Gogi containing the tombs of Usaf Adilkhan and his descendants. It also possesses a great Langarkhan (a place where free food is distributed to the poor) maintained on the revenue of ten villages dedicated for the purpose. There are about 100 Hafizes who recite the Koran every morning and evening. Twice a day food is given to these men and their families. They also get some cash allowance every month. Amongst them there was one Hafiz Shamsuddin Khijri who was more than 90 years old. He was a man of great erudition, had seen many climes and countries, and in his old age had settled down in this Kingdom (Bijapur). He maintained himself with what little he got there and was always near the tomb of his master. He was a friend of the Mutwali of the place. This Mutwali was a Sayad, being a learned and pious man and much given to devotion. I became a friend of his and often sought his company. Before the company which gathered round this Mutwali, old Shamsuddin,—a much travelled man,—used to narrate stories either heard or seen by himself. Sometimes he told his own adventures before the company."

From this point the author gives the history of Usaf-Adilshah as told apparently by Hafiz Shamsuddin. The name of this person is not

further introduced and the history proceeds to the latter part of the reign of Ali Adilshah, where the author again introduces himself. He says :— "The fort of Bankapur was taken on the 16th of Ramjan in 982 ; 50 days later the author entered the service of the Padshah. That very day he was appointed an officer of the palace with the title of Khan Saler. Within a few days he was made King's treasurer and Havildar of the Zenana. This history is written 35 years afterwards." In an earlier portion of this chapter the author says, "even at present in 1017, the son of Ramraja is ruling at Anagondi." This also shows that this history was written in 1017. While giving the history of King Ibrahim Kutubshah of Golkonda the author states that he had twice seen the King, once as a merchant and on another occasion as agent (vakil) of Ali Adilshah. He also says that during the ministry of Afzulkhan, he held the same offices in the palace. When the King Adilshah was murdered the author was present outside the King's chamber and he took part in the events which followed. In giving the character of the King the author introduces several anecdotes from his personal observation. During the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah, open fighting was going on for several years between rival courtiers for power, and when Afzulkhan was murdered in 988, the author was also imprisoned, but his life was saved through the intervention of the friends of Dasturkhan who was a co-prisoner with him. In A.D. 1594 when Ibrahim's brother Ismail had raised the standard of revolt, the author held an office of great trust under the King. He was guardian of the King's son and custodian of his seal. He was also in charge of his foreign correspondence. On 26 Rabilawar, Friday 1003, the author was appointed Governor of the Province of Bijapur. In 1005, he was deputed to Ahmadnagar on a political mission to bring about a settlement between Bahadur Nizamshah and his nobles. He says :—

"At this time the author was in charge of foreign affairs, Peshwai, and guardianship of Prince Fattekhan. He was also the holder of the King's seal and was in charge of a district paying a revenue of 1 lakh of hons for the maintenance of 200 elephants, 700 camels and 1,500 horses. All letters, petitions, and messengers first came to me and I then sent them to the Padshah. I handed over the charge of all these offices to my son and left for Ahmadnagar. The author joined Sohilkhan, commander of the Bijapur forces sent to Ahmadnagar, and entered the territories of Nizamshah." They found Nizamshah surrounded by the armies of his refractory nobles who were enemies of Chandbibi. Their object was to arrest the Sultan. The author was conducted into the fort to see the King by one Sayad Ali, described as a great Historian. He remained at Ahmadnagar for 3 or 4 months, and tried to reconcile the

contending nobles but failed. Rumours reached him that the army of Prince Murad was advancing against Ahmadnagar, and he therefore wrote to his master, who ordered him to return to Bijapur. Chandbibi was sorry to part with him, but he left the place and remained outside for 2 or 3 days where he was joined by a large number of people who wanted to avoid the coming war. "They followed me," says the author, "for protection and when they were out of danger they went to their respective villages." The author then reached Bediapur. On his return to Bijapur he took over charge of his former office.

In the course of his narrative of Akbar, of whom he relates several interesting anecdotes, the author gives his own impressions of the great Emperor whom he had seen at Agra. He writes : "The author had gone to Agra from Gujrath in 968 for trade. At that time Sayadbeg Masumbeg had gone there as the agent of Shah Tamasp of Persia. Akbar had lodged him in tents in a garden. Many nobles including Amir Vazir had also pitched their tents there. Large numbers of people went to see the place, among whom was the author. While I was standing there Akbar came. I saw him reclining on a young person. I was at a distance. The face of the Emperor at once revealed his high intelligence and imperial fortune. I had never seen such a person in my life. When the Emperor came people did not stand up. I asked if there was no custom in that court of giving *Tajim*. I was informed that the rules about *Tajim* were very strict, but they were not observed when the Emperor visited a place privately without intimation. I again saw the Emperor in the treasury room on the upper story of the palace. The Emperor came there bare-headed. He had only a loose garment round his waist and was fanning himself with a paper fan. He was so simple in his habits."

The author finishes his narrative with the conquest of Ahmadnagar by the Moghals. The history of Ibrahim Adilshah is interspersed with personal references to the author. In one or two places in his narrative he refers to year 1018 as the "present year" indicating that he was writing the book for 2 years.

From the foregoing account it will be quite clear that a great portion of the Bijapur History given in this work was actually enacted before the eyes of the author and therefore bears the impress of authenticity. Some of the incidents are detailed at great length and probably are not found in any other similar work of the time.

Plan and Contents of the Work.

Chap. I—The history of the Bahamini Kings, from Sultan Allauddin to Sultan Mohmad. Chap. II—The history of Yusuf Adilshah. Chap. III—History of the reign of Ismail Adilkhan Savai. Chap. IV—

Reign of Ibrahim Adilkhan. Chap. V—History of the reign of Ali Adilshah up to his meeting with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar. Chap. VI—Historical account of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujrath up to the invasion of Akbar; account of the Kings of Ahmadnagar; of the battle of Talikot and the conquest of Vijayanagar. An account of Subhan Kuli Kutubshah and his successors. Chap. VII—Continuation of the history of Ali Adilshah's reign up to his murder. Chap. VIII—Detailed history of Ibrahim Adilshah, History of the Moghals from Babar to the fall of Ahmadnagar.

Each of these chapters consists of several subsections which are not given here for want of space.

Some Extracts from the Work.

I.—An account of Sultan Allauddin Hussen Gango Bahamini.

"Gentle and wise reader, there are different accounts current regarding the foundation of the Bahamini kingdom. Some say that Bahaman ibu Isfadiar *bin* Gastabasta, Emperor of Persia, was the progenitor of this family. He sent his son Isfandiar to Hindustan, who spread there the religion of Zoroaster and established a kingdom. This Hussen was a man of means at first, but adverse fate made him poor, and he therefore came to this country. One day while asleep under the cool shade of a tree by the way side, a cobra was warding off flies from Hussen's face with a blade of grass in its mouth. This was observed by Gango Pandit, a Brahman, who was passing by that road. The Brahman predicted from this that one day Hussen would be a great man and he waited there till the latter awoke, when the cobra disappeared in a hole. The Brahman told Hussen all that he saw, and promised that he would serve him on condition that Hussen should affix the Brahman's name to his own name when Hussen would rise to a great fortune. Hussen consented and acted according to the promise. All the 18 Bahamani Kings used the same title after their own names.

Hussen was devoted to a saint named Sheikul Akhtaq Sheik Sheikmahamad Siraj (God bless his memory). Hussen attended upon the saint at the time of his prayers. Once at Kudachi, near Murtizabad, now called Miraj, while the saint was going to wash before the prayers, he handed over his turban to Hussen who placed it on his own head. The Sheik remarked that Hussen desired a crown from him. On another occasion Hussen was complaining of his poverty to the saint, who said that every thing happened when the time was ripe for it. That country had no Musalmans in it, and the saint had built a musjid at Kudachi. The local Musalmans helped him One day seeing Hussen lifting up a basket of earth for the work, he remarked that Hussen wanted to bear the burden of the world. One day Hussen kept off the sun from the face of the saint while the latter was asleep. On awaking the saint asked him if he coveted a royal umbrella. One day Hussen's mother went to the saint

and told him her poor circumstances. The saint advised her to take to cultivation in a neighbouring village, where, while ploughing the land, Hussen's plough hit upon an underground stone-built cellar. When the Sheik was informed of this, he said, "Thank God and pray Him, because those who thank Him become prosperous." One night when Hussen was attending upon the saint he addressed him as "Sultan" and asked him to raise an army, carry on a religious crusade in the country of the non-believers and spread Islam. Hussen again pleaded poverty, when the Sheik took him to the above cellar and caused the hoarded wealth to be dug up. Hussen then began to raise an army in which work he was much assisted by Gango Pandit. One Friday the Sheik asked Hussen to collect his army which the saint blessed, and hung a sword round the waist of Hussen. Hussen then proceeded against Miraj, which was ruled by a Hindoo queen, Dashavati. The fort of Miraj was taken without much trouble and the queen was made a prisoner. When the saint was informed of this he sent word that Miraj should be called "Mubark Abad" on account of this auspicious first victory gained by Hussen. This happened in H. 748 (1347 A.D.). Hussen then marched in the direction of Gulburga. He found the place very strongly fortified and well prepared for a fight. He wrote to the Sheik, who advised him to take advantage of the absence of Paranrao, the Commander of the Fort, who went to a neighbouring temple each Wednesday. Hussen acted upon the advice and entered the fort, whose gates were opened by the guards who thought that it was their Commander who was coming. When Paranrao learnt this, he left the temple precipitately and a battle ensued. The Musalmans showered arrows, one of which struck the Commander dead, his people fled in confusion, and his head was buried near the gate. This place is still pointed out. Gulburga was thereafter called Hussanabad, where Hussen established the seat of his Government and took the title of "Sultan Allauddin Bahaman Shah." He appointed Gango Pandit to a great office. It was settled that all the Sultans who succeeded him should style themselves "Bahamani." The 18th Sultan-Shah-Walli-Alla also called himself "Bahamani." The battle of Gulburga was fought in H. 748, in which year Hussen proclaimed himself king. He died in H. 761 (1559 A.D.) after a prosperous reign of 13 years 10 months and 27 days."

II.—Character and end of Sultan Ferozshah *bin* Ahmadkhan Bahamini.

"After he ascended the throne, he pleased his subjects by his justice and piety and by his munificent gifts. He maintained himself by copying the Koran, and his queen by selling needlework. He was thoroughly acquainted with the art of administering a newly conquered country. One of the memorials of his administration is a town that was built by him on the Krishna. He caused a large number of buildings to be erected, and built a stone fort which was a farsang square. He spent several years in enjoyment in that city. Once the town suffered terribly from inundations, and the Sultan had to spend seven days on the upper floor of his palace.

That town and fort still remain, but not in a prosperous condition. The town is called Ferozabad. The king was very charitable to the Fakirs. He spent his time in copying the Koran and distributing its copies to the people. His handwriting was excellent. He used to wear simple dress; and he had appointed one Baba Kamal his religious tutor, and built for him a tomb near his own. Eight thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and five hundred elephants were always ready near his palace. Once upon a time the king decided that he was a humble man, and should not keep so large a guard about himself. He therefore reduced the whole number, and, handing over all the duties of administration to his nephew Ahmad, spent his time in devotion. Ahmad was a very clever administrator, and won over to his side all the nobles and the army, and began to form plans for deposing Ferozshah. Ferozshah was informed of this, but replied that fate must take its course, as in any case the nephew was to be Sultan after him. Once some army of the Sultan mutinied against him, and he therefore ordered 70 men of it to be executed. Their lives were saved by Ahmad's intervention and they were taken into service. These people had conspired to take the life of Ferozshah. Ahmad joined the conspiracy, and won over some of the Abyssinian servants who were in service in Ferozshah's palace, one of them who played a prominent part, being in charge of the Jamdarkhana. One day the conspirators entered the palace of Ferozshah and a fight ensued with the guards. Both parties lost a number of men, when the Abyssinian in charge of the Jamdarkhana undertook to murder Ferozshah and entered the Sultan's chamber where he was reading the Koran. The murder was committed by the wicked man and the followers of Ferozshah ran in different directions. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Ferozshah to the throne. But Sultan Ahmad murdered the boy and proclaimed himself king Ferozshah reigned for a period of 25 years, 7 months and 12 days. Eight Bahamani Kings ruled at Hasanabad for a total period of 82 years, 5 months and 18 days."

III.—An account of Makhdum Khaja Jahan's entering the Service of the Sultan.

"It is well known that Makhdum Khaja Jahan was a man of great intellect, and had travelled in many countries. In the course of his travels he went to the Port of Dabhol, now called Mustafabad. While there he carefully observed the character and the strange customs and manners of the people of this country. Once he saw a great nobleman passing along the road in a palanquin and looking at a bulbul that was perched on his arm, Khaja concluded from this that the people of this country were given up to idle pleasures and were not intelligent; he thought he could easily approach and mix with them. He thought that he could make great fortune in trade with them, or would rise to a high office. He tried to get an introduction to the Sultan. The officers of the port had, however, strict orders from the Sultan that all merchants or adventurers who came to the port should be dismissed from the place when their business was over, and they should not be sent on to the Court. Khaja therefore gave many presents to the officers

in charge of the place and requested an introduction to the Court. The officers, however, refused the request on the plea of the King's order. Khaja said that he had travelled much and seen Misar, Rumesham, Turkestan, Khorasan and other places and that he had got many choice articles which deserved to be seen by great princes. He requested the officers to write to the Ministers for an introduction to the Court. He had already sent letters with presents to the Ministers. The port officers granted his request, and finally the courtiers urged the Sultan to permit Khaja to visit the Court. The King at first refused saying that these foreigners were very clever men, and once they got a footing they gradually rose to power; but he was prevailed upon by the Ministers, and Khaja was allowed to see him. When Khaja reached Bedar he first met the several nobles and made them suitable presents. When the King held a Durbar to receive Khaja, the latter took with him as presents some beautiful horses, select brocades, some Turkish and Abyssinian slaves, jeweilery and artistically illumined copies of the Koran. When he entered the Durbar hall, he and his slaves carried copies of the Koran on their heads. Seeing this the King at once rose from his throne and came down to do honor to the "Word of God," took the Koran from Khaja's head, kissed it, and placed it on the throne. The Sultan did not understand the trick played by Khaja to make him leave his throne at the first meeting. The King accepted the presents. Khaja was an eloquent man, and told the King stories of different Kings and Courts. The Sultan was so much impressed with Khaja's address, manners and conversation that he enlisted him as one of his personal attendants, and in the course of time he was entrusted with all the civil administration of the State. The King did nothing without consulting Khaja."

IV.—The early Account of Eusaf Adilshah of Bijapur.

"While I was in the service of Hussenbeg Aka Koiun, King of Bekar," continued Hafiz Shamsuddin, "information was recived that the kingdom of Jehanshah was full of anarchy owing to the revolt of the nobles, and that the country was devastated and the people were in great distress. Thereupon the valiant Padshah Hussenbeg moved his army to conquer Ajarbizan, and when he reached Tebriz, Jahahsha bin Kara Eusaf died and Hussenbeg conquered Ajarbizan, Khorasan, Kerman, Fars, and Arak, and appointed governors in the conquered country, one of whom was Ahmadbeg, Hussen's sister's son, who was charged with the administration of Saba and the country around it. He ruled the country with justice and made his subjects contented. After his death, his son Mohmadbeg succeeded him as Governor of the province, which he ruled ably, like his father, for 20 years. By this time Hussenbeg of Bekar had died; a bloody war of succession ensued between his sons Khalil and Yakub. Khalil was killed and Yakub ascended the throne. When Yakub died, his Ministers enthroned his son Bisantag, but soon afterwards a regular civil war ensued amongst these noblemen, in the course of which Mohmadbeg of Sava was killed and his family and chil-

dren sought shelter in different places. Eusafbeg was the eldest son of this Mohmadbeg, Wali of Sava. Eusaf went to Ispahan, while still a boy, but he left that place also for Shiraj through fear of his family enemies. He remained at Shiraj for five years and gained a good education there. But being in poor circumstances he conceived the idea of proceeding to foreign lands to make his fortune. With this object he went to Lar, and while sleeping one day in a musjid he had a vision. An old man in plain dress came to him and gave him warm cakes and told him to proceed to the Deccan where food for Eusaf was made ready. When he awoke he was delighted with this vision and went to port Jerun to embark for India. He was a stranger there ; but fortunately met Khaja Jaimal Abadia Samnani, a merchant who had gone to that port to make purchases for King Mohmadshah Bahamani. Having sold the goods he had brought with him, he was loading his ships with new purchases, including horses and Abyssinian and Turkish slaves. Some of the Turkish slaves took pity on Eusaf and requested their master to take him to India. Eusaf was well built, strong and handsome. The merchant saw Eusaf, and when he learned his history, he took him to India. When Khaja reached Bedar and presented horses and slaves to the Sultan, Eusaf was also presented to the King. The slaves were appointed to serve, some in the royal kitchen and some in the Jamdarkhana. Eusaf was installed head of slaves in the kitchen. He remained there for many days, but, being dissatisfied with his condition, he returned to Lar, and resided in the same musjid where formerly he had seen the vision. The vision appeared a second time, and he therefore returned to India and resumed his former duties. He was a born soldier and always practised fencing, archery, wrestling and the use of the lance He got up a gymnasium and trained a large number of slaves in the art of wrestling They were dressed and trained in the fashion of Khorasan athletes. He obtained a large following among the people of the city." The author then proceeds to narrate in detail Eusaf's wrestling match with a famous wrestler from the north of India, whom he defeated. "This brought him to the notice of the King, who gave him large presents, and made him his personal attendant. Soon after, being impressed by his character and commanding appearance, the Sultan made him the Kotwal of the city. Eusaf worked hard, preserved good order in the city, and improved its streets and the general appearance of its bazaars. He became more and more a favourite of the Sultan and got round him a large proportion of the army. The nobles became very jealous and wanted to get rid of him by sending him to some distant place. An opportunity soon occurred. News came that while on its way from Masulipatam and Kampli, a large caravan of merchants, who had valuable goods and horses with them, was robbed near Kovil Kunda in the province of Telangana, and that some of the merchants were killed and many wounded. That country had no powerful central government and was rendered inaccessible by mountains and thick jungle. It possessed 80 forts. These forts were in possession of independent Hindu chiefs, who were not subject to any one, and who always

carried on war among themselves and practised marauding. In order to check these predatory chiefs, the Ministers advised the Sultan to send Eusaf on that difficult mission. The Sultan consented, though unwillingly, and Eusaf went out of the city and encamped there. He expected help from his noble friends but none came. He therefore raised an army of four or five thousand soldiers at his own cost and marched towards Telangana. He first sent some of his soldiers in the guise of merchants, and when they were being robbed by the Hindu chiefs, he attacked the latter, defeated them, and took their forts. In a short time he conquered a great portion of Telangana and increased his army. He sent the news of his fresh victories to his master, who became very proud of him. Eusaf converted many people and built musjids in every village. When his influence and power greatly increased, the Ministers at the Court became afraid of him. Their object in sending him away from the Court was not secured, and they began to form plans for his ruin. They induced the Sultan to believe that the growing power of Eusaf Beg was a danger to the State, and that he should be recalled to the Court. With this object they selected Subhan Kuli and sent him to Eusaf with a large army. Another person, Moulana Ismail Munshi, was sent ahead with presents and a letter from the King inviting him to Court. Eusaf received the letter, but sent back the Munshi with his own trusted servant Hafiz Shamsuddin Khijari—who had served Eusaf in Persia—to the King giving excuses for not returning to Court. Eusaf had no faith in the Ministers. Finally Subhan Kuli was deputed with a firman of the King and a large army to Kevil Konda where Eusaf was encamped. Subhan Kuli had instructions to induce Eusaf to return to Bedar, and if he refused, to fight with him."

The account of Eusaf's winning over Subhan Kuli and making further conquests in Telangana is very interesting, but want of space forbids further quotations.

V.—THE CAPTURE OF MOHAMADABAD OR BEDAR BY ISMAIL ADILSHAH.

"Kasim Berid was a brave man, a wise ruler, and a skilled soldier. After the death of Shaha Walli Ulla he raised Shah Kalimulla to the throne and administered the State himself. The King was King in name only. Ismail Adilshah, with the assistance of Nizamshah Behari and Imadulmulk Durya, invaded the kingdom and laid siege to the City of Bedar. Kasim Berid defended the town for seven months, having sent Ainulmulk to harass the besiegers. Ainulmulk sought peace, but Kasim was not to be won over. Ainulmulk then returned to his country, when Kasim Berid thought it proper to go out of the city, and went to the fort of Udgir and made preparations to send succour for the relief of the city. Nizamshah and Imadulmulk both withdrew to their kingdoms, and the work of siege devolved upon Ismail Khan alone. He pressed the operations and reduced the garrison to great privations. At this time one Vankella, a native of Sagar, who belonged to the robber class, went to Ismail and offered his services to bring Kasim Berid bodily to Shaha's camp. Ismail

promised a high reward for the enterprise, whereupon Vankella, assuming the garb of a fakir, went to Udgir, where Kasim was preparing to send troops to Bedar. When Vankella saw Kasim he gave him a lime and left the place. As the fakir turned away Kasim Berid mounted his horse and followed him. His attendants could not understand Berid's conduct, and some of them followed him. Vankella directed his steps towards the camp of Ismail, where Berid also followed him. Ismail being informed of Kasim Berid's arrival went out to meet him, and brought him into his own tent and made him occupy his own seat. While Kasim was thus seated his followers, who were outside, were put to death, and not even a page was left to give him water. The page who carried his shoes was alone left, and he informed Kasim of what had happened, when he recovered from his apparent intoxication. Kasim became a close prisoner, and Ismail insisted upon the surrender of Bedar as the price of his life. Kasim Berid's mother, who was in the city, opened its gates to the enemy who entered it triumphantly. Ismail Adilshah, however, treated Kasim Berid with kindness, and promised to return the place to him after he had captured the forts of Raichore and Mudgal with his assistance."

VI.—An Account of Ramraja and the Prosperity of his Empire.

"Ramraja became King of Vijayanagar in H. 942 (A.D 1533). He used to hold his Court in the name of Krishnaraya's son, the real Emperor, and people used to make their obeisance to the boy. Ramraja conducted the administration for two years nominally for the son of Krishnaraya, during which period he removed all the old nobles and state servants and appointed his own relations to high offices. In matters of all civil administration he consulted his elder brother Trimalraya, and entrusted the army to his younger brother Venkatadri. Ramraja became supreme in the state. There was none to oppose his will; and the son of Krishnaraya and his relations were practically confined in the fort. He thus ruled in great prosperity for 33 years. He completed the work of the canal begun by Krishnaraya. The kingdom became extraordinarily prosperous and happy. Some six Musalman nobles entered his service, and were given *Jagirs* by Ramraja, who treated them with respect and consideration. He kept a chair in the Durbar hall, on which a copy of the Koran was placed to which these Mahomedans might pay their respects. A portion of the city was specially kept apart for them, where they built houses and bazars. It was called Turkiwada, as most of these people were Turks. They were permitted to build a musjid, to repeat their *namaj*, and follow their own customs and practices, including the slaughter of animals. Ramaraja's brother and other nobles objected to this slaughter, but Ramraja rebuked them, saying that the Turks had come to serve, but not to give up their religion. Ramraja, his brother and other great nobles built large temples and other edifices in emulation of each other. The city was supplied with plenty of water from the

river. There were 70 large canals running through the city. Every officer had extensive gardens, which produced plenty of fruits of all kinds. Ramraja was a just ruler. Until all the Mahomedan kings combined and killed him, this prosperity continued. But after his Fall the country was reduced to a desert. Once I,—the author of this work,—went to that place, when I found the country all round the city devastated. A thick jungle had grown there and even wild animals could be seen roaming about. It was difficult to find one's way among the ruins."

ART. IV.— "*Shivaji's Swarajya*"

BY PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJI, ESQ.

(*Read 18th December* 1903.)

MARATHA History has been, for many past years, receiving considerable attention, and has given rise to so many animated controversies that a paper connected with it will not, I hope, be found uninteresting. The present paper is intended to give an account of what is known as Swarajya, or the Marathas' own kingdom; and is based on an original document which bears the heading of "Jabita Swarajya," *i.e.*, a statement of Swarajya, which literally signifies "one's own kingdom." It was the name given to the territory directly governed by Shivaji, as distinguished from the Mogulai, which included territory governed by foreign kings outside the Swarajya, but over which Shivaji exercised the right to levy the different kinds of contributions known as Chouth, Surdeshmookhie, Peshkushee and the like. The Swarajya may thus be said to be the Maratha Empire Proper. I do not know whether any records of Shivaji's time have been discovered in which the Swarajya territory has been defined. The first important reference to it, so far as I am aware, was made during the time of Shahu, when an important treaty was concluded between the Marathas and the Moguls, by the terms of which the Marathas acquired complete and independent sway over certain specified tracts of territory, besides different important rights. It will be remembered that Shambhaji, who succeeded to the throne of Raighad after Shivaji, proved himself incapable of maintaining the grand position which his illustrious predecessor had attained by years of hard struggle. Instead of following the principles of government which that great founder of the Maratha Empire had laid down, and which were the outcome of mature wisdom and vast experience, that unworthy successor to the Maratha throne strongly resented the efforts of his father's best officers to induce him to adopt any proper mode of government. As the Maratha Empire was at this time but a few years old, with its bitterest enemy still alive and as strong as at any previous time, its existence was seriously imperilled and the situation still demanded vigilant rule. While such was the state of the Empire, its ruler rather than assume the reins of government with vigour and watchfulness, yielding to

the seductive influence of his favourite Kalusha indulged in drinking and debauchery. The civil as well as military administration became disordered, the hill forts were neglected, and anarchy prevailed everywhere. Just when the Maharashtra was in this deplorable state, Aurangzeb marched into the Deccan with an overwhelming force, hoping to accomplish his long-cherished dream of subjugating that country. The condition of the country afforded him favourable opportunities for effecting his purpose; and such was his success, that within five years the whole country from the Narmada to the Tungbhadra came into his hands; and it seemed that the great empire which had cost such infinite toil to its founder to bring together was on the verge of extinction. Raighad was captured: Shambhaji a prisoner. At this crisis a band of patriots, headed by Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, saved the situation. Acting as regent for Shahu, he became the chief authority, representing what was left of the Maratha power, and with the aid of a few trained and efficient officers, such as Pralhad Niraji, Raghunath Pant Hanumante, Nilo Moreshwar, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Pharsuram Trimbak, Shankraji Mulhar and some others, he rescued the empire from the ruin which threatened it. The efforts of these patriots were so far successful, and the respective positions of the Marathas and the Moguls thereby so much altered, that, at the close of his memorable campaign against the Marathas, Aurangzeb found himself foiled in all his efforts, and his previous successes wholly useless. Among the Maratha patriots, who at this critical moment turned the tide of events in the Deccan, Shankraji Mulhar deserves special attention, because of his connection with the subject of this paper. Grant Duff tells us that Shankraji Mulhar was originally a karkoon under Shivaji and was appointed Sachiv by Rajaram at Ginjee. During the siege of the fortress he retired to Benares. But a life of that sort did not suit his active temperament, and he managed to get himself engaged in the Mogul service. After Aurangzeb's death, Shahu was released under a promise, that in case he should succeed in establishing his authority and would continue steadfast in allegiance to the Mogul Emperor, he should receive certain territories. Soon after his release he succeeded in obtaining possession of Satara, and was formally enthroned there in 1708. After about ten years, during which the Marathas' cause was much advanced, circumstances arose which resulted in the treaty with the Moguls to which I have referred. It is then that we see Shankraji Mulhar rendering to the Marathas the signal service which secured to them again what was once their own. Feroksheré was Emperor of Delhi at that time. Being a weak monarch and extremely jealous of the famous Syed Brothers, he appointed Hussein Ally Khan, the younger Syed, to the

Viceroyalty of the Deccan, in the hope that he would thereby weaken the power of the brothers. Dawoodkhan, who was to be removed from the Deccan to make room for Hoossein Ally Khan, received secret instructions from the Emperor to oppose the new Viceroy, but this treacherous scheme proved unsuccessful, and Dawoodkhan was defeated by Hussein Ally Khan. The Emperor then secretly instigated the servants of his Government and the Marathas also to resist and annoy the new Viceroy of the Deccan. Hussein Ally Khan distracted by these intrigues thought of opening up negotiations with Shahu through Shankraji Mulhar, who was in his employment and had succeeded in gaining his confidence. He suggested to Hussein Ally Khan the plan of recognizing Maratha claims and thereby securing peace in the country. This plan was approved of by Mohumad Khan, the governor of Burhanpur. Shankraji Mulhar was then sent to Satara for the purpose of effecting an alliance with Shahu. There a treaty was concluded by which, among other grants, Swarajya was to be given to the Marathas. Shankraji Mulhar furnished a statement of the districts, forts and other places which were to be under the rule of the Marathas. This important statement is the document which I place before you this evening. I shall omit further details about the treaty and its final completion, except mentioning that, though Ferokshere refused to ratify the treaty, after his death Balaji Vishwanath when at Delhi obtained a formal sanad, embodying the terms agreed to by Hussein Ally Khan. This brief sketch of events will explain the circumstances which preceded and to some extent led to the important treaty between Shahu and Hussein Ally Khan. I must mention that the restoration of the Swarajya was only a formal act, since a considerable portion of the territory had been already in the occupation of the Marathas. On referring to the body of the statement it will be seen that no less than 89 out of 145 forts were held by the Marathas at the date of that document. Similarly, other Subhas were also under the occupation of the Marathas. The statement itself begins with a list of thirteen Subhas (Collectorates) made up of 127 Talukas in the Konkan Prant, and of 16 Subhas made up of 101 Talukas in the Warghat Prant. The following notes appear at the foot of that list :—

"Agreed as above. The writs of permission from the Nawab will be granted after Balaji Pant's interview with him, and will be executed. Afterwards the Firmans (Imperial orders) will be sent from the Huzur (Delhi) within nine months from the date of this document."

Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf. (9th September 1718).

" In the above mentioned list of Swarajya there are some Imperial posts which are separately noted. They will be removed accordingly.

You may take the other posts which are at present held by the Shamal and other Palegars."

A list of forts follows this note. The names of the 145 forts which were at one time included in Shivaji's territory are given with their respective positions in two separate divisions, the first containing the names of 89 forts which were already in the possession of the Marathas, and which were to be formally restored to them, while the second division contains the names of the 56 forts of which possession was yet to be taken by the Marathas. A note similar to the above is made at the foot of this list also. Twenty-four Mogul posts are then mentioned which were in the Swarajya, and which were by the agreement to be removed. This is all that is contained in the docume t, which is partly in the Persian and partly in the Marathi language written in Modi character and written by Shankraji Mulhar himself. It bears the Persian seal of the writer, which contains the following inscription : 1126, Mahamad Ferokshere Fidwi Padashaha Gazi, Shankrajirao Malhar. The date of the document is 24 Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf, which corresponds to 9th September 1718.

It will be seen that the Konkan Prant comprised the district along the sea-coast from Gandevi near Surat to Akola in Kanara (excepting Bombay, Daman, Goa, and Janjira) and was bounded by the Arabian Sea on the West and the Western Ghats on the East, while the Warghat Prant included the tract of the country from Junnur in Poona District to Halyal in Kanara, and from the Western Ghats to Indapur.

I should like to tell you the circumstances which encouraged me to bring the present paper before you. The document, which has provided matter for it, is interesting in more respects than one. It is useful not only for giving a detailed list of the Subhas and Talukas, Maratha forts and Mogalai posts comprised within the Swarajya, but also as showing the territorial division of the Maratha Empire for administrative purposes. The location of the forts also deserves special study as displaying the military genius of Shivaji. The value of forts as excellent defence works was very much appreciated in those days, and these forts were the great bulwarks of Maharashtra. Each Subha had a requisite number of fortresses to guard it ; and a careful study of the map will show how well arranged the whole country was with these defence works, which made it almost impossible to take it. It may be noted that other circumstances being equal, no invader of Maharashtra was successful against these fortresses. But this document has another and perhaps an equally important interest for our Society. Many of you perhaps may not be aware that some thirty-six years ago the subject of the collection and publication of original

documents relating to Maratha History was under discussion at a meeting of this Society held on the 14th March 1867, and the late Mr. Justice Newton, the then President of the Society, made the following important observations in the course of the discussion :—

"We had indeed," the President remarked, "in Grant Duff's invaluable history a work which in some respects left scarcely anything to be desired, but while we could not hope to add much to the result of his patient investigations and conscientious discrimination, and had little need to seek for confirmation of a narrative which had been amply tested during a long series of years through the practical researches and discussions incident to the administration of the Maratha territory, and have now taken the place of settled history, it was still felt by many that the preservation of the interesting materials from which that admirable work had been produced was an object of very great importance. In no department of knowledge, perhaps, were we dependent so exclusively on a single authoritative work, and it might be feared that the recovery of the many records and the tracing again of the varied sources of information which have been so effectively used, is every day becoming a matter of more difficulty."

It appears at that meeting there had been some discussion on the subject, for Mr. James Taylor thus referred to that discussion in his "Note on a letter from Mr. Grant Duff" which forms the subject of Art. XI, page 120 of Volume X of the Society's Journal, where he says: "Remarks were made by one or two members of deserved influence to the effect that Mr. Grant Duff's history of the Marathas hardly deserved the authority conceded to it, because it did not always specify the authorities on which the statements it contained were based."

These extracts have been taken at some length, as they place before you the necessity which the Society at one time considered to exist for collecting and publishing original records in connection with Maratha History.

This subject was repeatedly discussed at the meetings of the Society, but nothing practical appears to have been done in connection with that object. Many scholars of Indian History thought that there were no original documents of Maratha History in existence which would prove of any great value; and it seems that it was this belief which hampered any serious attempt on the part of the Society in that direction. In order to test the accuracy of the information given by Grant Duff it was necessary that the original records of the times of which he spoke should be examined. Without this any opinion pronounced about the worth of that history could carry no weight whatever. The question as to what had become of Grant Duff's manuscripts naturally occurred to every student of Maratha History.

Several efforts were made to discover where these manuscripts were. Grant Duff himself tells us, in the foot notes to his history, that he had got copies made of some of these papers and writings and had deposited them with the Literary Society of Bombay. This Society has long ceased to exist, and our Society is its successor. The late Mr. Justice Telang caused search to be made in this library, but he could not find the manuscripts nor anything in the records of either Society which afforded any clue to their whereabouts. The fact that Grant Duff's manuscripts could not be found, gave rise to a curious impression to which the late Rao Bahadur Nilkant Janardan Kirtane, when a student at the Poona College, gave expression in his "Criticism on Grant Duff's History of the Marathas". He tells us that the manuscripts used were burned with Grant Duff's own knowledge. The story was so improbable that Mr. Kirtane expressed his own disbelief in it, in the introduction to the "Life of Siwaji" written by Malnar Rämrao Chitnis.

The document which I produce before you to-day is interesting in this connection. It was referred to by Grant Duff and seen by him. The production of this original document and several others which I hope to lay before you from time to time is ample contradiction of this improbable story, if the story indeed required any contradiction. But though this story was disbelieved, the question as to how Grant Duff had disposed of the materials of his work remained unsolved. Efforts were made to ascertain in England whether Grant Duff had taken the papers with him and deposited them there. Sir George Birdwood, Mr. Martin Wood, and other eminent scholars of Indian History enquired of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, the son of the Maratha Historian, whether he could give any information regarding these papers. His reply to those enquiries was : "I do not possess any papers which could be of any use. I fancy my father gave away everything of that kind which he had, to some Institution in Bombay." This reply removed the hope that the papers might be found in England, and the search thus made by these scholars did not result in any substantial discovery. But this important enquiry was not destined to end here. For many years past Maratha history has been exciting much greater interest than when Grant Duff's work was first published ; and better literary taste and critical judgment have been formed among native scholars. The search for Grant Duff's materials, though its result was so far for a long time disappointing, was not given up. It was taken up and diligently prosecuted by Mr. D. B. Parasnis, whose honest devotion to historical work and his disinterested love for it have won him the success which he so well deserves. It is through him that I have been able to secure the present statement and the other documents of which I have just spoken;

and I am glad to say we may hope to get, in the near future, a look into some of these much-sought records. It ought to give pleasure to any one who takes interest in this subject to be able to place, within the reach of our Society, some of the very documents for the recovery of which it showed at one time such great concern, and it is my proud privilege to-day to inform you that I hope to deposit with our Society, photographs and copies of the original papers and writings from which Grant Duff constructed his work, and which may prove of use to modern students of Maratha History.

In conclusion, our best thanks are due to my friend, Mr. Parasnis, for the valuable assistance he has rendered to the Society and myself in these historical studies.

JABITA SWARAJYA.

(*Statement of Swarajya.*)

SUBHAS IN THE KONKAN PRANT.

1. Subha Ramnagar including Ghandevi.
2. Subha Jawhar Prant.
3. Subha Prant Bhiwadi—

   12 Talukas—1 Sonavale, 2 Wasudari, 3 Barhekas (Betildal), 4 Murbad, 5 Korkada, 6 Sere 7 Alani, 8 Aghai, 9 Rabe, 10 Kunde, 11 Khambale, 12 Durgad.

4. Subha Kalyan—

   20 Talukas.—1 Kasaba Kalyan, 2 Ambarnath, 3 Talonje, 4 Wanje, 5 Wankbaal, 6 Borete, 7 Chonkas Badalpur, 8 Waredi Mahammadpur, 9 Wakase, 10 Kothalkhalati, 11 Kohali, 12 Wather, 13 Aturvalit, 14 Tungartan, 15 Badrapur, 16 Pen, 17 Wasi, 18 Chivanekhal, 19 Haweli, 20 Chhattesi.

5. Cheul Subha—

   6 Talukas—1 Mamale Chaul, 2 Nagothane, 3 Aser Adharan, 4 Antone, 5 Ashatami, 6 Pali.

6. Subha Rajpuri—

   12 Talukas—1 Goregaon, 2 Govele, 3 Tale, 4 Ghosale, 5 Divi, 6 Sivardhan, 7 Mhasale, 8 Nijampoor, 9 Hirdadi, 10 Nadagaon, 11 Murud, 12 Madaltapa.

7. Subha Javali—

18 Talukas (Mahals of the Konkan Talghat)—1 Hiredadi, 2 Shivathar, 3 Nate, 4 Mahad, 5 Tudal, 6 Winhere, 7 Kondhavi, 8 Chidve, 9 Talavati, 10 (Mahals of the Warghat) 1 Ategaon, 2 Tambi, 3 Bamhanoli, 4 Helwak, 5 Medhe, 6 Jorekhore, 7 Sonalsolse, 8 Barampure, 9 Kedambe.

8. Subha Dabhol—

11 Talukas—1 Chiplon, 2 Haveli, 3 Kelsi, 4 Weswi, 5 Panchanadi, 6 Natu, 7 Khed, 8 Gohaghar, 9 Savarde, 10 Welamb, 11 Jalgaon.

9. Subha Rajapoor—

18 Talukas—1 Kharapaton, 2 Mithagawhan, 3 Sawandal, 4 Rajapoor, 5 Lanje, 6 Deorukh, 7 Hatkhambed, 8 Harchiri, 9 Phungudh, 10 Dhamnas, 11 Dewale, 12 Kelmajgaon, 13 Salsi, 14 Pawas, 15 Setawadi, 16 Nevare, 17 Sangameshwar, 18 Prabhawali.

10. Subha Kudal—

15 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Masure, 3 Wengurle, 4 Ajagaon, 5 Satarde, 6 Talvade, 7 Mangaon, 8 Manohar, 9 Narur, 10 Pat, 11 Salandi, 12 Warad, 13 Patgaon Warghati, 14 Berdawe, 15 Kalsuli.

11. Subha Prant Bhimgad—

5 Talukas—1 Bande, 2 Pedane, 3 Maneri, 4 Sakhali, 5 Dicholi.

12. Subha Prant Phonde—

5 Talukas—1 Antaruj, 2 Hemadbarse, 3 Ashtagrahare, 4 Chandradad, 5 Bali.

Subha Prant Akole—

5 Talukas—1 Akole, 2 Siveshwar, 3 Kadwad, 4 Kadare, 5 Adwat.

SUBHAS OF THE WARGHAT.

(*Subhas upper the Ghat*).

1. Subha Poona—

6 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Nirthadi, 3 Karhe Pathar, 4 Saswad, 5 Sandas, 6 Patas.

2. Supe Baramati.

3. Indapur.

4. Subha Prant Mawal—

13 Talukas—1 Karyat Mawal, 2 Kanad Khore, 3 Khedebare, 4 Gunjan Mawal, 5 Nane Mawal, 6 Panmawal, 7 Paudkhore, 8 Muthekhore, 9 Mose Khore, 10 Yelawand Khore, 11 Hirwadas Mawal, 12 Rohid Khore, 13 Shirwal.

5. Subha Prant Wai—

4 Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Nimb, 3 Wagholi, 4 Koregaon.

6. Subha Prant Satara—

6 Talukas—1 Haweli Satara, 2 Parli, 3 Targaon, 4 Umbraj, 5 Kudal, 6 Wandan.

7. Subha Prant Kurhad—

9 Talukas—1 Kurhad, 2 Wing, 3 Marul, 4 Barse, 5 Tarale, 6 Kole, 7 Naneghol, 8 Marli, 9 Patan.

8. Subha Prant Khatao excluding Kasba Khatao—

11 Talukas—1 Khatao, 2 Malwadi, 3 Wangi, 4 Nimbsod, 5 Mayani, 6 Lalgun, 7 Aundh, 8 Vita, 9 Khanapur, 10 Kaladhon, 11 Bhalwani.

9. Subha Prant Man—

4 Talukas—1 Dhaigam, 2 Velapur, 3 Mhaswad, 4 Atpadi.

10. Subha Prant Phaltan Mahal.
11. Subha Prant Belgaum.
12. Subha Sampgaon.
13. Subha Gadag.
14. Subha Laxmeshwar.
15. Subha Nawalghund.
16. Subha Kopal.
17. Subha Halyal.
18. Subha Betgiri.

Subha Malkapur :—

4 Talukas—1 Warun, 2 Malkapur 3 Kasegam, 4 Shirale.

Subha Prant Panhala.—

10 Talukas—1 Kalambe, 2 Kodoli, 3 Satwe, 4 Bhane, 5 Borgaon, 6 Alte, 7 Kukdi, 8 Walwe, 9 Wadgam, 10 Ashte.

Subha Tarle—

5 Talukas—1 Tarle, 2 Asdoli, 3 Arle, 4 Khanapur, 5 Ghol.

Subha Prant Ajera—

51 Parganas—Ajra (Talukas—1 Haweli, 2 Katgam, 3 Karnoli, 4 Amboli, 5 Mahagam, 6 Otur), 2 Kapsi, 3 Khanapur Masti, 4 Nuli, 5 Nesari.

Subha Prant Junnar—

24 Talukas—1 Haveli, 2 Chakan, 3 Wade, 4 Khed, 5 Ale, 6 Pabal, 7 Belhe, 8 Narayangam, 9 Wawarda Jambli, 10 Nibhoj, 11 Mahalunge, 12 Ambegaon, 13 Awsari, 14 Andar, 15 Kukudner, 16 Madha, 17 Ghode, 18 Gaji, Bhobre, 19 Minnher, 20 Parner, 21 Karde, 22 Ranjangam, 23 Wotur, 24 Kotur.

Besides the following Thanas which are included in the Mahal :—1 Khed, 2 Awsari, 3 Narayangam, 4 Pabul, 5 Nighoj, 6 Andar, 7 Madha, 8 Ambegaon, 9 Ghode, 10 Wade, 11 Minnher, 12 Otur, 13 Mahalunge.

Prant Kolhapore.—

9 Talukas—1 Haveli Kolhapore, 2 Kagal, 3 Raybag, 4 Eksambe, 5 Sandigoli, 6 Sadalage, 7 Neje, 8 Savi, 9 Jugal.

TOTAL :

Prant Konkan.		*Prant Warghat.*	
1 Subha Ramnagar		1 Poona	6
2 Subha Jawhar		2 Supe Baramati	
3 SubhaBhiwadi, Mahals	12	3 Subha Indapur	
4 Subha Kalyan	20	4 Mawal	13
5 Subha Chaul	6	5 Wai	4
6 Subha Rajpuri	12	6 Satara	6
7 Subha Javli	18	7 Karhad	9
8 Subha Dahbol	11	8 Khatao	11
9 Subha Rajapur ...	18	9 Man	4
10 Subha Kudal	15	10 Phaltan	1
11 Subha Bhimgad ...	5	11 Malkapur	14
12 Subha Phonde	5	12 Panhala	10
13 Subha Akole	5	13 Tarle	5
	127	14 Ajre	6
		15 Junnar	13
		16 Kolhaporer	9
			101

Grand Total—

29 Subhas.
Talukas.
16 Warghat.
13 Konkan.
29

228 Mokra Mahal.
127 Konkan.
101 Warghat.
228

Agreed as above the writs of permission from the Nawab will be granted after Balaji Pant's interview with him, and will be executed.

Afterwards the firmans or the Imperial orders will be sent from the Hazur (Delhi) within 9 months from the date of this document.

Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf.

In the above mentioned list of Swarajya there are some Imperial posts which are separately noted down. They will be removed accordingly. You may take the other posts which are held at present by the Shamal and other Palegars.

List of Forts.

Out of 145 forts which were formerly included in Shivaji's territory 89 are at present in the possession of the Marathas which are as follows :—

1 Subha Satara—
  2 Forts—1 Satara, 2 Sajjangad.

2 Subha Karad—
  5 Forts—1 Wasantgad, 2 Sadashivgad, 3 Machhendragad, 4 Gunawantgad, 5 Sundargad.

3 Subha Vai—
  7 Forts—1 Manmohangad, 2 Pandavgad, 3 Kamalgad, 4 Wairatgad, 5 Chandan, 6 Wandan, 7 Kalyangad.

4 Subha Javli—
  6 Forts—1 Pratapgad, 2 Makarangad, 3 Mangalgad, 4 Wyaghragad, 5 Mahimandangad, 6 Gahangad.

5 Subha Dabhol—
  4 Forts 1 Sarangagad, 2 Jayagad, 3 Sumergad, 4 Mahipatgad.

6 Prant Khatao—
  4 Forts—1 Wardhangad, 2 Bhushangad, 3 Santoshgad, 4 Warugad.

7 Subha Man—Mahimangad.

8 Subha Rajapur Prachitgad.

9 Subha Poona—
  3 Forts—1 Purundhar, 2 Wajragad, 3 Sinhagad.

10 Subha Mawal—
  8 Forts—1 Rajgad (Ghala Killa, Padmawati, Suwela, Sanjiwani), 2 Prachandgad, 3 Wichitragad, 4 Lohagad, 5 Kathingad, 6 Witandgad, 7 Ghangad, 8 Kuwarigad.

11 Subha Chaul—1 Killa Sudhagad.

13 Subha Junnar—Fort Narayangad.

Tot. 43

14 Subha Panhala—
3 Forts—1 Panhala, 2 Pawangad, 3 Bilasgad.
15 1 Kot (Fort) Kolhapore.
16 Subha Rajapur—
4 Forts—1 Vishalgad, 2 Gagangad, 3 Ratnagiri, 4 Mahimantgad.
17 Subha Tarle—1 Fort Bhudargad.
18 Prant Ajre—
5 Forts—1 Samangad, 2 Kalanidhigad, 3 Pawitragad, 4 Wallabhagad, 5 G ndharwagad.
19 Subhâ Nawalghund—
3 Forts—1 Mahamatgad, 2 Bhujabalgad *alias* Ramdurg, 3 Torgal.
20 Subha Kopal—1 Fort Kopal, 2 Buhadar Banda.
21 Subha Bilgoli—1 Fort Mahipatgad.
22 Prant Miraj—1 Fort Bhupalgad.
23 Subha Bhimgad. 2 Forts—1 Bhingad, 2 Pargad.
24 Subha Prant Kudal—
4 Forts—1 Prasidhagad, 2 Manohargad, 3 Sindhudurga, 4 Fort Kudal.
25 Subha Rajapur—
3 Forts—1 Vijayadurg, 2 Dugera, 3 Jayagad.
26 Subha Dabhol—
6 Forts—1 Wasangad, 2 Phattegad, 3 Kanakdurg, 4 Goa, 5 Palgad, 6 Suwarnadurg.
27 Subha Prant Chaul—
4 Forts—1 Khanderi, 2 Kulaba, 3 Sagargad, 4 Mrigagad.
28 Subha Kalyan—
6 Forts—1 Manikgad, 2 Vikatgad, 3 Bahirawdurg *alias* Khapra, 4 Shriwardhan, 5 Manranjan, 6 Kothala.

Tot. 89

These 89 forts which belonged to you are restored to you.

The following 56 forts are to be taken into possession :—
22 Forts in the possession of the Shamal—
Subha Chaul—
1 Sarasgad *alias* Pali, 2 Rajkot (Chaul), 3 Surgad.
Subha Dabhol—
3 Forts—1 Anjanwel, 2 Rani's Fort, 3 Mandangad.
Subha Javli—
2 Forts—1 Raigad, 2 Lingana.

Subha Rajpuri—
14 Forts—Wirgad, 2 Sewakgad, 3 Rajkot, 4 Mangad, 5 Vishramgad, 6 Padmadurg, 7 Matgad, 8 Balraja, 9 Ekdara, 10 Sakra, 11 Hagra, 12 Nanowali, 13 Tamhani, 14 Sarangagad.
34 Forts in the possession of the Palegars.
Prant Akole.—7 Forts.
1 Kot Akole, 2 Mahindragad, 3 Kadwad, 4 Madhurgad, 5 Shiveshwar, 6 Kot Kadara, 7 Kurmadarga.
1 Kot Supa.
1 Ratnakar Durga *alias* Bokda.
(In the possession of Bednurkar.)
1 Kot Halsa.
2 Phinrangan.
Forts 1 Dronagiri, 2 Aseri.
8 In the possession of Kudalkar Sawant—
1 Songad, 2 Vengurla, 3 Redi, 4 Hanmantgad, 5 Bhaskargad, 6 Narayangad, 7 Bandi, 8 Dibhawali.
11 in the possession of the Kolis—
1 Ganbhirgad, 2 Bhupatgad, 3 Pedur, 4 Khera, 5 Ulang, 6 Balwant, 7 Waghera, 8 Kupera, 9 Songiri, 10 Kohaj, 11 Kurang.
3 Phonde—
1 Phonde, 2 Mardangad, 3 Kholgad.

34

Total 56

You may take as presents these 56 forts which are given to you. The written permission of the Nawab for these 145 forts will be given after the interview of Balaji Pant with the Nawab. The *firmans* will be sent afterwards within 9 months.

THE MOGUL POSTS IN THE SWARAJYA TO BE REMOVED.

12. 1 Kalyan Bhiwadi, 2 Poona, 3 Indapur, 4 Baramati, 5 Supa, 6 Shirwal, 7 Wai, 8 Masur, 9 Sap, 10 Patas, 11 Samdoli, 12 Wangi.

12. 1 Karhad (to be removed within 6 months), 2 Islampur, 3 Kadegam, 4 Khanapur, 5 Yelapur, 6 Mhaswad, 7 Budh, 8 Malwadi, 9 Vitba, 10 Nim Sodamayani, 11 Atpadi, 12 Nataputa.

These 24 posts to be removed and given into your possession.
Dated 24th Sawal Suhur San Saman Ashar Maya Alaf.

ART. V.—*Lieut.-Col. Thomas Best Jervis* (1796-1857) *and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Maratha People and their History, recently presented to the Society by his Son. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.*

(*Read, 27th September* 1905.)

When I first looked into these MS. volumes, some two months ago when they were presented to our Society in this historical year of its Centenary, I saw that they possessed a great value for students of the subjects they treat of; and accordingly I willingly adopted the suggestion of our learned and energetic Honorary Secretary, the Rev. R. Scott, that I should write for the Society a paper on them. I took it up all the more readily and turned aside from my other work for a time, as I learned with regret that he was soon to leave us for a long holiday in his native country. The good wishes of our Society, which he has served so ably for nearly five years, will, I am sure, accompany him thither; and I trust that on his return he will continue to give us the benefit of his literary ability and rare scholarship.

These MSS. have been appropriately presented to us by his son, who is settled in Italy as the Conservator of the Royal Industrial Museum at Turin, and is the author of a valuable work on the Economic Geology of that country, as their author was a former member of our Society and the brother of one, who was our Honorary Secretary, Capt. George Jervis, from 1827 to 1830, during the momentous years when under the guidance and advice of our distinguished member, Sir John Malcolm, our Society changed its name of the Literary Society of Bombay given in 1804 by its founder, Sir James Mackintosh, in favour of its present designation and consented to become the branch of a much younger Society, the illustrious newly founded Royal Asiatic Society of England. Thomas Best Jervis gave the best years of his life to this Presidency, which he served for nearly thirty years from 181 to 1841, in various capacities as an Engineer Officer of the Hon'ble East India Company. But he had more than a mere official connection with this country and its peoples. He may be described by appl·ing to him that significant phrase, an old type of Anglo-Indian officer, who did not merely sojourn in this country, but took a real and hearty interest in its peoples and tried to ameliorate their intellectual and moral condition.

Perhaps the phrase may imply a slight to the present race of officers among whom, too, men like Jervis are not rare. But it must be said that in former days they were not so rare as now. It may be that official work has grown to such proportions as to leave little or no leisure or time for anything else. But where there is genuine sympathy for the people and a real interest in their pursuits and welfare, even hard-worked officers nowadays can, and some do, find time for doing good work unofficially.

But I think much of the explanation of the great interest taken by former officers of the East India Company is to be found in the fact that they had a family interest in this country and a hereditary connection with it. The present competitive system of choosing men to serve here has many advantages, but this decided disadvantage that it is not in the power of a father to prolong or even perpetuate his connection with this country by putting his sons and grandsons into the service. But in former times the sons and nephews were selected as if by right to succeed their fathers and uncles in the various services, civil and military, of this country. Hence the ties which bound them to this land were closer and stronger. The family of Jervis was an instance of this. Benjamin Jervis, the grandfather of Thomas Best, entered the Bombay Civil Service so far back as 1747, and rose to be the Chief of Surat, when that city was of far greater importance than it now is, and died there in 1774. His son John Jervis, the father of Thomas, joined the Civil Service as if by right, and served in Ceylon as Assistant to the Resident there, when that island had just been acquired from the Dutch. He died there at the early age of 27 in 1797, leaving three sons who also all served in Western India. The eldest, George, retired in 1830 and was presented with an address and a piece of plate worth Rs. 3,000 by the leading Indians when he retired, to mark their sense of gratitude for his services, especially to Native education which was then in quite a nascent stage. Thomas Best was John's second son, born, only a year before his death, at Jaffnapatam in Ceylon on 2nd August 1796.

Thomas Jervis came of distinguished stock; and an elder branch of the family gave to England a famous admiral, Sir John Jervis (1735-1823), who won the great victory of St. Vincent's over the Spanish Navy in 1797 and was raised to the peerage under that title. A cousin of Thomas, another Sir John Jervis (1802-1856), became a distinguished lawyer, and was Attorney-General under Lord John Russell from 1846 to 1850, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. (*Dict. National Biography*, Vol. XXIX p. 363). His mother was of Polish extraction, belonging to a family long in the service of the Princes of Hanover whom they accompanied to England on their accession to the British Throne. She was connected through

her mother with the famous German man of letters, Grimm ; and some of the literary qualities of that great German were seen to be inherited by his kinsman. Thus cosmopolitanism was in his blood, and this goes some way to account for his sympathy with the Indians especially Marathas, which came naturally to him. Thomas chose the military service like his brother George, and passed several years at Addiscombe College preparing for his future career. Among these MS. volumes is one containing what are called " Addiscombe Studies " which shows how thoroughly and diligently the young cadet prepared himself at that Military Academy for his future work. He took elaborate notes of lectures on fortification and mining, and translated extracts from such standard French works as those of Lacroix. Here we find the first traces of his taste for observation and practical geography which rendered him famous in after years as one of the most distinguished officers of the famous Indian Survey. To this volume is attached a short but valuable memorandum of instructions for boring into the bed of hard stone found in sinking wells for water on the Islands of Bombay and Salsette, written later for Framji Cowasji, a famous Parsi Agriculturist of Bombay, who had a large estate in Pawai, Salsette.

Jervis arrived in Bombay in the beginning of 1814. Things were in a ferment then in Western India. The great native power of the Peshwas was, under the feeble and intriguing rule of the second Baji Rao, tottering to its fall, which came a few years later at the Battle of Kirkee in 1817. Baji Rao surrendered himself to General Malcolm soon after, in consideration of an unprecedentedly large pension of eight lakhs a year—for promising which Malcolm was afterwards severely censured—and a life of ease which he loved more than duty or honour. He passed his remaining days till his death in 1851, in luxurious exile at Bithoor near Cawnpore, leaving an adopted son, the notorious Nana Sahib, who did such incalculable mischief both to the Indians and the English in 1857. His extensive territories came into the hands of the English, and the great power of the Peshwas, which had flourished for just a century from 1718 to 1817, was extinguished. The territories conquered from the Peishwa were annexed to the Bombay Presidency which thus received a very important accretion. This was a vast field for all officers, civil and military, young and old, in which many distinguished themselves. The work of settlement of the new Deccan and Konkan provinces, ably begun by Elphinstone as their first Commissioner, was carried out in the same spirit and under his guidance as Governor, by his successors, Chaplin and Robertson with the assistance of a large body of younger officers, civil and military, in whom new zeal had been infused by the arduous work before them.

Young Jervis was appointed to take his part in this work in October 1819 as Executive Engineer of the Southern Konkan. The forts which stud the country and which are such a feature of it, were first dismantled and then allowed to fall to ruin as the best way to render them harmless. Jervis was in charge of these forts and in addition to his military duties he was required to superintend the new civil buildings that were required for the purposes of administration. He gives us a glimpse of the hard nature of the work to be done in this capacity : " In a newly-conquered country, where there had not been a European establishment or station before, excepting at the commercial residencies of Bankot and Malwan, all things had to be done anew. There were absolutely no workmen, nor materials, such as were expected or required in many instances for large public works and buildings ; all depended mainly on the temper, industry, energy and foresight of the Superintendent. . . . With regard to those people, more especially those who were about the public offices in the capacity of writers and accountants, to watch over these, and standing alone as I did, to maintain efficiency, despatch and *rectitude*, demanded no ordinary vigilance ; but to bring about all these objects and obtain a permanent and public proof of their regard was a higher testimonial. . . . The sentiments of the Hon'ble Court of Directors and the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone have been placed on record in the Parliamentary papers published in 1832." (*Memoir* pp. 11—12).

In 1820 happened an event which gave him splendid opportunities for employing his knowledge to one definite purpose, and gaining that experience which afterwards raised him to the highest post in the line he had chosen—a post which he unfortunately gave up before entering on its duties in order to retire finally from this country. He was appointed in that year to make the Statistical Survey of the Southern Konkan. Three years later in January 1823 the greater task of the Trigonometrical and Topographical Survey of the same vast tract of country was entrusted to him. Henceforward Survey work was his chief occupation and even hobby. This work in the Southern Mahratta Country brought him into the closest contact with the people for whom he had a natural liking, and led him to make those enquiries into their condition in his time and their past history whose results are preserved in these manuscript volumes. Of his happy relations with the people under his charge and of their confidence in him, we hear in a letter written to him by his Collector, Mr. J. H. Pelly, at the beginning of his period as a Survey Officer : " During the whole of the time you have been in this 'zillah,' during which period many thousands must have been in your employment, not a single complaint against you from a native has ever reached my ears, nor have you yourself had more than two or

three complaints to prefer against them ; and when it is considered that, instead of collecting workmen, as has too frequently been the practice, at the point of the bayonet, attended with other acts of grosser personal violence, your labourers or *bigaris*, not only *willingly uncompulsatively travel 100 miles for the privilege of being employed by you (though even the bayonet cannot induce them to serve others), but no punishment appears more effective to them than dismissal from your employment.* Now, I believe, the main secret of your management consists both in a humane and just demeanour to these poor creatures, whom to your lasting honour you appear to regard as fully entitled to every privilege common to human nature. In paying them a just price for their labour instead of forcing eight men to work for a Chinchuri rupee, you allow them in the proportion of a rupee to six men, which under a mild and equitable treatment it is demonstrated *they will voluntarily work for, although nothing but armed men can compel them to labour on lower terms.* I earnestly hope the salutary example you have thus afforded will not be lost on some older and more experienced heads, but lead them to regard the natives of India as something more than mere machines, formed to administer to our pleasure and convenience." (*Memoir* p. 13.)

It must be remembered that Jervis was a young Lieutenant of barely twenty-five years when he was addressed in these flattering terms by his senior officer in December 1820. What is said here about the wages of the Maratha labourers forms the subject of an elaborate discussion in these MSS., where Jervis shows that the economic condition of the people at the time of the dissolution of the Maratha rule was very miserable. The chief value of these studies into the economic condition of the Maratha people, especially the agricultural part of them, made at a critical period of their existence, namely when they passed from the indigenous rule of the Peshwas to British rule, lies in their affording us accurate materials, gathered by a very competent and sympathetic enquirer, for comparing their condition then with their condition at later periods and at the present day. Such a comparison would be very instructive and edifying in these days when British rule is submitted to severe and not unfrequently to captious criticism. These MS. studies of Jervis of the condition of the Konkan, deserve to rank by the side of the more famous but hardly more valuable studies of other parts of the Maratha country embodied in the reports of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Chaplin on the Deccan and Malcolm's report on Central India. Jervis did not make his results as interesting as Malcolm, partly because he lacked the literary ability which was so conspicuous in the latter and also in Elphinstone, and partly because Government did not encourage him as it

did them to publish these to the world. Partly also he did not care much, as his heart was not so much in these economic and historical researches as in his great Trigonometric and Topographical Survey. These were merely *parerga* with him, and he did not care to publish them.

Indeed he published very litt'e of his work to the world and was content with submitting official reports which lie forgotten among the records of Government. A portion of his statistical memoir of the Konkan, that relating to the revenue and land tenures, was communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society, which was then in a flourishing state but which is now amalgamated with our Society, and appeared in its Journal. He also published a report on the weights and measures of the Konkan (1829) which was expanded in 1836 into a somewhat larger work, called "Meteorological and Monetary System throughout India," published in Bombay. In 1835 he published in Calcutta a somewhat remarkable Essay on a similar subject called "Records of Ancient Science exemplified and authenticated in the primitive Universal Standard of Weights and Measures." This Essay was transmitted to Captain Henry Kater, Vice-President of the Royal Society, who however, died before it reached him. In this Jervis very ingeniously suggests his universal standard as "regulated and defined by the mean length of the pendulum ; the weight of water at a maximum of density and the metre or forty-millionth of the earth's polar circumference." The thesis of this Essay is that all weights and measures were originally derived from the same standard which he considered to have been the mean length of the pendulum vibrating seconds at 45° latitude, and which only differs by a very small fraction from the length of the metre (Memoir p. 45.) This Essay was widely distributed by Government to its officers for their opinion, and by the author to distinguished men of science in England and elsewhere for their remarks. The various suggestions that he received as well as other correspondence connected with it, are embodied in one of these MS. volumes which contains several additions and corrections for a new edition of the work which he seems to have meditated but never published.

At the end of this MS. volume is a document which should be of great interest on the personal side of the history of Science in Engand in the first half of the last century. It is a memorial addressed to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and the Directors of the East India Company, on behalf of Major Jervis, by the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Fellows of the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical, the Geological and other leading scientific Societies, in which they endorse his views and scientific proposals and urge that the Company should promptly publish in the transactions of these societies or elsewhere the results of his labours on the Survey of India. This was a very

influential move on behalf of Jervis and had its due weight with the Directors, who had already appointed him provisionally Surveyor-General in succession to Col. Everest who has given his name to the highest peak of the Himalayas. The interest of the memorial to us, however, lies in the fact that it is signed by all the leading men of Science of the day in England, and here we have collected in a single page the autographs of some forty of the greatest names in English Science. The list is headed by a Royal Duke, the Duke of Sussex, an uncle of Queen Victoria, who was then President of the Royal Society and whose signature with its curious strokes and flourishes is the most remarkable in this collection of autographs. Then follow such men as Sir David Brewster, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Sir William Hamilton—not the distinguished Scotch metaphysician, (1788-1866), who, of course, had no business here among men of science and who cared little for Jervis's peculiar pursuits, but the famous Irish mathematician and astronomer, (1805-1865), who was then President of the Royal Irish Academy—and Prof. Whewell, the President of the Geological Society. There is another William Hamilton, (1805-1867), here, a geologist and geographer, who was President of the Royal Geographical Society. There are, besides, Michael Faraday who true to his retiring nature comes among one of the last to sign, Sir Charles Lyall, the geologist, Sir John Lubbock, the father of the present Lord Avebury, a distinguished astronomer, Sir Roderick Murchison, the great geographer, Sir George Airy, the Astronomer Royal, Adam Sedgwick and many others. Altogether this page of autographs is curious and valuable and is an acquisition to be preserved as a literary curiosity in our Museum. The facsimiles of these autographs were very skilfully done at Jervis' own lithographic press which he kept for some time at great cost and ultimately loss to him at his house in London on his retirement. From this press he issued several maps, which are beautiful specimens of cartography, including an excellent one of Bombay based on the survey of Dickinson and Tait in 1812-16, which he published in 1843. This rare map with another of Bokhara is not in our collection and I have presented it to our Society to be kept by the side of these MS. volumes. The late Mr. James Douglas thus characterises this map of Bombay. "Of maps, the best of the Island of Bombay, both for accuracy and execution, was printed in London in 1843, and represents the City and Island in 1812-16. This map of Thomas Dickinson's is a perfect *chef d'œuvre*. Major Jervis' signature is at the foot. This is a perfect gem of the engraver's art and can never be excelled." (*Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I., p. 145). There is a reproduction of it on a smaller scale in Douglas' book. (*Ibid* I., 174).

This memorial so influentially signed on behalf of Jervis seems to have given great offence to Col. Everest, (1790-1866), the Surveyor-General in India, whom Jervis had been provisionally appointed to succeed, because no mention was made therein of his valuable services and those of his staff. "This proceeding," says Sir Clement Markham, the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society just retired, in his Memoir of the Indian Surveys, "excited great indignation in those distinguished officers who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and gave rise to a series of letters addressed to the Duke of Sussex, as President of the Royal Society, from Col. Everest remonstrating against the conduct of that learned body." But Sir Clement is mistaken in his observation that "these letters so completely gained the writer's object that nothing more was heard of Major Jervis in connection with the Surveyor-Generalship" (*Indian Surveys*, 1873, p. 77.) As his son shows in the Memoir which he has recently drawn up with pious care of his father's life and to which this paper is much indebted, the real reason why Jervis did not wait to take up his high appointment, was that Col. Everest did not retire as it had been anticipated by the East India Company he would, but continued for several years after in the office, and Jervis for purely private reasons, as he wanted to superintend personally the education of his children at home, retired earlier than Everest and thus did not remain in India long enough to be Surveyor-General. (*Memoir*, p. 50.)

The information contained in these MSS about the condition of the Maratha people was gained at first hand in the course of his official duties. As he says himself, "I had great and singular opportunities of traversing the country in every possible direction, to acquire a far more intimate and exact knowledge of the topography, physical character and resources of the whole country than any other individual." He gives us some notion of the great care which he bestowed on all his work and especially this work of statistics and history in an official letter. "I have the honour to acquaint you that I have despatched to you a large parcel containing in all about 1,496 papers on statistical and revenue subjects and a bundle of English papers. I have entrusted these papers to an intelligent Shastri, a native highly learned in the Hindu laws, customs, etc., and the Sanskrit language, who is in my private service. 'A' is a general specimen of the population tables which will enable any person desirous of ascertaining the correctness of the same to do so with little trouble or inconvenience. These documents have been attested as coming nearly within the truth, as far as judgment could be passed on them, by the most respectable and oldest residents of the villages and towns. I beg most particularly to state that I have examined them with the greatest

care and attention. I have left no means untried to ensure their accuracy, and have had recourse to every art which propriety and ingenuity could suggest, to render them worthy of confidence., The statistical papers are on all subjects connected with the produce circumstances, history and extent and other matters relating to the southern divisions of Malwan and Salshi. Specimens of these have now been translated and written out, to show their nature and value. The inquiries which I have instituted were made after a most careful and particular review of the manners, rights and institutions of the people. A slight view will show the immense trouble and attention which must have been bestowed on them, and I beg to state that there are many facts brought to light in them which will be well worth the consideration of the public authorities in this country, and conduce greatly to ameliorate the condition of a people once sadly oppressed. I do not wish to produce anything hastily, or to build any arguments on incomplete grounds. The daily intercourse which I have with the natives, the facilities which are constantly afforded me to see narrowly into their private character, customs and manners, will enable me to furnish in a short time such an account of them as will be most satisfactory to the Government and most essentially beneficial to the people themselves."

It is to be regretted that the account of which he speaks here was never published, though it must have been submitted to Government and might be now rotting somewhere among its records. The present MS. studies are a contribution towards such a complete account of the state of the Maratha people of the Konkan. For instance—the MS. contains a valuable section on the education of the people from which I have given an extract bearing on the interesting subject of indigenous education. But he seems to have written and sent to Government a larger report on this subject which was not printed, but which would be highly interesting at the present day if it were forthcoming, as a means of comparing the moral progress achieved to-day with the moral state of the Maratha people at the beginning of British rule nearly ninety years ago. About this report he says in one of his letters: "I likewise sent up to the Government a very full and exact report of the state of education in the Konkan and on the system of education followed by the Mahomedans and Hindus, with a very complete series of tables, twenty in all, exhibiting the number, character, etc., of the schools of the several districts in 1820 and 1824, contrasting the state of education after the lapse of five years that the country had been under British management with its condition when it first came into our possession. With respect to the practical working of these principles, which I had so fully discussed in my report on education, I sub-

join an extract from the official minutes of Government on the Southern Konkan School Society founded by me with the co-operation of the natives. This novel principle of getting the natives, a conquered people, completely wedded to their own system of government and superstitions, to go hand-in-hand with the British nation in their philanthropic schemes for the further amelioration of India, will probably be recognised at no distant period as the surest and best way of governing the people of that great Empire, and more especially in which demands of a pecuniary nature are to be made on them, or deep-rooted prejudices to be overcome." And he gives an instance of how the people of India may be brought to co-operate with their English rulers in improving the country and voluntarily participating in the pecuniary burdens of the State. "The native," says he, "at my suggestion and by my exertion and advice, came forward first in regard to the Colaba Causeway to pay down 20,000 rupees towards the expense, and further to secure the Government against all possible charge by excess of estimate beyond the amount sanctioned by the Hon'ble Court, provided an experienced engineer officer were appointed to the superintendence of that work, and the work itself were executed by contract." (*Memoir*, pp. 19-20.)

The Konkan when Jervis took it in hand for the purposes of obtaining knowledge about the condition of the people, was quite an unexplored country about which the new rulers knew almost nothing with the exception of a very few places on the coast like Bankot. He thus describes his labours there: "I had to travel continually from one end to the other of this long and mountainous strip of territory at all seasons and sometimes with great haste. I therefore very soon found, in addition to other impediments, that the public servants of Government knew nothing of the country or its resources; that we were at first absolutely at the mercy of the native civil revenue and Magisterial officers subordinate to the Collector and Magistrate in everything. Our knowledge of the geography of the country was also limited to the verbal information of the guides and farmers and the sketch maps by the late General Reynolds and Col. Johnson. All the information that the Collector's and Judge's offices could afford me was always at my command, and indeed the same liberality was invariably extended to me by all the members of the Civil Service to whom I had ever had occasion to apply; but the imperfection of our knowledge on all these matters was the frequent subject of regret to us, and first set me on the idea of communicating my thoughts to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his first accession to the Bombay Government in 1819. They were most favourably received. Every fresh occasion for promptitude in travelling and despatch in the completion of the public works

committed to me led me to dwell more especially on the lamentable deficiency of our geographical knowledge, and I was persuaded by the late Brigadier-General Kennedy, then commanding officer of the division, to address him an official letter on the subject. I knew no more profitable and creditable way of employing my time in these intervals than in acquiring a correct knowledge of the geography and resources of this unexplored territory." (*Memoir*, pp. 13-15.)

He set to work for nearly ten years and produced valuable reports on the Konkan, its history, peoples, customs, etc., which lie mostly in MS. either in these volumes now presented to us or in the archives of Government. It is a matter of great regret that he was not encouraged to digest all this scattered information into a comprehensive monograph on the Konkan, like Malcolm's excellent work on Central India. It is well known that this work of Malcolm grew out of a report which he was asked to furnish about Malwa (*cf.* Kaye's *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 328). From Elphinstone's official report of his mission to Cabul grew his celebrated work on Afghanistan (*cf.* Colebrooke's *Elphinstone*, Vol. I, p. 200). But Jervis was at that time not nearly so famous as these great Anglo-Indians; so nobody suggested the possibility of his expanding his reports on the Konkan. Moreover, it was not a country as attractive to the public as the Deccan or Central India, not the home of great battle fields on which empires are won and lost, though it has great interest for us as the home of the Mawalis and Hetkaris: who crossed the Ghauts and fought so bravely on the table-land of the Deccan, the fights that have been celebrated in numerous songs and *powadas*. What is known as Jervis' *Konkan* in Anglo-Indian literature is only a fragment of his work in that country, namely that on the land tenures; but the whole of his work on the Konkan would indeed be an acquisition, and it is not too much to hope that we may one day have it by bringing together and publishing in convenient form his studies here and the Government reports in MS. Such a work as that of Jervis, but not so comprehensive nor showing an equally deep knowledge of the language and habits of the Marathas, was undertaken fifty years later by a member of the Bombay Civil Service, Alexander Kidd Nairne, a man of kindred tastes to Jervis in this that he became on his retirement from the service a priest and worked for the sake of humanity among the poor. This is published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

This reminds us of another phase of Jervis' character, his missionary zeal and the intense religious spirit that infused all his work. He was a great friend of the first batch of professed missionaries who then worked in Bombay and Western India amid such difficulties, particularly of Dr. John Wilson, (1804-1807), a name honoured and endeared in many ways on this side of India, but specially honoured in these halls

as that of the presiding genius of our Society for full forty years, and of Dr. James Murray Mitchell (1814-1904) who has just closed a life of varied benevolence and usefulness, prolonged beyond its natural limit, peacefully in his own country among his kindred. It is not generally known that Jervis designed and superintended the erection of the old Free Church Institution in Khetwady which housed for over a generation the Wilson College that has done so much with that other Christian Institution, St. Xavier's College, for the higher education of our people in Western India. But he did not identify himself with any section of the Christian Church, but sympathised and worked with them all in a truly Christian spirit. In this spirit he joined the Evangelical Alliance when it was first instituted. Writing on the subject his son remarks : "He early joined the Evangelical Alliance on its institution in 1846, the members of which strove to do away with the mutual antagonism too common between the various sections of the Church of Christ, and so baneful to the spread of vital Christianity in the face of dead formalism, and by which he merely manifested the course he had always previously pursued in India of having a brotherly affection for all those who followed the Saviour as their Head, not troubling himself with dogmatic or administrative differences, the importance given to which is generally exaggerated most unwisely." (*Memoir*, p. 60.) But though he was well known to everybody here, Europeans and natives alike, as an open upholder of Christian Missions and the staunch friend of the missionaries, yet as his son well says, "proselytizing of whatever kind, in the absence of perfectly personal conviction, he repudiated and denounced" (p. 34). He was a great friend of the Indians as he proved throughout his career by his efforts, especially in behalf of Maratha education, helping his brother to translate and publish several works in Marathi for the benefit of that people, as was acknowledged by them in several ways ; and the name of Jervis is familiar to them as that of one of their earliest friends and benefactors. His opinion of the Indian peoples and their character is valuable as that of a sympathetic yet discriminating and acute observer. "They are perhaps the most docile, tractable and sharp-sighted people in the world ; they are therefore peculiarly disposed to religion, open to any superstitious fraud, but slow to apprehend a deep and consequential truth. They are quick to acquire and discuss all knowledge, but have little originality or depth of thought. They are brave and patient in the face of evils and trials, which the European nations succumb to ; but timid in lesser dangers which the latter smile at. They are faithful to a fault, accessible to counsel, order, and any degree of discipline, by proper management and consideration, but may be

roused to the most bitter and vindictive feelings, or turned aside by example and negligence and perverseness to the lowest state of degradation and wickedness. This great and very intelligent people is now under the sceptre of a gracious and powerful Queen, who loves all her subjects, and will find these amongst the most faithful and useful on any emergency, in the exercise of her sovereign wisdom ; though rash experiments on our part might alienate and sever that union for ever." ('India in relation to Great Britain.' *Apud* Memoir, p. 51.)

The other volumes of these MSS contain some of his professional work on the great Trigonometrical Survey of Western India on which he was employed so long and with which his name is so closely and honourably identified. The calculation of triangles and other technical details may be useful to students of geodesy. His survey work here was very useful, though as a pioneer he was not free from inaccuracies, some of which are so serious as to render them in the opinion of a competent authority, Sir Clements Markham (*Indian Surveys*, p. 85), now obsolete. Another competent writer about the middle of the last century in Bombay knowing well the facts says : "In this Engineer officer's (Jervis) manuscript report of his land survey in the Konkan, an incorrect latitude is assigned to many places ; and we have been given to understand that not very lately an error was discovered in the triangulation, which renders it, as far as correct distances are concerned, nearly useless." (*Bombay Quarterly Review*, 1856, Vol. III, p. 133.) These triangulations and latitudes are now in our possession in these MS. volumes, and any enthusiastic student of this subject may enter into these calculations and confirm or refute these remarks. Whilst engaged in this arduous work he received from his Indian, especially Maratha, assistants, trained by him to do the work, great help which was generously recognised by him in these terms after his retirement : "On the Trigonometrical Survey I required signals to be placed by sun-rise on different far-distant summits, often difficult of access, and gave my orders to my several people. On the appointed day I directed my theodolite towards the required spots in *absolute certainty* that the flag would be hoisted at the appointed time and place. Such conscientious fidelity to orders puts to shame too many nominal Christians at home. Should I be able to count so implicitly on loving unquestioning obedience on their part? The poor heathen gives us an eloquent example of duty accomplished." (*Memoir*, p. 35.)

I think I have made it clear in this slight sketch of Jervis' career and character with the help of his correspondence, and his studies in these MS. volumes, that he was inspired by lofty ideals of doing good to the country and the people in whatever he did officially and unofficially,

and that by his pious God-fearing conduct towards all, especially the Indians, he realised in a large measure these ideals in active life, spreading sweetness and light wherever he went. Lives like his ought to serve as a stimulus and an inspiration to Englishmen in this country, whose peoples have profited much by the silent, almost forgotten, exertions of men of the type of Thomas Best Jervis.

Of Maratha history proper there is one manuscript, and it is very important. It gives an historical account of all the great Maratha families like the Bhonslés, the Peshwas, the Pratinidhis, the Gaekwars and scores of others who have played a part in the eventful history of the Marathas. I have never elsewhere seen so much useful information gathered together about these families as is done here by Jervis. He treats of nearly one hundred families and also gives the genealogies of the chief. This is a very useful work of reference on the somewhat intricate history of Maratha Clans and well deserves to be published by itself. I append some interesting extracts, which will show the importance of these MSS.

ACCOUNT OF THE MAHARS.

A very important tenure in villages is that of the low-caste people, called Mahars by the Mahrattas and Dhers by the Moosalmans. They have enam lands in all villages divided into Hurkee and Arowlah ; the former is rent-free and generally bears but a small proportion to the latter. The Arowlah is held on a quit rent. In the neighbourhood of Joomar and at Kothool, Purgh. Kothool, Ahmednagar Collectorate, I met with a new species of Mahars' enam, called Seesollah ; this is also rent-free, and held in addition to the two former. These enams vary in extent in different villages. In only one instance in the large town of Tembournee has it came to my knowledge, that the Mahras have not enam lands, and in that place they have to perform all the customary duties for the Government and the town, as if they have enam lands. The Mahars conceive that they have the right to mortgage or dispose of the lands held for the performance of specific duties, and at this moment the whole of the Mahars' Arowlah at the town of Mahe, Tur-Muhekohreh, Poona Collectorate, is mortgaged to the Patel. They were originally mortgaged to the Deshmook for a sum of money, who transferred them to the Patel. Independently of their Hurkee, Arowlah and Seesollah, the Mahars have a share of the cultivated produce, whether garden or field ; this is called their Bullooteh. Every village in its original constitution is said to have had 12 craftsmen and professions, who in their several lines perform all that the cultivators required to be done for themselves individually and the village generally—the smith, carpenter to mend their implements of husbandry,

the barber to shave them, the washerman to wash for them, the potmaker to make pots, &c., &c. These 12 persons were paid or supported by an assessment in kind. They were divided into three classes and obtained their share of Bullooteh agreeably to the class they stood in. In the first class were the carpenter, shoemaker, ironsmith and Mahar. In the second class the washerman, potmaker, barber and Mang, and in the third the waterman, the astrologer, the gurow or cleaner of the temple, and the silversmith. Since the Musalman rule the Moolana or Musalman priest has been added, and in some villages the Kulkarnee claims to share in the 3rd class. I say nothing about Alooteh as part of the village community, for no two persons agree with respect to the constituents of this class, and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the cultivator could ever have supported, by fees in kind, 12 additional persons when he paid 50 per cent. to Government. And I am told the Bullooteh and Hakdar rights stood him in an average of 25 per cent., leaving him only 25 per cent. for his own maintenance and agricultural charges.

The Mahar who shares in the first class in consequence of his numerous duties shares also again as a third class Boollootehdar. The fee in kind appears to be a percentage on the produce, but it is not uniform throughout the country, and very rarely indeed could I get either the cultivator or Boollootehdar to state specifically what the one gave, or the other looked upon himself entitled to receive annually. It depended very much, I was told, upon the crops and also upon the extent of services performed for each individual cultivator.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The land tax being more than 82 per cent. of the whole revenue of the country, in speaking of the condition of the people I would wish my observations to be considered chiefly applicable to the class paying this proportion, namely the agriculturists. In the present report I have shown that since the date of my first report the principal articles of agricultural produce have fallen in value from 25 to 66 per cent., *i.e.*, rice 66, wheat 25, joaree 52, gram 32 and bajree 36. Imports have certainly also fallen in price, but not in a similar ratio. Wages remain the same. The trifling manufactures continue to decline, the value of money is enhanced, and the assessments are not yet lightened. If, therefore, my first report gave unfavourable picture of the condition of the people, it may be supposed, under the operation of the above causes, that I am still deprived of the gratification of painting it in more agreeable colors. My late researches have extended over 5,900 square miles, a superficial extent more than double that of the first report, and I am constrained to say, that the marked features

of poverty and debt, formerly spoken of, characterize the condition of the people throughout the new tracts, and that I see no reason whatever to modify the opinion I formerly expressed with regard to the causes of such a state of things. There is no doubt, however, that the poverty complained of is not the poverty of want: every cultivator throughout the country has a superfluity of the mere requisites for the support of animal life. This poverty is pecuniary poverty, and it bears heavily upon him in the relation in which he stands to the Government and to his creditors. He cannot convert a sufficiency of his grain into money to pay his taxes to the former, nor fulfil even in part his engagements to the latter. His taxes were increased by the cupidity of the former Government, and his debts contracted by his improvidence or forced upon him by his increased assessments, but this was at a time when his agricultural produce was worth from 100 to 300 per cent. more than its present worth. Supposing him therefore to have been taxed formerly to the extent of his means, in equity his taxes should have been lightened in the ratio of the fall in the value of his produce.

I stated in my first report there would shortly be calls upon Government to mitigate the assessment. The recent large remissions to the amount of 20 per cent. of the revenue of the Poona and Ahmednagar Collectorates proved the immediate pecuniary inability of the people, and the revenue survey as far as it has gone in its prospective assessments has justified the opinion I expressed, by lightening the burdens of the cultivators. Nevertheless the distress, the people complain of, is unquestionably not attributable to the revenue administration of the Company as originating with the Company. With trifling exceptions the assessments and extra cesses are the same, in name, number and specific amount as under former Governments.

The only great change appears to be in Government through the medium of its collectors professing to settle with each individual cultivator, instead leaving it to the authorities to do so as heretofore, and this agreement should seem advantageous to the cultivator insuring him (could he read or write or keep accounts) from the exactions of intermediate agents. The benevolence of the Government has sufficiently manifested in the facility with which remissions have been granted, and not one instance throughout the country has come to my knowledge of the assessment being realised by coercive measures, involving the seizure of stock, or punishment, further than temporary personal restraint, and in case the cultivators' prosperity could be estimated by the small proportion of his gross produce taken from him by the Bombay Government, it should be comparatively *marked*, as I have shown under the section of assessments, that he contributes to the necessities of the State 7 per cent. less

than persons of his class did under Mullicomber and 23 per cent. less than in the ceded districts under Sir Thos. Munro, the proportions taken being respectively under the three Governments a tenth, a sixth and a third. The complaints of distress therefore seem scarcely compatible with these facts. In my numerous conversations with the cultivators and even with our own district officers, in various parts of the country, I have urged them to explain unreservedly the causes of the sufferings they complain of. Increase in cultivation, increase in cultivators, meagre crops, enhanced assessments, diminution in the size of farms and the withdrawal of part the money circulating medium, have been so repeatedly advanced in reply to my interrogatories as reasons for the present pecuniary inability of the people, that I was induced to look with attention into them, although involving in themselves incompatibilities. For the purpose of determining the truth of the first four positions, I established a comparison, as rigid as circumstances would admit of, between the state of certain towns and villages under the Peshwa's Government and under ours. I chose places far distant from each other that I might, if possible, secure to my deductions the advantage of a general application. I will admit that I undertook the labour with impressions in unison with those of the cultivators and I was somewhat surprised, therefore, at the results falling infinitely short of my anticipations.

EDUCATION.

My continued inquiries into the state of education in the country have only been confirmatory, to the very letter even, of the observations I made in my first report on this important subject ; I will not repeat, therefore, what is already on record, but take leave to refer to it.

The literary ignorance of the bulk of the people is almost incredible, and could scarcely be deemed compatible with an organized or even incipient civilized state of society. In many neighbouring villages in which there is only one Kulkurnee or accountant, I have known it to be the case that not a single inhabitant has been able to read, write or calculate; and yet this ignorance does not originate in any physical causes. Native children of all the castes are distinguished for their aptitude, sprightliness and intelligence, and some conspicious instances of decided ability have appeared in the English schools for the instruction of natives in Calcutta and Bombay, in their poetic powers, in English composition, in a taste for drawing and in mathematical acquirements. Amongst my native acquaintances there is a Hindu who repairs astronomical, mathematical and meteorological instruments, and who has an eager desire to master the rationale of all philosophical

experiments which he witnesses. A common ironsmith in Poona has kept himself in constant poverty by vain searches after the philosopher's stone, but his labours have made him acquainted with many chemical facts. The facile adaptation of this man's ingenuity to the supply of European wants, in his particular line, is both gratifying and useful. A poor outcaste shoots specimens in the animal and feathered kingdoms and has taught himself to skin and stuff them, and he lately commenced drawing birds in outline with a singular correctness. One man repairs watches, and a Hindu, in Poona, I am told, constructed an orrery. The general ignorance, therefore, is to be referred to the absence of instructors in the first instance and in the next to the poverty of the people disabling them from profiting by instruction unless afforded to them gratuitously. Wherever this is done, the schools are well attended and the progress of the scholars is commensurate with the ability and zeal of the instructors. Mr. Elphinstone's noble attempt to impart instruction by means of Government schools, if fully developed, will unquestionably be productive ultimately of incalculable benefit to the people themselves and to the State, particularly in case the better classes of the natives become acquainted with our knowledge, our arts and sciences, through the medium of our own language. If it be our object to break down the barriers which separate us at present from the natives, to undermine their superstition, and to weaken their prejudices, and give them a taste for elevated enjoyments, it will be most effectually done through this medium. Translations of European books into the native languages by Europeans, although highly useful, must have the drawbacks of being limited in number, defective in execution and destitute of the attractive grace of idiomatic expression, whereas a native, once taught the English language, has the whole field of knowledge laid open to him. We have before our eyes the effects of Mahomedanism, modifying the supposed immutable habits, opinions, superstitions and usages of the Hindus. The language of the conquerors is almost universally understood, and most commonly spoken by all classes in India. The Mahrattas worship Mahomedan saints, keep their festivals, and at the great annual celebration of the martyrdom of the grandsons of Mahomed, Hussain and Hassan, numbers enrol themselves in the list of those who publicly deplore their deaths.

I have given instances of tombs being raised over Mahrattas in the Mahomedan style of architecture, and many parts of the present report testify to the adoption by a Mahratta or Brahman Government of Mussalman terms in politics, administration of justice, finance, agriculture, architecture and even in domestic economy. If such then have been the results from the simple juxtaposition of Hindus and Mussalmans, what might not be expected from a systematic attempt to imbue

the minds of the rising generation with rational and useful European knowledge by means of Government schools. Under present circumstances, the expense of such a measure prevents its adoption on an extended scale, but as precipitancy would be injurious as any urgent manifestations of interest on the part of Government would excite suspicions, and as ultimate success is dependent on the slow but gradual and almost insensible operation of knowledge on the opinions and habits of those who may have voluntarily sought and gratuitously received instruction influencing the circle in which they move by their examples, rather than in prompt, simultaneous and extended measures for general instruction, the few schools existing at the presidency and an occasional one or two in cities or large towns, although insufficient, will yet forward the great object in view to a limited extent. A few natives will be sent out with a sufficiency of education to impress on their minds the advantages that would accrue to their children in case they surpassed themselves in acquirements, and such an impression will be efficacious.

I attended a public examination of the scholars of Government schools in Poona and of the pupils of the Engineer Institution and native schools in Bombay. I looked also into the school rooms at Ahmednagar. In the Engineer Institution and native schools some of the boys (not particularly those of the highest or wealthiest classes) showed an efficient knowledge of the English language, and the progress of others in mathematics and drawing was remarkable. The two Poona schools were examined before the Collector and some European gentlemen on the 16th May 1827 by Sadashiva Bhau, the head native instructor in the present schools in Bombay. There were about 150 pupils, most of them the children of Brahmans, ten or a dozen of the first class boys were called up, none of them had been twelve months in the schools. They were examined, in the first instance, in reading a printed translation of Æsop's fables into Marathi in the Balbodh character. They read fluently and seemed to understand the compendium of the morale which is given of each fable, instead of its full translation. They subsequently read parts of Maratha histories in the Modi and Balbodh characters; they wrote down on slates sentences dictated to them, and spelt them. They wrote also on paper, and gave very favourable specimens of distinct and bold hands. Arithmetic they were taught on the European plan, and one or two of the boys had got as far as the extraction of the cube root. The boys all evinced considerable quickness, and the examinations were creditable to themselves and to their teachers. Prizes of turbans, cloths and books were distributed, the value of the present being in the ratio of the talents and the progress evinced by the boy.

THE BHONSLE.

The origin of the rise of Shivaji is too well known to require any elucidation in these notes. He died in Raighur in the month of April A D. 1680 and was succeeded by his eldest son Sumbhaji, who with his son Sewaji was both taken prisoner in the year 1694 and carried to the Court of Aurungzeb, where the former suffered a cruel death, and the latter, being spared on account of his youth, grew up under the protection of the accomplished Fululnissa Begum, Aurungzeb's daughter. At the request of the Princess, it is said, he changed the name of Sewaji to that of Sahooji, which he ever after retained. Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji, was raised to the throne in the Fort of Rangna in 1695, and died in June 1698, leaving two sons, Shambhuji and Sheewajee, by his two wives Rajeesbye and Tarabye. The latter succeeded his father on the throne, but evincing symptoms of insanity some years after, he was deposed and confined by his own mother in the year 1703, who raised his half brother, Sumbhajee, to the Musnud of Kolapoor, which he made his residence. In the year 1707 Aurungzeb died, Shahajee obtaining his liberty came to Sattara to claim his kingdom. He was for some time opposed by his aunt, Tarabye, a clever and ambitious woman, the widow of his uncle Raja Ram. Shahoo Raja at length consented to share the empire with his cousin, Sambhajee, who was permitted to retain Kolapoor and all the country south of the Warna and Krishna, while to Sahooji was left all to the north of those rivers. Tarabye retired to Kolapoor and lived to an extreme old age. Both she and her stepson, Sambhajee, dying in the same year A. D. 1760.

Shahoo Raja, of indolent and luxurious habits, to manage his Government made it over to his minister the Peshwa, Balaji Viswanath, to whom succeeded Bajirao Ballal, and his son Balajee denominated Nana-saheb. Shahoo Raja died without issue, 27th December 1749, when the Peshwa having brought forward Ram Raja, the son of Shiwajee and nephew of the reigning Raja of Kolapoor, caused him to be adopted as the son Shahoojee. From that day the subversion of the power of the House of Satara was complete, and that of the Peshwas established. Ram Raja having no children, many years after adopted, at the instance of Nana Fadnavis, a youth of the family of the Deshmukhs of Wavel in 1777, and dying in following year, 1778, the Second Shahoojee succeeded to the Musnud of Satara. The semblance of respect was still maintained towards him. A guard of honour of 500 horse was appointed by the Peshwa to escort and to watch him, and his expenses were limited as well as the range of his excursions in the neighbourhood of his capital. All reports of war and peace and the result of campaigns, however, were regularly submitted for his information, and while the creation of new and the nomination to the succession of

hereditary offices and estates derived confirmation from him alone, the Peshwa himself was not deemed exempt from accepting this token of homage. The revolution which succeeded on the death of Sawai Madhavrao at Poona in October 1795 afforded the Raja an opening to emancipation, of which he did not fail to avail himself, and seizing the person employed to control him, encouraged his full brother, Chutr-sing, to raise troops and seek for foreign aid. The effort, however, was too feeble,—Shahoo the Second became henceforward a closed prisoner in the Fort of Satara and died 4th May 1808, leaving three sons, of whom the eldest, Partapsing, was raised to the throne by the British Government in February 1818, and still reigns.

THE GAEKWAR.

This family from an inconsiderable origin has risen to become one of the Princes of the Mahratta State.

It is said they are Patails of the village of Dhowry, Nimbgawn in the Poona Prant. Peelajee the First, who distinguished himself, was an officer with 15 retainers, in the service of Kuddum Bandy Brothers, whose flag the family still uses. After the first or second inroad into Gujarat, the Raja of Satara, not conceiving the Kuddumsing calculated to establish themselves permanently, deputed Peelajee with a large army, which assembled in the first instance at Moholy near Satara, and thence marched to the north. The success of Peelajee was complete. Peelajee commanded a division in the battle of Panipat, and died shortly after his return, at the village of Sowlee near Baroda, of a fever. He was succeeded by his son, Damajee, who had long before been distinguished, but some hesitation occurring in sending the Cloth of Investiture from Satara, Damajee repaired to court with an army estimated at 100,000 men. He was induced by the solemn oaths interchanged between the Raja and himself to disband his army, but having been plundered by the Peshwa at the instance of the Raja, on his return he swore he would never pay the compliment of salaming with that hand which had been pledged in that of his princes, in a false oath—since which period the Gykawars assume the peculiar privilege of saluting with the left hand.

Damajee died at Bhavee Pattan in Gujarat in the reign of the Great Madhavrao, leaving four sons, of whom Sayajee Rao, the eldest, was an idiot. The part which Govind Rao, the second son, took in favour of the exiled Raghoba Dada prevented his acceding to the Musnud till after the death of both his young brothers, Fatty Sing and Manajee, who had successively reigned. He sat on the Musnud only three or four years, when he died, leaving three legitimate children, who have each reigned in succession, the youngest, Sayajee, being now on the gadhi.

THE ANGRIA.

Kanoji, the son of Tukoji, a Maratha chief of the family of Angria, first attained eminence while in the service of the Raja of Satara by the capture of the fort of Raighur from the Hubshee chief of Kolaba in the year 1698 and subsequently distinguished himself in the war in the Koncan carried on by the Marathas against that portion of the Mohamedan dominions, on which occasion he acquired the title of Surkhyle. Taking advantage of his own power, and the dissensions which broke out in the Satara family after the return of Shahu Raja, he not only refused to render him submission, but made an effort to establish an independent sovereignty along the whole Koncan Coast, from Goa to Surat, including the hill-forts on the low range of Ghats with the country below them. Till at length having been worsted in many actions by the superior State of Satara, peace was concluded, and Kanoji consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of Shahu Raja. On which occasion the whole of the seaports from Viziadurg as far as Kolaba remained in Angria's possession, and reverted first to his eldest son Tukoji and in two years after to his second son Sambaji, between whom and his son Manoji dissensions arising, the latter fled to the English at Bombay, but meeting with no aid in that quarter he proceeded to Poona and became reconciled to his father through the Peshwa, but on the death of Sambaji his brother Tulaji, disputing the right of his nephew, was eventually seized by the Peshwa and died after a confinement of 31 years in prison. The piratical practices of the Angrias on all nations approaching the western coast of India are matter of history, and do not admit of illustration in this place.

As the British power preponderated, they gradually subsided, and after the peace of Bassein they ceased altogether, while the once powerful Angria encroached on by the Peshwas from time to time dwindled into insignificance leaving in possession of the family at the breaking out of the war a territory yielding two lakhs of rupees in the neighbourhood of Kolaba and Andhery, of which about half has been alienated for religious purposes or for the reward of services performed by courtiers at Poona.

THE PESHWA.

The founder of this family, Balajee, the son of Wiswanath, a Chiplony Brahman, was the hereditary desmook or zemindar of Shreewardhan on the sea coast of the Southern Koncan. He so recommended himself by his ability and energy at the Court of Satara that he was nominated to the office of Peshwa in 1717 and was succeeded at his death in 1720

by his eldest son, Baji Rao. Under this chief the power of the Peshwaship became supreme and the Raja of Satara was satisfied to continue a mere pageant. Baji Rao was succeeded in the year 1740, at his death, by Balwant Row entitled Nanasaheb, during whose rule, Sahojee, the Raja of Satara, died without issue, and from that date the Peshwa was acknowledged as chief and exercised the power of Sovereign of the Maratha Empire.

His lieutenants carried their conquests over the whole of Hindoostan and Guzerat, levied heavy tribute from the Nizam, and wrested the Empire from the Mughul, and raised contributions in Bengal, and conquered Cuttack. Nanasahib died in 1761, and was succeeded by his second son, Madhaorao, called "The Great." He died in 1772 at the age of 28, after giving great promise of his talents and vigour. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who was murdered in 1773 in his palace at Poona in the presence of his uncle, Raghoba Dada. Narayan Rao was succeeded by his posthumus child, Saway Madhavrao, during whose minority the State was ruled by his Minister, Nana Furnavis. On the death of SawayMadhaoRao in 1795 without children, he was succeeded by his relative, Baji Rao, the eldest son of Raghoba Dada, who, expelled from his dominions after a desperate effort to recover all the power of his ancestors which he had forfeited by his imbecility, abdicated his sovereignty on 3rd June 1818 in favour of the British Government on condition of receiving annually Rs. 8,00,000. His brother, Chimnajee Appa, receives a pension of Rs. 2,00,000, and Amritrao, the adopted son of Raghoba Dada, Rs. 7,00,000 which has lately descended to his son.

NANA FURNAVIS.

The ancestor of this great Minister was Madhojee Punt Banoo, a Chiplony Brahman, the Mahajim of the village of Velloss in the Taluka of Bankote. He first left his native village and came to Satara in consequence of an invitation from the first Peshawa Balajee Vishwanath, whose brother Tanoo Vishwanath had found protection in his house after his defeat by the Hubshees near Sreevurdhan. The three sons of Madhoji Punt obtained service at Court and the elder, Balajee, was raised to the office of Furnavis and died at Delhi, whither he had accompanied the Peshwa. His sons, Janardan Punt and Baboo Rao, succeeded to his office, the former died before the latter, leaving an only son, Balajee, who, flying from the battle of Panipat, escaped to Poona, and in conjunction with his uncle, Baboo Rao, and his son, Moroba, filled the office of Furnavis.

It is unnecessary here to enter into any particular history of Balajee Janardhan, better known by the appellation of Nana Furnavis. He succeeded to the supreme control of the affairs of the whole Maratha Empire in 1774 and exercised his power with a sagacity and conduct rarely met with. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 and the subsequent contention for the throne he lost much of his power and expended the whole of a fortune amounting, it is said, to nearly five millions in his endeavour to regain it. He died of a fever in 1800, leaving a widow Jeoo Bai, who enjoys the following income :—

	Rs.
Pension from the British Government	12,000
Deshmuky of Verval (Ellora)	500
Enam Village of Menowly near Waee	1,000
Mahojunky and Koteky of the native village of the family Vellass in the Talooka of Bankote	200
Income Rs.	13,700

Management of the revenues of the religious establishment of the Bele Bagh at Poona producing Rs. 5,000.

ART. VI—*A Brief Survey of the Upanishads.*

BY M. R. BODAS, M.A., LL.B.

Read before the Sanskrit Section on 18th January 1905 *in connection with the Centenary of the Society.*

The word *Upanishad* in ancient writings has various shades of meaning, all bearing the general sense of secret knowledge or esoteric lore. It sometimes means simply secret explanation, as in उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीत्युक्ता त उपनिषद् ब्राह्मी वाव त उपनिषदमब्रूम (Kena 32), or अभ्यादो भवति य एतमेवं साम्नामुपनिषदं वेद (Chh. Up. I. 13, 4) or some special rule, as in य एवं वेद तस्योपनिषन्नयाचेदिति (Kaush Up. II. 2), or sometimes the highest knowledge as in ब्रह्मविद्यएवं वेदेत्युपनिषद् (Taitt. III. 10,6), or in तद्ब्रह्मोपनिषत्परम् (Shweta V. 16·3). By common usage, however, the word *Upanishad* has come to be used to denote a particular class of ancient works which are the repositories of such esoteric knowledge, and which are from time immemorial regarded as supplementary to the *Brahmanas* and *Aranyakas* of the four Vedas. The works known as *Upanishads* are mostly concluding portions of the *Aranyakas*, which are themselves supplements to their respective Brahmanas. There are some exceptions, no doubt, as *Isa*, which forms part of the Vajasaneyi Sanhita or the *Kenopanishad*, which according to Dr. Burnel forms the 10th *anuvak* of the fourth chapter of *Talavakâra Brâhmana* recently discovered by him at Tanjore.* *Kaushitaki* was at one time supposed to be a part of *Kaushitaki Brâhmana*, but now it has been discovered in a MS. of an *Aranyaka* of the Śânkhâyanya Śâkhâ which along with the *Aitareyaranyaka* probably once formed one work.† As a rule, however, the sequence of Vedic books is, first, the *Sanhita* containing mostly the hymns and prayers addressed to deities, and then, the *Brahmanas* containing detailed descriptions of the several sacrifices and other Vedic rites as well as stories, whether real or mythical, illustrative of the hymns in the Sanhitas. The *Aranyakas* are continuations of the *Brahmanas*, but distinctive in character in so far as they treat of more esoteric rites. They were probably intended for persons who have left the state of the common householder and, having entered the third *Ashrama* of *Vanaprastha*, have gone to live in the forests. Even now there is a prohibition against reciting these *Aranyakas* in a family

* Sacred B. E., Vol. I., p. xc.

† Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 50.

house, and orthodox Pandits often resort to a temple whenever they have to read them. The *Upanishads* are those portions of the *Aranyakas* which treat of the higher doctrines of the soul as distinguished from rites and ceremonies. *Upanishads* may thus be said to form the kernel or rather the coping stone of the Vedic literature which begins with the simple invocation to a favourite deity, passes through the intermediate stage of elaborate rites, and ends in the deepest philosophy of the indissoluble unity of the individual and universal soul.

Most European scholars derive the word *Upanishad* from the root *sad*, to sit down, preceded by two prepositions *upa* and *ni*, meaning sitting near; and the *Trikânda Śesha Kosha* explains it as समीप सदन, sitting near the teacher. It has been suggested that the contents of the Upanishads were thought to be so esoteric that they could not be taught promiscuously or in public, but the pupil had to approach very near the teacher to hear them. Max Müller thinks it expresses this position of inferiority which a pupil occupies when listening to a teacher (*Ancient Sansk. Lit.*, p. 318). *Śankarâchârya*, on the other hand, in his commentary on *Brihadâranyaka* derives it from the root *sad*, with *upa* and *ni* meaning 'to destroy.' " सेयं ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषच्छब्दवाच्या तत्पराणां सहेतोः संसारस्यात्यन्तावसादनात् । उपनिपूर्वस्य सदेस्तदर्थत्वात् । तादर्थ्याद्ग्रन्थोप्युपनिषदुच्यते.। " *Brahma Vidyâ* is called *Upanishad* because it destroys completely all worldly ties and their causes: and so the treatises, which taught that knowledge, also came to be called by the same name, and *Sâyana* in another place * derives it as उपनिषण्णमस्यां परं श्रेयः "wherein the highest good is embedded." Max Müller calls these explanations wilfully perverse, invented by half-educated native scholars to account for the most prevalent meaning of the word; but he does not advance any strong grounds for making such a sweeping charge. The alternative etymology implying, 'sitting down near the teacher' is equally, if not more, imaginary. The derivation given by Indian scholars has at least the merit of explaining the various primary senses in which the word is found used in the *Upanishads* themselves. Wherever it occurs it connotes either "secret knowledge" or "rite" or "the highest knowledge of Brahma." Max Müller himself realized the difficulty of deriving this meaning from "sitting down near the teacher". The fact is, it is one of those *yoga-rudha* words to which long usage has attached a special meaning and thereby destroyed all trace of its origin. The very diversity of derivations shows that the true etymology is now probably lost, and we shall have to be satisfied with conjectures only. If I may be permitted to make a similar guess, the true explanation of the word, it seems to me, is quite different from those hitherto given either by European or Indian scholars.

* Taithriya Up. II. 9.

Upanishad, I think, did originally mean "sitting down near" as Max Müller says, but it was sitting down near the sacrificial fire and not near a teacher. To make this clear we must look to the probable origin of the treatises or rather the discussions which are now embodied in the treatises known as Upanishads. The *Shatapatha Brahmana*, the *Brihadaranyaka* and the *Chhandogya* furnish ample evidence that the various conversations reported therein took place in the midst of big sacrifices. Thus we read in *Chhandogya* how *Uśasti Châkrâyana* went to a king's sacrifice and there having challenged all to explain the nature of the various deities described them himself, concluding with a praise of the *Udgitha*, which forms the burden of the whole chapter. In the fifth chapter there is the typical story of five learned theologians headed by *Uddâlaka Aruni* going to king *Aswapati Kaikeya* to learn *Vaiswavanara* self, and the king before answering them proposes to hold a sacrifice. They approach him with sacrificial fuel in their hands, which probably implies that all such knowledge could in those times be obtained in the presence of the sacrificial fire. The king thereupon instructs them in the mysteries of the Universal Soul by a reference to the five limbs of *Vaiswanara* fire. Similarly the *Brihadaranyaka* describes the victory of *Yajnyavalkya* over the *Kuru Panchala* Brahmans at the great sacrifice performed by Janaka. *Katha* also has the story of *Nachiketas*, who on seeing his father giving out sacrificial offerings asked to whom he would give his son ; and the *Prasna* tells us how when five inquirers after *Brahma* approached *Pippalada* with a sacrificial fuel stick in hand, he asks them to perform austerities for a year. Almost all the topics, metaphors and illustrations in these *Upanishads* are connected with a sacrifice, and in many places their context clearly shows that a sacrifice was then being actually performed. The *Udgithavidya*, the *Samvargavidya*, the five *Ahutis* or oblations, all these are described as if the actual rite was then proceeding. The coincidences are too numerous to be accidental and can only be explained on the supposition that the various discussions which now form part of the several *Upanishads* originally took place during the celebration of a great sacrifice. A sacrifice lasts several days, and when the days' ceremonies are over, the *Yajamâna*, the *Ritvigs* and visitors must have spent the evenings in various discourses suggested by the morning rites. As a matter of fact we do find entertainments and even music provided to fill up the intervals between two parts of the sacrifice. The big *Satras* or sacrificial sessions did provide for such interludes as reading Puranas, philosophical discourses, literary contests, and we do find *Suka* reciting the Bhagwat to *Janamejaya* and *Suta* reciting other Puranas to Rishis during such sessions. Is it inconceivable that the awakening intellect of the ancient Aryans tired with the routine performance of dry rites should have, while resting in

the midst of sacrifices, risen higher and tried to grapple with the deeper problems of life? A big sacrifice with its paraphernalia, the decorated pandal, the continuous chants of the hymns, the band of busy priests, and the crowd of spectators—a miniature picture, in fact, of the outer world—is just the occasion when solemn thoughts about the vanity of our aims would suggest themselves to earnest minds, who having gathered together as if in a Congress would exchange ideas and benefit by mutual instruction. A master mind among them like *Uddalaka*, *Aruni* or *Yajnyavalkya* would invariably come forth on such occasions to guide others by disclosing the deeper truths implied in the sacrificial rites which they were all engaged in celebrating. The sacrificial fire before them, *Vaiswanara*, would then be not a mere flame, but the symbol of Universal Soul resting his feet on earth and raising his many variegated heads to the sky. The *Udgitha* would not be merely a string of words mechanically chanted, but the impassioned cry of prayer given out by *Devas* and *Asuras* in their efforts to obtain the mastery of the world. The whole sacrifice is likened to a man's life wherein the first 24 years form the *Pratassavana* or morning's prayer, the next forty-four form the *Mandhyandina* or noon prayer, and the next forty-eight years form the third or evening prayer. The frequency of such discourses must have led to their being collected and subsequently included in the respective *Aranyakas*. As the *Yajamana* also, who in a big sacrifice must have been a Kshatriya Prince, took part or rather commenced the discussion by propounding questions, we find learned Kshatriyas like Janaka, Ajatasatru, and Pravahana figuring prominently in these treatises. When in course of time these collections swelled and multiplied, they came to be regarded as a class of literature by themselves throwing the bald *Samhitas* or the ritualistic *Brahmanas* into the shade and gradually bringing about a revolution of religious ideas. Once accustomed to such questionings on deeper problems, people could not be satisfied with mere ritual. Energetic minds casting aside the dead formula sought to reach the innermost truths. Kshatriyas as being comparatively more practical and less untrammelled by the ritualistic conservatism appear to have been foremost in this movement towards a deeper religion, which commenced with the compilation or rather the collection of the *Aranyakas* and culminated in the secessions of Baudhas and Jainas. The development of thought, as Oldenburg truly says, which was progressing in this period, while resting apparently on the old faith in the gods, had really undermined that faith and created a new ground of religious thought, namely, the belief in the undisturbed, unchangeable Universal Unity. On this very foundation, centuries after the Brahminical thinkers had laid it, were

built that doctrine and church which subsequently came to be known by the name of Buddha.*

The name *Aranyaka*, which probably originated in the same manner, is usually derived from *Aranya* (अरण्ये भवं produced in forest), and the Vartika पथ्य ध्याय न्याय विहार मनुष्य हस्तिष्विति वाच्याम् on Paninis's sutra अरण्यान्मनुष्ये(IV-2-129) derives the adjective आरण्यक from अरण्य as applied to an अध्याय or chapter, implying probably a chapter of a *Brahmana*. But the very exception to the usual derivative आरण्य shows that it must have been an after-thought, suggested by the author of the *Vartikas* to explain an unknown word. Besides, even so it is only an adjective and does not denote an independent class of books. It is not impossible that the word was originally derived from अराणि, the wooden sticks, by rubbing which the sacrificial fire is produced, which may, therefore, be called अरण्य, and the discourses compiled in the presence of, or relating to the sacrificial fire may have come to be called आरण्यक. Of course this is a conjecture only, but it is a guess which if confirmed by further inquiry will support the above hypothesis.

It should not, of course, be supposed that all the works that pass under the name of *Upanishads* are of equal antiquity. Only a few of them that are well-known could be pre-Buddhistic, while a large number are of more or less recent origin. Many of the modern compositions are of such mixed character that they have hardly any similarity, except in name, with the genuine ones. A chronology of these writings would be very instructive, as it will throw much light on the gradual development of religious ideas in India ; but the task of compiling it is not easy. Sufficient data are not yet available to make any such attempt, and the text of all the extant works will have to be carefully examined and corrected before any reliable conclusions can be drawn therefrom. It is simply intended in this short paper to give a bibliography of the *Upanishads* that have hitherto been found, or the names of which have been ascertained from other source. When the basis has thus been prepared, a critical study of the works together with their comparison with one another and other known writings will have to follow before their intrinsic worth and historical importance can be properly appraised. One fact, however, can now be safely asserted, that at least 8 or 10 of the most famous *Upanishads* are pre-Buddhistic, while many of the rest must have come into existence during the three or four centuries before Christ when the Brahminical orthodoxy had to contend against the onslaughts of Jain and Boudha heretics. A large number again are so sectarian or devoted to particular deities or ceremonies, that they must have been composed when Hinduism was split up into sects and each

* Oldenburg's Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order," p. 18.

votary tried to support his cause by some pseudo-ancient book. *Isa*, *Ken*, Katha, Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka are samples of the first; Jâbâla, Śwetâshwatara, Mundaka and the *Upanishads* of the *Atharvaveda* are of the second class ; while treatises like *Rama*, Sita, Dattâtraya, Krishna, Gopichandana, Rudrâksha and many others obviously belong to the third class. The age of the most ancient of these, namely Brihadaranyaka, Chhandogya and Isa had for some time been assumed by European scholars to be contemporaneous with Vajasaneyi Sanhita and the *Śatapatha Brahmana*, that is, between the 9th and 7th centuries before Christian era. Mr. V. B. Ketkar, however, in a paper read before this Society* relying on a passage in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* showing that the vernal equinox was then actually in the *Krittikas*, calculates the time to be B. C. 3068 and if the *Upanishads* were contemporaneous, as most probably they were, we shall have to push their origin much further back than the time hitherto assumed. The Upanishads abound in historical and topographical references, which are after more careful study likely to yield good results ; but until some positive data are obtained, random speculations would only mislead.

Several attempts have been made by Western scholars in the past to collect a bibliography, as it were, of the *Upanishads*. The earliest known was that by Anquetil Du Perron who was followed by Colebrooke, Weber and Roer in Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. VII, No. 34. Mr. Walter Elliot in a list published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. XX, p. 609) combined and corrected all the previous lists, enlarging the number of *Upanishads* from 95 given by Roer to 120 by additional names collected from Telegu MSS. Mr. Elliot also published the list of 108 Upanishads given in *Muktikopanishad*. Roer on comparing Elliot's list with the previous ones found that the total number thus known was 138 or, with portions of some counted as different works, 154.† Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his Introduction to *Gopatha-Brahmana* (Bibliotheca Indica) gives a list of 52 *Upanishads* of the *Atharva-Veda*, which with slight variations and a different order agrees with the one prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar from MSS. found in Gujarat.‡ Bühler in his Catalogue of MSS. in Gujarat gives a list of different *Upanishads* containing several names not known to Elliot, while Oppert in his lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India adds many more names which are not found elsewhere. In addition to all these I was fortunate in obtaining from my friend, Mr. Venkatachala Shastri of Mysore, MSS. and names of some Upanishads not found in any of the above lists. Having compared and collected these materials, I have prepared an alphabetical list

* Journal, B. B. R. A., Vol. XXI, p. 29.

† Journal, Royal As. Soc., Beng., p. 619.

‡ Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay Presidency for 1883-84, p. 24.

of 220 Upanishads which is appended to this paper. All names that could be ascertained to belong to the same work have been grouped into one, *e.g.*, *Mahâ-Nârâyayana* and *Brihan-Nârâyana*, *Darśana* and *Jâbâla-Darsana*, *Brahmabindu* and *Amritabindu*. All names on the other hand which could be ascertained to apply to parts of a larger work have been omitted. The most notable instance of this is the *Mândukya*, which is sometimes counted as one and sometimes split up into four by counting the second, third and fourth chapters of *Gaudapadas*, *Mondukya-Karikas*, as different *Upanishads*. Another instance would be *Nrisinhatapini* which along with *Mahopanishad* may be taken as one or counted as six as Dr. Bhandarkar has done. A similar doubt exists as regards other Tapanis. There are seven such pairs of Tapanis, Purva and Uttara, *viz.*, Nrisinha. Gopal, Rama, Narayana, Tripura, Surya and Sundari, besides single works such as Krishnatapini, Ganeshatapini and Mahatripura Sundari and Viratapini. These pairs are treated sometimes as one and sometimes as different works. A considerable number of the names included in my list again must be treated as provisional only until the MSS. have been actually examined and found to constitute independent works. This is chiefly the case with the additional names taken from Bühler's and Oppert's lists. If deduction is allowed for possible correction in this manner, we may fairly assume that we do at present know about 200 independent Upanishads composed at different times and possessing greater or less intrinsic value.

Coming to Indian writers we find various enumerations of the Upanishads, probably representing their numbers known at different times; the most famous of these enumerations being that of Daśopanishad, *Isa*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, *Mandukya*, *Taittiriya*, *Aitereya*, *Chhandogya* and *Brihadaranyka*. These ten along with *Swetaswatara* have attained special repute by reason of the great scholiast Sankaracharya having selected them for his immortal commentaries. They are also probably the most ancient. *Brahmopanishad* mentions another class of thirteen *Upanishads*, *viz.*, *Brahma*, *Kaivalya*, *Jabala*, *Swetaswatara*, *Aruni*, *Garbha Narayana*, *Hansa*, *Bindu*, *Nada*, *Shiras*, and *Shikha* which all belong to the *Atharva Veda* and probably represent a supplementary class. We have collections of 18 and also of 32 *Upanishads*, which latter are said by the *Muktikopanishad* to possess an educative value higher than the primary ten. Lastly we have the 108 Upanishads enumerated and classified in the *Muktikopanishad* as representing a list of those to be accepted as genuine. These 108 Upanishads are apportioned to the four or rather five Vedas in the following manner, *viz.*, 10 to the *Rigveda*, 19 to the white *Yajurveda*, 32 to the black *Yajurveda*, 16 to

the *Sama* and 31 to the *Atharva Veda*. Other authorities, as has been shown above, assign 52 *Upanishads* to the *Atharva Veda*, while the names given by *Muktika* differ considerably from those given by Drs. Bhandarkar and Rajendralal. Similar differences also exist as regards particular *Upanishads* which are assigned to different Vedas by different writers. It should be noted, however, that such differences mostly prevail either between the *Sama Veda* and white *Yajurveda*, which themselves appear to have been nearly contemporaneous works, or as regards the *Atharva Veda* which has in fact been made the repository of all the later writings. Several *Upanishads* again have different recensions, the most glaring instance of which is *Narayana*, which has been actually printed in two recensions, one as the 10th *prapâthaka* of *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, and the other as *Parisishta*, and which even in the time of *Sayana* had four recensions, prevailing respectively in *Dravida*, *Andhra*, *Karnataka* and other provinces. These four go under the name of *Vâjniki*, while the *Parisishta*, which is a different thing altogether, is now recited by Vaidik Brahmins as the *Narayanopanishad* proper.

Time will not allow me to digress further into this very interesting field of investigation. A closer study of each treatise will, undoubtedly, disclose many peculiarities showing its real character and merits.

I may be permitted in conclusion to remark that no class of ancient Sanskrit works has exercised greater influence on the religious thought and life of the Hindus than the *Upanishads*. They have practically thrown the *Sanhitas* and the *Brahmanas* into the background. They have made elaborate sacrifices and rituals obsolete. They gave birth to Buddhism and Jainism and many other movements and yet ultimately supplanted them by means of the orthodox Vedanta philosophy. It is the *Upanishads* that taught the austere doctrine of *Para-Brahma* and also the benign faith of the *Bhakti-shastra*. Founders of all orthodox sects in later times resorted to them as fountain heads of religious wisdom ; and no wonder that they have come to be looked upon as *Shruti*, *par excellence*. *Madhusudana Saraswati* classes them apart from the other divisions of Veda, *viz.*, *Sanhita*, *Brahmana*, *Aranyakas*, *Upa-Veda* and *Vedanga*. Even now the *Upanishads* are a living force as we see from the lives of Schaupenhaur in Europe and Ram Mohan Roy in India, both of whom derived their religious impulse from this perennial source. It behoves us all to study these works closely and respectfully.

APPENDIX.

Note.—* The letters in the third column denote the source giving the name, *e.g.*—

A.—*Muktikopanishad.* B.—Elliot's list. C.—Colebrooke's list. D.—A. Du Perron's list. E.—Weber's list. F.—Dr. Rajendralal's list. G.—Dr. Bhandarkar's list. H.—Oppert's list. J.—Bulher's Catalogue of MSS. in Gujarat.

† The following abbreviations in the second column denote the *Veda* to which the *Upanishad* is assigned :—

Rig.—*Rigveda.* B. Yaj.—Black *Yajur.* W. Yaj.—White *Yajurveda.* Sam.—*Samaveda.* Ath.—*Atharvaveda.*

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	अ.		
1	अक्षमालिका	Rig.	A, B.
2	अक्षि	B. Yaj.	A, B, H.
3	अणुशब्दोपनिषत्		H.
4	अथर्वणोपनिषत्	Ath.	F, H.
5	अथर्वशिखोपनिषत् also called शिखा	,,	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
6	अथर्वशिरस् अथवा अथर्वशीर्ष also शिरस्	,,	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
7	अद्वयतारक	W. Yaj.	B, H.
8	अद्वैतोपनिषत् or अद्वय	.....	A,G,H,J. Probably 3rd Chap. of माण्डूक्यकारिका
9	अध्यात्म	.....	A, B, H.
10	अनंतोपनिषत्		
11	अन्नपूर्णा	Ath.	H. Probably the same.
12	अन्नपूर्णेश्वर्युपनिषत्	.....	A,B,H. Probably the same.
13	अमृतनाद	B. Yaj.	B, D, F, H.
14	अमृतबिंदु or ब्रह्मबिंदु	B. Yaj.	B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
15	अमृतबिंदुस्कंदोपणिषत्		H.
16	अल्लोपनिषत्		J.
11*a*	अवधूतोपनिषत्	W. Yaj.	A, B, H.
12*a*	अविमुक्तोपनिषत्		
13*a*	अव्यक्त	Sam.	A, B, H

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	आ.		
14	आत्म or आत्मविद्या	Ath.	A, C, D, G, H, J.
15	आत्मबोध	Rig.	A, B, D, H, J.
16	आनन्दनाम्न्युपनिषत्		
17	अरण्यकोपनिषत्		J.
18	आरुणिक, गूढारुणिक, आरूणी, आरुण्य or आरूणेय	Sam.	A, B, C, D, F, G, J.
19	आश्रमोपनिषत् अथवा अत्याश्रमोपनिषत्	.....	B, C, G, H, J.
	इ.		
20	इतिहासोपनिषद्		
	ई.		
21	ईशावास्य	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
	उ.		
22	उत्तरतापनीय	.....	H. Probably same as नृसिंहोत्तर तापनीय.
	ऊ.		
23	ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रोपनिषत्		
	ए.		
24	एकाक्षर	Yaj.	A, B, H.
	ऐ.		
25	ऐतरेय	Rig.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
26	ऐरावतोपनिषत्		H.
	क.		
27	कठ	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
28	कठरुद्र or रुद्रकठ		A.
29	कण्ठश्रुत्युपनिषद्	.....	B, C, G, J.
30	कपिलोपनिषद्		
31	कलिसंतरणोपनिषत्	B. Yaju.	A, B, H.
32	कात्यायनोपनिषत्		H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
33	कालाग्निरुद्र	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
34	कालिकोपनिषत्	.....	A, F, H, J.
35	कुण्डली		
36	कुण्डिक or कुण्डिका	Sam.	A, B, H.
37	कृष्णोपनिषत् or कृष्णतापिनी	Ath.	A, B.
38	केन	Sam.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
39	कैवल्य	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, F, G, H, J.
40	कौलोपनिषत्	.....	B, C, E, F, H.
41	कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषत्	Rig.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
	क्ष.		
42	क्षुरिका	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	ग.		
43	गणपती	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
44	गणेशतापिन्युपनिषद्	.....	Perhaps the same as last.
45	गणेशोपनिषद्	.....	Perhaps the same as last.
46	गरुड	Ath.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
47	गर्भ	B. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
48	गाणपतोपनिषद्	.....	H. Perhaps the same as गणपति.
49	गायत्र्युपनिषद्		B.
50	गोपालोत्तरतापिनी	Ath.	A, B, C, E, F, H, J.
51	गोपालपूर्वतापिनी	Ath.	A, B, C, E, F, H, J.
52	गोपिचन्दनोपनिषद्	.....	B, C, E, F, H, J.
	च.		
53	चित्युपनिषद्		J.
54	चिदंबरोपनिषद्		
55	चूलिकोपनिषत् or चूडा	.....	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	छ.		
56	छांदोग्य	Sam.	A, B, C, D, H, J.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	ज		
57	श्री जाबालदर्शन or दर्शन	Sam.	A, B, C, E, F, G, H.
58	जाबाल or लघु जाबाल	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
59	जाबाल्युपनिषत्	Sam.	A, B.
	त.		
60	तारकब्राह्मणोपनिषद्	.....	B, D, H.
61	तारसार	.....	A, B, H.
62	तालोपनिषत्		J.
63	तुरीयातीत	Yaj.	A, B, H.
64	तुलसीमालोपनिषत्		H.
65	तेजोबिंदु	.....	A, B, C, D, G, H.
66	तैत्तिरीय	B. Yaj.	A, B, E, H, J.
67	त्रिपाद्विभूति	Ath.	H.
68	त्रिपुटिपनिषत्		
69	त्रिपुरोषनिषत्	Rig.	A, B, H, J.
70	त्रिपुरातापिनी or त्रिपुरादेव्युपनिषद् or त्रिपुरितपनोपनिषत्	Ath.	A, B, C, E, H. The same.
71	त्रिशिखी ब्राह्मण	W. Yaj.	H.
72	त्रिशिखोपनिषत्		A, B, H. Probably the same.
73	त्रिशिरोपनिषत्		
	द.		
74	दक्षिणामूर्ति	B. Yaj.	A, B, H.
75	दत्तात्रेयोपनिषद्	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
76	दत्तोपनिषद् (दर्शन)		Same as जाबाल दर्शन.
77	दीपशिखोपनिषत्		
78	देवी	Ath.	A, B, H.
79	देशिकोपनिषद्		H.
80	द्वयोपनिषद्		H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
	ध.		
81	ध्यानबिंदु	Sam.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	न.		
82	नरोपनिषद्		
83	नादबिंदु	Rig.	A, B, C, G, H, J.
84	नारदपरिव्राजक	Ath.	B, H.
85	नारदोपनिषत्		Perhaps the same as 2 नृसिंहतापनी or महोपनिषत
86	नारसिंह षट्चक्र्युपनिषद्		H.
87	नारायण पूर्वतापिनी		B.
88	नारायणसूक्तं		
89	नारायणाथर्वशीर्ष		
90	नारायणोत्तरतापिनी		
91	नारायणोपनिषत्	B. Yaj.	
92	निरालंबोपनिषत्	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
93	निर्लेपोपनिषत्		A, B, E, H, J.
94	निर्वाण	Rig.	A, B, H.
95	नीलरुद्रोपनिषत्	.....	B, C, G, H, J.
96	नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी	Ath.	B, C, D, G, H, J.
97	नृसिंहोत्तरतापनी	Ath.	Perhaps the same as the above.
98	नृसिंहोपनिषत्	Ath.	
	प.		
99	परमहंस	W. Yaj.	A, B, F, G, J.
100	परमहंसपरिव्राजक	Ath.	A, B, C, D.
101	परमरहस्य शिवतत्व		
102	पद्मोपनिषद्		
103	पद्मात्मिकोपनिषत्		J.
104	परतंत्रहंसोपनिषत्		H. Perhaps same as हंस.
105	परब्रह्मोपनिषत्	Ath.	A, B, H.

No.	Name of Upanishad.	Veda to which it belongs.†	Works which mention it.*
106	परिव्राजकोपनिषत्		A, H. Probably same as नारद परिव्राजक (see Ell.)
107	पाशुपतब्रह्म	Ath.	H. The same as अध्यात्म.
108	पाशुपतोपनिषत्		A, B, H. Perhaps same as the last.
109	पिंडोपनिषत्		B, C, G, H, J.
110	पैप्पलादोपनिषत्		J.
111	पैङ्गलोपनिषत्	W. Yaj.	A, B, H.
112	पंचब्रह्म अथवा पंचब्राह्मण	Yaju.	A, B.
113	पंचशांतोपनिषत्		
114	प्रसादजाबालोपनिषत्		
115	प्रणवोपनिषद्		
116	प्रणवशरीरोपनिषत्		
117	प्रश्न	Ath.	A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J.
118	प्राणाग्निहोत्र	Yaju.	A, B, C, D, H, J.
119	प्राणायामोपनिषद्		H.
	ब.		
120	बृहदारण्यक	W. Yaj.	A, B, C, D, F, H, J.
121	बृहज्जाबाल or बह्वृचजाबाल	Ath.	A, B, H, J.
122	बृव्हतृचोपनिषत्	Rig.	A, B, H.
123	बिल्वोपनिषद्		J.
124	ब्रह्म	B. Yaj.	F.
125	ब्रह्मविद्या	,,	A, B, C, H, J.
126	ब्रह्मध्वजोपनिषत्		A, B, C, D, G, H, J.
	भ.		
127	भक्तिमार्गोपनिषत्		
128	भद्रा		
129	भस्मजाबाल	Ath.	A, B, H.
130	भावना	,,	A, B, H, J.

ART. VII.

Nṛipatuṅga and the authorship of the Kavirâjamârga. (A reply to Dr. Fleet.)

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(COMMUNICATED.)

Dr. Fleet has lately contributed a very lengthy article entitled Kavîśvara's Kavirâjamarga to the Indian Antiquary for October and November 1904, pp. 258-280. This is a review of my edition of Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârga published in 1898 as a volume of the *Bibliotheca carnatica*. This work is full of interest for Sanskrit scholars as I have pointed out in my Introduction that it contains direct translations or adaptations of many verses in Daṇḍi's Kâvyâdarśa. The approximate date of the work is also known. The first two verses are very interesting and important. They contain an invocation addressed by the author to the god on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî reclines, whom she never abandons, and round whom the lustre springing from the kaustubha-jewel forms a curtain. It may be remarked that the first verse does not mention the name of the god; yet a Hindu scholar can easily recognize, from the description given, the god Vishṇu who wears the kaustubha-jewel on his breast. But one of the words used in the first verse is nṛipatuṅga; and this was a title of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. A question will naturally arise is this king spoken of in the opening verse? This question must be answered in the negative because we know that Amôghavarsha I. did not possess this fabled jewel. And the difficulty is easily got over by taking the expression nṛipatuṅga in its primary sense.[1] It means nṛipa-śrêshṭha, *i.e.*, the best of kings; and in this sense it is employed by Abhinavapampa,[2] when he says, referring to Janaka, that the best of kings mounted the lofty steed. A similar expression yati-tuṅga in the sense of yati-śrêshṭha, *i.e.*, the best of ascetics, occurs in the Râjaśêkhara-viḷâsa, Chap. I, 14. It must be also admitted here that there is an indirect reference to the secondary sense of the expression nṛipa-tuṅga as the title of Amôghavarsha I.; in

[1] In Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary the word is explained to mean "the most prominent one or chief of kings."

[2] Pampa-Râmâyaṇa IV, 120, Mr. Rice's edition, p. 94, êridan uttuṅga-turaṅgamumaṃ nṛipa-tuṅgaṃ.

other words, the expression is used in a double sense. These remarks apply with equal force to some expressions in the second verse, since the two verses form one sentence, as will be shown further on. A correct interpretation of these verses is most essential as they conclusively prove that Amôghavarsha I, who had the title of Nṛipatuṅga, was the author of the work.

Let us now turn to Dr. Fleet's review. He says, "The real nature of the first and second verses is quite unmistakable. In the first of them the author of the work prays that good fortune may never desert a person, Nṛipatuṅga, whom the expressions employed by him mark as a person of exalted rank. In the second, he asks Atiśayadhavaḷa,—whom, in this stage of the inquiry, we might, or might not, be inclined to identify with the Nṛipatuṅga who is mentioned in the preceding verse,—to inspire him with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself, unaided, could not hope to display. And there is not the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the editor's assertion, or suggestion, that, in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga, Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I., as the (alleged) author of the work, praised a god mentioned, after himself, by the names of Nṛipatuṅga, Nîtinirantara, Kṛitakṛityamalla, Vîranârâyaṇa, (and Atiśayadhavaḷa). Those two verses embody requests made by the author of the work. The first of them prays for the welfare of a person, mentioned as Nṛipatuṅga and Nîtinirantara, whom he has marked as a person of high rank and has most distinctly indicated as his patron. In the second of them he has asked a person, whom he has mentioned as Atiśayadhavaḷa, Vîranârâyaṇa, and Kṛitakṛityamalla, to inspire him with ability to perform the task lying before him. And, even apart from the colophons, the first of these two verses is sufficient to prove that the author of the work was not Nṛipatuṅga."[1]

I give below the text of the two verses as transliterated by Dr. Fleet together with his translation[2] and propose to deal in order with each of the points that are misunderstood.

Śrî taḷt=uradoḷ kaustubha-
jâta-dyuti baḷasi kâṇḍapaṭad=ant-ire saṁ—I.
prîtiyin=âvanan=agalaḷ
Nîtinirantaran=udâran=â Nṛipatuṅgaṁ II 1.
Kṛitakṛityamallan=apratihata-vikraman=osedu Vîranârâyaṇan=a—I.
pp=Atiśayadhavalaṁ namag=îg=
atarkkitôpasthita-pratâp-ôdayamaṁ II 1, 2.

[1] Ind. Antiquary, Oct. 1904, pp. 261, 264.
[2] Idem, p. 261.

TRANSLATION :—(Verse 1) " Let Fortune,—clinging to (*his*) breast, with the lustre, born from the kaustubha-jewel, lying round (*her*) like a screen surrounding a tent,—not abandon with (*her*) affection him (literally, whom ?) ; (namely) the noble Nîtinirantara (' he who never ceases to display statesmanship'), that (*famous* or *well-known*) Nṛipatuṅga ! "—(Verse 2) " Let Atiśayadhavaḷa,—who is Kṛitakṛityamalla ' the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty,' and who, possessing prowess which has not been checked (*just as the god Vishṇu-Nârâyaṇa* had *three* strides which were not obstructed), has pleasingly become Vîranârâyaṇa,—give to us a development of power that comes quite unexpectedly !"

(1) The most important word in the first verse is kaustubha, which Dr. Fleet has entirely ignored in his explanatory comments from a misapprehension that no god is praised in the two verses. Dr. Kittel in his Kannaḍa-English Dictionary says that kaustubhà is the jewel suspended on the breast of Vishṇu and that Kaustubhâbharaṇa is a name of Vishṇu. We find a similar statement in the St. Petersburgh Dictionary and in the dictionaries of Benfey and Monier Williams. Târânâtha in his Vâchaspatya mentions कौस्तुभलाञ्छन and कौस्तुभलक्षण as the names of the god Vishṇu and explains कौस्तुभवक्षस् as कौस्तुभो वक्षसि यस्य and says it is an epithet of Vishṇu. Amarasiṃha says :—

शङ्खो लक्ष्मीपतेः पाञ्चजन्यश्चक्रं सुदर्शनम् ।
कौमोदकी गदा खड्गो नन्दकः कौस्तुभो मणिः ॥

Amara-Kôsha, Canto I, 28.

In the Mahâbhârata we read—

श्रीरनन्तरमुत्पन्ना घृतात्पाण्डुरवासिनी ।
सुरादेवी समुत्पन्ना तुरगः पाण्डुरस्तथा ॥ ३६ ॥
कौस्तुभस्तु मणिर्दिव्य उत्पन्नो घृतसंभवः ।
मरीचिविकचः श्रीमान्नारायण उरोगतः ॥ ३७ ॥

Mahâbhârata I, 18.

अग्निं प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्च जनार्दनः ।
कौस्तुभमणिमामुच्य श्रिया परमया ज्वलन् ॥ १४ ॥
कुरुभिः संवृतः कृष्णो वृष्णिभिश्चाभिरक्षितः ।
आतिष्ठत रथं शौरिः सर्व यादवनन्दनः ॥ १५ ॥

Mahâbhârata I, 13.

Kâlidâsa says :—

त्रस्तेन तार्क्ष्यात्किल कालियेन मणिं विसृष्टं यमुनौकसा यः
वक्षःस्थलव्यापिरुचं दधानः सकौस्तुभं हेपयतीव कृष्णम् ॥
Raghu. VI, 49.

भोगिभोगासनासीनं ददृशुस्तं दिवौकसः
... ...
प्रभानुलिप्तश्रीवत्सं लक्ष्मीविभ्रमदर्पणम् ।
कौस्तुभाख्यमपां सारं बिभ्राणं बृहतोरसा ॥
Raghu. X, 10.

शुशुभे तेन चाक्रान्तं मङ्गलायतनं महत् ।
श्रीवत्सलक्षणं वक्षः कौस्तुभेनेव केशवम् ॥
Raghu. XVII, 29.

येन नन्दनवनराजिरिव पारिजातेन मधुसूदनवक्षः-
स्थलीव कौस्तुभमणिना सा सुतरामराजत
Bâṇa, Kâdambarî,[1] p. 66.

In the ancient Prâkṛita poem Gauḍavaho[2] the 22nd verse alludes to the rays of the kaustubha-jewel shining on the breast of Kṛishṇa. Mâgha says :—

अथ सूर्यरुचीव तस्य दृष्टावुदभूत्कौस्तुभदर्पणं गतायाम् ।
पटु धाम ततो न चाद्भुतं तद्विभुरिन्द्रार्कविलोचनः किलासौ ॥
Śiśupâla-vadha XX, 37.

In old Kannaḍa Literature we meet with frequent allusions to the kaustubha-jewel of the god Vishṇu. The first Pampa, a distinguished author of the Râshṭrakûṭa period, compares[3] Hastinâpura to the kaustubha adorning the large breast of Kaiṭabh-ârâti, *i.e.*, Vishṇu. Abhinava-Pampa[4] also speaks of Hari's kaustubha. In the Kâvyâvalôkana,[5] Verse No. 911, contains a conventional description of Kṛishṇa, bearing on his breast the kaustubha-jewel and the goddess Lakshmî; and Verse No. 810 in the same work represents Kṛishṇa smiling at the feeling of jealousy betrayed by Lakshmî on seeing her own image reflected in the kaustubha-jewel and mistaking it for a rival wife. We have thus seen that references to this jewel are found in Sanskrit, Prâkṛita and Kannaḍa Literatures. And it is also worth noting that some of the authorities cited are distinguished Jaina writers. The

[1] Nirṇayasâgara Press edition.
[2] Bombay Sanskrit Series, S. P. Pandit's edition.
[3] Pampa-Bhârata, edited by Mr. Rice, p. 9, prose passage.
[4] Pampa-Râmâyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rice, p. 22, ch I. 119.
[5] Edited by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A., in the Bibliotheca Carnatica series.

jewel is also referred to in Ancient Inscriptions. I quote the following verse from the Gupta Inscriptions,[1] p. 83.

Śaśin=êva nabhô vimalaṁ kaus[t]ubha maṇin=êva Śârṅgiṇô vakshaḥ I
bhavana-varêṇa tath=êdaṁ puram=akhilam=alaṁkṛitam=udârâṁ II

In the Index to the Gupta Inscriptions, p. 321, Dr. Fleet says :— "Kaustubha, a jewel worn on the breast by Vishṇu." Bâṇa says[2] :—

सुभाषितं हारि विशत्यधो गलान्न दुर्जनस्यार्करिपोरिवामृतम् ।
तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जनो हरिर्महारत्नमिवातिनिर्मलम् ॥

Here the great jewel, though not mentioned by name, is the famous kaustubha. The commentator explains यथा [हरिः] विष्णुर्नारायणो हृदयेन वक्षःस्थलेनातिनिर्मलं स्वच्छं महारत्नं कौस्तुभं दधाति ; and this explanation is confirmed by another passage cited above from the Kâdambarî. It is interesting to note the fact that in the time of Nṛipatuṅga himself, the people in the Canarese country knew that their king did not possess the kaustubha jewel and believed that it was worn on the breast by the god Vishṇu. The illustrious Jaina author Guṇabhadra, who was preceptor to Kṛishṇarâja II while the latter was yuvarâja, and who wrote the concluding five chapters of the Âdipurâṇa,[3] says, after a touching reference to his great teacher Jinasêna, who had just passed away :—

हृदि धर्ममहारत्नमागमांभोधिसंभवं ।
कौस्तुभादधिकं मत्वा दधातु पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ३५ ॥
Âdipurâṇa, Chapter 43.

TRANSLATION.—Let the best of persons cherish in his heart the great jewel in the form of religion, sprung from the ocean-like Scripture, regarding it superior to kaustubha, which Vishṇu (Purushôttama) wears on his breast, and which is the great jewel sprung from the ocean.

In the following verse from the Kâvyaprakâśa[4] we are advised to meditate on the two feet of Him who wears the kaustubha jewel.

किमासेव्यं पुंसां सविधमनवद्यं द्युसरितः
किमेकान्ते ध्येयं चरणयुगलं कौस्तुभभृतः ।
किमाराध्यं पुण्यं किमभिलषणीयं च करुणा
यदासक्त्या चेतो निरवधिविमुक्त्यै प्रभवति ॥

[1] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, by Dr. Fleet.
[2] Kâdambarî, Introductory verses, Nirnayasâgar Press edition with commentary.
[3] Jinasênâchârya's Âdipurâṇa, composed in the time of King Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha, Deccan College MS. No. 505 of 1884-86.
[4] Vâmanâchârya's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa X, 521, p. 857.

Here no god is named. But Nâgôjibhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of the Paribhâshêndusêkhara in his commentary on this verse, remarks[1] विष्णोः पादयुगं नान्यदेवस्य that we are to meditate on the two feet of the god Vishṇu who alone wears the kaustubha. Finally Professor Macdonell tells[2] us that the post-Vedic kaustubha or breast-jewel of Vishṇu has been explained as the sun by Kuhn. The conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence is that Vishṇu is invoked in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga.

(2) The next important word in the first verse which is misunderstood is Srî which is translated in the above extracts "fortune" "good fortune" and "welfare." Dr. Fleet speaks of "Fortune clinging to the breast of king Nṛipatuṅga." This is not an Indian idea and is very absurd. The word Śrî bears several meanings; which of these is to be accepted here? Mammaṭa in his Kâvyaprakâśa[3] says that in such a case we should be guided by the principles of interpretation which are enumerated by Bhartṛihari in his Vâkyapadîya, thus :—

संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।
अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य संनिधिः ॥

साहचर्य or constant accompaniment is the principle that determines the meaning to be assigned to the word Śrî here. It means the goddess Lakshmî, who constantly accompanies Vishṇu, reclines on his breast and never abandons him. We read in the Vishṇupurâṇa.[4]

इन्द्र उवाच
नमस्ये सर्वभूतानां जननीमब्जसंभवाम् ।
श्रियमुन्निद्रपद्माक्षीं विष्णुवक्षःस्थलस्थिताम् ॥ ११५ ॥
एवं यथा जगत्स्वामी देवराजो जनार्दनः ।
अवतारं करोत्येष तथा श्रीस्तत्सहायिनी ॥ १३९ ॥
पुनश्च पद्मादुद्भूता यदादित्योभवद्धरिः ।
यदा च भार्गवो रामस्तदाभूद्धरणी त्वियम् ॥ १४० ॥
राघवत्वेभवत्सीता रुक्मिणी कृष्णजन्मनि ।
अन्येषु चावतारेषु विष्णोरेषा सहायिनी ॥ १४१ ॥
देवत्वे देवदेहेयं मानुषत्वे च मानुषी ।
विष्णोर्देहानुरूपा वै करोत्येषात्मनस्तनुम् ॥ १४२ ॥
Book I, Chap. IX.

[1] Prof. Chandôrkar's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa of Mammaṭa, Ullâsa, X, p. 111.
[2] Vêdic Mythology, p. 39.
[3] Vâmanâchârya's edition of Kâvyaprakâśa, pp. 72, 73.
[4] H. H. Wilson's translation of the Vishṇupurâṇa, pp. 78, 80, 59, 60.

नित्यैव सा जगन्माता विष्णोः श्रीरनपायिनी ।
यथा सर्वगतो विष्णुस्तथैवेयं द्विजोत्तम ॥
Book I, Chap. VIII.

The expression विष्णुवक्षःस्थलस्थिताम् applied to Lakshmî means "reclining on the breast of Vishṇu." This notion is frequently met with in Indian Literature and Inscriptions. We read in the Kâdambarî[1] यो [शुकनासो] नारायण वक्षःस्थलेऽपि स्थितामदुष्करलाभाममन्यत प्रज्ञाबलेन लक्ष्मीम् ।

Mâgha says :—

हस्तस्थिताखण्डितचक्रशालिनं द्विजेन्द्रकान्तं श्रितवक्षसं श्रिया ।
सत्यानुरक्तं नरकस्य जिष्णवो गुणैर्नृपाः शार्ङ्गिणमन्वयासिषुः ॥
Śiśupâlavadha XII 3.

Here श्रिया श्रितवक्षसं शार्ङ्गिणम् means Vishṇu on whose breast Lakshmî has taken up her abode The Kannaḍa poet Ranna who enjoyed the patronage of the Châlukya king Tailapa II, makes the goddess Lakshmî say[2] "I am sprung from the ocean. I am the noble lady who reclines on the breast of Vishṇu." King Bhôja[3] thus prays for the immortality of his work :—

यावन्मूर्ध्नि हिमांशुकन्दलभृति स्वर्वाहिनी धूर्जटे-
र्यावद्वक्षसि कास्तुभस्तवकिते लक्ष्मीमुरद्वेषिणः ।
यावच्चित्तभुवाखिलेाकविजयप्रौढं धनुः कौसुमं
भूयात्तावदियं कृतिः कृतधियां कर्णावतंसोत्पलम् ॥

In the Kâvyâvalôkana,[4] verse No. 303 runs.

âvoṃ kâvoṃ lôkama—
n âvonin amararkkaḷ amarar enisidar olaviṃ—|
d âvon uras-thaladoḷ La—
kshmî-vadhu nelas irppaḷ â Mura-dvishan îtaṃ ||

TRANSLATION :—This is that foe of Mura [*i.e.* Vishṇu] who protects the world, through whom the gods called themselves immortals and on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî has lovingly taken up her abode.

We read in the Gupta Inscriptions[5]

Yâvach=chaṇḍra-kalâ Harasya Śirasi
Śrîḥ Śârṅginô (ṇô) vakshasi.

In the Index Dr. Fleet explains Śrîḥ as "the goddess Lakshmî."

[1] Kâdambarî, Nirṇayasâgar Press edition, p. 118.
[2] Gadâyuddha, Karṇâṭaka Kâvyamanjari series No. 12, p. 141.
[3] Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, the concluding verse.
[4] Mr Narasimhachar's edition.
[5] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicorum, Vol. III, p. 204.

This idea is also contained in the following illustration of the figure of sense called vyâja-stuti given by Nṛipatuṅga himself :—

jala-râśi-prabhaveyan a-vi-
kala-Kṛishṇa-guṇ-ânurakteyaṃ mige Lakshmî-
lalaneyan ântuṃ vaksha—
sthaladoḷ pê l ent udâra-charitane appai ||

Kavirâjamârga, Chapter III, Verse 161.

TRANSLATION.—Say how thou canst be of noble character, though bearing on thy breast the fair Lakshmî sprung from a multitude of dull persons (sprung from the ocean) and fond of all black qualities (fond of all the qualities of Kṛishṇa.)

In this verse Vishṇu, who bears the goddess Lakshmî on his breast, is apparently dispraised but really praised. From all these passages it is evident that the phrase Śrî taḷt uradoḷ does not mean Fortune clinging to the breast of Amôghavarsha. It should be translated "Lakshmî clinging to the breast of Vishṇu," âs is seen in the celebrated temple of Vîranârâyaṇa at Gadag in Dharwar District where Lakshmî is represented as clinging to Vîranârâyaṇa's breast.

(3.) The next important word that is misunderstood is the verb agalaḷ. This is the only verb in the first verse and means "she does not abandon or never abandons" ; and "Śrî agalaḷ" means "Laksmi never abandons." In the passage from the Vishṇu-purâṇa cited above we are told that Lakshmî is the constant companion of Vishṇu and that she never abandons him. The same idea is expressed by Murâri who says :—

आत्मान मिन्दुकरमेदुरचन्द्रकान्तस्तम्भोज्ज्वलं वितर मे हृदि निर्वृणोमि ।
न भ्रातृसंगमसुखासिकया जहाति विष्णोः सकौस्तुभमुरश्चपलापि लक्ष्मीः ॥

Anarghya-Râghava[1].

The Sanskrit words लक्ष्मीर्न जहाति can be rendered into Old Kannaḍa thus, Śrî agalaḷ or Śrî-vadhu agalade irpaḷ (lit. lives without abandoning). The former mode of expression is adopted by Nṛipatuṅga in the first verse of the Kavirâjamârga which is the subject of the present discussion ; and the latter mode is found in the opening verse of the Kannaḍa Pañchatantra[2] where Durgasiṃha says :—

Śrî-vadhu râgadiṃd agalad âvana vakshadoḷ irpaḷ âvag(ṇ)aṃ
dêva-nikâyam ôlagipud âvana nâbhi--sarôjadoḷ vacha—
Śrî-varan utsavaṃ berasu puṭṭidan âtan aśêsha-daitya-vi-
drâvaṇan îge Durga-vibhug Achyutan achyuta-saukhya-
kôṭiyaṃ II

[1] Published in the Kâvyamâlâ series, p. 116.
[2] Published in the Karṇâṭaka Kâvyamañjari.

TRANSLATION :—May He, Vishṇu, on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî lovingly remains without abandoning (him), whom a multitude of gods serve, from the lotus in whose navel the husband of Sarasvatî [Brahmadêva] has taken his birth with joy, and who dispels all demons,—give to the lord Durga untold and uninterrupted blessings.

Dr. Fleet translates agalaḷ " Let her not abandon " and says it expresses a prayer. This is opposed to the rules of Kannaḍa grammar. This form of the verb is called pratishêdha-rûpa or the negative mood. It is composed of the root agal, to abandon, a, the particle of negation, and aḷ, the singular feminine verbal suffix of the third personal pronoun. It does not express the sense of the imperative and therefore cannot denote a prayer. Kêśirâja says[1] that the negative mood is used in all the three tenses and that mâḍaṃ expresses the negation of what is denoted by the affirmative indicative forms, mâḍidaṃ, mâdidapaṃ and mâduvaṃ. So the form mâḍaṃ means he did not, he does not and he will not do. In the Karṇâṭaka-Śubdânuśâsana we are assured that the negative mood never expresses the sense of the imperative. Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka says[2] :—

Sûtraṃ 524. Âśîr-âdau bêḍaṃ-bêḍau parataḥ. Vṛittiḥ-Tiṅaḥ parataḥ bêḍaṃ, bêḍa ity êtau śabdau prayujyêtê âśîr-âdy-arthê pratishêdha-vishayê II

Prayôgaḥ—Mâḍal bêḍaṃ, mâḍal bêḍa ; nôḍaḷ bêḍaṃ, nôḍal bêḍa II âśîr-âdâv iti kiṃ I mâḍaṃ mâḍar II

In this passage the words " âśîr-âdâv iti kiṃ, mâḍaṃ, mâḍar " mean Why is the expression âśîr-âdau inserted in the Sûtra? because when prayer, &c. (âśîr-âdi) the meanings of the imperative mood given in Sûtra 465 are not denoted, then we have such forms as mâḍaṃ (he does not, did not or will not, do), mâḍar (they do not, did not, or will not, do).

Dr. Caldwell has made very interesting remarks on the negative mood in his comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages. He says[3] : " In general, the Dravidian negative verb has but one tense, which is an aorist or is indeterminate in point of time, *e.g.*, pôgên, Tamil (pôvanu, Telagu, pôgenu, Ca.), I go not, means either I did not, I do not, or I will not go. The time is generally determined by the context. After noticing the peculiarities of Ku, Gond, and Tuḷu he proceeds " in the other dialects (including Kannaḍa) there is only one mood of the negative in ordinary use, viz., the indicative. Dr. Cald-

[1] Dr. Kittel's 1st. edition of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, Sutra 222, pp. 260, 261.
[2] Mr. Rice's edition of Karṇâṭaka-śabdânuśâsana, p. 265.
[3] Dr. Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages, 2nd Ed., p. 360.

well has given the following comparative paradigm of the negative form of the verb *gey*, to do[1]:—

NEGATIVE MOOD—AORIST.

(Common to all tenses, but most used with a future signification.)

		Tamil.	Malayalam.	Telugu.	Canarese.
I do not, did not or will not do.		Śeyyen	Cheyyen	Chêyanu	Geyyem.
Thou	Do.	Śeyyây	Cheyyâ (impers.)	Chêyavu	Geyyay.
He	Do.	Śeyyân	Cheyyân	Chêyandu	Geyyam.
She	Do.	Śeyyâḷ	Cheyyâḷ	Chêyadu	Geyyaḷ.
It	Do.	Seyyâdu	Cheyyâ (impers.)	Do.	Geyyadu.
		Śeyyâ			

[1] Idem p. 447 ff

From this comparative view it is clear that like geyyaḷ the form agalaḷ means either she does not, did not or will not abandon. It does not mean "Let her not abandon." It is also equally evident that in none of the four Dravidian languages compared above do such forms as geyyaḷ and agalaḷ convey the sense of the imperative.

Dr. Kittel has discussed the negative verb in a most exhaustive manner in his grammar of the Kannaḍa language. He says[1] that the conjugated negative of the verb is formed by suffixing the personal terminations to the infinitive ending in a, and is used for the present, past and future tense, according to circumstances. It was absolutely necessary both for Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Kittel to notice fully all the possible meanings of the negative verb in order to arrive at a correct explanation of the origin of this interesting form which is conspicuous by its absence in the Âryan languages. Dr. Kittel holds that a, the particle of negation, is the same as the infinitive ending in a. "That infinitive originally was a verbal noun and only in course of time came to get its specific meanings (§188). Thus, *e.g.*, nôḍa at first meant 'seeing', 'a seeing,' and thereupon 'to see,' 'about to see,' 'yet to see.' Nôḍem (nôḍa and em) therefore signifies, 'a yet to see—I, *i.e.*' my seeing (is or was) yet to be or (will be) yet to be, or my seeing (is) not actually existing, (was) not so, or (will) not be so, whence we arrive at the meaning 'I do not see,' 'I did not see,' '(I have not seen),' 'I shall not see[2].'" Dr. Kittel very carefully notices all the meanings which the negative form nôḍaḷ or nôḍaḷu bears in the ancient, the mediæval and the modern dialect of the Kannaḍa language and tells us that the negative verb is seldom used in the modern dialect except in proverbs and that such expressions as koḍuvad ill (I, etc., do not give, I, etc., shall not give), koḍal illa (I, etc., did not give) are now used in place of the conjugated negative[3]. The negative verb therefore does not express the sense of the imperative.

The unanimous opinion on this point of the four distinguished grammarians, Kêśirâja, Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Kittel is supported by the usage of ancient Kannaḍa authors. I shall quote four illustrations. Daṇḍi says :—

न मीलयति पद्मानि न नभोप्यवगाहते ।
त्वन्मुखेन्दुर्ममासूनां हरणायैव कल्पते ॥
अक्रिया चन्द्रकार्याणामन्यकार्यस्य च क्रिया ।
अत्र सन्दर्श्यते यस्माद्विरुद्धं नाम रूपकम् ॥

Kâvyâdarśa, Chapter II, 83, 84.

[1] Dr. Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language, p. 157.
[2] Idem, p. 161. [3] Idem, pp. 159, 332.

Nṛipatuṅga renders this thus—

kamal-âkaradoḷ sankô—
chaman alalaṃ chakravâkadoḷ mâḍaduni-
nna mukh-êndu-bimbam induge I
saman embudu mige viruddha-rûpakam akkuṃ II
Kavirâjamârga III 19.

Here न मीलयति is translated into sankôchamaṃ mâḍadu ; therefore the negative verb does not mean "Let it not cause, &c." Daṇḍi says

त्वन्मुखं कमलेनैव तुल्यं नान्येन केन चित् ।
इत्यन्यसाम्यव्यावृत्तेरियं सा नियमोपमा ॥
Kâvyâdarśa, Chapter II, 19.

Nṛipatuṅga translates :—

sarasijadol ninna mukhaṃ I.
taruṇî sadṛiśam samantu pôladu peratam II
nirutam id embudu niyam-ân I
taritaṃ niyam-ôpamâ-vikalpita-bhâvaṃ II
Kavirâjamârga, Chap. III, 64.

Here the meaning is : thy face does not resemble any other thing. The negative verb pôladu does not mean "Let it not resemble." Vṛishabhanâtha says to Bharatarâja "your having seen the sun darkened by the clouds indicates that there shall be no rise of divine knowledge in the fifth age."

घनावरणरुद्धस्य दर्शनादंशुमालिनः ।
केवलार्कोदयः प्रायो न भवेत्पंचमे युगे ॥ ७८ ॥
Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa[1], Chap. 40.

Pampa renders this thus :—

musurida mugilgaḷiṃd aṇa—
m eseyade niṃd arka-bimbamaṃ kaṇḍudariṃ—
d eseyadu dushshama-kâlado—
ḷ asadṛiśa-kaivalya-bôdha-dinakara-bimbaṃ II
Pampa's Âdipurâṇa[2], Chap. XV, 30.

[1] Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa, Deccan College, MS. No. 505 of 1884-86.
[2] Mysore Government Oriental Library series No 7.

Here the meaning is The sun of divine knowledge shall not shine. The negative verb eseyadu does not mean "Let it not shine." Châmuṇḍarâja expresses the same idea thus :—

Mugilu musurida nêsaraṃ kaṇḍudariṃ kêvala-jñâniga<u>l</u> âgaru

Châmuṇḍarâja-purâṇa[1], Chap. I.

This means that there shall be no more persons gifted with divine knowledge. The negative verb âgaru does not mean "Let them not be." Dr. Fleet has been led into his mistake by not recognizing the difference between the negative mood agala<u>l</u> "she does not abandon" and the negative imperative "agalad irke" "let her, &c., not abandon." Nṛipatuṅga uses iḍad irkke (iḍade and irkke) "let them not employ" in verses, Chapter II, 21 and 25, as iḍar or iḍaru does not convey this sense.

4. The next important word in the first verse which is misunderstood is âvanaṃ. Dr. Fleet translates "Let fortune not abandon him (literally whom)." If âvanaṃ literally means whom, how can it be rendered by the demonstrative pronoun him? Dr. Fleet has failed to understand the peculiar use of the interrogative pronoun in the Kannaḍa language. Dr. Caldwell mentions[2] the remarkable fact that "the Dravidian languages have no relative pronoun, a participial form of the verb being used instead." "In the absence of a real relative pronoun, the interrogative is used as a relative in many of the Scythian languages." Referring to this use of the interrogative,

[1] Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhâpur, dated S'aka 1427. Mr. Narasimhachar in his Introduction to Kâvyâvalôkana, p. 7, says, "Châmuṇḍarâja acquired the title Chaladaṅka-Gaṅga for having killed his own brother Nâgavarma." Against this undeserved charge of fratricide unknown to Jaina chroniclers and Jaina tradition I have simply to refer to a contemporary Sravaṇ Belgol Inscription No. 109, in which Chaladaṅka-Ganga-nṛipati is spoken of as desiring to take the Gaṅga Kingdom; his desire was frustrated and he was killed by Châmuṇḍarâja. The verse runs thus :—

आक्रष्टुं भुजविक्रमादभिलषन् गंगाधिराज्यश्रियं
येनादौ चलदंकगंगनृपतिर्व्यर्थाभिलाषीकृतः ।
कृत्वा वीरकपाळरत्नचषके वीरद्विषः शोणितं
पातुं कौतुकिनश्च कोणपगणाः पूर्णाभिलाषीकृताः ॥

Here येन refers to Châmuṇḍarâja. The passage in the Châmuṇḍarâja-purâṇa runs thus :—

Tanna tammanaṃ Nâgavammanaṃ konda pagege Chaladaṅka-Gaṅganuṃ Gaṅgara baṭṭanum enisida Madurâchayanuṃ dâ<u>l</u> iṭṭu konda chalamaṃ nerapidudariṃ Samara-Paraśurâmanum. Châmuṇḍarâja took the title of "a Paraśurâma in war" owing to his displaying firmness in having suddenly attacked and killed Madurâchaya, who called himself Chalad-aṅka-Gaṅga and Gaṅgara baṭṭa, to avenge the death of his brother Nâgavarmma.

[2] Dr. Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages, 2nd Ed., pp. 337 and 343.

Kêśirâja says[1] that the pronouns âvaṃ, âvaḷ and âvudu are paratantraṃgaḷ or dependent, as their sense is not completed unless they are followed by demonstrative pronouns. One of the instances cited by Dr. Kittel runs :—

Dhanam uḷḷan âvan avane indraṃ,

which he translates thus :—

Who is a rich man, he indeed is a prince.

In English the two clauses stand thus :—

He indeed is a prince, who is a rich man.

Dr. Kittel remarks[2] "such sentences appear to have originally been formed in imitation of Sanskrit ones with the relatives यद्, यावद, यथा and their correlatives तद्, तावद् and तथा. The truth of this remark is beautifully illustrated by the following two passages, the first from Jinasêna and the second from Pampa, the latter being a translation of the former :—

प्रसाधितदिशो यस्य यशः शशिकलामलं ।
सुरैरसकृदुद्गीतं कुलक्षोणीध्रकुक्षिषु ॥ २५० ॥

* * * *

नप्ता श्रीनाभिराजस्य पुत्रः श्रीवृषभेशिनः ।
षट्खंडमंडितामेनां यः स्म शास्त्यखिलां महीं ॥ २५२ ॥
मत्वासौ गत्वरीं लक्ष्मीं जित्वरः सर्व भूभृतां ।
जगद्विसृत्वरीं कीर्तिमतिष्ठिपदिहाचले ॥ २५३ ॥

Jinasêṇa, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. XXX.

Dêv-âṅganeyar pâḍuva—
r âvana jasamaṃ kuḷ-âchaḷ-âvaḷiyoḷ śau—
ry-âvashṭambhadin âldava—
n âvaṃ shaṭ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-kshiti-taḷamaṃ II 76 II
âtaṃ Bharat-êśvaran in—
t î teradiṃ negalda tanna kîrtiyan î vi—
khyâta-Vṛishabh-âdriyoḷ sura—
gîta-yaśaṃ niṛisidam nelaṃ nilv inegaṃ II 77.

Pampa, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. XIII.

The construction employed by Jinasêna is : (*a*) यस्य यशः सुरैरुद्गीतम्, (*b*) यः महीं शास्ति स्म, (*c*) असौ कीर्तिमतिष्ठिपदिहाचले. Here the two subordinate clauses, (*a*) and (*b*), are attributive adjuncts to असौ (भरतः) in the principal clause (*c*); and the pronouns यस्य, यः and असौ are used as

[1] S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa, Dr. Kittel's 1st Ed., p. 174, Sûtra 143.
[2] Dr. Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaḍa language, pp. 351, 352.

correlatives according to the principle यत्तदोर्नित्यमभिसंबन्धः. Pampa renders the relative pronouns यस्य and यः by the interrogative pronouns âvana and âvaṃ thus, (*a*) Dêv-âṅganeyar pâduvar âvana jasamaṃ, (*b*) âldavan âvaṃ kshititaḷamaṃ, (*c*) âtaṃ Bharatêśvaran î vṛishabh-âdriyoḷ tanna kîrtiyaṃ nirisidaṃ. It is therefore evident that Pampa's verse 76 contains two subordinate clauses which are attributive adjuncts to âtaṃ Bharatêśvaraṃ in verse 77 which contains the principal clause ; and the two verses form one complex sentence. This construction is also employed in the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga which form one sentence[1]. Srî âvanan agalal श्रीर्यं न जहाति is a subordinate clause, which is an attributive adjunct to Nṛipatuṅga which is in the nominative case, being the subject of the verb îge in the second verse. The principal clause is : â Nṛipatuṅgaṃ namage îge pratâpôdayamaṃ असौ नृपतुङ्गो नो ददातु प्रतापोदयम्. We should therefore translate âvanaṃ by the relative pronoun whom ; and Dr. Fleet's rendering 'him (literally, whom ?)' must be rejected.

5. The next word that is misunderstood is â in â Nṛipatuṅgaṃ which Dr. Fleet translates ' that (famous or well-known) Nṛipatuṅga. We have already seen that âvanaṃ and â are used as correlatives. In such a construction the relative, or, what is its equivalent in Kannaḍa, the interrogative, being expressed, the demonstrative does not mean famous or well-known. Mammaṭa, the author of the Kâvya-prakâśa, says[2] :—

प्रक्रान्तप्रसिद्धानुभूतार्थविषयस्तच्छब्दो यच्छब्दोपादानं नापेक्षते

and cites as an illustration the following verse :—

द्वयं गतं संप्रति शोचनीयतां समागमप्रार्थनया कपालिनः ।
कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावतस्त्वमस्य लोकस्यच नैत्रकौमुदी ॥

Kâlidâsa, Kumârasambhava V.

Mallinâtha in his commentary on this verse says अत्र सेति प्रसिद्धार्थत्वान्न यच्छब्दापेक्षा because the word सा here means well-known, therefore the relative या is not expressed. This view is endorsed by Kêśirâja who says[3] â denotes what is previously mentioned and what is well-known.

Gaja-haya-rûḍhiyoḷ Bhagadattanin â Naḷanim migilâdaṃ. In mounting elephants and horses he was superior to Bhagadatta and that (well-known or famous) Naḷa. In this example â is used by itself.

[1] This is called युग्मम्. Cf verses 27 and 28 in Chap. VIII in Pampa's Âdipurâṇa, p. 199. Mysore Or. Lib. Series No. 1. *See* also 2 important verses in the Baroda copperplate inscription, which were misunderstood by Dr. Fleet, but were correctly explained by Dr. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant. XII, pp. 228, 229.

[2] Kâvyaprakâśa, Chap. VII., Vâmanâchârya's Ed., p. 372.

[3] Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. Dr. Kittel's 1st Ed., Sutra 169. pp. 202, 203.

But in the first verse of the Kavirâjamârga it is correlative to âvanaṃ and therefore does not mean famous or well-known.

6. The next point that is misunderstood is the position of the noun Nṛipatuṅga. Dr. Fleet believes that it is in apposition with âvanaṃ and translates 'Let Fortune not abandon him, (namely) that Nṛipatuṅga. This is impossible because âvanaṃ is the object of agalal and in the accusative case, while Nṛipatuṅga is in the nominative case, being the subject of the verb îge, as has been fully explained above. A solemn disregard for the principle[1] यत्तदोर्नित्यमाभिसंबन्धः is very frequent in Dr. Fleet's translations. The following three passages may be taken as fair specimens[2] :—

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारांतराविर्भव-
त्पादांभोजरजःपिशंगमकुटप्रत्यग्र रत्नद्युतिः ।
संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपतिः पूतोहमद्येत्यलं
स श्रीमान् जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मंगलं ॥

Dr. Fleet translates :—" When the fresh lustre of the jewels in his diadem was made of a reddish colour by the pollen of the water-lilies which were (his) feet, appearing between the streams that flowed forth from the rays of the high nails of his (feet), the glorious King Amôghavarsha,—whose holy feet were worthy to be worshipped by Jinasêna, (and who was) the (embodiment of the) prosperity of the world,—thought of himself, ' I am purified to-day ; it is enough.' "

(*a*) That Jinasêna considered the feet of his own pupil holy, (*b*) that the illustrious Âchârya worshipped the feet of his pupil Amôghavarsha, and (*c*) that the pupil Amôghavarsha was jagan-maṅgalam (the blessing of the world) are not Indian notions and are equalled in their absurdity by the idea of the lustre of the kaustubha-jewel going round Fortune clinging to the breast of Amôghavarsha. The next two examples are from the Gupta Inscriptions[3] :—

निन्द्याचारेषु योस्मिन्विनयमुषि युगे कल्पनामात्रवृत्त्या
राजस्वन्येषु पांसुष्विव कुसुमबलिर्न्नाबभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
स श्रेयोधाम्नि सम्राडिति मनुभरतालर्कमान्धातृकल्पे
कल्याणे हेम्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यत्र शब्दः ॥ ४५ ॥

Dr. Fleet translates :—" He who, in this age which is the ravisher, of good behaviour, through the action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a re-

[1] Kâvyapradipá, p. 229, Kâvyamâlâ series.

[2] Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 217. A correct translation of this verse is given by Dr. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed., p. 62.

[3] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 146, 147, 148.

prehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful when it is not laid down) in the dust,—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Mândhâṭṛi, the title of "universal sovereign" shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold."

Here (*a*) the verb आबभासे, being in the past tense, does not refer to the living and reigning king; (*b*) the correlatives यो and स refer to शब्दः; (*c*) प्रयुक्त[1] means "applied" and not "associating with other kings," (*d*) न should be construed with आबभासे and not with प्रयुक्त, and (*e*) कल्पनामात्रवृत्त्या[2] means "by dint of mere imagination," and not "through the action simply of (his good) intentions."

The construction is :—

अस्मिन्विनयमुषि युगे यो [सम्राडिति शब्दः] निन्द्याचारेषु अन्येषु राजसु कल्पनामात्र-वृत्त्या प्रयुक्तः पांसुषु कुसुमबलिरिव नाबभासे स सम्राडिति शब्दः यत्र [*i. e.*, यस्मिन्] श्रेयोधाम्नि मनुभरतालर्कमान्धातृकल्पे [प्रयुक्तः] कल्याणे हेम्नि भास्वान्मणिरिव भ्राजते.

[That king] in whom, the abode of virtue [and] but little inferior to Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Mândhâṭṛi, there shines forth exceedingly like a resplendent jewel set in good gold, that title of universal sovereign, which, [when] applied, in this age the ravisher of modesty, to other kings of reprehensible conduct, by dint of mere imagination, did not shine, just as an offering of flowers [does not shine when laid down] in the dust. Another verse in the same inscription runs :—

स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणतिकृपणतां प्रापितां (तं) नोत्तमाङ्गं
यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्ग्गशब्दाभिमानम् ।
नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजबलावर्जनक्लिष्टमूर्द्धना
चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्भ्मिहिरकुलनृपेणार्चितं पादयुग्मं ॥

Dr. Fleet's translation :—"He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthâṇu ;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (Himâlaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access ;—he to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on

[1] Cf. ब्रह्मण्यानन्द शब्दोयं प्रयुक्तः सुखवाचकः
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्य वार्त्तिक Ânandâśrama Ed. Part II, p. 1343.
Cf. एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः शास्त्रान्वितः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति.

[2] Cf. सृष्टिर्वा लयो वा स्थितिर्वा तत्त्वमिति पौराणिकाः । तदपि कल्पनामात्रम्
Mâṇḍukyôpanishad with Gauḍapâda's Kârikâs, p. 88, Ânandâśrama series.

the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) King Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance."

Here the reading प्रापितां is a mistake for प्रापितं and the expression "no longer" is a gratuitous insertion. The purport of the verse is misunderstood by Dr. Fleet. The relative pronouns in the first two lines येन and यस्य are correlatives to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; therefore the clauses containing these relatives are adjectival adjuncts to तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण; the principal clause is तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण यस्य पादयुग्मं अर्चितम्. The relative यस्य occurring in the third line above refers to Yaśôdharman. The real purport of the verse is "He to whom obeisance was made even by that King Mihirakula who did not bow before anybody save the god Śiva and embraced by whose arms the mountain Himâlaya bears the pride of the title "inaccessible." It is not Yaśôdharman but Mihirakula who is spoken of as a worshipper of Śiva. This interpretation is according to the principle mentioned by Daṇḍi.

वंशवीर्य्यश्रुतादीनि वर्णयित्वा रिपोरपि ।
तज्जयान्नायकोत्कर्षवर्णनञ्च धिनोति नः ॥

Kâvyâdarśa, Chapter I, 22.

The pronoun तेन in तेन मिहिरकुलनृपेण and in तेन श्रीयशोधर्म्मणा in the next verse cannot mean "famous" for one and the same reason. We are now in a position to offer the following literal translation of the first verse of the Kavirâjamârga.

That most eminent king (Nṛipa-tuṅga) whom the goddess Lakshmî, clinging to his breast, never abandons through affection, the lustre springing from the Kaustubha-jewel spreading around and forming a screen, who is noble, who is well-versed in politics (Nîti-nirantara).

It is evident that the first verse does not give a complete sense, as it contains only the subject of the principal clause and some of its attributive enlargements, while the predicate occurs in the second verse. At this stage of the inquiry, it is not possible to know whether the epithets applied to the god Vishṇu refer, in their secondary sense as titles, to one or more persons. Let us now proceed to examine Dr. Fleet's translation of the second verse.

7. After explaining the expression apratihata-vikraman he adds the parenthetical clause (just as the god Vishṇu-Nârâyaṇa had three strides which were not obstructed). This must be rejected, as the god Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, himself the owner of the kaustubha-jewel, is praised in the two verses.

8. "Appa" does not mean "who has become." It is a present relative participle of âgu, 'becoming', 'being' and should be translated 'that is', 'who is' according to Dr. Kittel's Grammar, p. 243.

9. This will also show that 'osedu' cannot be construed with 'appa', as Dr. Fleet has done. It naturally goes with îge.

Cf.

taruṇiyan osed ittaṃ.
Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa', sûtra 61.
Osed ittu kṛit-ârtthanen appeṃ.
Pampa[2] Râmâyaṇa, VI, 111
, ishṭan orvvan adhidêvateg end osed ittudaṃ
Inscription of Śaka 820, No. 60, Nagar[3] Taluq
osadu koṭṭor = î dvija-mukhyar
Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 223.

In the last quotation osadu should be osedu; and Dr. Fleet translates the words "these best of the twice-born . . . . gave with pleasure." Dr. Kittel in his grammar, p. 419, translates "osedu koṭṭaṃ" into "he was delighted (and) gave."

10. The most important word in the second verse is pratâpa which is misunderstood and mistranslated. According to Dr. Fleet, pratâpa means "a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him (the author), which he himself unaided, could not hope to display." This absurd explanation of the well-known Sanskrit word pratâpa is repeated at page 264, where we are told it means "ability to perform the task lying before him." By this periphrasis Dr. Fleet obviously means poetical talent or power, though he does not say so in plain language. Of course Dr. Fleet is unable to cite any authority. His assertion that king Nṛipatuṅga is invoked to grant poetical power is too absurd to deceive anybody. A king can give patronage but not poetical powers.

Surêśvara says:

धनार्थं ब्राह्मणा यान्ति राजानमितियुज्यते ।
न त्वनापदि विद्यार्थं तं यान्तीह द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
बृहदारण्योपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिकम्
Part III, p. 1354, Ânandâśram edition.

Besides, invocations are never addressed to kings in Indian poems; they are always addressed to gods, preceptors or other holy personages.

[1] Kittel's 1st Ed., p. 74.
[2] Mr. Rice's Ed., p. 145.
[3] Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VIII, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part II, p. 28c.

The fact is, Dr. Fleet has been obliged, in order to uphold a wrong interpretation of the second verse, to mistranslate the well-known Sanskrit word which is explained by Amarasiṃha II, 20.—

स प्रतापः प्रभावश्च यत्तेजः कोशदण्डजम् ।

The commentator[1] says कोशो धनं दण्डः सैन्यं ताभ्यां जातम्. Thus प्रताप means that glory which arises from treasures and troops. Only a king can possess this quality. Târânâtha in his Vâchaspatya calls it कोश दण्डजातम् नृपतेजः a king's glory arising from money and armies. Bhavabhûti calls it क्षत्रधर्म, a quality of the warrior caste

लवः । यत् पुनश्चन्द्रकेतो वदसि किमु भवतस्तातप्रतापोत्कर्षेर्ष्यमर्ष इति तत्पृच्छामि किं व्यवस्थितविषयाः क्षत्रधर्मा इति.

Uttara-Râmacharita V.

The word pratâpa, therefore, means military prowess and occurs frequently in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa literatures and in old Sanskrit and Kannaḍa inscriptions. The expression in our text is pratâp-ôdayaṃ, which is also employed in describing the high pitch of military prowess displayed by King Narasiṃha[2].

We have thus far critically examined the translation of the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga so kindly presented by Dr. Fleet to Sanskrit scholars and have fully set forth the reasons for rejecting it altogether. I shall now give a correct and literal translation of the two verses.

May that best of kings (Nṛipatuṅga), whom the goddess Lakshmi clinging to his breast never abandons through affection,—the lustre springing from the Kaustubha jewel spreading around and serving like a screen,—who is well-versed in politics (Nîtinirantara,) who is noble, who is a wrestler that has performed his duty (Kṛitakṛityamalla), whose valour is uninterrupted, who is exceedingly pure (Atiśayadhavaḷa), who is Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, give to us a high pitch of military prowess that is attained unexpectedly.

From this literal and correct rendering of the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga it is clear that the god Vîra-Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, the owner of the kaustubha jewel, on whose breast the goddess Lakshmî reclines and whom she never abandons, is praised here. The god is invoked to grant prowess. The author who prays for prowess must have been a king. And from the epithets Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavaḷa, &c., applied to the god, we are forced to conclude that the royal author wishes to make a punning reference to his

[1] Amarakôśa with the commentary Vâkyasudhâ, Nirṇaya S. Press, p. 312.

[2] Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV., Inscriptions in the Mysore District Part II. Inscription No. 38, line 23.

own titles. This method of indirectly suggesting one's own name or title is adopted by Samantabhadra, Akalaṅkadêva, Nêmichandra Pûjyapâda and Guṇabhadra. Addressing the last Tîrthaṅkara Vardhamâna, Samantabhadra says[1] :—

बहुगुणसंपदसकलं परमतमपि मधुरवचनविन्यासकलम् ।
नयभक्त्यवतंसकलं तव देव मतं समन्तभद्रं सकलम् ॥ १ ॥
श्रीवर्द्धमानमकलंकमनिंद्यवंद्य पादारविंदयुगलं प्रणिपत्य मूर्ध्ना ।
भव्यैकलोकनयनं परिपालयंतं स्याद्वादवर्त्म परिणौमि समन्तभद्रम् ॥ २ ॥
ये संस्तुता विविधभक्तिसमंतभद्रैरिंद्रादिभि र्विनतमौलिमणिप्रभाभिः ।
उद्योतितांघ्रियुगलाः सकलप्रबोधास्ते नो दिशंतु विमलां कमलां जिनेंद्राः ॥ ३ ॥

Akalaṅkadêva addresses Mahâvîra as Akalaṅka

सर्वज्ञाय निरस्तबाधकधिये स्याद्वादिने ते नम-
स्त्यात्प्रत्यक्षमलक्षयन्स्वमतमभ्यस्याप्यनेकांतभाक् ।
तत्त्वं शक्यपरीक्षणं सकलवित्रैकांतवादी ततः
प्रेक्षावानकलंक याति शरणं त्वामेव वीरं जिनम् ॥

Laghîyastraya[2].

Nêmichandra addresses the Tîrthaṅkar Nêminâtha as Nêmichandra

सि०धं सु०धं पणमिय जिणिंदवरणेमिचंदमकलंकं
गुणरयणभूसणुदयं जीव०स परूवणं वो०छं ॥

Gomaṭa-sâra[3]

which Kêśavaṇṇa renders into Sanskrit thus—

सिद्धं शुद्धं प्रणम्य जिनेंद्रवर नेमिचंद्रमकलंकं
गुणरत्नभूषणोदयं जीवस्य प्ररूपणं वक्ष्यामि

In Nêmichandra's Trilôkasâra[4] we read—

बळगोविंदसिहामणिकिरणकलावरुणचरणणहकिरणं ।
विमलयरणेमिचंदं तिहुवणचंदं णमंसामि ॥

In this verse also the author Nêmichandra calls the Tîrthaṅkara Nêminâtha after himself and thus makes an indirect reference to his own name. It may be also noted here that Pûjyapâda, the celebrated author of the Jainêndra Vyâkaraṇa, whose other

[1] Svayambhûstotra, MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur, verses 2 and 3 are not found in some MSS; verse 2 occurs also in the Ashṭaśatî.

[2] Palm-leaf MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur, p. 38 (*b*).

[3] Terdal MS. of the Gomaṭasâra, the opening verse.

[4] Deccan College MS. No. 599 of 1875-76, leaf 2 (*b*).

name was Dêvanandi, makes the latter name part of the adjective qualifying the god whom he invokes.

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।
देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे [1] ॥ ५५ ॥

Guṇabhadra calls Jina guṇa-bhadra after himself.

उपयांति समस्तसंपदो विपदो विच्युतिमाप्नुवंत्यलं ।
वृषभं वृषमार्गदेशिनं झषकेतुद्विषमीयुषां सतां ॥ ३५७ ॥
इत्थं भवंतमतिभक्तिपथं निनीषोः
प्रागेव बंधकलयः प्रलयं व्रजंति ।
पश्चादनश्वरमयाचितमप्यवश्यं
संपत्स्यतेस्य विलसद्गुणभद्र भद्रं ॥ ३५८ ॥

Âdipurâṇa, Chapter 44.

The distinguished Râshṭrakûṭa author Pampa who finished his Âdipurâṇa[2] in Śaka 863, mentions, as his titles, Sukavi-jana-mânas-ottaṃsahaṃsa, Guṇârṇava, Saṃsâra-sârôdaya and Sarasvatîmaṇi-hâra. He then transfers these titles to Âdinâtha, who is invoked in the beginning, to Bharatêśvara, Dêvêndra and other divine persons very frequently in his Âdipurâṇa. The two concluding verses of each chapter and the opening verses of the second and all the succeeding chapters contain illustrations of this remark. The ninth chapter opens thus:—

Śrî-pati Puru-paraṃ êśvara—
n âpûrṇa-manôrathaṃ naman-nṛipa makuṭ-â-
ṭôpaṃ trailôky- ânta—
vyâpita-mahimaṃ Sarasavtî-maṇi-hâraṃ ||

Here Âdinâtha is described as the lord of prosperity, whose desires are fulfilled, who is adorned by the splendour of the crowns of kings making a bow, whose glory has filled the three worlds, and who is a string of jewels to the goddess Sarasvatî (Sarasvatî-maṇihâram). In the concluding verse of the eighth chapter we read:

Sâkêta-siṁhâsan-âsînaṃ pâlisidaṃ mahî-valayamaṃ Saṃsâra-sâr-ôdayaṃ ||

Âdinâtha, seated on the throne of Ayôdhyâ, the promoter of the essence of life [*i.e.* religion], protected the circle of the earth. In these passages Pampa has transferred his own titles to the first Tîrthaṅkara Vṛishabhanâtha. Pampa's object evidently is that they should be understood in their primary sense as referring to the god

[1] Jainêndra-vyâkarana. Deccan College MS. No 591 of 1875-76.
[2] Mysore edition referred to in note 2, p. 12.

and in their secondary sense as giving his own titles as the author of the Âdipurâṇa. Abhinava-Pampa has only followed the example of his distinguished predecessor and namesake in this matter.

As I have already remarked, the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga contain a prayer addressed to the god Vishṇu to grant military prowess. This indicates that the author was a king. And the intentional use of the expressions Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśaya-dhavaḷa, &c., as epithets to the god, leads us to infer that they must have been the titles of this royal author. But as prowess will not help him in dealing with the subject lying before him, the royal author proceeds in the third verse to invoke the goddess Sarasvatî to give him poetical power.

dêvi Sarasvati haṃsa-vi |
bhâvade nele-goḷge kûrttu man-mânasadoḷ ||

Let the goddess Sarasvatî take up her abode with love in my mind (mânasa) just as the flamingo takes up his abode in the lake Mânasa. In the fourth verse the royal author calls upon former great poets to aid him in his literary work.

To borrow the language of Mammaṭa the first two verses have two meanings, the वाच्य (obvious) and the व्यङ्ग्य (implied). The व्यङ्ग्यार्थ (the implied meaning) that the author was a king, and that atiśaya-dhavaḷa was one of his titles is confirmed by the following passage:—

Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôrvvip-ôdit-âlaṅkṛiti I, 147, which means "the figures of speech composed by King Atiśayadhavaḷa." Dr. Fleet has failed to understand the meaning of the word udita. It does not mean here "sprung from." It is the past passive participle of वद् to speak, and is often used in the sense of composed (विरचित). Mallishêṇa who finished his Mahâpurâṇa[1] in Śaka 969, says : -

श्रीजिनसेनसूरितनुजेन कुदृष्टिमतप्रभेदिना ।
गारुडमंत्रवादसकलागमलक्षणतर्क वेदिना ॥
तेन महापुराणमुदितं भुवनत्रयवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिना ।
प्राकृतसंस्कृतोभयकवित्वधृता कविचक्रवर्त्तिना ॥
तीर्थे श्रीम(मु)कुंदनाम्नि नगरे श्रीजैनधर्म्मालये
स्थित्वा श्रीकविचक्रवर्त्तियतिपः श्रीमल्लिषेणाह्वयः ।
संक्षेपात् प्रथमान(नु)योगकथनं व्याख्यानितं शृण्वतां
भव्यानां दुरितापहं रचितवान्निःशेषविद्यांबुधिः ॥

इत्युभयभाषाकविचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमल्लिषेणसूरीविरचित-
त्रिषष्टिलक्षणमहापुराणसंग्रहे श्रीवर्द्धमानतीर्थंकरपुराणं समाप्तं ॥

[1] MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapura.

In the first verse cited above the words महापुराणमुदितं mean महापुराणं विरचितं. Vaidyanâtha, the author of the Udâharaṇa-chandrikâ,[1] says :—

अनल्पकविकल्पिताखिलसदर्थमञ्जूषिकां
सदन्वयविबोधिकां विबुधसंशयोच्छेदिकाम् ।
उदाहरणयोजनाजननसज्जनाल्हादिकाम्
उदाहरणचन्द्रिकां भजत वैद्यनाथोदिताम् ॥ १ ॥

In the colophon we read वैद्यनाथेन रचितायां काव्यप्रकाशोदाहरणविवृतावुदारण-चन्द्रिकायां दशम उल्लासः संपूर्णः The Râshṭrakâṭa author Pampa makes Bharata praise the Jinas thus :

Saṃsâra-sâr-ôday-ô-I
dita-mâṇikya-Jina-stav-âvaḷi jayaṃ bhadraṃ Śubhaṃ maṅgaḷaṃ II
Pampa's Âdipurâṇa XVI, 10

May the verses in praise of the Mâṇikya-Jinas uttered by Bharata (composed by Pampa) the propagator of the essence of life (*i. e.*, religion) confer blessings. It is obvious from the context that the expression Saṃsârasâr-ôdaya is used in a double sense ; and "udita" means 'uttered' and 'composed.'

The next passage that is misunderstood and mistranslated by Dr. Fleet is the opening verse of the third chapter which runs thus :

Śrî-vidit-ârth-âlaṅkâ-
r-âvaḷiyaṃ vividha-bhêda-vibhav-âspadamaṃ I
bhâvisi besasidan akhiḷa-dha-
râ-vallabhan int Amôghavarsha-nṛipêndraṃ II
Kavirâjamârga III,[1]

Dr. Fleet translates this thus :—

"Having thought over the well-known series of embellishments of sense, which is a receptacle of the display of various kinds of distinctions, the great King Amôghavarsha, the favourite of the whole world, commanded (the treatment of it) thus (as follows)." At page 268 Dr. Fleet explains the meaning of the verse more fully and says "the great King Amôghavarsha thought over the famous and well-known series of embellishments of sense, and commanded (the treatment of it) in the manner which the author then followed."

The obvious objections against this translation and explanation are that the original text contains nothing answering to the words "(treatment of it)" and the words "which the author then followed," that the transitive verb besasidaṃ having for its object arthâlaṅkâr-

[1] Kâvyaprakâs'a, Vâmanâchârya's Ed., Intr. p. 40.

âvaḷiyaṃ (the series of embellishments of sense) cannot mean "commanded" and that it is absurd to suggest that Amôghavarsha thought over the embellishments while he commanded "the treatment of it (them ?)" by another person, because thinking over the subject is the most essential part of the author's work. The verb besasidaṃ means declared, made known, communicated, or described. This can be easily proved by the following passages from two eminent authors of the Râshṭrakûṭa period.

Jinasêna says :—

अथान्यदा महादेवी सौधे सुप्ता यशस्वती ।
स्वप्नेपश्यन्महीं ग्रस्तां मेरुं सूर्यं च सोडुपं ॥ १०० ॥
सरः सहंसमब्धिंच चलवीचिकमैक्षत ।
स्वप्नांते च व्यबुद्धासौ पठन्मागधनिःस्वनैः ॥ १०१ ॥
* * * * *
सा पत्ये स्वप्नमालां तां यथादृष्टं न्यवेदयत् ॥
दिव्यचक्षुरसौ देवस्तत्फलानीत्यभाषत ॥ १२३ ॥

Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa XV.

Pampa[1] transiates the last verse thus :—

Yaśasvati tanna kaṇḍa kanasugaḷan anukramaṃ dappad aṛipuvuduṃ anitumaṃ Puru paramêśvaran avadhârisi, tat-svapna-phalaṅgaḷan int endu besasidaṃ.

TRANSLATION.

When the Queen Yaśasvati communicated in order the dreams she had seen, Puru-paramêśvara listened to all that and described in the following manner the fruits of her dreams.

Jinasêna makes Bharata say :—

अपिचाद्य मया स्वप्ना निशांते षोडशेक्षिताः ।
प्रायोनिष्टफलाश्चैते मया देवाभिलक्षिताः ॥ ३४ ॥
यथादृष्टमुपन्यस्ये तानिमान्परमेश्वर ।
यथास्वं तत्फलान्यस्मत्प्रतीतिविषयं नय ॥ ३५ ॥
* * * * *
षोडशैतेच यामिन्यां दृष्टाः स्वप्ना विदांवर ।
फलविप्रतिपत्तिं मे तद्गतां त्वमपाकुरु ॥ ४१ ॥
इति तत्फलविज्ञाने निपुणोप्यवधिर्त्विषा ।
सभाजनप्रबोधार्थं पप्रच्छ निधिराड् जिनं ॥ ४२ ॥
तत्प्रश्नावसितावित्थं व्याचष्टे स्म जगद्गुरुः ।
वचनामृतसंसेकैः प्रीणयन्नखिलं सदः ॥ ४३ ॥

Jinasêna's Âdipurâṇa, Chap. 41.

[1] Pampa s Adipurâṇa, VIII, pp. 198, 199.

Pampa translates this passage thus :—

ad alladeyum indina dinaṃ beḷagappa jâvadoḷ padinâru kanasugaḷaṃ kaṇḍen â kanasugaḷ anishṭa-phala-sûchakaṅgaḷ embudaṃ sâmânyadin upalakshisiden avara phalamuman enag ariye besasim end avadhijñânadiṃ tân â kanasugaḷan arivan âgiyuṃ sabhâ-janakkam aripal endu besa-goḷvuduṃ praśn-ânukramadiṃ tri-lôka-guruv int endu besasidaṃ.

Pampa's Âdipurâṇa, XV, p. 398 ff.

In these passages I have made Jinaśênâchârya translate Pampa's words int endu besasidaṃ into इत्यभाषत and इत्थं व्याचष्टे स्म "described or declared in the following manner." Dr. Fleet refers to the words "pêḷ endu besase" in sûtra[1] 3 of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, which he translates 'on ordering me to relate.' But the same form of the word besase is used in the sense of 'declaring' by Pampa.

श्रुतं च बहुशोस्माभिरासीयं पुष्कलं वचः ।
जिनाश्चक्रभरैः सार्धं वर्त्स्यतीहेति भारते ॥ १४४ ॥

Jinasêna, Âdipurâṇa, Chap. 28.

Pampa[2] translates this thus :—

Bharata-kshêtradoḷ î yugadoḷ Tîrthakararuṃ chakravartigaḷum appar endu sarvajñar besase palavu sûḷ âm ellaṃ kêḷd aridevu.

"We know having frequently heard omniscient persons declare that there shall arise Jinas and universal emperors in the Bharata-kshêtra in this age."

A correct translation of the opening verse of the third chapter of the Kavirâjamârga is as follows :—

The eminent King Amôghavarsha, the lord of the whole world, thought over and declared in the following manner the series of excellent and well-known figures of sense which are the abode of abundance of various distinctions. The meaning of this verse is that the great King Amôghavarsha, who was a paramount sovereign, composed the figures of sense. This is in perfect accord with the meaning of the other passages explained above, that the author was a king, that his titles were Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavaḷa and that King Atiśayadhavaḷa composed these figures of speech.

It is perfectly clear then that the author of the Kavirâjamârga is not different from Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha. Nor does he "represent himself as putting forward views concurred in by Nṛipatuṅga"[3]

[1] Here the sense of the word is determined by the preceding expression pêḷ endu: see the next quotation.

[2] Pampa's Âdipurâṇa, XII, p. 325.

[3] Ind. Ant., XXXIII, p. 260.

as such a supposition is directly contradicted by the fifth verse of the third chapter in which the author tells us that he is guided by "ancient authorities ;" and Nṛipatuṇga certainly was not an "ancient authority." This verse runs thus :--

Vidit-ârtthâlaṅkâr-â-
spada-bhêdaṅgaḷ purâṇa-śâstr-ôktaṅgaḷ I
tad-anumata-lakshya-lakshaṇa—
nidarśśanaṅgaḷan anukram-ôktiye pêḷvem
Kavirâjamârga, Chap. III, 5.

TRANSLATION.

The distinctions which have for their abode the well-known figures of sense have been described by ancient authorities ; I will relate in order these figures, their definitions and illustrations sanctioned by them (*i.e.*, by the ancient authorities).

One of these ancient authorities[1] is Daṇḍi as I have satisfactorily proved. The word "anumata" in this verse indicates Daṇḍi's authorship of the definitions and illustrations which Nṛipatuṅga has borrowed from the Kâvyâdarśa. The colophon of the third chapter also contains unmistakable evidence of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship in the expression[2] Parama—Sarasvatî-tîrthâvatâra-Nṛipatuṅga-dêva, which means King Nṛipatuṅga who is a holy incarnation of the great Sarasvatî or a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of the great Sarasvatî.

This view is further confirmed by verse III, 230, in which we are told that "a high-souled person who has obtained the ship in the form of the specific knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dêva-mârga, can reach the great further shore of the ocean of poetry filled with the highest excellences." This statement is intelligible only on the supposition that Nṛipatuṅga was the author of this work and excludes the possibility of any other person being the author of it. Here the specific knowledge contained in Nṛipatuṅga-dêva-mârga means, of course, the

[1] In verse I, 47, Nṛipatuṅga says "Having considered the faults mentioned in the works of the multitude of ancient poets and to the best of my own knowledge, I will declare some to wise men." In verse II, 44, he says : "Having studied the method of ancient authorities, I will relate this much in Kannaḍa." In verse II, 49, he says : "Having considered the distinction known to ancient poets I will declare it according to the method of my knowledge." These verses contradict Dr. Fleet's assertion that the work does not contain "any allusion of any kind to views of predecessors."

[2] Dr. Fleet has ignored this expression because it militates against his erroneous assumption that Nṛipatuṅga was not the author of the work. Dr. Fleet's statement that "verse III, 225, compares some person, who the editor says is Nṛipatuṅga, to a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of Sarasvati," is inaccurate. It is not the editor but the colophon of the 3rd chapter that speaks of Nṛipatuṅga as Sarasvatî-tîrthâvatâra.

knowledge contained in the Kavirâjamârga[1] and the poetry alluded to is the Kannaḍa poetry with its characteristic prâsa which the work professes to teach. On this Dr. Fleet remarks, "We need not lay any stress upon the fact that the original of this passage does not contain anything answering to the "Kavirâjamârga" and "Kannaḍa," which are gratuitous insertions by the editor." Of course Dr. Fleet is unable to suggest any other possible explanation of the passage.[2] But his objection to "gratuitous insertions" has my entire approval. On this ground we have already rejected such translations as "commanded the treatment of it" and "to inspire him with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself unaided could not hope to display." On this very ground we must reject the following translation of verse I, 149 :—

.. Kavi |
prakaraṃ Śrîvijaya-prabhûtaman idaṃ kai-koḷvud î mâlkeyiṃ ||

"The multitude of poets will accept this product of Śrîvijaya in this (new) guise." It will be easily noticed (*a*) that the original does not contain any word for (new), (*b*) the word mâlke does not mean "guise," (*c*) and the phrase î mâlkeyôḷ which means "in this manner" should be construed with the verb kai-koḷvudu. The original text literally means "the multitude of poets should accept this production of Śrîvijaya in this manner," from this it is clear that Śrîvijaya is one of the titles of the author himself.

The last verse of Chapter II runs :—

Bhâvisi śabda-tattva-sthitiyaṃ kurit ond aśêshâ-bhâ- |
shâ-vishay-ôktiyaṃ bagedu nôḍi purâṇa-kavi-prabhu-prayô- ||
g-âvilasad-guṇôdayaman âyd-avariṃ samed ondu kâvyadiṃ |
Śrîvijaya-prabhûta-mudamaṃ tanag agisidoṃ kavîśvaraṃ ||

Dr. Fleet translates :—Having thought over the established condition of the conventional settlement of the essential nature of sounds, (and) having given attention to (that) one (thing) expression which is the object of all language, (and) having considered and seen

[1] The work is so called because it contains the mârga or the method indicated (pêlda) by Nṛipatuṅga. Abhinavapampa's use of the word pêldu (having composed) to indicate S'rutakîrti's authorship of the Jaina Râghavapâṇḍavîya is exactly similar to Durgasiṃha's use of the same word to indicate the authorship of the same work by Dhanañjaya. Dr. Fleet's suggestion that Abhinava-pampa uses the word in the sense of "having recited (Ind. Ant., XXXIII, p. 279) is as absurd as his assertion that Nṛipatuṅga possessed the kaustubha jewel. Brahmin lads of 10 or 12 years old can recite backwards and forwards greater poems than the Jaina Râghava-Pâṇḍavîya ; and yet nobody thinks of commemorating them in inscriptions or praising them in literary works."

[2] It is absurd to suggest that any other than Kannaḍa-poetry is taught in a Kannaḍa work professing to teach Kannaḍa poetry.

the development of the good qualities which shine in the usage of ancient great poets, (and) having culled from them, (and) having carried out (the result) by (this) one poetical composition, Kavîśvara has created for himself a joy which took its source from Śrîvijaya."

The word kavîśvara in the text simply means "the lord of poets" or a great poet, while Dr. Fleet has mistaken it for a proper noun. Besides, the word kâvyadiṃ is to be construed with âgisidom. A correct translation of the verse is as follows :—

"The great poet caused to himself the great joy of Śrîvijaya by the one poem composed by these (means) : having thought over the established conventionality of the essence of words, having studied expression which has for its object all language, having carefully perceived the excellence of the good qualities shining in the compositions of ancient great poets and having culled from them." Dr. Fleet seems to have suspected the correct sense of the last line and has given it in a foot-note. It is clear that Śrîvijaya is a name of the author himself and does not refer to any one of the ancient great poets who are separately mentioned in the verse. This view is confirmed by the concluding verse of the whole work which runs :—

Niravady-ânvayan udgham uddhata-ma [hâ-kshî] râbdhi-
diṇḍîra-pâṇ |
ḍuram âkrânta-si (su) śaila-sâgara-dhar-âśâ-chakravâḷ—âm-
baraṃ ||
parama-Śrîvijaya-prabhûti-ja-yaśa [ṃ] Śtrî-bâla-vṛiddh-âhitaṃ|
param-ânandita-lokam oppe nele-golg â-chandra-târaṃbaraṃ ||

Chapter III.

Dr. Fleet's translation :—"Let the fame which was born from the source that was the supreme Śrîvijaya,—which is unlimited (and) imperishable (?) ; which is the model (of what all fame ought to be) ; which is white like the bones of the cuttle-fish of the agitated great ocean of milk ; (and) which has pervaded the beautiful mountains, the seas, the earth, the whole horizon, and the sky,—firmly endure, with the approbation of the supremely happy (whole) world, comprising women and children and old men, as long as the moon and stars shall last !"

Dr. Fleet admits in a foot-note that he has altered the original words niravady-ânvayan into niravadhy-avyayam, because he does not see anything appropriate in a description of the fame as niravady-ânvaya "of unblamable lineage." But the words refer to the author and are used in the same sense as the expression âryana "of the

nobly born one " employed by Kêśava in the fourth verse of the concluding praśasti of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa. And the translation "which was born from the source that was the supreme Śrîvijaya" is also incorrect, because Śrîvijaya-prabhûti is a bahuvrîhi compound which can be dissolved Śrîvijayât prabhûtir yasya that which took its origin from Śrîvijaya, namely, this work called Kavirâjamârga. The real meaning of the last verse of the Kavirâjamârga is: "Let the fame of one whose lineage is unblameable, which arises from the work having for its author the great Śrîvijaya,... . ..... endure as long as the moon and the stars last." This is in accordance with the custom, prevalent among Hindu authors, of expressing a prayer in the concluding verses that their works may endure as long as the sun, moon, &c., last. We need only refer to the concluding verses of Guṇabhadra's Uttarapuraṇa, the Sarasvatî-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa of Bhôja and the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa as illustrations. On the other hand no example can be quoted of a single Indian author who has expressed in the colophon of his work a hope that the fame or the works of a dead author may endure till the end of time. For these reasons and from the correct translations of the three verses given above it is plain that Śrîvijaya is one of the titles of the author of the Kavirâjamàrga, and cannot refer to the older Śrîvijaya mentioned by the author in his introductory verse 33, Chap. I. The conclusion which Dr. Fleet has attempted to deduce from the misinterpretations of the last three verses does not demand serious notice here.

The most interesting external evidence in support of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship of the Kavirâjamârga is found in Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka's Karṇâṭaka Śabdânuśâsana in which our attention is invited to a description of the skill displayed in the different usages of the Northern and Southern schools in Nṛipatuṅga-grantha or the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga. Owing to a hopeless misunderstanding of the two opening verses of the Kavirâjamârga Dr. Fleet is led to believe that Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka uses the expression Nṛipatuṅga-grantha to denote that Nṛipatuṅga was not the author but the inspirer of the work. This attempt to pervert the natural meaning of the expression will not be countenanced by Sanskṛit scholars; for Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka is a profound grammarian and writes in Sanskṛit. He says that such forms as namage and naṃmoḷ, though not noticed by previous grammarians, are nevertheless correct and quotes in support of his view three invocatory verses, one of which is the opening verse of the Pampa-râmâyaṇa. He says :—

> Atra kêchit kâvya-mukham âśîrupaṃ parârtham api bhavatîti nanam anaṅgîkurvâṇâ ninam êva paṭhanti nimage nimmoḷ iti || tad anyê nâbhimanyantê nirvighna-parisamâpti-kâmâḥ

prâripsita-pratibandhaka-duritâpanôdanârtham Paramâtma. guṇânukîrtana-rûpaṃ maṅgaḷam âcharantas svârtham apahâya parârtham êva prayatanta ity ayuktam êva ! aprêkshâvattva-prasaṅgât || anyatrâpi tathâ prachûra-prayôga-darśanâch cha | atô trâsmad-artha-vâchakô nan-śabda êvâbhimantavya iti || tathâpi sa kais chid êvâṅgîkriyatê ! uttara-mârgânugâmibhih kavîśvarair na sarvaiḥ | dakshiṇa-mârgânuyâyibhis tair anaṅgîkârât | en-pakshapâtinô hi dâkshiṇâtyâḥ kavi-janâ iti || dakshiṇôttara-mârga-bhêda-bhinna-prayôga-chaturî-prapañchô Nṛipatuṅga-granthê drashṭavya iti ||

Karṇâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana, Mr. Rice's edition, p. 161.

TRANSLATION.

Here [in the three invocatory verses] some who do not recognize such forms as namage, nammoḷ read instead nimage, nimmoḷ on the ground that the opening verse of a poem which forms an invocation,[1] contributes also to the benefit of others. This view is not accepted by other scholars, since it is quite inconsistent that authors who desire that their literary undertaking should be finished without any obstacle and who address invocation by way of celebrating the praises of the Highest Being in order to drive away the sin which might interfere with the completion of their literary work, should strive only for the good of others, laying aside their primary object, since such a course would argue a lack of prudence, and also because many such forms are found elsewhere [in passages containing no invocations]. However, this view is accepted by some, namely, by lords of poets belonging to the Northern school and not by all ; while the followers of the Southern school reject it, for the poets of the Southern school are in favour of such forms as emage, emmoḷ. A detailed description of the skill displayed in the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools is to be seen in Nṛipatuṅga's work.

Here Nṛipatuṅga-grantha means the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga namely, the Kavirâjamârga which gives illustrations of the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools in verses II, 100-108. With the expression Nṛipatuṅga-grantha we may compare the genitive compounds कैव्यटग्रन्थ and हरदत्तग्रन्थ employed by Jñânêndra-Saras-

[1] Here Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka says that the opening verse of the Pampa-Râmâyaṇa contains an invocation. Mr. Rice, in his Analysis prefixed to his 2nd edition of the poem, says: "(1) The author invokes Muni-suvrata (the 20th Tîrthaṅkara), (2) the Siddhas. (3) the Âchâryas, &c." On the other hand Dr. Fleet says : The author of the Pampa-Râmâyaṇa has not invoked any god at all in the introductory stanzas of his work, namely, verses 1 to 14 of the first Âśvâsa or canto. (!!!) Ind. Ant. XXXIII, p. 262. t is needless to say that Dr. Fleet's statement is opposed to fact.

vatî who is as distinguished a grammarian as Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka himself, and whose work is read at the present day in all parts of India. In his gloss on Pâṇini's sûtra विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् V, 2, 56 we read विंशत्यादिभ्य इति प्रत्यासत्त्या 'पङ्क्ति'—इत्यादि सूत्रेण निपातिता विंशत्यादयो गृह्यन्ते, न लोकप्रसिद्धा विप्रकृष्टत्वादिति भाष्यमतम् वृत्तिकृता तु विंशत्यादयो लौकिका एव संख्याशब्दा गृह्यन्ते न पङ्क्ति इत्यादिसूत्रानिर्दिष्टाः । तत्रहणे त्येकविंशतिप्रभृतिभ्यो न स्यात् । ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधात् । एवंच सति षष्टयादेश्चासंख्यादेः इति पर्युदासो युज्यत एवेत्युक्तम् एकाविंशतितम इति यद्यपि भाष्यमते तदन्तविधिर्दुर्लभः तथापि षष्टयादेश्च इति सूत्रे संख्यादिपर्युदासो ज्ञापयति इह प्रकरणे तदन्तानामपि ग्रहणम् इति । एवंच सति एकान्नविंशतेः पूरण एकान्नविंशतितम इत्यपि सिध्यति । लौकिकानां ग्रहणमिति वृत्तिमते तु नैतत्सिध्येत् विंशतिसंख्यातः प्राग्भावित्वादस्याः संख्यायाः । एतच्च कैयटहरदत्तग्रन्थयोः स्पष्टम् ।

TATTVABÔDHINÎ.

Translation.

The expression विंशत्यादयः should be understood in the sense of the numerals beginning with twenty as enumerated in Pâṇini V, 1, 59 owing to proximity and not in the sense of ordinary numerals beginning with twenty in the popular sense owing to the latter being remote. This is the opinion of Patañjali. The author of the Kâśikâvṛitti[1] on the other hand holds that ordinary numerals beginning with twenty are intended and not those enumerated in Pâṇini V, 1, 59; as according to the latter interpretation, such a form as एकाविंशतितमः could not be formed according to the maxim[2] that when a specific form of a noun is mentioned in Pâṇini, a termination should not be affixed to a word ending in such a form. On this supposition the exclusion of numerals beginning with sixty which are preceded by numerals in Pâṇini V, 2, 58 becomes perfectly consistent. Though, according to Patañjali's interpretation, the affixing of terminations to words ending in specific forms mentioned in Pâṇini, might appear to be disallowed, still the exclusion of sixty preceded by numerals in Pâṇini V, 2, 58, indicates that such a thing is allowed in this part of Pâṇini's grammar. According to this view the ordinal एकान्नविंशतितमः can be correctly formed, while according to the opinion of the author of the Kâśikâvṛitti, it is ungrammatical, as the numeral 'nineteen' precedes 'twenty' in popular enumeration. And this is made clear in the works of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.[3]

[1] Mahâbhâshya, Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., Vol. II, Part II, p. 385.
Kâśikâvṛitti, Benares Ed., pp. 52, 53, Part II.

[2] Paribhâshêndusêkhara. Dr. Kielhorn's Ed., pp. 29, 30.

[3] Siddhânta-Kâumudî with Tattvabôdhinî, Nirṇayasâgar Press 2nd Edn., pp. 286 and 207.

This subject is discussed by Kaiyaṭa in his Bhâshyapradîpa[1] and by Haradatta in his Padamañjarî.[2] The expression Kaiyaṭa-Haradatta-granthayôḥ means in the works composed by Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta. In the same way the genitive compound Nṛipatuṅga-granthê means in the work composed by Nṛipatuṅga, namely, the Kavirâjamârga which deals with the different usages of the Southern and Northern schools of poets in verses II, 100-108. This is the most interesting external evidence in support of Nṛipatuṅga's authorship of this oldest Kannaḍa work, of which manuscripts have been found. The internal evidence contained in the passages that have been examined above, is, as I have proved already, equally conclusive on this point. Nor does the identification of King Nṛipatuṅga present the slightest difficulty. He was a king, a paramount sovereign; his titles were Amôghavarsha and Atiśayadhavaḷa. He was a devout worshipper of Jina or Tîrthaṅkara. King Nṛipatuṅga, therefore, was Jinasênâchârya's pupil, Amôghavarsha, who had the title of Nṛipatuṅga as we learn from the opening praśasti of Mahâvîrâchârya's Gaṇitasâra,[3] and must have composed the Kavirâjamârga between Śaka 737 and 799. The contrivance by which Nṛipatuṅga has interwoven his own titles into the first two verses of his work is so ingenious as to render impossible any subsequent attempt to tamper with the text. Still Dr. Fleet has ventured to make such an attempt; but with the result that his so-called translation of the two verses, besides containing ten mistakes, asserts that Nṛipatuṅga possessed the kaustubha jewel, an assertion contradicted by a distinguished contemporary author, Guṇabhadra, who as preceptor to Akâlavarsha while the latter was yuvarâja, had frequent opportunities of coming into personal contact with King Nṛipatuṅga and who tells us that in his time there prevailed in the Canarese country the belief that the great jewel, kaustubha, sprung from

[1] Mahâbhâshya with Bhâshyapradîpa, Benares Ed., p. 85 (अ. ५, पा. २, आ. १.)

[2] Padamanjarî, Benares Ed., p. 305, Part II.

Cf. Anu-śabda-prayôgâd êva kṛita-maṅgalôyam Sâstrakṛiditi Sûtrakṛid-âchârânuvartti Vṛittikârô'pi tayaiva diśâ svayam api sva-granthântê maṅgalam âcharitam sûchayati. Karnâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana, p. 290. Here "sva-grantha" means the work composed by himself. In this passage Sâstrakṛit, sûtrakṛit and Vrittikâra refer to one and the same person. In the same way verse 53, Chap. II of the Kavirâjamârga must be interpreted in accordance with the specific information contained in the first 2 verses of the first chapter and the opening verse of the third chapter. Cf.

दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिग्रन्था राजकथाश्रयाः ।
मम त्वेकादश गता मतं नीलमुनेरपि ॥

Râjataraṅgiṇî I, 14.

[3] Kavirâjamârga, Intro., p. 7. In this prasasti the words nṛipa-tuṅga and amôghavarsha, which are employed as epithets to Jina, contain a punning reference to the titles of the reigning sovereign.

the ocean was worn on the breast by the god Vishṇu. If Dr. Fleet learns this single conception of Hindu Mythology, the meaning of the negative verb and the peculiar use of the interrogative pronoun as explained by Dr. Kittel and Dr. Caldwell, and the fact, of Lakshmî clinging to the breast of Vîranârâyaṇa in the temple at Gadag, he will have made satisfactory progress in his study of the two opening verses of Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârga.

A careful perusal of the arguments set forth above cannot fail to convince Sanskṛit scholars that Dr. Fleet's assertion that Mr. Rice wrongly attributed the composition of the Kavirâjamârga to Nṛipatuṅga is itself wrong. The authorship of this interesting Kannaḍa work was ascribed to Nṛipatuṅga in Śaka 1526 by no less an authority than the celebrated grammarian Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, whose opinion on this point is invaluable, as it rests upon the most important verses in the work itself which were misunderstood by Dr. Fleet but which have now been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Fleet's paper contains many other gratuitous assertions. But an examination of them may well be postponed till he has satisfied Sanskṛit scholars that there is no invocation of any kind to any god in the opening verses of Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârga and of Abhinava-Pampa's Râmâyaṇa. One assertion, however, need be noticed here. Dr. Fleet says on pp. 272, 273 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII) that 2 verses "stand in precisely the same form" in the Kavirâjamârga (II, 32, 35) and the Chhandômbudhi (53, 55) and admits that the former work is older than the latter; and yet he tells us that this "does not prove that it was from the Kavirâjamârga that the verses were taken into the Chhandômbudhi." This conclusion is most absurd, as he has not actually discovered these verses in an older author from whom the two works could have borrowed independently. Then Dr. Fleet finds 2 verses with different readings given in the two works, and as he cannot suggest "any acceptable" reason why Nâgavarma should vary the text, we are asked to believe that Nâgavarma actually borrowed these verses, not from the Kavirâjamârga but from an older work which Dr. Fleet has yet to discover. But until the promised discovery is made by Dr. Fleet and because we can give very "acceptable" reasons for the variation of the text by Nâgavarma, the world may safely believe that these verses were taken into the Chhandômbudhi from the Kavirâjamârga. It was absolutely necessary for Nâgavarma to alter the readings kṛitakṛityamalla-Vallabha-matadiude and Nṛipatuṅgadêva-vidita-kramadiṃ, as otherwise his claims to the authorship of the Chhandômbudhi would have been disputed by some critic who cannot understand invocatory verses in Indian poems and

who, if the readings had been preserved, would have been disposed to represent Nṛipatuṅgadêva as the author of the Chhandômbudhi. As to the reading Śatamakha-sadṛiśa, &c., Nâgavarma must have borrowed the verse containing this reading from a manuscript of the Kavirâjamârga which was accessible to him and which might be regarded as a predecessor of the present manuscript of that work which, as Dr. Fleet admits, does give that reading. It is obvious, therefore, that those four verses were really borrowed from Nṛipatuṅga-grantha (Nṛipatuṅga's work) by Nâgavarma and not from an older work which exists only in Dr. Fleet's imagination. In conclusion I may be permitted to reply to the charge of "a most indecorous attempt by the éditor to abuse the confidence of his readers" in the following words of Guṇabhadra :—

गुणागुणानभिज्ञेन कृता निन्दाथवा स्तुतिः ।
जात्यन्धस्येव धृष्टस्य रूपे हासाय केवलम् ॥ २६ ॥
अथवा सोनभिज्ञोपि निन्दतु स्तौतु वा कृतिम् ।
विदग्धपरिहासानामन्यथा कास्तु विश्रमः ॥ २७ ॥

Adipurâṇa, Chapter 43.

ART. VIII.

An Epigraphical Note on Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty.

BY SHRIDHAR RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated.)

There has been going on for some time a controversy as to the date of Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty. Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Report, Vol. XV., page 151, approximately fixed his accession in 831 A.D. But the date is inconsistent with the conclusion, drawn by my brother, Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, in his remarks on the Cambay plates of Govinda IV., that "Dharmapâla was a contemporary of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Indra III., for whom the Râshṭrakûṭa records furnish the dates 915 and 917 A.D.[1]

The following are the grounds on which Devadatta bases his conclusion. The Cambay plates speak of Indra III. having devastated Mahodaya (Kanauj). The date of Kshitipâla or Mahîpâla of Kanauj is 917 A.D. and he was thus a contemporary of Indra III. According to a Khajurâho inscription, "a king named Kshitipâla was placed on his throne by the Chandella prince Harshadeva." "This Harshadeva flourished at the beginning of the tenth century." The Kshitipâla, therefore, whom he reinstated, must have been this Kshitipâla and the throne that of Kanauj. Devadatta further proceeds to identify this Kshitipâla, Mahîpâla, Herambapâla, or Vinâyakapâla with Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate and Upendra of the Nausari plates of Indra III., in which Indra III. is represented as having conquered an Upendra. In the Bhâgalpur plate it is stated that Dharmapâla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya by conquering Indrarâja and other enemies, and bestowed it upon Chakrâyudha. In the Khâlimpur charter, where the same incident is referred to, Indrarâja is not mentioned, nor is Chakrâyudha, but the person on whom the sovereignty was conferred by Dharmapâla is mentioned as a prince of Kânyakubja. Therefore Chakrâyudha was of Kânyakubja and Indrarâja who had to be defeated must have wrested the sovereignty from him. The question now is whether the Indrarâja of unnamed dynasty of the Bhâgalpur plate is identical with, or different from, the Râshṭrakûṭa Indra III. of the Cambay plates. Devadatta inclines to the former view,

[1] Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 26–33.

because the account pieced together from the Bhâgalpur and Khâlimpur plates on the one hand, and the account as pieced together from the Cambay plates and the Khajurâho inscription, referred to, on the other hand, agree in the two particulars that an Indrarâja ousted a king of Kanauj from his throne and that the latter was again re-established. But there are two particulars in which the two accounts differ. The name of the king of Kanauj according to the latter account was Kshitipâla and according to the former Chakrâyudha, and the king who set him up was the Chandella prince Harshadeva and Dharmapâla respectively. Devadatta explains the latter by saying that in all likelihood both helped to set the king up again and credit was claimed on behalf of each. The former he explains by identifying Chakrâyudha with Kshitipâla and thinks the identification to be confirmed by the fact that the name Chakrâyudha signifies the same thing as Upendra, the name of the prince subjugated, according to the Nausari plates, by Indra III.

This explanation and this identification, however, can be conceded only if the identification of the two Indrarâjas be well-established. But just on account of the difference as regards the two particulars it would be equally open to another to hold that the two Indrarâjas were different. And in the history of India it is nothing strange if different kings at different times ruling over the same province are defeated and ousted from their thrones and again set up.[1] A somewhat unusual coincidence in the case of Kanauj may be that on two of the occasions on which its prince was deprived of his throne the names of the two victors were identical. And I have come across what I look upon as definite evidence that Dharmapâla was not a contemporary of Indra III., but of Govinda III.; and it is at the suggestion of Devadatta himself that I here publish it apart from, and before, the paper of which it should naturally form a part.

For a considerable time I have had in my hands a Râshṭrakûṭa copperplate grant of Amoghavarsha I. The charter is rather a big one, having an introduction of fifty-two stanzas. Except for one drawback it would have been published long ago. It is very incorrectly engraved and it alludes vaguely to not a few names and things of which very little or nothing was known when it came into my hands, and on only a few of which some glimmering of light has been thrown since. This fact renders it very difficult to make out to one's satisfaction the sense of many passages.

[1] Suppcsing, as Devadatta does, that the Indrarâja defeated by Dharmapâla did not belong to the same line as Chakrâyudha and that Chakrâyudha had been displaced by him. The point will be considered later on.

The evidence I have alluded to above is the following stanza relating to Nirupamatanaya Prabhûtavarsha Jagattuṅga, *i. e.*, Govinda III.:—

हिमवत्पर्व्वतनिर्झराम्बु तुरगैः पीतञ्च ग(गा)[ढ]ङ्गजै-
र्द्धौतं मज्जनतूर्यकैर्द्विगुणितं भूयोपि तत्कन्दरे [1]
स्वयमेवोपनतौ च यस्य महतस्तौ धर्म्मचक्रायुधौ ।[1]
हिमवान्कीर्त्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्तत्का(त्की)र्त्तिनारायणः ॥ [२३]

The mention together here of Dharma and Chakrâyudha in a Dvandva compound, though unfortunately there are no further particulars given of them, makes it plain, I think, that they are the same as the Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate.

There is a Chakrâyudha in the Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja noticed in Dr. Kielhorn's Epigraphic Note No. 17.[2] He is referred to therein as one "whose low state was manifested by his dependence on another (or others)" and as conquered by Nâgabhaṭa; and Dr. Kielhorn identifies him with the Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur plate. This Nâgabhaṭa also seems to be referred to in the following verses, which immediately precede the verses quoted above :—

स नागभटचन्द्रगुप्तनृपयोर्यशौ(शो?)र्य रणे
स्वहार्यमपहार्य धैर्य(र्यं)विकलानथोन्मोलयत् (न्मूलयन् or न्मोचयन्?) [1]
यशोर्ज्जनपरो नृपान्स्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव ।[3]
पुनःपुनरतिष्ठिपत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि । [२२]

The Chandragupta mentioned here may be the one whose name occurs in No. 617 in Dr. Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Northern India. The inscription is from Sirpur and is of "about the beginning of the ninth century A. D."

Dharmapâla must thus have been a contemporary of Govinda III., whose dates are Śaka 716, 726, 730 (A.D. 794, 804, 808), and flourished about the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

Darmapâla and Chakrâyudha being thus referred to a period earlier than that of Indra III., the identification with Kshitipâla of the Upendra whom Indra III. defeated and of the fact of the devastation of Mahodaya by that prince with the defeat or dethronement of Upendra, which, Devadatta thought, was probable, must now be given up.

But who is the Indrarâja who was defeated by Dharmapâla before Chakrâyudha was set up on his throne? May he not now be the

[1] Omit.

[2] Die Nachrichten der K. Gesellsschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist Klasse.

[3] Omit.

brother of Govinda III., as conjectured by Mr. Batavyal[1]? If he be, the unusual coincidence I have mentioned above of two different victors of Kanauj having the same name, Indrarâja, is not as unusual as it would otherwise be, since they both belong to a dynasty having three Indras in the direct line and one in a collateral line. Indra may have accompanied Govinda III., in the latter's victorious march, which was as far as the Himalayas, and might have been left by him in possession of the kingdom of Kanauj. And may not Nâgabhaṭa, whose glory is represented in the second of the above quotations as having been wrested from him by Govinda III., be the Gûrjara prince on whom Govinda's brother Indra is represented as having inflicted a defeat[2]? If Indra, the brother of Govinda III., was in the latter's company during his victorious march, there is nothing unusual if the credit of the victory over Nâgabhaṭa should be claimed for him also.

It may then be, that Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha yielded themselves up to Govinda III., that Indra, the brother of the last, was left in charge of Kanauj at least, that defeating Indra, Dharmapâla set Chakrâyudha on the throne, and that, when Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha yielded themselves up, Nâgabhaṭa too, at whose hands Chakrâyudha suffered defeat, either before or after this event, had to do the same.

Dr. Kielhorn[3] is of opinion that it is the Indrâyudha, who is referred to at the end of the Jaina Harivaṁśapurâṇa as reigning in the north in Śaka 705 (A.D. 783), and that he was of the same family as Chakrâyudha and was his predecessor on the throne of Kanauj. But his identification of the Râshṭrakûṭa Parabala, who erected the Pathârî Pillar bearing his inscription, with the Râshṭrakûṭa Parabala, who was the father-in-law of Dharmapâla,[4] would seem to militate against such a supposition. The great victorious march of Govinda III. occurred not later than A.D. 804.[5] Chakrâyudha must, on Dr. Kielhorn's supposition, have been set on the throne by Dharmapâla before this event. And further, if Nâgabhaṭa defeated Chakrâyudha before the victorious march, it would have to be held as not unlikely, that Chakrâyudha was set on his throne several years before A.D. 804. But under any circumstances, as the coronation of Chakrâyudha cannot be later than 804 A.D., Dharmapâla who set him up must then have been of an age not only to govern but also to conquer and set others on the throne, say about thirty. His father-in-law, who might naturally be expected to be older, must at that time have been about forty and would have to

[1] Journ. Beng. As. Soc. LXIII. p. 62.
[2] Baroda grant of Karka of the Gujarat Branch, Ind. Ant., XII. p. 166, ll 33-5.
[3] Epigraphic Note, No. 15.
[4] Epigraphic Note, No. 6.
[5] Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan (2nd edn.), p. 66.

be considered as being about ninety-seven at the date of the Pathârî Pillar inscription of A.D. 861. But if it be assumed that Dharmapâla set up Chakrâyudha some time after the victorious march of Govinda III. on defeating the last one's brother Indra, he might be assumed to have been younger in 804 A.D. and consequently Parabala less than ninety-seven in A.D. 861.

There is one other point to notice. Dr. Hoernle has drawn the conclusion that in 840 A.D. the Gûrjara empire did not include the northern kingdom of Kanauj and the conquest of the kingdom happened only under Bhoja I.[1] Thus there is still left unfilled the gap among the rulers of Kanauj, "of not less than 100 years between this king (Bhoja) and Yaśovarman, patron of Bhavabhûti," noticed by Devadatta in his paper on the Gûrjaras.[2] But Chakrâyudha has been made out by him to be a ruler of Kanauj. So there is now one at least to fill up the gap and another also, if the Indrâyudha of the Jaina Harivaṁśa should have likewise been a ruler of Kanauj as Dr. Kielhorn maintains.

That Chakrâyudha, who was a contemporary of the Gûrjara prince Nâgabhaṭa, was a ruler of Kanauj is an additional confirmation of the correctness of Dr. Hoernle's view.

Moreover one reason adduced by Devadatta, in the paper just mentioned, for assuming that the Gûrjara Vatsarâja's power was not restricted to Rajputana alone, but extended over the country ruled by Bhoja, is that the Gauḍa country was so far away from Rajputana that it is difficult to understand how otherwise Vatsarâja could subjugate it as he did. But the difficulty of the task may be regarded as not quite so insuperable or the inexplicability may be considered to have been removed by the fact to which attention has been drawn by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Gauḍa country was no other than Thanesar.[3]

Finally, in addition to the fact noticed by Mr. Jackson, this fact also, that Dharmapâla was a contemporary of Govinda III. (794 A. D.), completely does away with the preceptorship on the part of Krishṇa II (877 A.D.) with regard to Dharmapâla's children, which Dr. Hoernle refers to,[4] even if the words गौडानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुः had been capable of that meaning.

The scraps of information gathered may then be put together as follows :—

Chakrâyudha was raised to the throne of Kanauj by Dharmapâla after conquering Indrarâja and others according to the Bhâgalpur

[1] J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 646-7.
[2] J. B. R. A. S., 1902.
[3] J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 103-4.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 651.

grant. Nâgabhaṭa of the Gûrjara dynasty defeated Chakrâyudha, and Nâgabhaṭa himself was defeated by Govinda III. It would thus appear, that when Nâgabhaṭa was the Gûrjara prince, the family had not established itself at Kanauj. The Indrâyudha mentioned in the Harivaṁśa as ruling over the north in 783 A. D. was probably a ruler of Kanauj; and he may have been one of those vanquished by Dharmapâla about the end of the eighth century and the one referred to by the name of Indrarâja in the Bhâgalpur plates. Dharmapâla did not annex the country to his territory but bestowed the sovereignty of it on Chakrâyudha. Chakrâyudha was probably connected with Indrâyudha, as the ending word âyudha of both the names may be taken to indicate. Indrâyudha may have been the rightful predecessor of Chakrâyudha or a usurper and, after his defeat and probable death also, Chakrâyudha may have been raised to the throne by Dharmapâla as the next or rightful claimant. So that some time after the death of Yaśovarman, the patron of Bhavabhûti, which must have taken place about the middle of the eighth century, one Indrâyudha got possession of it and was ruling in 783 A.D. He was succeeded by Chakrâyudha and he perhaps by somebody else, until this petty dynasty was overthrown by Bhojadeva of the Gûrjara dynasty about the middle of the ninth century, and thereafter Kanauj became the capital of the latter dynasty.

Art. IX.

A comparison of the Avestic Doctrines of the Fravashees with the Platonic Doctrines of the Ideas and other later Doctrines.

By R. K. Dadachanji, B.A., LL.B.

(*Read 27th July*, 1905.)

The history of all human thought establishes the correctness of the following three principles : First, all civilization and progress are the results of the evolution of thought from its simplest to its most complex forms, step by step, among the different races of mankind from the dawn of human history. Secondly, all ideas relating to objects and forms of worship were in reality in primitive times intended to be explanations of the mysterious phenomena of nature and events of human life on the supposition that such phenomena were the results of the operations of spirits, and were, so to speak, the effects of what may be called "spiritual causes" as distinguished from what we understand as "physical causes." These ideas represented, as it were, the *sciences* of primitive times and led to the birth and growth of the sciences properly so-called of modern times. Thirdly, with the advance of knowledge and culture, "spiritual causes" are supplanted gradually by physical causes, as explaining natural phenomena and the events of human life. The first of these three principles establishes what may be called the principle of the suggestiveness of ideas, *viz.*, that old existing ideas have the power of suggesting new ideas ; that conversely, new ideas never arise except through the suggestion of, or as being derived from, old existing ideas, and bear, therefore, a necessary connection with the latter and would never come into existence but for the prior existence of the latter. This principle is akin to, but distinct from, the principle of association of ideas. The second of the said three principles is a corollary of the first and may be described as representing the principle of the unity and continuity of human thought throughout all ages in the history of the civilized nations of the world. The remaining third principle shews, that the greater the advance made by the human mind in knowledge and culture, *viz.*, in the actual production of, and in the power of producing, new ideas out of old ideas, the less are natural phenomena and events of human life explained with reference to "spiritual causes," and the more are they ex-

plained with reference to physical causes. These principles, therefore, suggest tests for ascertaining the stage, at which any particular idea must have been developed, and its relations in point of growth to other ideas, similar in substance but different in forms. We shall see, that the Fravashees, a certain class of spirits representing also human beings, dead, living and to be born, were regarded in the Avestic times as explaining most of the mysterious phenomena of nature and human life. But when we come to the times of Plato, which were far later than those in which the Avestic ideas of Frohars or Fravashees came into existence, we observe, that physical causes *e.g.*, fire, air, water, are accepted as explaining the phenomena of existence in the world by some Greek thinkers, who denied that such phenomena were due to the working of spirits. In those times, we observe that Plato makes only a limited use of the idea of spirits. While in the Avestic times the Fravashees were regarded as explaining all phenomena, all the mysteries of nature and human life in this world, Plato looked upon the idea of the existence of spirits as only explaining metaphysical questions concerning life before birth and life after death. In later times than those of Plato, Christianity taught through Catholicism the activity in this world, for the good of devout Christians, of the spirits of those few elect dead personages only who were canonized. Thus though Catholicism denied the activity of the spirits of all dead Christians who had met with Christian burial, and for whose spiritual benefit certain religious ceremonies had been performed, it admitted the beneficent activity of the spirits of those few who were revered as saints. But this limitation of the idea of the activity of the spirits of the human dead was abolished centuries later by Protestantism, which refused to accept the idea of the beneficent activity of the spirits of those whom Catholicism venerated as saints, though it retained the idea of the existence of the spirits of the dead, and their future salvation. And in the middle of the 19th century, when science had explained through physical causes and laws all phenomena of nature and human existence, physically observable, rejecting all explanations based on the agency of spirits, we find that Auguste Comte (who founded the Religion of Humanity in the hope of its supplanting all existing "supernatural religions," as A. Balfour has called them, meaning those which teach the existence of spiritual life after death) utilized for the purposes of his new religion an idea similar to the idea of the Frohars or Fravashees of the dead, not in its entirety, but with its connection with spirits eliminated. And coming to our own days, we observe that with all orthodox Parsees the idea of Fravashees, as representing the dead, are living, moving ideas ; but that these ideas are, and have been, restricted to

the beneficent acivity of the Fravashees invoked with proper ceremonies and observances. Thus Parseeism believes in the beneficent activity in this world of the Fravashees or spirits, representing the dead, including the Fravashees representing those living and to be born, though Catholicism, which arose much later than the ideas of the Fravashees, confines such activity to the spirits of those whom it has recognized as saints. This paper will, therefore, after setting out the Avestic doctrines as to the Fravashees, state and discuss the doctrines of Plato regarding what he has called the Ideas, and compare and contrast them with the former. It will, also, refer to Comte's Religion of Humanity, as far as it bears on the subject herein dealt with. This paper will, further, demonstrate, how the unity and continuity of thought are preserved by great religions, after their establishment, by the adaptation and absorption of ideas, which in their existing forms they desired to displace, but which they could not wholly extinguish. It is, generally, supposed, that a new religion has always absolutely broken up the old order of ideas and replaced it by an entirely new one. But attentive observation shews, that it is impossible to remove completely an existing intellectual and moral outfit from the human mind, and equip it with an entirely new one.

This paper will, also, attempt to settle the relation of the teachings of what are known as the later Avesta writings to those of the Gathas, to solve the questions firstly, whether the former are simple pre-Zoroastrian or post-Zoroastrian ideas, or are really Zoroastrian adaptations of pre-Zoroastrian ideas; secondly, what their age is with reference to the propagation of Zoroastrianism and the early Aryan emigration to India.

2. The "Gathas" are universally acknowledged as embodying the teachings of the great Zoroaster. With reference to the date of this grand work, the dates of composition of different parts of the remaining extant Zoroastrian scriptures have first to be fixed. And the opinion prevails, that the Yeshtas are writings, which belong to a later period than that of the Gathas and are, therefore, known as forming a part of what are called the later Avesta writings. As Dr. Haug observes in his learned "Essays on the Parsis",—"The name Fravashee is never to be met with in the Gathas." But as is well known the "nusks," which formed the body of the Zoroastrian scriptures, have been lost, and as it can never be assumed that the Gathas were the only original work, representing the teachings of the great Iranian prophet, it cannot be inferred from the silence of the Gathas as to the Fravashees, that the great prophet disbelieved the existence of the Fravashees, or preached their non-existence. If this had been the case, the later Avesta would not have assigned one whole Yashta

specially to the Fravashees, *viz.*, the Frawardeen Yesht, and would not have made constant references to them in its other parts, nor would the recital of the Frawardeen Yesht have constituted, as it has constituted from time immemorial till the present day, the most important part of the Zoroastrian ritual of the dead. And, moreover, it is impossible to assume either that the great prophet inculcated no ritual in honour of the dead who are always the first care of every great religion ; and that if he did, as he could not but have done, there was any other ritual prescribed than, *inter alia*, the recital of the Frawardeen Yesht. Assuming, therefore, that no significance can be attached to the fact of the Gathas not referring to the Fravashees, we shall set out the main doctrines of the Fravardeen Yashta and afterwards discuss them in relation to the Platonic doctrines as to the Ideas ; because nothing brings out the salient points of any doctrines so much as their comparison and contrast with other similar doctrines. It is when placed against the background of the latter, that the former appear in all their striking colours, disclosing the strong and weak points of both.

3. The doctrines of the Frawardeen Yesht regarding the Fravashees are as follows on the following points :—

I. What the Fravashees or Frohars are and their powers. "The Frohars or Fravashees are invisible, incapable of being imagined, are far-seeing, strong, powerful, successful in war, health-giving, grantors of gift and happiness."

II. The place of abode of the Fravashees or Frohars :—" The Fravashees or Frohars move about at their will in the upper region of air (or ether)."

III. What beings and bodies are represented by the Fravashees or Frohars :—" Ahuramazda, the yezds, the angels, the heavens, water, earth, trees (vegetation), goats and kine, and men, living, dead, and to be born, pious creations, and even the Mathravani have all their respective Fravashees or Frohars. But the Frohars of the pious living human beings are more powerful than those of departed ones."

IV. Explanations of phenomena based on the agency of the Fravashees or Frohars :—

" (*a*) The sun, moon, planets, and innumerable stars were stationary at first for a long time, but the Frohars opened and pointed out the true paths for them . . . . Water was likewise stationary at first for a long time, but the Frohars shewed to it good ways into streams . . . . Trees were also stationary, inactive at first, did not develop or yield fruits ; but the Frohars gave to them

the power of developing and yielding fruits, according to ordained ways and at ordained times."

"(*b*) It is through the aid of the Frohars that Ahura Mazda sustains the earth and the heavens, preserves the unborn in the wombs of their mothers. If there had been no Frohars, no creatures of Ahura Mazda, rational and irrational, would have been in existence, but Angremenyush, and the "Deruj's, and the (evil) Meenoes (spirits) would have overpowered everything, and exercised their sway unchecked."

V. The time, mode and results of the adoration of the Frohars :— "The Frohars descend from their higher region to the earth on the occasion of the Hamaespathan ghambar [a certain part of the Parsi year], and move about the streets for ten nights, desirous of their names being remembered, their praises and glory being proclaimed, their worship being effected with pious prayers, and their being welcomed with hands bearing food and raiment [not, it is to be noted, being fed with food, or clothed with raiment] . . . . . The blessings, which the Frohars that have had their aforementioned desires satisfied, possess the power of granting, and do grant on invocation, are as follows :—(*a*) "Increase of cattle and human beings," (*b*) "fleet horses and strong vehicles," (*c*) "power, with leadership of the Anjuman (public body)," (*d*) "help in enterprises and in distress," (*e*) "health and recovery from illness," (*f*) 'victory in battles."

Inferentially it may be stated, that Angremenyush, the Derooj's, and the evil Meenoes are not represented by Frohars, and that the Frohars are the beings forming the connecting link between the spiritual and the physical world—between mind and matter, and are the beings who connect Ahura-Mazda with his good creations.

4. Dr. Haug says in his "Essays on the Parsees": "Every being of the good creation, whether living or deceased, or still unborn, has its own Fravashee or guardian, who has existed from the beginning. Hence they are a kind of prototype, and may best be compared to the Ideas of Plato, who supposed everything really existing to have a double existence, first in idea, secondly in reality. Such celestial or invisible prototypes are also mentioned in the Bible. . . See Heb., IX, 23. Exod. XXV, 9, 24." We shall now state the doctrines of Plato as to the Ideas, and then note the points of similarity and dissimilarity between them and the doctrines of the Avesta, regarding the Fravashees or Frohars.

5. The doctrines of Plato on the Ideas, which were intended by him to prove the immortality of the soul, are put by him into the mouth of

Socrates in the dialogue entitled Phædo. Socrates expresses them just before drinking the cup of hemlock, and bravely submitting to the execution of the sentence of death passed upon him. He holds his last discourse with his devoted grief-stricken disciples, appropriately on death and the immortality of the soul. He seeks to inspire his disciples with courage and fortitude to bear his approaching death, by trying to prove in his usual way that death to a true pure-minded philosopher, which Socrates had undoubtedly proved himself to be, was but the opening of the door of the prison of the body in which his immortal soul had been imprisoned, and afforded a passage to that higher and sublimer unchanging life in the glorious upper regions of the gods, which was the reward of the true pure-hearted philosopher. The excellence of the analyses of the Platonic Dialogues given by Grote in his great work, entitled "Plato and the other companions of Socrates," is testified to by Jowett, and is proved by a study of the latter's own fascinating translations of the dialogues. The following doctrines, therefore, of Plato on the Ideas are stated mostly in the words of Grote, which, besides being accurate, can hardly be improved upon :—

I. What the Ideas are, and what functions they discharge, [not being, it is to be noted, invested with, and not exercising, any powers themselves] : "The Ideas are invisible, eternal unchanging intelligible essences, or realities, are substantial, universal, absolute universal, causative, entities, are extra phenomenal transcendental causes. Each idea imports or communicates its own nature to the particulars, which bear the same name with it and exist in this world of sense, transient phenomena, uncertainty and mere opinion, *e.g.*, Self-Beautiful and Self-Good are the eternal Ideas, and if any thing else be beautiful or good, it can only be, and is beautiful or good, because it inheres or partakes in or has in it the presence of, the Self-Beautiful or Self-Good.

II. The place of abode of the Ideas : In the invisible upper regions of the earth, which are glowingly described in detail by Socrates, as if under inspiration, at the end of his discourse and where everything is fairer than here and where the gods also reside, there dwell the Ideas.

III. Metaphysical explanations, not based on the assumed agency of the Ideas, but upon logical inferences drawn or deductions made, from the theory of their existence : (i) Immortality of the soul. "That which being in the body gives it life is the soul, which exists both as a particular thing in the world and as an universal Idea in the transcendental world. But contrary ideas can and will never

co-exist in anything, but will exclude one another. Therefore the soul, which always brings with it life, can never receive, or admit, or co-exist with, death, which always brings with it the contrary of life. The soul therefore is not liable to death, but is immortal." (ii) Life after death and the transmigration of souls: "After the death of each individual, his soul is conducted by his attendant genius to whom he belonged in life to the proper place, and there receives its reward or sentence of condemnation to suffering greater or less, according to his conduct in life, to be carried out in certain ways. The reward or condemnation of the soul is determined by the following consideration :—(*a*) If the soul has undergone during the life in this world of the body, left behind by it, the purifying influence of philosophy, having detached itself as much as possible from all connection with the body, with passions, appetites, and impulses, from all pleasures and pursuits connected with the body, in order to pursue true wisdom and knowledge, then, it is relieved from the obligation of entering into any other body, and is allowed to live by itself ever afterwards, disembodied in the pure region of the Ideas, in companionship with the gods. (*b*) If the soul has undergone no such purification, it first takes the form of a ghost, and becomes visible and then after undergoing some purification enters fresh bodies of different species of men or animals, according to the particular temperament it carries away with it, and the wrongs committed by it during its embodied life, *e.g.*, the soul of a despot, a violent or rapacious man, passes into the body of a wolf or kite; of a glutton or drunkard into that of an ass; but the soul of a man, just and temperate by habit and disposition, and not through the exercise of the pure intellect passes into the body of a gentle and social animal, such as the ant, bee, wasp, &c., or may return into the human form of a moderate man. (iii) Life before birth: "The soul during its pre-existence, while completely apart from the body, acquires through intellectual contemplation and commerce with the eternal Ideas, wisdom or knowledge of the other eternal Ideas, to which its own nature is cognate. But such wisdom or knowledge is lost by the soul on birth, owing to its conjunction with the body, and during its existence in this world; and if it acquires any part of that knowledge afterwards during its life in the world, such knowledge is mere reminiscence, a renewal of the Ideas, with which the soul was already familiar during its anterior life, while separate from the body." (iv) Conflict between the soul and the senses: "Out of the body, there grow passions, appetites and impulses, feelings of pleasure and pain, which corrupt the soul's perception of truth, and misguide it in its search for wisdom and knowledge, which can only be acquired though pure mental contem-

plation of the eternal Ideas, and thus the perceptions of the senses lead to no truth, but only to confusion and deceit. The soul, therefore, existing in an embodied state must sever its connection with the senses, with all passions, appetites, and impulses, and must engage itself in true intellectual contemplation."

6. Before instituting any comparison between the Platonic doctrines regarding the Ideas, and the Avestic doctrines regarding the Frohars, it will be interesting to note the comments of Jowett on the former. That great scholar remarks : "At the conclusion of the dialogue [Phædo] Socrates replaces the veil of mythology and describes the soul and her attendant genius in the language of the mysteries, or a disciple of Zoroaster . . . . . When we consider how much the doctrine of Ideas was also one of words, we cannot wonder, that Plato should have fallen into verbal fallacies ; early logic is always mistaking the truth of the form for the truth of the matter . . . . The conception of an abstract soul is the impersonation of the ideas . . . and . . . is in Plato himself but half expressed . . . Plato had the wonders of psychology just opening to him, and he had not the explanations of them, which are supplied by the analysis of language, and the history of human thought . . . . Nor is it difficult to see that his crowning argument is purely verbal, and is but the expression of an instinctive confidence put into a logical form :—'The soul is immortal because it contains the principle of imperishableness.' Nor does he seem to be at all aware, that nothing is added to human knowledge by his 'safe and simple answer,' that 'beauty is the cause of the beautiful.'" It is clear, that Plato's proofs of his doctrines rest upon what appear to us like verbal juggleries. But this paper is concerned with his doctrines, and not with their proofs, however unsatisfactory they may appear to our modern minds. However it is to be noted, that as regards these proofs themselves, the great philosopher was not free from doubt and uncertainty. He puts the following observation into the mouth of one of the characters, who takes part in the discourse :—"I dare say, that you Socrates feel as I do, how very hard, or almost impossible is the attainment of any certainty about questions such as these in the present life." And the same character is at the end of the discourse again made to observe as follows :— "I can see no reason for doubt after what has been said. But I shall feel and cannot help feeling uncertain in my own mind, when I think of the greatness of the subject, and the feebleness of man."

7. The following points strike us, when comparing Plato's doctrines of Ideas, with the Avestic doctrines of the Fravashees :—

I. As Jowett observes, it is not impossible, that Plato borrowed his idea of the attendant genius of each individual to whom he belongs in life from the Avesta either directly, or indirectly through the mysteries, and that this attendant genius corresponds to the Fravashee of the living. But the Avesta recognizes the Fravashee of the living, as distinct from the Fravashee of the dead; while Plato does not. According to him, the attendant genius of each individual attends on him when living, as well as after his death.

II. The Platonic Ideas are not powers, or natural agents, producing any natural phenomena, except so far as they are essences of animate and inanimate objects, and their qualities. They are not active spiritual beings, except those that represent souls. They do not represent the gods, and do not require adoration through offerings, but claim only contemplation. They possess no power for good, nor are they beneficent in themselves. It is through their pure intellectual contemplation, that good comes, *viz.*, release from future embodiment. In all these particulars the Ideas differ from the Fravashees.

III. The Avestic doctrines of the Fravashees do not inculcate the transmigration of souls ; but on the contrary teach that every individual has three separate Fravashees representing him at three distinct stages of his existence, *viz.*, before birth, after death and after birth. The Avesta does not mention any process of purification to be followed in this world by the Fravashee of any departed individual. On the contrary the Fravashees of the dead descend in their spiritual disembodied condition on certain days during the year to bless the living, and not to re-enter the bodies of men or animals. Their beneficent power arises from the fact of the individuals whom some of them represent being pious during their lives. But once these individuals die, they resume no earthly forms again.

IV. The Avestic Fravashees cannot be identified with the Platonic souls, or what are ordinarily known as souls ; living individuals themselves are represented by Fravashees residing apart from them and by themselves in a disembodied, spiritual condition ; consequently these Fravashees, which remain outside the human bodies of living individuals, cannot be identical with what are called the souls of the living, which are necessarily within and are in possession of the bodies of the living. And it is possible, though it is not quite clear, that the Fravashees of the dead may not be their souls, which animated them during life. This view finds support from the prevailing

Parsi belief which makes a difference between the soul of a dead individual and his Fravashee. The inference, therefore, is that after the birth of a man, a Fravashee comes into existence ; so also after his death.

8. With reference to the biblical allusions to ideas of prototypes mentioned by Dr. Haug, it is to be noted that such allusions are to be met with in Sanskrit literature also. Kalidas's Sakuntala or the Lost Ring refers to such an idea in the following passage, as translated by Sir Monier Williams, describing the peerless beauty of the heroine:— " Such the divine, the wondrous prototype, whence her fair shape was moulded into being."

9. The ideas about Fravashees as taught by the Avesta, especially the duty of propitiating them in the way enjoined by the Avesta about the very time fixed by the holy texts, are in force and acted upon, even now, amongst orthodox Parsis. The days sacred to the Fravashees are popularly called the Muktad days and are 18 in number, beginning with the 25th day of the last month of the Parsi calendar year and ending with the 7th day of the following new year, including the 5 intercalary days, called the Gatha-ghambhar days, added by the Parsi calendar at the termination of the last month of every year. Strictly considered, the Muktad days should be 10 only, beginning with the 26th day of the last month of the year, and ending with the 5th intercalary day, the first day of the new year marking the close of the holidays. But for some reason or another the Muktad days became nominally extended to the 7th day of the first month of the new year, though even in popular belief and imagination, the last 10 days of the old year have been held far more sacred than the first 6 days of the following new year. The last 5 intercalary days are popularly regarded as days for repenting of the sins of the closing year and for forming pious determinations for the new year ; while the first 6 days of the new year are assigned to rejoicings, which are never adopted till the advent of the new year or the last day of the old departing year. During the Muktad days in every orthodox Parsi household, ceremonies are performed and prayers are recited by priests day and night in honor of the Fravashees, especially the Fravashees of the dead, and offerings of food, &c., are specially prepared for them. A room in the house is specially cleaned and prepared for the occasion for the visit of the Fravashees and is adorned daily with fresh flowers and rendered fragrant with the burning of incense. In this room some prayers are recited while offerings are offered, in honor of the Fravashees, other prayers being recited elsewhere. At the end of the holidays, a hearty send-off is given by the popular imagination to the

visiting Fravashees. When for any reason a Parsi household is not in a position to perform the Muktad days' ceremonies in honor of the Fravashees, the task is entrusted to managers of "Agiaries," where they are performed in a separate room for as many households as may direct their performance there.

10. Dr. Haug says: "Originally the Fravashees represented only the departed souls of ancestors, comparable to the 'Pitras' of the Brahmans, and the 'Manes' of the Romans." If he meant, as he most likely did mean, that the Fravashees were Zoroastrian adaptations of pre-Zoroastrian ideas of the worship of ancestors, his opinion is well-founded. But Herbert Spencer viewed the doctrines of the Fravashees as proving only ancestor-worship. We shall, therefore, state his views and discuss them, especially as by so doing, we shall be able to bring out some more peculiarities of those doctrines and the religious usages still prevailing amongst the Parsis in connection with them. Herbert Spencer says: "Concerning the ancient Aryans of Persia, we have, on the highest authority, statements distinctly proving a dominant ancestor-worship. While one of the several souls possessed by each individual (and we have seen, that various savages believe in two, three, and even four souls, shadow, reflection, health, heart), the Fravashee is the predominant and the propitiated soul. It is supposed to need food, like the other-self of the dead savage. Not ordinary men only, but deities up to the Supreme One, have each his ghost, implying that he was originally a man; there is god and 'spirit of god,' as among the Hebrews. We see, too, that these which are ancestral ghosts become the agents, to whom the powers of surrounding objects are ascribed—fetish ghosts. We see, that worship of them, beginning with worship of those of the family and the clan, originates in time the worship of more conspicuous traditional persons, as heroes and gods just as among the Figians and others at this day." But as we have shewn, the Fravashee is not a soul "possessed by each individual" embodied in him, as Spencer imagines it to be, and does not even reside on the earth in an embodied or disembodied form and is not, therefore, a ghost, as Spencer imagines it to be, and does not need food, but needs only reverence, as evidenced by the mere offering of food, not intended to be appropriated by it. As, therefore, the Fravashee does not represent a soul, or constitute a ghost, its adoration in no wise proves ancestor-worship, much less dominant ancestor-worship; because as already repeatedly observed there are Fravashis not only for the dead, but also for the living and those to be born. It is true, that at the recital of the Fravardeen Yesht, as a part of a ceremony in memory of a dead individual, it is still customary among the Parsis to invoke by their

respective names the Fravashees of the deceased's ancestors, going as far at times as the ancestor, who had, as a fugitive from Persia, landed in India, and founded here the family of the deceased. And there is the further practice, still prevailing, of nominating what is called the adoptive son of a deceased Parsi, though unmarried or childless at the time of death, and of invoking blessings of the Fravashees on such son. The original object of this practice was undoubtedly to provide a deceased male with an adoptive son, who should look after the welfare of the ghost or the spirit of the deceased. But the above Parsi practices would not prove ancestor-worship, even if we disregarded the facts already pointed out; because there is the further practice prevalent from times immemorial, almost certainly from Zoroastrian times, of invoking the Fravashees of deceased females, and especially of those females, who have in any way attained to pre-eminence, by being the mothers of national great men, or otherwise. Thus the Fravashees of the mother and the daughters of the great prophet, and the wives and mothers of great national heroes like Zal and Rustom are also still ordinarily invoked. This conclusively proves, that the Zoroastrian invocation of the Fravashees of the dead is by no means of the nature of ancestor-worship. It resembles, if it did not actually supply a model for, the commemoration ceremony prescribed by Auguste Comte for his Religion of Humanity.

11. We now see most clearly, after a thorough examination of the ideas of the Fravashees, that they are as intellectual and spiritual as the Platonic abstract essential causative ideas, but are purer than the latter, as they never enter the bodies of men or animals as the latter do, but represent the higher order of beings, and are invested with far greater powers than the Ideas, which are practically powerless.

12. Turning, now, to Comte's Religion of Humanity, the metaphysical theory upon which he bases his doctrine of the non-spiritual worship of the dead is evidently inspired by Platonism, and is partially an adaptation to the requirements of the 19th century thinker of a portion of the Platonic theory of the Ideas, thus being an illustration of the principles of the suggestiveness of ideas and continuity of thought. Comte's metaphysical theory is as follows :—"The supreme power is the continuous result of all the forces capable of voluntarily taking part in the amelioration of the race, even without excepting our worthy helpmates amongst the animals. Each individual member of this great whole has two successive existences, the one objective, and always transitory, in which he serves directly the great being by using the entire series of the previous labors of our race, the other subjective

and perpetual, in which the service is indirectly prolonged by the results which he leaves his successors. . . . The first life forms nothing but the trial of a man's worthiness for the final incorporation. . . . Once incorporated with the supreme being, he becomes truly inseparable from it. Thus man serves Humanity as a being during his life, strictly so called, and as an organ after his death, which finally transforms his life into a subjective life. . . . The living are, therefore, always and even more and more governed by the dead." And upon this theory the great thinker bases the following system of the worship of the dead :—"As the static festivals represent morality, so dynamic festivals will represent history. In these the Worship of Humanity acquires a more concrete and animated form, as it will consist principally in rendering honor to the noblest types of each phase of human development." And Comte framed a complete system of commemoration applicable to Western Europe under the title of "Positivist Calendar." It may be noted, that the Parsis do possess such a calendar and that every addition to the calendar is made by the unanimous decision of the community in a general meeting assembled on the third day, Uthamna, ceremony, in honor of the death of a distinguished popular Parsi, on the proposition of the Dastur (High Priest), and that thenceforth, his Fravashee is invoked generally amongst the community, when any prayers are recited in honor of the Fravashee of any deceased Parsi. It is interesting to note the grounds upon which Comte justifies his commemoration service in honor of the dead, those being the grounds, upon a part of which additions are made to the Parsi calendar, as above stated. He says: "While striving to surpass our ancestors, we shall yet render due honor to all their services, and look with respect on their systems of life. By commemoration of past services, we shall strengthen the desire inherent in all of us to prolong our existence. . . The praise given to our ancestors will stimulate a noble rivalry, inspiring us with the desire to become incorporate into the Mighty Being, whose life endures through all time, and who is formed of the dead far more than the living."

(To be concluded.)

Art. X.

Maçoudi on Volcanoes.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

(*Read 26th April* 1906.)

While studying for my lecture on "Mount Vesuvius and my visit to that mountain in 1889" delivered before the Dnyán Prasârak Society on Tuesday, the 17th instant, I looked into some of the Eastern authors, to see if they gave any description of volcanoes. In Firdousi we find no regular description of volcanoes.

It is in Maçoudi that we find a description of some of the volcanoes of the world. Modern European scientific writers on the subject of volcanoes have given references to the writings of the classical authors who have alluded to the subject; but, as far as I know, they have not referred to Maçoudi. The object of this short paper is to collect Maçoudi's references to some of the volcanoes of the world, as it may be of some interest and importance to vulcanologists to know what an Arab writer of the 10th century said of this grand phenomenon of nature.

Abou 'l Hasan Ali, surnamed Maçoudi from one of his ancestors, flourished in the first half of the 10th century after Christ. He was born in Bagdâd and travelled through Persia and India and went even to the Malay Peninsula and to the Chinese seas. He travelled also in Egypt. So, what he says of the volcanoes, especially of the Asiatic volcanoes, seems to be the result of his own observations. The book, in which he has embodied his observations and the result of his studies, is known as Maruj ul Zahab va Ma'din ul Jóhar (مروج الذهب و معادن الجوهر) *i.e.*, the Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels.

Maçoudi has written in Arabic and I give his description of the volcanoes from the translation of the work in French by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille.

I. The first reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 16th chapter which treats of seas and their peculiarities.[1] He gives the following description of a mountain in the most distant parts of the islands situated in the sea of China: –

"From these mountains emanates a continuous fire, of which the flames, which are red during the day and blackish at night, rise

[1] Vol. I., p. 342.

so high that they reach the clouds. These eruptions are accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder. Often there emanates from it a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief according as it is more or less resonant. There are those who can distinguish this perfectly, being instructed in this matter by a long experience which never makes mistakes. These mountains form part of the large volcanoes of the earth. Not far from these is an island, in which one hears continuously the echo of the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices, and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands. On lending an attentive ear, one distinguishes clearly all the sounds without confounding them. The mariners who have voyaged on these sea-coasts say that it is there that the Dajâl (دجال), *i.e.*, the Antichrist, has fixed his abode."

Now, which are the volcanoes that Maçoudi here refers to as being situated in the sea of China? It appears that they form the volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. Of the great volcanic lines described by Prof. Anstead in his Physical Geography, "the most active is," as he says, "that of Java and Sumatra, separating the China Sea from the Indian Ocean."[1] He adds further on, that "the islands near the Malay Peninsula, commencing with the Andaman group and the Nicobar Islands, and extending through Sumatra into Java, are all volcanic, and the volcanic force attains there the condition of intense energy. Along the whole length of Java, the volcanic mountains are so close that it is difficult to distinguish between the various groups. This is the case for at least 700 miles. In this Island the volcanoes range from 5,000 to 13,000 feet in height above the sea."[2]

So, when Maçoudi speaks of the mountains in plural (جبال) and of their flames as "a continuous fire, rising so high that they reach the clouds," it seems clear that he refers to this volcanic belt of great activity in Java. He refers to this belt of volcanoes once more, as we shall see later in the 17th chapter,[3] where he speaks of the volcanic belts of the Caucasus and of the Mediterranean. There he remarks that "of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ." This is a reference to the group of volcanoes at Java and Sumatra which were then ruled over by a Mahârâjâ.

[1] Physical Geography by Prof. David T. Ansted (Fifth Edition 1871), p. 326.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 332-33.
[3] Maçoudi. Vol. II., p. 26.

There is one other casual reference to this group in Maçoudi which shows that it is the volcances of Java to which he refers. In the 35th chapter of his book[1] while speaking of the Franks (*i.e.*, the Firangis or the Europeans) he refers to the Island of Sicily and to its volcanoes, and then says that he has elsewhere referred to the volcano of Zâbej in the China Sea (اطم بلاد الزابج من بحر الصين *i.e.*, the volcano of the city of Zâbej in the sea of Sin, *i.e.*, Chin or China). Barbier de Meynard takes this Zabej to be the same as modern Java.

There are several other points in Maçoudi's description which require observation.

1. Maçoudi speaks of the eruption of these mountains as "accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder." The last eruption of one of these mountains, the most terrible eruption that we have ever had in our times, was that of Krakatoa in 1883, which caused the death of about 36,000 people. The sound of that eruption was heard at a distance of about 3,000 miles.

2. Maçoudi then refers to "a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief, according as it is more or less resonant." Superstitious effects of this kind on minds terrified to the extreme are not rare even in our times, whether in the East or in the West.

3. Maçoudi refers to "the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands." Now, all this is due to what are called "rhythmical puffs and bursts" which occur at regular intervals of a few seconds, and which are observed even in the case of the eruptions of Vesuvius as referred to by Dr. Philipps in his work on Vesuvius.[2] Dion Cassius, who wrote about 230 A.D., while describing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., notes the tradition that he was acquainted with, and says "a blast, as if of trumpets, was heard."[3]

4. The last observation of Maçoudi, in his description of this extreme-east volcano which requires observation is the statement of the mariners that "it is there that the Dajâl (دجال) has fixed his abode." Now, who is this Dajâl? Dajâl generally means "an impostor, a liar." Barbier De Meynard translates the word as "Antichrist." So, if we assume that the mariners referred to a particular class of *dajâls* or liars, *viz.*, those who did not acknowledge Christ as Messiah, it follows that the mariners referred to were Christian seamen, who took these volcanoes to be the seat of Hell itself and thus the seat of those who did not believe in the mission of Christ.

[1] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., Vol. III, p. 68.
[2] Vesuvius, by John Phillips, p. 145. [3] *Ibid*, p. 27.

This allusion then indirectly shows that in the 10th century trade flourished between the Christian countries of Europe and the sea-coast towns of China.

Now, the allusion to these volcanoes as the seat of Hell, or as the seat of the punishment of the sinful, is natural. The first impression upon my mind, when I stood at the edge of the crater of the Vesuvius on 28th July 1889, and when I heard the terrible and frightful sounds from within, with the occasional showers of stone that rose from it, was that of Hell. I have noted the first impression in my note-book there and then, thus "અરે ! આવાજો, દોજખનાં !" *i.e.*, "Oh ! the sounds ! They are of Hell."

It is possible, that many a religious writer has conceived a part of his picture of Hell from what he himself saw and heard at a volcano or from what he heard of it from others.

Mount Vesuvius, the recent eruption of which has suggested to me the subject of this paper, is even now spoken of by some as a Hell. The city of Naples, the natural beauty of which has given rise to the saying "*Vedi Napoli e poi mori*," *i.e.*, "See Naples and then die," is said to be "a paradise as seen from hell," because we see Naples at its best from the top of Vesuvius, which in itself is, as it were, a hell.

That part of Sicily in which Mount Etna is situated is called Valle Demone, because popular tradition believed that the inside of the volcano was a region of demons.

Maçoudi says that these islands were ruled over by a Mahârâjâ. This points to the fact of the spread of Hinduism from India into the East, and of the influence of India.

II. The second important reference by Maçoudi to a set of volcanoes is in his 17th Chapter.[1] Here, he at first refers to the mountains of the Caucasus. Then he refers to Baku as the principal place of naphtha, especially of black naphtha, which, he says, is only found there. He then proceeds to say: "In the land occupied by the sources of the naphtha there is a volcano or a source of fire, the eruptions of which never cease and which emits at all times jets of flames high into air. In front of this portion of the coast are situated several islands. One of them, about 3 days' voyage from the mainland, contains a great volcano. At certain times of the year its sides roar and emit flames which rise in the air to the height of steep mountains and throw in the sea a vivid light which is seen from the mainland, from a distance of about 100 farsangs. This volcano can be compared to that of Jebel al-Bourkân (جبل البركان) situated in Sicily which forms a part of

[1] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., II., pp. 25–27.

the country of the Franks and is situated near Africa in the west. Of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ. It is necessary to place in the second rank the volcano of the valley of Barhout (برهوت) which rises not far from the country of Asfâr (اسفار) and of Hadramaut (حضرموت) in the territory of Assheher (الشحر) between Yemen and Oman. One hears it grumbling like thunder at the distance of several miles. It ejects embers as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, which, after being thrown into the air where they are seen from a great distance, fall back immediately into the crater or round about it. The embers which the volcano throws out are only the stones which have been melted into lava under the pungent action of heat."

In this long passage he refers to two belts of volcanic activity.

1. The Caucasus group. While referring to this belt, he casually refers (*a*) to the Java group already referred to, and to the volcano of Sicily, which he calls Jabal al Barkan.

2. The Arabian group, which is spoken of as the volcanoes of the Valley of Barhout near Hadramaut (Hazramaut), a province in Arabia referred to in the Genesis (Chap. X, 26).

Now, of the first group in this passage, *viz.*, the Caucasus group, Professor Ansted says: "Many of the high peaks in the Taurus chain and Mount Elburz itself, the giant of the Caucasus, are volcanic in their origin; but they certainly cannot fairly be ranked as among existing volcanoes, active in the modern period."[1]

Of Mount Demavend, a lofty peak of the Elbourz, Dr. Edward Hull[2] says: "Mount Demavend, in Persia, which rises to an elevation of 18,464 feet near the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a volcanic mountain of the first magnitude, is now extinct or dormant."[3]

We said above, that it is from the volcanoes that many religious writers seem to have got their conceptions of Hell. It seems that later Zoroastrian writers seem to have taken their conception of Hell from a volcano of this Caucasus group. In the Bundehesh[4] we read "Albourz kuf Arzur grivak chekâti pavan babâ-i-duzakhu munash hamvâr shaêdaân dvârashniya temman vâdunend,"

[1] Ansted's Physical Geography, p. 330.

[2] Volcanoes Past and Present, by Edward Hull, (1862), p. 24.

[3] "This mountain was ascended in 1837 by Mr. Taylor Thomson, who found the summit covered with sulphur, and from a cone fumes at a high temperature issued forth, but there was no eruption." Journal, Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 109. (Volcanoes Past and Present, by E. Hull, p. 241 n. 1.)

[4] *Vide* S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XII 8. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 38.

i.e., "The narrow summit of Arzur of the Elbourz Mountain is a summit on the gate of Hell where the demons always meet."

Now, this passage shows, that Arzura (Arezura), one of the Elbourz mountains, is considered to be the gate of Hell, the seat of the demons, *i.e.*, of the sinful. It appears, then, that one of the volcanic mountains of the Caucasus group suggested to the Zoroastrian writer his conception of Hell.

In the Vendidad,[1] there is a question, [illegible] *i.e.*, Which is the first place on this earth which is the most grieved? The reply is

[illegible]

i.e., It is the summit of Arezura. The demons and the devil run out of the pit.

Now, from what we know of volcanoes, we can clearly understand why Mount Arezura is considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth. The suffocating stink and smoke render it so. Again, the allusion to its being the seat of demons and of the devil is clear. We shall see later on that Italian tradition, as noted by Dion Cassius, has pointed out Vesuvius also as a mountain from which rush forth giants and extraordinary forms.

Again, in another part of the Vendidad[2] the demons are spoken of as rushing out of the Arezur with shouts. They think of carrying away Zoroaster to that place. The reference to the shouts indicates that the mountain is a volcano.

The second group in the above passage of Maçoudi, *viz.*, the Arabian group, is also referred to by Prof. Ansted as a volcanic group. He says: "Syria, the Holy Land, and Arabia, all exhibit volcanic phenomena of a very direct nature."[3]

III. The third long reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 35th Chapter[4] entitled "The Franks and the Galiciens." The passage runs as follows :—

"The Franks possessed also the countries of Africa and Sicily. We have already spoken of these islands and in particular of the island which is known under the name of Al Borkan. It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed figures resembling bodies of men, but without heads which rise high in the air during the night to fall back after-

[1] Chapter III. 7.
[2] Chapter XIX, 44-45.
[3] Ansted's Physical Geography, p. 330.
Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, III, pp. 67—69.

wards into the sea. These are stones with which they lustre and polish the paper of account books. They are light, white and assume the form of a honey-comb or the models of dinars of small diameter. This volcano is known under the name of the Volcano of Sicily. . . . . We have spoken also of all the volcanoes of the earth such as the volcano of Wadi-Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Al Sheher; the Volcano of Zabedj of (زابج) (*i.e.*, Java) in the Chinese Sea; the Volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the dependency of the city of Arrajan (ارّجان) which forms a part of Fars. The fires of this last volcano are seen at night from a distance of about 20 farsangs and they are well-known in all the Musalman countries. The word *atimah* (اطمّة) means properly a source of fire which burst out of the earth. We will not speak in this volume of hot springs of sulphur and vitriol nor of the springs of hot water from which burst out flames arising from *atimah* (volcano) in the country of Mâçabadan (ماسبذان) in the dependency of Arrajân and Sîrwân and known under the name of Naumân. It is an extraordinary volcano which water cannot extinguish nor fight against in any manner. So powerful is its incandescence and such vivacity have its flames that it passes for one of the wonders of the world."

In this long passage Maçoudi refers to the following volcanoes:—

1. Etna the volcano of Sicily.
2. The volcano of Wadi Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Alshahar, *i.e.*, the volcanoes of the Arabian group.
3. The volcano of Java.
4. The volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the country of Pars.

We have already referred to the second and the third in the list.

The first volcanic mountain referred to here is the well known mountain of Etna in Sicily.

The following statement in the description of this volcano attracts one's special attention. Maçoudi says: "It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed bodies (اجسام من النار) resembling bodies of men but without head which rise high in the air during the night to fall back afterwards to the sea." Maçoudi also refers to this casually in Chapter XII [1] where he says that this volcano throws out "fires accompanied by bodies" (النار وفيها اجسم). Compare with this the following version of the Vesuvius eruption of A.D. 79 by Dion Cassius, who wrote in about 230 A.D. He says: "Many

[1] Vol. I, p. 259.

huge men, surpassing human stature, such as the giants are described to have been, appeared wandering in the air and upon the earth, at one time frequenting the mountain, at another the fields and cities in its neighbourhood. . . . . Some thought the giants were rising again, (for many phantoms of them were seen in the smoke, and a blast as if of trumpets, was heard)." [1]

Thus it appears both from an Arab author and a Roman author that people thought that they saw figures of men rising from the volcanoes high into the air. Don Cassius says that they appeared to hover over cities and fields. Of course, this was due to all the fantastic shapes which the vapours emanating from the craters assumed. But these statements suggest the idea that perhaps it is from the appearance of such phantoms or fantastical shapes of vapours, added to the terrible sound from within, that the ancients thought that the volcanoes were the localities of Hells where the bodies of the sinful were burnt in suffocating flames and smoke.

Other Arab writers speak of Etna as Jabl-al-nar (جبل النار), *i.e.*, "the mountain of fire." Modern Sicilians call it 'Mongibello,' a word said to have been made up of *mon* (Italian *monte*, *i.e.*, mountain) and *gibello* (Arabic *jebal* (جبل) *i.e.*, a mountain). Thus this word, both parts of which mean a mountain, is made up partly of an Italian and partly of an Arabic word.

I do not understand why Maçoudi calls the island of Sicily and the volcano El-Borkân (البركان). At first sight we may think that it means the mountain of 'bark,' *i.e.*, lightning (برق). But then the word is spelt with *kaf-i-kaliman* and not *quarashat*.

The next volcano referred to in the above passage is that of Esk (Eskibun). We do not find any special reference to this volcano in any of our books on physical geography or vulcanology. But we know that there is a band of mountains in Persia which may be called, both for its volcanic and seismic energy, an energetic band. This is a volcano of that band between Pars and Ahwaz at Ask, which is a place near Arrajân.

Lastly, Maçoudi refers to the hot springs of sulphur, vitriol and hot water in the province of Arrajan and Sirwan. Professor Ansted thus refers to this region of seismic activity. "From the Gulf of Scanderoon, by Aleppo and Mosul, to Lake Van, and the south of Ararat to Shirvan and Baku, on the Caspian, there is another wide and energetic band, probably joining the Caucasus, and connected with the occasionally disturbed districts of the Oural." [2]

[1] Vesuvius, by Dr. John Phillips, (1869), pp. 26-27.

[2] Physical Geography, p. 350.

Art. XI.

The Date of the Death of Nizami.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

(*Read 26th April* 1906.)

According to M. Mohl, Nizami was the first of the Persian poets, who, after the decadence of the Epic literature, inaugurated by Firdousi, (A.D. 941-1020), brought the historical romance into fashion.[1] One of his Persian biographers, Doulat Shah, as pointed out by Ousley, says of him, in his "Memoirs of the Poets," that "it is impossible for either tongue or pen to describe his sanctity, his excellence, or his science."[2]

Nizami is best known for his "Five Poems" known as the Khamseh (خمسہ), *i.e.*, 'the five' and also as the Panj Ganj, *i.e.*, 'the five treasuries.' These five poems are—

1. Makhzan-u'l-Asrâr (مخزن ال اسرار), *i.e.*, the Treasury of Secrets.
2. Khusru and Shirin.
3. Laili and Majnun.
4. Haft Paikar (ہفت پیکر), *i.e.*, the Seven Portraits.
5. The Sikandar-Nameh, *i.e.*, the Book of Alexander.

Of these five, three, the second, fourth and fifth poems, treat of historical romances, in which kings Khusru (Chosroes II) and Behram Gour (Behram V) of the Sassanian dynasty and Sikandar (Alexander the Great) who overthrew the Achemenian dynasty are the principal heroes.

Just as Firdousi had a host of imitators, who tried to imitate his Shâhnâmeh and wrote poems like Burzo-nâmeh, Frâmroz-nâmeh, Kersâsp-nâmeh, Bânu-Goshasp-nâmeh, Sâm-nâmeh, Jehângier-nâmeh, and Bahman-nâmeh, so, Nizami had several imitators of his Khamseh. The most well-known of these imitators was Amir Khusro.

[1] "Le premier qui mit à la mode le roman historique fut Nizami (né l'an 513 et mort l'an 576 de l'hégire)." Le Livre des Rois, small edition, Preface, p. LXXXII.

[2] Biographical Notices of Persian poets by Sir Gore Ousley (1846), p. 43.

Nizami is known to have been a poet who sought retirement and a solitary life in the latter part of his life. Daulat Shah describes the following story of his miraculous powers in his retirement :—

اتابک قزل ارسلان را آرزوي صحبت شيخ بودي و
بطلب شيخ کس فرستاد نمودند که شيخ منزويست و
بسلاطين و حکام صحبت نميدارد اتابک آرزوی امتحان
بديدن شيخ رفت شيخ از روي کرامت دانست که
آرزوی امتحان ميآيد و بچشم حقارت بشيخ مينگرد
شيخ از عالم غيب شمئه بچشم اتابک نمود اتابک ديد
تخت پادشاهانه نهاده اند از جواهر و کبرياسي[1] ديد که صد هزار
چاکر و سپاهي و تجمل پادشاهانه و غلامان باکمر مرصّع و حاجبان
و ندمعان بر پای ايستاده و شيخ پادشاهانه بر تخت نشسته
چوچشم اتابک بر آن عظمت و شوکت افتاد مبهوت شد
و ازروی تواضع ميخواست که قدم شيخ را بوسه دهد [2]

TRANSLATION.—Atâbak Kazal Arslân desired to see the Shaikh (Nizami). He sent somebody to call the Shaikh. They made him understand that the Shaikh is one who seeks solitude and does not keep the company of Sultans and rulers. Then Atâbak went to see the Shaikh with a view to examine (whether his retirement was real or only feigned). The Shaikh by virtue of his miraculous powers came to know that he (the king) came with a view to examine him (and not with the real desire of seeing him) and that he looked towards him with an eye of contempt. The Shaikh shewed to Atâbak a portrait (of his miraculous power) of the unseen world. Atâbak saw that a royal throne was placed there adorned with jewels and royal splendour. He (further) saw that 100,000 servants and soldiers and royal splendour and slaves decked with jewelled belts and chamberlains and attendants all were waiting upon him and the Shaikh was sitting in a royal fashion upon the throne. When the eyes of Atâbak fell upon such a splendour and pomp he was astonished and wished to kiss the feet of the Shaikh by way of respect.

[1] کبرياسا a royal mandate.

[2] Khan Saheb Mirza Mohammad Shirazi's Bombay edition of Tazkarat-al Shu'ara (*i.e.*, Memoirs of Poets) by Doulat Shah, p. 60, l. 3.

It is no wonder, that the date of the death of such a person, who had ended his life in retirement, and around whose old age a halo of a miraculous sanctity had spread, has not been certain and is variously stated. Many known authors differ on this point. The object of this short paper is to determine the date of his death on the authority of an old manuscript of the poet's Sikandar-nâmeh or the book of the life of Alexander. This manuscript was one of the old manuscripts that I exhibited at the Exhibition held in our City in December 1904 in connection with the Indian National Congress.

Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, in his history of Persian literature published in 1871, says: "The statements which are contained in Oriental sources as to the year of Nizami's death diverge, in their extreme limits, more than twenty years, and unhappily European authors have inclined to that side which, according to what follows, is submitted as the incorrect account. Daulet Shah, in his biography, which gives only very scanty and quite insufficient notices with regard to our poet, says, that Nizami died in some month of the year 576 of the Hejra. This date has been adopted by Haji Khalifa also, in one place; whilst in other places of his Dictionary he has named quite different dates, *viz.*, twice A.H. 596, once 597, and finally 599. Now the first named date, A.H. 576, is the one which has been adopted by the most eminent writers. So Von Hammer, in his history of Persian polite literature, and Von Erdman, who yet expressly adds, that Haji Khalfa incorrectly says that Nizami died A.H. 597. Flügel, in his account of Persian literature, names likewise the year 576." [1]

M. Mohl. also, as quoted above, gives 576, as the date of Nizami's death.

Dr. Bacher himself gives the date as 599 Hijri.[2] Dr. Hermann Ethé [3] also gives the date as 599 Hijri (1203 A.D.). Ousley [4] gives the year as 597 Hijri (1200 A.D.).

Dr. Charles Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, (1881, Vol. II., p. 564*b* says: "Most conflicting statements have been made regarding the date of Nizami's death. Daulat Shah gives A.H. 576, the Âtashkadah A.H. 586, the Jahânârâ A.H. 597, Haj. Khal, A.H. 596, the Subh-i-Sâdik A.H. 602, and Tâkî Kâshî A.H. 606." Dr. Rieu himself determines the date to be A.H. 598 or 599 (*Ibid.* p. 565*a*).

[1] "Persian Poetry for English Readers" by Robinson (1883), pp. 109-110.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 113.

[3] Article on Nizami in the Encyclopædia Brittanica, 9th edition, Vol. 17, p. 522. col. 2.

[4] Biographical Notices of Persian Poets (1846), p. 48.

Dr. Bacher arrives at the date of Nizami's death in the following way:—

In his Laila and Majnun, Nizami says:

بر جلوهٔ این عروس آزاد — آباد تر آنکه گوید آباد
کارراستم شد بهترین حال — در سلخ رجب ثی وفی دال
تاریخ عیان که داشت با خود — هشتاد و چهار بعد پانصد [1]

Robinson [2] thus renders these verses on the authority of Bacher's German translation:—

"Bravo! on the unveiling of this lovely bride!
Bravo! for him that exclaims 'Well done!'
It was brought to completion under the happiest auspices,
In the month of Rajab, and the letters *Thee* and *Fee* and *Dal*
The precise date which it brought with it was eighty and four and five [3] hundred."

This gives 584 Hijri as the date of the completion of Laila and Majnun.

Now Nizami was 49 years of age at this time. This appears from the following couplet in the Introduction of the Laila and Majnun:—

زان سحر سحر گهی کرانم
مجموعهٔ هفت سبع خوانم [4]

i.e. "From this morning enchantment in which I live, (*i.e.*, my life), I have already read off the sum of seven sevens." [5]

Another similar couplet in the Introduction of the Laila and Majnun says the same thing. It says:

"Whether thou hast read off only seven sevens.
Or whether thou hast existed for seven thousand." [6]

These couplets then show, that when Nizami wrote in 584 Hijri, his Laili and Majnun, he was 49 years of age. Thus he was born in 535 Hijri.

Now a glossarist or a commentator who seems to have latterly collected the Quintuple or Five-books, [7] has given the following verses,

[1] Bombay edition of 1265 Hijri of Nizami's Khamseh, 3rd Jald., p. 9, couplets 35-37 end of the Chapter on سبب نظم کتاب

[2] Persian Poetry for English Readers (1883), p. 111.

[3] Robinson gives by mistake 400. This is evidently a mistake, because the numerical value of *Thee* ث is 500. So ث and ف and د give 500+80+4=584.

[4] Quoted by Dr. C. Rieu, British Museum Catalogue, p. 564B.

[5] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 112. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] The Sikandar-nâmeh is written in two parts, one of which is called Sikandar-nâmeh i-Bahri. So some include the two parts as two poems of the Khamseh, and keep out "Khusru and Shirin."

of his own composition, on the death of Nizami at the end of his Sikandar-nâmeh :—

نظامي چو اين داستان شد تمام — بعزم شدن نيز برداشت گام
نه پس روزگاری بر اين بر گذشت — كه تاريخ عمرش ورق در نوشت
بدفزون بودشش سرشصت وسرسال — كه بر عزم ره بر دهل زد دوال [1]

(Quoted by Dr. C Rieu in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 564B—565A)

"When Nizami had completed this narrative,
He lifted up his foot with the purpose of setting out on his journey ;
Nor did much time pass after this
Before the chronicle of his life was rolled up :
Six months were added to sixty and three years,
When he beat on the drum the signal of departure." [2]

According to this glossarist, then, Nizami died shortly after the completion of his Sikandar-nâmeh referred to by him, and he was 64 years (63 years and 6 months) of age at that time. So if in 584 Hijri he was 49 years of age, it follows that 15 years later, *i.e.*, at the age of 64, when he died, the Hijri year was (584+15)=599.

Thus we have the following dates of the death of the poet, as given by different authors :—

	Hijri.
Doulat Shah	576
Haji Khalfa	576 or 596 or 597 or 599
Âtashkadah	586
Jahân Ârâ	596
Subh-i-Sâdik	602
Tâkt-i-kashi	606
Von Hammer	576
Von Erdman	576
Flügel	576
M. Mohl.	576
Dr. Bacher	599
Dr. H. Ethé	599
Sir G. Ousley	597
Dr. Charles Rieu	598 or 599

[1] The Khamsah is also called پنج گنج (Panj ganj), *i.e.*, the five treasures. Of the two parts of the Sikandar-nâmeh, above referred to, the first is sometimes called "Sherf-nâmeh Iskandari (*i.e.*, the book describing the glory of Alexander). It is also called Sikandar-nâmeh Beri (بري) *i.e.*, of the continent. The second part is called Sikandar-nâmeh Beheri (*i.e.*, of the sea) and also Akbâl-nâmeh Sikandari.

[2] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 113.

Now Bacher, whom we have followed in the words of his translator Robinson, has, as shown above, determined the date of the death of Nizami, not on the authority of the author himself, but on the authority of a later glossarist, who gives the age of the author when he completed the Sikandar-nâmeh. Bacher seems to believe that the author himself has not given the date of the composition of the Sikandar-nâmeh. He says, "It remains still to settle with regard to the Alexander-Book (Sikandar-nâmeh), the time of its composition, which Nizami does not directly give." [1]

I now produce, for the inspection of members, an old manuscript,[2] about 300 years old, of a poem of Nizami known as the Sikandar-nâmeh or the book of Alexander. At the end (last page) of this Sikandar-nâmeh, as given in this old manuscript, Nizami himself gives the date of the composition of this poem. As far as I know, no author who has treated the subject of the date of Nizami's death has referred to these lines. Nizami says :

خجسته همیشه چو سرو جوان — بماناد در بزم شاه جهان

بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال — که خواننده ز و نگیرد ملال

سر سال جهارم[4] محرم بدست — زساعت گذشته چهارم بدست

Translation—May the king of the world be always blessed in his assembly like an young cypress. In order that the reader may not be tired, on the date of the year 597, in the beginning of the year, on the 4th (day) of (the month of) Moharam[5] when the 4th hour had passed.

These couplets then clearly point out that Nizami was alive in the year 597 Hijri, and so all the dates previous to this, generally given as the date of his death, cannot be correct. Then, as Nizami, according to the above glossarist, died shortly after finishing his Sikandar-nâmeh, the date of his death comes to about 597 Hijri.

Now, when we speak of Nizami, as finishing his Sikandar-nâmeh in 597, we must understand by that, the completion of the second recension

[1] *Ibid*, p. 113.

[2] The manuscript belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwalla of Bombay, of whom I have often spoken in this room as a fortunate possessor of many old Oriental manuscripts. Comparing this old manuscript with a lithographed copy of Nizami's Khamsah, I find that about 300 couplets are lost in the beginning.

[3] The first part of the 2nd couplet occurs in verses "quoted in the Haft-Asmân, but which the author thinks to be of doubtful authenticity" Dr. C. Rieu's catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 568*b*.

[4] چهارم = جهارم

[5] Moharam is the 1st month of the year.

of that work. He had written the work long before. As pointed out by Bacher,[1] it was in 587 that he had written it.

Dr. Ethe says on this subject: "As for the date of composition, it is evident, from the conflicting statements in the different manuscripts, that there must have been an earlier and a later recension, the former belonging to 587-589 and dedicated to the Prince of Mosul, Izz-uddin Masud, the latter made for the atâbeg Nusratuddin Abu Bakr of Tabriz, after 593 A.H., since we find in it a mention of Nizami's last romance Haft-paikar or 'The Seven Beauties,' which comprises the seven tales related by the seven favourite wives of the Sassânian king Bahrâmgur." (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVII, p. 522, Col. 2).

Now, our manuscript is the second recension, because we find Prince Nasruddin referred to therein. In the end,[2] we read:

ولایت ستان شاه گیتي پناه — فریدون کمر بلک خاقان کلاه

ملک نصرة الدین کہ از داد او — خورد ہرکسی باده بریاد او

Translation—The saintly[3] king who protects the world, who has the belt (like that) of Feridun, nay more,[4] who is the owner of an imperial crown,[5] King Nasratuddin, to commemorate whose justice, everybody drinks wine in his honour.

Bacher also refers to a second redaction.[6]

When Nizami first began his Sikandar-nâmeh, he must have passed fifty years of age, because he says in the beginning:—

چو تاریخ پنجہ در آمد بسال

شتابنده را شد دگر گونہ حال

i.e., when fifty years of age came up, Time (lit. the hastener[7]) has quite a different kind of condition (for me).

[1] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 114.

[2] p 207, couplet 12.

[3] ولایت ستان the friend of God, saint, lit. one who takes the kingdom

[4] بلک for بلکہ but

[5] خاقان کلاه owner of an Imperial Crown.

[6] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 160.

[7] It may be ستاینده.

The date, 597 Hijri, arrived at by us, on the authority of an old manuscript, is, as pointed out by Dr. C. Rieu,[1] referred to in the following verses from the Sikandar-nâmeh quoted in the Haft-Asmân :—

بگفتم من این نامه را دوجهان
که تا دور آخر بود در جهان
بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال
چهارم محرم بوقت زوال

Translation—I recited this Nameh in the world, so that it may remain in the world till the end of time, in the year 597 on the 4th of Moharam and at the time of its end.

Now the author of the Haft-Asmân doubts, according to Dr. Rieu, the authencity of these lines as those of Nizami used in his Sikandar-nâmeh.

The author has reasons to doubt the authencity of all the lines, because, on comparing the lines given above from our old manuscript, we find that they differ a good deal, but the particular line which gives the date as 597 (بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال) is correct.

Dr. C. Rieu adds that the same date is given in some later copies. These facts then point to 597 Hijri as the date of Nizami's death.

The date of the manuscript which I produce to-day, is as given at the very end of the book, Hijri 1012 (A.D. 1603). The second figure, which is zero, is not distinctly visible, but with the aid of a magnifying glass, we can see its slight mark. The old manuscript of the Sikandar-nâmeh which Ousley refers[2] to in his memoir of Nizami, is dated A.H. 1021 A.D. 1612).

Nizami's book had many commentators. I produce here, a commentary, which is written in 1110 Hijri (1698 A.D.).

[1] British Museum Catalogue. Vol. II, p. 568 *b*.

[2] Biographical Notices of Persian Poets (1840). p. 48.

ART. XII.

An Êklingjî stone inscription and the origin and history of the Lakulîśa Sect.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(*Communicated.*)

It is a well-known fact that amongst the Śaivas there is a sect called Nakulîśa-Pâśupata, or, properly speaking, Lakulîśa-Pâśupata,[1] whose doctrines have been set forth by Sâyaṇa in his work entitled the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*. But Sâyaṇa does nothing more than specify a few of their tenets and throws no light whatever on the origin of the sect. Nor has any scholar, so far as my knowledge goes, been yet able to produce any information regarding it from the extant Sanskrit literature. Epigraphy, however, has supplied us with a record which is very useful for the history of the sect. The record in question is the Cintra *praśasti* composed between A D. 1274-1296 and published by Dr. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 211 ff. There is another inscription which has been published and which is important for the history of the sect, but, owing to the imperfect transcript given of it, it has not been recognised to be a Lakulîśa-Pâśupata record. The epigraph I mean is the one edited in *Bhavnagar Sk. and Pk. Inscrs.*, p. 70. My attention was first drawn to it by Pandit Gaurishankar of Udaipur when I was there in 1905. In the course of my archæological tour I visited Êkliṅgjî and carefully inspected the stone inscription. As the record is valuable for the history of Lakulîśa, it deserves to be re-edited. I have, therefore, prepared a fresh transliteration of it which is appended to this, and here I give a summary of its contents. And I shall afterwards consider the whole question of the origin and antiquity of the Lakulîśa-Pâśupata sect.

The inscription is in the temple of Nâtha now used as a store-room near the celebrated temple of Êkliṅgjî, 14 miles to the north of Udaipur, Mêwâr. It is incised on a slab stuck up into the proper right hand niche in the outside wall, facing the east, of the *sabhâmaṇḍapa* or assembly-hall of the temple. It contains eighteen lines of writing, in Dêvnâgrî characters of the tenth century, covering a space

[1] Dr. Bühler has given reasons for considering *Lakulîśa* to be the earlier form (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 274, and note 10). But, since he wrote this, many old inscriptions have been found, as will be seen later on, which invariably give the name Lakulîśa.

of 2′9½″ broad by 1′4¼″ high. The first line of the inscription is well-nigh destroyed, and nearly half of it on the proper left side has peeled off.

The inscription opens with obeisance to (the god) Lakulîśa. The first verse is irrevocably lost, and the second appears to have been devoted to the praise of the goddess Sarasvatî. The next two verses contain the mention and description of a city of the name of Nâgahraḍa. Verse 5 tells us that in this city there flourished a king named Śrî-Bappaka, the moon amongst the princes of the Guhila dynasty. The verse following probably mentioned the name of the king Allaṭa, father of Naravâhana to whose reign the record refers itself and whose glory is described in verses 7 and 8. The next three verses, though not complete and entire, are sufficiently preserved to supply us with information highly important for the history of the Lakulîśa sect. In the country of Bhṛigukachchha, *i.e.* Broach, through which the Narmadâ, daughter of Mêkala, flows, the sage Bhṛigu, being cursed by Murabhid (Vishṇu), propitiated the god Śiva, who in the presence of that very sage, incarnated himself as characterised with a club (*lakula*) in his hand. As Śiva thus descended to earth in body, the place where this occurred was called Kâyâvarôhaṇa. A short description of the place then follows, and we are told that by remaining in Kâyâvarôhaṇa Śiva did not at all remember his Kailâsa. What the purport of verse 12 is, it is not easy to say, but the verse following asserts that there lived ancient sages, such as Kuśika and others, who were conversant with the Pâśupata *Yôga*, and who resorted to the use of ashes, barks, and matted hair. From verses 14 and 15 we glean that certain ascetics whose fame had spread from the Himâlayas to Râma's bridge always worshipped the god Êkaliṅga,[1] and, by them, as verse 16 has it, was caused to be made this temple of Lakulîśa on the mountain Aśvagrâma. From the next two verses we learn that there was a celebrated dilectician called Śrî-Vêdâṅga *muni* who silenced the disputants of the Syâdvâda (Jaina), Saugata (Buddhist), and other sects, and his pupil was the poet Âmra, son of Âdityanâga who composed the *praśasti*. From verse 19 we obtain as the date of the inscription 1028 (of the era) of the king Vikramâditya, which is, therefore, equivalent to the English year 971. The next, which is the last, verse is not complete, but expresses a wish for the permanence of either the temple or the *praśasti*. Then follow the names of *Kârâpakâḥ*, those who caused

[1] There can be no doubt that they were connected with the temple of Êkliṅgjî. That the priests of this temple were Pâśupatas may be seen from an inscription published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol LV. pt. I. p. 48, in which Hârîtarâśi is called *Śrî-Êkaliṅga-Har-ârâdhana-pâśupat-âchârya*.

the temple to be constructed, such as Supujitarâsi, Viniśchitarâsi,[1] and so forth whose obeisance is recorded. They were doubtless the ascetics who erected the temple and dedicated it to Lakulîśa, as mentioned above.

So far with regard to the summary of the contents of our inscription. I have said above that there is another inscription, the Cintra *praśasti*, which is also important for the history of the Lakulîśa-Pâśupatas. The information to be derived from this *praśasti* is briefly this : that Śiva became incarnate in the form of *Bhaṭṭâraka* Śrî-Lakulîśa, and came to and dwelt at Kârôhaṇa in the Lâṭa country, in order to favour the offspring of Ulûka, who were deprived of sons in consequence of a curse of their father,[2] and that for the strict performance of the Pâśupata vows there appeared in bodily form four pupils of his, called Kuśika, Gârgya, Kaurusha, and Maitrêya who became the originators of four branches. It will be seen at a glance that our inscription in all important respects agrees with, and is in some points supplemented by, the Cintra *praśasti*. Now, piecing together the various items of information supplied by the two inscriptions, we find (i) that Lakulîśa was an incarnation of Śiva, (ii) that this incarnation took place at Kâyâvarôhaṇa or Kârôhaṇa, which has been identified with Kârvân, in the Ḍabhôi *tâluk*, Baroda *prânt*, Baroda State, and (iii) that Lakulîśa had four pupils who were the founders of four branches amongst the Pâśupatas. As our inscription is dated in A. D. 971, the belief in the Lakulîśa incarnation, we can assert, was prevalent as early as at least about the middle of the latter half of the tenth century. But a still earlier date is furnished by an inscription found at Hêmâvatî in the Sira *tâluk*, Mysore.[3] It is dated in A. D. 943 and registers a grant for the god Naṇṇîśvara to *Bhaṭâra* Chilluka about whom it is said that Lakulîśa, being afraid that his name and doctrines might be forgotten, was born as *muninâtha* Chilluka. If in A. D. 943 a Śaiva teacher is represented as Lakulîśa himself born on earth, the period of Lakulîśa is certainly thrown considerably earlier than the middle of the tenth century. This is, in short, all that we know from epigraphic records about the origin

[1] It is curious that their names end in *—râsi* or —râśi. Cf. also the names Hâritarâśi, Maheśvararâśi and Śivarâśi of the priests attached to the temple of Êkliṅgji (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV., pt I., p. 48). The Cintra *praśasti* also, composed in honour of Tripurântaka, mentions as his predecessors Kârttikarâśi and Vâlmîkirâśi. This honorific suffix is also to be met with in the names of the line of Śaiva gurus given in an Âbu inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 221-222)

[2] I fear the line, of which the above is a translation according to Dr. Bühler, is corrupt, and has not been properly deciphered. Secondly, I suspect that the word *putra* occurring in the line has to be taken in the sense of *śishya* (*vide* note 25 *infra*) and that Ulûka therein mentioned refers to one of the pupils of Śiva in his last but one and two incarnations.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. p. 92 (of translation).

of the Lakulîśa-Pâśupata sect; and I have remarked at the outset that no scholar has yet been able to adduce any information from the Sanskrit literature about the antiquity and history of the sect. There is, however, a certain passage in the Vâyu and Liṅga Purâṇas which throws a flood of light on this matter, and it is very strange that no scholar ever noticed it. The passage is composed of verses 217—225, Chapter XXIII. entitled *Mâhêśvar-âvatâra-yôga* of the Vâyu, and verses 124—133, Chapter XXIV. of the Liṅga, Purâṇa. The text of the published editions of the Vâyu Purâṇa[1] is somewhat corrupt, but that of the Liṅga Purâṇa is remarkably free from this defect. I, therefore, cite the verses in question from the Liṅga Purâṇa, which are as follows:

अष्टाविंशे पुनः प्राप्ते परिवर्त्ते क्रमागते ॥ १२४ ॥
पराशरसुतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्लोकपितामहः ।
यदा भविष्यति व्यासो नाम्ना द्वैपायनः प्रभुः ॥ १२५ ॥
तदा षष्ठेन चांशेन कृष्णः पुरुषसत्तमः ।
वसुदेवाद्यदुश्रेष्ठो वासुदेवो भविष्यति ॥ १२६ ॥
तदाप्यहं भविष्यामि योगात्मा योगमायया ।
लोकविस्मयनार्थाय ब्रह्मचारिशरीरकः ॥ १२७ ॥
स्मशाने मृतमुत्सृष्टं दृष्ट्वा कायमनाथकम् ।
ब्राह्मणानां हितार्थाय प्रविष्टो योगमायया ॥ १२८ ॥
दिव्यां मेरुगुहां पुण्यां त्वया सार्धं च विष्णुना ।
भविष्यामि तदा ब्रह्मन् लकुली[2] नाम नामतः ॥ १२९ ॥
कायावतार (कायारोहण Vâyu) इत्येवं सिद्धक्षेत्रं च वै तदा ।
भविष्यति सुविख्यातं यावद्भूमिर्धरिष्यति ॥ १३० ॥
तत्रापि मम ते पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।
कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च ॥ १३१ ॥
योगात्मानो महात्मानो ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ।
प्राप्य माहेश्वरं योगं विमला ऊर्ध्वरेतसः ॥ १३२ ॥
रुद्रलोकं गमिष्यन्ति पुनरावृत्तिदुर्लभम् ।
एते पाशुपताः सिद्धा भस्मोद्धूलितविग्रहाः ॥ १३३ ॥

The substance of the verses is briefly this: in the twenty-eighth *yôga* when Vishṇu, son of Parâśara, will incarnate himself as Dvaipâyana-

[1] I am aware of only two editions of the Vâyu Purâṇa, one published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and the other in the Ânandâśrama Sanskrit Series.

[2] Although in the text of the Vâyu Purâṇa of the Ânandâśrama Series the reading *Nakuli* is adopted, the footnote shows that *Lakuli* is the reading of three MSS.

Vyâsa, Kṛishṇa will become incarnate as Vâsudêva. At that time I (*i.e.* Śiva) shall as *brahmachârî* enter a dead body thrown in a cemetery without anybody to guard it, by means of *yôga* powers, and shall bear the name Lakulî. At that time, Kâyârôhaṇa (according to the Vâyu), or Kâyâvatâra (according to the Liṅga Purâṇa), will become famous as a sacred place and remain so till the earth endures. And there will be born the ascetic-pupils Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya, and these Pâśupatas will repair to the Rudra *lôka* from where they will not return.

It is thus evident that Lakulî, according to the Purâṇas, was the twenty-eighth, *i.e.* the last, incarnation of Mahêśvara (Śiva). It is also clear that this account completely agrees with that of the inscriptions excepting in one minor point. This point of difference arises only with regard to the cause and manner in which Śiva became incarnate as Lakulî. But here not only do the Purâṇas differ from our inscription and the Cintra *praśasti*, but the latter also differ from each other. The Purâṇas say that Śiva entered the dead body of a *brahmachârî* lying in a cemetery without anybody to protect it and thus became incarnate as Lakulî. Our inscription, on the other hand, informs us that Bhṛigu, to undo the effects of a curse pronounced on him by Vishṇu (Murabhid) under which he was smarting, propitiated Śiva who assumed a bodily form in the presence of that sage. But from the Cintra *praśasti*, we simply learn that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Lakulîśa in order to favour the offspring of Ulûka who were without sons in consequence of his curse. The three accounts are thus different from one another, only so far as the origin of the Lakulîsa incarnation of Śiva goes. But they all perfectly agree as regards the principal points, *viz.* that (1) Lakulî was an incarnation of Mahêśvara, that (2) this incarnation took place at Kâyâvarôhaṇa, and that (3) there were four ascetic-pupils of Lakulî, whose names mentioned in the Purâṇas, are identical with those given in the Cintra *praśasti*.

The verses quoted above are from the Liṅga Purâṇa, but I have stated before that they occur also in the Vâyu Purâṇa When the same verses are contained in two or more Purâṇas, they are supposed to have been copied from the earliest of these or from an old original Purâṇa whose existence is attested by the numerous allusions to it in the ancient Sanskrit literature. But, taking the most unfavourable view into consideration and consequently waiving the last supposition, we shall say that the verses occurring in both the Purâṇas were borrowed by one from the other. There is a consensus of opinion that Vâyu is the earliest of the Purâṇas. The Vâyu is, therefore, earlier than the Liṅga Purâṇa. Now, there cannot be the slightest

doubt that the Vâyu Purâṇa is anterior to the time when the poet Bâṇa flourished, as the latter refers to it twice in his works. Thus in the Harshacharita we have the following passage: विनीतमार्य च वेषं दधानः पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिराजगाम। नातिदूरवर्तिन्यां चासन्यां निषसाद। * * * * गमकैर्मधुरैराक्षिपन्मनांसि श्रोतृणां गीत्या पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ।[1] Here then we have an allusion to the recitation of a Purâṇa, which is *Pavamâna-prôkta*, *i.e.* uttered by Pavamâna. This is the reading of the Bombay and Kâshmîr editions; in the Jeypore edition we have *pavana-prôkta* instead of *pavamâna-prôkta*.[2] Both mean the same thing, as Pavana and Pavamâna are both names of Vâyu. The commentator also takes *Pavamâna-prôkta* in the sense of *Vâyu-prôkta*. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to the Vâyu Purâṇa being referred to in the passage from the Harshacharita quoted above. Again, while describing in the Kâdambarî the hermitage to which the parrot Vaiśampâyana, thrown down from the nest of his parent bird, was carried by a sage, Bâṇa uses the following words: यत्र च महाभारते शाकुनिवधः पुराणे वायुप्रलपितं * * * *।[3] Here also there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to the Vâyu Purâṇa being alluded to in the words *Purâṇê Vâyu-pralapitam*, according to one of the two senses obviously intended. The Vâyu Purâṇa was, therefore, composed before the first half of the seventh century when Bâṇa lived, and as it was the custom in his time to recite this Purâṇa, as appears from the passage from the Harshacharita cited above, the Vâyu Purâṇa must have been compiled at least two centuries prior to his time. Again, in the Vâyu Purâṇa itself occurs, in the account of the royal dynasties which enjoyed the sovereignty of the earth, the following verse:

अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा। एताञ्जनपदान्सर्वान्भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः[4]॥

In this verse the Guptas are spoken of as the princes who, according to the usual prophetic tone of the Purâṇas, will hold Prayâga, Sâkêta, and the Magadha country along the Ganges. This is doubtless a description of the Guptas before they became paramount sovereigns. From the Allâhâbâd and Êraṇ inscriptions, we conclude that the dominions of Samudragupta had spread as far as the United and the Central Provinces in the west and the south respectively. The description in the Vâyu Purâṇa can thus hardly refer to this wide extent of his dominions. We must, therefore, suppose that the Vâyu Purâṇa was put together shortly before the time of Samudragupta.

[1] *Vide* the Nirṇayasâgara edition, pp. 85-6.

[2] Kâdambarî by Peterson (*Bo. Sk. Series*), Intro. p. 54, footnote §.

[3] *Ibid.* text p. 41.

[4] *Anand. Sk. Series*, Cap. 99, vs. 382-3.

[5] This line of argument was first pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (see above, Vol. XX., pp. 403-4).

A reference to the Vâyu Purâṇa is, no doubt, also to be found in verse 16, chapter 191, Vanaparvan, Mahâbhârata, but as the episode, wherein the reference is contained, is supposed to be an interpolation,[1] we can at the most say that there was a Purâṇa of that name not before the beginning, but before the end, of the Mahâbhârata. The reference is, therefore, of no use to us in fixing the date of the Vâyu Purâṇa, and the commencement of the fourth century, therefore, remains the earliest period, to which we can assign the compilation of that Purâṇa. Now, to revert to the main point, if the Vâyu Purâṇa was put together in the beginning of the fourth century, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulî, to become a general belief and come to be spoken about in this Purâṇa, must be placed as early as the first century A. D. at the latest. Here then we find that the Purâṇas not only confirm in every important respect the account of the epigraphic records regarding Lakulîśa, but also lead us to infer that the belief in the Lakulîśa incarnation is of great antiquity.

The Vâyu and Liṅga, however, are not the only Purâṇas in which the incarnations of Śiva are mentioned. Chapter LIII. of the Kûrma-purâṇa also gives the *avatâras* of Mahâdêva, their names, and those of their pupils. The last of these incarnations has been therein named Na(La)kulîśvara, and the names of his pupils are cited in the line: कुणिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रको रुरुरेव (*v.l.* रुष्य एव) च। There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is corrupt and requires to be corrected into कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च। As the Kûrma Purâṇa is a later work and does nothing more than give a mere list of the *avatâras*, it does not add to our knowledge.

The information we so long had about Lakulîśa was derived from epigraphic sources only, and it was supposed that no confirmation of it was forthcoming from the Sanskrit literature; but now we see that the account of the inscriptions is, in all important respects, corroborated by the Purâṇas and that for Lakulîśa is to be assigned a much earlier date than we had obtained from inscriptions. Nay, even a minor point connected with our inscription is elucidated by the Vâyu Purâṇa. The inscription, as I have said above, speaks of the ancient ascetics Kuśika and others (the pupils of Lakulî) as conversant with the Pâśupata *yôga*, and the inscription to my mind leads us to surmise that there was such a thing as Pâśupata *yôga* which was an important feature of Śaivism. As no description of it is given in the inscription, it remains only a surmise. But this surmise becomes an indubitable fact when we find that the Vâyu Purâṇa

[1] *The Great Epic of India* by Hopkins, p. 48 ff. My attention to this was first drawn by Mr. Hari Narayan Apte.

mentions the Pâśupata *yôga* by this very name and devotes no less than three chapters to the elucidation of it.

The next point that we have to consider is the signification of the name Lakulî. With respect to it our inscription tells us that when Śiva made himself incarnate, he was *lakul-ôpalakshita-kara, i.e.* with his hand characterised by a *lakula, i.e.* apparently *lakuṭa*, a club. And here Hindu iconography comes to our help. During my archæological tour in Râjputânâ last year, I discovered many old temples, above the doorways of whose shrines or halls was carved a singular figure of Śiva. It is a figure with two hands with curly hair, long ear-lobes, a peculiar *âsana* or sitting posture, and in one instance, even a gem on his breast, thus closely resembling a Buddha or a Jaina *tîrthamkara*. But one of his hands invariably holds a club, and the other often a cocoa-nut.[1] This distinguishes it from the images of Buddhas and *tîrthamkaras*. Further, it is to be noted that this figure is to be seen in temples, about whose dedication to Śiva there is not the slightest doubt. In some instances it occupies the dedicatory block and in others the centre of the frieze above the lintel flanked, on one side, by Brahmâ, and, on the other, by Vishṇu. And it is a fundamental principle of monumental iconography to carve, on the dedicatory block or on the centre of the frieze above, either the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated as is frequently the case, or some sectarial emblem, such as Lakshmî in Vaishṇava temples. No doubt can possibly be entertained as to the figure being of Śiva under the Lakulîśa form. The figure above the door of the *sabhâ-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Nâtha where our inscription was found is unfortunately a little defaced, but, on closely inspecting it, I found it similar to those I have described. The same figure is found above the shrine door of the celebrated temple of Śitalêśvara-Mahâdêva at Jhâlrâpâṭaṇ.[2] That Lakulîśa was known and worshipped at this place is clear from the following inscription incised on the pedestal of an image of Varâha in a *chhatrî* not far from the temple :

-ष्ठजातकतिलको धार्म्मिकव्रतभूषण: । ईशानजमु-

-ख्यातो लकुलीश इवाभवत् । तस्य कर्म्मकरो भृत्य: सूत्त्र-

धारोत्त्र सी[ह]ट: । एभि - - - तसा (?) नं - - - मुनिशिल्पिने ॥

Here the mason who sculptured the image of Varâha is called a servant of Îśânajamu—, who is praised for his piety and is compared to Lakulîśa. I have little doubt that he was a devotee of Lakulîśa

[1] *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. Ind.* for the year ending 30th June 1905, p. 48, para. 17; p. 52, para. 35; p. 54, para. 44; p. 55, paras. 50 and 52; pp. 56-57, paras. 58 and 60; and so forth.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 31, para. 90.

and the head *pûjârî* of the temple of Śîtalêśvara-Mahâdêva, the shrine door of which, as just mentioned, has a figure of Lakulî on the dedicatory block. The temple has been assigned to the seventh century by Fergusson,[1] and so here we have the earliest instance of a temple dedicated to Lakulîśa, the twenty-eighth *avatâra* of Paśupati.

In North India outside Râjputânâ I know of only one instance of a temple in which the image of Lakulîśa is sculptured. At Mândhâtâ a sacred place in the Narmadâ, Lakulîśa figures on the projecting block on the lintel of the shrine doorframe of the temple of Siddhêśvara on the top of the hill. But I am aware of no certain instance of the image of Lakulîśa occurring anywhere in the South, though I can point to two or three instances of figures which are, in all likelihood, of Lakulîśa. In the work entitled "Cave-Temples of India," Dr. Burgess, while describing the Dumâr *leṇa*, says: "In the north verandah is Śiva as Mahâyôgî, seated on a lotus, with a club in his left hand."[2] Of the same figure he elsewhere says: "In the east end of it is Śiva as a yogi or ascetic, with a club in his left hand, and seated on a lotus upheld by Nâga figures, with two females worshipping behind each—an evident copy from the figures of Buddha."[3] This description makes it all but certain that the image is of Śiva as Lakulîśa. Again, the same learned antiquarian, in describing certain figures in the celebrated Kailâsa temple at Elurâ, speaks of a certain image as one of Śiva as "Mahâyogi, the great ascetic" and as closely resembling a Buddha.[4] But unfortunately we are not informed whether the image had a club in one of its hands, so that we cannot say with any high degree of probability that it was a figure of Lakulîśa. Mr. Rice, the late Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, has informed me that at Baḷagâmi there was a curious figure with two hands, one wielding a club. As Baḷagâmi was a great centre of Lakulîśa worship, as we shall see further on, it is not unsafe to conclude that this was an image of Lakulîśa. But though no certain instances of Lakulîśa sculptures are forthcoming, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the worship of Lakulîśa was vigorously prevalent in the South. I have already referred to the Hêmâvatî inscription in which it is said that Lakuḷîśa for fear that his name and doctrines might be forgotten incarnated himself as the *muninâtha* Chilluka. This indicates not only that Lakulîśa was known in the South, but also that Chilluka was a worshipper of Lakulîśa and a Śaiva teacher of importance belonging to that sect. An inscription found at Halkûr in the Arsikere *tâluk*, Mysore,

[1] *Hist. Ind. East. Archit.*, p. 449.

[2] P. 448. [3] *Arch. Surv. West Ind.* Vol. V., P. 42.

[4] *Cave-Temples of India*, p. 453.

and dated in A.D. 1177, mentions a number of *munis*, adherents of the Kâḷâmukhas, as upholders of the *Lâkuḷ-âgama-samaya*.[1] But the worship of Lakulîśa appears in Mysore to have been strongest at Baḷagâmi which is called in inscriptions Baḷḷigâve and Baḷipura. Here was the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara, to which was attached the Kôḍiya *maṭha*. At the head of this was a very learned and distinguished line of *gurus*, a branch of the Kâlâmukhas, forming the Śaktiparishe of the Muvara-kôṇêya *santati* of the Parvvatâvali. The first one named is Kêdâraśakti, his disciple was Śrîkaṇṭha, his disciple was Sômêśvara, his disciple was Gautama, his disciple was Vâmaśakti, and his disciple was Jñânaśakti. Many inscriptions have been discovered at Baḷagâmi which describe the erudition and austerities of many of these high priests. Thus one inscription represents Sômêśvara as having caused the *Lâkuḷa-siddhânta* to bloom.[2] In another inscription, Sômêśvara and his predecessors are called Kâḷâmukhas, and the same inscription, it is worthy of note, begins with an invocation to Lakulîśa.[3] About Vâmaśakti two inscriptions say that in grammar he was Pâṇini, in polity Śrî-Bhûshaṇâchârya, in drama and the science of music Bharatamuni, in poetry Subandhu, and in *siddhânta* Lakuḷîśvara.[4] The same Vâmaśakti is called "ornament of the Lâkuḷâgama" in another inscription.[5] It will thus be seen that all these high priests were worshippers of Lakulîśa and that the temple of south Kêdârêśvara of which they were the *âchâryas*, was, in all probability, dedicated to Lakulîśa.[6]

We thus see that, according to the Purâṇas, Lakulî was the last incarnation of Śiva and synchronous with Kṛishṇa-Vâsudêva. This has the value of a tradition, though the contemporaneity of the two might well be questioned as an historical fact; and from the tradition it is not unreasonable to argue that just as Kṛishṇa-Vâsudêva was regarded as an *avatâra* of Vishṇu and was the reputed originator

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., pt. I., p. 135 (translation).

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII., pt I., p. 64 (translation).

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 65 and 67.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 60 and p. 63; at the latter place, the name Nakuḷîśvara instead of Lakuḷîśvara is given.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 95.

[6] It is worthy of note that, in these Baḷagâmi inscriptions, the terms *putra* and *śishya* are used synonymously. Thus while two inscriptions (Shikarpur Nos. 94 and 98) represent Śrîkaṇṭha and Sômêśvara as *śishyas* of Kêdâraśakti and Śrîkaṇṭha respectively, there is at least one inscription Shikarpur No. 99) in which they are called *putras* of the latter. Similarly, in Shikârpur inscription No. 92 Vâmaśakti is spoken of as the disciple of Gautamadêva, whereas in No. 96 he is mentioned as the dear son of this last. In the Vâyu Purâṇa also, the *putrâḥ* mentioned of each *avatâra* of Śiva must be interpreted to mean *śishyâḥ*, and, as a matter of fact, we find the term *śishya* employed in lieu of *putra* in the description of the sixth incarnation.

of certain doctrines, so Lakulîśa was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva and was also the author of certain tenets. The Purâṇas, I believe, clearly imply that Lakulî was originally a *brahmachârî*. The very fact that he is sculptured as an ascetic like Buddhas or *Tîrthaṁkaras* who renounced the world confirms this implication. Further it deserves to be noticed that Lakulî is always figured, so far as my knowledge goes, with two hands, although other divinities in the same temples bear at least four hands. Nay, Śiva himself is sculptured under all other forms, with never less than four hands both in these and other temples near the bottom of the sides of the doorframe or in the principal niches on the outside walls of the temples. And, when Lakulî is carved with only two hands, it means that his human origin was prominent before the mind of his followers and that consequently he was an historical personality like Buddha or Mahâvîra. Next, there can hardly be a doubt that he was the originator of certain tenets. While setting forth the *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâśupata darśana*, Sâyaṇa at least once uses the following words: *tad-uktaṁ bhagavatâ Na(La)kulîśêna*. The Hêmâvatî inscription says, as stated before, that Lakulîśa became incarnate in the form of Chilluka in order that his name and doctrines might not be forgotten. This also shows that there were certain doctrines of which Lakulîśa was the acknowledged teacher. But this point is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that *Lâkula-siddhânta* and *Lâkul-âgama* are frequently referred to in inscriptions found in Mysore. I have just now made mention of the Halkûr inscription of A.D. 1177 which speaks of certain *munis* as upholders of *Lâkuḷ-âgama-samaya*. Sômêśvara, one of the pontiffs of the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara is represented in a Baḷagâmi inscription, as we have just seen, as having caused *Lâkuḷa-siddhanta* to bloom. Many such inscriptions might be quoted in which *Lâkuḷ-âgama* and *Lâkula-siddhânta* are mentioned.[1] There can, therefore, be no question that Lakulî was the founder of a certain system. There is still one inscription found at Baḷagâmi which deserves to be noted in this connection. Therein has been given at length a description of the Koḍiya *maṭha* attached to the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara. And in this description it is stated that the monastery was "a place for commentaries on the *Lâkuḷa-siddhânta*, the *Pâtañjala*, and other *Yôga-śâstras*."[2] As *Lâkuḷa-siddhânta* is here associated with *Yôga-śâstras*, there can be little doubt that it was connected with the Yôga system. Thus we see that not only was Lakulî the promulgator of certain doctrines, but also that these doctrines had a close affinity with Yôga.

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Arsikere Taluq Nos. 46, 89 and 103; Vol. VII. Shikarpur Taluq No. 177. [2] *Ibid.* Vol. VII., p. 73 (translation).

In the Śântiparvan of the Mahâbhârata, five systems of philosophy are mentioned, *viz.* (1) Sâṁkhya, (2) Yôga, (3) Pâñcharâtra, (4) Vêdas (*i. e.* Âraṇyakas), and (5) Pâśupata.[1] We are further informed that the Pâśupata system was proclaimed by the god Śrîkaṇṭha-Śiva, husband of Umâ and lord of the Bhûtas. In the same chapter, the Pâñcharâtra system also is spoken of as having originated from Bhagavat or Nârâyaṇa, but in another chapter of the Śântiparvan, Vâsudêva, the name of the probable historical founder of Pâñcharâtra, is given. And it seems tempting to assert that the Pâśupata system here attributed to Śiva had also, like the Pâñcharâtra, an historical founder, and that the latter was, in all likelihood, no other than Lakulîśa. We know that Mahâvîra-Varddhamâna was the last of the *tîrthaṁkaras* and was the founder of Jainism, and so Lakulîśa, being the last incarnation of Śiva, may have been the founder of the Pâśupata system. But no certitude on this point can be reached, and perhaps the Pâśupata religion was in existence at the time of Lakulîśa, who may have given only a fresh impetus to it, especially as his name is conspicuous by its absence in the Mahâbhârata.

Now, in early times there appears to have been only one sect called Pâśupata amongst the worshippers of Śiva. Pâśupata, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, and the name of no other Śaiva sect is to be therein met with. The Purâṇas also, as mentioned above, refer to the *yôga* practised by the devotees of Śiva as *Pâśupata yôga* and call the disciples of Lakulîśa Pâśupatas. The Chinese traveller, Yuan-chwang, also speaks of the followers of Mahêśvara either as cinder-sprinkled or *Po-shu-po-to* (Pâśupata).[2] In later times, however, we hear of more than one sect. Thus Râmânuja in his work called Śrî-Bhâshya, while commenting on *Brahmasûtra* II. 2.36 distinguishes the worshippers of Paśupati into the four classes : (1) Kâpâla, (2) Kâlâmukha, (3) Pâśupata, and (4) Śaiva. In their commentaries on Śaṅkarâchârya's *bhâshya* on *Brahmasûtra* II. 2. 37, Gôvindânanda and Vâchaspati mention the four sects to be (1) Śaiva, (2) Pâśupata, (3) Kâruṇikasiddhântin, and (4) Kâpâlika. Ânandagiri also gives the same names, but for Kâruṇikasiddhântin, he has Kârukasiddhântin. Of these Pâśupatas seem to be the old sect of that name and are consequently the earliest. The members of that sect, so far as our knowledge goes, were the followers of Lakulîśa both in the north and the south. The Cintra *praśasti* tells us that it was for the rigid fulfil-

[1] Cap. 349, vs. 64 and 67 (Bombay edition); in Cap. 203, v. 95 Śiva speaks of himself as having promulgated the Pâśupata *vrata*.

[2] *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by Beal, Vol. II., p. 353 see references under the word 'Pâśupata.'

ment of the Pâśupata vows that the ascetic-disciples of Lakulîśa became incarnate. Our inscription also, while describing the *avatâra* of Lakulîśa, speaks of Pâśupata *yôga*. Again, the ascetics who built the temple of Lakulîśa, as our inscription has it, were connected with the temple of Êkliṅgjî, and one of the high priests concerned with this temple has been described in an inscription as *Śrî-Êkalinga-Harârâdhana-pâśupat-âchârya*.[1] The inscriptions thus show that in North India Pâśupatas were the adherents of the Lakulîśa system. In the south also the doctrines of Lakulîśa must have been followed by the Pâśupatas, as the expression *Na(La)kulîśa-Pâśupata-darśana* used by Sâyaṇa clearly indicates ; but, in Southern India, in addition to the Pâśupatas, Kâlâmukhas seem to have espoused the system of Lakulîśa. It is not necessary here to reiterate the instances given above in which certain ascetics who are called Kâḷâmukhas are also represented as upholders of the *Lâkuḷa-siddhânta*. That the Kâlâmukhas were devotees of Lakulîśa is also implied by what Râmânuja says about them. Just at the place where he specifies the four sects, Râmânuja speaks of *laguḍa-dhâraṇa* as one of the characteristic practices of the Kâlâmukhas. *Laguḍa-dhâraṇa*, by its very mention, associates itself in our mind with Lakulî, who, as we have seen, was so called because he held a *lakula*, *i.e.*, *lakuṭa*, a club, in his hand, and it is but natural that his followers should consider it as a badge of their sect. But the other two sects, especially the sect known as Śaiva, were probably not the adherents of the Lâkula system. Sâyaṇa, in the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, contrasts the Śaiva, with the Na(La)kulîśa-Pâśupata *darśana*. This is an unmistakable indication, in my opinion, of the followers of the Śaiva sect not being the supporters of the doctrines of Lakulîśa. Again, in the Karhâḍ copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III.,[2] the grantee Gaganaśiva is represented as having mastered *sakala-Śiva-siddhânta*. This probably shows that Gaganaśiva was of the Śaiva sect and the adherents of this sect had a *siddhânta* of their own called *Śiva-siddhânta* corresponding to the *Lâkula-siddhânta* upheld by the Kâlâmukhas.

In South India the followers of Lakulîśa appear to have been split up into two classes, (1) old and (2) new. An inscription found at Goṭṇakeṛe in the Tiptur *tâluk*, Mysore and dated in A. D. 1285 speaks of the donors as supporters of the new La(Lâ)kuḷa *samaya*.[3] This cannot mean, as Mr. Rice has correctly pointed out,[4] that the Lâkula system was then new, for, as we have seen, the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuḷî dates as far back as the first century A. D., but that probably

[1] *See* note 2 above.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 286.
[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII., p. 45 (translation).
[4] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 10.

some change had been made introducing new features into it. The Hêmâvatî inscription mentions, as stated over and over again, that Lakulîśa, being afraid that his name and doctrines might be lost in oblivion, was born on earth again as Chilluka. This shows, as remarked above, that Chilluka was a Śaiva teacher of very great importance, and that he, in all likelihood, recast the doctrines of Lakulîśa into a new system. May he, therefore, not have promulgated the new *Lâkula-samaya* just referred to ?

I have thus brought to a focus all the rays of information that could be gleaned from inscriptions and Sanskrit literature regarding the antiquity, origin, and dissemination of the Lakulîśa sect. As the inscriptions of Mysore which throw light on the origin and history of the sect were not published six years ago, any theory based on the materials then available must necessarily be imperfect. It is, therefore, not necessary to discuss the theory of Dr. Fleet, who considered a certain Śaiva teacher named Lakuḷa, Lakulîśa, or Lakuḷîśvara who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century as the originator of the sect. [1] And I am certainly mistaken if the learned doctor has not already given it up, for no scholar who has read the contents of the Hêmâvatî inscription of A.D. 941 above referred to can regard Lakuḷîśvara *paṇḍita* as the founder of the sect. And, now that, as I have shown, Lakulîśa is to be placed as early as the first century A.D., no antiquarian will lend countenance to the view that the Śaiva teacher Lakuḷîśvara, who lived in the first half of the eleventh century, was the originator of the sect.

It has been stated above that mention is made of a place named Nâgahrada in verse 3 of our inscription and that the verse after the next represents the king Bappaka, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, as having reigned in this city. Again, in verse 15 the god Êkaliṅga is referred to, and we are told that the ascetics who built the temple of Lakulîśa were the worshippers of that divinity. Nâgahrada is doubtless to be identified with Nâgdâ, fourteen miles to the north of Udaipur, whose ruins stretch to the extent of a mile and a half at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Êkliṅgjî is situated. The present Sanskrit name of the place is no doubt Nâgêndra, but in a Jaina temple called Padmâvatî amongst the ruins of Nâgdâ I found two inscriptions, in one of which the place is called Nâgahrada and in the other Nâgadaha.[2] No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained regarding the identification. Nâgdâ or Nâgahrada thus appears to have been the old capital of the Guhila dynasty, and as the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX., pp. 1-2.

[2] *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* for the year ending 31st March 1906, p. 63, No. 2243.

temple of Êkaliṅga mentioned in the inscription is unquestionably the celebrated temple of Êkliṅgjî close beside Nâgdâ and was in existence before A.D. 971; the date of our inscription, it shows that the old traditions about Nâgêndra and Bappa Râwal's infancy given by Tod had some historical foundation, and it is intelligible how the Râṇâs of Udaipur should come to have such intimate connection with the temple as that of high priests in which capacity they still officiate.

Text.[1]

1. ओं[2] ओं नमो लकुलीशाय ॥ प्रथम [क्रम] .....
.....रम् ॥ [१] किं तातस्वा (?) म्व (?) ह्व (?) भ (?) ⌣ ⌣ ⌣

2. लि[त]मिदं पुत्रपाथः पिवाथो देवी वाक्यादिहा(?)स्या सरलकरलता लोलमालान्य – – [।] – – – – ⌣ कीर्ण्णः प्रतिशतदश.....

3. ...स...जलिर्व्वः ॥ [२] समं...नद्ध.....लयं..... .....
केन.....

4. नागह्वद इतिं ॥ [३] मंदं भे(?) – ⌣ लककलिकां कंपयन्पक्ष्ममालामासी(?) ना–
नयनमुकुला – ⌣ – – ⌣ – – [।] – च्छ – – कु[च]तटमधिश्रोणि-
[– ⌣ – – – – – – ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – –

5. ⌣ मुद्यानवातः ॥ [४] अस्मिन्नभूद्बुहिल[गो]त्रनरेन्द्रचंद्रः श्रीवप्पकक्षितिपतिः[3] [क्षि]-
तिपीठर[त्न]म् । ज्याघातघोषक(?)रि[तु]ङ्गहिणा ⌣ काण्डे कोदण्डकर्म्म-
[णि] स च ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ – – [॥] [५] – – – ⌣ ⌣

6. लो (?) मणिः [सु]विदिता दिव्या च – – ⌣ – सा–स्त्री शुचिरत्नसंचय–ता
हेम्मीरसाप[त्नि]का । हत्वा – ⌣ ⌣ मुह्यसद्द्युतिसटासंनद्धदेहं च तद्यस्याद्यापि
महाह[व]व्यवसित – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – [॥] [६] –

7. – ⌣ – करिघटाघनक ⌣ – – लोटान्निशातकुलिशोपममण्डलाग्रः । दृप्तद्विषामसहनो
मृगलोचनानामिष्टोजनिष्ट नरवाहननामभूपः ॥ [७] यस्य प्र –⌣⌣⌣–⌣⌣ ग्रे(?)स-

8. – – – लाखुरोल्लिखित – ⌣ रापरागैः । अग्रेसरक्षितिभुजा मलिनीभवंति
च्छत्रध्वजांशुकशिरोमणिमण्डलानि ॥ [८] शप्तः पुरा मुरभिदा भृगुकच्छ-
[ना]– – – ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣

9. वितान ⌣ – ⌣ – – [।] चक्रे भृगुः सह ग– ⌣ ⌣ साधिकेन तोषोन्मुखं गिरिसुता-
पतिमप्रमेयम् ॥ [९] मज्जल्लाटवधूघनस्तनतटोत्तङ्गत्तरङ्गोत्तरा यस्मिन्मेकल-
कण्यका[4] ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ – – – ⌣ – – ⌣ – [।]

10. – – शेषविशुद्धये किमपरं पर्यग्रहीत्तं मुनेः प्रत्यक्षं लकुलोपलक्षितकरः कायावतारं
शिवः ॥ [१०] कायावरोहणमतः पुटभेदनं[5] तदुद्बुद्धबालबकुलावलिपुष्प – –[।] म..

11. .....कैलासवासमपि न स्मरति स्मरारिः ॥ [११] अलिकमलिक-
पृष्ठे पत्रभंगं कपोले कुचभुवि रचयंतो दाम मुक्तामणीनाम् । अपि महति नितम्बे[6]
मेखलां संदधान.....

[1] From the original stone.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read °बप्पक°.
[4] Read °कन्यका°.
[5] Read °दुद्बुद्धबालबकुला°.
[6] Read °नितम्बे°.

12. .....[॥][१२] – – ⌣ [पा]शुपतयोगभृतो यथार्थज्ञानावदात-वपुषः कुशिकादयोन्ये । भस्माङ्गरागतरुवल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण आविरभवन्मुनयः पुराणाः ॥ [१३] तेभ्यो.....

13. .....क्षो[भ]क्लेशसमुद्रतात्ममहसः ष–रदा योगिनः । शापानुग्रहभूमयो [1]हिमशिलावन्धोज्वलादागिरेरासेतो रघुवंशकीर्त्तिपिशुना त्रीन्नं[2] तप [स्त].....

14. श्रीमदेकलिङ्गसुरप्रभोः । [3]पादाम्बुजमहापूजाकर्म्म कुर्व्वन्ति संयताः ॥ [१५] [4]अश्वग्रामगिरिन्द्रमौलिविलसन्माणिक्यमुत्केतनं क्षुन्नाम्भोदतडित्कडारशिखरश्रेणी-समुद्भासितं[।]– – – ⌣ ⌣ – ⌣ –

15. नरजनांतंद्रायमाणं मुहुस्तैरेतल्लकुलीशवेदम हिमवच्छृङ्गोपमं कारितम् ॥ [१६] स्याद्वादग्रहनिग्रहागदविधिर्व्विध्वस्तवैतंडिकच्छद्मा सौगतगर्व्वपर्व्वतभिदावज्रप्रपातो घनः । .....

16. .....र्यभंगक्षमः श्रीवेदाङ्गमुनिः प्रसिद्धमहिमा यस्य प्रसादं व्यधात् ॥ [१७] तेनेयमाम्रकविना गुणनिधिनादित्यनागतनयेन । सुकृता कृता प्रशस्तिः पदवाक्यप्र.....

17. ..... विक्रमादित्यभूभृतः । अष्टविंशतिसंयुक्ते शते दशगुणे सति ॥ [१९] नवविकचिलमालाः पाटलाः कुड्मलिन्यः शिरासि शशिमुखीनां यत्र शोभां लभन्ते । अपि खलत.....

18. .....पापभाले प्रसिद्धिम् ॥ [२०] श्रीसुपुजितरासि कारापक प्रणमति । श्रीमार्तण्डश्रीभातृपुरश्रीसघोरासिश्रीविनिश्चितरासि । लेलको[5] मोहन । एव कारापक [प्र]ण म[ति] .

[1] Read °बन्धो°.
[2] Read °पिशुनास्तीनं.°
[3] Read °म्बुज°.
[4] Read °गिरीन्द्र°.
[5] Read °लेखको°.

Art. XIII.—*Maratha Historical Literature.*

By D. B. Parasnis, Esq.

(Read before the History Section on 19th January 1905 in connection with the Centenary of the Society.)

It is eminently fitting that in the celebration of the Centenary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a place should be found for taking stock of the work done during the century, so as to note the landmarks in the progress of Maratha Historical Literature. Research in history has been, from the outset, one of the chief aims of such Societies. When the Royal Asiatic Society of England was established, the great Oriental Scholar, Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, in his inaugural address, dwelt at great length upon the importance of research in Asiatic History, and observed : "The inquiry extends over regions, the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide, as those regions are vast ; and as various, as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their manners, and their customs ; their languages and their literature ; their sciences, speculative and practical ; in short, the progress of knowledge among them ; the pitch which it has attained ; and last, but most important, the means of its extension." A similar scope of work was sketched for itself by our local Society, and several of its leading members, especially in the early thirties, put forth great efforts in the cause of elucidating ancient history. Their environments in Western India impressed them with the backwardness and obscurity of Maratha Historical Literature, and stimulated their exertions in bringing to light such materials as were available. Many of the great lights of Maratha History, such as Grant Duff, Malcolm, Briggs, and Coats, were members of this Society, and their labours shed no little reflected glory on the early history of this institution. It is well known that the Society's Library was the repository of the celebrated Grant Duff collection of Maratha MSS, which, it is to be regretted, are not now forthcoming from the shelves of the Library ; but the incident serves to show the interest the Society took in the work of historical research. This interest has been kept up to this day. Archæology, the elder sister of history, has figured somewhat more prominently in the labours of

the Society ; but history—especially Maratha History—has occupied no little attention. The transactions of the Society are replete with papers on different topics of Maratha History, and they will, I venture to think, be of invaluable help to the future historian.

The subject I have prescribed for myself is a review of the progress of Maratha Historical Literature during the century commencing with the foundation of this Society. As you are all aware, this Society was first founded in A.D. 1804 under the title of " The Literary Society of Bombay," which was afterwards changed into " The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." It is a noteworthy fact that the year 1804 marks an epoch in Maratha History. It was about this year that the Maratha power first began to show signs of weakness and decline. It was in A.D. 1804 that the victories of General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, caused the first beginning in the break-up of the Maratha confederacy, and laid the foundation of the British Empire in the Deccan. The century may be divided, for the purpose of noting the progress of Maratha Historical Literature, into three parts—1804 to 1830, 1830 to 1860, and 1860 to 1904. It may be mentioned here that, prior to 1804, there had been no little literary activity in regard to historical research. Numerous works of great value were written by travellers such as Tavernier, Bernier, Carré, Dellon, De Graaf, Fryer, De La Haye, Pere D'Orleans and Manouchi. These travellers visited India between 1640 to 1690, and their works supply valuable contemporary records of the rise of Maratha power. The translations of Fraser, Dow, Karr, Jonathan Scott, and others, from Persian historical works, also shed considerable light on the same period. In 1782 the first systematic effort of writing a connected historical narrative was made by Orme. His first work is the " History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Industan," and the second is " The Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire." Scot Waring in his " History of the Marathas " refers to Orme in these terms : " Mr. Orme, our first Indian Historian, was the first also to manifest any interest in the history of the Marathas. He collected a considerable degree of information which he published under the humble title of Fragments, and though his work be not free from errors, they result from the scantiness of his materials, and not from a want of the most patient inquiry. He concentrated, in a small compass, a most valuable mass of information ; nor is it to be omitted that he has pointed out almost every European author who has written on the subject." Contemporary with Orme, Nana Phadnavis, it is interesting to note, made an effort in the Poona Durbar in 1783, to have a chronicle written dealing with the

whole Maratha period. Dalrymple's account of Marathas in the "Oriental Repertory," Tones' "Institutions of the Marathas," Moore's "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratha Army under Parashram Bhow Patwardhan against Tippoo Sultan," as well as stray fragments published in the Asiatic Annual Register and the Asiatic Researches, are some of the notable contributions made in this behalf during the early period. Tippoo Sultan's letters by Kirkpatrick and other works relating to Mysore war by Beatson, Dirom and others, form another channel of information bearing on Maratha History. These works are valuable as forming the ground-work of the still more active and brilliant work achieved in the period which marked the commencement of the century.

As I have noted above, the first period between 1804 and 1830 was marked by remarkable activity in the collection and publication of historical materials. While General Wellesley's victories made the year 1804 a conspicuous landmark in history, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, made it remarkable from the point of view of historical literature by his publication of "The History of Maratha War." About the same time attempts were made by Col. Mackenzie to collect the materials of the early history of Maratha Power in Southern India. Col. Mackenzie's labours in the field of historical research are made memorable by his magnificent collection of vernacular manuscripts in Southern India—a collection which numbers about 8,000 works. This collection was later on purchased by the Marquis of Hastings on behalf of the East India Company for £10,000. In 1810 appeared Scot Waring's remarkable work, History of the Marathas. This work is based on several Maratha bakhars or chronicles as well as Persian kaifiyats and tawarikhs and the writings of English authors. He mentions as his authorities 4 bakhars of Shewajee, 2 of Shahu Maharaj, 2 of the Battle of Panipat, 2 of Madhowrao, 2 of Narayan Rao Peishwa, and 1 containing the accounts of the Rajas of Berar, and the Gaikwar, Sindia and Holkar families. The author bears the following testimony to the value of the Maratha bakhars :—"Their historians write in a plain, simple, and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms without seeking turgid imagery or inflated phraseology. Victory and defeat are briefly related. If they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgment, but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and in historical reflections." Scot Waring treats his materials with great discrimination and impartiality, and his work stands pre-eminent as the first attempt

to deal with Maratha History in a spirit of justice and fairness. Almost contemporaneous with Scot Waring's work were, it may be noted, several Maratha bakhars containing the lives of the Satara Rajas by Malhar Ramarao Chitnis, the hereditary Chitnis of the Maratha Kings of Satara. Then followed Wilke's History of Mysore, Malcolm's Central India, Blacker's Maratha War, Jenkins' Nagpore, Prinsep's Transactions of Political Events in India, Tod's Rajasthan and other works. The most notable book of this period is, however, Grant Duff's History of the Marathas. In spite of later researches Grant Duff is still the paramount authority on the subject of Maratha History. His work fully deserves all the eulogies passed upon it by successive writers. For patient research and judicious statement it stands pre-eminent among works on Maratha History. Whatever additions and improvements may be made by later writers, Grant Duff's work stands on its own pedestal, and can hardly be surpassed. It cannot be denied that want of familiarity with the Maratha language and such other causes have led to some errors and defects which later investigation may be able to correct, and such correction has been in part supplied by the work of Mr. Justice Ranade, which I shall notice later on. In connection with Grant Duff's work, it may be interesting to note, that Maharaja Pratapsing, the Raja of Satara, evinced an enlightened sense of the value of history by giving substantial help to Grant Duff in the shape of original historical records and papers which, Mr. Grant Duff acknowledges, were not confided even to the Peishwas. Maharaja Pratapsing took such keen interest in this work that he had various bakhars and narratives specially written for Grant Duff's assistance, and after the publication of the History of the Marathas by Grant Duff, he got it translated into Marathi. This translation has not yet found its way into print, but I have obtained a copy of it which I intend to present to this Society. General Briggs, who succeeded Grant Duff as Resident at Satara, in a letter dated 20th August 1827, exhorted the Raja to make the translation mentioned above. He writes: "I trust your Highness has received his (Grant Duff's) History of the Maratha Empire, which your Highness should procure to be translated by degrees into the Marathi language, after which it might be struck off on lithography (chhapp) at Bombay, which would obtain as great a name for your Highness in the East as your friend Captain Grant Duff has established for himself in Europe by compiling his excellent history." For his enlightened interest in literature the Raja was made an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, an honour then highly prized and rarely bestowed on Indians. It is also interesting to note here that another Maratha Prince of the same period,

Raja Sarfoji of Tanjore in Southern India, was the happy recipient of the honourable distinction of M.R.A.S. He, too, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Schwartze, a famous Danish missionary worker in Southern India, had cultivated literary tastes and attained considerable eminence as a lover of books. The large collection of manuscripts made by him at Tanjore is a standing monument of his culture; this has served as a favourite resort to learned men, like Dr. Burnell, for carrying on their researches. With reference to our present subject, his most notable act was an inscription, in the Marathi language, of the History of the Tanjore House on the walls of the famous Brihadeshwar Temple which occupies about 90 courts. It has been made accessible to scholars by the labours of Mr. Sambha Murti Rao of Tanjore.

General Briggs was another worker of the same period, quite as remarkable as Grant Duff. He translated, from the Persian, Ferishta's "Rise of the Mahommedan Power" and "Seirul Mutakharin." In the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, he published, in 1827, "An Autobiographiical Memoir of Nana Pharnavis," and "Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peishwa Madhoo Rao; from the year 1761 to 1772." He collected about 9,000 original papers relating to the life of Nana Pharnavis, and having translated several of them, he lodged them all with the Royal Asiatic Society in London. He intended to write a regular treatise on the life of this great statesman, but appeared to have been prevented from doing so by the apparent want of interest shown in Indian subjects by the British public of those days. Referring to the publication of this work, Grant Duff wrote to Briggs in 1854: "Pray, how do you mean to publish and how do you mean to make your book go down with the public? The only advice I can offer must be in the style of that given me by the late John Murray, when I called upon him about my history of the Marathas. Can't you put something of the present days into it? Try to connect the life of Nana Pharnavis with Golden Horn at Sophia and the Sultan, mix up the Peishwas' Durbar with a particular account of the receptions of Messrs. Pease and Sturge by the Emperor of All the Russias. As an amusement to yourself, and a pleasure to those old friends who care about the most uninteresting history in the world, it is all very well; but I would not venture on publishing unless some booksellers would take the whole risk."

Grant Duff himself suffered terribly in the monetary way on account of the publication of his History of the Marathas. His letter to Goldsmid which has been published in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XXVIII, gives expression to his bitter disappointment. It is important here to observe that most of these writers on Maratha

History were military men in the service of the East India Company, who in the course of their official duties came in contact with men and institutions representing the last days of the Maratha power, and who, being struck by the contrast in civilization and character, were inspired with the laudable ambition of preserving their history. They were as great in letters as in arms. They were conspicuous for their sympathies with the princes and people of the day. They were also men of industry, ability, and self-sacrifice, by virtue of which they have laid us all under great obligations, though in their own country they were ill-requited for their labours,—a circumstance which might perhaps partially account for the apathy shown by English officers and writers towards Maratha History in later periods.

The next period of 1830 to 1860 is comparatively barren of actual results. The most noteworthy productions of this period are Elphinstone's History of India, Forbes Oriental Memoirs and Ras Mala, Clune's Maratha States, MacDonald's Life of Nana Pharnavis, Thornton's History of India, Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, and a few others. Several distinguished missionary workers, such as the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell and the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, studied Maratha literature, and read valuable papers before this Society. They were struck by the richness of that literature and exhorted their contemporaries to cultivate it. In the course of their observations they referred to Marathi Historical Memoirs and advocated their publication,—a recommendation which soon bore good fruit. In spite of these contributions this period does not, as I have already remarked, compare favourably in point of actual work with its predecessor, but it is remarkable as preparing the way for yet more brilliant results in the period succeeding it. It was then that with the advocacy of Lord Macaulay, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and later on the establishment of Universities that English education began to be diffused among the Indian people. The rich treasures of English literature then became accessible to Indian readers. The Press, too, became an active instrument in the dissemination of knowledge. All these agencies of enlightenment brought about an awakening of Indian intellect, and raised in the succeeding period new recruits in the rank of workers in all fields of literature.

The third period, commencing from 1860 to the present time, witnessed the spectacle of Indian workers labouring in the field of historical literature side by side with European workers. With superior facilities as regards information and materials, and with their training in the modern principles of historical criticism, the Indian

workers became valuable help-mates in the field of historical research, and though there were then some notable English writers like Wheeler, Taylor, Kaye, Malleson, Hunter, and Keene, the most noteworthy feature of this period was the work done by Indian scholars. English works of note were translated into the vernaculars, chief of these being Rao Saheb Mandlik's Marathi translation of Elphinstone's History of India, Vinayak Janardan Kirtane's Marathi translation of Malcolm's Central India and Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh's Marathi translation of Tod's Rajasthan. There was a translation of Duff's History of the Marathas by another writer, and Rao Bahadur Nilkanth Janardan Kirtane published his "Criticism of Grant Duff's History." The last book pointed out the defects of Grant Duff's work, and led to the publication of some original bakhars and other papers relating to Maratha History. Magazines like the "Vividhadnyan Vistar" and "Dambhaharak" (विविधज्ञानविस्तार and दंभहारक) opened their columns to the publication of original papers as well as to critical contributions on historical subjects. A magazine called "Lokahitawadi" (लोकहितवादी) was started by the late R. B. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh for the publication of historical incidents and anecdotes. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar's Nibandh-Mala contained some stirring critical essays on the subject of the study of history in general and of Maratha history in particular. These writings aroused active interest in historical literature, and helped in rescuing many old historical records from destruction. A magazine called the "Kavyetihasa-Sangraha" (काव्येतिहास-संग्रह) by Mr. Sane and the late Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak was started with the special object of publishing bakhars and all available historical papers. A considerable body of old historical material was brought to light by this magazine. It inspired in the Maratha public a taste for reading original historical papers, which gradually led to the writing of original works of history and biography. There has thus been a large accession to Marathi literature—the lives of Nana Pharnavis, Mahadji Sindia, Malhar Rao Holkar, Shahu Maharaj, Bapu Gokhale, Rani of Jhansi, Bramhendra Swami, Parsharam Bhow Patvardhan Balaji Vishwanath and so forth. The family histories of the houses of Sindia, Holkar, Dabhade, Vinchurkar, Bhonsles and the lives of Prabhoo soldiers (प्रभूरत्नमाला) are books of more or less value. They are, moreover, very interesting as the first fruit of the leaven spread by the publication of old records and documents. The काव्येतिहास-संग्रह continued for twelve years, and it was succeeded by other magazines such as कायस्थ प्रभूच्या इतिहासाचीं साधनें, ग्रंथमाला, ऐतिहासिक लेख-संग्रह, भारतवर्ष. These latter magazines have brought to light a rich treasure of historical materials. The most notable acquisition to Maratha historical literature of the present day was the "Rise of the

Maratha Power" by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. It is a work of uncommon value. It throws on Maratha history quite a new light. It is not a mere narrative of events. It puts life and soul into the dry bones of history and makes the past tell its own tale with thrilling interest. The late Mr. Ranade had planned his work and intended to publish it in several volumes. The work we have got is only the first volume of the series, and its very excellence enhances our regret that its author has not lived to finish his work.

While thus the native public evinced so much active interest in their past history, European scholars were no iess active in the same cause. Sir Bartle Frere by his own example and precept gave an impetus to the study of Maratha history and the collection of historical materials. He himself collected a large number of Marathi and Persian manuscripts, relating chiefly to the Kingdom of Bijapore, and had several of the Persian manuscripts translated into Marathi. These translations are preserved in three large volumes at the India Office Library in London, and are a standing memorial of Sir Bartle Frere's interest in the cause of Indian history. A large collection of manuscripts was unhappily lost in his voyage from Calcutta to Bombay. He encouraged some of the native Chiefs and Jahagirdars of this presidency to get historical accounts of their respective houses written. He made a grant of Rs. 4,000 per year to this Society which it was at one time proposed to apply to the furtherance of Maratha history. Mr. Justice Newton and Dr. Wilson, both Presidents of this Society, made considerable efforts in the collection and publication of authentic ancient documents, elucidatory of Maratha history. There were debates and discussions in the Society in 1867, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Newton, on the possibility and importance of collecting and publishing original manuscripts which may be in the possession of old historical houses in the Deccan. Mr. Justice Newton himself made a tour in the Deccan, visiting several Sirdars and Jahagirdars and exhorting them to preserve their ancient documents and make them available to scholars. He himself was able to collect a few manuscripts which he presented to this Society.

Another conspicuous worker, though of more recent date, was Mr. Acworth,* who struck a new line in the collection of historical materials. In collaboration with Mr. Shaligram he collected and published a large number of powadas or historical ballads which are sung by the gondhalis or minstrels of Maharashtra. It is worthy of note that in 1843 the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, in a paper on Tukaram

read before this Society, had expressed surprise that martial songs, chronicling the gallant exploits of Maratha warriors, were not published. This want was supplied by Mr. Acworth's book. Referring to these ballads Mr. Acworth writes: "With the Marathas, as with every warlike race, the feelings of the commons have taken shape in ballads, which, however rude and inartificial in their language, their structure and rhythm, are genuine embodiment of national enthusiasm, and are dear, and deserve to be dear, to those who repeat and those who listen to them." Mr. Acworth's collection shows the necessity of further work in the same direction.

The movement for publishing old papers spread to the Government and they published many valuable historical works in the form of selections from the original records. The Government of India published the collection of treaties, engagements and sanads prepared by Mr. Aitchison. The Government of Bombay appointed a special officer, Mr. Forrest, to make selections from their own records. These selections from State papers are a valuable addition to Maratha historical literature. Mr. Douglas' Book on Bombay and Western India as well as the different gazetteers published under the auspices of Government also contain much valuable historical matter and deserve mention in this connection.

Among the books published in this period by European scholars I may specially note Colebrooke's Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Kaye's Life of Malcolm, Evans Bell's Memoirs of General Briggs, General Wellesley's Despatches, Mackey's Central India, Hope's House of Sindia, Gribbles' History of the Deccan, and many others.

Great as has been the work done in the past, the future is full of immense potentialities. The Peishwa Daftar, the Menavli collection in Nana Pharnavis's Wada and the daftars of numerous ancient houses of the Deccan will yield a rich treasure, if skilful hands attempt the work of examination, of sifting, sorting, selecting and of seeing it through the press. The movement to tap the Peishwa Daftar was first started by this Society as early as 1867. Mr. Justice Newton and Rao Saheb Mandlik were very hopeful of making the daftar available for inspection, but Col. Ethridge's somewhat pessimistic view put an extinguisher on the movement. The subject was again taken up by the late Mr. Justice Telang and the late Mr. Justice Ranade under Lord Reay's administration. Some others also made efforts in the same direction. Eventually in 1895 the requisite permission was granted and the Peishwa Daftar was

thrown open to the work of selection under the auspices of the D. V. Society of Poona. Mr. Telang wrote a paper on Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles. Mr. Ranade wrote another paper on the Peishwas' Diaries. These show what rich possibilities there are in the Daftar of unearthing buried treasures. The work of inspecting and classifying papers is proceeding apace, and by the kindness of Government there is every prospect of a vast number of papers becoming available to the student of Maratha history. Private workers like Messrs. Khare and Rajwade have likewise given to the public a considerable body of historical material. They have, moreover, in their possession, unpublished, materials which will occupy their energies for many more years. It is hoped that the public will give every encouragement to their laudable efforts, and that they will not be hampered by want of funds, which is often a stumbling block in the way of good work of this class.

The Mackenzie collection at Madras and London, the collection of General Briggs and Sir Charles Malet in the R. A. Society of London, the Jenkins' collection at the India Office, and the Tanjore Palace Library contain many Maratha manuscripts lying absolutely unused at the places where they are now kept. They are likely to prove very useful if they could be kept in Bombay, where they would be within the reach of Maratha scholars. H. E. Lord Curzon has already expressed his desire to obtain from England some historical manuscripts and documents and place them in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. If among such manuscripts and documents there are any papers in Maratha character, they might more fitly be placed in Bombay than Calcutta. H. E. Lord Lamington has suggested the happy idea of establishing a museum in Bombay. That museum may appropriately possess a court for history, where ancient manuscripts and documents, arms and accoutrements, dresses and pictures, seals and coins, and other objects of historical interest might be collected. It will serve as a convenient resort to students of history desiring to make researches in that line. The project of a museum may, however, take a long time to accomplish. In the absence of such an institution, the rooms of this Society may well serve as a resting place for historical objects. On the heels of the collection of materials must follow the work of digesting and assimilating them. A race of scholars must rise, trained in the art of deciphering manuscripts, of weighing evidence and drawing inferences with discrimination. The ground is already prepared and there is every prospect of capable workers rising to the occasion. Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee, Mr. Rajwade, Mr. Natu, Mr. Khare and others

may be trusted to use their opportunities to advantage. Biographies of eminent personages, monographs on subjects like the Maratha army, the navy, the revenue system, arms, dresses, and a variety of similar topics, as well as a methodical and well-ordered history of the Maratha Empire, have yet to be written. Speaking of the scope of history, Mr. Colebrooke observed : "In speaking of history, I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements, but rather to less conspicuous yet more important occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society ; the civil institutions of nations ; their internal, more than their external, relations ; and the yet less prominent but more momentous events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilized life. It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently to be investigated ; the discoveries of the wise ; the inventions of the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful." These words aptly describe the nature of the work that lies before us. Such a work as this wants the genius of a Ranade or a Telang. The fragments they have left only serve to remind us of the immensity of our loss. But we must have trust in the future. There must be co-operation between Indian and European workers. By the light and guidance and the example of European workers, Indian aspirants may strive to perform their task and fulfil the duty they owe to the nation. We can never forget that the work of recasting and digesting the materials done so far is very little compared to what yet remains to be done ; and our efforts must be commensurate with the magnitude of the task. This Society showed itself alive in the sixties to its responsibility as regards historical research. Let me now appeal to it to take up the work once more, of fostering research and guiding the footsteps of such new workers as may need guidance When in the light of the new materials discovered, history is rewritten, it may be hoped that many erroneous notions will be corrected as regards the Maratha character, the nethods of their warfare as well as their civil administration, the deeds of their heroes, the degree of their refinement and their achievements in the fields of literature and art. In the words of Johnson, "there is no part of history so generally useful as that which relates to the progress of the human mind—the gradual improvement of reason, the successive advances of science, the vicissitudes of learning and ignorance, which are the light and darkness of thinking beings, the extinction and resuscitation of arts, and the revolution of the intellectual world." When Maratha history is written in the light of these principles, it will fulfil its proper function. It will give them a correct representation of the past and show wholesome lessons for the guidance of the future.